The North Carolina Booklet.

GREAT EVENTS IN.....
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

Virginia Dare,

No 1 May 1901

—BY—

MAJOR GRAHAM DAVES.

PRICE 10 CENTS. $1.00 THE YEAR.

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EDITORS.

MISS MARTHA HELEN HAYWOOD. MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD.

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RALEIGH:
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May 1901

VIRGINIA DARE.

On the eastern shore of North Carolina, in the shallow sounds enclosed by long sand banks, which bound the coast, lies a little island twelve miles long and three miles broad.

This is Roanoke—the scene of the first English settlement in this country, and the birth-place of Virginia Dare, the first English child born in America.

How much of romance, and yet more of history—"a romance of the real"—clusters around the sad story of this young girl! Out of the unfortunate expeditions, of which she, in some sense, may be said to have been the first fruits, grew the schemes of colonization at Jamestown and at Plymouth a score of years later. The seed were sown at Roanoke, were fertilized by the sacrifice of the settlers there, but took enduring root first at Jamestown.

Associated with the humble, and almost unknown colonists of Roanoke are the names: Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen; Raleigh, the *preux chevalier*, soldier, statesman, poet, historian; Sir Richard Grenville, sailor, soldier and martyr; Sir Francis Drake, Admiral and circumnavigator of the Globe. Truly our little Virginia Dare was in goodly company.

Of chroniclers, too, she, her companions and their acts, had no lack.

There were Arthur Barlowe, who commanded a ship in the first expedition; Lane, the governor of the first colo-

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nists; John White, governor of the second colonists, the grandfather of Virginia Dare, whom he was destined to seek in sorrow and never find. Their accounts, and those of others also, are full and their stories well told. They are still on record, and have been published by the Hakluyt Society. It is a noteworthy fact that the history of these colonies which came to naught, and of a locality now so little known, should be so fully recorded and preserved in every detail—much more so than that of other localities of far greater importance, now of much prominence, whose origin and early history are often obscure and uncertain—sometimes almost unknown.

It was in a stirring era, too, in the history of the world, and one of romantic incident and adventure, that the little waif, Virginia Dare, first saw its light. The dreaded Spanish Armada—foiled in part by Drake and Raleigh, so intimately connected with the colonists of Roanoke—was preparing for its descent upon the coasts of Britain; the appeals and groans of the Christian martyrs who twenty years before perished for their faith at the stake at Smithfield, Oxford and elsewhere, still echoed through the land; Bacon and Shakespeare, all unconscious of their future fame, were in their lusty youth; "The Faery Queen" was taking shape in the prolific brain of Spencer; Sir Philip Sidney was soon to die at Zutphen; Frobisher had returned from his Arctic discoveries, and Drake from his voyage around the world; the horrible butcheries of the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris, had heightened religious enmity to the fiercest intensity, to which the good Prince of Orange was soon to for-

feit his life, a murdered victim; and the lovely Queen of Scots was ere long to lay her beautiful head upon the block in expiration of the plottings and sins of others, of whom she was the tool—perhaps the willing tool.

The Anglo Saxon and the Spaniard were entering upon the long struggle for supremacy at sea and upon this continent, which may be said to have been ended by ourselves but a short time ago, after more than three hundred years, by the expulsion of the latter from Cuba and the other West Indies. Surely little Virginia was born in troublous times, and her sad fate was not the least pathetic incident of that stormy period.

There were two expeditions to Roanoke before the birth there in 1587 of Virginia Dare, some account of which may be of interest. The first was one of discovery and exploration only. It consisted of two small ships, the "Tyger" and the "Admirall," commanded by Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, to the latter of whom we owe the account of the voyage and of its results. He says to Sir Walter Raleigh:

"The 27th of April, in the yere of our redemption 1584, we departed the West of England with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals. * * * The 10th of June we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indes. * * * The 2nd of July we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet and so strong a smel, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured that the land could not be farre distant."

* * * "The 4th of July we arrived upon the coast,

which we supposed to be a continent, and we sayled along the same 120 miles before we could find any entrance, or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered, and cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the haven's mouth: and after thanks given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoyning and to take possession of the same in right of the Queene's most excellent Majestic. * * * Wee came to an Island which they call Roanoke, distant seven leagues from the harbour by which we entered: and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar and fortified round about with sharp trees." * * * We were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with as much bountie as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age."

A handsome tribute to our Hatteras Indians, who afterwards, probably, had not much cause to return the compliment.

These Indians differed in no way from the other natives of America except that they had a few *iron* implements, and that among them were noticed children with auburn and chestnut colored hair. It was learned later that twenty-six years before this time, a ship manned by white men had been cast away at Secotan, and that some of the crew had been saved. After a time these men attempted to escape in a small boat, and were drowned. These were the only whites ever seen before the arrival of the English—but some six years after this time another

vessel had been wrecked on this coast, and all the crew perished. From parts of this wreck driven ashore the natives had obtained nails, spikes and edged tools. But for this explanation, this presence of iron would have perplexed the archaeologist. The account of the natives, their kindness and hospitality, of their easy life, and of the abundance of fruit and grain, fish and game in these inland waters is familiar to us all. Like all natives, they longed to purchase the swords and knives of the white men, but above all, they desired to obtain the kettles and pans to use as shields in battle. The King's brother was most kind, repaying the English liberally in melons and fruit, and each day he sent to the new-comers presents of "fat bucks," conies, hares and fish.

They visited the Indian village on Roanoke. "When we came towards it," the record runs, "standing near unto the water's side the wife of Granganimeo the King's brother came running out to meet us very cheerfully and friendly—her husband was not then in the village. Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore for the beating of the billow: others she commanded to carry us on their backs to dry ground; and others to bring our oars to the house for fear of stealing. When we were come to the outer room, having five rooms to her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them, and dried them again, some of the women washed our feet in warm water, and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could."

The adventurers remained in that region about two

months and made many explorations. In September they returned to England, taking with them two of the Indian Chiefs, Manteo, who ever remained the faithful friend of the English, and Wanchese. Their names are retained as the names of two villages on Roanoke Island to-day. Their arrival home, and the glowing accounts the adventurers gave of their discoveries, aroused the utmost interest. The new found country was called Virginia in honor of the "Virgin Queen," and the Atlantic coast of North America was divided into three regions, with boundaries very ill defined, claimed by France, England and Spain, and called Canada, Virginia and Florida. A large part of Virginia, which included Roanoke Island, was afterwards by the patent of Charles I to Sir Robert Heath in 1629, and by the charters of Charles II in 1663 and 1665 to the "Lords Proprietors," set off as Carolina, so named from the Latin name, Carolus, of the two Kings. The name, therefore, Virginia, first applied to Roanoke Island and the parts adjacent, originated in what is now North Carolina, and if Virginia be, as she is often called, the "Mother of States," North Carolina may be said to be her own grandmother.

The next year (1585) a large expedition, under command of Sir Richard Grenville, a cousin of Raleigh's, was fitted out. There were seven "ships" in the fleet—if the small crafts composing it can be so called, the largest of them being of "seven score tunnes" burden—which carried 108 men who were to be settled as a permanent colony on Roanoke Island. The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, 1585, and on July 3d Wingina, the Indian Chief, was notified of its arrival at Roanoke. Manteo and Wanchese returned with this fleet.

On August 25th Sir Richard Grenville, "Our Generall, weyed anker, and set sails for England." On his return the colony was left in charge of "Master Ralph Lane," and with him was "Master Philip Amadas, Admiral of the Country," who had commanded one of the ships in the first expedition. The names of the colonists are all known, a list of which may be seen in Vol. I of Hawks' History of North Carolina. These colonists founded a village near the north end of the Island, and constructed a fort, principally an earthwork, called by Lane "The new fort in Virginia." The outlines, ditch and parapet of this fort are still perfectly distinct, and its angles and sally port are now marked with granite blocks. It is now, and has been for a long time, appropriately called "Fort Raleigh."

Lane has left a most interesting account of the doings of his colonists during their stay on Roanoke Island, and of his own explorations. They remained there but one year, having become home-sick, discouraged and disheartened, and sailed in June, 1586, on the fleet of Sir Francis Drake for England, where they arrived on the 27th of July. They had scarcely gotten out of sight of the Island when a ship despatched by Raleigh, freighted with provisions and supplies of all kinds, arrived there, and, finding no one, went back to England. About a fortnight later Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three ships similarly equipped. Finding the Island abandoned, "yet unwilling to lose the possession of the countrey," he "determined to leave some men behind to reteine it: whereupon he landed fifteen men in the Isle of Roanoke, furnished plentifully with all manner of provisions for two years, and so departed for England."

Nothing daunted by the failure—a very costly one—of this first attempt at colonization Sir Walter equipped another expedition in the year following, which, however, he intended to settle on the waters of the Chesapeake instead of at Roanoke. This expedition was entrusted to the guidance of John White, the grandfather of Virginia Dare, who we will let tell his own story:

"In the yeere of our Lord, 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh intending to persevere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of 150 men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom he appointed Governour, and also appointed unto him twelve Assistants, unto whom he gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia. Our Fleete being in number three saile, the Admirall a shippe of 120 Tunnes, a Flieboat and a Pinnesse, departed the 26 of April from Portsmouth. * * * * About the 16 of July we fel with the maine of Virginia, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene carefull, we had all bene castaway upon the breach called the Caps of Feare. The 22 of July we arrived at Hatorask: the Governour went aboard the pinesse with forty of his best men, intending to pass up to Roanok forthwith, hoping there to finde those fifteene men which Sir Richard Grenville had left there the yeere before. * * * The same night at sunne-set he went aland, and the next day walked to the North ends of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry dwellings made by his men about it the yeere before, where we hoped to find some signes of our fifteene men. We

found the forte rased downe, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were overgrowen with melons, and Deere within them feeding: so wee returned to our company, without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteene men living." The fifteen men, as was afterwards learned, had been massacred by the Indians.

The colonists having landed upon the Island went actively to work to rebuild Fort Raleigh and to make homes for themselves. They consisted of ninety-one men, seventeen women and nine children, the names of all of whom are preserved. In the former colony there had been neither women nor children and they gave to this one a character of stability and permanence that had been lacking in the first. From a similarity of their names with those of the men, it would appear that at least ten of the women were married, and for a like reason that six of the children were with their parents.

Shortly after the arrival of the settlers there occurred two events, or perhaps more properly three, of interest and importance not merely to the little community, but in their relation to the history of this country. These events are thus related in Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III:

"The 13 of August our Savage Manteo was christened in Roanoke, and called Lord thereof and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull service. The 18, Elenor, daughter to the Governour, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the Assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoke, and the same was christened there the Sunday following, and because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia."

These baptisms were, so far as is known to this writer, the first celebrations of record of a Christian Sacrament within the territory of the thirteen original United States. The baptism of Manteo, and his being made Lord of Roanoke were by order of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the latter, it is believed, is the only instance of the conferring of a title of nobility upon a native American. By the Indians "Elenor Dare," the first mother of the white race known to them, is said to have been called, in their figurative and descriptive way, "The White Doe," and her baby, the little Virginia, the first white infant they had ever seen, "The White Fawn;" and there is a pretty tradition that "after her death her spirit assumed that form—an elfin Fawn, which, clad in immortal beauty, would at times be seen haunting like a tender memory, the place of her birth, or gazing wistfully over the sea, as with pathetic yearning, for the far-away mother land. Another tradition is that in that sweet form she was slain by her lover, a young Indian Chief, who had been told that if he shot her from ambush with a certain enchanted arrow it would restore her to him in human form.

Soon after the birth of Virginia, her grandfather, Gov. White, returned to England to obtain supplies for the colonists:

"The 22 of August the whole company came to the Governour, and with one voice requested him to return himselfe into England, for the obtaining of supplies and other necessaries for them; but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes why he would not. * * * At the last, through their extreame intreating constrayned to return, he departed from Roanoke the 27 of August."

On the 16th of October he arrived on the Irish coast, and coming to England straightway made efforts to carry succor to his people, but never again did he look upon the faces of his daughter, or his grand-daughter, or of any of their companions. England was in the midst of her bitter contest with Spain and the Invincible Armada, and had sore need at home for every man and ship. There was neither time nor means to be devoted to an obscure little company thousands of leagues away in an unknown land beyond the stormy Atlantic. Three years elapsed before White returned to Roanoke, and when he came he found it deserted, and the settlers gone—whither? No one was left to tell and their fate was enshrouded, and will ever remain, in mystery pathetic. The dead past will not give up its dead. Let White himself tell the sad story:

"The 20 of March the three shippes, the Hopewell, the John Evangelist, and the little John, put to sea from Plymouth. * * * * The 15 of August we came to an anker at Hatorask, and saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Roanoke neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587. * * * * The next morning our two boats went ashore and we saw another great smoke; but when we came to it we found no man nor signe that any had been there lately."

When White left Roanoke to return to England for supplies, it had been agreed that in case the colonists left the island in his absence they should leave some sign to indicate whither they had gone, and if their leaving was under duress, or in distress, the sign of the cross should also be affixed, thus +.

White continues: "The 17 of August our boats were prepared againe to go up to Roanoke. * * * * Toward the North ende of the Island we espied the light of a great fire thorow the woods: When we came right over against it, we sounded with a trumpet a Call, and afterwards many familiar English tunes and Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answere; we therefore landed and coming to the fire we found the grasse and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. * * * * As we entered up the sandy banke, upon a tree in the very browe thereof were curiously carved these faire Romane letters, C. R. O: which letters we knew to signifie the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret taken agreed upon betweene them and me, at my last departure from them, which was that they should not faile to write or carve on the trees, or postes of the dores, the name of the place where they should be seated; and if they should be distressed, that then they should carve over the letters a Crosse in this forme +, but we found no such sign of distresse. We found the houses taken downe and the place strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fortlike, and one of the chief trees at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and five foot from the ground, in fayre Capitall letters, was graven CROATOAN, without any crosse or sign of distresse."

The colonists had evidently gone to Croatan, as we now have the word, the home of Manteo, the friendly Chief, the banks and islands of our coast, extending from Hatteras to Beaufort harbor; but none of them was ever seen of white

men again. They "died and made no sign;" though it is believed by many, and with considerable reason, that their descendants may still be found among the Croatan, or, more properly, Hatteras, Indians of Robeson county. White does not explain satisfactorily why he did not seek his daughter at Croatan, which was not very far away. He says:

"The season was so unfit, and weather so foule, that we were constrayed of force to forsake that coast, having not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boats, and seven of our chiefest men. * * * * The 24 of October we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymouth. * * * Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company, the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe and comfort them, according to His most holy will and their good desire, I take my leave."

Raleigh himself had never visited our shores, where in failure and disaster had ended all his efforts at settlement in this land, and where his unfortunate colonists passed from the domain of history into the domain of the unknown.

And little Virginia Dare, what of her? Did she die in infancy, and does her dust, mingled with the soil of her birth-place, blossom there into flowers that blush unseen? Did her little feet join in the wandering of the settlers from Roanoke to Croatan? Did she grow to womanhood in their second home, and did her life end in tragedy amid the darkness which enshrouds the fate of the Colony? From the deep abysm of the past comes no answer. Yet a faint echo, a possible trace of the lost White Fawn, comes to us which may have reference to her, and with it the record closes forever:

In his first volume of "The History of Travaile," Wm. Strachey, Secretary of the Jamestown Colony, writing in 1612 of events that occurred in Virginia in 1608–10, says:

"At Peccarecemmek and Ochanahoen, by the relation of Machamps, the people have howses built with stone walles, and one story above another, so taught them by those English who escaped the slaughter at Roanoke, at what tyme this our Colony under the conduct of Captain Newport landed within the Chesapeake Bay, where the people breed up tame turkies about their howses and take apes in the mountains, and where, at Ritanoe, the Weroance Eyanoco preserved seven of the English alive, *fower* men, two boys and one *young mayde*, who escaped the massacre, and fled up the river Chanoke." (Chowan.)

This "young mayde' may well have been Virginia Dare, who, at the time mentioned, would have been about twenty-one years of age. The extract is of interest, also, as showing that the existence, and even the location, of certain of Raleigh's colonists were well known to the Jamestown settlers. Indeed both John Smith and Strachey make mention of scattered parties of those colonists several times, and the Virginia Company writes of some of them as "yet alive, within fifty miles of our fort, * * * * as is testified by two of our colony sent out to search them, who, (though denied by the savages speech with them) found crosses * * * and assured Testimonies of Christians newly cut in the barks of trees." Here the veil of mystery falls around the White Fawn and her companions probably never to be raised.

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MISS MARTHA HELEN HAYWOOD, MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD,
RALEIGH, N. C.

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

VOL. I. JUNE 10, 1901. NO. 2.

COLONIAL NEW BERN.

BY

MRS. SARA BEAUMONT KENNEDY.

RALEIGH:
CAPITAL PRINTING COMPANY.
1901.

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

PREFACE.

THE COLONY OF PALATINATES WHO, WITH THE SWISS, SETTLED IN NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA.

In that lovely and picturesque portion of Germany, situated on both sides of the river Rhine, lay the country formerly known to history as "The Palatinate." Its inhabitants were Protestants, and in the Thirty Year's war of religion between the Romanists and Protestants, Heidelberg, the principal city of the Palatinates, was laid a heap of smoldering ruins by the Spanish under Tilley, and its University was plundered of its great library which was presented by the conquerers to Pope Gregory XV.

Later on, the French, under Louis XIV., laid waste this country. A distinguished writer says: "The ravages of Louis XIV., in the beautiful valley of the Rhine, were more fierce and cruel than even Mohametons could have had the heart to perpetrate. Private dwellings were demolished, fields laid waste, cities razed to the ground. But three days of grace were allowed to the wretched inhabitants to flee their country. And soon the roads were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women and children flying from their homes in the dead of winter, often feeble, naked and starving, leaving their marks in bloody foot-prints on the snow. Many died of cold and hunger, but enough survived to fill the streets of the cities of Europe with lean and squalid beggars who had once been thriving merchants and farmers."

"England, ever the refuge of the oppressed, opened her arms to the people. Twelve thousand sought shelter there. Many of them, with the aid of "Good Queen Anne," were enabled afterwards to form homes for themselves in America. Among these were those Palatinates who accompained De Graffenried's colony of Swiss and founded New Bern."

[See Bernheim, page 43.—EDITORS.]

COLONIAL NEW BERN.

A long point of land bounded north and south by a strip of shining river. And on this land a virgin forest draped in long gray moss; here and there a tangle of vines, a rainbow blending of parti-colored blossoms, with brilliant grosbeaks and red-winged blackbirds darting like living flowers through the golden sunshine leaving a trail of song behind, or whip-poor-wills and chuckwill-widows calling wistfully to each other through the lonesome darkness. And out beyond the apex of the tongue of land the two rivers, blended into one wide current, flowing ceaselessly to the distant waiting sea. This was the Dream-world between the Neuse and the Trent, in the Carolina country, where one day civilization was to join hands with nature.

And while the birds sang and the flowers bloomed here, in the old world across the ocean war's crimson banners shadowed the Swiss hills and the fair German valley of the Neckar, until hundreds of these persecuted people began to dream—dimly at first, then with pathetic eagerness—of peace and safety in some distant land where religious thought was free and where the tyrants heel pressed not so heavily. The Swiss, moved by this hope, sent a brave and intelligent man, Michell by name, to seek them a new nesting place in America, and awaited his return with longing. But the Germans turned their eyes toward England where Queen Anne, because of what they had suffered for Protestantism, was willing to give them shelter. Thither they went, hundreds of them, but they did not take deep root in

English soil, and were readily persuaded to try their fortunes with the Swiss emigrants who were preparing to go to the new world. The man who laid this plan before them was Christopher de Graffenreid, a nobleman of Switzland, who was at the court of Queen Anne, making preparations for the transportation of the Swiss colony which he was to head. The Germans had become rather a problem to Queen Anne who listened with favor to his proposition to take some six hundred of them in conjunction with his own party. Contracts were drawn up, and Mitchell having reported favorably on a site between the Carolina rivers, the combined company sailed away into the west, following always the sunset banners that seemed ever to wave from the ramparts of a new stronghold of liberty. Who may tell how many romances were consummated as the young people of the company sat in the shadow of the sails or lingered in the moonlight on the decks of those slow-sailing vessels? And yet again who will ever be able to count the bitter tears wept in secret for some lost love left behind in the land of tyranny; for in selecting those who were to go with him, De Graffenreid chose only sound and healthy persons of both sexes. And so the lad by the mast, with his head on his arm, and the girl in the stern looking back to the dim horizon line were thinking, perchance, of a pale faced maid or a cripple youth who had been rejected in the general selection.

"I will go back for her when I have made a home for her here in this new country," the lad kept saying to himself.

"I shall die out here in this loneliness, and never see

him again," the girl said over and over to her heart, with the hopelessness of helpless womanhood.

After a long voyage the vessels came to the haven which they sought; and after some hardships and delays the colonists reached that tongue of land lying in dreamful beauty between the two rivers, and the soft December days of 1709 were filled with the sound of a white man's axe as the primeval forest made way for civilization.

The town founded thus was called by De Graffenreid, NEW BERN, after the Swiss capital in the far-away heart of the Alps.

In the De Graffenreid purchase there were ten thousand acres for which he and Michell paid "to the lords Proprietors ten pound purchase money for every thousand acres, and five shillings yearly as a quit rent to each thousand acres." And on his part De Graffenreid agreed to set off "by metes and bounds 250 acres of land for each of the one hundred and twenty German families, and to supply them with certain cattle, implements of agriculture and other necessaries of life in a wild country." Reimbursement was to be made to him for these by the farmers the second year after the founding of the colony.

Things seemed to have gone well with the New Bern colony during the first year. Other settlers, chiefly English, bought land among them, and there was a decided step forward in prosperity. But all the while the Indians were watching them jealously; and in September of the second year there fell that dread massacre that was so near to blighting the colony of Carolina. In the New Bern district more than a hundred people died by Indian tortures.

Among them, perhaps, perished the girl whose heart still wearied for her lame lover whose infirmity had separated them.

When the blow fell De Graffenreid and his surveyor, Lawson, were on an exploring expedition up the Neuse, and were captured. Lawson was tortured and finally put to death, but De Graffenreid was spared because of the superstitious fear with which the savages regarded the coat of arms, blazoned on a golden star, which he wore about his neck. The Indians took it for some kingly symbol, and feared to harm him further. And so they made terms with him exceedingly favorable to themselves, and sent him again to New Bern. The words of De Graffenreid's own journal bring this terrible adventure most strongly home to us:

"One day when the weather was fine and there was good appearance that it would last, Surveyor-General Lawson proposed to me to go up Neuse River, hinting that there were plenty of wild grapes there, which we could gather for replenishing ourselves. We could see likewise whether the river Neuse could be navigated in its higher course, and could visit besides, the upper country. I had long been anxious to find how far it is from here to the mountains. I accordingly resolved to take the trip, being assured that no savages lived on that branch of the river. But to feel safer we took two Indians to guide, which we knew well, with two negroes to row. So we went peacefully on our way. We had already gone a good two days journey and were near the village of Coram when we met Indians armed as for hunting, and we had hardly turned backwards

when such a number came out from the bushes and they overtook us so suddenly that it was impossible to defend ourselves. They accordingly took us prisoners and led us away. Such a rare capture made them proud; indeed they took me for the Governor of the Province himself, and we were compelled to run with them all night across thickets and swamps, until we came to Catechna or Hencocks-towne, where the king called Hencock was sitting in State.

"The king stood up, approaching us and speaking to us very civilly, and they discussed at last whether we were to be burned as criminals or not. They concluded negatively, inasmuch as we had not been heard as yet, and at midday the king himself brought us to eat a kind of bread called 'dumplings' and venison.

"In the evening there came a great many Indians. The 'Assembly of the Great,' as they called it, (consisting of forty elders sitting on the ground around a fire, as is their custom), took place at ten o'clock in a beautiful open space. There was in the circle a place set apart with two mats for us, a mark of great deference and honor. We therefore sat upon them, and on our left side, our speaker, the Indian who had come with us. The speaker of the assembly made a long speech, and it was ordered that the youngest of the assembly should represent the Indian Nation, the king putting the questions. We were examined very strictly concerning our intention, and why we had come hither. Also they complained very much of the conduct of English colonists, and particularly Mr. Lawson, charging him with being too severe, and that he was the man who had sold their lands.

"After having discussed at length, they concluded that we should be liberated, and the following day was appointed for our return home. The next morning we were again examined, but one Cor Tom being present, the king of Cor village, he reproached Mr. Lawson for something, and they began to quarrel with great violence, which spoilt things entirely, though I made every effort to get Lawson to quit quarrelling. I did not succeed. All at once three or four Indians fell upon us in a furious manner. They took us violently by the arms and forced us to set upon the ground before the whole of them there collected. No mats were spread for us. They took our hats and periwigs and threw them into the fire, and a council of war being held we were immediately sentenced to death. On the day following we were taken to the place of execution. Before us a large fire was kindled. Whilst some acted the part of conjurors others made a ring around us which they strewed with flowers. Behind us lay my innocent negro, and in this miserable situation we remained that day and the subsequent night. I was wholly resolved to die, and accordingly offered up fervent prayers during the whole day and night, and called to mind as I could remember them, even the least sins. I tried and recalled all what I had read in Holy Scripture—in short I prepared myself the best I could to a good and salutary death. I found in the meanwhile a great consolation in considering the miracles which our Lord Jesus had made, and I addressed forthwith my ardent prayers to my Divine Saviour, not doubting that He would grant them, and perhaps change these savage hearts—harder than rocks—so that they would pardon me,—what indeed happened by God's miraculous Providence.

"On the morning of the next day on which we were to die, a great multitude was collected to see the execution. Thus began our Long Tragedy which I would like to tell, if it were not too long and dreadful—but—since I begun, I will go on. In the centre of that great place, we were seated on the ground, the Surveyor-General and myself, bound and undressed with bare heads, and in the front of us a great fire; near it was the conjuror or High Priest, (an old grizzled Indian—the priests are generally magicians and can even conjure up the devil), a little further was an Indian savage standing. He did not move from the spot, with the knife in one hand and an axe in the other. It was apparently the executioner. Around us sat the chiefs in two rows; behind them were the common people, upwards of three hundred in number—men, women and children—with faces painted red, white and black, who were jumping and dancing like so many devils, and cutting a variety of infernal capers. Behind us stood armed Indians as guards, who stimulated the dancers by stamping with their feet and firing their guns. Yes indeed, never was the devil represented with a more frightful appearance than these savages presented as they danced around the fire. I uncovered my soul to my Saviour Christ Jesus and my thoughts were wholly employed with death.

"At length, however, I recollected myself and turning to the council of chiefs, made a short discourse, assuring them that the great Queen of England would avenge my death. I further stated whatever I thought fit, besides to induce them to some mitigation. After I had done speaking, I remarked that one of the notables, (who was a rela-

tion of King Taylor from whom I bought the land where New Bern now stands), that, that notable spoke earnestly, apparently in my favor, as it came out. Then it was forthwith resolved to send a few members to their neighbor, a certain King Tom Blunt of the Tuscaroras. The result was, as will be seen, that I was to live and that poor Surveyor-General Lawson was to be executed, Thus God in His mercy heard my prayers. I spent that whole night in great anguish awaiting my fate, in continuous prayers and sighs. Meanwhile I also examined my poor negro, exhorting him the best way I knew—and he gave me more satisfaction than I expected—but I left Surveyor-General L., to offer his own prayers as being a man of understanding and not over religious.

"Towards 3 or 4 in the morning the delegates came back from their mission and brought an answer, but very secretly. One or two of them came to unbind me; not knowing what this meant, I submitted to the will of the Almighty, rose and followed him as a poor lamb to the slaughter. Alas! I was much astonished when the Indians whispered in my ear that I had nothing to fear, but that Lawson would die, what affected me much.

"They also liberated my negro, but I never saw him since. I was forbidden to speak the least word to Mr. Lawson. He took accordingly leave of me, and told me to say farewell, in his name, to his friends. Alas! It grieved me much to leave him thus. I tried to show my compassion by a few signs.

"Some time after the man who had spoken in my favor, led me to his cabin where I was to be kept quiet awaiting

further orders. In the meantime they executed the unfortunate Lawson. As to his death, I know nothing. Some said he was hung, some said he was burnt. The Indians kept that execution very secret. May God have mercy on his soul.

"The next day the notables came to tell me of their design to make war in North Carolina. They advised me that no harm would come to Chattooka * (the old name of New Bern) but that the people of the colony ought to go into the town or they could not answer for the evil that could happen—good words enough—but how was I to let the people know, since none would take a message for me. A few days later the savages came back with their booty. Alas! what a sight for me to see—men, women and children prisoners. The very Indian with whom I lodged, happened to bring with him the boy of one of my tenants, and much clothing and furniture which I well knew.

"Alas! what was my apprehension that my whole colony was ruined, especially when I had privately questioned the boy. He cried bitterly, and told me how this same Indian had savagely killed his father, mother and brother, yes, his whole family. * * I had to remain six weeks a prisoner in this hateful place, Catechna—I was once much perplexed. All men had gone to that plundering expedition, the women, some to gather wild cherries, others to dig some kind of roots called "potatoes," which are yellow, very good and dainty. On that day I was all alone by myself in that village. * * I accordingly said my prayers

* The Chattawka Indians from whom New Berne was bought were in alliance with the Tuscaroras, and removed with them after this Indian war to New York, carrying with them their name now so famous in educational circles.

and then examined the *pro* and *con* as to whether I should take flight or not, and found at last, it was best to stay. Experience showed that I made a wise choice. * * The barbarous expedition being ended, on the Sunday following their great Indian festival, having concluded a treaty of peace with these people, they brought me a horse. Two notables escorted me to Cor village, gave me a piece of Indian bread and then left me. Thus have I escaped from the cruel hands of this barbarous nation, the Tuscaroras. Thence I had to foot it homeward. Quite lame, shivering with cold, nearly dead—my legs so stiff and swollen that I could not walk a step, but supported myself on two sticks, at last I arrived at my small home in New Bern.

"When my good people saw me coming from afar, tanned like an Indian, but on the other hand considered my blue jerkin and my figure—they knew not what to think—the men even took up their arms—but when I came nearer quite lame, walking with two sticks, they knew by my look that I was not a savage. When I saw them so puzzled I began to speak with them from afar. They hollowed to the others to come, that it was their Lord returned whom they thought to be dead. And so all came in crowds, men, women and children, shouting and crying out, part of them weeping, others struck dumb, with surprise. Thus I was at last at home, and in my private room, gave ardent thanks to the Good God for my miraculous and gracious rescue."

For a while De Graffenreid remained with the colony, pushing it to success by his strict adherence to the terms of neutrality in the constant quarrels between the English and the Indians. But his terrible experience during his cap-

tivity at the time of the massacre haunted his memory, until he wished no longer to make his home beside such barbarous neighbors; and finally he sold his vast interests to a wealthy and influential gentleman named Thomas Pollock, for eight hundred pounds, and returned to his Swiss mountains, preferring, no doubt, to risk the evils of tyrannical and religious persecution rather than the tortures of the fagot and the scalping-knife. Tradition has tried, in a vague way, to associate a romance with his stay in America; but there seems to be no ground for this. He was most probably married when he came here, for it is stated that some of his descendants remained in this country; and he would have no children old enough for such a step had he not been already a married man when Queen Anne sold him his landed rights.

When he was gone there was much regret, but the town which he had founded did not languish under the new regime. Houses were built, streets were laid off and fields were cleared. Emigration continued to pour in; prosperity came with favorable seasons and fine crops; the rift in the forest widened as the population increased; the broad, shady streets of the town soon stretched from river to river; warehouses were opened, ships from many ports anchored in the harbor of the two rivers; and so trade and commerce joined hands with agriculture to lift the little town to wealth and importance. And so it was that toward the middle of the century we find the royal governors making it their capital, convening here their legislatures and council sessions. The preacher and school-master followed the wharves and warehouses, bringing in their wake the refine-

ments of education; and finally fashion came to give her finishing touches to a community that had picked up the golden apples in the race for success, and yet had come first to the goal.

The royal governors of the province, with their splendid personal surroundings, their mal-administrations, their unjust taxations, came and went upon the scene like the figures of an ever changing kaleidoscope. It was perhaps not until the days of Governor Tryon—"the Great Wolf of North Carolina"—that New Bern reached its zenith of social brilliance. Tryon was a soldier by taste and training, but his charming wife and her beautiful sister, Esther Wake, a noted toast and belle, had all the social desires of admired and petted women; and with them to direct matters the Governor's receptions took on the semblance of court functions. Perhaps it was their ambition that fanned the flame of Tryon's wish for a suitable government residence in New Bern. The people at large were in a ferment of dissatisfaction against the administration of public affairs, and were already groaning under a burden of taxation that sapped their private incomes and left them discontented and rebellious. In many ways this spirit was manifested, those who strove to adjust matters and do away with the existing evils being called "Regulators." It was these men who, a few months later, struck on the field of Alamance the prelude to that national march of freedom which began at Lexington and ended at Yorktown.

But despite this public disquiet and his own personal unpopularity, Tryon, spurred on by his wife and sister-in-law, set himself to gather money for the erection of a palace

that would eclipse anything in the colonies. His proclamation of the repeal of the odious Stamp Act, which had been a fire-brand in each of the thirteen colonies, so pleased the people that when the legislature assembled shortly after, the members were ready to listen favorably to any plea the governor might make. Tryon recognized the spirit of conciliation; and Lady Tryon and beautiful Esther Wake, with fine dinners and pretty blandishments of flattery, so wrought upon the members that they voted a liberal appropriation for the building of the long wished-for palace. This appropriation was afterwards increased by the council, and still further added to by Tryon who diverted certain public moneys into this channel.

To a pioneer people with small wealth, except among a favored few, the taxes levied to raise this money was a hardship not easy to bear. But the haughty governor cared little for this, and his agents ground the money out of the people, and the palace rose majestically in the white moon shine and the sifting sunlight beside the Trent and New Bern town. A minute description of this palace is not necessary to this article. Suffice it to say that it consisted of three buildings, the center one holding the council halls and apartments of state, the two wings, which were connected with the main building by curved, covered colonades, being the domestic and residence portions. The main building was two stories high, with a flat roof on which was a promenade and an aquarium. The material was brick, the chimney breasts and cornices being of white marble exquisitely carved. It was pronounced the finest structure in British North America. The architect was a Moor by the

name of Hawks whom Tryon induced to come to New Bern for this especial work; the material was all imported from Europe. Here for a time the Royal governors dwelt, and here was focused the wit and wealth, the beauty, and the fashion of the whole colony. But after the going of Martin, the last ruler to hold authority in Carolina under the king's seal, the history of the palace changed. For a time it remained closed; but after the Revolution the authorities allowed it to be used as a school, the academy having been burned. Of this school the Rev. Thomas Irwin, one of the most unique characters of his time and place, was principal. In the cellar directly under the council chambers, was stored a quantity of wood and hay. Here there came one day a negro woman hunting eggs. The pine torch she carried set fire to the hay and the whole pile of Tryon's palace, except one of the wings, was burned. So passed away in flame and smoke what would have been for long generations a land-mark for history, a Mecca for the antiquarian. The wing which was saved has served many purposes since it fell from its high estate, being at one time a warehouse, at another a dwelling, and yet again a stable where General Washington's horse was stalled when he visited New Bern in 1791. Later it was repaired and used by the Episcopal Church as a parish school and chapel. It is the property of the Daves family, long prominent residents of the community.

About the palace must always cluster romantic memories and legends. For the upper classes its opening marked the golden days of the colonial period. Throughout the country there might be the rumblings of the gathering

political storm, but in the palace where fetes and levees and music and dancing, dainty dames, with powdered heads and rustling brocade, greeted their brilliantly clad cavaliers in the reel or minuet; there were feasting and wine drinking in the garlanded banquet rooms; jesting and dancing in the wide halls, and at the curtained windows and in the starlight on the promenade upon the roof there were whisperings of lovers, and down-cast eyes and blushing cheeks and—mayhap—stolen kisses. And all of life seemed a-shine with jewels and set to a strain of minuet music. Here, on this narrow strip of land where, less than fifty years before, the only human trespasser was the half nude Indian hunter, the arts of civilization met in a brilliant focus. Gallants in silk and velvet sighed on bended knee for beauty's cast-off ribbon as a love favor, or fought fierce duels with their rivals for a rose or a glove; for swords hung loose in their scabbards in those days of periwig and powder, and "trifles light as air" moved men to blows. Nor was the merry-making confined to the palace. In the houses of the wealthier merchants and planters there was an open-handed hospitality that has never been relinquished by their descendants. In some of these houses the furnishings and table service were plain and unostentatious; in others, sumptuous—fine upholstering and massive silver plate, heirlooms from former days of grandeur in England. Here and there was a lady who took her airing in a coach driven by liveried servants, but the large majority went to the palace levees in "chairs" borne by footmen. Constant intercourse with the mother country kept the "quality folk" in touch with English fashions, so that

Tryon's "drawing rooms" were mimic reproductions of those of St. James.

The character of the population had changed materially since the Pollock purchase. New Bern had long ago ceased to be a Swiss and German settlement. Some of these first comers had, indeed, become substantial citizens, but many more had faded out before the in-coming of the English. One who writes with seeming authority has this to say about the Swiss:

"While in New Bern I frequently saw the Ipocks who lived in the vicinity. They were an obscure class of people, resembling Gypsies in appearance. I was at the time not aware that the Ipocks belonged to the Swiss nobility who came over with the founders of New Bern. I have since been informed that such is the fact—the original name being Ebach in Switzerland." The strange character known throughout the community as "Mother Ipock" or the "Witch of the Neuse," was of these people. She was a protege of the palace at the same time that it had another striking personality—Colonel Ferguson, nephew to Martin, the last of the royal governors. A lady's man, a fop; Ferguson was the champion rifle shot of the world, and one of the most brilliant cavalry officers who wore the red during the Revolution. He fell at King's Mountain where the tide of war was turned in America's favor.

Such was colonial New Bern, the child of romance, the abiding place of the spirits of adventure and chivalry. She gave to the State some of her most distinguished builders and defenders. Many of the names known in the annals of the nation were first household words in New Bern,

graven on her door plates, and later on the marble slabs under the moss-draped elms in that portion of her domain called "God's Acre."

Here are still to be found some of the mementoes and landmarks of those dead and gone colonial days. Here is still that unburned wing of Tryon's palace which links us to the past; here is Pollock Street, perpetuating the name of him who took up De Graffenreid's burden of colony building. Here, too are some of the dwellings erected by the men of that lost time—the Gaston home, the Nash place the Hughes and Ellis houses, the Pollock and Burgwyn homesteads, and others that have withstood the ravages of time and the assaults of war. The scene of many stiring events since those days of periwig and brocades, New Bern's chief glory must ever be the white stone of history she set up in the flowery wilderness in these past but unforgotten days of colonial splendor.

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—BY—

COL. A. M. WADDELL.

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THE STAMP ACT ON THE CAPE FEAR.

BY

COL. A. M. WADDELL.

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"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

THE STAMP ACT ON THE CAPE FEAR.

Substituting the word "wrongs" for the word "crimes," Madame Roland's dying exclamation, "Oh! Liberty how many crimes are committed in thy name!" may well be applied to history. Perhaps history lies in attributing to her the exclamation. Who knows? There are ten thousand "facts" of history that have been disputed or denied with great plausibility. Napoleon said that history is a lie, and he was right well informed. Any one who really knows the truth about the history of the people of North Carolina will be ready to concur with the great Corsican, when he reads the standard histories of the United States, so far as the treatment of North Carolina and North Carolinians is concerned, from Colonial days down to the close of the war of 1861–'65.

In the first edition of his work Bancroft paid a magnificent tribute to the liberty-loving spirit of the people of North Carolina as displayed in Colonial days, but in the edition published during the war for Southern independence, called by the victorious Northern people "The Rebellion," the tribute was eliminated, and no longer appears in that standard work. The contribution of money and troops by North Carolina during the campaign of 1754—which was the first time in our Colonial history that troops were raised by a Colony to serve outside of its borders in the common defence of all—and in the campaigns of 1755 and 1758—

in the latter of which her soldiers were the advanced guard, and one of them by his gallantry in capturing an Indian and securing information for which a reward had been offered, but which he never received, assured and hastened the capture of Fort DuQuesne, and the conduct of her troops in the American Revolution, have all been ignored or misrepresented by the writers of American history. The same story might be continued to include the aforesaid "rebellion," but we will let that pass for the present, and take up an older theme.

The celebrated Stamp Act which was passed by the British Parliament March 22, 1765, and the repeal of which occurred just one year afterwards, was one of the most potent causes of the Revolution of 1776, which resulted in the establishment of the Government of the United States of America. One year previous to the passage of this Act—namely in 1764—the Parliament of Great Britain had, for the first time, undertaken to appropriate the property of American subjects to the purpose of increasing the revenues of the Crown by imposing a duty on sugar, coffee, wine, and other articles of foreign growth imported into the Colonies. Finding that there was still a deficit in the revenues, after the imposition of these duties on foreign imports, and in pursuance of a previously declared purpose, they passed the Stamp Act in 1765. This Act, containing fifty-five sections, provided an elaborate system of stamp duties for the Colonies, and all offences against its provisions were made cognizable in the Courts of Admiralty in which there were no juries, "so that," as Bancroft says, "the Americans were not only to be taxed by the British

Parliament, but to have the taxes collected arbitrarily, under the decree of British Judges, without any trial by jury." The bill of 1764 had met with no opposition in Parliament, but the Stamp Act was opposed there and debated for some time. In the Colonies it was almost universally denounced as unconstitutional, unjust, and ruinous to the Americans, because it clogged business, by imposing a heavy tax on every kind of paper-writing used in ordinary transactions, as well as in Court proceedings, and taxed the privilege of publishing, advertising in, or reading newspapers, pamphlets, and other publications. This Stamp tax was in addition to the impost duties on sugar, coffee and all luxuries, which went to the Crown, and was entirely outside of the taxes imposed by the Colonial Legislatures for local government. The people of the Colonies were poor and harassed by all sorts of trials and dangers, and they justly regarded this enormous burden of taxation, imposed by a parliament in which they had no representation, as a cruel wrong, and, as Washington called it, "a direful attack upon their liberties," and therefore it roused the people of the Colonies as no act of Parliament had ever done before, and united them in a determination to resist the enforcement of it.

What did the people of North Carolina do about it? If you seek information on that question from the histories of the United States you will be disappointed. It is not in them—but the facts were published in official papers at the time, and are supported by tradition in such a way as to make any mistake about them impossible. I can very well understand that the carelessness and indifference of our peo-

ple about their own achievements has caused them to be doubted or denied, but why historians should persistently refuse to give credit to North Carolina people for what they have done in every war from Colonial days down to the close of the war for Southern independence in 1865, I confess I do not understand. It has been the fashion for over a hundred years to sneer at them, and this, too, in the face of a record which is, in many respects, absolutely unparalleled.

Now let us begin with the resistance to the Stamp Act in 1765. I assert, with absolute confidence in the correctness of the assertion, that, although the people of the other Colonies were as resolute in their determination to resist the act, and although they exhibited their feeling by half-masting flags, burning effigies, forming processions and forcing stamp-masters to resign, yet *in one colony only* did they, openly, in large numbers, and with arms in their hands, resist an armed force—a twenty gun sloop of war—in an attempt to land the stamps, and this two weeks after they had compelled a stamp-master to resign his office. This was at Brunswick on the Cape Fear River, sixteen miles below Wilmington, on the 28th of November, 1765, when the sloop of war Diligence arrived with the stamps—the stamp-master, William Houston, having been compelled to resign on the 16th. As early as the 3d of May in that year, the Assembly of the Province had met, but as soon as Governor Tryon discovered its temper by inquiring of the Speaker, John Ashe, what they would do about the Stamp Act—to which Ashe replied that "it would be resisted to blood and death"—Tryon, on the 18th of May, prorogued

(adjourned) the Assembly to meet at Newbern November 30th, but finding before that time that, instead of abating, the spirit of the people was growing more intense, he again prorogued the Assembly until March 12th of the next year. This proroguing of the Assembly on the 18th of May and again on the 25th of October, 1765, prevented North Carolina from sending delegates to what is known as the Stamp Act Congress, (as such delegates had to be elected by the Assembly); and the fact that there were no delegates to that Congress from North Carolina was charged as a want of courage and patriotism, by certain persons who have undertaken to write history, without knowing the facts. Tryon's trick to keep the Assembly from sending delegates, however, was vain, for the people in Wilmington, under the leadership of Col. Hugh Waddell, assembled and passed resolutions denouncing the Stamp Act, and expressing a determination to resist it, and this was done openly under the very nose of the governor.

This was in the summer of 1765 and the armed resistance to the landing of the stamps occurred on the following 28th of November. On that day the sloop of war Diligence, accompanied by the sloop of war Viper, arrived at Brunswick with the stamps on board, but her arrival having been anticipated for some time, an armed force from Brunswick and New Hanover counties (the former county having been established in 1764 out of the territory of the latter) were on the ground ready to resist the landing of the stamps. This force was under the command of Col. Hugh Waddell and Col. John Ashe, Speaker of the Assembly.

The Royal Governor, Tryon, who was himself a soldier,

holding the commission of Lt. Col. of the Queen's Guards, was greatly scandalized and indignant at such defiance of authority, but Capt. Phipps of the Diligence seems to have taken matters very philosophically and left the governor to do the fretting, a process which he had been undergoing ever since the 16th when the stamp-master, Houston, had been "compelled in the Court House in Wilmington in the presence of the Mayor and some Aldermen to resign his office," as Tryon wrote to Conway, Secretary of State. The Mayor referred to was Moses John de Rosset, but the names of the Aldermen who were present are not known.

Tryon did not write a word to the British authorities about all this business until the 26th of December, 1765, when he began his first letter to Hon. Seymour Conway, Secretary of State, by saying, "It is with concern I acquaint you that the obstructions to the Stamp Act passed last session of Parliament has been as general in this Province as in any Colony on the Continent," and goes on to say that "the first intelligence of the general alarm which was spread against the Stamp Act in this Colony was in October last at a time I lay extremely ill of the fevers of this country which with repeated relapses I have experienced these five months." It was in this letter that he said, "Near fifty of the above gentlemen (the merchants of New Hanover and Brunswick counties) waited on me to dinner, when I urged to them the expediency of permitting the circulation of the stamps;" and in the same letter he gave an account of the incident at the Court House in Wilmington when Houston was compelled to take the oath not to distribute the stamps, and added that some merchants of

Wilmington had been "as assiduous in obstructing the reception of the stamps as any of the inhabitants."

His letter, in full, is as follows:

"BRUNSWICK, 26th December, 1765.

"*The Right Hon'ble H'y Seymour Conway:*

"In obedience to His Majesty's commands communicated to me by the honor of your letter of the 12th of July last, it is with concern I acquaint you that the obstruction to the Stamp Act passed last session of Parliament has been as general in this province as in any Colony on the continent, tho' their irregular proceedings have been attended with no mischief, or are by any means formidable. I am much of the opinion that whatever measures are prescribed and enforced his Majesty's authority to the more formidable Colonies to the Northward will meet with a ready acquiescence in the Southern provinces, without the necessity of any military force. The first intelligence of the general alarm which was spread against the Stamp Act in this Colony was in October last, at a time I lay extremely ill of the fevers of this country, which with repeated relapses I have experienced these five months past. I was very impatient to seize the first opportunity to communicate my sentiments to the merchants of New Hanover and Brunswick counties, who are the persons that carry on the commerce of the Cape Fear River (and where I imagined the stamps would arrive) on the then situation of public affairs. On the 18th November near fifty of the above gentlemen waited on me to dinner when I urged to them the expediency of permitting the circulation of the stamps, but as my health at that

time would not allow me to write down my speech I must beg to refer you, sir, to the enclosed Carolina Gazette of the 27th November in which you will find nearly the substance of what I declared and proposed to the above gentlemen. Their answer and my reply are inclosed. Two days before the above meeting, Mr. Houston, the distributor of the stamps, was compelled in the Court House in Wilmington, and in the presence of the Mayor and some Aldermen to resign his office. The stamps arrived the 28th of November last in his Majesty's Sloop, the Diligence, Capt. Phipps commander, but as there was no Distributor or other officer of the stamps in this country after Mr. Houston's resignation the stamps still remain on board the said ship. No vessels have been cleared out since the first of November from this river or from any other in this province that I have received intelligence of. Some merchants from Wilmington applied to me for certificates for their ships, specifying that no stamps were to be had, which I declined granting, referring them to the officers of his Majesty's Customs. They have been as assiduous in obstructing the reception of the stamps as any of the inhabitants.

" No business is transacted in the Courts of Judicature, tho' the Courts have been regularly opened and all civil government is now at a stand. This stagnation of all public business and commerce under the low circumstances of the inhabitants must be attended with fatal consequences to this colony, if it subsists but for a few months longer. There is little or no specie circulating in the maritime counties of this province, and what is in circulation in the back counties is so very inconsiderable that the Attorney-

General assures me that the stamp duties on the instruments used in the five Superior Courts of this province would in one year require all the specie in the country; the business which is likewise transacted in the twenty-nine inferior, or County Courts, the many instruments which pass through the Sheriff's hands and other civil officers; those in the Land Office, and many other instruments used in transaction of public business were the reasons which induced me to believe the operation of all its parts impracticable, and which likewise prompted me to make my proposals for the ease and convenience of the people, and to endeavor to reconcile them to this Act of Parliament.

"On the 20th of last month I opened and proclaimed my commission at Wilmington, when I consulted his Majesty's Council if any measures could be proposed to induce the people to receive the stamps. They were unanimonsly of opinion that nothing further could be done than what I have already offered.

"I have his Majesty's writs for a new election of Assembly, but shall not meet them till next April at Newbern. I am, sir, etc.,

"WM. TRYON."

The fact of the formidable display of force on the 28th November, 1765, which prevented the landing of the stamps was carefully suppressed by Tryon. He did not wish to let the home government know how far matters had gone. He did not wish them to be shocked by the statement that these colonists had not only prevented the landing of the stamps, but had seized a boat of the Dili-

gence, and, after leaving a guard at Brunswick, had marched to Wilmington with it where they were greeted by a triumphel procession and a general illumination of the town. But matters were growing worse and so rapidly that he was compelled to report them.

Early in February, 1766, and while the men of war, Diligence and Viper, were still lying at their anchorage at Brunswick, two vessels, the Dobbs and the Patience, arrived, the one from St. Christophers and the other from Philadelphia. Their clearance papers were not stamped, as required by the Stamp Act, and thereupon Capt. Lobb, of the Viper, seized them. The captains of the vessels protested that they could not get stamps at the ports from which they came, and showed certificates of the fact, but this availed nothing and the vessels were held. As soon as this became known the excitement among the people over the circumstances was intense, and they assembled with arms to the number of about six hundred, and chose Col. Hugh Waddell as their commander. Of their subsequent proceedings Tryon gives some account in his letter of February 25th to the Secretary of State, but he suppresses some of the facts, as he had previously done about the resistance to the landing of the stamps.

This letter of February 25th is as follows:

"*The Right Honorable Henry Seymour Conway, Esq., One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State:*

"BRUNSWICK, the 25th February, 1766.

"SIR:—As I wish to give you as particular a relation for his Majesty's information as I possibly can of an illegal as-

sembly of men in arms, assembled at Brunswick on the 19th inst., I have collected all the letter correspondence that has come to my knowledge, previous to the 19th inst., during the time the men remained in arms, as well as after they dispersed.

"In this letter I shall chiefly confine myself to the narrations of the actions and conduct of the body assembled, desiring leave to refer you to the letters as they occur in point of order and time.

"The seizures Capt. Lobb made of the Dobbs and Patience sloops, (as by his letter to the collector for taking the papers and the Attorney General's opinion thereon) was an affair I did not interfere with. In the first instance I never was applied to, and in the second, I thought it rested with Capt. Lobb.

"On the 16th, in the evening, Mr. Dry, the Collector, waited on me with a letter he received dated from Wilmington the 15th of February, 1766, and at the same time informed me he had sent the subscribers word he should wait on them the next day. I strongly recommended him to put the papers belonging to the Patience Sloop on board the Viper (those of the Dobbs had some time before been given to the owners on his delivering security for them) as I apprehended, I said, those very subscribers would compel him to give them up. His answer was, "They might take them from him but he would never give them up without Capt. Lobb's order." The weather on the 17th prevented Mr. Dry from going to Wilmington till the next day.

"The next intelligence I received was in the dusk on the evening of the 19th soon after 6 o'clock by letter delivered

me by Mr. George Moore and Mr. Cornelius Harnett bearing date the 19th and signed "John Ashe, Thomas Lloyd, Alexander Lillington." My letter of the same night directed "To the Commanding Officer either of the Viper or Diligence Sloops of War" will explain the opinion I entertained of the offer made of a guard of gentlemen, and my declaration to the detachment I found surrounding my house. This letter my servant about three in the morning put on board the Diligence who lay moored opposite to my house at the distance of four or five hundred yards, and returned to me again in a short space of time with Capt. Phipp's letter in answer. Soon after I had put up the lights required. Capt. Phipps came himself on shore to me, the guards having quitted the posts they had taken round the house, and on the beach. With a most generous warmth and zeal Capt. Phipps offered me every service his ship or himself could afford. I assured him the services I wished to receive from his Majesty's sloops consisted wholly in the protection of the Fort. That as Capt. Dalrymple had but five men in garrison to defend eight eighteen pounders, eight nine pounders, and twenty-three swivel guns all mounted and fit for service together with a considerable quantity of amunition, I wrote an order to Capt. Dalrymple "to obey all orders he might receive from the Commanding Officer either of the Viper or Diligence sloops of war," and desired Capt. Phipps would send it to the Fort. I made it so general because Capt. Phipps told me neither of the sloops had a pilot then on board, and that it was uncertain which ship could get down to the Fort, distant four leagues from where the ships then lay off Brunswick; Capt.

Phipps after a stay on shore of about ten minutes returned on board the Diligence.

"On the 20th, about 12 o'clock at noon, Capt. Lobb sent to desire I would meet him on board the Diligence, which request I immediately complied with and at the same time the Collector, Mr. Dry, came on board. There were then present the Captains Lobb and Phipps, Mr. McGwire, Vice Judge of the Admiralty, the Collector and myself. Capt. Lobb told me he had a committee from the inhabitants in arms on board his ship, that they demanded the possession of the sloops he had seized and that he was to give them his ansmer in the afternoon. Mr. Dry, the Collector, informed me that his desk was broken open on the 19th in the evening and the unstampt papers belonging to the Patience and Ruby sloops forcibly taken from him. He said he knew most of the persons that came into his house at that time, but he did not see who broke open the desk and took out the papers. Capt. Lobb seemed not satisfied with the legality of the seizure of the Ruby sloop (seized subsequent to the papers that were sent to the Attorney General for his opinion, on the Dobbs and Patience) and declared he would return her to the master or owner; but that he would insist on the papers belonging to the Patience being returned, which were taken from the Collector's desk, and that he would not give up the Sloop Patience. I approved of these resolutions and desired that he would not in the conduct of this affair consider my family, myself or my property, that I was greatly solicitous for the honor of government and his Majesty's interest in the present exigency, and particularly recommended to him the protection of Fort

Johnston. I then returned on shore. In the evening Capt. Phipps waited on me from on board the Viper, and acquainted me that all was settled; that Capt. Lobb had given his consent for the owners to take possession of the Sloops Ruby and Patience, as the copy of Capt. Lobb's orders for that purpose will declare.

"This report was not consistent with the determinations I concluded Capt. Lobb left the Diligence in, when I met him according to his appointment but a few hours before.

"To be regular in point of time I must now speak of some further conduct of the inhabitants in arms, who were continually coming into Brunswick from different counties. This same evening of the 20th inst. Mr. Pennington, his Majesty's Comptroller, came to let me know there had been a search after him, and as he guessed they wanted him to do some act that would be inconsistent with the duty of his office, he came to acquaint me with this enquiry and search. I told him I had a bed at his service, and desired he would remain with me. The next morning, the 21st, about eight o'clock, I saw Mr. Pennington going from my house with Col. James Moore. I called him back, and as Col. Moore returned with him I desired to know if he had any business with Mr. Pennington. He said the gentlemen assembled wanted to speak with him. I desired Col. Moore would inform the gentleman, Mr. Pennington, his Majesty's Comptroller, I had occasion to employ on dispatches for his Majesty's service, therefore could not part with him. Col. Moore then went away and in five minutes afterwards I found the avenues to my house again shut up by different parties of armed men.

Soon after the foltowing note was sent and the answer annexed returned :

"Sir :—The gentlemen assembled for the redress of grievances desirous of seeing Mr. Pennington to speak with him sent Col. Moore to desire his attendance, and understand that he was stayed by your Excellency, they therefore request that your Excellency will be pleased to let him attend, otherwise it will not be in the power of the Directors appointed, to prevent the ill consequences that may attend a refusal. They don't intend the least injury to Mr. Pennington."

Friday, the 21st February, 1766.

To his Excellency.

THE ANSWER.

"Mr. Pennington being employed by his Excellency on dispatches for his Majesty's service, any gentleman that may have business with him may see him at the Governor's House."

21st February, 1766.

It was about 10 o'clock when I observed a body of men in arms, from four to five hundred move towards the house. A detachment of sixty men came down the avenue, and the main body drew up in front, in sight, and within three hundred yards of the house. Mr. Harnett, a representative in the Assembly for Wilmington, came at the head of the detachment, and sent a message to speak with Mr. Pennington. When he came into the house he told Mr. Pennington the gentlemen wanted him. I answered, Mr. Pen-

nington came into my house for refuge, he was a Crown Officer, and as such I would give him all the protection my roof, and the dignity of the character I held in this province could afford him. Mr. Harnett hoped I would let it go, as the people were determined to take him out of the house if he should be longer detained; an insult he said they wished to avoid offering to me. An insult, I replied, that would not tend to any great consequence, after they had already offered every insult they could offer, by investing my house, and making me in effect a prisoner before any grievance, or oppression, had been first represented to me. Mr. Pennington grew very uneasy, said he would choose to go to the gentlemen; I again repeated my offers to protection, if he chose to stay. He declared, and desired I would remember, that whatever oaths might be imposed on him, he should consider them as acts of compulsion and not of free will; and further added that he would rather resign his office than do any act contrary to his duty. If that was his determination, I told him, he had better resign before he left me. Mr. Harnett interposed, with saying he hoped he would not do that. I enforced the recommendation for resignation. He consented, paper was brought, and his resignation executed and received. I then said, Mr. Pennington, now sir, you may go; Mr. Harnett went out with him; the detachment retired to the town. Mr. Pennington afterwards informed me, they got him in the midst of them when Mr. Ward, master of the Patience, asked him to enter ter his sloop. Mr. Pennington assured him he could not, as he had resigned his office. He was afterwards obliged to take an oath that he would never issue any stamped pa-

pers in this province. The above oath, the Collector informed me, he was obliged to take, as were all the clerks of the County Courts, and other public officers. The inhabitants, having redressed after the manner described their grievances complained of, left the town of Brunswick about 1 o'clock on the 21st. In the evening I went on board the Viper and acquainted Capt. Lobb I apprehended the conditions he had determined to abide by when I left the Diligence, were different to the concession he had made to the committee appointed for the redress of grievances; that I left the Diligence in the full persuasion he was to demand a restitution of the papers or clearances of the Patience sloop, and not to give up the possession of that vessel; that I found he had given up the sloop Patience, and himself not in possession of the papers. He answered, "As to the papers, he had attested copies of them, and as to the sloop, he had done no more than what he had offered before this disturbance happened at Brunswick." I could not help owning I thought the detaining the Patience became a point that concerned the honor of government, and that I found my situation very unpleasant, as most of the people by going up to Wilmington in the sloops would remain satisfied and report thro' the province, they had obtained every point they come to redress, while at the same time I had the mortification to be informed his Majesty's ordnance at Fort Johnston was spiked. This is the substance of what passed on board the Viper. On the 22d Capt. Phipps accompanied me to Fort Johnston, where I found Capt. Dalrymple sick in bed, two men only in garrison, and all the cannon that were mounted, spiked with nails. I gave or-

ders for the nails to be immediately drilled out, which he executed without prejudice to the pieces. I returned to Brunswick in the evening, and the next morning sent my letter bearing date the 23d to Capt. Lobb to desire his reasons for spiking the cannon, etc. He returned his reasons for this conduct by letter the 24th inst.

"Capt. Lobb's complaint relative to the provisions for his Majesty's sloops being stopped at Wilmington with the contractor's certificates of the manner of this restraint and my letter to the Mayor of Wilmington to require his assistance in furnishing the provision demanded, will be fully, I hope, understood by that correspondence.

"By the best accounts I have received the number of this insurrection amounted to 580 men in arms, and upward of 100 unarmed. The Mayor and Corporation of Wilmington and most all of the gentlemen and planters of the counties of Brunswick, New Hanover, Duplin and Bladen, with some masters of vessels, composed this corps. I am informed and believe the majority of this association were either compelled into this service or were ignorant what their grievances were. I except the principals. I have enclosed a copy of the association formed to oppose the Stamp Act.

"Thus, Sir, I have endeavored to lay before you the first springs of this disturbance as well as the particular conduct of the parties concerned in it; and I have done this as much as I possibly could without prejudice, or passion, favor or affection. I should be extremely glad if you, sir, could honor me with his Majesty's commands in the present exigency of affairs in this colony, and in the mean time will

study to conduct myself with the assistance of his Majesty's Council in such manner as will best secure the safety and honor of government and the peace of the inhabitants of this province.

"I am, sir, with all possible respect and esteem,

"WM. TRYON."

These occurrences took place between the 19th and 21st of February, 1766, and on the 19th Col. Waddell, leaving Col. Moore and the others at Brunswick with about 200 men, took the remainder of the force (estimated by Capt. Lobb in his report to Tryon to be from 300 to 400) and marched to Fort Johnston (now Southport) to take possession of it. He found on his arrival, however, that the guns had all been spiked qy Lieut. Calder of the Diligence, who had gone down in a boat for the purpose. I think this Lieut. Calder was the same person who afterwards became Admiral Sir Robert Calder, and who served with Nelson.

While this was going on at and below Brunswick the people up at Wilmington were equally vigilant. They seized a boat which the contractor for supplies for the men of war had sent after provisions, and put the crew in jail, and stopped every person going to Brunswick. The crew of the war vessels had only one day's rations of bread, and Wilmington was the only source of supply. Their prompt and determined action forced Tryon and the commanders of the men of war to terms, and the vessels which they seized were released.

These are the facts in regard to the resistance to the Stamp Act on the Cape Fear, and they constitute over-

whelming evidence of the courage, intelligence, and free spirit of the people. Until the discovery of Tryon's letter-book in London in 1848, they rested largely on tradition, but some of the sons and daughters of the men who did these things lived up to less than fifty years ago, and were thoroughly conversant with the facts.

For a long time before the contemporaneous records were brought to light there were various versions of the story, although in regard to the main facts they agreed. One of these versions confused these events with the "tea parties" at Edenton and Boston, which occurred several years afterwards, and even the historians of the State (Martin, Jones, Wheeler, etc.,) got the dates and the facts all wrong in many instances.

The action of the people at Brunswick and Wilmington was not the result of a sudden impulse, but the culmination of a deliberate plan of resistance, which had been carefully considered and determined upon by local subjects of the Crown, who had no thought at that time of independence, but were asserting their rights under the British Constitution. They did so openly, and without the slightest desire to avoid responsibility, or to conceal their movements, and in doing so they vindicated their claim to the title of "Sons of Liberty," which was given to them.

That no monument has ever been erected to commemorate their heroism is a standing reproach to our people.

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October 25th, 1774.

August 1901

—BY—

RICHARD DILLARD, M. D.

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The Historic Tea-Party of Edenton,

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BY

RICHARD DILLARD, M. D.

"National Recollection is the Foundation of National Character."
Edward Everett.

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Act of 1st Provincial Convention
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1774.

PROEM.

The religious votaries of the Maldivean Isles, at certain times, commit to the mercy of the wind and waves little boats laden with rich hued flowers, delicate perfumes, and sweet-scented woods of their native isles, hoping to receive in return rich rewards for the sacrifice; though I have no flowers of rhetoric to offer, no measured lines, no burning incense from the Muses' shrine, 'tis thus I consign this bit of native history rudderless to the tide, trusting some friendly wave may bear it safely on: Hoping also like Ruth in the fields of Boaz, to glean, and bind together a few handfuls, which other and abler reapers have carelessly, or on purpose let fall.

Boston Tea Party Dec 16th/1773
340 Chests of Tea thrown into the Bay

THE HISTORIC TEA-PARTY OF EDENTON, OCTOBER 25, 1774.

There is in Afghanistan, according to Eastern tradition, a miraculous history plant, which records upon its broad luxurious leaves whatever happens each day in its immediate vicinity; there are no inaccuracies and misstatements of the press, no partiality or partizan writers, no incongruity of conflicting records, but like the polished waters around which it flourishes, it faithfully mirrors the environing objects. Unfortunately in this country there is no such gift by Nature, no historic Genii, but there is, I believe, a movement on foot to condense, preserve, and separate true and legitimate history from the ordinary records of the press. The ancients were especially particular that their records should be exact, even the works of the historian Livy, barely escaped annihilation at the hands of the infamous Caligula, for their alleged historical inaccuracies. As history is but the story of the past, then posterity demands a truthful and unbiased narration of facts; "Truth comes to us from the past, as gold is washed down from the mountains of Sierra Nevada, in minute but precious particles, and intermixed with infinite alloy, the debris of centuries." It is sufficient for us to preserve facts as they happen, the succeeding generations will give them their proper coloring.

Tacitus, appreciating the value of history to mankind, wrote, nearly twenty centuries ago, that its chief object was

"to rescue virtuous actions from the oblivion, to which the want of records would consign them."

Even in this practical, speculative age there seems to be a tendency all over our country to exhume from oblivion the events and traditions of our past. This growing reverence for American history is an evidence of increasing national intelligence, pride and dignity. Unfortunately for North Carolina, many of her most beautiful traditions have been allowed to pass unnoticed, and her glorious deeds regarded as mere ephemera to perish with the actors. The establishment of a chair of history at the State University, and the organization of the historical society will do much to develop and preserve our vast and valuable historic material. We must confess, and with mortification and chagrin, that in order to study any subject connected with State history intelligently, we have been obliged in the past to refer not only to the historical societies of other States, but even to the libraries of Europe.

It is the object of this paper to bring into light an exceptionally interesting and patriotic incident in North Carolina, hitherto only casually noticed by one State historian. A stranger coming to Edenton twenty-five years ago was shown an old-fashioned, long wooden house fronting directly on the beautiful court-house green; this historic house has since yielded to the ruthless hand of modern vandalism. It was the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth King, and under its roof fifty-one patriotic ladies. * (and not fifty-four as stated erroneously by Wheeler) met October 25,

* As the population was sparce, it is very probable that fifty-one names comprised most of the ladies living in and around Edenton then.

OLD TEA PARTY HOUSE, FACING COURT HOUSE GREEN.

(*Residence of Mrs. Elizabeth Green.*)

1774, and passed resolutions commending the action of the provincial congress. They also declared they would not conform "to that Pernicious Custom of Drinking Tea, or that the aforesaid Ladys would not promote ye wear of any manufacture from England" until the tax was repealed. Wheeler, in alluding to this incident and to the stormy days closely preceeding the Revolution, in his second volume says: "The patriotism of the men was even exceeded by that of the women. By some strange freak of circumstance, many years ago, there was found at Gibraltar a beautiful picture done in skillful style, enameled on glass, of a 'meeting of the ladies of Edenton destroying the tea, (their favorite beverage) when it was taxed by the English parliament. This picture was procured by some of the officers of our navy, and was sent to Edenton, where I saw it in 1830."

This is not only erroneous, but Mr. Wheeler has also misquoted the reference to the meeting in the American Archives, and there has been considerable other misinformation afloat regarding it, all of which I shall endeavor to set aright. The following is the correct notice copied directly from the American Archives, and occupies just twelve lines: "Association Signed by Ladies of Edenton, North Carolina, October 25, 1774. As we cannot be indifferent on any occasion that appears to affect the peace and happiness of our country; and it has been thought necessary for the publick good to enter into several particular resolves, by meeting of Members of Deputies from the whole province, it is a duty that we owe not only to our near and dear relations and connections, but to ourselves,

who are essentially interested in their welfare, to do everything as far as lies in our power to testify our sincere adherence to the same, and we do therefore accordingly subscribe this paper, as a witness of our fixed intention, and solemn determination to do so.' Signed by fifty-one ladies." *

Women have always been potent factors in all great moral and political reformations. The drafting of such resolutions, so directly antagonistic to royal authority required a calmer, far more enviable courage than that developed by the fanatic heroism of the crusades, or the feverish bravery of martial music. The tax upon tea was a direct insult to their household gods; it poisoned every cup of their tea, it affected every hearthstone in the province. In looking back upon our past it should be a matter of pride to know, that such women helped to form the preface of our history, characters which should be held up to our children as worthy of emulation.

> "These are the deeds which should not pass away,
> And names that must not wither, though the earth
> Forgets her empires with a just decay."

The account of this tea-party found its way into the London papers of that day, and the effect it had there may be noted in the following old letter, strongly tinctured with sarcasm. It was written by Arthur Iredell of London to his brother James Iredell, a distinguished patriot of this place, who married Miss Hannah Johnson, a sister of one of the signers of the noted document.

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* American Archives fourth series, vol. 1, 891.

"LONDON QUEEN SQUARE," January 31, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER: I see by the newspaper the Edenton ladies have signalized themselves by their protest against tea drinking. The name of Johnston I see among others; are any of my sister's relations patriotic heroines? Is there a female congress at Edenton too? I hope not, for we Englishmen are afraid of the male congress, but if the ladies, who have ever since the Amazonian era been esteemed the most formidable enemies; if they, I say, should attack us, the most fatal consequences is to be dreaded. So dexterous in the handling of a dart, each wound they give is mortal; whilst we, so unhapily formed by nature, the more we strive to conquer them, the more we are conquered. The Edenton ladies, conscious, I suppose, of this superiority on their side, by a former experience, are willing, I imagine, to crush us into atoms by their omnipotency; the only security on our side to prevent the impending ruin, that I can preceive, is the probability that there are but few places in America which possess so much female artillery as Edenton.

Pray let me know all the particulars when you favor me with a letter.

Your most affectionate friend and brother,

ARTHUR IREDELL. *

The society of Edenton at this period was charming in its refinement and culture; it was at one time the colonial capital, and social rival of Williamsburg, Virginia. Edenton then had five hundred inhabitants. Its galaxy of distinguished patriots, both men and women, would shine resplendent in any country or in any age. The tea-party then, as now, was one of the most fashionable modes of entertaining. The English were essentially a tea-drinking nation, and consequently tea became the almost universal drink of the colonies. Dr. Johnson declared that "with tea he amused the evening, with tea solaced the midnight, and with tea welcomed the morning." Coffee was not introduced in Europe until much later, the first cup having been drunk by Louis XIV. of France at a cost of twenty-

* Life and correspondence of James Iredell, vol. 1, page 230.

nine dollars per pound. The principal variety of tea used by the colonies was the Bohea, or black tea, and came from India. It was of the purest quality, the art of sophistication and adulteration being unknown at that day. The feeling of ease and comfort inspired by an elegant cup of tea, as well as the exhiliration of the mental faculties which it produces, made it a necessary assistant to break the stiffness of those old-fashioned parties. It contains an active principle thine, which, taken in considerable quantity, produces a species of intoxication. Foreigners who visit China, where tea is served upon almost every occasion, become frequently tea-drunk. The method of preparing tea by our ancestors were essentially that of the wealthy class in China. The tea was brought upon the table in decorated china tea-caddies, some of which are still in existence, along with an urn of boiling water. The tea-leaves were then placed in the cup of every guest, the cup filled with hot water, and the saucer inverted over it for a few minutes to retain the aroma. The tea-pot was only used then by the rather bourgeoisie. Social life was never more enjoyed than then, there was an abandon and freedom of manner, united with an open-hearted hospitality, of which we know nothing at this day, when social restrictions restrict also social pleasures.

Col. Edward Buncombe but crystallized, and formulated the almost universal feeling of this section, when he inscribed, in unmistakable lines upon his front gate the euphoneous distich.

" Welcome all
To Buncombe Hall.*

*Buncombe Hall stood in Washington Co., and was the seat of a generous hospitality; The mantel from its banquet hall is now in the Courthouse at Asheville the county seat of Buncombe.

There were quiltings, and cotillion parties, and tea-parties without number, the gentlemen would often go great distances on horseback, with their sweethearts riding behind them, and attend these gatherings. If the night was cold, blazing fires of lightwood crackled to receive them, and huge bowls of spicy apple-toddy mellowed to enliven and cheer, later in the evening tea would invariably be served, which no one would be so unfashionable as to refuse. An old lady informed me that her grandmother had a medical friend, who would always drink fourteen cups of tea.

Under its influence conversation enlivened, and wit sparkled. After tea the ladies would gossip, and spin, and reel, while the gentlemen would retire to discuss the political issues of the day, the policy of Lord North in regard to the American colonies, or the unjust tax which was about to be placed upon tea, or perhaps one would read aloud a recent speech by Mr. Pitt, from an English newspaper, which he had been so fortunate to obtain from some incoming ship; All along this would be punctuated by puffs of tobacco smoke from their long-stemmed pipes. They were as notional about their tobacco as they were about their tea, the method of preparing and using the weed, was to cure it in the sun, cut it upon a maple log, keep it in a lilly pot, which was a jar of white earth, and to light the pipe with a splinter of juniper, or with a coal of fire, in a pair of silver tongs made for that purpose.

The incidents connected with this particular tea-party are especially interesting, as they come to us through the blue mist of a century. We can easily imagine how they

sat around in their low-necked, short-waisted gowns, and after they had gossiped sufficiently, "it was resolved that those who could spin, ought to be employed in that way, and those who could not should reel. When the time arrived for drinking tea, Bohea, and Hyperion were provided, and every one of the ladies judiciously rejected the poisonous Bohea, and unanimously and to their very great honor, preferred the balsamic Hyperion," which was nothing more than dried leaves of the raspberry vine, a drink, in the writer's opinion, more vile even than the much vaunted Yeopon.

The picture of this patriotic party, incorrectly alluded to by Wheeler, has a strange and unique history, and I give it as I have received it from the lady into whose possession the picture has fallen. Lieutenant William T. Muse, a United States naval officer, who became conspicuous during the civil war, and whose mother was a Miss Blount, of Edenton, while on a cruise in the Mediterranean, stopped at Port Mahon on the island of Minorca, and accidently saw hanging in a barber's shop there a picture, representing the Edenton tea-party of 1774. It was purchased and brought by him to Edenton in 1830. I have this date from an old Bible bearing the date of his return from the cruise. It was first placed on exhibition in the court-house, and the representation of the characters was so distinct that many of the ladies were easily recognized. It then found a resting place in the old tailor shop of Joseph Manning, ancestor of Chief Justice Manning, of Louisiana, and finally in a cracked condition, was intrusted to the care of a lady. During the confusion of refugeeing incident to the civil war, it was broken in three pieces.

It is a painting upon glass, twelve by fourteen inches. Upon one of the pieces is the declaration set forth by the ladies, that they would drink no tea, nor wear any stuffs of British manufacture. Upon another is the picture of the lady, who presided upon that occasion. She is seated at a table with a pen in her hand, her maid Amelia standing behind her chair. This maid lived for many years after this incident, and is still remembered by some of the oldest citizens. By a singular coincidence her grand-daughter is still living upon the very same lot where the tea-party was held. Upon the third fragment of this picture in plain letters is written, "The Town of Edenton." It is not known how the picture of this party was obtained, or how it found its way to Port Mahon, or even into the barber shop. The printer's name in the corner of the picture is said to have been the same one, who printed the celebrated letters of Junius in the reign of George III.

Pictures have immortalized many events in history, and it is very probable that but for this one, the pleasing little incident would have been lost or forgotten. The defense of Champigny, by the "Garde Mobile," could never have been so immortalized in prose or rhyme, as by the brush of Edouard Detaille. The Confederate etchings by Dr. A. J. Volck, spoke volumes and were so severe, that he was confined in Fort McHenry prison, and the political cartoons by John Tanniel of the London Punch produced a profound sensation. "Porte Crayon," (General Strother), in his interesting article on Edenton and the surroundings, written for Harper's Magazine in 1857, says, "It is to be regretted that Porte Crayon did not get a sight of this painting, that

the world might have heard more of it, and that the patriotism of the Ladies of Edenton might have been blazoned beside that of the men of Boston, who have figured in so many bad woodcuts." None of the names of the fifty-one ladies present at this party have been preserved in history, but I have succeeded in rescuing five of them from the local traditions. Mrs. Penelope Barker, whose picture appears here, was the president of this party. She was no advocate of celibacy, having been married first to a Mr. Hodgson, then to a Mr. Craven, and lastly to Mr. Barker, whom she survived.

At a casual glance one might easily mistake her portrait for that of Lady Washington. She was one of those lofty, intrepid, high-born women peculiarly fitted by nature to lead; fear formed no part of her composition. Her face bears the expression of sternness without harshness, which a cheap novelist would describe as hauteur. She was a brilliant conversationalist, and a society leader of her day.

Mr. Thomas Barker,* her husband, was a gifted lawyer and had for his pupil at one time the distinguished Governor, Samuel Johnston. The attachment of Gov. Johnston for Mr. Barker was so great, that in after years he had him and his most illustrious wife interred in his private graveyard on his beautiful estate Hayes, ‡ where a mossy slab marks their last resting place. Mr. Barker was detained for some time in London during the Revolution, and

* A portrait of Thomas Barker by Sir Joshua Reynolds, graces the Hayes library. There is also a fine portrait of him, probably by Sully, in the Cupola house.

‡ Hayes, the lovely seat of Gov. Johnston, is the most interesting place in North Carolina. Its library of artistic octagonal design, and unique appointments, together with its 500 vols. of rare books, old manuscripts, busts, and portraits of distinguished men, still stands unsullied by time, and without a parallel.

FROM AN OIL PAINTING OF THE ORIGINAL FRAGMENTS, PRESENTED THE VIRGINIA DARE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION BY THE AUTHOR, AND NOW IN THE STATE LIBRARY AT RALEIGH, N. C.

while there his wife was called upon to show some of that pluck, and courage she had evinced at the tea-party. Being informed by a servant that some British soldiers were taking her carriage horses from her stables, she snatched her husband's sword from the wall, went out and with a single blow severed the reins in the officer's hands, and drove her horses back into the stables. The British officer declared, that for such exhibition of bravery, she should be allowed to keep her horses, and she was never afterwards molested. Mrs. Barker's residence stood upon the site now occupied by the Woodard Hotel.

Mrs. Sarah Valentine was also one of the signers, her portrait is still in the possession of her descendants,‡ and her house is still standing on lower end of Main St. Mrs. Elizabeth King was another signer, and it was at her house as before mentioned, that the party was held. She was the wife of Thomas King, a prominent merchant of the town. The Miss Johnston referred to in the Iredell letter was undoubtedly Miss Isabella, a sister of Governor Johnston. She was engaged to Joseph Hewes, a signer of the Declaration of Independence from North Carolina and died just before her marriage was consummated. Hewes, who was a man of great wealth and refinement, soon followed her broken-hearted to the grave.

Mrs. Winifred Wiggins Hoskins, was another signer, and lived in the country near Edenton, she was the wife of Richard Hoskins, a fearless and zealous patriot: joining the American army at the first sound to arms, he served with signal bravery and courage until its close. Dur-

*The Bockover family of Norfolk, Va., are among her descendants.

ing his absence, his wife managed the entire farming interest with prudence and profit. When they were married, they came down the Roanoke river in an open boat, crossed the Albemarle sound, and landed at Edenton. He then took his bride behind his own horse, to his farm called Paradise* by a bridle path, there being no public roads in that direction then. Her wedding dress was spun and woven from flax grown upon her fathers farm in Halifax county. So delicate and smooth was the warp, that when she was preparing it for the loom, she passed the entire chain through her gold ring. The art of household production probably reached its greatest perfection about this time. All connection with the mother country was severed, and the colonists thrown upon their own resources. It was indispensable to every lady's education that she should know how to spin, sew and weave. The spider-like fineness of their yarns, the exquisite beauty of their needlework, and the lacy fliminess of the woven fabrics which their nimble fingers wrought, are the envy and admiration of the present age. From the Napoleonic standpoint Mrs. Hoskins was the greatest of them all, having given eight sons, and eight daughters to her country‡. I extract the following from the first volume (1877) of the Magazine of American History.

---

*The fine pasturage and great number of wild bees in that vicinity suggested the name. It literally flowed with milk and honey.

‡The Hoskins family and collateral branches are still prominent in the State. The venerable W. E. Boad, a descendant of this family, possesses a priceless and unique relic. a gold breastpin of Turkish scimetar design upon which is engraved "H de M. 1574 [81]."
Henry de Montmorency was constable of France, and Grand Master Knights Templar about that time. The figure 81 may represent the number of the Commandery,

"Revolutionary Caricature. I send a description of a caricature that may interest collectors. It is a mezzotint, fourteen by ten inches, entitled A Society of Patriotic Ladies, at Edenton, in North Carolina. London. Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, No. 53 in Fleet Street, as the Act directs 25 March, 1775, Plate V. A group of fifteen figures are around or near a table in a room. A female at the table with a gavel is evidently a man, probably meant for Lord North. A lady, standing, is writing on a large circular, which can be read. 'We the Ladys of Edenton do hereby solemnly engage not to conform to that Pernicious Custom of Drinking tea, or that we the aforesaid Ladys will not promote ye wear of any manufacture from England, until such time that all Acts which tend to enslave this our Native Country shall be repealed.' The other figures are not close around the table, and are emptying tea-caddies or looking on. A child and dog are under the table. Compare Brancroft's United States, Vol. VII., p. 282. J. B. C.

It will be remembered that Lord North, referred to in the description, was prime minister of England at that time and the Stamp Act, which included a great many articles, had been relieved upon everything except tea; this made him especially odious to the ladies of the Colonies. The dissolute, and impecunious King was cartooned at this time as a hopeless pauper, thrusting both hands down to the bottom of his empty pockets, in seach of his last guinea. The taxation of the Colonies became a necessity, which grew out of his extravagances. A writer in alluding, to the activity and zeal of the women of the Revolution says, "In the lives of those high-mettled dames of the olden time, the daughters, wives, and mothers of men, the

---

or it may have been a Knight's personal badge, 81 is also the square of a square, formed from the original degree of Masonry, of which 9 was the square.

The history of this relic is veiled in mystery, and is not known whether it was presented to a member of his family for valuable services, or whether it descended by intermarriage with some of the Montmorencys. The fact however that the Hoskins Arms was augmented with a sword would seem to strengthen the former supposition.

earnest inquirer might find much to elucidate that befogged question of the present day, what are the rights of women?"

And now my task is ended, let history distill in her great alembic whatever is valuable from these pages for posterity.

> "The torch shall be extinguished which hath lit
> My midnight lamp, and what is writ is writ."

A portion of this article appeared in the Magazine of American History, August, 1892.

Edenton, North Carolina, Nov. 25th, 1898.

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The North Carolina Booklet.

Vol I No 5 September 1901

GREAT EVENTS IN . . . . . .
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

Betsy Dowdy's Ride,

September

—BY—

COL. R. B. CREECY.

PRICE 10 CENTS. $1.00 THE YEAR.

Entered at the Postoffice at Raleigh, N. C., as second-class matter—June 24, 1901.

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EDITORS.

MISS MARTHA HELEN HAYWOOD, MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD,

RALEIGH, N. C.

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

VOL. I. SEPTEMBER 10, 1901. NO. 5.

THE LEGEND OF BETSY DOWDY

AN HISTORICAL TRADITION OF THE BATTLE OF GREAT BRIDGE.

BY

COL. R. B. CREECY.

RALEIGH:
CAPITAL PRINTING COMPANY.
1901.

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

THE LEGEND OF BETSEY DOWDY.

AN HISTORICAL TRADITION OF THE BATTLE OF GREAT BRIDGE.

The winter of 1775 was a dark and gloomy time for the Revolutionary Patriots of Eastern Carolina. Governor Tryon had left his "Palace" in New Bern secretly and hurriedly, had taken refuge on board the armed "Cruizer" and was stationed at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, issuing orders, fortifying the Tory feeling in the Colony, and inciting the slaves to servile insurrection. Lord Dunmore had been driven from Williamsburg, Va., by popular indignation, had gone down to Norfolk, Va., and intrenched himself there. From this position he was annoying the adjacent sections of Virginia by hostile raids, and was expected to make incursions into the adjacent sections of North Carolina. The death of John Harvey, of Perquimans county, in June, 1775, had cast a gloom over the Colony, and especially over the northern counties, where his patriotism and manly virtues were best known. But the fires of liberty were kept burning.

Dunmore, with a few regulars, who had accompanied him in his flight from Williamsburg, Va., had ravaged Suffolk and some other places, and was preparing to extend his ravages to the Albemarle section of Carolina. Our leading men were on the alert, and couriers were keeping them in close touch. John Harvey, of Perquimans, had

joined his fathers across the great divide, but his mantle had fallen upon his kinsman and connection by marriage, General William Skinner, of Yoepim Creek, Perquimans county, North Carolina, and he was watching every movement of Dunmore. Colonel Isaac Gregory, of Camden, was hurrying with a small militia force to join our Colonel Robert Howe, and met the enemy at Great Bridge in Virginia. Thomas Benbury, of Chowan county, then Speaker in the lower house of the General Assembly, had left his luxurious home at "Benbury Hall" that overlooked Albemarle Sound, and was hurrying to join the troops under Howe with commissary stores. Excitement ran high, and the expected invasion of the Albemarle counties, and the probable collision at Great Bridge, where Dunmore was intrenched, was the universal subject of conversation. Howe was pushing by forced marches to the aid of Virginia with some regulars, and the Hertford county militia, under Colonel Wynns of that county. Public expectation was on tiptoe.

Joe Dowdy and old man Sammy Jarvis lived on the "Banks" opposite Knotts Island. They were near neighbors and intimate friends. Early in December, 1775, Jarvis went over to the "Main" to hear news of Colonel Howe's movements toward Great Bridge. When he returned home, late in the evening, he was greatly excited. He was impressed with the dangerous situation of the dwellers by the sea. He was constantly saying, "Dunmore and them blamed Britishers will come down the coast from Norfolk and steal all our Banks pony stock, and burn our houses, ding 'em." After a short rest and a hasty bite of supper,

old man Jarvis went over to Dowdy's to tell him the news. Dowdy was a wrecker for the money that was in it, and a fisher for the food that was in it. He had grown rich by wrecking. He was always watching the sea. He was a devout man, always prayed for the safety of the poor sailor, who was exposed to the perils of the deep, and always closed with a silent supplication that if there should be a wreck, it might be on the Currituck beach. He had prospered in the business of a wrecker, had saved many lives, and much wreckage and money. His visible store of chattels was beef cattle and banker ponies. He herded them by the hundred. Sammy Jarvis came in without ceremony, and was cordially received. "Well, Uncle Sammy," said Dowdy, "what are the news; tell us all." "Well, Joseph," said Jarvis, "things is fogerty, Gregory, Colonel Isaac is hurrying up his Camden milish to join Howe, and Thomas Benbury, of Chowan, is pushing on his wagons of commissaries. If they don't reach Great Bridge in time to bear a hand in the fight, they'll hurry on to Norfolk and drive Dunmore out of the old town. But if Dunmore beats our folks at Great Bridge, then our goose is cooked, and our property all gone, all the gold and goods saved in our hard life work, and all our cattle and marsh ponies." "You don't tell me so," said Dowdy. "Yes, it's so, just as sure as "old * Tom." The only thing can save us is General William Skinner, of Perquimans, and the militia, and he is too far away. We can't get word to him in time." As Jarvis said these words slowly and with emphasis, Betsy Dowdy, Joe Dowdy's young and pretty daughter, who was

* Thomas Benbury, of Chowan county.

present with the family, said: "Uncle Sammy, do you say the Britishers will come and steal away all of our ponies?" "Yes," said he. "And my black Bess, too?" "Yes," he answered. She replied: "I'd knock 'em in the head with a conch shell first." Betsy soon left the room. She went to the herding pen, and "Black Bess" was not there. She went to the marsh and called aloud: "Bess! Bessie! Black Beauty." The pretty pony heard the old familiar voice, and came to the call. Betsy took her by her silken mane, led her to the shelter, went into the house, brought out a blanket and also a small pouch of coin. She placed the blanket on the round back of the pony, sprang into the soft seat, and galloped over the hills and far away on her perilous journey. Down the beach she went, "Black Bess" doing her accustomed work. She reached the point opposite Church's Island, dashed into the shallow ford of Currituck Sound, and reached the shore of the Island. On they sped, "Black Bess" gaining new impulse from every kind and gentle word of her rider.

"Bessie, pretty Bess, my black, sleek, beauty, the British thieves shan't have you. We are going after General William Skinner and his milish!! They'll beat me off of you." She almost sang to the docile pony as they went on their journey. Through the divide, on through Camden, the twinkling stars her only light, over Lamb's old ferry, into Pasquotank, by the "narrows" (now Elizabeth City), to Hartsford's ford, up the Highlands of Perquimans, on to Yoepim Creek, and General William Skinner's hospitable home was reached. The morning sun was gilding the tree tops when she entered the gate. She was hospitably wel-

comed, and when she briefly told the story of coming, cordial kindness followed.

The General's daughters, the toast of the Albemarle, Dolly, Penelope, and Lavinia, made her at home. General Skinner listened to her tale of danger, and promised assistance. Mid-day came and with it Betsy's kind farewell. Filial duty bade her, and she hied her home. As she neared her sea girt shore the notes of Victory were in the air.

"They are beaten, beaten, the British are beaten at Great Bridge." The reports materialized as she went. The battle of Great Bridge had been fought and won.

Howe had assumed command of the Virginia and Carolina troops upon his arrival and was in hot pursuit of Dunmore towards Norfolk, where, after a short resistance, Norfolk was evacuated by the British Troops, who sought refuge on board their ships, where, after a few cannon shots into the town, they departed for parts unknown.

Then and long after by bivouac and campfire and in patriotic homes was told the story of Betsy Dowdy's Ride.

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MISS MARTHA HELEN HAYWOOD, MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD,

RALEIGH, N. C.

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THE HORNET'S NEST.

BY

HON. HERIOT CLARKSON.

RALEIGH:
CAPITAL PRINTING COMPANY.
1901.

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
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THE HORNETS' NEST.

Mr. Gladstone has truthfully said: "Rely upon it, that the man who does not worthily estimate his own dead forefathers, will himself do very little to add credit or do honor to his country."

That truth applies with equal force to communities and nations. The chronicler should be exact, so that we can eschew that which is evil and do the thing that is good.

"All these things happened unto them for examples." People of every land who loved liberty and who believed that every man should serve his conscience made America their destination. Two great systems oppressed all Europe. Feudalism of State and Church.

Wickliffe about the middle of the fourteenth century translated the Bible into English—this was the beacon light in a dark age. "He opened the book of stone and the water flowed out." This was the beginning of the reformation which rapidly spread in England and elsewhere, which was planted in England under Henry VIII and firmly rooted by Elizabeth. The defeat of the Spanish Armada forever fixed it in England. It was established through Martin Luther in Germany. The Reformed Church and State in England united, and the transition was easier, although not without courage and martyrdom.

The storm-center was in Scotland and France, homes of the Covenanter and the Huguenot. A little man—and feeble of body when he became the leader of freedom of

conscience—was John Knox at the age of forty. He was of all Scotchmen most beloved by the Covenanter. For two years he served the French as a galley-slave for his convictions. "No free assembly," said he, "no free gospel." Mary Queen of Scotts, the most beautiful woman of her day, with all of her wonderful charms and attractive ways, could not swerve him from his purpose. She asked him: "Think you that subjects, having power, may resist their princes?" Knox replied: "If their princes exceed the bounds, madam, and do against that for which they should be obeyed, it is no doubt but that they may be resisted." The divine right of kings and queens in the answer is denied, and the divine right of conscience asserted. These ideas were engrafted in the creed of the Covenanter. In the trials that came to Scotland, thousands of sturdy, heroic men and women were compelled to leave their native land. They scattered through America. From the Scotch settlement in the North of Ireland they came—the Scotch-Irish. Some of them drifted to the Carolinas, and with the shrewd qualities of the Scotch, they settled in the fertile and beautiful Piedmont region of the Carolinas. The strongest settlement was in the county of Mecklenburg. One instance of persecution in Scotland is sufficient. In the cemetery at Stirling is a beautiful sculpture which is greatly admired. Two figures representing the "Virgin Martyrs" with an angel figure in the background all enclosed in glass. The story is partly told by Macaulay in his history of England.

On the 11th day of May 1685, during the persecuting reign of James II, Margaret MacLachlan and Agnes Wilson, the latter only eighteen years of age, were tied to stakes at

low water in the Bay of Wigton and drowned by the rising of the Solway tide. The following inscription is on the marble with several emblematic designs :—

MARGARET

" Virgin Martyr of the ocean wave with her like minded sister," Agnes.

" Love many waters cannot quench—God saves
His chaste, impearled one in Covenant true
O' Scotia's daughters ! earnest scan the page
And prize this flower of grace, blood bought for you."

We turn to France and Geneva—Calvin is the center figure. The general massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day shocked all Europe—this was in 1572. France was drenched in blood, but the Protestants never yielded. After eight religious wars covering a period of about thirty years, King Henry, of Navarre on April 13th, 1598, signed the famous Edict of Nantes, by which the rights of the Protestants were established, and they were allowed freedom of religion. Louis XIV nearly a century after, on October 23rd 1685, revoked it. The Protestants were fearfully persecuted. Their marriages were declared null—children deprived of inheritance—preachers indiscriminately put to death. France lost by this time more than one million of her most active, enterprising and industrious citizens. About two million continued to adhere to the Protestant religion. Can any nation point to such heroic adherence to principle? The fight has continued to the present time and has been recently revived by the law known as the " Law of Association Bill. " These Huguenots, like the Covenanters, left home and native land, scattered throughout America, and large numbers settled in the Eastern part of the Carolinas. This was early in the eighteenth

century, and they then and there planted the principles of civil liberty. About the same time and later the Scotch and Scotch-Irish (Scotch from Ulster in the North of Ireland) were settling Western Carolina along the Piedmont region. Alexander Craighead thundered from his pulpit at Sugar Creek Presbyterian Church. This Church is four miles North of Charlotte, the Church has been rebuilt several times. He was well versed in the history of his Church. "No free assembly, no free gospel," equal rights to the Protestants of all denominations. He believed in the rule of the people in Church and State. From those fathers of freedom of conscience, Knox, Buchanan, Boston, Erskine and others, he no doubt drew inspiration. Craighead is buried in Sugar Creek Church graveyard. In the cemetery, (Elmwood) in Charlotte is a monument erected to his memory, and on it these words: "Advocate of American Independence from 1743" "Inspirer of the Mecklenburg Declaration." The Presbyterian Clergy one year after his death (1767) were for the first time in North Carolina allowed to perform the marriage ceremony. Who can tell if this was not through his influence? Nine years later we find that the May Convention of 1775, held in Charlotte, is composed of members of Sugar Creek Church (the parent Church) and the other five Presbyterian Churches in Mecklenburg county and one in Iredell, (then Rowan). The Chairman of that Convention was naturally elected from the congregation of Sugar Creek Church, the present Church. He was Abraham Alexander, and is buried in old Sugar Creek Church graveyard.

Of the persons chosen to meet in the May assembly, one

was a Presbyterian minister named Hezekiah James Balch, and there were seven elders, and other members of the Presbyterian Church—in all twenty-seven. While the Covenanters were meeting in Piedmont Carolina the Huguenots and their allies were doing the same in Eastern Carolinas, when the proposition went forth for a general convention of all the States to confer together for mutual protection against the unjust taxes imposed by Great Brittain without representation, South Carolina was among the first to respond and appointed delegates. In defiance of the remonstrance and menaces of Lieutenant Governor Bull, a provincial Congress of delegates, chosen by the people, met in Charleston on the 11th of January 1775. It approved the proceedings of the General Congress. It went further; it selected a committee to see that the recommendations were complied with. On such a committee strong men were needed—men of courage—a revolution was at hand—no weaklings were wanted. Christopher Gadsden was made chairman—the Samuel Adams of South Carolina. The following are some of the gentlemen of Huguenot descent we find on the committee, names familiar in South Carolina:—Isaac Huger, Maurice Simons, Thomas Legere and others. All had but one end in view, the principles of the various phases of Protestantism—the Puritans, the Covenanters and the Huguenots—their opinions are so impressed upon the constitutions of every State in the Union and upon the Constitution of the United States that we cannot but admit that in a large measure the whole superstructure of our laws are built upon religious freedom asserted by the Puritans, Covenanters and Huguenots. Free-

dom of conscience in matters of belief—freedom of action according to faith—freedom to choose teachers and rulers in Church and State.

The laws of entail and primogeniture were struck down; feudalism in State swept away; every man allowed to worship God according to the dictate of his own conscience; feudalism of Church wiped out. The time was ripe—who cares about the dates, May 20th or May 31st, or both? It was a citizenship that had come down from independent ancestry. The Stamp Act—exhorbitant fees by public officials—the restrictions on the clergy other than those of the Established Church—the antipathy of some to the English Government—the dislike to the government on account of the fact that the king had disallowed the charter to the Presbyterian College, (Queen Museum) situated in Charlotte, which had been granted by the North Carolina legislature—taxation without representation. All these wrongs were keenly felt, and the people were restless and discontented. At the instance of Col. Thomas Polk (a great uncle of President James K. Polk, who was born in Mecklenburg) the Commander of the malitia, two delegates from each company were called together at Charlotte as a representative committee. It is said that they were notified to meet on May 19th. The men selected were: the Reverend Hezekiah J. Balch, John McKnitt Alexander, Col. Thomas Polk, Hezekiah Alexander, John Phifer, Ephriam Brevard, Adam Alexander, James Harris, Charles Alexander, William Kennon, Zacheus Wilson, Sr., John Ford, Waightstill Avery, Richard Barry, Benjamin Patton, Henry Downs, Matthew McClure, Ezra Alexander, Neil Morrison, Wil-

liam Graham, Robert Irwin, John Query, John Flanniken, David Reese, Abraham Alexander, Richard Harris, Sr., John Davidson. These men met in the court house, which was then standing on what is now known as "Independent Square." The court house was packed to hear the proceedings. The wisest and best men had been selected. The meeting was organized by Abraham Alexander being called to the chair, and John McKnitt Alexander being selected as Secretary. Fiery speeches were made. A speech was being made on the burdens that had been borne by the people. The unjust taxes that had to be paid, the restrictions put on the nonconformist, and the speaker expressed the belief that the only hope of redress was Independence. The test had come. An old man, one of the oldest in the Convention, arose—"How can we declare ourselves free and independent?" said he. "Have we not sworn allegiance to King George?" A middle-aged man arose—he was cool and deliberate—he turned to the window and looked out—"See that beautiful oak yonder, with the leaves on it," said he, "suppose you swear to do a thing as long as those leaves are on the tree, and the leaves fall off, are you bound by your oath?" The court house shook with applause. The tide was turning. The King ought to be resisted as they were taught, if he "exceed his bounds and do against that for which he should be obeyed." Men were seen to gather at the large windows in the court house looking Southward, (now South Tryon Street) a horseman is seen rapidly approaching. He passes Queen's Museum—"Liberty Hall"—the Faneuil Hall of North Carolina—he approaches the court house, he dismounts,

several gather around him, he tells them hurridly of the news brought to Charleston, that innocent blood had been spilt at Lexington. In that day the people of Mecklenburg were closely allied with Charleston, as it was the principle place where the people of Mecklenburg and the upcountry traded. The young horsman was required to tell the Convention of the news brought from Boston. The tale was told of how their Massachusetts brethren had been slain. The warm Southern hearts were moved at the wrongs. The oaths were forgotten. General Joseph Graham wrote some years after that the man who in the Convention called attention to the oath, although a strong patriot, was for years after looked upon with suspicion. A committee was appointed to prepare resolutions declaring themselves free and independent. The Convention is said to have met on May 19th and adjourned to May 20th. The following resolutions were adopted:

"1. That whosoever, directly or indirectly, abets, or in any way, form or manner, countenances the invasion of our rights, as attempted by the Parliment of Great Britain, is an enemy of his country, to America and the rights of men."

"*Resolved 2.* That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us with the mother country, and absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, abjure all political connection with a nation that has wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of Americans at Lexington."

"*Resolved 3.* That we do hereby declare ourselves a free

and independent people, that we are and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing people under the power of God and the General Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other, our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes and our most sacred honor."

"*Resolved 4.* That we do hereby ordain and adopt as rules of conduct, all and each of our former laws, and the crown of Great Britain cannot be considered hereafter as holding any rights, privileges or immunities among us."

"*Resolved 5.* That all officers, both civil and military, in this county, be entitled to exercise the same powers and authorities as heretofore; that every member of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer and exercise the powers of a Justice of the Peace, issue process, hear and determine controversies according to law, preserve peace, union and harmony in the county, and use every exertion to spread the love of liberty and of country, until a more general and better organized system of government be established."

"*Resolved* 6. That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by express to the President of the Continental Congress, assembled in Philadelphia, to be laid before that body."

These resolutions were unanimously adopted and subscribed by the delegates. (A spurious copy of the original declaration a few years ago was gotten up in Charlotte with forged signatures on it, for the purpose of sale. The original was destroyed by fire.) Captain James Jack was engaged to deliver the resolutions to the President of Congress; and also the delegates in Congress from North Car-

olina. The resolutions were read aloud to the people in Charlotte and proclaimed amidst shouts and huzzas. Capt. Jack, on his way to Philadelphia, stopped over in Salisbury, and court being in session, Mr. Kennon a lawyer, and one of the signers, read the resolutions aloud in open court to a large assemblage, and they were approved by all present except two lawyers, who afterwards were made to suffer severely for their disapproval. The Colonial Governor Martin writes this to the Secretary of State in England:

STATE PAPER OFFICE, LONDON, America and West, I Vol. 204. } Bancrofts' Collection, 1775, 153,

FORT JOHNSTON, NORTH CAROLINA,
30th June, 1775.

"The minutes of a council held at this place the other day, will make the impotence of government here as apparent to your Lordship as anything I can set before you, the Board having been afraid to take a becoming part, I firmly believe, from apprehensions of personal injury and insult.
* * * * *

The situation in which I find myself at present is indeed, my Lord, most despicable and mortifying. * * * I live, alas! ingloriously, only to deplore it. * * * * The resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburg, which your Lordship will find in the enclosed newspaper, surpass all the horrid and treasonable publications that the inflamatory spirit of the Continent have yet produced: and your Lordship may depend, its authors and abettors will not escape, when my hands are sufficiently strengthened, to attempt the recovery of the lost authority of the government. A

copy of these resolutions were sent off, I am informed by express to the Congress at Philadelphia, as soon as they were passed in the Committee."

The fierce storm of war then began; but fortunately for the Carolinas two decisive battles gave them comparative quiet for several years. The battle of Moore's Creek in North Carolina fought Feb. 26th, 1776, and the battle of Fort Sullivan in South Carolina, fought June 28th, 1776. During these stormy times the women were not lacking in their devotion to the cause of liberty. A cold winter day in the early part of February 1776, the young ladies of Mecklenburg county gathered at "Liberty Hall" and took strenuous means to ensure the success of the patriots. The South Carolina and American General Gazette, published at the time the following concerning their proceedings:

"The young ladies of the best families of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, have entered into a voluntary association that they will not receive the addresses of any young gentlemen of that place, except the brave volunteers who served in the expedition to South Carolina, and assisted in subduing the Scovalite (Tory) insurgents, the ladies being of opinion, that such persons as stay loitering at home, when the important calls of the country demand their military services abroad, must certainly be destitute of that nobleness of sentiment, that brave manly spirit that would qualify them to be the defenders and guardians of the fair sex. The ladies of the adjoining county, Rowan, have desired the plan of a similar association to be drawn up and prepared for signature."

Time rolls on—news is brought to the up country that

Charleston has fallen. For nearly three months ill-fed, ill-clad and undisciplined militiamen under General Lincoln had baffled twelve thousand of the best disciplined troops of Great Britain. This was May 12th, 1780. An instance took place that saved Francis Marion from capture. He was staying at a house in Trade street, and his host determined that all his guests should drink his wine freely, he locked the door to prevent their departure. Marion would not submit to this act of social tyranny and leaped from a second story window to the ground. His ankle was broken and he was taken to his home some distance from the city, and thus was spared to his country. Many persons from the Western part of the Carolinas were in the city and surrendered. Among them Dr. Ephriam Brevard, one of the signers, who was a surgeon in the Continental army, and who broken by disease, when set at liberty, returned home to die in Mecklenburg. His grave is unknown. The Eastern part of South Carolina was absolutely in the power of the British. The interior must now be subdued. Sir Henry Clinton immediately after the surrender of Charleston sent Lord Cornwallis towards the frontier of North Carolina. Cornwallis heard that Colonel Buford with four hundred Continentals, who had started to the relief of Charleston, had left Camden and was retreating leisurely towards Charlotte. He sent a detachment under Tarleton of nearly twice Buford's in number to overtake him. Tarleton marched in fifty-four hours one hundred and five miles and came upon Buford on the Waxhaw by surprise. Buford sent a flag of truce, and it is related that while negotiations were pending and flags of confer-

ence were passing, Tarleton's cavaly fell upon the unsuspecting Continentals and gave them no quarter. This terrible cruelty spread consternation over that region, women and children took refuge in more distant settlements. The widowed mother of President Andrew Jackson left her home with her two sons, Robert and Andrew, and took refuge in Mecklenburg. They stayed with the widow of Rev. J. M. Wilson and widow Alexander, (mother of Susannah Alexander,) near Charlotte. This cruel treatment made an abiding impression on young Jackson who was then only thirteen years old. Who can tell if his early recollection did not in after life give him nerve and courage to endure and to conquer at New Orleans the foe of his youth? He and his brother Robert immediately entered the army under General Sumter. They were both made prisoners. The indomitable courage in the after man appeared in the boy, when ordered to clean the muddy boots of an English officer, he refused and received for this a sword-cut. His mother and two of her sons perished during the revolution. His mother died just after leaving Charleston, where she had been to visit friends and relatives who were there in prison. He alone of the family survived. The blood of Buford's men stirred the hearts of the patriots in Western Carolina. General Rutherford raised fifteen hundred men whom he brought together at Charlotte, this force was sufficient to discourage Tarleton. On June 22d the Loyalist under a Colonel Moore were defeated at Ramseur's Mill by Colonel Locke, who had a detachment of Rutherford's force. General Sumter at this critical period, with a force of North and South Carolini-

ans, returned to his State, and on July 12th defeated Colonel Furgerson and Capt. Houck at Williamson's plantation in the Western part of the State. His success brought many recruits to him and he was again successful at Hanging Rock. Many partisan bands now hurried to join Gates who had taken charge of the Southern army and was moving towards Camden where he was sent to meet Lord Rawdon and Lord Cornwallis; but alas! it was a fearful meeting for the Continentals. Gates was defeated, the brave DeKalb was left with eleven wounds on him and soon died. General Rutherford was compelled to surrender. This was August 16th. General Gates hastened to Charlotte and reached there—eighty miles away, the same day of the battle. On his way he was informed of Sumter's splendid victory taking Fort Carey on the Wateree. When Sumter heard of Gates' defeat he commenced retreating up the South side of the Wateree river. He was pursued by Tarleton with his wonderful celerity, who overtook and surprised Sumter at Fishing Creek. It is said that General Sumter escaped in his night clothes. Sumter came to Charlotte a day or two afterwards. He never forgave Tarleton for having caught him napping, and Nov. 20th following engaged him in battle at Black Stock Hill with such severe results that one-third of Tarleton's privates engaged were killed. Sumter was fortunate in having the mountain country of the Carolinas to draw upon for assistance. In his command were such men as Colonel William Hill, ancestor of General D. H. Hill. It now looked like the Carolinas were subdued. Lord Cornwallis commenced his march towards Charlotte to establish his head-

quarters. Behind him he left the unyielding Huguenots, in front were the Scotch-Irish Covenanters. Both were equal to the emergency. Johnson in his Traditions and Reminiscences of the Revolution, says:

"Among the most efficient of Marion's men were his neighbors and friends of Huguenot descent, the Horry's, Simons, Ravenels, Cordes', DuBos, etc. We think of Cornwallis at Dunbar. "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered." Nelson at Trafalgar displaying the signal—"England expects every man to do his duty." Wellington at Waterloo as he shouted to his troops: "Boys, can retreat be thought of? Think of old England." Napoleon at the battle of the Pyramids—"forty centuries look down upon you." To inspire the youth of our land, let us remember Washington at Valley Forge and Marion at Snow Island. Hope had died in the hearts of almost every Southern patriot. Marion kindled once more the spark. Who has not heard of the instance? the captured English officer taken to Snow Island in the swamps, the rendezvous of Marion and his men, Marion inviting him to dine with him, and handing the officer cold water and sweet potatoes for dinner. He asked Marion if that was what he and his men lived on. Marion told him it was. The Englishman said: "I can no longer fight against such brave men and patriots." When he was exchanged he returned to England, never more to fight against the Americans. Adversity shows the character of a people. Many of the rich and cowardly sought protection from Cornwallis to save their property from confiscation and for other sinister motives, but those who loved

freedom and served their conscience sprung by leaps and bounds to the front. No sooner had Cornwallis started towards Charlotte, thinking all behind was safe, than Marion and his men made the patriots' hearts glad with their marvelous exploits. Colonel Henry Lee, (father of the Confederate chieftain) who served with Marion, says of him:— "small in statue, hard in visage, healthy, abstemious and taciturn, enthusiastically wedded to the cause of liberty, he deeply deplored the condition of his beloved country. The common weal was his sole object; nothing selfish, nothing mercenary soiled his ermine character. Fertile in stratagem, he struck unperceived; and, retiring to those hidden retreats selected by himself in the morasses of the Pee Dee and Black rivers, he placed his corps not only out of the reach of his foe, but often out of the discovery of his friends. A rigid disciplinarian, he reduced to practice the justice of his heart; and during the difficult course of warfare through which he passed, calumny itself never charged him with violating the rights of persons, property or humanity, never avoiding danger, he never rashly sought it; and acting for all around him as he did for himself, he risked the lives of his troops only when it was necessary. Neither elated with prosperity, nor depressed by adversity, he preserved an equanimity which won the admiration of friends and exacted the respect of his enemies." Can higher tribute be paid to any man? Such was the hero who with McDowell, Morgan, Davidson, Lee, Sumter, Pickens and others did so much to redeem the South. We here take leave of these patriots' examples to the youth of all ages.

The battle of Camden was fought August 16th 1780.

Major William Richardson Davie's corps had suffered severely with Sumter at Hanging Rock, South Carolina, and he had been escorting to Charlotte the wounded to the hospital which he had previously established. After performing this service Davie hastened to the general rendezvous of General Gates, Rugely's Mill. He arrived on the 15th, after Gates had moved, and after marching all night, met our flying troops. General Huger informed him of the fate of the Americans. Major Davie at once did all in his power to relieve the situation. He had served with Sumter, and, as has been mentioned, Sumter was defeated at Fishing Creek by Tarleton a few days after the battle of Camden, so the burdens of defending this section were shifted to Davie. Bravely did he bear them. In 1780, he had obtained license to practice law, but seeing the need of his country, he again took up arms. He was now twenty-four years old. He had been wounded near Charleston the year before. The State being too poor he sold the little property he had and raised the funds to equip the troops under him. Such was the man who now returned to defend Charlotte. He had been a student at "Queen's Museum." He had heard the eloquent words of Dr. Alexander, McWhorter, the President of Queen's Museum on June 3d, when he had addressed the troops under General Rutherford. (One of Dr. McWhorter's sisters, Jane, married John Brevard, and another, Agnes, married Alexander Osborne.) Davie determined that Charlotte should not be taken without resistence. This was September 5th. He had been recently made Colonel. Cornwallis was slowly approaching. Davie went forward with his small force to harrass

his foraging parties. He was accompanied by Maj. George Davidson. They took post at Providence, on the Charlotte road. On the evening of September the 20th they decamped and determined to strike a blow at the Loyalist encamped at the plantation of Captain James Wahab (whose name was later changed to Walkup) in the Southwestern part of Union county, then Mecklenburg. Many of his troops were from that section. Early next morning they gained unperceived the camp of the Loyalist. The house and yard were almost surrounded by a splendid corn-field. He detached Major Davidson through the corn-field and he himself took the lane leading to the house. The enemy were completely surprised and fled, sixty were killed and wounded, ninety-six horses were taken, and one hundred and twenty stands of arms. The British drums in contiguous quarters then beat to arms. Captain Wahab, the owner of the farm, spent a few minutes halt in rapt converse with his wife and children, who ran out as soon as the firing ceased, to embrace their protector. Bitter followed those sweet moments. The British troops, reaching the house, the commander yielded to diabolical fury and ordered it burnt. Wahab saw his home that sheltered his wife and little children, wrapped in flames, and he unable to relieve them. Davie made good his retreat and returned to Providence, having marched sixty miles in twenty-four hours. Generals Sumner and Davidson arrived the evening of his return. They had about one thousand men and Davie less than two hundred. Four days after the affair at Wahab's, Cornwallis put his army in motion, taking the Steel Creek road to Charlotte. This being announced to

General Sumner he retired, leaving Colonel Davie who was strengthened by Major Joseph Graham. Major Graham, like Colonel Davie, had been a student at "Queen's Museum." He had been in Charlotte when the Declaration of Independence on May 20th 1775, was formerly and publicly made. He was deeply impressed with the importance of the struggle, and no man acted a braver part.

At midnight, September 25th, 1780, this little band of heroes reached Charlotte. Next day the battle of Charlotte took place. I give the account as narrated by Colonel Davie: "Charlotte, situated on a rising ground, contains about twenty houses, built on two streets which cross each other at right angles, at the intersection of which stands the court house (Independence Square.) The left of the town, as the enemy advanced, was an open common on the woods which reached up to the gardens of the village. With this small force, viz: one hundred and fifty cavalry and mounted infantry and fourteen volunteers under Major Graham, Davie determined to give his Lordship a foretaste of what he might expect in North Carolina. For the purpose he dismounted one company, and posted it under the court house, where the men were covered breast-high by a stone wall. Two other companies were advanced about eighty yards, and posted behind some houses and in gardens on each side of the street. While this disposition was making, the Legion (Tarleton's) was forming at the distance of three hundred yards, with a front to fill the (South Tryon) street, and the light infantry on their flanks. On sounding the charge, the cavalry advanced at full gallop within sixty yards of the court house,

where they received the American fire, and retreated with great precipitation. As the infantry continued to advance, notwithstanding the fire of our advanced companies, who were too few to keep them in check, it became necessary to withdraw them from the cross street, and form them in line with the troops under the court house. The flanks were still engaged with the infantry, but the center was directed to reserve their fire for the cavalry, who rallied on their former ground and returned to the charge.

They were again well received by the militia, and galloped off in great confusion, in the presence of the whole British army. As the British infantry were now beginning to turn Colonel Davie's right flank, these companies were drawn off in good order, successively covering each other, and formed at the end of the street about one hundred yards from the court house, under a galling fire from the British light infantry, who had advanced under the cover of the houses and gardens. The British cavalry again appeared, charging by the court house, but upon receiving a fire, which had been reserved for them, they again scampered off. Lord Cornwallis in his vexation at the repeated miscarriage of his cavalry openly abused their cowardice. The Legion, reinforced by the infantry pressed forward on our flanks, and the ground was no longer tenable by this handful of brave men. A retreat was then ordered on the Salisbury road, and the enemy followed, with great caution and respect, for some miles, when they ventured to charge the rear guards. The guards were of course put to flight; but on receiving the fire of a single company, they retreated. Our loss consisted of Lieutenant Locke, and four privates killed, and Major Graham and five privates wounded. The British stated their loss at twelve non-

commissioned officers and privates killed, and Major Hanger, Captains Campbell and McDonald, and thirty privates wounded. In the engagement Major Graham received nine wounds, six with the sabre and three with lead. He was mercifully spared to his country. This brave youth, only twenty-one years of age, as soon as he recovered from his wounds returned to the army. Cornwallis' stay in Mecklenburg was a stormy one. He had a large army which had to be fed. The Mecklenburg men were determined. Colonel Polk had a mill (old Bissell mill) about two miles Southwest of Charlotte, the British pickets were attacked there. On October 5d a foraging party of about four hundred under Major Doyle went towards the fertile region of Long Creek. While plundering McIntyre's farm, about seven miles North of Charlotte, twelve men under Captain James Thompson attacked and actually drove the British raiders from the farm. The British loss was so severe that the survivers upon reaching Charlotte declared " every bush along the road concealed a rebel. " Lieutenant George Graham was one of this brave party. He was a brother of Joseph Graham, and was a strong, courageous man. He is buried in the old Presbyterian cemetery in Charlotte. He was active during Lord Cornwallis' stay in Charlotte attacking his foraging parties. On October 7th Major Ferguson was defeated at Kings's Mountain and slain. He was one of Cornwallis' most trusted officers. Upon Cornwallis hearing of the defeat Charlotte was immediately evacuated. This was on the evening of October 14th. We read in Tarleton's campaigns this about Mecklenburg :—

" It was evident and it has been frequently mentioned to the King's officers, that the counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan were more hostile than any others in America. " We read this about Charlotte :

" The town and environs abounded with inveterate en-

emies," when later the suggestion was made to go by Charlotte, he says:—"The route by Charlotte town through the most hostile quarter of the province on many accounts not advisable." Cornwallis later on his way North did not go by Charlotte, but went North of Charlotte and crossed at Crown's Ford. In a letter to Colonel Balfour, of the British army, Cornwallis says: "Charlotte is an agreeable village, but in a d——d rebellious country." When Cornwallis retired from Charlotte, he halted upon Robert Wilson's plantation, and himself and staff quartered at the house of the patriot. The Wilsons were all staunch Scotch-Irish, and sturdy Republicans. The wife of Robert Wilson, (a brother of Zacheus, a signer,) had "seven sons in the rebel army," and also her husband. Mrs. Wilson was very courteous, and Cornwallis endeavored to win her to the Royal cause by flattering words. Her reply deserves to be inscribed upon brass and marble: "I have seven sons who are now, or have been, bearing arms; indeed, my seventh son, Zacheus, who is only fifteen years old, I yesterday assisted to get ready to go and join his brothers in Sumpter's army. Now, sooner than see one of my family turn back from the glorious enterprise, I would take those boys, (pointing to three or four small sons) and with them would myself enlist under Sumter's standard and show my husband and sons how to fight; and if necessary, how to die for their country." Ah, General, said the cruel Tarleton, "I think you've got into a *Hornet's Nest.*" Cornwallis' reply was: "Never mind, when we get to Camden, I'll take good care that old Robin Wilson never gets back again."

On the spot where Queen's Museum once stood is the county court house. In front is a handsome monument erected to the signers of the Mecklenburg Independence. On one side are the names of the signers. On the other side facing South Tryon street is a Hornet's Nest, and on it are these words: "Let us alone."

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While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

GREENE'S RETREAT.

"The retreat of Gen. Greene and the pursuit of Lord Cornwallis are worthy to be placed among the most remarkable events of the American war; they would have done honor to the most celebrated captains of that, or any former epoch."—Botta.

Not even the Valley Forge days brought more gloom to the American revolutionists than did the summer of 1780 and the following winter. Almost every adventure, whether of arms or of statecraft went awry. The British were making a supreme effort to dismember the colonies by the conquest of the Southern states. They thought, says Holmes, that "important advantages might be expected from shifting the war to the rich Southern colonies, which chiefly upheld the financial credit of the Confederacy in Europe, and through which the Americans received most of their military and other supplies."

To effect this end, the English commander had, since December 1778, been concentrating troops in that section. Taking Georgia as a starting point, his purpose was to sweep northward in a march of subjugation. Georgia was overcome and occupied, and in 1780 South and North Carolina became objectives.

Washington, in order to meet the new invasion, was forced to divide his army and send his Southern regulars to defend their homes. Most of these, after a terrible winter march from New Jersey, went to reinforce Lincoln at Charleston. The Northern army, thus reduced in number, was compelled to remain inactive. Moreover,

small as it was, there was no money to support it, and hunger and indignation added to supineness drove the men to mutiny. Congress seemed powerless and resourceless. The continental currency was expiring. Enlistment was ceasing. Treachery was added by Arnold's shameless act of perfidy. Even Washington, on whom all hopes stayed, became so despondent that he wrote Mr. Mason, "Unless there is a material change both in our civil and our military policy, it will be in vain to contend much longer." Lafayette, buoyant and optimistic, refrains from writing to his government, declaring, "pride has stopped my pen." The only alleviation to the general gloom in the North was the coming of the French force under Rochambeau.

In the South disaster followed disaster. On the 12th of May, Lincoln surrendered Charleston, and nearly all the continental, or regular soldiers of the South, thereby became prisoners. On the 29th of the same month, Buford's Virginia continental regiment that had failed to get to Charleston to aid in the siege, was hacked to pieces at Waxhaws by Tarleton. Congress, hoping to help matters, now detailed Gen. Gates, Saratoga's hero, to command all the troops in the Southern department. This included the Maryland division of two thousand men and the Delaware regiment both of which Gen. Washington had already generously detached to go South under Gen. DeKalb. But Gates marched to Camden, S. C., only to be appalingly defeated by Earl Cornwallis. Only two days later, at Fishing Creek, Tarleton defeated Sumter, apparently the last hope of South Carolina.

The only gloom-dispelling exploits were Col. Locke's defeat of the Tories at Ramseur's Mill, the signal victory of the allied colonels over "Fierce Ferguson" at King's Mountain, and Sumter's retaliation on Tarleton at Blackstock.

Following the reverses in South Carolina, and the apparent subjugation of that State, came Cornwallis's determination to invade and subdue North Carolina. This further movement in the development of the original plan of the campaign was expected to bring a third state into vassalage. If the British could conquer North Carolina as they had done Georgia and South Carolina, then Cornwallis with his army could join Arnold in Virginia, crush that colony, and the two armies then unite with the Northern army in offensive operations against Washington. The British had been led to believe that North Carolina was full of royal adherents. But the reckless resistance of Davie and Graham to Lord Cornwallis's entering Charlotte, the untiring cutting down of all his detached parties, and the fact stated by Rawdon, that "not a single man attempted to improve the favorable moment to join us," convinced his lordship not only that the "assurances of attachment from our poor distressed friends in North Carolina" were only assurances, but that he was, as he profanely expressed it, "in a d——d rebellious country." His colleague, Gen. Leslie, was meeting with the same sort of reception from at least a part of the inhabitants of Eastern North Carolina, for he writes disconsolately, "I am sorry to observe that the women don't smile on us." However the defeat of Ferguson forced Cornwallis to retire from North Caro-

lina and to order Leslie to join him in South Carolina. Thus reinforced by two thousand men, he made ready for a second invasion of North Carolina.

The State was ill prepared to withstand his fierce coming. With its usual unselfishness, the province had, to aid the common cause, almost stripped itself of defenders. How freely it had aided imperiled districts is shown by a letter from Charles Pinckney: "They have been so willing and ready on all occasions to afford us all the assistance in their power that I shall ever love a North Carolinian, and join with General Moultrie in confessing that they have been the salvation of this country." All her Continental Troops, after long service with Washington, had, during the severe winter of '79 and '80, marched every step of the way from New Jersey to South Carolina to aid beleaguered Charleston. There together with a thousand of her militia, they had been surrendered by Lincoln. Between three and four hundred of her militia, with their ranking officer, General Rutherford, had been captured in Gates's untimely defeat at Camden. Many of her officers and better trained militia, who had served in other States, were broken down in health or "fettered by paroles."

Hence, in the emergency created by the coming of Cornwallis, the State had almost entirely to rely on levies of raw militia.

The militiaman of Western North Carolina was unique in his way. Regarded by his government, in the words of Governor Graham, as a "self-supporting institution," he went forth to service generally without thought of drawing uniform, rations, arms or pay. A piece of white paper

pinned to his hunting cap was his uniform; a wallet of parched flour or a sack of meal was his commissariat; a tin-cup, a frying-pan and a pair of saddle-bags, his only impedimenta; his domestic rifle—a Deckard or a Kutter, and sometimes a sword made in his own black-smith shop, constituted his martial weapons; a horse capable of "long subsisting on nature's bounty" was his means of rapid mobilization or hasty "change of base"; a sense of manly duty performed, his quarter's pay. Indeed, his sense of propriety would have been rudely shocked by any suggestion of reward for serving his endangered country. He had mental characteristics that made both for and against good soldiership. An expert rider and an unerring shot, he was yet disdainful of the discipline that must mechanize a man into a soldier or convert a mob into an army. Patient under hardship, inured to constant activity, unmoved in reverses, he was however so tenacious of personal freedom as to be jealous of the authority of officers chosen by his own suffrage. Of little worth when commanded by untried officers, he was, when led by men of daring whose success had won his confidence, a dauntless and persistent fighter.

To this militia the State appealed after Gates's defeat and on the second approach of Cornwallis. This appeal was in some cases even anticipated; for a letter to Washington says: "Upon this defeat the yeomanry of North Carolina turned out unsolicited." Governor Burke, in a letter to John Adams declares: "The people, under all the distresses inseparable from an unprovided soldiery flew to arms with the greatest alacrity." In fact, the militia seemed at last to be catching the spirit of the indomitable Davie, who

on meeting the fleeing Gates responded to that officer's "Flee or Tarleton will be upon you," "We are accustomed to Tarleton and do not fear him."

To command this militia, "the remnants of the regulars" and Lee's Legion detached from Washington and ordered South, Congress now sent an officer whose very "coming was worth a thousand men."

Great soldiers are often made of queer stuff: a Narses out of a household slave; a Stilicho out of a Vandal's boy; a Cromwell out of a country squire; a Vauban out of a priest's protege. But none ever came from a more unexpected quarter than did Nathanael Greene, now sent to supersede Gates; for not only was he a man of thirty-two years, utterly unlettered in the art of war, before he had ever touched a musket, but he was bred in the bosom of sectaries whose fundamental tenet is the eschewing of all violence, and his own father was a straight-laced Quaker minister, a zealous preacher of the doctrine of passivity. So great however were Greene's powers of acquisition that, although raised behind the plow and beside the anvil, he became one of the most polished gentlemen of the army and so distinguished was his natural ability that in the rough school of the camp he became, according to the statements of his opponents, "a soldier as dangerous as Washington."

Gen. Greene arrived at Charlotte to take his new command on the 2d of December, 1780. Even his imperturbable spirit sank somewhat when he found, as he wrote to Washington, "only the shadow of an army." There were but two thousand troops in all—over half militia. "Only eight hundred," Gates reported, "are properly clothed or

equipped," Col. Lee writes: "The only covering of the Virginians is an old shirt and trousers* *the whole [army] is without shoes; our provisions are from hand to mouth. If we leave here I know not on what we will employ our teeth." Gen. Greene wrote to Gen. Washington: "Nothing can be more wretched and distressing than the condition of the troops starving with cold and hunger, without tents and without camp equipage. Those of the Virginia Line are literally naked and a great part totally unfit for any duty. * * A tattered remnant of some garment, clumsily stuck together with the thorns of the locust tree forms the sole covering of hundreds. We have three hundred men without arms and more than one thousand are so naked that they can be put on duty only in case of desperate necessity."

There were more serious difficulties even than lack of clothing and lack of arms. The Regulars were utterly dispirited by frequent defeats and by want of confidence in their leaders. "The shoals of militia," as Bancroft styles them, were accustomed to go and come at pleasure—"one day" growls Davie, "in camp; another day gone to secure their property." They were called out for only sixty or ninety days, and as their times were constantly expiring, the number of available men was a variant. To enforce proper discipline without alienating the good will of these independent soldiers was a serious problem in tact and judgment. Greene accomplished its solution by forbearance at first, whereby he won the sympathy of the thoughtful among the militia; by shooting a deserter at last, whereby he frightened into obedience all foolish recalcitrants.

The same prudence and foresight were shown in all his

acts. He had written Gen. Washington: "I will recover the country or die in the attempt," and every energy was bent to that end. He thoroughly re-organized his little army. William R. Davie, one of those sunshiny forces, like Sidney, whose gracious personality wins heart and brain obedience, not mere hand service, was reluctantly induced to become Commissary-General. Col. Edward Carrington, a trained organizer and tireless worker, was appointed Quarter-Master General. Indeed Greene had the power that all men of executive genius have, the power to so read character as to select the fittest agents and then to leave them untrammeled to do their work. "No General in the war," comments Prof. Daves, "was surrounded by a more brilliant group of officers. Smallwood, Williams and Howard, of Maryland; Sumner, Eaton and Davie, of North Carolina; Morgan, Lee, Washington, Pickens, Sumter, Huger, Marion, Kirkwood, Carrington—what a list in the rolls of honor! And many a simple Lieutenant or Captain, as Duval, of Maryland, or Forbis, of North Carolina, was well worthy to be ranked with these illustrious leaders."

Nothing better illustrates Greene's thoroughness than his study of the topography of the country in which he operated. Seeing the State intersected by rivers, he had each with its tributaries carefully mapped. Carrington mapped the Dan; Stevens the Yadkin; and Kosciusko, his chief-engineer, the Catawba. So completely did Greene master these maps that when in Morgan's retreat, the question of fords came up, Gen. Davidson exclaimed in surprise and admiration, "Greene never before saw the Catawba, but he knows more about it than those who have been raised on

its banks." This knowledge subsequently savedh is army.

Opposed to Greene's "shadow of an army" was a well equipped corps of seasoned soldiers, commanded by trained officers in whose mastery of their art the men had so much reliance that they looked upon their foes with contempt, and went into battle with no other thought than that of victory. Lord Cornwallis, its leader, had worked his way from ensign to commander. Capable, cold-blooded, indifferent to suffering, too fastidiously delicate to imbrue his own hands in the innocent blood of non-combatants and captives, yet too callous to stay the hand of the ruthless and bloody-minded, he was an opponent worthy of any man's steel. Upon the projection of his entry into North Carolina, Sir Henry Clinton, his Commander-in-Chief, had written him, "As your move is important, it must not be stinted, I will give you all you wish of every sort." Hence his army moved with comforts unknown to the Americans.

Greene, as soon as the state of his little army permitted movement, established himself in a comfortable camp on the Pee Dee river. The object of this move from Charlotte was to find in a less exhausted country, a suitable camp for drill and discipline. Before he left Charlotte, he detached Gen. Morgan to take post south of the Catawba. Morgan was instructed "to give protection to that part of the country and to spirit up the people, to annoy the enemy in that quarter and to collect forage and provision out of their way." With three hundred and twenty regulars of the Maryland line, two hundred Virginia militia and sixty of Col. Washington's dragoons, Morgan, who is justly called

the ablest commander of light troops of his time, set out for his new station. He was speedily joined by about three hundred North Carolina militia, collected by Gen. W. L. Davidson and Major Joseph McDowell, and by some South Carolina and Georgia militia under Gen. Pickens and Col. McCall. To protect as much territory as possible, Morgan pitched camp on the Pacolet river.

The relative position of the two armies is shown by a capital V with its right prong elongated. Greene was at the right apex of the letter, fifty-five miles west from Charlotte and a hundred from Morgan, who was at the left apex. Cornwallis was at the base of the V, and about forty-five miles from Morgan and eighty from Greene.

Cornwallis rejoiced to hear of the division of the American army. He at once determined on the following plan: Tarleton was to be set on Morgan, an easy prey, he thought; Leslie was to threaten Greene by a march up the river; he himself was to march between his two lieutenants, and in the neighborhood of Charlotte to receive into outspread arms the fugitives from Tarleton's ruthless sword.

In pursuance of this plan, Tarleton moved out hot-footed "to destroy Morgan's corps or push it before him to King's Mountain." Cornwallis moved north, but never advanced beyond Turkey Creek.

Morgan soon learned of Tarleton's rapid coming and fell back to Cowpens. There, contrary to the advice of his best officers, he drew up line of battle to await Tarleton's onset. On the 17th of January 1781, Tarleton rushed in his precipitate way upon this grimly waiting foe whose sledge-hammer blows the British of the North had learned to

dread. In less than an hour and a half Tarleton's army "was scattered and slain," and he himself scampering in mad haste from the stricken field.

This battle at Cowpens is memorable for five things: first, that Tarleton, usually clear-headed and brilliant, if hasty, should have so soon forgotten his experience at Blackstock; second, the confidence that a born leader like Morgan can inspire; "I am accustomed to beat my foes," was his self-assured declaration in a speech to the militia on the day of battle, "and if you stand by me and give me two fires at killing distance, I will beat them to-day;" third, the cool stand of the raw militia as its marskmen, in accordance with Morgan's orders, "picked off the epaulette men"—another illustration of what untrained volunteers can do when led by fighters like Pickens and directed by veteran tacticians like Morgan; fourth, the heroism of Col. Howard and his Maryland Line, and of Col. Washington and his horse; fifth, for the sweeping demolition of the British detachment. Of a thousand men taken into action, only about two hundred returned to Cornwallis. In addition to the unusually large number killed and wounded, 527 prisoners were taken. Two field pieces, several hundred muskets, thirty-five supply wagons and one hundred horses fell into the hands of the victors.

The effects of this battle are best stated in the words of the British historian Stedman: "Had Lord Cornwallis had with him at Guilford Court House the troops lost by Col. Tarleton at the Cowpens, it is not extravagant to suppose that the American colonies might have been re-united to the empire of Great Britain." The victory at Cowpens led

to Cornwallis's chase of Greene, and that chase led to the surrender at Yorktown.

Morgan's next thought was to secure his prisoners and sorely-needed munitions of war, and effect a junction with Greene before Cornwallis, who was only twenty-five miles away, could demolish his little force and re-capture the prisoners. Hence, even before his cavalry returned from pursuing Tarleton's fugitives, he paroled the captured officers and marched for the fords of the Catawba. Thus the retreat that was to continue for twenty-eight weary days and nights, and that was to be the admiration of two continents was begun.

Stung to unwonted celerity by this startling disaster to his favorite officer, Cornwallis, after impatiently waiting two days for Leslie to unite, took up from Fisher's Creek the pursuit of Morgan. "He was determined," says Lee, "on unceasing efforts to destroy Morgan and recover his captured troops; to keep separate the two divisions of Greene's army, and should he fail in these attempts, to bring Greene to action before he could reach Virginia."—thus was the pursuit joined.

As army set out to follow army, neither realized the grievous suffering it was to undergo in that desolate winter march of two hundred and thirty miles; neither anticipated the hunger, fatigue, rain, icy rivers, sleepless nights that were before them. Prof. Daves thinks:

"On no page of military history can be found greater skill of leadership or more admirable examples of heroic endurance on the part of troops. Cornwallis was in hot pursuit with four thousand well equipped veterans, while Greene could muster but two thousand men, deprived al-

most of the necessaries of life. The roads were few and wretched; the country traversed by great rivers; the season cold and wet, and yet in this march of four weeks, in the depth of winter, the men half-naked, marking their steps with blood which flowed from their bare feet; pinched with hunger, without tents, without money, destitute of blankets, drenched with perpetual rain, often wading waist-deep through rapid streams—not one man deserted!"

Greene's bearing was most admirable during these trying days. His personal example of participation in every hardship, of dangers sought rather than avoided, of thoughtful and restless activity of mind and body, of consideration of every detail of routes, march, supplies, camps, was an inspiration to his followers. Only once did his dauntless mettle quail, and then his spirits were revived by the patriotism of a woman. Johnson thus gives the story: On his arrival at Salisbury after his long cross country ride, Dr. Reid asked whether he were alone. "Yes, alone, fatigued, hungry, penniless," answered Greene. Mrs. Steele heard the despondent remark, and brought him two bags of specie, saying nobly: "Take these, for you will want them, and I can do without them."

If Cornwallis had been as prompt and persistent in pursuit at the beginning of the great retreat as he was at its close, Morgan and Greene could hardly have escaped either destruction or battle against great odds. But his delay of two days for Leslie to unite gave Morgan an opportunity that he joyously utilized. He sent Col. Washington with the militia to escort the prisoners on the Gilberttown road while he with the rest of his force, moved on the lower Flint Hill road. Both bands marched incessantly to get the

Catawba river between them and the British. Should a winter rain make that river impassable, their doom was sealed. Col. Washington with the prisoners, crossed safely at Island ford. After getting his prisoners over the river, Col. Washington and his cavalry turned South to rejoin Morgan, who had reached and crossed Sherrill's ford on the 23d of January. Gen. Pickens then conducted the prisoners on toward Virginia. Morgan on being informed of Cornwallis's tardy movements and his stop at Ramseur's Mill remained on the East bank of the river to rest his men.

On the 25th Greene learned by courier of Morgan's signal victory. Realizing the dangers threatening Morgan, he made speedy preparations for his second in command, Gen. Huger, to move the whole army up the Yadkin and be ready to form a junction with Morgan, near Salisbury. Greene himself "with only a guide, an aid, and a sergeant's guard of cavalry struck across the country to join Morgan and aid him in his arduous operations." He traveled the hundred miles intervening in three days, reaching Sherrill's Ford on the 30th. In a twenty minute conference the two veterans planned their future operations, and each rode off: Morgan to overtake his men who were retiring under Howard over the Salisbury road; Greene to arrange for the safe withdrawal of the neighborhood militia who were to oppose the British crossing.

Meantime Cornwallis, leaving Turkey Creek on the 19th, had reached Ramseur's Mill on the 25th of January. Had he moved on a direct instead of a circuitous route, he could have marched this distance in two days instead of six, and could most probably have struck Morgan a blow before he

crossed the river. Ramseur's is only twenty-five miles from the Catawba; hence, after a six days' march, Cornwallis was exactly the same distance from the Americans that he was on the day of battle. At Ramseur's, the British commander resolved to facilitate his march by destroying all his heavy stores. He destroyed all wagons except those loaded with hospital stores, salt and ammunition and four empty ones for the sick or wounded. This destruction of supplies so far from his base, in a hostile country, subsequently proved well-nigh fatal to his army. Either two days were required for this destruction or, as Schenck says, "some fatuity overshadowed his reason;" for, as already seen, the Americans used that time to get their prisoners safely away and to give their army a needed rest. It has often been stated that the Americans were saved from the pursuing British by the swelling of the Catawba just after their passage. This is an error. Graham, who was present, says: "It was fordable from the week before until two days after this time."

At last, on the 28th, Cornwallis with a force stated by Sir Henry Clinton to be "considerably above three thousand, exclusive of cavalry and militia," moved towards Beattie's Ford. Henceforth his army was to move with most soldier-like precision and swiftness. On the 31st, the very day that Morgan took up his march for Salisbury, Cornwallis approached the Catawba. Feinting at Beattie's Ford with his main force, he sent Gen. O'Hara's division to force a crossing at Cowan's Ford, four miles below. There the intrepid Gen. Wm. Lee Davidson had arrayed a small body of local militia to retard the passage over the riv-

er. The object of this one-sided fight was, if possible, to delay the British long enough for the coveted union between Morgan and Huger to be effected.

At daybreak on the 1st of February, O'Hara's men forced the passage, killed Gen. Davidson, a wise and gallant officer, and scattered his militia. Davidson's men however, made a stubborn stand, and slew Col. Hall, of the leading regiment, and thirty of his men. The rest of the day was consumed in getting all the British troops across at Beattie's and at Cowan's Ford and in dispersion of militia.

On the 2d, over miry roads, the British resumed pursuit of Morgan. The ever active militia of Mecklenburg and Rowan collected behind the Redcoats and followed sullenly in their rear, ready to strike hard whenever their foes made a small measure of success possible. To expedite the pursuit, Cornwallis placed all the cavalry under Gen. O'Hara's orders, and mounting some infantry to accompany the cavalry, directed O'Hara to press on ahead of the marching columns and bring Morgan to bay. However, the horrible state of the roads and the day and night's lead obtained by the Americans enabled them to reach Trading Ford on the Yadkin, seven miles from Salisbury, just before the stream became impassable on the 3d. The cavalry forded the rapidly rising stream at midnight, and at dawn the infantry was ferried over in boats collected for miles up and down the river. O'Hara in fierce following arrived on the river bank in time to capture a few stuck-in-the-mud wagons that one hundred and fifty militia still on the west bank of the river, made him pay for with a dozen lives.

His disappointment found expression in a harmless cannonade across the rushing waters.

Gen. Greene, who had remained in much peril behind Morgan to be of service to the militia, was disappointed in getting many immediately together, and after a lonely ride reached Salisbury during the night of the 2d. On the 3rd he overtook Morgan and crossed the Yadkin with him. Prior to this he had sent orders to Huger to bear to the right and effect the desired junction at Guilford Court House.

This second escape of the Americans was a bitter disappointment to Cornwallis, but he did not allow it to slacken the sinews of his pursuit. It necessitated the giving up of his hopes of defeating Morgan before he could unite with Huger, but he at once recurred to his other alternative—the cutting off of Greene's united army from the fords of the Dan. He says: "The river had now become impassable, and I determined to march to the upper fords and with great expedition get between them and Greene—in hopes that he would not escape me without a blow." He reasoned that as the high water would prevent Greene from crossing the lower Dan, the Americans would have to make a trial of the upper fords. Hence, if he could first reach these fords, Greene being intercepted, must fight on British terms. Accordingly, although he recognized fully the danger of getting daily farther away from his supply base, he resolutely decided to dash ahead with every man and beast strained to utmost marching capacity. The prize was tantalizingly near and tantalizingly great. To secure it he turned up the Yadkin, crossed at Shallow Ford on the 6th,

and marched direct for the upper Dan, keeping Greene on his right.

But his lordship had far underestimated the forethought and resourcefulness of the American commander. Before Cornwallis had made a day's march, Greene had divined his plans and was preparing to contravene them. After resting his army from the 3d to the afternoon of the 4th of Feb., he set forward for Guilford Court House, where he expected Huger. To appear to be falling into the trap set by Cornwallis, he bore to the north until he reached the site of the present town of Salem. At that secluded Moravian settlement, founded in faith, built upon industry, justice and equality, destitute of all defence except that "it had raised the symbol of the triumphant Lamb," Greene halted for his scouts to bring in accurate information as to his enemy's movements. Finding that Cornwallis was following, he turned almost due east and marched to Guilford Court House. There the two divisions of his army were safely united. On the day of their union the British army was at Salem—twenty-five miles away. Thus after a continuous pursuit of twenty-two days, the British were again no closer to their adversaries than on the day of Cowpens. The Americans had so far outbattled them, outmarched them and outgeneraled them.

Although Gen. Greene had already been maturing ways and means for crossing the Dan, he knew how depressed in spirit and how harassed in body the patriots of North Carolina would be if he entirely left the State, and he had not been without hope of giving Cornwallis battle on the union of Morgan and Huger. Before he reached Guil-

ford he sent out orders for a concentration of local militia at that point, and after his arrival he went so far as to select favorable ground for a passage at arms. Nothing can better show the soldierly skill of Greene than the fact that he forced Cornwallis, a month later, to fight on the very ground selected upon this February survey. However, as the camp at Hillsboro had no reinforcements to send, and as so few militia responded to his summons, Gen. Greene felt impelled to avoid the risk of a battle. A council of war unanimously confirming him in this opinion, preparations were at once made to continue the retreat.

All realized that the last stage of the great retreat had now been reached. All equally realized that this was to be the hardest of all, for hitherto only Morgan's light division had been endangered; now the united army was, while yet too weak to fight, to be the quarry chased. A third time the objective was to be the passage of an uncertain river. A third time the same commanders were strategetically pitted against each other. A third time, over winter-washed roads, with shoeless feet frozen and bleeding, with bodies, only in too many cases, fluttering with rags, the liberty-loving privates of America were for four days and nights to measure endurance and fortitude with well-equipped Britons.

A decision to continue the retreat having been reached, several further questions arose. Where should a crossing be attempted? How should it be made? What steps should be taken to cover the crossing? Upon Col. Carrington's presentation of facts obtained from his survey of the river and of routes, Irwin's Ferry, seventy miles from Guilford

Court House was selected as the place. This selection settled the manner, for there the crossing could be only by ferry, and Carrington and Smith went forward at once to collect boats. To secure the march and to protect the passage, Greene embodied a light corps. Col. Lee, who was a prominent officer in this corps, says: "Gen. Greene formed a light corps consisting of some of his best infantry under Lieutenant-Col. Howard, of Washington's cavalry, the legion of Lee, and a few militia riflemen, making in all seven hundred. These troops were to take post between the retreating and the advancing army, to seize every opportunity of striking in detail, and to retard the enemy by vigilance and judicious positions; while Greene, with the main body hastened toward the Dan, the boundary of his present toils and dangers."

The command of this body was offered to Gen. Morgan, but that officer had become so enfeebled by rheumatism that he was forced to decline it. Col. Otho Williams, of Maryland, was then put in command, and nobly did he measure up to all the requirements of that difficult position.

Leaving Col. Williams to front the enemy and mask the movement, Greene on the 10th put his army in motion for Irwin's Ferry, seventy miles distant, and in a well-ordered march of seventeen miles a day continued to press for the river. This division of the army escaped in a measure the forced marches, the nerve-wearing apprehension and rear-guard fighting that fell to the lot of Williams's light troops. But as the men were without shoes and without tents and proper clothing, and as the weather was very

cold, the roads miry and washed, the march was one of great discomfort.

After Greene had fully disappeared, Williams rather ostentatiously moved out on a road that intercepted the British line of march, there saucily placed himself in Cornwallis's front, and marched to the left, as though making for the upper Dan.

This light corps was composed of the choice soldiers of Greene's army, both in military quality and equipment. Not a man in it but was elated at being deemed worthy of such important, if arduous service; not a man but was bent on showing that his mettle was equal to the call made upon it. Each, with the American soldier's intelligent appreciation of public events, knew that the salvation of Greene's army and the fate of the Southern Colonies depended upon the ability of his little corps to mislead and delay the British army. And, while every one was impressed with the conviction that it might become necessary for him to throw himself recklessly and unsupportedly against the British to secure time by his death for Greene's passage, each was resolved, if the necessity came, to do so with the utmost cheerfulness. So in spite of the facts that they began the days' march at three o'clock in the morning in order to get far enough ahead of their enemies to cook breakfast, the only meal eaten during the day; that they marched continuously until dark; that after the days' journey one-half of them were on patrol or picket duty every night; that they got only six hours of sleep out of every forty-eight hours, that what little sleep they got was on wet ground and without blankets or tents—in spite of all these things,

there is abundant testimony that through the four days and nights of the march there was not only no grumbling nor discontent, but that the men were happy and proud of the responsibility put upon them. Thus constituted then were the troops who now by a cross road marched into the road ahead of Cornwallis.

The British commander seeing both horse and foot ahead of him, and seeing apparently a movement to cover Dix's Ferry, naturally concluded that the entire American army was before him. Consequently, after halting for an hour or two for his extended marching lines to close up on O'Hara's light troops in front, he did just what Williams desired—followed his command and left Greene an unmolested march. Cornwallis at first followed on a parallel road to the left of the one upon which Williams was traveling—Greene using a parallel one to the right. But on the wide plantations the two armies were frequently in rifle range of each other. At first approximation the fiery spirits on each side blazed up, and skirmishes were of almost hourly occurrence. But, as they soon realized, the sacrifice of a few heroic souls in this way was fruitless, and the practice was discontinued. Then followed a rare sight. Through the peaceful solitudes of the winter roads, two armies each bent on the ultimate destruction of the other marched hour after hour with no more apparent animosity than though they were following the same flag and engaged upon the same mission.

So thoroughly did Williams's movements deceive Cornwallis, and so cleverly did his patrols keep royalist messengers from reaching his lordship, that it was not until the

evening of the 12th or the morning of the 13th that Cornwallis received the mortifying intelligence that Greene was on the Irwin's Ferry road, and that he had been chasing only a detachment. Determining that his prey should nevertheless not escape him, Cornwallis wheeled sharply to the right, and with every nerve and muscle strained to the cracking point made straight for Greene's rear.

About the same time that the British discovered their error and tried to rectify it, Williams received the joyful tidings that the American army was nearing the ferry. His task thus being accomplished, he too turned to the right and came into the Irwin's Ferry road just ahead of the hastening British.

Immediately preceding and during the turn for the new road, Lee's Legion, the rear-guard of Williams's force, and O'Hara's front had one or two sharp clashes. Lee however, drew his men well in. "Only," says he in his narative, "when a defile or water-course crossed our route did the enemy exhibit any indication to cut off our rear, in which essays, being always disappointed, their useless efforts were gradually discontinued." Stakes were now too high to play any but trump cards.

On the night of the 13th, the Americans, still doggedly pressed even after dark by their desperate adversaries, were dismayed to see camp-fires brightly burning just before them. "Surely," they cried out, "that must be our commander's army with camp pitched and with men utterly unprepared for the onset of the British." The determination that followed was so noble that it must be told in the words of one of the little band: "Our dauntless corps was

convinced that the crisis had now arrived when its self-sacrifice could alone give a chance of escape to the main body. With one voice was announced the noble resolution to turn on the foe, and by dint of desperate courage, so to cripple him as to force a discontinuance of pursuit." But happily Greene's camp fires of the night before had been mistaken for his camp of that night.

On this night the light corps was allowed a rest of only from nine o'clock until midnight. They were then aroused by the advance of the enemy who was resolved to rest neither night nor day until Greene was destroyed. All day over deep roads incrusted with frost, pursuer and pursued tramped painfully, but continuously. At noon a courier set the wearied Americans into a frenzy of delight by bringing word that Greene's army was safely across the Dan. Not in vain had they suffered and marched as an army is seldom called upon to suffer and march. "One more effort," shouted their officers, "and we too will have shaken off our foes." With a quickened step that the British could not rival the men swung onward. So much distance did they gain that at three o'clock, Col. Williams felt safe in leaving only Lee's Legion in front of the enemy. He took the nearest road for Boyd's Ferry, only fourteen miles away, where Carrington awaited him with boats. Later in the day Lee withdrew his infantry from the Irwin's Ferry road, and then at dark his cavalry, leaving fires burning, turned also into the Boyd's Ferry road. All were safely ferried over before ten o'clock, and "in the camp of Greene joy beamed in every face."

An impassable river lay between them and their baffled

oe, who now without supplies lay in the dead of winter in an enemy's country, with "an ever increasing militia swarming in his rear." The hazard had been the safety of the South, and they had won. Thus ended on the 14th of February, a pursuit that will always remain a monument to both American and British pluck and endurance. Perhaps no commander but a British one would have thus cut loose from his base, cast prudence to the wind and followed recklessly for two hundred and thirty miles an enemy that he felt impelled to destroy: perhaps no opponents except Americans could have endured the pitiless hardships of the pursuit and successfully thwarted its object.

That Greene and his officers conducted every operation with consummate ability is testified to by friend and foe. 'Your retreat before Cornwallis is highly applauded by all ranks," wrote Washington. "Every measure of the Americans during their march from the Catawba to Virginia" comments Tarleton, "was judiciously designed and vigorously executed." Lord Germain wrote almost admiringly, "the rebels conduct their enterprises in Carolina with more spirit and skill than they have shown in any other part of America."

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Dec 1901

The North Carolina Booklet.

Vol 1 No 8

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Monsieur Le Marquis De La Fayette.

—BY—

MAJ. E. J. HALE.

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Monsieur Le Marquis De La Fayette.

BY
MAJ. E. J. HALE.

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1901.

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

MONSIEUR LE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

It has been said that France had for centuries been preparing for the Revolution; yet the world's picture of that great tragedy contains but a few figures, and the shifting scenes are comprised within but a limited period. It is so with other great events, and we deduce the corollary that the origin of them, generally, is difficult to trace, and that many minds and many circumstances are concerned in the least of them. But public opinion does not go amiss in its judgment of their main features, and it is that judgment which history ascertains and records. In this view history is not a lie, though it err so often in its details. Thus Washington comes down to us as contemporary history made him, the overshadowing domestic factor in the success of the American Revolution; and La Fayette, mere boy as he was when he espoused our cause, as the embodiment, if not the creator, of that foreign movement in our behalf without which Washington's efforts would have been in vain.

While the fame of both these heroes is the common heritage of all the States, that of La Fayette appeals with especial force to women and to North Carolinians. He was a master of those elegancies of manner which distinguished the class from which he sprung, and which are so pleasing to the opposite sex; he performed, as we shall see, a memorable act of homage to a woman; and, under even more trying circumstances, he was the object of a devotion at the hands of his wife that was worthy of the best days of Roman

matronhood. At the same time, it happens that one of our chief commercial towns, shortly afterwards an alternate capital of North Carolina, was the first of the numerous communities throughout the Union to be named in his honor, and that he duly recognized the fact in his tour of America years afterwards. So it comes about that the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution have very great reason indeed for cherishing the memory of Monsieur Le Marquis de La Fayette, French Patrician, American Patriot, and Patron of a historic Carolinian town.

MARIE JEAN PAUL ROCH YVES GILBERT MOTIER, MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE, was born at the chateau of Chavagniac in Auvergne, France, on the 6th of September, 1757. He was left an orphan, with a princely fortune and a great title, at the age of thirteen. When but sixteen he married a daughter of the Duc d'Ayen, afterwards Duc de Noailles, of that great family of Noailles which has supplied so many of the most famous soldiers and diplomatists of France, and which reached also the highest eminence there in the church and in science. He chose to follow the soldier's career of his father, who had fallen at Minden, entered the Guards, and was nineteen years old and a captain of dragoons when the American colonies declared their independence. His memoirs contain the averment that "at the first news of this quarrel, my heart was enrolled in it."

La Fayette was of that *haute noblesse* of France whose members were, for the most part, opposed to the American cause, regarding its adherents as rebels against their King. It is said that on hearing the Declaration of Independence read, he was completely convinced of the justice of the col-

onists' cause, and he determined to give them all the assistance in his power. The Count de Broglie, companion in arms of his father, and other nobles exerted themselves to dissuade the young enthusiast from his purpose, but without avail. On the 7th of December, 1776, but five months after the Declaration, La Fayette concluded an arrangement with the American agent in Paris, Silas Deane, of Connecticut, who had been sent abroad to solicit aid, by which he was to enter the American service as major-general. At this moment the news of the series of grave disasters to the American arms which marked the closing months of 1776 reached Europe. These were the defeat of Sullivan and Stirling on Long Island on the 27th of August; the evacuation of New York early in September; the retreat after the battle of White Plains on October 28th; the surrender of Fort Washington with three thousand men on the 17th of November; the abandonment by Washington of his headquarters at Fort Lee in New Jersey, and his retreat across New Jersey into Pennsylvania, pursued by the British, his army reduced to but three thousand men. Indeed, according to the news, his army seemed on the point of destruction, desertions were constantly occurring, and the prospect was so gloomy that many friends of the cause in America itself shrunk from further recognition of it. Again La Fayette's friends urged the abandonment of his purpose. Franklin, and Arthur Lee, Deane's new colleagues, who arrived the day after La Fayette's contract was signed, felt it their duty to withhold any further encouragement of his plans, and the King himself, to whose ears news of his purpose had come, forbade his leaving. Instead of

yielding to the dissuasion of his friends or listening to the royal command, our hero purchased a ship on his own account and invited such of his friends as were willing to share his fortunes to accompany him. At the instance of the British ambassador to France, orders were issued to seize his ship then fitting out at Bordeaux, and La Fayette himself was arrested. But the ship had been sent to a neighboring Spanish port before the orders for her seizure could be executed, and La Fayette escaped from his guards in disguise. It was May, 1777, when he joined his ship, and, with eleven chosen companions, he set sail for America. Though pursued by two British cruisers which had been sent to intercept him, he reached Philadelphia in July of that year and presented himself to the Congress of the Revolution sitting there. It turned out that Mr. Deane's contracts abroad had been so numerous and for officers of such high rank that Congress was unable to ratify them without injustice to others who had won promotion by service in the field. Especially did it seem so in the case of this youth with a contract for a major-general's commission, and the reception accorded him by Congress took him aback. He soon appreciated the situation, however, and addressed a note to the president of Congress asking permission to serve in the army as a volunteer and without pay. His offer was "so different from those made by other foreigners," says Mr. Bigelow in his biography, it had been "attended by such substantial sacrifices" and "promised such substantial indirect advantages," that Congress passed a resolution (July 31, 1777,) "that his services be accepted, and that, in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family, and con-

nexions," he have the rank and commission of major-general of the United States. The next day Washington invited him to become one of his military family, which he gladly accepted, and the association thus begun ripened into the friendship which bound the two together during their lives.

Congress, it would seem, meant that his appointment should be merely honorary, but the battle of the Brandywine, which occurred on the 11th of September, two months after his arrival, gave him the opportunity to distinguish himself in the field, which he hastened to avail himself of. He received a bullet in his leg without being disabled; was commended by Washington for displaying the possession of "a large share of bravery and military ardour" and other good qualities; and, upon Washington's recommendation, was given a command equal to his rank. What an extraordinary attainment for a youth of twenty!

The further military career of La Fayette in the Revolution is familiar history—his brave conduct at Monmouth (June 28, 1778), which elicited from Congress a formal recognition of his services, and his retreat from Barren Hill, which was described as "masterly;" his opperations in command in Virginia from July, 1779, to October 1781, including his efforts to capture the traitor Arnold in the former year; his borrowing money from Baltimore bankers on his personal responsibility in order to relieve the necessity of his troops; and his participation with Washington in the capture of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown, October 19th, 1781, where, by an agreeable coincidence, his wife's cousin and brother-in-law, the brilliant Louis, Vicomte

Noailles, concluded the capitulation with the British commander. This versatile gentleman, by the way, afterwards became a successful banker in Philadelphia, but later accepted a command against the English in San Domingo, under Rochambeau, where he made a brilliant defence of the mole St. Nicholas, of which we have recently heard so much in connection with our late operations against Spain.

From his arrival in this country in July, 1777, until the surrender at Yorktown, La Fayette's military service was continuous, with the exception of six months, (January to July, 1779), when he was sent on a mission to the French Court, which was so successful that Congress voted him a complimentary resolution. Immediately upon the termination of the campaign which destroyed the British hopes, at Yorktown, La Fayette sought and obtained leave to return to France, where it was supposed he might be useful in negotiations for a general peace. He was appointed by the French Government chief of staff of a combined French and Spanish expedition against the British West Indies, which was nearly ready to set sail when the preliminary treaties of peace, on November 30, 1782, betwen Britain, France, Holland and the United States, put an end to the war. To La Fayette was accorded the privilege of first communicating this intelligence to Congress. Upon his return from America, crowned with all the laurels it was able to bestow, he was notified by the French Minister of War that he should have the same rank under his King which he held in the United States, and that his commission should date from the surrender at Yorktown.

With the exception of a visit to the United States in

1784, where he remained for five months, the guest of the nation, he did not appear again in public life until 1787, when he took his seat in the Assembly of Notables. He was thenceforward a conspicuous figure in the history of France. On the 11th of July, 1789, he presented to the National assembly a Declaration of Rights (*Declaration des droits de l'homme*) modelled on Jefferson's declaration of 1776. The King had become but a shadow, and LaFayette, destined soon to see his own land in revolution, was placed in command of the newly organized national guard, which numbered over three millions of men. For the succeeding three years his history is the history of France. He is described by his biographer, whom we have before quoted, (Mr. Bigelow), as almost the only one in that cycle of horrors, the French Revolution, who did not lose his reason or his humanity. He was endowed with unparalleled responsibility and subjected to inconceivable perils amid a frenzied people "who had come to regard order and humanity as phases of treason." Yet his voice was ever for order—for that "liberty restrained by law" which he had so signally helped Washington to establish in America, but for which his own countrymen were so ill prepared. In his role as mediator between the lingering monarchy and the fierce advocates of equality, La Fayette performed at this time an act which none less gifted than he with courage, calmness of mind, resourcefulness in emergencies, and the supreme graces of a courtier, could have successfully accomplished.

The suggestion of a royal veto, even though limited, which was included in the scheme that the conservatives

of the national assembly proposed for their Constitutional monarchy, aroused vehement disturbances. These were increased ten fold by the "amazing folly of Versailles," where the court goaded the hungry populace of Paris to madness by a great banquet given on the 3d of October, 1789, to the soldiers quartered there, amid royalist songs and ladies' smiles. The degraded inhabitants of the Faux-bourgs assembled and armed themselves, determined to go to Versailles, the greater part for vengeance on the royal family, the others with the purpose of forcing the King to restore the royal residence to Paris. Over a hundred thousand ferocious men and women thronged the road to Versailles; the National Guard clamored to accompany them; LaFayette opposed their inclination, until, on the afternoon of the 5th of October, it became evident that his duty required him to go to what had become the post of danger. He arrived at Versailles at ten o'clock at night, after having been on horseback from before daylight in the morning, and having made incredible exertions to control the multitude and calm the soldiers. Between two and three o'clock, the Queen and the royal family went to bed. La-Fayette, too, slept after the fatigues of the fearful day. At half past four a portion of the populace made their way into the palace by an obscure and secret passage. It is said that the form of the infamous Duke of Orleans was repeatedly recognized on the staircase, pointing the assassins the way to the Queen's chamber. They easily found it. Two of her guards were cut down in an instant; and she made her escape almost bare of clothing. La Fayette was aroused, and, rushing in with the national troops, protected the

Swiss guards and saved the royal family. Day dawned on these fearful scenes. As soon as it was light the same furious multitude filled the vast space known as the court of marble. They demanded that the King go to Paris; and they called for the Queen, who had but just escaped from their daggers, to come out upon the balcony. The King consented to go, but La Fayette was afraid to trust the Queen in the midst of the bloodthirsty multitude. He is described as going to her with respectful hesitation, and asking her if it were her purpose to accompany the King to Paris. "Yes," she replied, "although I am aware of the danger." "Are you positively determined?" asked La-Fayette. "Yes sir," replied the Queen. "Condescend then," said La Fayette, "to go out upon the balcony, and suffer me to attend you." "Without the King?" she replied, hesitating—"have you observed the threats?" "Yes, madam, I have; but dare to trust me." He led her out upon the balcony. The tumult rendered it impossible that his voice should be heard, and it was necessary that he appeal to the eye. Turning to the Queen, and with that dignity and marvelous grace which distinguished him, he simply kissed her hand before the vast multitude. An instant of silent astonishment greeted the act, but immediately it was interpreted, and the air was rent with cries of "Long live the Queen! Long live the General!" from the same fickle and cruel populace that two hours before had sought her life.

When the Constitution was proclaimed on the 14th of July, 1790, La Fayette felt that his life work was complete —he had at last secured for his country "liberty with or-

der"—and he resigned his command and retired to private life. At the outbreak of the war with Austria, at the close of 1791, he was summoned from his retirement and placed in command of one of the three armies sent in the field against that country and her allies. On the 12th of June 1792, so rapidly had the factions drifted apart, he publicly denounced the Jackobin Club, and called upon the assembly to suppress them. Thenceforth he became the object of their rage. On the 8th day of August a motion was made to have him arrested, and tried as an enemy of his country. The motion was defeated by 446 votes against 224; but two days afterwards the palace was stormed, and the King, and his Queen, whom La Fayette had saved by his courtier's ruse, the beautiful but hated Austrian, Marie Antoinette, were sent to the prison from which they passed to the guillotine.

With the destruction of the Constitution and the government, along with the monarchy, we are told that La Fayette felt that his occupation as the priest of liberty, humanity, and order was gone. He would have marched to Paris to defend the Constitution, but his troops sympathized with the sentiments which triumphed in the seizure of the monarch, the head of the government. He was himself soon forced to take refuge in neutral territory, where, however, he was seized by the Austrians and held as a prisoner of state for five years, first at Wessel on the Rhine, and afterwards in dungeons at Magdeburg, both in Prussian territory, where he was exposed to disgraceful indignities. But the Prussians became unwilling to bear the odium of such unlawful and disgraceful treatment of a prisoner of war,

and transferred him to the Austrians, who secretly confined him in the dark and damp dungeons of the citadel of Olmutz, in Moravia. The almost unbearable barbarities to which La Fayette was here subjected are supposed to have been due to the circumstance that, as leader of the early part of the French Revolution, he was held to have brought on those events which led to the overthrow of the Monarchy, and the death of Marie Antoinette, who was an Austrian. The nature of the treatment to which he was subjected may be inferred from the circumstance that he was officially informed that his situation was one which would naturally lead him to suicide. At the same time his estates in France were confiscated, his wife cast into prison, and *Fayettisme*, as adherence to the Constitution was called, was punished with death. His name was effaced from the reports sent by his keepers to their government, he was designated only by a number, and the world knew not but that he had ceased to live. His friends, however, all over Europe, were watching every opportunity to obtain some intelligence which should, at least, render his existence certain. The story of the eventual and most ingenious discovery of the place of his confinement by Dr. Erick Bollman, a Hanoverian, a protege of Madame de Stael; of Bollman's temporary rescue in 1794 of La Fayette, by the assistance of a young American, Francis K. Huger, of Charleston, then travelling in Austria; of the recapture of La Fayette and the capture of his rescuers; of his more rigorous confinement than ever, and their detention in prison, chained to a dungeon floor for eight months; of the hastening of Madame de La Fayette, now apprised of

her husband's existence and of the place of his confinement, to join him in prison; of her sending her son for safety to the care of Gen. Washington, and of her taking with her into the prison her two young daughters; of her sinking under the complicated sufferings and privations of her loathsome imprisonment; of her asking permission of the Austrian government to be allowed to spend a week in Vienna in order to breathe pure air for that space of time and to obtain medical assistance; of the reply that she might leave her husband upon condition that she should never return to him; of her immediate answer that she would refuse to avail of the offer upon those conditions; and of her thereupon signing her consent and determination "to share his captivity in all its details"—this story, romantic as any ever told in fiction, and interesting beyond measure, would fill many more pages than this booklet affords. We may content ourselves with reproducing the letter of Madame de La Fayette to the commandant of the citadel, which is as follows:

"The Commandant of Olmutz informed me yesterday that in answer to my request of being allowed to go for eight days to Vienna, for the purpose of consulting the faculty, his Imperial Majesty signified that on no consideration whatever, I am permitted to visit that capital; and that he will consent to my quitting this prison only on condition of never entering it more. I have the honor to reiterate the answer which I made to the Commandant. To solicit the assistance which the state of my health requires is a duty which I owed my family and my friends; but they are sensible that it is not possible for me to purchase it at the

price at which it is offered. I cannot forget, that while we are both on the point of perishing; me, by the tyrrany of Robespierre; M. de Lafayette, by the moral and physical sufferings of his captivity; that I was not allowed to obtain any account of him, or to inform him that his children and myself were yet in existence: and nothing shall tempt me to expose myself a second time to the horrors of such a separation. Whatever then may be the state of my health or the inconvenience which may result to myself and my daughters from this habitation, we will all three avail ourselves with gratitude of the goodness of his Imperial Majisty, who permits us to share this captivity in all its details."

Madame De La Fayette never afterwards made an effort to leave her husband. In reference to this episode, Madame de Stael has observed that, "antiquity offers nothing more admirable, than the conduct of General La Fayette, his wife and his daughters, in the prison of Olmutz."

Strenuous efforts were made by our government to secure the release of the noble prisoner; Washington addressed a letter, written by his own hand, to the Emperor of Austria interceding in his behalf; and it is understood that at the negotiation of peace with Austria it was stipulated that the prisoners at Olmutz should be released. The Austrian government attempted to compel La Fayette to receive his freedom on conditions prescribed to him; but this he refused, notwithstanding the dreadful alternative of a continuation of his sufferings, declaring that he would never accept his liberation in any way that should compromise his rights and duties, either as a Frenchman, or *as an*

American citizen. He was, with his family, released at last, on the 25th of August, 1797; his wife and his daughters having been confined twenty-two months, and he himself five years. After two years spent in Holstein, he returned to France and established himself and his family at La Grange, a fine old castle about forty miles from Paris. Here his faithful wife, who had never recovered from the effects of her imprisonment, died in December, 1807.

Upon La Fayette's return to France in 1799, he rejected the overtures of Napoleon, who offered him the tempting place of Senator, with its emoluments, and he preserved his consistency by voting against the life consulate and the imperial title which Napoleon sought and obtained. He lived in retirement for many years at La Grange, though called from it to become Vice-President of the Assembly under Louis XVIII, before the battle of Waterloo.

In 1824, on the invitation of Congress, La Fayette visited the United States. He was received with every demonstration of affection, and overwhelmed with popular applause, in his travels through the country. Congress voted him, as part payment of the debt due him by the country, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars and a township of land.

On the 27th of February (Sunday), 1825, La Fayette, entered North Carolina. Volume VIII of the Fayetteville Observer (July, 1824, to July, 1825), which includes the issues of that paper during the period of his visit, contains elaborate accounts of his reception, from which the following extracts are taken or condensed.

General LaFayette was met at Northampton Court

House by Chief Justice Taylor, Colonel William Polk (a revolutionary officer of distinction), General Daniel, General Williams, and Major Stanly. The Chief Justice addressed him as follows:

"General La Fayette: We are sent by the Governor to offer you a warm and affectionate reception in the State of North Carolina. Associated as your name is with that of the beloved father of our country, not less in the dark and dismal nights of the Revolution, than in the periods of its glory, we cannot but greatly rejoice at your arrival among us, that you may receive the grateful salutations of a free people, some of whom have witnessed your generous exertions in their cause, and all of whom have been accustomed to connect your name with whatever is just and elevated in sentiment, or praiseworthy and beneficent in conduct.

"Consistently devoted as your life has been to the cause of rational liberty, and liberal institutions in two hemispheres, it must be a source of the purest gratification to you to survey in this, that fabric of political freedom which has grown up and flourished under the practical operation of principles, for which you have made so many sacrifices; to witness the powerful effects of a just government in expanding the moral energies of man, and laying deep the foundations of his happiness.

"We rejoice, General, that after an interval of nearly half a century, you see the sons of those in whose cause you fought and bled, in the tranquil enjoyments of all those blessings, deeply sensible of their value, and firmly resolved to transmit them unimpaired to their children; and although in your long extensive tour through our country,

you will, of course, see different degrees of improvement, and find some of our sister States more happily situated to give you a reception suited to the universal estimate of your worth, yet amid the thousands who hail your arrival, there are none to whom it affords higher satisfaction than to our fellow-citizens, nor can a mind like yours view with indifference the improvements made in the State, since your former journey through it to join our army in the most hopeless crisis of the struggle. You will now see smiling villages and cultivated fields, and an industrious population, where before an almost trackless forest overspread the country. You will see a nation of farmers, unobtrusively cherishing the domestic virtues, practicing that of hospitality in its primitive purity, and gratefully feeling that a more fit occasion for its exercise never can occur than in welcomeing to their hearts and firesides the last surviving General of the Revolution, their venerable and beloved fellow-citizen, La Fayette."

To the Chief Justice's welcome, General La Fayette is represented as making a brief reply, but "pithy and full of sentiment." His meeting with Colonel Polk was most affecting. He was also received "with much warmth of affection" at Halifax.

He arrived at Raleigh on Wednesday, March 2d. He was received by Captain Ruffin's Company of Blues, and the Mecklenburg troop of cavalry. On reaching the Governor's House, he was thus addressed by Governor Burton:

"General,—In the name of the people of North Carolina, unanimously expressed through their legitimate organ, the Legislature, I bid you welcome to our Capitol. At the

same time be assured of the deep and grateful sense entertained by the people of this State, of the value and importance of your services, in obtaining the independance they now enjoy. Hailed as your arrival has been by the plaudits of a nation, and cheered at every turn in your progress through the interior, by the enthusiastic efforts of genius, I am but too sensible of my own inability to add anything new or to do justice to the feelings of those whom I have the honor to represent on the present occasion.

"For you who have ever been animated and swayed by the enlarged and manly principles of rational freedom—whose sacrifices have been beyond all calculation, may I be permitted to say our hearts are filled with respect and veneration; and although, from the local situation of our State, you cannot be received and entertained with the magnificent display of wealth, which is the result of successful commerce, yet will North Carolina yield to none of her sister States, in admiration of your devotion to the cause of liberty, in gratitude for your distinguished services, rendered our common country, and lasting esteem for your personal worth."

To which General La Fayette replied:

"On the first moment of my return to the blessed shores of America, I anticipated the pleasure to revisit this State and here to witness the prosperous result of that independence and self government, the cry for which had been heard from North Carolina long before it was re-echoed in a Continental Congress. This fond desire could not but have been enhanced by the very kind invitations, and testimonies of affection and esteem, I had the happiness to

receive from the Representatives of the people, in their Legislative and executive Branches. While I regret not to have had it in my power to tender in person, my acknowledgments to both houses of the General Assembly, I eagerly seize the present opportunity, to express at this seat of government, the high sense I have of my obligations to them, to your Excellency, to the State Committee, and to offer a tribute of my respectful, lively gratitude to the people of North Carolina, whom I would have been happy now to visit in several most interesting parts of the State; but whose affectionate welcome, wherever I could meet them, has left on my heart a lively and indellible impression."

The General was then conducted to the Capitol, where, in front of the statue of Washington,* he was addressed by Colonel William Polk, in behalf of the citizens of Raleigh, to which he made an appropriate answer. He then viewed the statue of Washington, was introduced to the students of the University, who had come to Raleigh for the purpose of paying their respects to him, and was reconducted to the "Government House," where suitable apartments had been fitted up for his accommodation. At 5 o'clock he attended a dinner, and, in the evening, a ball, given by the citizens. The following toast was drunk at the dinner:

"General LaFayette—Our illustrious guest. The eloquence of gratitude is silence."

General LaFayette rose, after this toast had been drunk,

*This was the marble statue of Washington, by Canova, in the rotunda of the Capitol, Houdon's bronze statue not then having been erected.

expressed his thanks to the company for their kindness, and, in conclusion, proposed the following:

"The State of North Carolina, its Metropolis, and the 20th May, 1775, when a generous people called for independence and freedom, of which may they more and more, forever, cherish the principles, and enjoy the blessings."

On Thursday morning, he received the visit of the citizens generally, and, in the afternoon, took his departure for Fayetteville, escorted by Colonel Polk's Cavalry.

On Friday afternoon, March 4th, at 5 o'clock, LaFayette entered Fayetteville. He was accompanied by his son and secretary; the Governor of the State; General William Williams, of Warren; Colonel J. G. A. Williamson, of Person, who had been appointed by the Governor to escort him through the State, and Judge Taylor, of Raleigh, in behalf of the citizens of that place.

"He was escorted from Raleigh," says the Fayetteville Observer, "by Colonel Polk's fine troop of Cavalry from Mecklenburg; was met at the house of Robert Campbell, Esq., ten miles from town, by the Fayetteville troop of Flying Artillery, commanded by Colonel Townes, and at Clarendon Bridge by the Magistrate of Police and the Commissioners of the town who were there to receive and welcome him, and by Major Strange's* Independent Company, Captain Hawley's Eagle Artillery, and Captain Birdsall's Light Artillery. This ceremony over, the corps of Artillery, with the Mecklenburg Troop on the right, the whole under command of Colonel Ayer, of the corps of Artillery, formed

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*Robert Strange, afterwards Judge and U. S. Senator.

the escort to the Town House," to which they proceeded "amidst the discharge of artilery." "A spacious stage" had been erected "in front of the Town House, the troops formed lines on each side of the street, and the carriages, containing the General and suite, passed between them to the east door of the House. Here alighting from his carriage, with the gentlemen accompanying him, he was met by Judge Toomer, who, in behalf of the Committee and citizens of Fayetteville, welcomed him in the following words, "pronounced in the forcible manner for which the Judge is so remakable:"

"General La Fayette: The Congress of the United States, expressing the will of ten millions of people, invited you to our shores, as 'The Guest of the Nation.' Your arrival was hailed as an era in the annals of our country. Wherever you were seen, you were greeted with acclamations. The 15th of August, in each returning year, will be celebrated as a day of jubilee, by the sons of freedom. Already has American genius consecrated your fame. History has recorded the incidents of your eventful life; oratory has portrayed your character, and poetry has sung your praise.

"The Governor of North Carolina, anticipating the wishes of his constituents, invited you to our State. The invitation was echoed from the mountains to the coast.

"My fellow-citizens, the inhabitants of Fayetteville, have also, solicited the honor of a visit. In their behalf, and as their organ, I bid you welcome to our homes. Forty-three years ago, our fathers named this town to commemorate your achievements and to express their gratitude. We

receive you with joy and exultation, at our family altars, and request your participation in our domestic comforts. We are plain republicans, and cannot greet you with the pomp common on such occasions. Instead of pageantry we offer you cordiality. We have no splendid arches, gilded spires, or gorgeous palaces to present you, but we tender the hospitality of our homes, and the grateful homage of devoted hearts.

"Ingratitude is no longer the reproach of republics. The free men of America, when asked for their jewels, rejecting classic example, point not to their sons, but to the surviving heroes of the Revolution.

"You, Sir, have been the steadfast friend of liberty, in every period of your life. In youth, you fought the battles of freedom; in age, you advocated the rights of man. You embarked your life and fortune on the tempestuous sea of American liberty, when clouds and darkness portended the most fatal disasters. Neither the admonitions of prudence, the precepts of wisdom, nor the frowns of power could restrain you. Our Commissioners at the Court of Versailles frankly represented to you the gloomy aspect of our affairs, at that crisis, and advised you not to link your fortune with ours, in the struggle for independence. Your Sovereign, also, interdicted your participation in the contest. Notwithstanding all these adverse circumstances, at the age of 19, such was the ardour of your devotion, you left wealth and beauty, family and friends, influence and distinction, and all the fascinations of the most polished Court, to encounter the perils of the deep, and to brave the dangers of the tented field, Your embarkation quickly

sounded the tocsin of alarm, and the fleets of France and Great Britain were ordered to pursue and arrest you; but, protected by the genius of Liberty, you escaped the eagerness of pursuit. Your ardent devotion to this sacred cause, and your youthful enthusiasm, 'touched a nerve which vibrated to the centre of Europe.'

"The Southern States of the Union, Sir, have strong claims to your affection. North Carolina is the birth-place of American Independence. At Charlotte, in this State, independence was first conceived, and first declared. Although History may not have recorded this fact, yet witnesses still live to attest it; and we now have before us, in the patriotic troop of Mecklenburg Cavalry, the sons of those heroes who made the bold declaration, that we were, and should be free and independent. South Carolina was the place of your first landing in America; Virginia was the theatre of your youthful glory. Forty-eight years have elapsed since you passed through this state, to join the army of the Revolution. You disinterestedly lavished your treasure, and shed your blood, in the hallowed contests, and, by the influence of your high example, you consecrated the principles for which our ancestors contended. The heights of Brandywine witnessed your valour and your sufferings; and on the plains of Yorktown you obtained a wreath of laurel, which encircles your brow with unfading verdure. Never, never can we forget the youthful stranger who, in the darkest hour of adversity, so generously flew to our succor, and so gallantly fought the battles of freedom.

"The names of Washington, La Fayette and Hamilton, will ever be dear to American patriotism; and let it be

remembered that Washington and Hamilton fought for country and for home, La Fayette for liberty alone.

" Your ardent devotion to the rights of man, was sealed with your blood in America, and attested by your sufferings in Europe. Your love of liberty exposed you to the persecution of tyranny, and you were cast into the dungeon of Olmutz; but incarceration could not extinguish the sacred flame which fired your bosom. An American youth of chivalrous feelings, aided in an attempt to rescue you from imprisonment; the attempt was abortive. Oppression riveted her chains, and rendered your confinement more oppressive. Amid all the vicissitudes of your fortune, it is gratifying to us to recollect, that your sufferings always excited the sympathy, and, on this occasion, induced the mediation of your friend and compatriot, the illustrious Washington.

"Nature has lavished her choicest gifts on my native State. We have a salubrious climate, fertile soil, and numerous rivers susceptible of the highest improvement. I fear, Sir, your anticipations may not have been realized. We have neglected to improve our advantages; we have relied too much on the bounty of the Parent of every good. But the spirit of internal improvement is, at length, awakened; North Carolina may look forward with pride and pleasure to her destiny. We place our confidence in the liberality and exertions of succeeding legislatures. Colleges will be endowed; the arts and sciences will be patronized; roads will be made; rivers will be opened; our resources will be annually developed, and Fayetteville at some future day, may be worthy of the distinguished name it bears. You

have just left, in the capital of our State, the statue of Washington, the master piece of Canova. Would that you could have visited the University of North Carolina. These, Sir, are monuments of an enlightened liberality, in which we indulge a generous pride.

"The darkness of error is vanishing before the light of truth. The doctrines of divine right and passive obedience are viewed as relics of ancient barbarism. Our political institutions are founded on the sovereignty of the people, from whom all power is derived; and here the jargon of legitimacy is not understood. We recognize no Holy Alliance, save that of religion and virtue, liberty and science. The sun of freedom is extending the sphere of his genial influence; South America is 'regenerated and disenthralled;' the thrones of Europe are supported by bayonets and must totter to their fall; and the genius of our country is ready to hail the spirit of 'universal emancipation.'

"Sir, in behalf of my townsmen I welcome you to our homes."

To which the General replied, as follows:

"Sir, at every step of my progress through the United States, I am called to enjoy the emotions arising from patriotic feelings and endearing recollections, from the sight of the improvements I witness, and from the affectionate welcomes I have the happiness to receive. Those sentiments, sir, are particularly excited when upon entering the interesting and prosperous town which has done me the honor to adopt my name, I can at once admire its actual progress and anticipate its future destinies; convinced as I am that the generous and enlightened people of North Car-

olina will continue all assistance to improve the natural advantages of Fayetteville and make it more and more useful to the State.

"Your kind allusions to past times, your flattering commendation of my personal services in our common cause, your rememberance of my peculiar state and connexions, and particularly of my obligations to my gallant Carolinian deliverer, call for my most grateful thanks. The spirit of independence early evinced by the fathers of the young friends who so kindly accompany me, is highly honorable to that part of the Union. I cordially join in your wishes for the universal emancipation of mankind; and beg you, my dear sir, and the citizens of Fayetteville, to accept the tribute of my deep and lively gratitude for your so very honourable and gratifying reception."

Upon the conclusion of the General's response, which was received by the multitude with enthusiasm, he was "conducted to the State Banking House, the residence of Duncan Mac Rae, Esq., which had been politely tendered by him for the General's use." Presently the distinguished guest appeared on the balcony, and was "saluted by the military," after which he dined in company with "the Governor, the several committees, and some of the oldest citizens of the town." About 9 o'clock he made his appearance in the ball room of "the new La Fayette hotel," (one of the finest hostelries in the South), where several hundred ladies and gentlemen were assembled, to whom he was presented, taking "each affectionately by the hand." LaFayette retired from the ball room at 11 o'clock, but the dancing continued until 3. The next day he reviewed the four

uniformed companies of the town and the Mecklenburg troop and expressed high satisfaction with their military appearance. Later he received a large number of ladies and gentlemen who called upon him; and subsequently he paid a visit to the Masonic Lodge, where he was addressed by Major Strange and made response and partook of refreshments. At 3 o'clock, "the General being under the necessity of departing in the afternoon," about a hundred and fifty gentlemen sat down to dinner with him at the La Fayette hotel. "Judge Toomer presided, assisted by Major Strange. On the right of the President sat General La Fayette, and on the left, Governor Burton." Some of the toasts given from the chair were as follows :

"The memory of Washington—He was the friend of La-Fayette."

"The nation's Guest.—The only surviving Major General of the Revolution."

When the latter toast had been drunk, General La Fayette arose, expressed his thanks for the welcome he had met with from the citizens of Fayetteville, and proposed the following toast :

"Fayetteville.—May it receive all the encouragements, and obtain all the prosperity which are anticipated by the fond and grateful wishes of its affectionate and respectful namesake."

At 5 o'clock the company rose from the table, and Gen. La Fayette took his departure for Cheraw on his way to Camden, which place he was under engagement to visit on the following Tuesday for the purpose of laying the corner stone of

a monument to General De Kalb, who fell in the battle there on the 16th of August, 1780. He was accompanied from Fayetteville by General Williams, Colonel Williamson, Judge Taylor and Major Stanly; a committee from Cheraw; a number of citizens of Fayetteville, and the Fayetteville troop of cavalry.

During his stay in Fayetteville the General was called upon by Mr. Isham Blake, a citizen of the town, who had been one of his body guard at Yorktown, and who was warmly received by him. The venerable Robert C. Belden, Esq., in his "Reminiscences of Fayetteville" (Fayetteville Observer, September 28, 1893), describes La Fayette, on the occasion of his visit, as being "somewhat above medium stature, broad shouldered and quite corpulent," and his son, George Washington La Fayette, as "a fine specimen of a man, well proportioned, graceful in carriage and of easy manners." Many stories are told of the incidents of this eventful visit. Two are worth recording. The aged courtier, as the ladies were presented, saluted each one, young and old, with a kiss. When a veteran of the Revolution was presented, he would enquire "are you married?" "Yes, General," one would say, and the gallant response was, "Happy man!" Another would reply, "No, General," and "Lucky dog!" would be the Frenchman's consoling comment.

Upon his return to France, La Fayette, now an old man, passed a comparatively uneventful life at his country estate, La Grange. During the Revolution of 1830, he again took

command of the National Guard. But his life was near spent, and he died in Paris in 1834, not long after delivering a speech on political refugees. His death occurred on the 20th of May, a day hallowed by the promulgation of the first Declaration of Independence on American soil—a historical fact some time much disputed, but which, as the reader will have seen, La Fayette did not hesitate to recognize, and with warm words, in his speeches at Raleigh and Fayetteville, in 1825.

The career of this remarkable man has been briefly sketched in these pages in connection with those local incidents which touch us of North Carolina more nearly. The biographer who has been several times quoted here remarks that few men have owed more of their success and usefulness in the world to their family rank than La Fayette, though still fewer have abused it less. Yet it must be added that the youth who, whatever his advantages of birth and fortune, could have attained so great a place as he on the lofty stage of the American Revolution, when such veteran soldiers of noble rank as Steuben, De Kalb, Pulaski, D'Estaing and Rochambeau were also actors upon it, must have been of heroic stature. Nor is this view in any degree lessened, but quite the contrary, by consideration of his marvelous and long sustained influence upon the people and fortunes of his native land. Of his moral side Mr. Bigelow says: "He had what Jefferson called a 'canine ap petite' for popularity and fame, but in him the appetite only seemed to make him more anxious to merit the fame

which he enjoyed. He was brave even to rashness; his life was one of constant personal peril, and yet he never shrank from any danger or responsibility if he saw the way open to spare life or suffering, to protect the defenceless, to sustain the law and preserve order."

The Brandywine, on whose decks Matthew Fontaine Maury began his nautical career, sailed from Hampton Roads under Commodore Charles L. Morris. Her mission was to convey La Fayette back to France after his last visit to the United States.

There were twenty-seven midshipmen on board, and it was noticed that when others were at amusements, Maury was at the mizzen-top, studying seamanship. Then he made his mark among his fellows, and gained their entire respect. The monthly pay of these cadets was nineteen dollars. They assembled and resolved to appropriate one month's pay for a testimonial of their regard for the noble soldier who had helped to win the independence of their country. Maury was elected one of the committee to secure the silver urn suitably inscribed, and to present it to the hero. This gift was the homage of youth to manhood. It was an offering from glad hearts on the altar of patriotism, a touching tribute from the young sailors to General La Fayette, and it was most highly appreciated by him. These boys of the sea were heroes worthy of the nation and the days which then took it

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A North Carolina Naval Hero and His Daughter.

CAPTAIN JOHNSTON BLAKELY.

BY
DR. K. P. BATTLE.

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"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

A NORTH CAROLINA NAVAL HERO AND HIS DAUGHTER.

CAPTAIN JOHNSTON BLAKELY.

Johnston Blakely, cut off in the midst of a glorious career, by a mysterious fate, in the flower of his manhood and of his reputation, was one of those heroes of the seas in our war of 1812, whose character and deeds demonstrated to the world that a new nation of present strength and future potency had taken its place among the foremost of the civilized peoples of the earth.

He was born in October 1781. His birth-place, Seaforth, County Down, Ireland, and his first name, that of a great family of South Scotland and North England, suggest that he belonged to the Scotch-Irish race which has been conspicuous in the old world and the new for intelligence, pluck and all manly virtues. His father, John Blakely, emigrated to America at the close of the war of the Revolution, in the fall of 1783. His mother, with an infant son, died on the voyage, or soon after landing at Charleston, South Carolina. The father within a year removed to Wilmington with his two-year old boy. Here he was cordially received by a countryman, who was a descendant of the eminent Jeremy Taylor, Edward Jones, afterwards Solicitor General of North Carolina. A warm-hearted, generous man, Jones met his countryman at the wharf, and welcomed him to his home, carrying the motherless boy in his own arms.

John Blakely engaged in merchandise and, being successful, invested his gains in buildings in Wilmington. He sent young Johnston to a widely patronized school at Flatbush, on Long Island, New York, where he was prepared to enter the University of North Carolina. Before his matriculation the father died, in 1796, leaving Edward Jones executor of his will and guardian of his son, duties performed with conspicuous faithfulness. In fact the guardian and his excellent wife, born Mary Curtis Mallett, were second parents to the boy, took him as an inmate of their family, and treated him so kindly and cordially that their Chatham county home, Rock Rest, was likewise a home to him. Intimacy with this accomplished couple and their equally accomplished children, among whom were Mrs. Dr. Wm. Hooper, Mrs. Wm. H. Hardin, Mrs. Abram Rencher, and the late very able Dr. Johnston Blakely Jones, of Chapel Hill and Charlotte, N. C., had a marked effect in moulding his character.

Young Blakely entered the University in 1797 and was distinguished in all his studies, the chief of which were mathematics and its applications to navigation, surveying and the like. He refused to join in the riots and disorders so prevalent while he was a student that the Principal Professor, Gillespie, was forced to resign, yet lost no popularity with his fellows. In the Philanthropic Society, of which he was a member, he was elected to every office, from the Presidency down, and was placed on all the important committees. Like his father he was of a genial, agreeable temperament, and the only exception I find to his uniform faithfulness to duty, was laughing three times while the

Society was in session. For these offences, which certainly were not of a very serious nature, the future autocrat of the quarter deck was mulcted a grand total of fifteen cents. He was punctual in debating, on one occasion winning as a leader the question, "Is luxury always the cause of the downfall of nations?," the Society voting in his favor, the negative. He lamented in after life the paucity of good books in the University and Society libraries, and feelingly spoke of the injury he received in reading Paine's Age of Reason.

While Blakely was an exemplary student he was immovable in standing to his rights. Professors in his day and long afterwards in enforcing discipline felt it their duty to invade the rooms of students and question them rigidly in regard to their participation in disturbances. Once Presiding Professor Caldwell entered the room of Blakely, and when he denied any knowledge of the disorders then raging, questioned the veracity of his statement. This was resented with such heat as to provoke the Professor into threatening to throw him out of the window. With a manner, firm but respectful, the answer was, "I beg sir, you will not attempt it, as it will necessitate my putting you out." As Caldwell was never known to be intimidated when he deemed himself in the right, the presumption is that he recognized the impropriety of his language. Certainly he did not pursue the matter further. Ten years afterwards, during his last furlough from his active duties on the sea, having become from experience fully aware of the evil of want of respect by an inferior to his superior officer, the naval lieutenant asked the pardon of Dr. Caldwell for

his rudeness, which was freely granted, and cordial friendship thenceforward existed between the two.

Blakely's career as a student was cut short by the burning of his uninsured buildings in Wilmington, the rents of which were his income. His guardian urged him to accept a loan, to be repaid only when convenient, and thus continue his education. This he declined, left the University in the fall of 1799 and the next year joined the United States navy, as midshipman, owing his appointment doubtless to the influence of his guardian, then very influential. His acceptance was dated March 5th, 1800, and two months thereafter he was ordered to the frigate, the President, the flagship of Commodore Richard Dale, in the Mediterranean. This gallant old seaman, who as Lieutenant on the Bonhomme Richard, and a favorite of Paul Jones, had helped gain the desperate battle with the Serapis, then about to engage in the Tripolitan war, was an excellent instructor of aspiring youths.

Two years afterwards Blakely was assigned to the John Adams under the able command of Capt. John Rodgers, who was likewise fighting against Tripoli. He was afterwards in the brig Congress under the same commander, and then under Commodore Decatur. Returning from the Mediterranean on the President, he was in 1805 attached to the Hornet, which was used mainly as a transport, under Lieutenant S. Evans. His next service was in the Argus in 1806 along the Atlantic coast, under Captain Jacob Jones, an experienced officer, afterwards to become famous. On the 10th of February, 1807, he received his Lieutenant's commission. He was then for two years in service at

the Navy Yard at Norfolk, and then was attached successively to the Essex and John Adams. On March 4th, 1811, he was placed in command of the small but lucky vessel, the Enterprise, and so well acquitted himself that on July 24th, 1813, he was commissioned a Master Commandant.

The foregoing statement shows that Blakely had the best practical instruction in seamanship under able and distinguished officers, in times of peace enforcing the blockade declared by Congress, together with a short war with the insolent Tripoli. He acquired thoroughly the knowledge how to handle a vessel in the calms and storms of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. He learned the potency of strict discipline and rapid and accurate firing.

Mrs. Charlotte Hardin, a daughter of Col. Jones, from her own recollection and that of her mother, has left a description of the person of Blakely, which enables us to look on him with the eyes of our mind. "His face was handsome and kindly; his eyes black and sparkling, his teeth, when displayed by his frequent winning smiles, of exceeding whiteness. His hair was coal black in youth, but even at the age of twenty-six turning rapidly gray. His person was small but strong and active, and his motions easy and graceful. He was grave and gentlemanly in his deportment, but at the same time cheerful and easy when at home; among strangers rather reserved." Considerate of and polite to old and young, equals and inferiors, he had the respect and affection of all. When a boy he often preferred the study of books and conversation with his adopted mother to the sports of those of his own age. There is no tradition to show that he ever indulged in gambling and

drinking and other vices and practices so fashionable among students and naval officers, in fact among all classes, in his day. On the contrary, it is known that he spent his time on sea and on shore in diligent study and preparation for the duties of his calling, and the instruction and rigid discipline of the men under his charge. His reputation as a skilled officer gained by the manner in which, as Lieutenant, he handled the petty cruisers engaged in enforcing the Embargo and Non-intercourse regulations, marked him as an expert, fit to be entrusted with vessels of war on independent cruises.

Before war was declared however, he became thoroughly dissatisfied with the disposition of the government to submit to any grievance and insult rather than resort to hostilities. Nothing but the hope of a firmer stand and the triumph of the war party prevented his throwing up his commission in disgust. When it was resolved to fight, such had been the want of preparation, that against one thousand and sixty vessels, over eight hundred effective, which sailed the British flag, the United States had only seventeen effective cruisers, of which nine were of a class less than frigates. And yet the skill and bravery of their officers and men gained victories which filled Americans with newborn enthusiasm, intensified their patriotism and taught England that the young nation of the West must thenceforth be treated as an equal.

Among these commanders none had a greater combination of daring, prudence and skill than Johnston Blakely. It has been mentioned that he commanded the fourteen-gun brig, the Enterprise. Before sailing, many months were

spent in superintending alterations in the vessel, supplying its armament and drilling and disciplining his men. After sailing he was vigilant and efficient in cruising along the Atlantic coast in search of British privateers. On August 20th, 1813, he reported the capture of the privateer schooner, the Fly, and on the same day was promoted to the command of the new Wasp, then being built at Portsmouth, N. H., to replace a first vessel of the same name, which had gallantly under Captain Jacob Jones, captured the Frolic, and then herself been taken by a line-of-battle ship. Sixteen days after he left the Enterprise, his successor, Captain Burrows, captured the Boxer, a victory largely due to the excellent crew trained by Blakely.

The building and equipment of the Wasp and the drilling the crew required Blakey's residence on land until she was thoroughly sea-worthy. This required several months. While engaged in this work of preparation he found time to marry in Boston, Jane Ann Hooper, (one authority has this name Hoope) daughter of a former merchant of New York, who had been a friend and correspondent of his father while residing in Wilmington.

Captain Blakely set sail on May 1st, 1814. He had a crew of 173, officers, men and boys included, most of them acquainted with the sea in fishing voyages and trading with the West Indies, and some having smelt gunpowder in encounters with privateers, and pirates, Spanish, Frenchmen, British or Malays. They were all cool-headed and resourceful New Englanders. Roosevelt truly says in his "Naval War of 1812" that "during the whole war no vessel was ever better manned and commanded than this

daring and resolute cruiser." In a letter to the Secretary of War, written at sea May 1st, 1814, Blakely says of his vessel, "From the speed of this ship since leaving port I entertain most favorable presages of her future performances." The prediction was justified.

His cruising area was near the western entrance of the English Channel in the track of English commerce. On July 28th he encountered the brig-sloop, Reindeer, commanded by one of the most gallant seamen England had, Captain William Manners, a scion of the Ducal house of Rutland. The Reindeer was able to fire her shifting 12 pound carronade five times at the distance of sixty yards before the Wasp could bring a gun to bear, an ordeal which her sailors bore for nine minutes without flinching. When Blakely put his vessel in proper position for returning the fire, in nineteen minutes her adversary was cut to pieces. Captain Manners, after a grape-shot had passed through both thighs, gave the order to board and sprang to lead his men in person. A ball through the brain brought him down, the effort was repulsed and the Americans swarmed over the Englishman's bulwarks. After a fierce fight the Captain's clerk, the highest officer left, surrendered the brig. Of her crew of 118, 33 were slain and 34 wounded. The Wasp lost 11 killed and 15 wounded.

Cooper says "It is difficult to say which vessel behaved the best in this short but gallant combat. The officers and people of the Wasp displayed the utmost steadiness, a cool activity, and an admirable discipline. * * Througout the whole affair, the ship was conspicuous for the qualities that most denote a perfect man-of-war, and the results of

her efforts were in proportion." "On the other hand the attack of the Reindeer has usually been considered the most creditable to the enemy of any that occurred in this war." Roosevelt is equally emphatic. "I doubt if the war produced two better single-ship commanders than Captain Blakely and Captain Manners, and equal degree of praise attaches to both crews."

On the day after the victory the prize was found to be so damaged that it was necessary to burn her, the crew being carefully removed.

Blakely in his official report, while saying nothing in praise of himself, pays this tribute to his officers and crew, "The cool and patient conduct of every officer and man, while exposed to the fire of the shifting gun of the enemy, and without an opportunity of returning it, could only be equalled by the animation and ardor exhibited when actually engaged, or by the promptitude and firmness with which every attempt of the enemy to board was met and successfully repelled."

The victorious Captain took his battered ship to L'Orient in France, and having thoroughly repaired her and filled out his crew, sailed again on August 27th. Within three days two prizes were taken, and he then cut out from a convoy, protected by a 74 line-of-battleship, a very valuable transport laden with cannon and military supplies. On the same day he attacked the British sloop, Avon, of 18 guns and captured her after a furious fight of thirty-one minutes. A second brig of the enemy coming up, the Wasp was again cleared for action, but the vessel, the Castilian, although showing her willingness to engage, was

obliged to rescue the people of the Avon, which began to sink. Seeing other enemy ships of vastly superior force approaching Blakely sailed away. As Cooper says of this day's work, "The steady, officerlike way in which the Avon was destroyed, and the coolness with which he prepared to engage the Castilian within ten minutes after his first antagonist had struck, are the best enconiums on this officer's character and spirit, as well as on the school in which he had been trained."

The Wasp next steered to the South-West and captured, besides one or two prizes, the brig Atlanta, eight guns, which was sent to Savannah, with his oldest midshipman, Geisinger, as prize-master. She next spoke the Swedish brig, Adonis, on October 9th, in lat. 18° 35 N. and long. 30° 10 W. Finding on board as passengers Lieut. McKnight and Mr. Lyman, a Masters mate, both captured by the British with the Essex and exchanged, they were induced to throw in their lot with the ship of their own flag.

This is the last authentic intelligence of the victorious Wasp and of her gallant commander and crew. Their fate is one of the dark mysteries of the devouring ocean. Various rumors and conjectures are extant in regard to it. One is that an English frigate, much crippled, reported at Cadiz that in a severe fight with a large American at night, the latter suddenly disappeared; another that the Wasp was wrecked on the African coast and that her crew were prisoners among the Arabs; a third that she reached the coast of South Carolina and on the 21st of November was attacked by an English frigate of superior strength, beat

off her adversary but was herself sunk. The English records do not sustain the first of these stories and there is no evidence at all of the second. With regard to the third it is certain that an engagement between two vessels occurred at the time designated off the South Carolina coast, but the Raleigh Register of that date states that it had been ascertained that it was between a British brig and an American privateer. Dr. Wm. Johnson in the N. C. University Magazine of February 1854, contends that one of the combatants was the Wasp, but it is generally thought that the noble ship went down in a tornado, or by the accidental explosion of her magazine, or other casuality, always threatening those who go down to the seas.

The foregoing sketch of a worthy life amply corroborates the judgment of Fenimore Cooper, that "this gentleman enjoyed a high reputation in the service, which his short career as a commander fully justified. There is little doubt, had he survived, that Capt. Blakely would have risen to the highest consideration in his profession. As it was, few officers have left better names behind them." This high praise was won in a life of thirty-three years.

While the fate of her father was still in doubt, when her mother was listening anxiously for reports brought by homeward bound cruisers and privateers of tidings of the gallant Wasp and her crew, in January, 1815, the little daughter of the lost hero was born, and named Maria Udney* Probably no child in all America was the centre of so much interest and sympathy as she. Nor did this

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*I have endeavored in vain to find the origin of this singular name.

sympathy evaporate in empty words and fruitless tears. The representatives of the people of North Carolina, in those days economical to the verge of parsimony, not from personal stinginess, but because they were as a rule Jeffersonian Democrats and believed that governments should not engage in any work except protection of life, liberty and property, departed from their rule and resolved that she should be the ward of the State.

The General Assembly of North Carolina, and the United States Congress, both voted swords to Blakely as soon as the tidings of the capture of the Reindeer was officially reported. Two years afterwards on motion of Senator Archibald D. Murphey, the General Assembly unanimously passed a resolution requesting the Governor to forward to Mrs. Blakely the sword, and to express to her the deep interest which the legislature would always take in her happiness and welfare. It was further resolved that Captain Blakely's child be educated at the expense of the State, and that his wife be requested to draw on the Treasurer of the State for the required sums. Six hundred dollars per annum was agreed on as a reasonable sum and it was regularly paid until 1829 inclusive. No reason is given for the withdrawal but it was probably because the mother married a second time, and became a resident and probably a citizen of a Danish island.

Mrs. Blakely in addition to this annuity, and as guardian of her child, received for the share of her husband in the prize money for his captures, $7,500, and also his share of the Atlanta. Besides, there was paid to her, $900 his uncollected pay.

There is a good portrait of Captain Blakely belonging to the Philanthropic Society of the University of North Carolina. There was once a miniature of his daughter but it has been lost, and I cannot find anyone who remembers seeing her. Tradition has it that she was rather petite, with black eyes and hair, very pretty, pleasing and vivacious.

In the course of time Mrs. Blakely married Dr. Abbott, of Christiansted, the capital of the island of St. Croix, in the West Indies, belonging to Denmark. Her daughter accompanied and resided with her until 1841. Then she was woed and won by a member of the Danish nobility. On the Marriage Register of St. John's Episcopal Church of the island, is the following entry:

"May 19, 1841, Barron Joseph von Bretton (M. D.) and Maria Udney Blakely, both of this jurisdiction, by license."

The union was of short duration. On the Burial Register of the same Church is the following.

"March 2nd, 1842. The body of Maria Udney Von Bretton. Aged—— Parish C. [Church] yard. Childbirth." The blank should have been filled with "twenty seven." The child did not live and the blood of the famous sea captain became extinct.

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The North Carolina Booklet.

Feb 1902

1021 GREAT EVENTS IN..... NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY. 1910

Tales of the Cape Fear Blockade.

—BY—

JAMES SPRUNT.

FORMERLY PURSER OF THE CONFEDERATE STEAMER "LILIAN."

PRICE 10 CENTS. $1.00 THE YEAR.

Entered at the Postoffice at Raleigh, N. C., as second-class matter—June 24, 1901.

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2. A Reprint from Lawson.
3. Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War.
4. Old Charleston on the Cape Fear.
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Tales of the Cape Fear Blockade.

BY

JAMES SPRUNT,

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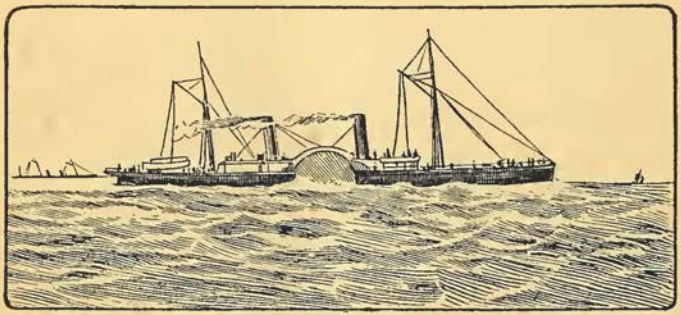
RALEIGH:
CAPITAL PRINTING COMPANY.
1902.

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'



BLOCKADE RUNNER "COL. LAMB."

PREFACE.

From early youth I have loved the Cape Fear River, the ships and the sailors which it bears upon its bosom. As a schoolboy I delighted to wander along the wharves and watch the strangers from foreign lands, whose uncouth cries and unknown tongues inspired me with a longing for the sea, and for the countries far away whence they had come; in later years I heard the stories of the old time Cape Fear gentlemen, and treasured these memories of our brave and generous people; and now, as I watch from my window the white sails glistening in the morning light, or as, when the evening shadows deepen, I gaze upon the wide expanse resplendent with the glory of the stars, I try to catch the vanishing lines of its history as the current sweeps along with its message to the sea.

But now the oft told tales of ante-bellum times are seldom heard. John Hampden Hill, George Davis, John S. James, A. J. deRosset, James G. Burr, and other treasurers of Cape Fear annals, have crossed over the river, and there are none to take their places. It is of more recent times that I write: of an epoch in our history stained with the best blood of Cape Fear gentlemen; of war and pestilence and famine; of indomitable courage and heroic fortitude; of privations and suffering; and of a strange traffic through a beleaguered city, which supplied the sinews of war long after the resources of the South had been exhausted; a traffic which will be unique in our history because the conditions which sustained it can never again occur.

As I close these gages and look westward across the river, the bright light falls on the yellowish green of the pasture land; and above its ceaseless current loom the Brunswick pines fringing the sky line with a sombre hue. The old time planter with his retinue of slaves is gone. The wharves where the swift blockade runners were moored are rotting away, and thick vines cover the ruins of the old Confederate Cotton Press: but the harbour and the river are the same as when Yeamans came with the first settlers, or as when Flora MacDonald sailed past the town to the restful haven of Cross Creek; and the Dram Tree still stands to warn the outgoing mariner that his voyage has begun, and to welcome the incoming storm-tossed sailor to the quiet harbour beyond.

JAMES SPRUNT.

Wilmington, N. C. February, 10th, 1902.

THE BLOCKADE.

On the nineteenth of April, 1861, President Lincoln declared by proclamation, a Military and Commercial Blockade of our Southern ports, which was supplemented by the proclamation of the twenty-seventh of May, to embrace the whole Atlantic Coast from the capes of Virginia to the mouth of the Rio Grande. This was technically a "Constructive," or "Paper," Blockade, inasmuch as the Declaration of the Great Powers assembled in Congress at Paris in 1856 removed all uncertainty as to the principles upon which the adjudication of prize claims must proceed, by declaring that "Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, must be maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the enemy's coast."

It was obviously impossible at that time for the Federal Government to enforce a blockade of the Southern Coast, measuring 3,549 miles and containing 189 harbors, besides almost innumerable inlets and sounds through which small craft might easily elude the four United States warships then available for service, the remaining 38 ships of war in commission being on distant stations.

Measures were, therefore, taken by the Navy Department to close the entrance of the most important Southern ports, notably those of Charleston and Savannah, by sinking vessels loaded with stone across the main channels or bars. Preparations were also made on a more extensive plan to destroy the natural roadsteads of other Southern

ports and harbours along the coast by the same means; but, although twenty-five vessels were sunk in the smaller inlets, it does not appear that this novel method of blockade was generally adopted.

In the meantime, urgent orders had been sent recalling from foreign stations every available ship of war; and by December of the same year the Secretary of the Navy had purchased and armed 264 ships which, with their 2,557 guns and 22,000 men, rendered the "Paper Blockade" comparatively effective. A sorry looking fleet it was as compared with our modern navies: ships, barks, schooners, sloops, tugs, passenger boats,—anything that would carry a gun, from the hoary type of Noah's Ark to the double-end ferry boat still conspicious in New York waters.

"The Blockading Fleet," says Judge Advocate Cowley, "was divided into two squadrons; the Atlantic Blockading Squadron of 22 vessels carrying 296 guns and 3,300 men, and the Gulf Blockading Squadron of 21 vessels carrying 282 guns and 3,500 men." This force was constantly increased as the two hundred specially designed ships of war were built by the Navy Department. The Squadron reached its highest degree of efficiency during the fourth year of the war by the acquisition of many prizes which were quickly converted into light draft cruisers and which rendered effective naval service, frequently under their original names.

THE BLOCKADERS.

The first blockader placed upon the Cape Fear Station was one bearing the misnomer "Daylight," which appeared July 20, 1861. Others soon followed, until the number

of the blockaders off New Inlet and the main bar of Cape Fear River was increased to about thirty or more; these formed a cordon every night in the shape of a crescent, the horns of which were so close in shore that it was almost impossible for a small boat to pass without discovery. Armed picket barges also patrolled the bars and sometimes crept close in upon the forts. For a year or more the fleet was largely kept upon the blockading stations; then a second cordon was placed across the track of the blockade runners near the ports of Nassau and the Bermudas, the cruisers of which sometimes violated the international distance restriction of one league—three geographical miles—from neutral land. At last a third cordon was drawn on the edge of the Gulf Stream, by which the hunted and harassed blockade runner often became an easy prey in the early morning, after a hard night's run in the darkness during which no lights were visible to friend or foe; even the binnacle lamp being carefully screened, leaving only a small peep hole by which the ship was steered.

THE CRUISERS.

Some of the later cruisers were faster than the blockade runners, and were more dreaded than the blockading squadron; not only because of their greater speed, but chiefly because of the proximity of their consorts which kept them almost in sight, often to the discomfiture of their unhappy quarry, headed off and opposed in every direction. The prospective division of big prize money running into millions of dollars was, of course, the most exciting feature of the service on the Federal side. Occasionally there was

comparatively trifling compensation, but greater enjoyment, in the capture of some small fry of blockade runners, consisting of pilot boats or large yawls laden with two or three bales of cotton and a crew of three or four youths, which sometimes came to grief in a most humiliating way. These small craft, upon one of which the writer was at sea for two weeks, were too frail for the risk of the longer voyages, and were usually projected from the small inlets, or sounds, farther south, which gave them a short run of about a hundred miles to the outer Bahama Keys, through whose dangerous waters they would warily make their way to Nassau. A boat of this description sailed over a Florida bar on a dark night under a favorable wind; but, failing to get out of sight of land before morning dawned, was overhauled at sunrise by a blockader and ordered to come alongside, where, with their own hands, these miniature blockade runners were obliged to hook on the falls of the Yankee's davits, by which they were ignominiously hoisted —boat, cargo and crew, to the captor's deck.

The desertion of negro slaves from tide water plantations and their subsequent rescue as "Intelligent Contrabands" by the coasting cruisers formed an occasional incident in the records of their official logs; but it is a noteworthy fact, deserving honorable mention, that comparatively few of the trusted negroes upon whom the soldiers in the Confederate Army relied for the protection and support of their families at home were thus found wanting. A pathetic and fatal instance is recalled in the case of a misguided negro family which put off from the shore in the darkness, hoping they would be picked up by a chance gunboat in

the morning. They were hailed by a cruiser at daylight, but in attempting to board her their frail boat was swamped, and the father alone rescued; the mother and children perished in the sea.

PORTS OF REFUGE.

The natural advantages of Wilmington at the time of which we write made it an ideal port for blockade runners, there being two entrances to the river; New Inlet on the north, and the Western, or main bar on the south of Cape Fear. "This cape," said Mr. George Davis, "is the southernmost point of Smith's Island, a naked, bleak elbow of sand, jutting far out into the ocean. Immediately in its front are the Frying Pan Shoals, pushing out still farther twenty miles to sea. Together they stand for warning and for woe; and together they catch the long, majestic roll of the Atlantic, as it sweeps through a thousand miles of grandeur and power from the Arctic towards the Gulf. It is the play-ground of billows and tempests, the kingdom of silence and awe, disturbed by no sound save the sea-gull's shriek and the breaker's roar. Its whole aspect is suggestive, not of repose and beauty, but of desolation and terror. Imagination cannot adorn it; romance cannot hallow it; local pride cannot soften it; there it stands to-day, bleak and threatening and pitiless as it stood three hundred years ago when Grenville and White came near unto death upon its sands; and there it will stand bleak and threatening and pitiless until the earth and sea shall give up their dead. And as its nature, so its name, is now, always has been, and always will be, the 'Cape of Fear.'"

The slope of our beach for many miles is very gradual to deep water. The soundings along the coast are regular, and the floor of the ocean is remarkably even. A steamer hard pressed by the enemy could run along the outer edge of the breakers without great risk of grounding; the pursuer, being usually of deeper draft, was obliged to keep further off shore. The Confederate Steamer Lilian, of which I was then Purser, was chased for nearly a hundred miles from Cape Lookout by the U. S. Steamer Shenandoah, which sailed a parallel course within half a mile of her and forced the Lilian at times into the breakers. This was probably the narrowest escape ever made by a blockade runner in a chase. The Shenandoah began firing her broadside guns at three o'clock, p. m., her gunners and commanding officers of the batteries being distinctly visible to the Lilian's crew.

A heavy sea was running which deflected the aim of the man-of-war, and which alone saved the Lilian from destruction. A furious bombardment by the Shenandoah, aggravated by the display of the Lilian's Confederate flag, was continued until nightfall, when, by a clever ruse, the Lilian, guided by the flash of her pursuer's guns, stopped for a few minutes; then, putting her helm hard over, ran across the wake of the war-ship straight out to sea, and, on the following morning, passed the fleet off Fort Fisher in such a crippled condition that several weeks were spent in Wilmington for repairs.

This principal seaport of North Carolina had become also the most important in the Southern Confederacy. Prior to the beginning of hostilities it had sustained a large traf-

fic in naval stores and lumber, and now it was to be for a time the chief cotton port of America. Before the war, its miles of tidy wharves had been lined, often three deep, with white-winged sailing vessels from near and far: there being only two steamers, the North Carolina and the Parkersburg, forerunners of the steam era which was to revolutionize commerce throughout the world.

A startling change in the aspect of the port was now apparent. The sailing vessels, even to the tiny corn crackers from Hyde County, had vanished: likewise, the two New York steamers. The long line of wharves was occupied by a fleet of nondescript craft the like of which had never been seen in North Carolina waters. A cotton compress on the western side of the river near the Market Street ferry was running night and day, to supply these steamers with cargoes for Nassau and Bermuda, while other new comers were busily discharging their anomalous cargoes of life-preserving and death-dealing supplies for the new Confederacy.

The good old town was sadly marred by the plagues of war and pestilence and famine; four hundred and forty-seven of a population reduced by flight to five thousand, had been carried off by the epidemic of yellow fever brought from Nassau by the steamer Kate; and hundreds more of the younger generation, who gave up their lives in the Confederate cause, had been brought to their final resting place in Oakdale Cemetery. Suspension of the civil law, neglect of sanitary precautions, the removal of nearly all the famine stricken women and children to safer places in the interior, and the coming of speculators and adventur-

ers to the auction sales of the blockade runners' merchandise, as well as of lawless and depraved characters attracted by the camps and shipping, had quite changed the aspect of the whole community. The military post, including all the river and harbour defences, was under the command of Major General W. H. C. Whiting, a distinguished West Point engineer of great ability, well known and honoured in Wilmington, where he married and resided. He fell, mortally wounded, in the last Fort Fisher fight, and died a prisoner of war in a Northern hospital. His remains were brought home, and now rest in Oakdale beside those of his most estimable wife who recently followed him.

The distress of Wilmington during the yellow fever epidemic was described as follows by the late Doctor Thomas F. Wood in his biographical sketch of one of the heroes of that fearful scourge, Doctor James H. Dickson, who died at his post of duty.

"The month of September, 1862, was one of great calamity to Wilmington. The alarming forebodings of the visitation of yellow fever in a pestilential form had ripened into a certainty. Depleted of her young and active men, there was only a military garrison in occupation, and when the presence of fever was announced the soldiers were removed to a safer locality. The country people, taking a panic at the news of the presence of the fever, no longer sent in their supplies. The town was deserted, its silence broken only by the occasional pedestrian bound on errands of mercy to the sick, or the rumbling of the rude funeral cart. The blockade was being maintained with increased rigor. The only newspaper then published was 'The Wilmington

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Journal,' a daily under the editorship of James Fulton, and its issues were maintained under the greatest difficulties, owing to the scarcity of paper and to sickness among the printers. All eyes were turned anxiously toward the physicians and those in authority, for help. To all the resident physicians, the disease was a new one; not one in the number had ever seen a case of yellow fever, and among them were men of large experience. The municipal authorities recognized their helplessness; the town was neglected, for it had been overcrowded with soldiers and visitors since the early days of the spring of 1861. The black pall of smoke from the burning tar barrels added solemnity to the deadly silence of the streets; designed to purify the air and mitigate the pestilence, it seemed more like fuliginous clouds of ominous portent, a somber emblem of mourning. Panic, distress, mute despair, want, had fallen upon a population then strained to its utmost, with the bleeding columns of its regiments dyeing the hills of Maryland with their blood, until the whole air was filled with the wail of the widow and orphan, and the dead could no longer be honored with the last tribute of respect.

'The Wilmington Journal' of September 29th, 1862, gave all its available editorial space to chronicle, for the first time, the character of the epidemic, and in a few brief words to notice the death of some of the more prominent citizens. One paragraph in the simple editorial notice ran as follows: 'Dr. James H. Dickson, a physician of the highest character and standing, died here on Sunday morning of yellow fever. Dr. Dickson's death is a great loss to the profession and to the community.' Close by, in an-

other column, from the pen of the acting Adjutant, Lieutenant VanBokkelen, of the 3d N. C. Infantry, numbering so many gallant souls of the young men of Wilmington, was the list of the killed and wounded from the bloody field of Sharpsburg.

"Distressed and bereaved by this new weight of sorrow, Wilmington sat in the mournful habiliments of widowhood, striving, amidst the immensity of the struggle, to make her courageous voice heard above all the din of war, to nerve the brave hearts who stood as a girdle of steel about beleaguered Richmond.

"James Fulton, the well known editor of the 'Journal,' the wary politican and cautious editor, striving to keep the worst from the world, lest the enemy might use it to our disadvantage, often ruthlessly suppressed from his limited space such matters as in these days of historical research might be of the greatest service. There were two predominant topics which eclipsed all the impending sorrow and distress: first, foreign intervention, for the purpose of bringing about an honorable peace; second, warnings to the State government of the inadequacy of the defense of Wilmington harbour against the enemy. The former topic was discussed with unvarying pleasure. The horizon of the future was aglow with the rosy dreams of mandates from the British and French governments which would bring independence to the Confederacy and peace and quietness to the numerous homes, from the sea to the mountains, where sorrow and death had hung like a pall. It is not strange, therefore, that the few publications that had survived the scarcity of printing material should have contained so lit-

tle biographical matter. Comrades dropped on the right and on the left, but the ranks were closed up, the hurried tear wiped away, and the line pushed steadily forward. The distinguished physician, or general, or jurist, as well as the humble private, got his passing notice in the meagre letters which a chance correspondent sent to one of the few newspapers, and in a short time he was forgotten in the fresh calamity of the day."

RESCUE OF MADAME DEROSSET.

We found at the ship-yard in Wilmington, while the "Lillian was undergoing repairs, the noted blockade runner Lynx, commanded by one of the most daring spirits in the service, Capt. Reed. This officer has been described in a Northern magazine as a pirate, but he was one of the mildest mannered of gentlemen, a capital seaman, and apparently entirely devoid of fear. He had previously commanded the Gibraltar, formerly the first Confederate cruiser Sumter; and he brought through the blockade in this ship to Wilmington the two enormous guns which attracted so much attention at that time. One of them exploded, through a fault in loading; the other was used for the defense of Charleston, and rendered effective service.

A thrilling incident occurred in the destruction of the Lynx, a few weeks after we left her at Wilmington, which nearly terminated the life of a brave and charming little lady, the wife of Mr. Louis H. deRosset, and of her infant child, who were passengers for Nassau. At half past seven o'clock on the evening of September 26, 1864, the Lynx attempted to run the blockade at New Inlet, but was imme-

diately discovered in the Swash Channel by the Federal cruiser Niphon, which fired several broadsides into her at short range, nearly every shot striking her hull and seriously disabling her. Notwithstanding this, Captain Reed continued his efforts to escape, and for a short time was slipping away from his pursuer; but he was again intercepted by two federal men-of-war, the Howquah and the Governor Buckingham. Mrs. deRosset describing the scene a few days afterwards, said:

"Immediately the sky was illuminated with rockets; broadside upon broadside, volley upon volley, was poured upon us. The Captain put me in the wheel house for safety. I had scarcely taken my seat when a ball passed three inches above my head, wounding the man at the wheel next to me; a large piece of the wheel house knocked me violently on the head. I flew to the cabin, took my baby in my arms, and immediately another ball passed through the cabin. We came so near one of the enemy's boats that they fired a round of musketry, and demanded surrender. We passed them like lightning; our vessel commenced sinking! Eight shots went through and through below the water line. I stayed in the cabin until I could no longer keep baby out of the water."

The Howquah then engaged the Lynx at close quarters, and her batteries tore away a large part of the paddle boxes and bridge deck. The Buckingham, also attacked the plucky blockade runner at so short a range that her commander fired all the charges from his revolver at Captain Reed and his pilot on the bridge. The continual flashing of the guns brightly illuminated the chase and, escape being impossi-

ble, Captain Reed, much concerned for the safety of his passengers, headed his sinking ship for the beach. In the meantime Fort Fisher was firing upon his pursuers with deadly effect, killing and wounding five men on the Howquah and disabling one of the guns. The sea was very rough that night, and the treacherous breakers with their deafening roar afforded little hope of landing a woman and a baby through the surf; nevertheless, it was the only alternative, and right bravely did the heroine meet it. Through the breakers the Lynx was driven to her destruction, the shock as her keel struck the bottom sending her crew headlong to the deck. Boats were lowered with great difficulty, the sea dashing over the bulwarks and drenching the sailors to the point of strangulation. Madame deRosset, with the utmost coolness, watched her chance while the boat lurched and pounded against the stranded ship, and jumped gracefully to her place; the baby, wrapped in a blanket was tossed from the deck to her mother ten feet below, and then the fight for a landing began; while the whole crew, forgetful of their own danger, and inspired with courage by the brave lady's example, joined in three hearty cheers as she disappeared in the darkness towards the shore. Under the later glare of the burning ship, which was set on fire when abandoned, a safe landing was effected, but with great suffering; soaking wet, without food or drink, they remained on the beach until a message could reach Colonel Lamb at Fort Fisher, five miles distant, whence an ambulance was sent to carry the passengers twenty miles up to Wilmington. The baby blockade runner, Gabrielle, survived this perilous adventure, also an

exciting run through the fleet in the Confederate steamer Owl; and she is now the devoted wife of Colonel Alfred Moore Waddell, Mayor of Wilmington.

WAR PRICES.

The prices of food and clothing had advanced in proportion to the depreciation of Confederate money; the plainest necessities were almost unobtainable.—$50 for a ham, $500 for a barrel of flour, $500 for a pair of boots, $600 for a suit of clothes, $1,500 for an overcoat, and $100 a pound for coffee or tea, were readily paid as the fortunes of the Confederacy waned. Coffee was perhaps the greatest luxury, and was seldom used; substitutes of beans, potatoes and rye, with "long sweetening,"—sorghum, having been generally adopted. Within a mile or two of our temporary home in the country there lived two unattractive spinsters of mature age, one of whom, in the other's absence, was asked by an old reprobate of some means in the neighborhood to marry him, a preposterous proposal which she indignantly rejected. Upon the return of the absent sister, however, she was made to feel that she had thrown away the golden opportunity of a life time; for, "Why," said the sister, "didn't you know he has a bag of coffee in his house?"

Another true incident will also serve to illustrate the comic side of the great crisis. Our evening meal consisted of milk, rye coffee, youpon tea, honey, and one wheaten biscuit each, with well prepared corn muffins and hominy ad libitum. These biscuits, however, were valued beyond price, and the right of each individual to them, as well as the plate upon which they rested, was closely guarded by

the younger members of the family. One evening there appeared just before supper an itinerant preacher, who was made welcome to the best we had. Addressing himself with vigor to the tempting plate of biscuits, and ignoring the despised muffins, which were politely pressed upon him by our dismayed youngsters at his side, he actually devoured the entire dozen with apparent ease and great relish. Upon being informed at the hour of retiring that it would be inconvenient to serve his breakfast at daylight, when he desired to depart, he said, to our amazement, that, rather than disturb us in the early morning, he would take his breakfast then and there before going to bed.

INTERMEDIATE PORTS.

The chief intermediate neutral ports of refuge for the blockade runners from Wilmington were Nassau, upon the island of New Providence in the Bahamas, and St. George's and Hamilton, in the Bermudas. These towns were of small note before the civil war began, but they became of great commercial importance as the traffic through the blockade increased. The distance from Cape Fear to Nassau, almost due south, is 570 miles, and to Bermuda, nearly due east, is 674 miles. The run to Nassau by a fast ship was 48 to 55 hours, and to Bermuda about 72 hours.

The inhabitants of Nassau had, with few exceptions, gained a precarious and questionable livelihood by wrecking, which in many instances was little short of piracy. Nature is so bountiful in the West Indies that the worthless, indolent negroes who largely composed the population subsisted daily upon fish and yams and tropical fruits, in

great variety, at the cost of an hour's work. Left to themselves, they had relapsed into semi-barbarism, which may be said of the West Indies negroes of Congo origin in general. The American blacks, especialy those of the South in their state of slavery, were infinitely superior, and their characteristics were kindly and peaceable, quite the reverse of those with whom we had to deal in Nassau. The influx of speculators and adventurers, and good business men as well, from all parts of the world soon gave to Nassau, and also to Bermuda (whose population comprised a much better class of natives), a heterogeneous and motley aspect sometimes quite picturesque. The cost of respectable living became so exorbitant that the British government was asked for a larger allowance by the officers of the regiment quartered at Nassau, and also by the commander at the Bermudas. The enormous profits made by successful blockade runners quite turned their heads; and swaggering sailors with their pockets full of gold were as reckless in spending it upon their dissolute associates, as many of the officers and ship owners were in the indulgence of their more expensive tastes for wine and gambling at the Royal Victoria Hotel.

FINANCIAL ESTIMATES.

I have not been able to obtain an approximate estimate of the value of supplies brought by blockade runners into the Confederacy during the four years' war, nor the amount of the losses by ship owners who failed to make a successful voyage through the Federal fleet. I have, however, carefully computed the actual sum realized by the United

States government from public sales of prizes, recorded by Admiral Porter in his "Naval History of the Civil War," which aggregates $21,759,595.05; to which may be reasonably added $10,000,000.00 for prizes of my knowledge not included in this report, and $10,000,000.00 more for valuable ships and cargoes stranded or destroyed by design or accident while attempting to escape from the blockading squadron. This total of $42,000,000.00 represents only a part, perhaps one-half, of the capital invested. Many successful steamers ran up their profits into millions. A steamer carrying 1,000 bales of cotton sometimes realized a profit of a quarter million dollars on the inward and outward run, within two weeks. Cotton could be purchased in the Confederacy for 3 cents per pound gold, and sold in England at the equivalent of 45 cents to $1 a pound, and the profits on some classes of goods brought into the Confederacy were in the same proportion. It is probably within the bounds of truth to say that the blockade running traffic during the war, including the cost of the ships, amounted to about one hundred and fifty-millions of dollars, gold standard.

THE FAMINE STRICKEN CONFEDERACY.

A pathetic feature of the traffic in the last year of the war was the falling off in the demand for blockade goods in the South at a time when they were most needed by the people, and when they were most difficult to obtain, even by the employment of the latest designed blockade runners, the construction of which cost twice as much as that of the previous type. The sad truth is, the Confederates were no longer able to buy even the commonest necessities of life,

and four-fifths of the women and children at home, as well as the soldiers in the field, were on the verge of starvation. Also, the demands of the Confederate Government for a larger proportion of the cargo space at reduced rates of freight had a depressing effect upon traffic; and many of the successful traders withdrew their ships, which, otherwise, would have had to face the hazard of almost certain capture or destruction. Mr. Tom Taylor, a conspicuous and celebrated leader in blockade running, who controlled a fleet of steamers, said that the Commissary General of the Confederacy in Richmond divulged to him early in the last year of the war that Gen. Lee's army had rations for only thirty days, and that there were no means of replenishing the commissariat unless Mr. Taylor could proceed to Nassau and bring relief within three weeks. Mr. Taylor had then in Wilmington his steamer Banshee, whose captain he telegraphed to prepare for sea and await his arrival. After an exciting and lengthy journey of three days and nights from Richmond to Wilmington by way of Danville, the Weldon road connection having been cut off, Mr. Taylor embarked upon the steamer Banshee on a most exciting and dangerous run to Nassau, and brought back a ship-load of provisions, which he landed in Wilmington within eighteen days after his departure from Richmond. It is an established fact, stated by both Southern and Northern authorities, that the Banshee saved the Army of Northern Virginia from starvation. Mr. Taylor graphically describes this run as follows:

"In the interim between our leaving Wilmington and our return, Porter's fleet had made an unsuccessful attack upon Fort Fisher, and this Federal commander was just

then, at the time of our appearance upon the scene, concluding his attack and re-embarking his beaten troops. When morning broke and we were near the fort, we counted sixty-four vessels that we had passed through. After being heavily fired into at daybreak by several gunboats (the fort being unable to protect us as usual, owing to nearly all of its guns having been put out of action in the attack of two days previous), it was an exciting moment as we crossed the bar in safety, cheered by the garrison, some two thousand strong, who knew that we had provisions on board for the relief of their comrades in Virginia.

"I shall never forget that trip. We sailed from Nassau at dusk on the evening before Christmas day, but were only just outside the harbor when our steam-pipe split and we had to return. As it was hopeless, on account of the moon, to make the attempt unless we could get away next day, I was in despair, and thought it was all up with my enterprise. After long trying in vain to find some one to undertake the necessary repairs, owing to its being Christmas day, I found at last a Yankee, who said: 'Well, sir, it's only a question of price.' I said, 'Name yours,' and he replied, 'Well, I guess $400 for three clamps would be fair.' I said, 'All right, if finished by six o'clock.' He set to work, and we made all arrangements to start. Shortly after six the work was finished, but the black pilot then declared he couldn't take her out until the tide turned, there being no room to turn her in the harbour. As it was a question of hours, I said, 'Back her out.' He grinned and said, 'Perhaps do plenty damage.' 'Never mind;' said I, 'try it'; and we did, with the result that we came plump into the

man-of-war lying at the entrance of the harbour (officers all on deck ready to go down to their Christmas dinner), and ground along her side, smashing two of her boats in, but doing ourselves little damage. 'Good-bye,' I shouted; 'A merry Christmas! Send the bill in for the boats.' Away we went clear, and fortunate it was we did so, as we only arrived off Wilmington just in time to run through Porter's fleet before daybreak on the 28th of December.

"The trip out was equally exciting, for I had as passengers General Randolph, ex-Secretary of State for War, who was going to Europe invalided, and his wife. I did not want to take them, as the Banshee had practically no accommodation whatever, particularly for ladies. However, she had such a good character for safety, that they pleaded hard to be taken, and I at last consented, though I did not like at all the responsibility of having a lady on board. I was determined, however, to make Mrs. Randolph as safe as possible, so I told the stevedore to keep a square space between the cotton bales on deck, into which she could retire in case the firing became hot. And hot it did become. Running down with a strong ebb tide through the Smith's Island inlet channel, we suddenly found a gunboat in the middle of the channel on the bar. It was too late to stop, so we put at her, almost grazing her sides and receiving her broadside point blank. Mrs. Randolph had retired to her place of safety, but she told me afterwards that, alarmed as she was, she could not help laughing, when, after she had been there only an instant, my colored servant, who had evidently fixed upon the place as appearing to be most safe, jumped right on top of her, his teeth chattering

through fear. How we laughed the next morning, and how poor Sam got chaffed! But he afterwards became quite a cool hand; and when we were running in, in daylight, in the Will-o'-the-Wisp and the shot were coming thick, Sam appeared on the bridge with his usual 'Coffee, Sar!'

"After we had got rid of our friend on the bar, we were heavily peppered by her consorts outside, from whom we received no damage; but we fell in with very bad weather, and the ship was under water most of the time. Right glad I was to land my passengers, who were half dead through sea-sickness, exposure and fatigue."

DEFENSES.

The defenses of Oak Island, commanding the main bar of the Cape Fear river, were composed of Fort Caswell and Fort Campbell—the latter a large earth work situated about one mile down the beach from Fort Caswell—Battery Shaw, and some smaller earthworks. With reference to the principal fortification I have received the following official particulars from the Secretary of War:

"Fort Caswell, at the mouth of the Cape Fear river, North Carolina, was commenced in the year 1826, the first appropriation for its construction being under act of Congress approved March 2nd, 1825. It was reported as about completed by Captain Alexander J. Swift, United States Engineers, Oct. 20th, 1838, at a total cost of $473,402. From 1838 to 1857, for preservation of site, repairs &c., at Fort Caswell, and some repairs at Fort Johnston, the sum of $69,422.09 was expended, making a total to 1857 of $542,-

844.09. It was named Fort Caswell by War Department Order, No. 32 of April 18th, 1833.

"Fort Caswell was an enclosed pentagonal work, with a loop-holed scarp wall, flanked by caponieres; it was constructed for an armament of 61 channel-bearing guns, mounted en-barbette, and a few small guns for land defense. Capacious defensive barracks, called a citadel, occupied a large part of the parade."

It is a remarkable fact that, notwithstanding its exposed position to the Federal fleet, no general engagement occurred at Caswell during the four years' war. The fort was of great service, however, in defending the main bar and the garrison at Smithville, although the fighting was confined to an occasional artillery duel with the United States blockading fleet.

During the past three years the ruins of Fort Caswell have disappeared; and the General Government has erected on Oak Island, under the old name—in honor of the first governor of North Carolina—one of the strongest forts on the Atlantic coast, armed with far reaching disappearing batteries and equipped with the most approved appliances of modern warfare.

The New Inlet, which was more frequently used by the blockade runners, was protected for four years by Fort Fisher a splendid creation of its gallant defender, Colonel Lamb, and which was styled by Federal engineers "The Malakoff of the South."

The plans of Fort Fisher were Colonel Lamb's; and as the work progressed they were approved by Generals French, Raines, Longstreet, Beauregard and Whiting, who

were among the best engineers of West Point. It was built solely for the purpose of resisting the fire of a large fleet, and it withstood uninjured, as to armament, two of the fiercest bombardments in history. The land face of the works was 682 yards long, and the sea face was 1,898 yards long. The position commanded the last gateway between the Confederate States and the outside world. Its capture, with the resulting loss of all the Cape Fear river defenses and Wilmington, the most important entrepot of the Confederacy, effectually ended blockade running. Gen. Lee, recognizing the importance of Wilmington, sent word to Colonel Lamb that Fort Fisher must be held, or he could not subsist his army. The following description of the land face and sea face of Fort Fisher is given in Colonel Lamb's own words:

"At the land face of Fort Fisher the peninsula was about half a mile wide. This face commenced about one hundred feet from the river with a half bastion, and extended with a heavy curtain to a full bastion on the ocean side, where it joined the sea face. The work was built to withstand the heaviest artillery fire. There was no moat with scarp and counterscarp, so essential for defence against storming parties, the shifting sands rendering its construction impossible with the material available.

"The outer slope was twenty feet high and was sodded with marsh grass which grew luxuriantly. The parapet was not less than twenty-five feet thick, with an inclination of only one foot. The revetment was five feet nine inches high from the floor of the gun chambers, and these were some twelve feet or more from the interior plane. The

guns were all mounted in barbette on Columbiad carriages, there being no casemated gun in the fort. Between the gun chambers, containing one or two guns each, there were twenty heavy guns on the land face; there were heavy traverses exceeding in size any known to engineers, to protect from an enfilading fire. They extended out some twelve feet or more in height above the parapet, running back thirty feet or more. The gun chambers were reached from the rear by steps. In each traverse was an alternate magazine, or bomb-proof, the latter ventilated by an air chamber. The passage ways penetrated traverses in the interior of the work, forming additional bomb-proofs for the reliefs for the guns.

" As a defence against infantry there was a system of subterra torpedoes extending across the peninsula, five to six hundred feet from the land face, and so disconnected that the explosion of one would not affect the others; inside the torpedoes, about fifty feet from the berme of the work, extending from river bank to sea shore, was a heavy palisade of sharpened logs nine feet high, pierced for musketry, and so laid out as to have an enfilading fire on the center, where there was a redoubt guarding a sally port, from which two napoleons were run as occasion required. At the river end of the palisade was a deep and muddy slough, across which was a bridge, the entrance of the river road into the port; commanding this bridge was a napoleon gun. There were three mortars in the rear of the land face.

THE SEA FACE OF FORT FISHER.

"The sea face for one hundred yards from the northwest bastion was of the same massive character as the land

face. A crescent battery intended for four guns joined this. But it was converted into a hospital bomb-proof. In the rear a heavy curtain was thrown up to protect the chambers from fragments of shells. From the bomb-proof a series of batteries extended for three-quarters of a mile along the sea, connected by an infantry curtain. These batteries had heavy traverses, but were not more than ten or twelve feet high to the top of the parapets, and were built for ricochet firing. On the line was a bomb-proof electric battery connected with a system of submarine torpedoes. Farther along, where the channel ran close to the beach, inside the bar, a mound battery sixty feet high was erected, with two heavy guns which had a plunging fire on the channel; this was connected with the battery north of it by a light curtain. Following the line of the works it was over one mile from the mound to the northeast bastion at the angle of the sea and land faces, and upon this line 24 heavy guns were mounted. From the mound for nearly one mile to the end of the point, was a level sand plain scarcely three feet above high tide, and much of it was submerged during gales. At the point was battery Buchanan, four guns in the shape of an ellipse commanding the inlet, its two eleven-inch guns covering the approach by land. An advanced redoubt with a 24-pounder was added after the attack by the forces on Christmas, 1864. A wharf for large steamers was in close proximity to these works. Battery Buchanan was a citadel to which an overpowered garrison might retreat and, with proper transportion, be safely carried off at night, and to which reinforcements could be sent under the cover of darkness."

THE CONFEDERATE NAVY.

If the Federal Government was unprepared for naval warfare at the beginning of the civil strife, the Confederacy was even less prepared, for it could not claim the ownership of a single ship. In a conversation shortly after the war, our distinguished naval officer, Captain John Newland Maffitt, said:

"The Northern navy contributed materially to the successful issue of the war. The grand mistake of the South was neglecting her navy. All our army movements out West were baffled by the armed Federal steamers which swarmed on Western waters, and which our government had provided nothing to meet. Before the capture of New Orleans, the South ought to have had a navy strong enough to prevent the capture of that city and hold firmly the Mississippi and its tributaries. This would have prevented many disastrous battles; it would have made Sherman's march through the country impossible, and Lee would have been master of his lines. The errors of our government were numerous, but the neglect of the navy proved irremediable and fatal.

"Nobody here," he continued, "would believe at first that a great war was before us. South Carolina seceded first, and improvised a navy consisting of two small tug boats! North Carolina followed suit, and armed a tug and a small passenger boat! Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana put in commission a handful of frail river boats that you could have knocked to pieces with a pistol shot. That was our navy! Then came Congress and voted money to pay officers like myself, who had resigned from the Federal navy, but no-

thing to build or arm any ships for us to command. Of course, it woke up by and by, and ordered vessels to be built here, there and everywhere, but it was too late."

"And yet," said the Captain, with a momentary kindling of the eye, as the thought of other days came back to him, "The Confederate navy, minute though it was, won a place for itself in history. To the Confederates the credit belongs of testing in battle the invulnerability of ironclads, and of revolutionizing the navies of the world. The Merrimac did this; and, though we had but a handful of light cruisers, while the ocean swarmed with armed Federal vessels, we defied the Federal navy and swept Northern commerce from the seas."

Colonel Scharf, in his admirable "History of the Confederate States Navy" says: "In many respects the most interesting chapter of the history of the Confederate navy is that of the building and operation of the ships-of-war which drove the merchant flag of the United States from the oceans and almost extirpated their carrying trade. But the limitations of space of this volume forbid more than a brief review of the subject. The function of commerce-destroyers is now so well admitted as an attribute of war between recognized belligerents by all the nations of the world, that no apology is necessary for the manner in which the South conducted hostilities upon the high seas against her enemy; and, while the Federal officials and organs styled the cruisers 'pirates' and their commanders 'buccaneers,' such stigmatization has long since been swept away, along with other rubbish of the War between the States, and their legal status fully and honorably es-

tablished. We have not the space for quotations from Prof. Soley, Prof. Bolles and other writers upon this point; but what they have said may be summed up in the statement that the government and agents of the Confederacy transgressed no principle of right in this matter, and that if the United States were at war to-day, they would strike at the commerce of an enemy in as nearly the same manner as circumstances would permit. The justification of the Confederate authorities is not in the slightest degree affected by the fact that the Geneva Tribunal directed Great Britain to pay the Federal government $15,500,000 in satisfaction for ships destroyed by cruisers constructed in British ports.

"Eleven Confederate cruisers figured in the 'Alabama Claims' settlement between the United States and Great Britain. They were the Alabama, Shenandoah, Florida, Tallahassee, Georgia, Chickamauga, Nashville, Retribution, Sumter, Sallie and Boston. The actual losses inflicted by the Alabama, $6,547,609, were only $60,000 greater than those charged to the Shenandoah. The sum total of the claims filed against the eleven cruisers for ships and cargoes was $17,900,633, all but about $4,000,000 being caused by the Alabama and Shenandoah. The tribunal decided that Great Britain was in no way responsible for the losses inflicted by any cruisers but the Alabama, Florida and Shenandoah. It disallowed all the claims of the United States for indirect or consequential losses, which included the approximate extinction of American commerce by the capture of ships or their transfer to foreign flags. What this amounted to is shown in the 'Case of the

United States' presented to the tribunal. In this it is stated that while in 1860 two-thirds of the commerce of New York was carried on in American bottoms, in 1863 three-fourths was carried on in foreign bottoms. The transfer of American vessels to the British flag to avoid capture is stated thus: In 1861, vessels 126, tonnage 71,673; in 1862, vessels 135, tonnage 64,578; in 1863, vessels 348, tonnage 252,579; in 1864, vessels, 106, tonnage 92,052. Commanders of the Confederate cruisers have avowed that the destruction of private property and diversion of legitimate commerce in the performance of their duty was painful in the extreme to them; but in their wars the United States had always practiced this mode of harassing an enemy, and had, indeed, been the most conspicuous exemplars of it that the world ever saw."

Since the foregoing was written by Colonel Scharf in 1887 there has been a growing aversion on the part of the principal commercial Powers to privateering. A recent press association dispatch from Washington says:

"The report from Brussels that former President Kruger is being urged to notify the Powers that unless they intervene in the South African contest he will commission privateers, is not treated seriously here. It is well understood, as one outcome of the war with Spain, that the United States government will never again, except in the most extraordinary emergency, issue letters of marque; and the same reasons that impel the government to this course would undoubtedly operate to prevent our government from recognizing any such warrants issued by any other nation, even were that nation in full standing.

"In the case of the Spanish war, both the belligerents by agreement refrained from issuing commissions to privateers, and it now has been many years since the flag of any respectable nation has flown over such craft."

About the beginning of the year 1862, the Confederate States Government began the construction of an iron clad ram, named North Carolina, on the west side of Cape Fear river at the ship yard of the late B. W. Beery; the drawings and specifications of the vessel having been made by Captain John L. Porter, Chief Naval Constructor of the Confederate States Navy, with headquarters at Portsmouth, Virginia.

The armament of the North Carolina consisted of one 10-inch pivot gun in the bow and six broadside guns of about 8-inch calibre. The timbers of the vessel were heavy pine and hard wood covered with railroad iron, giving the ram, when launched, the appearance of a turtle in the water.

The North Carolina was subsequently anchored for a long time off Smithville, now Southport, as a guard vessel commanding the entrance to the river at the main bar, until she was gradually destroyed by the toredo, or sea-worm, and sank at her moorings, where I believe she still remains.

The Raleigh, a vessel of like construction, was built later at the wharf near the foot of Church street; and after being launched was completed at Cassidey's ship-yard.

Her construction and armament were similar to that of the North Carolina, but she was covered with heavy iron plates of two thicknesses running fore and aft and athwart ship.

I am indebted to a distinguished ex-Confederate officer for the following particulars of an expedition from Wilmington against the Federal blockading fleet off New Inlet Bar, in which the Raleigh took a conspicuous part; and which, contrary to the hopes and expectations of our people, not only proved to be a dismal failure, but resulted in the loss of the Raleigh, which broke her back while trying to re-enter the river and sank in the middle of the narrow channel, proving afterwards a troublesome obstruction to the blockade runners at New Inlet.

The Star of the Confederacy was waning in the spring of 1864, a depreciated currency and the scant supply of provisions and clothing had sent prices almost beyond the reach of people of moderate means. In Richmond, meal was $10 per bushel; butter, $5 per pound; sugar, $12 per pound; bacon, hog round, $4 per pound; brogan shoes, $25 per pair; felt hats, $150; cotton cloth, $30 per yard: and it was a saying in the Capital of the Confederacy, that the money had to be carried in the market basket and the marketing brought home in the pocket book.

Early in May the condition of the commissariat had been alarming; but a few days' rations were left for Lee's army, and only the timely arrival of the blockade runner Banshee with provisions saved the troops from suffering.

Wilmington was the only port left to the blockade runners, and the blockade of the mouths of the Cape Fear had become dangerously stringent. Some twenty steamers guarded the two inlets, besides two outer lines of fast cruisers between this city and the friendly ports of Nassau and the Bermudas. On dark nights, armed launches were sent

into the bar to report outgoing steamers by firing rockets in the direction taken by them. The ceaseless vigilance of the forts could scarcely make an exit for friendly vessels even comparatively free from danger. An hour after dark, Fort Fisher, having trailed its sea-face guns upon the bar, would ricochet its Columbiad shot and shell upon that point, so as to frighten off the launches; and then the blockade runners would venture out and take their chances of running the gauntlet of the blockading fleet.

In this emergency, Commodore Lynch, commanding the Confederate fleet in the Cape Fear river, determined to raise the blockade off New Inlet, the favorite entrance of the blockade runners.

The iron-clad ram Raleigh, already described, Lieutenant J. Pembroke Jones, commanding, and two small wooden gun-boats, Yadkin and Equator, were chosen for the purpose.

Our late townsman, Captain E. W. Manning, chief engineer of the station, and the late engineer Smith, C. S. N., of Fayetteville, were in charge of the machinery of the Raleigh. On the afternoon of May 6, 1864, the Commodore visited Fort Fisher, to take a reconnoissance, and obtain, as far as practicable, the co-operation of the fort. Seven vessels were at the anchorage at sundown; the Tuscarora, Britannia, Nansemond, Howquah, Mount Vernon, Kansas and Niphon. He arranged a distinguishing signal for his vessels—a red light above a white one, so that they would not be fired upon by the fort.

Fort Fisher had its sea-face guns manned after dark by experienced artillerists, and about eight o'clock the range

lights were set at the Mound and the Confederate flotilla put to sea. The commander of the fort, Colonel William Lamb, with some of his officers, repaired to the ramparts opposite the bar and awaited the result.

Within thirty minutes after the vessels had disappeared from the vision of the anxious garrison, a few shots were heard from seaward, and some Coston blue lights were seen in the offing; then all was dark as Erebus and silent as the grave.

Speculation was rife among the Confederates who manned the guns. Had the foe been dispersed or destroyed? Why were no rockets sent up to announce a victory, to cheer the thousand hearts which beat with anxious hope within Fort Fisher?

A long night of waiting was spent without any sign save the occasional twinkle of a distant light at sea. The gunners were relieved at midnight, but all continued dark and silent.

At last day dawned, the breakers on the bar became visible, the Raleigh and her consorts appeared; and then outside of them, at long range, the enemy's fleet. Shots were exchanged after daylight between the combatants; one of the Federal vessels fired rapidly at the Raleigh, approaching as she fired, but, receiving a shot from the iron-clad through her smoke-stack, withdrew to a safer distance.

Then the seven blockaders came closer to the Confederate fleet, showing fight, and probably with the intention of trying to run the Raleigh down; but that vessel and her consorts headed for the fort and steamed slowly in, the en-

emy prudently keeping beyond the range of the guns of Fort Fisher.

It was with great disappointment that the garrison saw the Raleigh, Yadkin and Equator come over the bar and under the guns of the fort, leaving the blockading squadron apparently unharmed.

The Yadkin and Equator came safe into the river, but the Raleigh, after passing the mound and rounding Confederate Point, grounded on the rip at the mouth of the river. Efforts were made to lighten her and get her off, but the receding tide caused her to hog and break in two, on account of the heavy armor and, becoming a wreck, she subsequently sank and went to pieces. Little was saved from her, but the crew were not endangered, as the weather was calm.

SMITHVILLE (SOUTHPORT.)

The staid old village of Smithville, situated on the Cape Fear between Fort Fisher and Fort Caswell, but nearer the latter, was in those days the center of busy military life. It was named in 1792, in honour of its distinguished citizen, Governor Benjamin Smith, who had served in his youth as Aide-de-camp of Washington and who afterwards became one of the most noted philanthropists, patriots and statesmen of his time. The village had been previously called Fort Johnstone, a fortification named for the Colonial Governor, Gabriel Johnstone, having been erected there about the year 1745 for the protection of the Cape Fear colony.

By authority of the Legislature, the name was changed to Southport, and it is but justice to the people that this

apparent forgetfulness of their benefactor should be explained. Shortly before this, a number of prospectors, claiming abundant means and influence, promised to build a road, to be known as the " South Atlantic and Northwestern Railroad, " in as direct a line as practicable from Smithville to Cincinnati; and suggested for the former a name more suitable for a commercial city. The towns folk were naturally filled with enthusiasm at the thought of the city which would arise at this terminus, and of the benefit to accrue to the whole State from the development of a deep water port. They more readily agreed to the change because the University of North Carolina had built a monument to Governor Smith in a building now used as a library, a more fitting tribute to his memory, they thought, than the name of an unimportant town. Now, after a lapse of fifteen years—the railroad having failed to materialize—they find themselves disappointed of all their hopes, and burdened with a meaningless name.

PILOTS.

This old military post with its obsolete guns was occupied by the N. C. State Troops at the beginning of the war, and was later strengthened by the Confederate engineers. Here was the headquarters of the Confederate General commanding; and here were the houses and homes of about 60 hardy pilots, whose humble sphere was suddenly exalted to one of dignity,—that of the most important and responsible officers of the swift blockade-running steamers, which braved the dangers of a hostile fleet and crept in every night under the cover of darkness.

The story of the wonderful nerve of these pilots in the time of the Federal blockade has never been fully written; because the survivors are modest men, and time has obliterated from their memories many incidents of this most extraordinary epoch of their lives.

Amidst the impenetrable darkness, without lightship or beacon, the narrow and closely watched inlet was felt for with a deep-sea lead as a blind man feels his way along a familiar path; and often, when the enemy's fire was raking the wheel-house, the faithful pilot, with steady hand and iron nerve, would safely steer the little fugitive of the sea to her desired haven. It might be said of him, as it was told of the Nantucket skipper, that he could get his bearings on the darkest night by a taste of the deep-sea sounding lead.

THE BLOCKADE RUNNERS.

In the early stage of the war, blockade running was carried on in part by sailing vessels; for the blockade was not yet rigorous, and speed on the part of the venturesome had not become essential to success. The proclamation of the blockade had suspended legitimate commerce, and the owners of the cheap sailing craft which faced the extra hazard of war had, for a time, little to lose and much to gain in the venture. The inward cargoes were less valuable than those brought later by steam vessels, and they consisted of such necessary commodities as salt, sugar, molasses and other cheaper supplies. These cargoes were not then openly declared from neutral countries for a blockaded port, their ostensible destination being the markets of the North;

and when by chance an enterprising skipper suspiciously near the Carolina coast, was overhauled by a cruiser, he was always ready with a plausible story of adverse winds or false reckoning. For a time such cases were allowed to withdraw with a warning. In later months all suspicious craft detected in the act of approaching a blockaded port were seized in the name of the United States, and sent in charge of a prize crew to a convenient Northern port for adjudication, which invariably resulted in their condemnation and sale. Attempts at re-capture were seldom made, precautions against such an event being always well taken; but there was an instance of rare heroism on the part of an obscure captain of a sailing vessel belonging to Charleston, which sent a thrill of emotion around the world wherever the story was told of the Emily St. Pierre and her brave commander.

A HEROIC CAPTAIN RECAPTURES HIS SHIP.

We learn from Chambers 'Journal that in November, 1861, the full-rig sailing ship Emily St. Pierre, William Wilson, master, sailed from Calcutta, India, for St. John, New Brunswick, with orders to call at Charleston, S. C., if that port was found open; but if it were blockaded, to proceed to the British port of St. John. The ship formerly hailed from Charleston, but when the war began was put under the British flag. Her nominal owners were Fraser, Trenholm & Co., Liverpool, who were also the agents of the Confederate Government.

Upon approaching Charleston bar, twelve miles distant, on the morning of March 18, 1862, she was hailed by a

Federal cruiser, James Adger, and ordered to heave to; Captain Wilson, accordingly, hauled up his courses, backed his main yard, and lay to. He was immediately boarded by a naval lieutenant and a force of twenty marines, who demanded his papers. These showed an innocent cargo, 2,000 bales of gunny bags, and her proper certificate of registration as a British vessel. Captain Wilson demanded permission to proceed towards his destination, Charleston being evidently blockaded; this the naval officer refused, and the two vessels proceeded to Charleston Roadstead, where at half past two Captain Wilson was ordered on board the flag ship of the blockading squadron, the Florida. Here he was kept for two hours in solitude and suspense; at the end of which Captain Goldsborough, the flag officer informed him that they had decided to seize the Emily St. Pierre, on the ground that the British certificate was not bona fide; that there were evidences that the ship was really of Charleston, and that the captain had not revealed his real intentions. Captain Wilson protested, but in vain; his crew was removed to the war ship, with the exception of the steward, named Matthew Montgomery, and the cook, a German named Louis Schelvin. The Emily St. Pierre was placed in charge of Lieutenant Stone of the United States Navy, a master's mate, an American engineer as passenger, and a prize crew of twelve men, with orders to proceed to Philadelphia for adjudication by the Admiralty Courts.

Captain Wilson was permitted to go as passenger on the prize to Philadelphia. The moment that he stepped again on board his vessel, he formed the resolution to recapture her and take her home. He was bold enough to think

that it might be possible to recapture the ship, even against such odds. An unarmed man, aided by the questionable support of an Irish steward and a German cook, was practically powerless against the fifteen of the crew. On the other hand, Captain Wilson was a brawny, big-framed Scotchman, (a native of Dunfrieshire), a thorough seaman, determined in resolve, cool and prompt in action. He called the steward and cook to him in his stateroom, and disclosed the wild project he had formed. Both manfully promised to stand by their chief. This was at half past four on the morning of the 21st of March, the third day out from Charleston. Captain Wilson had already formed his plan of operations, and had prepared to a certain extent for carrying it out. With the promise of the cook and steward secured, he lost no time; gave them no chance for their courage to evaporate, but proceeded at once, in the darkness and silence of the night, to carry out his desperate undertaking. He was prepared to lose his life or have his ship; this was the simple alternative. It was Lieutenant Stone's watch on deck, and the master's mate was asleep in his berth. The Scotch Captain went into the berth, handed out the mate's sword and revolvers, clapped a gag made of a piece of wood and some marline between his teeth, seized his hands, which Montgomery, the steward, quickly ironed, and so left him secure. The lieutenant paced the deck, undisturbed by a sound. Quickly another stateroom was entered, where the American engineer lay asleep. He, also, was gagged and ironed, silently and without disturbance. His revolvers and those already secured were given to the steward and the cook, who remained below in the

cabin. Captain Wilson went on deck. Lieutenant Stone was still pacing the deck, and the watch consisted of one man at the helm, one at the lookout on the forecastle, and three others who were about the ship. For ten minutes Captain Wilson walked up and down, remarking on the fair wind, and making believe that he had just turned out. The ship was off Cape Hatteras, midway of their journey between Charleston and Philadelphia, the most easterly projection of the land on that coast. The difficult navigation thereabouts, with the cross-currents and a tendency to fogs, afforded the two captains subject for talk.

'Let her go free a bit, Captain Stone; you are too close to the Cape, I tell you, and I know.'

'We have plenty of offing,' replied the lieutenant; and then to helmsman: 'How's her head?'

'North-east by east, sir,' came the reply.

'Keep her so; I tell you it is right,' said the lieutenant.

'Well, of course, I'm not responsible now, but I'm an older sailor than you, Captain Stone, and I tell you, if you want to clear Cape Hatteras, another two points east will do no harm. Do but look at my chart; I left it open on the cabin table. And the coffee will be ready,' and Captain Wilson led the way from the poop to the cabin, followed by the commander.

"There was a passage about five yards long leading from the deck to the cabin, a door at either end. The Captain stopped at the first door, closing it, and picking from behind it an iron belaying-pin which he had placed there. The younger man went forward to the cabin, where the chart lay upon the table. 'Stone!' He turned at the sud-

den peremptory exclamation of his name. His arm upraised, the heavy iron bolt in his hand, in low but hard, eager, quick words, the captain said: 'My ship shall never go to Philadelphia!' He did not strike, it was unnecessary. Montgomery had thrust the gag into the young lieutenant's mouth; he was bound hand and foot, bundled into a berth, and the door locked. Three out of fifteen were thus disposed of. There were still the watch on deck and the watch below. Coming on deck from the cabin Captain Wilson called to the three men who were about, and pointing to a heavy coil of rope in the lazaret, ordered them to get it up at once—Lieutenant Stone's orders. They jumped down without demur, suspecting nothing, as soon as the Captain shoved the hatch aside. They were no sooner in than he quickly replaced and fastened the hatch. The three were securely trapped, in full view of the helmsman, whose sailor's instinct kept him in his place at the wheel.

'If you utter a sound or make a move,' said the Captain, showing a revolver, 'I'll blow your brains out;' and then he called aft the lookout man, the last of the watch on deck. The man came aft. Would he help to navigate the ship to England? No, he would not, he was an American. Then, would he call the watch? He would do that. And eagerly he did it, but the next moment he was laid low on deck and bundled unceremoniously into the lazaret with his three companions; the hatchway was replaced and secured, Captain Wilson standing on guard. Meanwhile the watch below had been called and were astir. When sailors tumble out they generally do so gradually and by twos and threes. The first two that came aft were quickly

overpowered, one at a time, and bound. The third man drew his knife and dashed at the steward, who fired, wounding him severely in the shoulder. It was the only shot that was fired. Finding that the cook and steward, and Captain were all armed, the rest of the watch below quietly surrendered, and submitted to be locked in the round house, prisoners of the bold and resolute man, who, in the course of an hour had thus regained possession of his ship against overwhelming odds. For England! Yes, homeward bound in an unseaworthy ship; for a ship that is undermanned is unseaworthy to the last degree. It is worse than overloading. And here was our brave captain, three thousand miles from home, calmly altering the course the few points eastward he had recommended to the Lieutenant; homeward bound for England, his crew, a steward and a cook! Neither could steer, nor hand, nor reef. Brave-hearted Matthew Montgomery, the Irish steward, honest Louis Schelvin, the German cook, now is the time to show what savour of seamanship you have picked up amongst your pots and pans of the galley and the pantry! The first step was to wash and bandage the wounded shoulder of the man who was shot; the next, to put all the prisoners in the round house under lock and key. The Lieutenant was admitted to the captain's table under guard and on parole. The meal over, he was ushered into his stateroom and locked in. Once a day only—for the captain is captain and crew combined—bread and beef and water were passed to the prisoners in the round house; no more attention than was absolutely necessary could be spared to them.

Homeward bound! Captain Wilson had overcome his

captors: could he overcome the elements? The glass was falling, the wind was rising, threatening a gale. The reef-tackles were passed to the capstan, so that one man's strength could haul them. Then the wheel was resigned to the Irish steward and the German cook, whilst the Captain had to lie aloft and tie the reef-points; ever and anon casting a look behind and signalling to his faithful men how to move the wheel. Hours of hard work, fearful anxiety, before all is made snug to meet the fury of the coming storm. 'All is right at last,' thought the Captain, 'if everything holds.' Yes, if—. Everything did not hold. The tiller was carried away in the midst of the gale, and Capt. Wilson, brave heart as he was, felt the sadness of despair. He had been keeping watch day and night without intermission for many days, snatching an hour's sleep at intervals, torn with anxiety, wearied with work. It was but a passing faintness of the heart. The ship rolled and tossed, helmless, at the mercy of the sea. For twelve hours he wrought to rig up a jury-rudder, and at last, lifting up his heart in gratitude, for the second time he snatched his ship out of the hands of destruction; for the second time he could inform Lieutenant Stone that he was in command of his own ship. No longer was the ship buffeted at the mercy of the wild winds and the cruel Atlantic rollers, but her course was laid true and her head was straight—for England. For thirty days they sailed with westerly gales behind them. They made the land in safety, and the code signal was hoisted as they passed up the Channel. On the morning of the 21st of April, exactly one month since her course was altered off Cape Hatteras, the Emily St. Pierre

threaded the devious channels which lead into the broad estuary of the Mersey; the anchor fell with a plunge and an eager rattle of the leaping cable, and the ship rode stately on the rushing tide. Much was made of Captain Wilson during the next few weeks. All England rang with applause of his brave exploit. Meetings were convened, presentations were made, speeches were delivered, to an extent that might have turned the head of a less simple and true-hearted man. Large sums of money were subscribed, of which plucky Matthew Montgomery and honest Lewis Schelvin, the cook, got their share. But probably the happiest and proudest moment of his life was when the Captain stood on deck on the day of arrival—his wife by his side, and near her the owner of the ship, Charles K. Prioleau, of Fraser, Trenholm & Co.,—whilst he narrated in simple words the story of his exploit. His big beard was torn and ragged, his eyes bloodshot with weariness and lack of sleep, his face haggard, weather-beaten and drawn; but he was a man of whom all Britain was proud—a man to inspire her with the faith that the race of heroes does not die."

THE KATE'S ADVENTURE.

In the spring of the year 1862, the Confederate Government, desiring to arrange for the importation of supplies for the War Department, and finding the principal ports of the South Atlantic Coast so well guarded by the blockaders that the new undertaking of blockade running was then considered extra hazardous, decided to use the smaller inlets, which were less carefully watched by the enemy;

and dispatched the steamer Kate from Nassau with a cargo of ammunition to Smyrna, Fla., where an entrance was safely effected by that vessel, and the cargo immediately discharged and transported across the country to a place of safety.

The Kate was commanded by Captain Thos. J. Lockwood, of Smithville, on Cape Fear river, who was well known to our older pilots and seafaring people as a man of very superior skill and seamanship, and thoroughly familiar with the bars and inlets along the Southern coast.

A second voyage by the Kate had been completed, and the cargo successfully discharged and transported, before the movement was made known to the blockading squadron; but while the Kate was waiting for the return of Captain Lockwood from Charleston, whither he had proceeded to bring his family to the ship at Smyrna Inlet, a Federal man-of-war discovered her hiding place, which forced the chief officer of the Kate to proceed to sea at once, leaving the Captain behind. The Federal cruiser landed a boat's crew, and burned the house of Mr. Sheldon, the pilot who had assisted in bringing the Kate to an anchorage, shortly after which, Captain Lockwood arrived with his family, to find that the ship had already departed. Mr. Sheldon, however, furnished him with an ordinary whale boat, which had escaped the scrutiny of the Federal man-of-war's men, and Captain Lockwood at once determined to undertake the voyage with his family in this frail craft, and overtake the Kate at Nassau. The boat was only 16 feet long, and not at all well found for such a perilous voyage.

After a short delay, the Captain, his brave wife, their two

children and a hired boy, found themselves safe over the bar and headed for the Bahamas. The following account of this remarkable voyage was written by Mrs. Lockwood, and has been kindly furnished by her brother, Mr. McDougal:

"After the baggage was safe on board, I was carried in a man's arms through the surf and placed in the boat, and we started over the sea in our frail little craft. A few yards from shore we discovered that she was sinking, but turned back in time to reach the beach, to which I was again transferred just as the boat went down. With some difficulty she was recovered, when it was found that the plug had come out of the bottom while drawing the boat over the beach. We soon found a remedy for this trouble, and proceeded to cross the gulf. On the following morning, the wind blew a gale. The waves dashed high over us all day, while the wind increased in fury. For fifteen hours we waited and prayed, thinking that every moment would be our last. About five o'clock in the evening, we discovered a reef, and steered along the rocks to find an opening, so that we might cross the line of breakers and get into calm water. Oakie told us to sit still and hold fast to the boat, as we must go over the rocks or sink. As each enormous wave came towards us it seemed to reach the sky and break over our frail craft, deluging us with water. For several moments in succession I would sit under these huge waves holding on with one hand and clasping my baby with the other. Breaker after breaker burst over us, and at the same time lifted the boat farther and farther on to the rocks, until at last we were plunged ahead into the smooth water of

the bay beyond. By some means, I cannot tell how, we reached one of the vessels lying at anchor, when they lifted us all on board and carried us into the cabin. We could not walk for cold and cramp. On Sunday, the 23rd, the schooner upon which we had taken refuge sailed for Nassau, and on Monday we were landed on Elbow Cay, one of the Bahama Islands, the wind not being favorable for us to continue further that day. On the 25th, with a fair wind, we again proceeded towards Nassau, and arrived on Wednesday, after being three weeks on the journey from Charleston."

Mr. McDougal adds to this journal, that he was then chief engineer of the steamer Kate, of 500 tons, in the Gulf Stream, about 150 miles from where Captain Lockwood was cruising in a little boat; and that the gale was so severe that this large vessel was obliged to lie to, and suffered considerable damage in consequence of the severity of the storm, and that it seems a miracle that a small boat like Captain Lockwood's should have lived through such a fearful gale.

FAMOUS BLOCKADE RUNNERS.

In the second stage of blockade running, when steam was at a premium, a number of walking-beam boats of excellent speed, which had plied regularly between Southern ports and which had been laid up since the proclamation, were bought by Southern business men, who became prominent in blockade running; and, after the removal of passenger cabins and conspicuous top hamper, they were placed in this dangerous traffic. Of these may be mentioned the

steamer Kate, previously known as the Carolina, upon the line between Charleston and Palatka; the Gordon which was built to run between Charleston and Savannah; also the Nina, Seabrook, Clinch, and Cecile, which had also plied on the same line. The Cecile, loaded in Nassau with a cargo of powder, rifles, and stores for General Albert Sidney Johnston's army at Shiloh, struck a sunken rock off the Florida coast, and went to the bottom in ten minutes. The officers and crew escaped.

Two steamers which formerly ran between New Orleans and Galveston became prominent as Cape Fear blockade runners; the Atlantic, re-named the Elizabeth, and the Austin, which became the famous Confederate steamer Ella and Annie. In the early morning of November 9th, 1863, the Ella and Annie, under command of Captain F. N. Bonneau, of Charleston, was intercepted off New Inlet, near Masonboro Sound, by the United States steamer Niphon, which attempted to press her ashore. Several other cruisers preventing the escape of the Ella and Annie, Captain Bonneau at once resolved upon the desperate expedient of running the Niphon down. He accordingly ran his ship at reckless speed straight at the war vessel, and struck it with great force, carrying away the bowsprit and stem and wounding three of the men. The Niphon, by quick movement, avoided the full effect of the blow, and fired all her starboard guns into the Ella and Annie, wounding four of her men. As soon as the vessels came together the Niphon carried the Ella and Annie by boarding, and made her a prize. She afterwards became the United States flag ship Malvern.

The Governor Dudley, of the Wilmington and Charleston route before the completion of the Wilmington & Manchester Railroad, which had been put on the summer run between Charleston and Havana prior to the war, made one or two sucessful voyages through the blockade to Nassau.

A Nassau correspondent to the New York Times wrote on February 15th, 1862, that "on Tuesday last, 11th Feb., 1862, the old steamer Governor Dudley arrived from Charleston with 400 bales of cotton. The captain, fearing the cotton would go North if sold here, refused to take any price for it. After taking out a British register and changing her name to the Nellie, he left for Havana with a Nassau pilot on board to carry him across the (Bahama) Banks. He intends taking a return cargo to Charleston, and expects to be back here in about a month with more cotton. The Nellie is an old boat, nearly used up both in hull and machinery. Her speed is not over 8 or 10 knots, with a full head of steam." The other boats formerly comprising the Wilmington and Charleston line were probably too old for blockade running service. The Wilmington was sold to run on the river and gulf of St. Laurence. The Gladiator went to Philadelphia, and the Vanderbilt, having been sold to New Orleans, foundered in the Gulf of Mexico while running the blockade.

Another old friend, of the New York and Wilmington line, which was managed here by the late Edwin A. Keith, the North Carolina, rendered an important service to the Confederate Government by carrying through the blockade, as a passenger, the distinguished Captain James D. Bulloch, Naval Representative of the Confederacy in

Europe during the war between the States. On Feb. the 5th, 1862, she completed the loading of a cargo of cotton, rosin and tobacco at Wilmington, under her new name, Annie Childs, and proceeded through the blockade by the main bar, arriving at Liverpool via Fayal, Madeira, and Queenstown, Ireland, early in March. Her supply of coal was quite exhausted when she sighted Queenstown, and she barely reached that port of call by burning part of her rosin cargo with spare spars cut into short lengths. Captain Bulloch said that she was badly found for so long a voyage, but she weathered a heavy north-west gale, and proved herself to be a fine sea boat. I am informed that she returned to other successful ventures in blockade running under the name of Victory.

The fleet of runners was augmented by other old fashioned steamers, partly from Northern ports, bought by foreigners and sent via neutral ports, where they went through the process of "whitewashing," a change of name, ownership, registry and flag. A much greater number, however, came from abroad; a few of these formerly having been fast mail boats, but the majority freighters on short routes in Europe, bought at big prices for eager speculators, who were tempted by the enormous profits of blockade running.

A few of those of the better class became famous, as the North Carolina steamer Advance, before known as the Lord Clyde; the Confederate steamer, R. E. Lee, formerly the Giraffe; and the Lady Davis, previously the Cornubia. Some of the others were the Alice, Fannie, Brittania, Emma, Pet, Sirius, Orion, Antonica, Hansa, Calypso, Duoro, Thistle, Scotia, City of Petersburg, Old Dominion, Index,

Caledonia, Dolphin, Georgiana McCaw, Modern Greece, Ella, Hebe, Dee, Wave Queen, Granite City, Stonewall Jackson, Victory, Flora, Beauregard, Ruby, Margaret and Jessie, Eagle, Gertrude, Charleston, Banshee, Minna and Eugenie, which were more or less successful.

The beach for miles north and south of Bald Head is marked still by the melancholy wrecks of swift and graceful steamers which had been employed in this perilous enterprise. Some of the hundred vessels engaged in this traffic ran between Wilmington and the West Indies with the regularity of mail boats, and some, even of the slowest speed,—the Pet, for instance—eluding the vigilance of the Federal fleet, passed unscathed twenty, thirty and forty times, making millions for the fortunate owners. One little beauty, the Siren, a fast boat, numbered nearly fifty voyages. The success of these ships depended, of course, in a great measure upon the skill and coolness of their commanders and pilots. It is noteworthy that those in charge of Confederate naval officers were, with one exception, never taken; but many were captured, sunk or otherwise lost, through no fault of the brave fellows who commanded them. The Beauregard and the Venus lie stranded on Carolina Beach; the Modern Greece, near New Inlet; the Antonica, on Frying Pan Shoals; the Ella, on Bald Head; the Spunky and the Georgiana McCaw, on Caswell Beach; the Hebe and the Dee, between Wrightsville and Masonboro. Two others lie near Lockwood's Folly bar; and others, whose names are forgotten, are half buried in the sands, where they may remain for centuries to come. After a heavy storm on the coast, the summer residents on Carolina Beach and at Ma-

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sonboro Sound have occasionally picked up along the shore some interesting relics of blockade times, which the heaving ocean has broken from the buried cargoes of the Beauregard, Venus, Hebe and Dee. Tallow candles, Nassau bacon, soldiers' shoes, and other wreckage, comprise in part this flotsam yielded up by Neptune after nearly forty years' soaking in the sea.

The Venus was commanded by a prominent officer of the Royal Navy on leave of absence, Captain Murray-Aynsley, known by blockade runners as Captain Murray. He is now an admiral in the British Navy on the retired list. He was a great favourite with the prominent people, and especially with Colonel Lamb, of Fort Fisher, whose description of the veteran naval officer on the bridge of the Venus, running through the Federal fleet in broad daylight, hotly pursued by the enemy, with coat sleeves rolled up to his arm pits, but cool and defiant, is well worth recording.

The loss of the Georgiana McCaw is associated with a horrible crime—the murder of her pilot. When the ship was beached under the fire of the blockaders, Mr. Thomas Dyer did not go with the retreating crew who sought safety ashore; he seems to have been left behind in the rush. It was known that he had a large amount of money in gold on board, and was thought that he remained to secure it. A boat returned for him, but found his bloody corpse, instead. His skull was crushed as by a blow from behind; there was no money on his person. Another man was found on board, but unhurt, who professed ignorance of his fellow. This person was the watchman, and it is said he carried ashore a large amount of money. He was arrested

on suspicion, but there was no proof. He still lives on the river, but the cause of poor Dyer's death will probably never be known until the Great Assize.

Examples of dash and daring on the part of noted Cape Fear blockade runners in this phase of their history could be multiplied, if the limited scope of this paper would permit of their narration; instances so thrilling that they still stir one's blood to recall them after an interval of nearly forty years. I shall, therefore, select from memory and from published accounts of others, whom I remember as participants, only a few exploits of the second and third years of the war; and, finally, some illustrations of the closing scenes, when only one venture in a dozen was successful, and when the multiplied arms of the new navy, like the deadly tentacles of the octopus, reached into every hiding place of these hunted fugitives of the sea, and gradually brought to an end this wonderful epoch in our commercial history.

A CLOSE CALL.

The following interesting narrative, which is true in all its details, was told to the writer by Mr. George C. McDougal, of Rosindale, N. C., who, by a clever expedient, kept out of Fort LaFayette, and made some forty voyages as chief engineer in the little steamer Siren before his former shipmates were released:

"The well known blockade-running steamer Margaret and Jessie left Nassau deeply laden for Wilmington, and made a good run across to the North Carolina coast. About 12.00 meridian she was in the latitude of New Inlet, and she

ran on the western edge of the Gulf Stream until sundown, when she headed for the beach and made land to the northward of the blockading fleet of the Cape Fear. While tracking down the beach, one of the cruisers sighted us, and sent up rockets, which made it necessary for us to run the remainder of the distance under fire from the whole line of the blockaders. Just as we got the lights in range at the Inlet and were about to head the ship over the bar, we distinguished a gunboat anchored in the channel under cover of the wrecked steamer Arabian. We immediately put the ship about, and, with the whole fleet trailing after us, ran off shore. At daylight none of our followers were in sight, but away off shore to the southward we sighted the armed transport Fulton; and as we could not cross her bow, Capt. Robert Lockwood, who commanded our ship, hauled to the northward and eastward, unfortunately driving us across the bows of all the cruisers which had run off shore in chase. We had to run the fire of five of these war ships as we crossed their bows and dropped them astern. During all this time, the Fulton kept the weather gauge of us; and after a hard day's chase from New Inlet to Hatteras, we were at last compelled to surrender late in the afternoon; as the Fulton seemed determined to run us down, there being hardly a cable's length between us when we hove to and stopped the engines. Before doing this, however, we were careful to throw the mail bags, government dispatches and ship's papers into the furnace of the fire room, where they were quickly consumed.

"While our ship's company was being transferred to the Fulton, the United States Steamer Keystone State and two

other cruisers came up, and sent several boats' crews aboard the Margaret and Jessie, who looted her of all the silver, cutlery, glassware, cabin furniture, table cloths and napkins—doubtless, everything they could carry off in their boats. The Fulton, having sent a prize crew on board, took us in tow for New York, where, immediately on our arrival, we were confined in Ludlow street jail. Two days after, the officers and crew of the blockade runner Ella and Annie were brought in, she having been captured off Wilmington after a desperate resistance by her brave commander, Captain Bonneau. During our incarceration we were visited frequently by Deputy United States Marshals, who tried to identify some of us, suspected of holding commissions in the Confederate service and of being regularly engaged in blockade running as distinguished from those less harmful members of the crew who would be only too glad to abandon further attempts on regaining their liberty. These officers were immediately assailed with questions from all quarters. 'What are you going to do with us here?' 'Are you going to let us out?' to which they would respond, 'we cannot tell—the crew lists have been sent to Washington for inspection; you will have to wait until they are returned.' We were kept in this state of suspense for about three weeks, when a squad of Deputy Marshals came to the jail and mustered the entire company. We soon ascertained that the crew lists had come from Washington, and that we were to go down to the Marshals' office, where the names of those who were to be released were to be called out, and the unfortunate ones remaining prepared for a long term of imprisonment at one of the well known prison pens so

dreaded by those who afterwards realized all their horrors. We were, accordingly, marched down to the Marshals' headquarters in Burton's old theatre, on Chambers street, opposite the City Hall Park, where we were ordered to select our baggage and prepare to be searched for contraband articles. The entire office force of clerks had been drawn from their desks by curiosity to the other end of the large room, where the inspection was going on; and while my baggage was being examined by an officer I asked him if he knew who were to be released; to which he replied that he did not know, but that the list of those who would be released could be found in a large book on that desk, pointing with his finger to the other end of the room. When his inspection was completed I asked if I might go and read the names, to satisfy my curiosity. He said there could be no harm in doing so, and asked if I could read. I said, Yes, that I thought I could make out the names. Whereupon I walked with forced indifference to the desk, and found a big journal laid open upon it, containing the names of the men belonging to the Ella and Annie's crew who were to be discharged. This did not interest me; and looking further down I saw, also, the names of those of my own ship who were to be released, but from the top to the bottom there was no George C. McDougal. You may depend upon it, I felt very sad as Fort LaFayette loomed up in all its dreariness. My case was, indeed, hopeless. Looking furtively over my shoulder, I saw that the desk was so placed that my back shielded me from the eyes of the marshals at the moment, and also that the officers and clerks were very busy seeing what they could confiscate, each man

for himself, out of the baggage of the unfortunate prisoners; and, feeling that no worse fate could overtake me, I slipped my hand cautiously along the desk, took up a pen, and imitating as closely as possible the character of the writing before me, inscribed my own name at the bottom of the list, and immediately returned to the crowd at the other end of the room. The Deputy asked me if I saw my name, to which I promptly responded, 'Yes.' 'Then you are all right,' said he, 'and will be turned out to-night.' Shortly afterwards, we were marched off to a neighboring place, to get our supper at the expense of Uncle Sam, after which the Chief Marshal and Judge Beebe appeared, and in due form separated those who were to be released from the unfortunate ones remaining. I waited, with feelings that can be imagined better than they can be described, as the names were read; and at last my own name was called without the detection of my expedient, which was, doubtless, owing to the fact that the room was badly lighted and darkness had already set in. Promptly responding to my name, I at once passed out into the night, leaving my commander, Captain Robert Lockwood, the Wilmington pilot, Mr. Charles Craig, and Billy Willington, our engineer, and several others of the Margaret and Jessie who, together with Captain Frank Bonneau, his Wilmington pilot, and his chief engineer, Alexander Laurence, were sent to Fort LaFayette, where they remained until about the end of the war.

"It may be interesting in this connection to recall the incident that led to the capture of the Ella and Annie, through the same gunboat's being anchored in the channel. Instead of turning backward and running out to sea, as we did,

Captain Bonneau kept on his course, ordering his engineer to throw his throttle wide open and leave the engine room immediately, his intention being to run down the gunboat and take the consequences. The two ships came together with a frightful crash, and as they swung around, side by side, the gunboat got out lashings, and her boarders swarmed upon the Ella and Annie, and, after a sharp resistance, succeeded in taking possession of her. The Ella and Annie's crew was sent to New York, and the gunboat Nyphon, in a badly damaged condition, was sent to the Norfolk navy yard to be docked, as it was difficult to keep her afloat, owing to the effects of the collision. On Colonel Lamb's being asked subsequently to drive the gunboat out of the channel, he replied that it was impossible to do so, as she came in after dark and anchored under shelter of the wreck referred to and he could not get the range until the moon rose, when, of course, the gunboat steamed out to sea, the channel being no longer of any use to the blockade runners."

A NOTED ENGINEER.

John Niemyer, an old and trusted locomotive engineer on the Atlantic Coast Line had been reading the writer's tales of the blockade in the Southport Leader with much interest, having himself served as one of the engineers of that remarkable boat, the Siren, which ran between Wilmington, Charleston and West Indies continuously for nearly two years of the war, with the regularity of a mail boat in time of peace. I repeatedly asked him for a blockade runner's yarn; and he gave me the following true story of

a true man, which I shall put, as nearly as possible, in Mr. Niemyer's own words:

"I see you have been writing some stories about George C. McDougal, who was chief of the Siren. Why, he ought to have been captain, as well as chief engineer of that boat. He wasn't what you might call a scientific navigator, but he knew more about the ins and outs of blockade running, most likely, than any other man in the fleet. For years before the Wilmington, Columbia and Augusta Railroad was built, he had served as chief engineer of the steamboats plying between Wilmington and Charleston; and he knew every landmark ashore, and every hump and hollow under the water up and down the coast, from Hatteras to St. Augustine. He could tell the position of the ship by the revolutions of the engine nearly as accurately as our navigating officer with his sextant, chronometer and logarithms; and as for the bottom on a deep-sea lead, he was what you might call a specialist.

"The little Siren was an enchantress, sure enough. She didn't sing any, because we had to keep her very quiet. She must have hypnotized the Yankees, however, as they were never able to touch her. She was at first commanded by an Englishman, who dreaded the coast as the devil does holy water, and, when he fetched soundings, was always for running off again. On one occasion he made a bad land fall, and fearing he would get aground by following the beach, decided to run out to sea. The Boss, as we called McDougal, at once protested against such folly, which he said would surely lead to greater danger than if we continued towards Wilmington; besides which, the ship was short

of coal, and could not possibly keep steam for more than twelve or fifteen hours longer. The captain, who was a deep-water navigator, refused to listen to him, however, and persisted in changing the course of the ship; whereupon McDougal quietly said that he felt it his duty under the circumstances to take the ship into his own hands, and that if the captain persisted in thus wilfully risking the property of the owners and endangering the lives of all on board, he must take the consequences, as the Siren was bound to go into Wilmington that night, and no where else. The captain insisted that McDougal's proposal was contrary to all rules of navigation; but finding that his engineer was in earnest, and could easily command all the men on board, having their full confidence, he at last agreed, and, following the engineer's suggestions and having an excellent pilot, succeeded in making the harbor in safety.

"Captain J. Pembroke Jones, who was a passenger on board, at once sent ashore for his brother, in command at Fort Caswell, and there was quite a jollification in the cabin that night. Our captain had a good deal to say about his skill in bringing the ship into port, but he utterly failed to mention the part that his plucky engineer had taken, and McDougal was not a man to boast of his own exploits.

"But I started to tell you another story about the Siren and McDougal. We had successfully run the blockade and arrived at Nassau, where we immediately discharged and re-loaded. Between one and two o'clock p. m., the Siren got under way, and crossing the bar at Nassau headed up the northeast channel, bound for Wilmington. She was commanded on this occasion by Captain R——, a remark-

ably skillful navigator, but without any nerve in time of danger. It was his habit, whenever he got into a tight place, to leave the bridge and shut himself up in his cabin and trust to luck,—which meant McDougal; for the latter generally took charge of the ship at once, and, with the assistance of a good man who was chief officer, always managed to get the boat out of difficulty, when R——would again assume command.

"On this occasion the weather was fair, and the sea as smooth as a pond. While we were tracking along Egg Island reef, which is a long, narrow shoal with shallow water inside, a Federal gunboat shot out from under the eastern end of the reef and headed for us. This was clearly contrary to international law, being within the limit of British jurisdiction; but it is a well known fact that the Federal blockading and cruising fleets had positive orders, after the second year of the war, to seize all suspicious vessels, no matter where found; and, if a foreign government set up a reasonable claim, to pay it without demur, the United States Government having determined that it was better to pay for such vessels than to permit them to reach the Confederacy. We knew as well as they did that we were within the dominion of a British province. We also knew that this would not deter the Yankees from picking us up, if there were no British men-of-war in sight; and there was nothing for us to do, under the circumstances, but 'bout ship and run back for Nassau, which, in our position, appeared to be an impossibility. The little Siren was handicapped by a heavy cargo, and the gunboat gained on us rapidly. As soon as it became evident that we could not

fetch Nassau, our pursuer opened fire upon us, under which our discomfited captain left the bridge, and took shelter in the cabin; and the first assistant engineer, Barbot, at once sung out to me, 'Niemyer, where's the Boss?' 'In his room, asleep,' said I. 'Rout him out quickly, then, and tell him the Yankee is after us, is gaining rapidly, and has range of us, and the captain has left the deck.' I immediately ran to the chief's room and repeated Barbot's order, but before I could finish it the Boss was out on deck in his stocking feet; he took a quick look over the stern at the gunboat, another over the port side at the rocky and treacherous bottom which was clearly visible through the transparent water; then with half a dozen jumps, was on the bridge. I followed to see the outcome. He immediately hustled the Bahama pilot onto the paddle box with the order, 'Into the current immediately!' The pilot saw the danger of such a movement, which meant that the ship must run inside the reef and take the chances of getting out. He saw also that it was the only opportunity of escape, and he lost no time in following his instructions. The Boss then cried to Mr. Habnicht, our chief officer, who was a splendid seaman: 'Jump to the wheel, Mr. Habnicht. This is no child's play; we must make the most of it.' I then walked over to McDougal, and, touching him on the shoulder, pointed to a shell which was just bursting over us. He said, 'Don't bother about shells, but look to the water; if we strike one of those rocks, it will tear the whole bot-out of the ship.' I did look, and seeing the ugly rocks under the clear green water over which we were rushing at full speed, thought no more about the shells, but of the oth-

er dangers surrounding us. When the gunboat saw us go in among the rocks, she fired a parting shot, and, having put about the ship, went back to the channel. I went below on duty, and soon got orders from the bridge, 'Stand by your engines'! and, at intervals, 'Slow down!' 'Stop!' 'Two turns back!' Then came the splash and rattle of the chain, and we were at anchor.

"On returning to the deck I found that we were lying in the prettiest harbor I ever saw, which probably never before embraced a ship of half our size. Our chief officer immediately sent a man aloft with the best glass in the ship, with orders not to lose sight of the gunboat; then ordered supper, with 'Be quick about it.' McDougal said to his first assistant, 'Barbot, get your fires in good trim, with plenty of coarse coal on the fire room plates. We have got to race for it to-night.' Shortly afterwards the mate went aloft to relieve the man in the cross-trees, and saw that the cruiser was playing off and on at the end of the reef, waiting to pick us up in the morning, well knowing that he had us in a trap. The Boss soon saw that our only chance lay in getting out of shoal water before darkness. The sun was in the meantime getting low. Orders were given to weigh anchor, and the ship proceeded very slowly towards the outlet, in order not to excite our pursuer's suspicions; the ships having each other's bearings, and each watching to see if the other moved. As soon as we got outside of the shoal we kept still again until the sun went down. In two hours the moon began to show above the horizon, and, to our great joy, we had our pursuer clearly defined under the moon's rays, while we were in comparative darkness.

Now orders were given for full speed across the channel to Abaco, and you may be sure that Barbot got all out of the engines that was possible. We had been warned the day before by a passing schooner that two cruisers were waiting near Abaco; so that we had one behind and two before us to shake off, before we could reach the western ocean. We soon sighted 'Hole in the wall' light, and made straight for deep water. Three hours afterwards we hauled up the ship off Elbow Key, and day broke without a sail in sight. We then eased down the engines and dropped into the homeward track for Wilmington. OUR CAPTAIN IN THE MEANTIME HAD RESUMED CHARGE.

"For some time before the war ended the Federals had blockaded both ends of the route. The United States Corvette Junietta anchored off the bar at Nassau, and was kept well informed as to the movement of Confederate steamers in port. The outlying gunboats would run down the channel in the night within a few miles of Nassau, and send a boat to the Corvette for news and instructions for cutting off blockade runners ready to leave; so that it was almost as difficult to get in and out of Nassau as it was to pass the coast Line blockade.

"The Siren differed from the other blockade runners in this respect: she never waited for more favourable conditions, but took them as they came. On one occasion she ran into Charleston at night, and the next morning disclosed six blockade runners lying loaded and anchored in the Ashley river. We dropped to the wharf, discharged our inward cargo, loaded the outward cargo of cotton, and went straight to Nassau; came back, and found the same six ships an-

chored in the same places. We made a second voyage, and on our return found them still lying there; a third voyage and there they remained, waiting for an opportunity to go out. On our fourth return voyage three of the long waiting blockade runners had slipped out, and on our fifth two more had gone. On our sixth and last voyage the remaining one, called the General Whiting, had finally departed. Thus the Siren made six round voyages, clearing for her owners over $1,000,000.00 in gold, while the General Whiting lay at anchor waiting for a chance to go out. The Siren's cargoes into the Confederacy were, of course, very valuable, and cannot be properly estimated. The outward cargo consisted of from 650 to 750 bales of cotton. This cotton cost the equivalent of six cents in coin, and sold in Nassau for 45 and 50 cents in coin; making a clean profit of $200 a bale, which multiplied by four thousand bales in the six voyages showed a gain during that time to the owners of $800,000 in gold."

DISTINGUISHED COMMANDERS OF BLOCKADE RUNNERS.

One of the most distinguished commanders of the blockade-running steamers was Captain Roberts (so-called), of the twin-screw steamer Don, a quick, handy little boat, admirably adapted to the trade. I had the pleasure of knowing him personally through frequent intercourse with his signal officer, a fine fellow, named Selden, from Virginia; and we were both much impressed with the superior bearing and intelligence of this remarkable man, who afterwards became famous in the war between Russia and Tur-

key as Hobart Pasha, Admiral-in-Chief of the Turkish navy.

"Captain Roberts" was the Honourable Augustus Charles Hobart Hampden (son of the Earl of Buckinghamshire), Post Captain in the Royal Navy, and for a time commander of Queen Victoria's yacht Victoria and Albert. He had seen service in the war against Emperor Nicholas in 1854, under the great British Admiral Sir Charles Napier, when he commanded H. M. S. Driver; and, after the general order, "Lads, sharpen your cutlasses!" boarded the Russian warships before Cronstadt, stormed the seven forts which guarded the entrance to that harbor, and sailed up the Neva even to St. Petersburg itself. In 1865, having made several runs into Wilmington during his absence from England on leave, he returned home; and, fretting under the dull routine of service ashore, accepted the command of the entire Turkish Navy at the outbreak of the war with his old antagonists, the Russians. He died in 1886 Admiral-in-Chief of the Turkish Navy, and was buried in the English cemetery at Scutari. The Daily Telegraph, of London, said of him: "Altogether, Augustus Charles Hobart was a remarkable man; bluff, bold, dashing and somewhat dogged. There was in his composition something of the mediaeval 'condottiere,' and a good deal more of that Dugald Dalgetty whom Scott drew. Gustavus Adolphus would have made much of Hobart; the great Czarina, Catherine II., would have appointed him Commander-in-Chief of her fleet, and covered him with honours, even as she did her Scotch Admiral Gleig, and that other yet more famous sea-dog, king of corsairs, Paul Jones. It would be unjust to sneer at Hobart as a mercenary. His was no more a hired

sword than were the blades of Schomberg and Berwick, of Maurice de Saxe and Eugene of Savoy. When there was fighting to be done, Hobart liked to be in it—that is all. Of the fearless, dashing, adventurous Englismen, ready to go anywhere and do anything, Hobart was a brilliant, representative type."

The following incident is from his blockade sketches:

"On my return to Wilmington I found that my vessel was ready for sea, so I took charge of her, and we went down the river. We had to undergo the same ordeal as before in the way of being smoked and searched. This time there were no runaways discovered; but there was one on board, for all that, who made his appearance, almost squashed to death, after we had been twenty-four hours at sea. We then anchored under Fort Fisher, where we waited until it was dark; after which, when the tide was high enough on the bar, we made a move, and were soon rushing out to sea at full speed. There was a considerable swell running, which we always considered a point in our favour.

"By the way, writing 'swells' puts me in mind of a certain 'swell' I had on board as passenger on this occasion, who, while in Wilmington, had been talking very big about 'hunting,' which, probably, he supposed I knew nothing about. He used to give us long narratives of his own exploits in the hunting field, and expatiated on the excitement of flying over ditches and hedges, while, apparently, he looked upon blockade running and its petty risks with sublime contempt. Soon after we crossed the bar on our way out, a gentle breeze and swell began to lift the vessel

up and down, and this motion he described as 'very like hunting.' Just after he had ventured this remark, a Yankee gun-boat favoured us with a broadside, and made a dash to cut us off. This part of the fun, however, my friend did not seem to think at all 'like hunting;' and after having strongly urged me to return to the anchorage under the protecting guns of the fort, he disappeared below, and never talked—to me, at least—about hunting again.

"But to return to my story:—there was, as I said before, a considerable swell running outside; which was fortunate for us, as we almost ran into a gun-boat lying watching unusually close to the bar. It would have been useless to turn round and endeavor to escape by going back; since, if we had done so, we should inevitably have been driven on to the beach, and either captured or destroyed. In such a predicament there was nothing for it but to make a dash past and take the gun-boat's fire and its consequences. I knew we had the legs of her, and, therefore, felt more at ease in thus running the gauntlet than I otherwise should have done; so on we went at full speed. She fired her broadside at about fifty yards' distance, but the shot all passed over us, except one, that went through our funnel. The marines on board of her kept up a heavy fire of musketry as long as we were visible, but only slightly wounded one of our men. Rockets were then thrown up as signals to her consorts, two of which came down on us; but, luckily, made a bad guess at our position, and closed with us on our quarter, instead of our bow. They also opened fire, but did us no injury. At the moment there was no vessel in sight ahead; and, as we were going at a splendid pace, we soon

reduced our dangerous companions to three or four shadowy forms, struggling astern without a hope of catching us. The signaling and firing had, however, brought several other blockaders down to dispute our passage, and we found ourselves at one moment with a cruiser on each side within pistol shot of us; our position being that of the meat in a sandwich. So near were the cruisers, that they seemed afraid to fire, from the danger of hitting each other; and, thanks to our superior speed, we shot ahead and left them without their having fired a shot.

"Considering the heavy swell running, there was the merest chance of their hitting us; in fact, to take a blockade runner in the night, when there was a heavy swell or wind, if she did not choose to give in, was next to impossible. To run her down required the cruiser to have much superior speed, and was a dangerous game to play; for vessels have been known to go down themselves while attempting this feat.

"Then, again, it must be borne in mind that the blockade-runner had always full speed at command, her steam being at all times well up and every one on board on the lookout; whereas the man-of-war must be steaming with some degree of economy and ease, and her lookout men had not the excitement to keep them always on the qui vive that we had.

"I consider that the only chances the blockading squadron had of capturing a blockade-runner were the following, viz: in a fair chase in daylight, when superior speed would tell; or by chasing her on shore or driving her in so near the beach that her crew were driven to set fire to her and

make their escape—in which case a prize might be made, though perhaps of no great value; or by frightening a vessel with guns and rockets during the night into giving up. Some of the blockade-runners showed great pluck, and stood a lot of pitching into. About sixty-six vessels left England and New York to run the blockade during the four years' war, of which more than forty were destroyed by their own crews or captured; but most of them, before they came to grief, made several runs, and in so doing paid well for their owners.

"I once left Bermuda in a blockade-runner shortly before the end of the war, in company with four others, and ours was the only fortunate vessel of the lot. Of the other four, three were run ashore and destroyed by their own crews, and one was fairly run down at sea and captured.

"I saw an extraordinarily plucky thing done on one occasion, which I cannot refrain from narrating. We had made a successful run through the blockade, and were lying under Fort Fisher, when as daylight broke we heard heavy firing, and as it got lighter we saw a blockade-runner surrounded by the cruisers. Her case seemed hopeless; but on she came for the entrance, hunted like a rabbit by no end of vessels. The guns of the fort were at once manned, ready to protect her as soon as her pursuers should come within range. Every effort was made to cut her off from the entrance of the river, and how it was she was not sunk I cannot tell. As she came on we could see N—,her commander, a well known successful blockade-runner, standing on her paddle-box with his hat off, as if paying proper respect to the men-of-war. And now the fort opened fire at

the chasing cruisers, from whom the blockade-runner was crawling, being by this time well in shore. One vessel was evidently struck, as she dropped out of range very suddenly. On came the Old J——, one of the fastest boats in the trade, and anchored all right; two or three shots in her hull, but no hurt. Didn't we cheer her! The reason of her being in the position in which we saw her at daylight was, that she had run the time rather short, and daylight broke before she could get into the river; so that, instead of being there, she was in the very center of the blockade fleet. Many men would have given in, but old N——was made of different stuff.

"It is not my intention to inflict on my readers any more anecdotes of my own doings in the Don; suffice it to say that I had the good luck to make six round trips in her, in and out of Wilmington, and that I gave her over to the chief officer and went home to England. On arriving at Southhampton, the first thing I saw in the Times was a paragraph headed, 'The Capture of the Don.' Poor little craft! I learned afterwards how she was taken, and I know she died game.

"The officer to whom I gave over charge was as fine a specimen of a seaman as well can be imagined,—plucky, cool, and determined; and, by the way, he was a bit of a medico, as well as a sailor; for, by his beneficial treatment of his patients, we had very few complaints of sickness on board. As our small dispensary was close to my cabin, I used to hear the conversations that took place between C—— and his patients. I will repeat one.

C.—'Well, my man, what's the matter with you?'

Patient.—'Please, sir, I've got pains all over me.'

C.—'Oh, all over you, are they? That's bad!'

Then, during the pause, it was evident something was being mixed up, and I could hear C—say: 'Here, take this, and come again in the evening.' (Exit patient). Then C—said to himself: 'I don't think he'll come again; he has got two drops of the croton. Skulking rascal, pains all over him, eh!' I never heard the voice of that patient again; in fact, after a short time we had no cases of sickness on board. C—explained to me that the only medicine he served out, as he called it, was croton oil; and that none of the crew came twice for treatment.

"Never having run through the blockade as the commander of a vessel (though he was with me all the time and had as much to do with our luck as I had), he was naturally very anxious to get safely through. There can be no doubt that the vessel had lost much of her speed, for she had been very hardly pushed on several occasions. This told sadly against her, as the result will show. On the third afternoon after leaving Nassau, she was in a good position for attempting the run when night came on. She was moving stealthily about, waiting for the evening, when suddenly, on the clearing up of the weather, which had been hitherto thick and hazy, she saw a cruiser unpleasantly near to her, which bore down under steam and sail; and it soon became probable that the poor little Don's twin screws would not save her this time, well and often as they had done so before.

"The cruiser, a large full-rigged corvette, was coming up

hand over hand, carrying a strong breeze, and the days of the Don seemed numbered, when C—tried a ruse worthy of any of the heroes of naval history.

"The wind, as I said, was very fresh, with a good deal of sea running. On came the cruiser, till the Don was almost under her bows, and shortened sail in fine style. The moment the men were in the rigging, going aloft to furl sails, C—put his plan into execution. He turned his craft's head to the wind, and steamed deliberately past the corvette at not fifty yards' distance. The latter, with great way on, went nearly a quarter of a mile before she could turn.

"I have it from good authority, that the order was not given to the marines on the man-of-war's poop to fire at the plucky little craft who had so fairly out-manœuvred the cruiser, for out-manœuvred she was, to all intents and purposes. The two or three guns that had been cast loose during the chase had been partly secured, and left so while the men had gone aloft to furl sails, so that not a shot was fired as the Don went past. Shortly after she had done so, however, the cruiser opened fire with her bow guns, but with the sea that was running this could do no harm, the guns being without any top weights. The Don easily dropped the corvette with her heavy spars astern, and was soon far ahead; so much so that when night came on the cruiser was shut out of sight in the darkness."

IN QUARANTINE.

In the steamer Lilian, already referred to, we had on one occasion safely eluded the blockading fleet at Cape Fear

bar, and, after several narrow escapes from the squadron in the Gulf Stream, reached St. George's, Bermuda, on the morning of the fourth day, and at once discharged our cargo, hoping to get away in time for another run while we had a few hours of darkness.

We had hardly received the half of our inward cargo of gunpowder and commissary supplies, when we were visited by the harbor physician, who alleged that we had a case of smallpox on board, and peremptorily ordered us to the quarantine ground, where he informed us that we must remain for twenty-one days. The place was about two miles out of port, among some uninhabited rocks, which made the usual dreariness of a quarantine station more distressing. In vain our captain protested that he was mistaken, that the case to which he referred was a slight attack of malarial fever, combined with other symptoms which were not at all dangerous (which subsequently proved to be true). The doctor was unrelenting. If we did not proceed at once, he said, he would report us to the Governor at Hamilton, who would send H. M. S. Spitfire, then on the station, to tow us out; and after we had served out quarantine, we would be arrested for resisting authority. Finding remonstrance of no avail, our captain agreed to get away as soon as possible; but before we could make preparation a tug was sent alongside which towed us out, *nolens volens*, and left us at anchor among the sea gulls, with only ten days' provisions for a three weeks' quarantine.

Being ex-officio the ship's doctor, I began at once to physic the unfortunate sailor who had unwittingly brought us into this trouble; and, although my knowledge of the

pharmacopoeia did not go beyond cathartic pills and quinine, I soon had him on his feet, to join all hands for inspection by the quarantine officer, who came off to windward of us every day, and at a respectable distance bawled out his category of questions which were required by law.

We were daily warned that if any of our officers or crew were found on shore or on board any vessels in the harbor, the full extent of the law would be meted out to them, and we were given to understand that twenty-one days' quarantine was a mere bagatelle compared with the punishment which would follow any attempt to evade these restrictions. Notwithstanding this, we came to a unanimous decision at the end of three days, that we would prefer the risk of capture at sea to such a life in comparative security; and it was accordingly resolved by the captain that, if any of us were plucky enough to take his gig and a boat's crew to St. George's and secure from a shipwright on shore some castings required by the chief engineer, we would proceed towards Wilmington without further preparation, and without the formality required by law.

Being comparatively indifferent as to the result, albeit somewhat confident of success, I at once volunteered. Our captain consented to my proposal, and, amid a good deal of chaffing from several Confederate officers who were with us as passengers, I started with our second engineer and five trustworthy men for shore.

We were careful to start shortly after the visit of the health physician, so that our absence would not be noticed when all hands were turned out; and, as we approached the harbor, I was gratified to observe that we were entirely un-

noticed. We landed about half a mile below town, and, leaving the men with the boat, which I ordered them to keep concealed, I proceeded with the engineer to dispatch our business, which delayed us several hours.

At last we were ready to return, and, finding our men unmolested, we proceeded down the harbor towards the ship Storm King, which had recently left the China trade to carry C. S. Government cotton from the Bermuda rendezvous to Liverpool. Passing under her quarter, we were excitedly hailed by her captain, to whom I was well known personally, with the intelligence that a quarantine boat had just left our ship, and that we were probably discovered, as its course had been suddenly changed for us while we were pulling down the bay.

Thinking to elude the pursuer, if such it proved to be, I steered for the rocks along shore, the men giving way at the oars with a will; but we soon saw that we were closely watched and that the fears of our friends were fully realized, for the well known yellow flag was borne by a boat now clearly in pursuit of us. Finding escape cut off, we at once returned to the Storm King and entreated the captain to secrete us on board, and, if the health officer boarded him, to profess ignorance of us altogether. This the good fellow agreed to do; and, my men having been set to work as if they were part of the crew, I was, with the engineer, at once secreted and locked in one of the many state rooms then vacant.

We had hardly settled ourselves in the berths, determined that if the worst came we would cover our heads and draw the curtains, when we heard the measured sound of oars

approaching the gangway near the room in which we were hiding, and a moment later the hail, "Storm King, ahoy!" "Aye, aye, sir, what do you want?"

"You have on board a boat's crew from the steamer Lilian, in quarantine, who have left contrary to law; I demand their surrender."

"But I protest Doctor, there are no such people on my ship."

"What a consummate liar old McDonald is!" groaned the engineer, sweltering under two pairs of blankets.

"Aha!" exclaimed the health officer at this moment, "we have here the captain's gig alongside, and here is the name Lilian on the stern. How is this?"

"Oh!" replied the imperturbable McDonald, "we picked her up adrift this morning—I am glad to know the owner."

"A very unlikely story, Captain, and we shall have to search," quoth the doctor; and then we heard several persons ascending the ladder; followed by further expostulations on the part of our friend the captain, evidently of no avail, for the party immediately entered the saloon and proceeded with their search. Door after door was opened and shut, and, as they gradually approached our hiding place, I looked up at Sandy McKinnon, the Scotch engineer, who presented a most ludicrous and woeful sight, the perspiration streaming down his fat cheeks.

With anxious hearts we waited for the worst, and at last it came. A heavy hand wrenched our door knob, and an impatient voice demanded that the door be unlocked. The steward protested that the room was vacant and that the key was lost, which only seemed to increase the officer's

determination to enter. High words ensued; the captain, with a heartiness which excited our admiration, but increased our fears, poured a volley of abuse upon the unlucky doctor, who was apparently discharging his duty, and at times I fancied that they almost came to blows. This was at last quelled by a peremptory demand that the ship's carpenter be sent for to force the door. The steward at this juncture produced the key, which he averred had just been found in another lock; and, while he fumbled at our door, I thought I heard the sound of suppressed laughter on the outside, but dismissed the idea as absurd.

A moment after the door opened, and, before our astonished vision, were ranged our good friends and shipmates, Major Hone, of Savannah, Captain Leo Vogel, of St. Augustine, Sergeant Gregory, of Crowels, and Eugene Maffitt, who, with Captain McDonald and several of his friends, were fairly shrieking with laughter at our sorry plight. We had been completely sold. The whole scheme was planned on board our own ship immediately after our departure; and Captain McDonald was privy to the arrangement, which he so successfully carried out.

The voices which, in our fright, we supposed came from Her Majesty's officers were feigned by our own people, who made the most of the joke at our expense. The trick was too good to keep; and, when the good doctor came next day to discharge us from quarantine, all traces of sickness having disappeared, no one enjoyed the fun more than he, although he said it might have resulted seriously enough. Having received the remainder of our cargo, we proceeded to sea; and, when about five miles from land, we sighted a

rakish war steamer, which proved to be the Confederate Corvette Florida, to which we delivered important dispatches by an order from Major Norman Walker, the Confederate Agent in Bermuda.

CAPTAIN WILKINSON.

One of the most intelligent and successful commanders in the blockade-running fleet was Captain John Wilkinson, who entered the U. S. Navy as a midshipman in 1837, and, after an honourable and distinguished career, tendered his services to the Confederacy upon the secession of his native State, Virginia.

Having received a commission in the C. S. Navy, he served in various responsible positions, until ordered upon special service in command of the C. S. Steamer R. E. Lee.

In his interesting book entitled "Narrative of a Blockade Runner," with reference to the citizens of Virginia who resigned their commissions in the old service, he says:

"They were compelled to choose whether they would aid in subjugating their State, or in defending it against invasion; for it was already evident that coercion would be used by the general government, and that war was inevitable. In reply to the accusation of perjury in breaking their oath of allegiance, since brought against the officers of the army and navy who resigned their commissions to render aid to the South, it need only be stated that, in their belief, the resignation of their commissions absolved them from any special obligation. They then occupied the same position towards the government as other classes of citizens. But this charge was never brought against them until the

war was ended. The resignation of their commissions was accepted when their purpose was well known. As to the charge of ingratitude, they reply, their respective States had contributed their full share towards the expenses of the general government, acting as their disbursing agent; and, when these States withdrew from the Union, their citizens belonging to the two branches of the public service did not, and do not, consider themselves amenable to this charge for abandoning their official positions to cast their lot with their kindred and friends. But, yielding as they did to necessity, it was nevertheless a painful act to separate themselves from companions with whom they had been long and intimately associated, and from the flag under which they had been proud to serve."

With reference to his experience in blockade running at Wilmington, Captain Wilkinson continues:

"The natural advantages of Wilmington for blockade running were very great, owing chiefly to the fact that there are two separate and distinct approaches to Cape Fear River; i. e., either by 'New Inlet' to the north of Smith's Island, or by the 'western bar' to the south of it. This island is ten or eleven miles in length; but the Frying Pan Shoals extend ten or twelve miles further south, making the distance by sea between the two bars thirty miles or more, although the direct distance between them is only six or seven miles. From Smithville, a little village about equidistant from the two bars, both blockading fleets could be distinctly seen; and the outward bound blockade runners could take their choice through which inlet to run the gauntlet. The inward bound blockade run-

ners, too, were guided by circumstances of wind and weather; selecting that bar over which they would cross after they had passed the Gulf Stream, and shaping their course accordingly. The approaches to both bars were clear of danger, with the single exception of the 'Lump' before mentioned; and so regular are the soundings that the shore can be coasted for miles within a stone's throw of the breakers.

"These facts explain why the United States fleets were unable wholly to stop blockade running. It was, indeed, impossible to do so: the result to the very close of the war proves this assertion; for, in spite of the vigilance of the fleet, many blockade runners were afloat when Fort Fisher was captured. In fact, the passage through the fleet was little dreaded; for, although the blockade runner might receive a shot or two, she was rarely disabled; and, in proporiton to the increase of the fleet, the greater we knew would be the danger of its vessels' firing into each other. As the boys before the deluge used to say, they would be very apt to 'miss the cow and kill the calf.' The chief danger was upon the open sea, many of the light cruisers having great speed. As soon as one of them discovered a blockade runner during daylight, she would attract other cruisers in the vicinity by sending up a dense column of smoke, visible for many miles in clear weather. A cordon of fast steamers stationed ten or fifteen miles apart, inside the Gulf Stream, and in the course from Nassau and Bermuda to Wilmington and Charleston, would have been more effective in stopping blockade running than the whole United States Navy concentrated off these ports. It was unaccountable to us why

such a plan did not occur to good Mr. Welles, but it was not our business to suggest. I have no doubt, however, that the fraternity to which I then belonged would have unanimously voted thanks and a service of plate to the Honourable Secretary of the United States Navy for this oversight.

"I say, inside the Gulf Stream; because every experienced captain of a blockade runner made it a point to cross 'the stream' early enough in the afternoon, if possible, to establish the ship's position by chronometer, so as to escape the influence of that current upon his dead reckoning. The lead always gave indication of our distance from the land, but not, of course, of our position; and the numerous salt works along the coast, where evaporation was produced by fire, and which were at work night and day, were visible long before the low coast could be seen. Occasionally, the whole inward voyage would be made under adverse conditions. Cloudy, thick weather and heavy gales would prevail so as to prevent any solar or lunar observations, and reduce the dead reckoning to mere guess-work. In these cases, the nautical knowledge and judgment of the captain would be taxed to the utmost. The current of the Gulf Stream varies in velocity and, within certain limits, in direction; and the stream itself, almost as well defined as a river within its banks under ordinary circumstances, is impelled by a strong gale towards the direction in which the wind is blowing, overflowing its banks, as it were. The counter current, too, inside of the Gulf Stream is much influenced by the prevailing winds.

" Upon one occasion, while in command of the R. E. Lee, formerly the Clyde-built iron steamer Giraffe, we had experienced very heavy and thick weather, and had crossed the Stream and struck soundings about midday. The weather then clearing, so that we could obtain an altitude near meridian, we found ourselves at least forty miles north of our supposed position, and near the shoals which extend in a southerly direction off Cape Lookout. It would be more perilous to run out to sea than to continue on our course, for we had passed through the off-shore line of blockaders, and the sky had become perfectly clear. I determined to personate a transport bound to Beaufort, a port which was in possession of the United States forces and the coaling station of the fleet blockading Wilmington. The risk of detection was not very great, for many of the captured blockade runners were used as transports and dispatch-vessels. Shaping our course for Beaufort, and slowing down, as if we were in no haste to get there, we passed several vessels, showing United States colors to them all. Just as we were crossing the ripple of shallow water off the 'tail' of the shoals, we dipped our colors to a sloop-of-war which passed three or four miles to the south of us. The courtesy was promptly responded to; but I have no doubt her captain thought me a lubberly and careless seaman to shave the shoals so closely. We stopped the engines when no vessels were in sight; and I was relieved from a heavy burden of anxiety as the sun sank below the horizon, and the course was shaped at full speed for Masonboro Inlet.

"The staid old town of Wilmington was turned 'topsy-turvy' during the war. Here resorted the speculators from all parts of the South, to attend the weekly auctions of imported cargoes; and the town was infested with rogues and desperadoes, who made a livelihood by robbery and murder. It was unsafe to venture into the suburbs at night, and even in daylight there were frequent conflicts in the public streets, between the crews of the steamers in port and the soldiers stationed in the town, in which knives and pistols would be freely used; and not unfrequently a dead body with marks of violence upon it would rise to the surface of the water in one of the docks. The civil authorities were powerless to prevent crime. 'Inter arma silent leges!' The agents and employes of different blockade running companies lived in magnificent style, paying a king's ransom (in Confederate money) for their household expenses, and nearly monopolizing the supplies in the country market. Towards the end of the war, indeed, fresh provisions were almost beyond the reach of everyone. Our family servant, newly arrived from the country in Virginia, would sometimes return from market with an empty basket, having flatly refused to pay what he called 'such nonsense prices' for a bit of fresh beef or a handful of vegetables. A quarter of lamb, at the time of which I now write, sold for $100; a pound of tea for $500. Confederate money which in September, 1861, was nearly equal to specie in value, had declined in September, 1862, to 225; in the same month in 1863 to 400; and before September, 1864, to 2,000!

"Many of the permanent residents of the town had gone into the country, letting their houses at enormous prices; those who were compelled to remain kept themselves much secluded, the ladies rarely being seen upon the more public streets. Many of the fast young officers belonging to the army would get an occasional leave to come to Wilmington; and would live at free quarters on board the blockade runners, or at one of the numerous bachelor halls ashore.

"The convalescent soldiers from the Virginia hospitals were sent by the route through Wilmington to their homes in the South. The ladies of the town were organized by Mrs. deR. into a society for the purpose of ministering to the wants of these poor sufferers; the trains which carried them stopping an hour or two at the station, that their wounds might be dressed and food and medicine supplied to them. These self-sacrificing, heroic women patiently and faithfully performed the offices of hospital nurses.

"Liberal contributions were made by companies and individuals to this society; and the long tables at the station were spread with delicacies for the sick, to be found nowhere else in the Confederacy. The remains of the meals were carried by the ladies to a camp of mere boys—home guards—outside of the town. Some of these children were scarcely able to carry a musket, and were altogether unable to endure the exposure and fatigue of field service; and they suffered fearfully from measles and typhoid fever. General Grant used a strong figure of speech when he asserted that 'the cradle and the grave were robbed, to recruit the Confederate armies.' The fact of a fearful drain

upon the population was not exaggerated. Both shared the hardships and dangers of war, with equal self devotion to the cause. It is true that a class of heartless speculators infested the country, who profited by the scarcity of all sorts of supplies; but this fact makes the self sacrifice of the mass of the Southern people more conspicuous; and no State made more liberal voluntary contributions to the armies, or furnished better soldiers, than North Carolina.

"On the opposite side of the river from Wilmington, on a low, marshy flat, were erected the steam cotton presses and there the blockade runners took in their cargoes. Sentries were posted on the wharves day and night, to prevent deserters from getting on board and stowing themselves away; and the additional precaution of fumigating the outward bound steamers at Smithville was adopted; but, in spite of this vigilance, many persons succeeded in getting a free passage abroad. These deserters, or 'stowaways' were in most instances sheltered by one or more of the crew; in which event they kept their places of concealment until the steamer had arrived at her port of destination, when they would profit by the first opportunity to leave the vessel undiscovered. A small bribe would tempt the average blockade-running sailor to connive at this means of escape. The 'impecunious' deserter fared more hardly, and would usually be forced by hunger and thirst to emerge from his hiding place while the steamer was on the outward voyage. A cruel device, employed by one of the captains, effectually put a stop, I believe,—certainly a check,—to this class of 'stowaways.' He turned three or

four of them adrift in the Gulf Stream, in an open boat, with a pair of oars, and a few days' allowance of bread and water."

STEAMER ADVANCE.

In the latter part of the year 1863, I embarked at Wilmington on the North Carolina Steamer Advance, bound for St. George's, Bermuda, to join at that port another blockade runner to which I had been assigned to duty. The Advance was commanded by Captain Crossan, of the old navy, with Captain Wylie, a hearty, whole-souled Scotchman, as sailing master. The purser was Mr. Joseph H. Flanner, a well-known Wilmington merchant and agent of the State; Captain George Morrison was chief engineer; J. B. Smith, a lad of nineteen, three years older than myself, was signal officer; and George Snow, of Raleigh, was a fellow passenger, with a short furlough for a frolic through the blockade. We three lads were assigned quarters in the main sleeping-cabin below deck, which had been used for general passengers in the old country while the ship, as the Lord Clyde, sailed on her former peaceful voyages.

It was my first separation from home; and, as we prepared to turn in for the night by the light of a carefully screened lamp, I was deeply impressed by the moral courage of young Smith, who, in the presence of several onlookers evidently careing nothing for these things, quietly got out his little Testament, read the evening lesson, and then upon his bended knees commended his soul and body to Him who has the confidence of those afar off

upon the sea. That simple act of worship, under circumstances peculiarly trying to a young man, not only strengthened me for my duty then, but made an impression for good which has never been effaced.

This article, written by Mr. Smith, is copied from the "Guilford Collegian" of November, 1896:

"One beautiful afternoon in the summer of 1863 the steamship Advance, the famous blockade runner belonging to the State of North Carolina, with cargo of cloth, blankets, shoes, and other supplies for the North Carolina State troops in the Confederate Army, steamed out of the port of St. George's, Bermuda. Her graceful bow headed for the port of Wilmington, N. C., which was at that time closely guarded by a blockading squadron, composed of the fleetest gunboats in the Federal Navy, to prevent the very purpose we had in view—that of taking in supplies for the Confederate army. I was serving as signal officer on the ship, being a lad of nineteen years of age.

"We had a smooth run of two days and three nights, always keeping a sharp lookout for Federal cruisers, which were kept in these waters to intercept any vessel suspected of contraband traffic. Not being permitted to carry an armament of any kind, our safety depended upon our vigilance and the speed of our ship. To be on the safe side, we would avoid any vessel carrying steam, the smoke being visible before its rigging loomed in sight.

"On the afternoon of the second day out, as usual, all hands were called up and told off by the first officer to their respective boats. It was the purpose of our captain, Thomas Crossan, if about to be captured to scuttle the ship,

and by means of the ship's boats to endeavor to make our way ashore.

"What a motley sight our crew presented! With the exception of our sailing master, our officers were Southerners, but the crew was composed of men of every nationality, adventurers attracted to this most dangerous service by the tempting offer of enormous bounties and wages paid in gold or silver.

"On account of my youthfulness I was much petted by the officers, especially by the sailing master, who was a bluff, typical Scotchman. Heaven bless him! Though by no means of exemplary habits himself, he watched over and guarded me against the temptations to which I was exposed as carefully as a father could have done. He always assigned me to his boat; but Kit Morse, our Wilmington pilot, counted the most skillful pilot and surfman on our coast, would always whisper to me: 'Never mind, Smith, if ever we do have to take to the small boats, you just step in my boat, take a seat by Kit Morse, and if any boat can live through the surf, I will land you safe on North Carolina grit.' This always placed me in a quandary, in which obedience to orders and personal safety struggled for the mastery.

"It was the intention of our captain to make the coast of North Carolina at some point about twenty-five miles above Fort Fisher, at New Inlet to the Cape Fear River, then to steam down the coast and run in about 3 a. m., which would be flood tide on the bar (our ship being so deeply laden we could not get over the bar except at high water). Owing to our having run off our course to dodge steamers,

we made Hatteras lighthouse about 1 a. m., and although we steamed down the coast under full head of steam, daylight found us some twenty-five miles above Fort Fisher, and brought to view the Federal blockading fleet of five vessels, stretching in a line abreast of Masonboro Sound, and standing off about three miles at sea. The closest scrutiny with the aid of our glasses failed to show any sign of life on their decks. But we knew they always kept up full head of steam. The captain called Mr. Morse, the pilot, Mr. Morrison, the chief engineer, and myself to him, and said: 'We have either to run off the coast with chance of a long chase from those fellows out there,' pointing to the Federal vessels, 'and try to get in to-night, or, under cover of the fog and smoke from the surf and salt works hanging over the coast line, try to slip by them.' Then, after a minute's pause, said, with a sparkle in his calm blue eyes, and with compressed lips, 'I am going to take the risk of running by them. Mr. Morrison, be ready to give her all steam possible. Smith, stand by to signal Colonel Lamb to man his guns to protect us. Pilot, take charge of the ship; put her in, if possible; if not, beach her.'

"An extra hand was sent to the wheel, and as I, with my signal flag in hand, took my stand on the starboard side of the quarter deck, to the right of the pilot, he said, Smith, old boy, we are in for it.' We steamed on at a moderate speed, hugging the shore line as close as possible to keep under cover of mingled fog and smoke, which stretched like a veil along the coast.

"Scanning intently the line of blockaders, I began to flatter myself we were unobserved until we were off Mason-

boro, and abreast of the line of blockaders, when up went a signal from the flagship of the squadron, and in a moment each vessel, having slipped her cable, was in motion under full steam. One steamed in shore to our rear, three came bearing obliquely on our port beam, and one, the Connecticut, the fleetest of the squadron, steamed to head us off, and we saw that we were in a trap that had been set for us. 'Full speed ahead!' the pilot signalled the engineer, and the bonny ship bounded forward like a racer. 'Up with the colors!' spoke the captain, and the Southern Cross fluttered in the morning breeze from our flagstaff astern.

"Intense excitement prevailed among the sailors and firemen off duty as they gathered on the forward deck, on which, from our position, we had full view. Among them our chief cook, 'Frenchie' who was wont to boast a cap carried off his head by a Russian bullet at Sebastapol.

"'Smith, said the Pilot,' 'twenty miles to Fort Fisher.' A puff of smoke, and a cannon ball from the Connecticut skipped the crest of the waves to the forward but short of our ship. I recognized it as a gentle hint to round to and surrender. The motley crowd on deck, supposing it to be the extent of the Connecticut's ability to coerce, gave vent to their feelings in a suppressed cheer. Alas, for the hopes! the last spark of which was soon quenched. The Connecticut, our course not being changed, sent the next shot whistling between our smoke stacks, across the three-mile strip of land into the Cape Fear river, as I afterwards learned. 'Oh, good God!' said Frenchie, as he darted for shelter towards the forecastle, but was intercepted by a shot across our bows.

"The firing from the fleet had now become general, and amid the whistle of shot and bursting of shell all about us the pilot said with a smile: 'Smith, look at Frenchie dodging about like a partridge in a coop.' Just then the signal station highest up the beach hove in sight, and my time for action had arrived, which required me to become oblivious to the terrors menacing destruction and death; and, by waves of my signal flag spell out, letter by letter, this message to Colonel Lamb, commandant at Fort Fisher: 'Colonel Lamb: Have guns manned to protect us. Signed Crossan, Captain Ad-Vance.'

"No one can imagine how glad I was at the close of my message to catch the shore operator's reply of 'O. K.' My official responsibility being now ended, the peril that environed us burst upon me with full force. Fifteen miles to Fort Fisher! For fifteen miles to be subjected to such an ordeal, or to that of being dashed to pieces in that fearful surf which mingled its ominous warning with the reverberating roar of the pitiless cannon. I tried to read my destiny in the imperturbable countenance of my companion, a wave of whose hand could consign me to a Northern prison, or perchance to a watery grave. As well seek to penetrate the secrets of the Sphinx as the thoughts of Kit Morse. Yet I knew he loved me, thought of my safety even with this great responsibility resting upon him; for once, as the fragments of shell were falling all about us, he pushed me under the lee of the sailing master's cabin, saying, 'Smith, that may keep a piece from striking you.' How slow we seemed to be running! People ashore likened our speed to that of a bird seeking safety by flight. Minutes to us seemed

hours, yet slowly, so slowly as scarcely to be perceptible, we were gradually forging ahead of all except the Connecticut, which was running in a straight line for the inlet, to cut us off, while we had to follow the curves of the shore. On sped the chase! In the press for speed the Connecticut fired only from her starboard guns.

"We had now reached the last curve of the shore which projected out seaward and would have to be turned before we could enter the inlet. This the pilot traced with his finger and said calmly: 'Smith, that will bring us in a hundred yards of the Connecticut. I wonder why Lamb doesn't fire.'

"Bang! went a gun from the shore battery, and a Whitworth shell bored through the hull of the rear vessel, being in point blank range. Suddenly the vessel to the rear gave up the chase and steamed seaward. Not so with that dreaded Connecticut which seemed right across our bows, with our ship as a shield to protect her from the guns of the fort.

"How fast we were approaching her! Every motion of her gun crew became plainly visible, even that of the gunner, as he pulled the lanyard and sent that fearful missile of destruction aimed at our water line, but buried in a wave twenty feet short.

"'That got us,' said the brave pilot to me. Then, with a quick wave of his hand and a cheery voice of command, 'Over, hard over!' The wheel rolled under the willing hands of the brave steersman; and, with the speed of a chased stag, and the grace of a swan, the bonnie craft

rounded the point, and entered the inlet. The guns of Fort Fisher belched flames of fire, and we were safe."

IMPROVED SHIPS AND NOTABLE CAPTAINS.

The last year of the war evolved a superior type of blockade runners of great speed, many of which were commanded by celebrated men of nerve and experience. Of these may be mentioned at random and from memory: the Lilian, Captain Maffitt; the Little Hattie, Captain Lebby; the Florie, named for Captain Maffitt's daughter; the Agnes E. Fry, commanded by that noble but unfortunate naval officer, Captain Joseph Fry; the Chicora, still running in Canadian waters; the Let Her Rip, the Let Her Be; also the fleet of three-funnel boats, one of which, the Condor, was commanded by the famous Admiral Hewitt, of the British navy, who won the Victoria Cross in the Crimea, and who was knighted by Queen Victoria for his distinguished services as Ambassador to King John of Abyssinia. When this steamer was stranded off Fort Fisher, the celebrated Confederate spy, Mrs. Rose Greenhow, who was a passenger, entreated Captain Hewitt to send her ashore through the breakers, fearing that she would suffer death if captured by the Federals. Captain Hewitt refused, saying he would protect her; she insisted; at last he consented, and she was drowned in the attempt. Her body was picked up on the beach the next day by Mr. Thomas Taylor. The Falcon was commanded for one voyage by Hobart Pasha; the Flamingo, the Ptarmigan, and the Vulture were also of three-funnel type.

Another notable British officer who ran the blockade was the gallant Burgoyne, who was lost in the iron-clad Captain in the Bay of Biscay, which vessel he commanded on that unfortunate voyage.

Captain Carter was a notable naval officer of the Confederacy, and he commanded the blockade runner Coquette.

Captain Thomas Lockwood, a North Carolinian, was, perhaps, the most noted of the commercial class. His last command was the celebrated steamer Colonel Lamb, named for the defender of Fort Fisher. This was the largest, the finest, and the fastest of all the ships on either side during the war. She was a paddle steamer built of steel, 281 feet long, 36 feet beam, and 15 feet depth of hold. Her tonage was 1,788 tons. At the time she was built, 1864, she was the fastest vessel afloat, having attained on her trial a speed of 16¾ knots, or about nineteen miles, an hour. Captain Lockwood made several successful runs in this fine ship, and escaped to England at the close of the war. The Colonel Lamb was sold to the Greek Government; and subsequently, under another name, was blown up while in the Mersey loaded with war supplies. Other fast boats were the Owl, Bat, Fox, Dream, Stag, Edith, Atalanta, Virginia, Charlotte, Banshee, and Night Hawk.

Another merchant commander of distinction was Captain Halpin, who was very skillful and successful, and who afterwards commanded the famous leviathan, Great Eastern, while she was engaged in laying the Atlantic cable.

CAPTAIN MAFFITT.

Among the devoted band of United States Navy officers whose home and kindred were in the South at the outbreak of the war, and who resigned their commissions rather than aid in subjugating their native State, there was none braver or truer than our own Captain John N. Maffitt, who, yielding to necessity, severed the strong ties of a service under the old flag, in which he had long distinguished himself; and not only relinquished a conspicuous position directly in the line of speedy promotion to the rank of Admiral, but sacrificed at the same time his entire fortune, which was invested in the North, and which was confiscated shortly afterwards by the Federal government.

The story of the life and service of this modest hero has never been written. After the capture of the forts and the closing of the ports of Wilmington and Charleston in January, 1865, Maffitt, in command of the steamer Owl, and unaware of the situation, ran into each port in quick succession, escaping from the fleet in each exploit as by a miracle, although under a heavy and destructive fire. While running out of Charleston harbor when escape seemed impossible. The entire manuscript of his history of the cruise of the Florida, which warship he had so long successfully commanded, was, by an unfortunate misunderstanding on the part of a subordinate, sent to the bottom of the sea, along with the Confederate mail and other valuable papers. Some years after, with the assistance of his accomplished wife, he prepared for publication a number of historical manuscripts, which are still preserved by his widow, in the hope that they may be

of pecuniary value to the survivors of the family. Captain Maffitt wrote, also, a story of naval life in the old service, entitled "Nautilus," as well as a number of articles for the "Army and Navy Magazine," entitled "Reminiscences of the Confederate States Navy." His paper on the building of the ram Albemarle by Captain Cook, and the gallant officer's subsequent attack upon the Federal fleet in Plymouth Sound, which is copied entire by Colonel Scharf in his "History of the Confederate Navy," has been pronounced one of the finest descriptions relative to the war between the states. It was my privilege to be numbered among his personal friends from the time he honoured me, a lad of seventeen years, with his recommendation for the appointment as purser of his own ship, the Confederate steamer Lilian, which appointment was confirmed just before he gave up the command to take charge of the Confederate ram Albemarle at Plymouth. This friendship was unbroken until the close of his eventful life, the sacrifices and services of which should ever be held in grateful remembrance by our Southern people.

When President Davis wrote for Maffitt's war record for reference in his book, "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," the modest commander gave more prominence to Lieutenant Read's exploits than to his own. When, a few years ago, I had the honor of frequent interviews with Mrs. Davis at Narragansett, Captain Maffitt was referred to repeatedly by that distinguished lady, who assured me that he was always held in high esteem by Mr. Davis and herself; and she pleasantly recalled some very

amusing stories of Maffitt's gallantry and fine humor which made him such a universal favourite.

In a year after my appointment to the Lilian, I had the misfortune to be captured at sea, after an exciting chase of five hours, by the Federal cruisers Keystone State, Boston, Gettysburg, and two others unknown, in which our ship was disabled under a heavy fire by shot below the water line. I was held a prisoner on board the United States Steamer Keystone State, whose commander, Captain Crosby, a regular in the old navy, treated me most courteously. Upon the invitation of the paymaster, I messed with the superior officers in the wardroom; where I heard frequent bitter allusions to Captain Semmes and to other prominent Confederates, but never a word of censure for the genial Maffitt, the mention of whose name would provoke a kindly and amused smile, as some of his pranks in the old times would be recalled by those who had not learned to regard him as a foe.

The following passages taken from Admiral Porter's "Naval History of the Civil War," confirm the personal observations of the writer with reference to Maffitt's reputation in the old navy:

"Maffitt was a different kind of man from Semmes. A thorough master of his profession, and possessed of all the qualities that make a favorite naval commander, he became a successful raider of the sea; but he made no enemies among those officers who had once known him and who now missed his genial humor in their messes. He was a veritable rover, but was never inhuman to those whom the fortunes of war threw into his hands; and he made himself

as pleasant while emptying a ship of her cargo and then scuttling her, as Claude Duval when robbing a man of his purse, or borrowing his watch from his pocket."

Porter describes in almost flattering terms Maffitt's superior skill and daring in fitting out the Florida under most adverse conditions, and then, by way of explanation, says:

"It may appear to the reader that we have exhibited more sympathy for Commander Maffitt and given him more credit than he deserved. It must be remembered that we are endeavoring to write a naval history of the war, and not a partisan work. This officer, it is true, had gone from under the flag we venerate, to fight against it; but we know that it was a sore trial for him to leave the service to which he was attached, and that he believed he was doing his duty in following the fortunes of his State, and had the courage to follow his convictions. He did not leave the United States Navy with any bitterness, and, when the troubles were all over, he accepted the situation gracefully. What we are going to state of him shows that he was capable of the greatest heroism, and that, though he was on the side of the enemy, his courage and skill were worthy of praise."

He then recounts the wonderful story of Maffitt's perilous run through Commander Preble's fleet off Mobile in broad daylight, with a crew decimated by yellow fever, and he himself scarcely able to stand, owing to its prostrating effects:

"The Florida approached rapidly, her smoke pipes vomiting forth volumes of black smoke and a high pressure of steam escaping from her steam pipe. As she came within

hailing distance, the Federal commander ordered her to heave to, but Maffitt still sped on, having sent all his men below, except the man at the wheel, and returned no reply to the hail. Preble then fired a shot ahead of the Florida, still supposing her to be some saucy Englishman disposed to try what liberties he could take, though the absence of men on deck should have excited suspicion. He hesitated, however, and his hesitation lost him a prize and the honor of capturing one of the Confederate scourges of the ocean. Preble had his crew at quarters, however; and, as soon as he saw that the stranger was passing him, he opened his broadside upon her, and the other two blockaders did the same. But the first shots were aimed too high, and the Florida sped on towards the bar, her feeble crew forgetting their sickness and heaping coal upon the furnace fires with all possible rapidity. Every man was working for his life, while the captain stood amid the storm of shot and shell perfectly unmoved, keenly watching the marks for entering the port, and wondering to himself what his chances were for getting safely in.

"During the whole war there was not a more exciting adventure than this escape of the Florida into Mobile Bay. The gallant manner in which it was conducted excited great admiration, even among the men who were responsible for permitting it. We do not suppose that there ever was a case where a man, under all the attending circumstances, displayed more energy or more bravery.

"And so the Florida was allowed to go on her way without molestation, and Maffitt was enabled to commence that career on the high seas which has made his name one of the

notable ones of the war. He lighted the seas wherever he passed along, and committed such havoc among American merchantmen, that, if possible, he was even more dreaded than Semmes. We have only to say that his being permitted to escape into Mobile Bay, and then to get out again, was the greatest example of blundering committed throughout the war. Every officer who knew Maffitt was certain that he would attempt to get out of Mobile, and we are forced to say that those who permitted his escape are responsible for the terrible consequences of their want of vigilance and energy.

"Preble's failure to sink the Florida—for nothing else would have stopped Maffitt—brought him into disgrace with the Navy department, although he proved in his report of the affair that every means at his command had been used to intercept the bold Confederate; and shortly afterwards the Secretary of the Navy, supported by a majority of naval officers, recommended the dismissal of Commodore Preble from the navy, which was carried into effect September 20, 1863.

"Preble repeatedly demanded an investigation, which was refused; but he ultimately got his case before Congress, and was restored to the list February 21, 1864, with the grade of rear admiral.

"At the close of the war Captain Maffitt was summoned by a court of inquiry, demanded by Preble, to testify as to the facts of his exploit in entering Mobile Bay, in which he said:

"'I can vouch for his (Preble's) promptness and destructive energy on the occasion of my entering Mobile Bay. The su-

perior speed of the Florida alone saved her from destruction, though not from a frightful mauling. We were torn to pieces—one man's head taken off and eleven wounded; boats, and standing and running-rigging shot away, also fore gaff. Four shells struck our hull, and had the one (nine inch) that grazed our boiler and entered the berth deck (killing one and wounding two) exploded, every man belonging to the steamer would have been killed; as I had only the officers on deck until about to cross the bar, when I made some sail, and one man was wounded in the rigging. We had about fourteen hundred shrapnel shots in our hull, and our masts were pitted like a case of small-pox. The damage done her was so great that we did not get to sea again for over three months.' "

DR. HOGE'S ADVENTURE.

One of the interesting events connected with blockade running had to do with this great and good divine.

There was, throughout the Confederacy, a deplorable lack of Bibles, and, in fact, of all religious literature. This was due to the scarcity of paper and of materials for printing and binding, all the industrial energies of the Confederacy being devoted to the great work of self-defense. Dr. William J. Hoge, the brother of Dr. Moses D. Hoge and father of Dr. Peyton H. Hoge, conceived the idea of laying this need before the Christians of Great Britain and asking for a ship-load of Bibles, tracts and other religious publications. He wrote to Dr. R. L. Dabney and Dr. M. D. Hoge of his plan. The latter hailed with delight the suggestion, but advised the going of a

personal representative as likely to prove more successful. He consulted the other ministers of Richmond, and members of the Confederate Cabinet, and they heartily approved of the plan.

A swift steamer was soon to sail from Charleston, and Dr. William J. Hoge, after consenting to go, found it impossible to prepare in time; so Dr. M. D. Hoge, hastily securing the proper credentials, himself started on the journey.

He ran the blockade from Charleston on the Antonica, commanded by Captain L. M. Coxetter. Of this he wrote: "Our run through the blockading squadron was glorious. I was in one of the severest and bloodiest battles fought near Richmond; but it was not more exciting than that midnight adventure, when, amid lowering clouds and dashes of rain, and just wind enough to get up sufficient commotion in the sea to drown the noise of our paddle-wheels, we dashed along, with lights all extinguished, and not even a cigar burning on the deck, until we were safely out and free from the Federal fleet."

From Nassau he went to Havana on a small schooner, and from there on a British steamer to Southampton.

His visit was a complete success. From Nassau more than 1,200 copies of the Holy Scriptures were obtained. When he reached England, through the kind co-operation of the distinguished James M. Mason, he was introduced to Lord Shaftesbury. The latter secured a hearing before the British Foreign Bible Society. This society, though he desired to purchase, generously donated to this cause 10,000 Bibles, 50,000 Testaments, and 250,000 copies of the Gos-

pels and Psalms. He also secured from the Tract Society a large gift of their publications. Of these books, going in on various blockade runners, more than three-fourths reached the Confederacy in safety, and were a mighty blessing to the soldiers.

His return was hastened by the sad news, found in a Northern paper, of the death of *one* of his children, he did not for some time know which. Hastening home, he sailed for Halifax, and from there to Bermuda. Thence he sailed on the blockade runner Advance, formerly the Lord Clyde. The accompanying description of his entrance into the Cape Fear we copy from Dr. Peyton H. Hoge's "Moses Drury Hoge: Life and Letters."

"Sunday morning, October 11th, was a day of cloudless beauty. Dr. Hoge came early on deck to find the Advance sailing merrily southward, with the Federal fleet in full view. Dr. Hoge became anxious.

'What are you going to do, Captain?'

'I am going to Wilmington today.'

'But, surely, you are not going to attempt it in broad daylight.'

'Why not?'

'Well, for one reason, the Confederate government cannot afford to lose this ship; and, for another, there are some of us on board who do not wish to be captured, and I am one of them.'

'Oh! you will not be captured, and this ship will not be lost.'

"Still they bore on; but as yet there was no movement in the Federal fleet. It is probable that they were deceived

by the boldness of the steamer's approach, and took her for some transport or supply vessel. When she was nearly opposite the entrance, the helm was put hard to port, and all steam put on as she made the inlet.

"The mask was now thrown off, and three Federal vessels gave chase. She had a good start; but, if they could not catch her by steam, perhaps they could with gunpowder, and soon the shells were shrieking through her rigging. Any moment might decide her fate, but still she sped on untouched. The situation was critical and—uncomfortable. But now the pursuing vessels came within range of the Confederate guns, and Fort Fisher opened fire. The pursuit slackened, and the pursuers fell off. Almost the next instant the Advance was stuck fast on a shoal; had it happened a moment sooner, they would have been lost. The captain came to Dr. Hoge, and besought him to lead them in a service of thanksgiving; and on that Sabbath morning, in sight of the baffled enemy and the protecting fort, passengers and crew assembled on deck and stood with bared heads beneath their own blue Southern skies, while he lifted his heart to God in thanksgiving and praise for their deliverance. Yet the danger was not quite over. If they did not get free by night, there was risk of their being boarded under cover of darkness. But with the rising tide they were afloat again in the early afternoon, and that night they slept in Wilmington."

CLOSING SCENES.

The closing scenes of blockade-running were described by Colonel Scharf in his "History of the Confederate States Navy," as follows:

"The military and naval expeditions against Wilmington in December, 1864, and January, 1865, resulted in the capture of the forts and the closing of the port. Eight vessels left the port of Nassau between the 12th and 16th of January, one of which took four one-hundred-pounder Armstrong guns; and at the time of their sailing there were over two and a half million pounds of bacon stored at Nassau awaiting transportation. The confidence reposed in the defense of Wilmington continued unabated on the part of the blockade-runners, and the Charlotte, the Blenheim, and the Stag, all British steamers, ran in after the fall of Fort Fisher, and were captured by the Federal cruisers in the river. The blockade-runner Owl, Captain John N. Maffitt, C. S. N., in command, succeeded in passing over the bar near Fort Caswell, and anchored at Smithville on the night the forts were evacuated; and immediately returned to Bermuda, arriving on the 21st, and carrying the news of the fall of Fort Fisher and the end of blockade-running at Wilmington. Her arrival was timely, stopping the Maud Campbell, Old Dominion, Florence, Deer and Virginia. Most, if not all, of these steamers now turned their prows toward Charleston, the last harbor remaining accessible; and, though the fall of that city was impending, yet a cargo might be safely landed and transported along the interior line to the famishing armies of the Confederate States. To that end Captain Wilkinson determined to make the effort; but it was the part of prudence to ascertain, positively, before sailing, that Charleston was still in our possession. This intelligence was brought by the Chicora, which arrived at Nassau on the 30th of January; and

on February 1st, the Owl, Carolina, Dream, Chicora and Chameleon sailed within a few hours of each other for Charleston.

"The effort was a brave and gallant one, but was ineffectual. The U. S. S. Vanderbilt intercepted the Chameleon, and, after an exciting chase, was dodged by the fast sailing vessel under the cool seamanship of the gallant Wilkinson. Turning on the Vanderbilt, the Chameleon again attempted to reach Charleston; but having lost a day in escaping from the Vanderbilt, and, being retarded by unfavorable weather, she did not reach the coast near Charleston bar till the fifth night after leaving Nassau. The blockading fleet, reinforced from that off Wilmington, now closed every practical entrance; but it was not until after assurances from the pilot that entrance was impossible, that Captain Wilkinson 'turned away from the land, and our hearts sank within us, while conviction forced itself upon us that the cause for which so much blood had been shed, so many miseries bravely endured, and so many sacrifices cheerfully made, was about to perish at last.' The Chicora, more fortunate than the Chameleon, ran into Charleston, but finding that city evacuated, ran out, despite the effectiveness of the blockade, and reached Nassau on the 28th. The Fox, less fortunate, ran into Charleston in ignorance of its capture, and was seized by the Federal cruisers.

"Captain John N. Maffitt, C. S. N., in the Owl, left Havana about the middle of March, within 'a quarter of an hour' after the U. S. S. Cherokee steamed out of the harbour. Passing Morro Castle, the Owl hugged the coast towards the west, followed by the Cherokee, the chase con-

tinuing for an hour or more. The Owl had speed, and Maffitt had the seamanship to 'throw dust into the eyes' of his pursuer by changing her coal from hard to soft; thus clouding the air with dense black smoke, under cover of which the Owl turned on the Cherokee, and, steaming away to the stern of the cruiser, disappeared in the darkness of night and storm."

A large cannon ball weighing hundreds of pounds was thrown from a Yankee vessel and landed on Brunswick Sound designed to destroy a Salt works which was then operated by the Worths. This home was afterwards bought by David L Worth and at this writing has descended to one of his Charles William Worth of Wilmington, N C - The place is called "Orton Hall."

This March 1911

E E Moffitt

THE END.

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March

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—BY—
S. A. ASHE.

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VOL. I. MARCH 10, 1902. No. 11.

The Charge at Gettysburg.

BY
S. A. ASHE.

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"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

THE CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG.

BY S. A. ASHE.

The third day of the struggle between the contending armies near Gettysburg opened clear and cloudless. The July sun beamed down on the battlefield of the previous day majestically serene, throwing into bold relief the outlines of the picture.

Standing on Cemetery Hill, a mile south of the little town of Gettysburg, one saw the range continue to the southward, now jutting out into the valley to the west and then receding in strong curves eastward, now falling with even slopes and then swelling again in graceful contour, but farther away breaking into precipitous promontories whose rocky knobs were veritable Round Tops and fitly associated with Devil's Dens.

Almost parallel and about a mile away to the west could be traced the course of Seminary Ridge, gently rising from the intervening valley and still covered with the growth of original forest trees. Along the slope are fences inclosing fields with patches of wood here and there, and a little swale down the valley where it narrows as the ridge throws out a spur to the eastward.

Coming from the town is the Emmitsburg Pike, which after passing the summit of Cemetery Hill, swerves off along a lower and divergent ridge that trends across the valley. Overlooking the pike is a stone wall following along the upper slope of Cemetery Hill and conforming

generally to the line of its crest, but, at a point some 600 yards away where the hill grows bolder and juts well out into the valley, this wall makes a right angle and comes straight toward the pike, and then again follows the crest, which soon retreats and falls away, leaving a slight depression embayed in the general outline.

On this headland, that like a bastion front projects itself into the valley, stands a clump of trees which served to guide the right of the attacking column on that fateful day; and a quarter of a mile in front, but farther down the valley, stood the farm-house of Codori on a little knoll surrounded by a sparse grove.

Beyond the Cemetery, to the north, the range bent sharply to the right, forming a difficult eminence known as Culp's Hill; and on the curve from Culp's Hill west to the Cemetery and thence south to Round Top was massed the Federal army, some one hundred thousand strong; while on an exterior line of sister hills lay Lee's forces, with Ewell on the left in possession of a part of Culp's Hill, and Longstreet on the right toward Round Top, while A. P. Hill covered the center, a total force of about sixty thousand troops.

Dispositions had been made for an early morning attack on the 3d simultaneously by Ewell on the left and Longstreet on the right; and with that view the artillery had been massed against the Federal center, Col. Alexander, acting as Longstreet's Chief of Artillery, having occupied, during the night, an advanced ridge that lay several hundred yards beyond Longstreet's front, and covered it with batteries.

But Meade himself had not been inactive, and, at four o'clock in the morning, he unsettled this plan of attack by

driving back Early, whose lodgment on Culp's Hill was an essential part of Lee's proposed movement. Later in the morning, then, Lee determined on making that assault which has been so famous in history.

The object of General Lee was to penetrate Meade's line in the depression on the south of Cemetery Hill, and, thus turning his position, move up and dispossess him.

When the morning broke and the Federal forces beheld so great an armament as 140 pieces of artillery in position on the crest of Seminary Ridge, they knew that an assault was intended on some part of their line, and every preparation was at once made to receive it.

The batteries on Cemetery Hill were strengthened by new ones from the reserve, and soon eighty pieces of artillery were in readiness to respond to the expected cannonade, which was awaited with increasing solicitude as the morning wore on in ominous silence.

In early morning Pickett's Division had arrived and two of his brigades, Kemper and Garnett, had been placed under cover of the advanced ridge which Colonel Alexander had seized the night before. Armistead's Brigade lay back, protected by the main ridge, in a line with Heth's Division, while the North Carolina Brigades of Scales and Lane were still farther in the rear. These were the troops selected to make the assault; Pickett's Division, being fresh, and Heth's Division and Lane's and Scales' Brigades, although badly cut up on the first, not having been engaged on the second, and being troops of the highest reputation for constancy and endurance.

In Heth's Division were Archer's Brigade, composed of two Alabama and three Tennessee regiments; Pettigrew's Brigade, which had present the 11th, 26th, 47th and 52d North Carolina regiments; Davis' Brigade, constituted of three Mississippi and one North Carolina regiment, and Brokenborough's or Field's Brigade, which was composed entirely of Virginians. Pettigrew's Brigade was commanded by Colonel Marshall, Gen. Pettigrew being in command of the division.

Lane's Brigade was formed of the 7th, 18th, 28th, 33d and 37th North Carolina regiments, and in Scales's, then under Colonel Lowrance, were the 13th, 16th, 22d, 34th and 38th North Carolina regiments. These troops had suffered so severely on the first of July that many companies were mere skeletons, and some regiments were officered by captains.

Pickett's Division, composed entirely of Virginians, had just arrived, and was in excellent condition in all respects.

The movement was in double column, the first line consisting of Kemper's and Garnett's Brigades on the right, with Heth's Division on the left; and for the second line Amistead in the rear of Pickett's other Brigades, and Scales' and Lane's Brigades of North Carolinians, under General Trimble, in the rear of Heth's Division.

Wilcox's and Perry's Brigades were to move out on the extreme right and protect the column from any flanking forces, while R. H. Anderson's Division, covering the left, was to be in readiness to act as opportunity should permit. Preliminary to the movement, the artillery was to silence

the enemy's guns and, as far as possible, demoralize their infantry before the attempt should be made to carry the works by storm.

At one o'clock two guns were discharged by the Washington Artillery as the signal for the cannonade to begin. Immediately the line of batteries opened with salvos of artillery, evoking a quick reply from the enemy, and the engagement soon became one of the most terrific bombardments of the war. Its fury was inconceivable. "From ridge to ridge was kept up for near two hours a Titanic combat of artillery that caused the solid fabric of the hills to labor and shake, and filled the air with fire and smoke and the mad clamor of 200 guns." The exposed batteries were greatly damaged. Both men and horses suffered fearful destruction. Caissons exploded, limbers were blown up and guns were crippled on every side. In particular was the Confederate fire, concentrated on the point of attack, very effective. But still the enemy's batteries were not silenced. The fire did not slacken, for as fast as the Federal batteries expended their ammunition, they were replaced by new ones from the reserve, and the fire continued without abatement until at length the Confederate ammunition began to run low.

Colonel Alexander, to whom had been committed the duty of indicating the moment for beginning the charge, felt the awful responsibility of the dilemma that presented itself and hurriedly communicated to Pickett that he should wait no longer, but should begin the movement at once, notwithstanding the terrific energy of the artillery that crowned the enemy's stronghold. But if the Confederate

chests had been depleted, so at last had become those of their antagonists, and General Hunt, Meade's Chief of Artillery, finding it unsafe to move up new supplies, and anticipating that the assault would be made on the center, conceived it well to husband his resources and ordered the fire to slacken, and so unexpectedly the embarrassing difficulty of the Confederate situation vanished.

Immediately the order to advance was given along the whole line, and some twelve thousand veterans, with alacrity and high elation, moved forward over the crests that had sheltered them, and passed down the slopes of Seminary Ridge, their bright guns gleaming in the noonday sun and their innumerable battle flags flying in the breeze, making as fine a pageant as was ever seen on any field of battle. They moved in quick time and with admirable precision, as if on some gala day parade. It was a glorious spectacle, evoking admiration from foe and friend alike, and being the theme of unstinted praise from every one who witnessed it.

But hardly had the line reached the downward slope of that extensive valley when the Federal batteries were again unloosed and the carnival of death began.

"Though stormed at with shot and shell, it moved steadily on, and even when grape and canister and musket balls began to rain upon it, the gaps were quickly closed and the alignment preserved."

The line of gray, a full mile in length, with its second line following at easy distance, marched indeed in fine style down that valley of death, reckless of peril and animated with that soldiery zeal and confidence which had ev-

er inspired the troops of Lee when moving in the immediate presence of that trusted commander.

From Garnett's advanced position down the valley the clump of trees which gave him direction bore far to the left, and soon reaching the ridge on which the Turnpike ran, he wheeled to the left and moved up toward Codori's house. As the line advanced there loomed up in the distance the works it was to assault.

Immediately in front of Archer's Brigade and Garnett's left lay the projecting stone wall standing out into the valley, held by Webb's Brigade and opposite the Confederate left was the retired wall sixty yards further off held by Hays' Division, with Smyth's Brigade toward the Cemetery and Sherrill's Brigade between that and Webb. South of the projection, Hall's and Harrow's Brigades continued the Federal line behind breastworks of rails covered with earth, and rifle-pits and shallow trenches in their front. Farther on were Stannard's and other brigades of Doubleday's Division. On the crest of the hill, a few yards behind the line of works, was thickly massed the artillery. Skirmishers lay out several hundred yards in front in the clover and grass, while a first line of infantry held a strong fence along the pike in front of Hays and a low stone wall farther down the valley, and lay concealed in the grass in the intervening space. At the stone wall and breastworks was a second line in readiness to receive the attack, while behind the artillery, some thirty paces off was still another, occupying higher ground and protected by the backbone of the ridge; and farther off on the flanks were heavy masses of infantry ready to be concentrated if need be.

As the Confederate line moved forward in constant sight, momentarily drawing nearer to the point of attack, all was expectation and anxiety along the Federal front. The heavy artillery fire of the Confederates had ceased and the demoralization incident to it rapidly gave place to a feeling of reassurance and determination. While it had destroyed the two batteries in the rear of Webb, leaving only one piece that could be worked, the guns in rear of Hays's Division were in better condition, and Howard's fresh battery had been brought up and posted on the slope of Cemetery Hill. And so it happened that while the troops on the Confederate right were fortunately not subjected to an artillery fire from the front and were exposed only to an enfilading fire from the extreme left of the Federal line, it was far different with Pettigrew's command, the batteries in his front being well served, firing first solid shot, then shell and spherical case—and at last canister—doubled charged, as Pettigrew's line drew nearer.

The movement of the Confederates was made in quick time over a clear field, beneath the burning rays of a fiery July sun, and was attended with considerable fatigue and exhaustion. But those veterans who had been trained to the vicissitudes of war well knew that at the final assault, dash and vigor would be necessary, and they therefore husbanded their strength and moved forward steadily and resolutely beneath the galling fire that was rapidly thinning their ranks. Speaking of the troops in front of Hays' Division, General Bachelder says that when they had reached a position "half way across the plain they encountered a terrible artillery fire, but against which, as a man presses

against a blinding storm, they moved steadily on as if impelled by a will greater than their own—some mighty unseen power which they could not resist.

" Solid shot ploughed through their ranks, spherical case rattled in their midst and canister swept them by hundreds from the field, yet on they pressed unflinchingly. "

It was an awful experience to pass nearly a mile across an open plain subjected to such a terrible fire, with no hope of protection and without power to resist. But each brave spirit in Pettigrew's command recognized the necessity of immolation if need be, and offered himself a willing sacrifice; and so closing up the great gaps in its ranks, the line on the left continued to face the furious storm and silently moved on upon the deadly batteries.

At length, having made two-thirds of the distance, and being only three hundred yards away, Pickett's Division, with Garnett in front, Kemper on the right, but somewhat in rear, and Armistead a hundred yards behind, turned toward the point they were to assail. On Garnett's left was Archer's Brigade, under Colonel Fry, whose numbers had been largely reduced in the first day's fight—and which had moved directly forward as the brigade of direction. Close joined with it were Pettigrew's North Carolinians under Colonel Marshall, Pettigrew himself being in command of the division; and father on were Davis' Mississippians and Brockenborough's Virginia Brigade, all well aligned; while 150 yards behind Trimble led Lane's and Scales' Brigades, the latter under Col. Lowrance, Scales having been severely wounded two days before.

Although the right had not suffered greatly during its shorter progress up the valley, and being somewhat protected by favoring ridges, heavy loss had been inflicted on the center and on the left, which had been fearfully cut up during its long and exposed march. But though sorely distressed on front and flank, with ranks largely depleted, the left brigades maintained their original alignment and still pursued their onward course.

As the attacking column, now much narrowed, moved up the slope that formed a natural glacis to the enemy's works, the batteries opened still more rapidly with grape and canister, and the front line of the enemy that lay in advance, together with the second line at the stone wall, poured into the Confederate column volley after volley of musketry, sending out a perfect sheet of lead and iron—a storm of murderous fire. The ranks of the first Confederate line, in the immediate front of Hays' artillery, were mowed down as grass by a scythe. The carnage was terrible. The piercing cries of the dying and wounded could be heard over the field amid the shrieks of shells and the roar of cannon. Trimble, in command of the two North Carolinia brigades, says of Heth's Division "that it seemed to sink into the earth under the tempest of fire poured into them.

"We passed over the remnant of their line and immediately some one close to my left sang out, 'Three cheers for the Old North State,' when both brigades sent up a heavy shout." It was the cry of brave men rushing into the jaws of death.

So furious was the fire, and so murderous, that it staggered the line—which "halted, returned the fire, and with a wild yell dashed on." The first line of the enemy, which lay one hundred yards in front, was thrown back against the wall, many being captured and hurried to the rear without guard. But yet the roar and din of the conflict continued, and though the smoke of battle obscured the front, the carnage went on as the columns drew closer and closer to the enemy's works. A front that had been originally more than a mile in length had now been compressed into less than 800 yards and the concentrated fire of the enemy's artillery, as well as musketry, from the flanks as well as from the front, told with fearful effect.

As the line approached the enemy's works, Pettigrew, seeing Brockenborough's Virginia Brigade and Davis' Mississippians give way under the murderous fire that assailed them, hurried his Aid, Captain Shepherd, to rally them—but all of Capt. Shepherd's efforts were without avail. They had become separated some distance from Pettigrew's North Carolina brigade and lacked the support imparted by the immediate co-operation of other troops. They could not be rallied, but broke and fell back at the critical moment of the ordeal. It was then that Trimble ordered his North Carolina brigades to close up on the first column, and Lane, bearing to the left, with well aligned ranks and in handsome style, covered the position made vacant on the left by the broken brigades, while Lowrance led Scales' Brigade directly forward to unite with the front line, then one hundred yards in advance.

In this hasty movement of Lane's, however, because of a misunderstanding as to whether the guide was right or left, the 7th North Carolina and a part of the 33d, being on Lane's right, became separated from the larger part of the brigade, which continued its movement well to the left, leaving some space intervening between it and Pettigrew's Brigade.

The position of the troops just before the final charge was: Pickett's line was in front of a part of the projecting wall, with Kemper's Brigade extending to the right of it, covering the front of the Federal brigades of Hall and Harrow. Archer's Brigade was in front of the rest of the projection, and along with Pettigrew's North Carolina Brigade extended in front of the retired wall, with Scales' Brigade coming up in the rear, while Lane, with nearly four regiments, was some distance to the left.

On the right, Pickett's Division had crossed the pike, while the line farther to the left had yet to pass it.

As the troops in their progress reached the fences inclosing this road, the obstruction tended greatly to break up their alignment. Many were killed and wounded there and others sought protection from the fearful fire by lying in the road. The column advancing beyond the pike was considerably weakened, and especially was this the case on the center and left where the road ran close to the stone wall and was stoutly held by the front line of the enemy. Pickett's Division, however, crossing at a point nearly a quarter of a mile distant from the enemy's works, escaped the full effect of this damaging obstacle and maintained a more perfect organization. And in like manner the right

of the Confederate column had the good fortune of not being subjected to a destructive artillery fire like that which mowed down the ranks of Pettigrew's command.

Colonel Peyton, who came out of the fight in command of Garnett's Brigade, in his official report, speaks of having routed the advanced line of the Federal infantry one hundred yards in front of the stone wall, and says:

"Up to this time we had suffered but little from the enemy's batteries with the exception of one posted on the mountain about one mile to our right, which enfiladed nearly our entire line with fearful effect. Having routed the enemy here, Gen. Garnett ordered the brigade forward, which was promptly obeyed, loading and firing as they advanced. From the point it had first routed the enemy the brigade moved rapidly forward toward the stone wall, under a galling fire, both from artillery and infantry, the artillery using grape and canister. We were now within about seventy-five paces of the wall, unsupported on the right and left; General Kemper being some fifty or sixty yards behind and to the right, and General Armistead coming up in our rear.

"Our line, much shattered, still kept up the advance until within about twenty paces of the wall, when for a moment they recoiled under the terrible fire they poured into our ranks, both from their batteries and from their sheltered infantry. At this moment Gen. Kemper came up on the right and Gen. Armistead in the rear, when the three lines joining in concert rushed forward. His strongest and last line was instantly gained, the Confederate battle-flag waved over his defenses, and the fighting over the wall be-

came hand-to-hand and of the most desperate character, but more than half having already fallen, our line was found too weak to rout the enemy." General Pickett does not appear to have been present with the advancing column; and we have no official report from either Armistead's or Kemper's Brigades. The latter was on the extreme right, extending south of the stone wall, and in its advance suffered greatly from the flanking fire of the two Vermont regiments thrown out by General Stannard against it. A Federal account says: "The Confederate line is almost up to the grove in front of Robinson's. It has reached the clump of scrub-oaks. It has drifted past the Vermont boys. They move upon the run up to the breastworks of rails, bearing Hancock's line to the top of the ridge—so powerful their momentum.

"Men fire into each other's faces not five feet apart. There are bayonent thrusts, saber strokes, pistol shots, cool, deliberate movements on the part of some; hot, passionate, desperate efforts on the part of others; hand-to-hand contests; recklessness of life, tenacity of purpose, fiery determination, oaths, yells, curses, hurrahs, shoutings. The Confederates have swept by the Vermont regiments. 'Take them on the flanks,' says Stannard. The 13th and 16th Vermont swing out from their trench line. They move forward and pour a deadly volley into the backs of Kemper's troops. With a hurrah they rush on to drive home the bayonets. Other regiments close upon the foe. The Confederate column has lost its power. The lines waver. * * Thousands of Confederates throw down their arms and give themselves up as prisoners."

Another Federal account of Kemper's attack says: "Up to the rifle-pits, across them, over the barricades—the momentum of the charge swept on. Our thin line could fight, but it had not weight enough to resist this momentum. But they had penetrated to the fatal point. A storm of grape and canister tore its way from man to man and marked its way with corpses straight down the line.

The line reeled back, disjointed already, in an instant in fragments. Our men were just behind the guns. They leaped forward in a disordered mass. But there was little need of fighting now. A regiment threw down its arms and with colors at its head rushed over and surrendered. All along the field detachments did the same. Over the field the escaped fragments of the charging line fell back—the battle there was over."

Colonel Fry, who so gallantly led Archer's Brigade, says: "I heard Garnett give a command. Seeing my gesture of inquiry he called out 'I am dressing on you!' A few seconds later he fell dead. A moment later a shot through my thigh prostrated me. The smoke soon became so dense that I could see but little of what was going on before me. A moment later I heard General Pettigrew calling to rally them on the left. All of the five regimental colors of my command reached the line of the enemy's works and many of my men and officers were killed after passing over it." Colonel Shepherd, who succeeded Fry in command, said in his official report that "every flag in Archer's Brigade except one was captured at or within the works of the enemy."

Scales' Brigade, closely following Archer's, dashed up to the projecting wall and planted their battle-flags upon the

enemy's breastworks. Pettigrew's and the left of Archer's had surged forward beyond the projecting wall, and had firmly established themselves along the retired portion of the wall, sixty yards beyond. Gen. Bachelder, who thoroughly studied the field for days after the battle, than whom no one knew so well the details of that affair, says: "The left of the column continued to move on toward the second wall, threatening the right and rear of Gibbons' Division, which held the advance line. General Webb, whose brigade on the right (in the projection), had hurried back to bring up his right reserve regiment from the second line. But before this could be accomplished the first line broke under the tremendous pressure which threatened its front and flank, and fell back upon the reserve." Thus while Garnett was struggling for the possession of the stone wall on the Confederate right, and Kemper was engaged with Harrow and Hall still farther to the right, seeking to penetrate into the enemy's line and turn the left of the hill, the advance of Pettigrew's command fifty yards beyond the projecting wall, taking Webb's exposed brigade on the right flank, caused it to give back from the wall and yield that part of the projection to the regiments of Archer and Scales that pressed them in front. Capt. McIntyre, Acting Adjutant-General of Scales' Brigade, says: "My brigade, or a larger part of it, went inside of the enemy's works."

Capt. Guerrant, acting as Brigade Inspector, says that "Scales' Brigade entered the breastworks and remained in possession until driven out by the enemy advancing on their flanks." Major Engelhard, the gallant Adjutant-General of the two brigades of Pender's Division, commanded by

Trimble, says: "The point at which the troops with me struck the enemy's works projected farthest to the front. I recollect well, my horse having been shot, I leaned my elbow against one of the guns of the enemy to rest, while I watched with painful anxiety the fight upon Pickett's right, for upon its success depended the tenableness of our position.

"Surrounding me were the soldiers of Pender's, Heth's and Pickett's Divisions, and it required all the resources at my command to prevent their following en masse the retreating enemy, and some did go so far that when we were compelled to withdraw, they were unable to reach our lines, the enemy closing in from the right and left. We remained in quiet and undisturbed possession of the enemy's works, the men, flushed with victory eager to press forward.

"But when the right of Pickett's Division was compelled by the overpowering attack upon its right flank to give way, there was nothing left for us to do but to surrender ourselves prisoners or withdraw in confusion before the converging lines of the enemy, those in our immediate front not having rallied."

The retired wall in front of Pettigrew's North Carolina Brigade was higher and stronger than at the projection, and along it skirted a lane inclosed by a strong fence.

Hays's Division clung to the wall here with pertinacity, and the second line, protected by the high crest of the ridge, commanded it completely, while Howard's fresh artillery on the slope of Cemetery Hill swept the front with an enfilading fire. But while it was impracticable for any troops to carry it by assault, the Confederate line much weakened by

the losses suffered in the march, silenced the batteries in their front and suppressed the infantry fire from the wall, and maintained the unequal contest there to the last.

Pettigrew's North Carolinians reached the wall itself, sixty yards in advance of the Confederates at the projection doing all that splendid valor and heroic endurance could do to dislodge the enemy; but their heroism was in vain.

Colonel Jones, in command of Pettigrew's Brigade, says: "On we pushed, and were now right on the enemy's works, when we received a murderous fire upon our left flank. I looked to see where it came from, and lo! we were completely flanked upon our left not only by infantry but artillery. One of the brigades had given way. The enemy had seized upon the gap and now poured a galling fire into our troops, forcing them to give way in succession to the right. The color-bearer of the 26th North Carolina was shot down while attempting to plant the flag on the wall." Gaston Broughton, commanding Co. D, 26th N. C., says: "We crossed the road and went to the enemy's works, where we continued firing until most of the regiment were captured. The enemy closing in on us from our rear." Lieut. W. N. Snelling, Co. B, of the same regiment, says: "We went to an old road some ten steps from the rock fence behind which was the enemy."

Major Haynes, of the 11th North Carolina: "I was about fifty yards, (I think nearer) of the wall when I was shot down. When shot we were in line going down toward the Cemetery wall. We were all cut down—no one but wounded left in my company save two."

Capt. J. J. Davis: "My company was next to the extreme left of the regiment, 47th N. C., and when not far from the enemy's works, say not more than one hundred yards, a sergeant of an adjoining regiment called my attention to the fact that the troops to the left had given away. I looked and saw that at some distance to the left the troops had given way, but our supports were then advancing in admirable style. (Lane's Brigade.) Col. Graves, who was to the right of me, had kept the regiment well in hand and was urging the men on, and we advanced to the plank fence that run alongside the lane just under the stone wall." Here he and his regiment were afterwards captured.

Col. B. F. Little, Captain of Co. E, 52d N. C.: "I was shot down when about fifty yards of the enemy's works and the ground between where I lay and the works was thickly strewn with killed and wounded, some of them having fallen immediately at the works. I do not think a single one of my men ever got back to the rear except those who were slightly wounded before they got to the place where I was wounded. And such was the case with the companies on either side of mine. When I was taken prisoner and borne to the rear I passed over their works and found some of my men killed and wounded immediately at the works."

It is of Pettigrew's Brigade that Colonel Swallow writes as follows: "Pettigrew's Brigade now united with Archer's regiments which had not entered the fortifications and attacked the enemy with the most desperate determination. While the writer, (Col. Swallow) lay wounded with Gen. Smyth, of Hays's Division, at Gettysburg, that officer told him that Pettigrew's Brigade all along his front were with-

in thirty or forty feet of his line and fought with a determination he had never seen equaled." This encomium, so richly merited, is, however, to be shared by Lane's Brigade equally with Pettigrew's, for Smyth's front was the extreme left, where Lane fought as well as Pettigrew's Brigade.

While such was the position of affairs on the right and center when the smoke of battle lifted somewhat, for the entire field was enveloped in dense smoke, Brockenborough's Virginians and Davis' Mississippians not having rallied from the deadly discharge that had hurled them back, Lane's North Carolinians were alone on the left and bore the brunt of the conflict on that part of the field. In his report Lane says: "My command never moved forward more handsomely. The men reserved their fire in accordance with orders until within good range of the enemy, and then opened with telling effect, driving the cannoneers from their pieces, completely silencing the guns in our immediate front and breaking the line of infantry on the crest of the hill.

"We advanced to within a few yards of the stone wall, exposed all the while to a heavy raking artillery fire from the right. My left was here very much exposed, and a column of infantry was thrown forward in that direction that enfiladed my entire line."

This was a column of regiments that was thrown forward from Hays right, and, despite an enfilading artillery fire, Lane broke off a regiment from his left to face this threatened danger.

Capt. Lovell, Co. A, 28th N. C., Lane's Brigade, says: "Some of my men were wounded and captured inside the works."

Col. Norwood, of the 37th N. C., says that regiment, along with the brigade, advanced to within thirty yards of the enemy's works, where they encountered a plank fence. Several officers, myself among them, sprung over the fence, followed by the whole command so far as I know. The cannoneers then left their pieces.

Lieutenant-Colonel Morriss, of the 33d N. C., says: "Pettigrew's and Archer's men reached the enemy's works a little in advance of us and succeeded in driving the enemy from their works in their front, but were exposed to a flank fire both right and left. We drove the enemy from his position on the road and from behind the stone fence. The enemy having disappeared from our front, we became engaged with a flanking party on our left and were surrounded and captured. Six officers on the right of my regiment were wounded in the enemy's works and captured."

The brave Major Jos. H. Saunders, of the 33d, says: "I went, by a subsequent measurement, to within sixty yards of the stone wall, where I was wounded. Just before I was shot I saw a Federal color-bearer just in front of the left wing of the regiment get up and run, waving his flag and followed by his regiment, so that there was nothing to keep our regiment from going right into the enemy's works. I was shot by the troops on our left flank. At the time I was acting as left guide to the line of battle, directing the

line of march more to the right so as to strike the enemy's works in a straighter line."

Rev. Dr. George W. Sanderlin, who was Captain of a company of the 33d N. C., says: "We were subjected to a rapid artillery fire from our front as well as a deadly musketry fire, and also an enfilading artillery fire from the left. My regiment (the 33d N. C.,) rested at the enemy's works, the artillerymen being driven away from their pieces and the infantry having been driven from their breastworks. For some five minutes all was comparatively quiet in our front, except a desultory firing here and there. We could hear the Federal officers just over the ridge trying to rally and reform their men. We noticed the situation on the extreme right of the line, and finally saw it driven off by the enemy. A column had been thrown out on the enemy's right that flanked us. We being in danger of being cut off, were ordered back, Pickett's troops on our right having in the meantime been repulsed. Our organization was well preserved up to the time we retreated. I am absolutely confident that Lane's Brigade held its position at the enemy's works longer than any other command, and that we did not move toward the rear until the rest of the line was in full retreat, the extreme right being well advanced in the rear."

The 7th N. C. and that part of the 33d which became separated from the rest of Lane's Brigade moved forward gallantly, drove the enemy from the stone wall, silenced the guns in their front, and lost officers and men at the stone wall, many being captured there.

In the brief minutes that had elapsed since the final rush on the enemy's works began the carnage had indeed been terrific. Garnett had fallen near the wall; Kemper was desperately wounded at the wall; Pettigrew had received a mortal blow; Trimble was knocked hors du combat; Fry, Marshall and Lowrance had fallen among the thousands of officers and men whose life-blood was ebbing on that bloody field.

But if the Confederates had suffered fearfully, they had also inflicted heavy loss upon their opponents. "Hancock lay bleeding upon the ground; Gibbon was being taken wounded from the field; Webb had been hit; Sherrill and Smyth both wounded, the former mortally. Stannard had received a painful wound, but his troops continued to pour volley after volley into Pickett's flanks."

When the front line of Webb's Brigade gave way under the pressure of Pettigrew's men on the flank, they had fallen back, some to the cover of a clump of trees in the rear, and others to a stone wall that crossed the ridge. From these points they maintained a desultory firing upon the Confederates, who having possession of the wall now used it as a protection for themselves. The projection was practically cleared, but, though Archer's and Scales' and Pickett's men held the angle next to Pettigrew, there was no general effort made to penetrate into the enemy's line. In the meantime regiment after regiment had hurried to cover the break in the Federal line until the men stood four deep, ready to hurl back the Confederates if they should seek to advance. Such was the condition of comparative

repose when Armistead's Brigade reached the wall in Garnett's rear.

"Seeing his men were inclined to use it as a defense, as the front line were doing," he raised his hat upon his sword, and springing upon a broken place in the wall, called on his men to follow him. Nearly 100 of the gallant 53d Va., led by Col. Martin and Maj. Timberlake, responded with alacrity and entered the works, "only four of whom advanced with these officers to the crest, passing, as they advanced, Gen. Webb, who was returning to his front line." Armistead there received his mortal blow, and forty-two of his men fell within the works as the enemy rushed forward to recover the position. It was the work of brief moments, for as the pressure on the Federal line had been sharp the recoil was quick and decisive.

On the right Kemper had been driven back, and the battle having now ceased in front of Hall's and Harrow's Brigades, these were hurriedly advanced at the moment the force collected in the rear of Webb rushed forward, taking Garnett and Armistead's troops in the flank as well as front, and entirely routing and dispersing them.

As the right was hurled back and the fragments of Pickett's Division were hurrying to the rear, the battle began to rage more furiously on the left. The artillery swept the front occupied by Pettigrew's command, and Hays's Division renewed the contest with increased ardor. A Delaware regiment on Smyth's left sprang over the wall and penetrating the Confederate line opened a fire to the right and left and hurried the drama to its close.

The remnants of Pettigrew's and Archer's and Scales' Brigades, that could not escape, were taken prisoners by the victorious columns closing in on them from the rear, while most of Lane's Brigade, farther to the left, had the better fortune of avoiding a like fate by a speedy retreat; but they were the last to relinquish their position in the immediate front of the enemy's works. As they withdrew they saw the field far down the valley dotted with squads of Pickett's broken regiments, while near were the fragments of the other commands in full retreat. Thus ended the events of those brief ten minutes—the gallant charge—the successful planting of the Confederate standards along the entire line of the Federal works—the comparative lull, save on the right, where Kemper made his fierce entrance into the enemy's line, his speedy repulse—and the overwhelming rally of Hancock's forces, enveloping and dispersing Pickett's Division—the terrible onslaught on the left, and the dispersal of the last of that splendid body of 12,000 picked troops that had essayed to do what was impossible of accomplishment. Conspicuous gallantry had brought to the Confederate banner an accumulation of martial honor, but on no field was ever more devotion shown, more heroism, more nerve, than on that day which has been justly considered the turning point in the tide of Confederate achievement.

It was indeed a field of honor as well as a field of blood, and the sister States of Virginia and North Carolina had equal cause to weave chaplets of laurel and of cypress. On their sons the heaviest blows fell, and to them is due the meed of highest praise. Archer's brave men doubtless suf-

fered heavily, but the chief loss was borne by the three North Carolina and the three Virginia brigades that participated in the assault upon the works.

The losses of the latter are easy of ascertainment—for they were fresh and had been in no other conflict; while the former, having suffered heavily on the first day and having lost most of their regimental and company officers, made at the time no special return of the loss in this now celebrated charge.

Lane carried in 1,300 and lost 600, nearly all killed and wounded. Pettigrew's Brigade was about 1,700 strong and lost 1,100, the greater part killed and wounded. Scales' Brigade suffered in like proportion. These three brigades doubtless lost in killed and wounded 1,500 men.

The three Virginia brigades lost 224 killed, and 1,140 wounded; a total loss of 1,364. They had besides 1,499 missing. While the North Carolina brigades did not have so many "captured" as Pickett's Division they doubtless suffered a heavier loss in killed and wounded, although they took into the fight a smaller force, and their organization was much disturbed by the severe loss in regimental and company officers in the battle of the first. But despite this drawback, they exhibited a heroism, a constancy and an endurance unsurpassed upon that field where they accomplished as much as any other troops, suffered greater losses penetrated the farthest and remained the longest. Indeed, it was to them a day of glory as of mournful disaster.

Dr Thomas Robinson Worth and family were residents of Wilmington when the City was under Blockade, and decimated by an epidemic of Yellow fever.

Dr Worth immediately removed his family to a safe refuge in the interior beyond the fever line, and he remained to assist in caring for the sick and dying. In the duty he gave his Team and help but fell a victim and died at the post of duty, leaving a widow and nine children.

James Madison Worth, son of Dr John Mill Worth was also a victim. He was stationed at the Salt Works and attacked by the fever his father at once removed him to Fayetteville trusting that a change of Latitude would save his life - but it was of no avail, he died and his body rests in the City Cemetery at Fayetteville.

Nathaniel Harris Daniel was also a resident of Wilmington during that fearful time. He remained there ready to help those who he knew might need and lent his Team in purchasing supplies to the needy inhabitants who were unable to leave.

David Paston Wyatt and family were residents of Wilmington during the Federal occupation: Mr Wyatt was at Wilmington on Cumberland at the time the yankees were entering the County. He was there to protect his cotton from the Confederate soldiers.

The North Carolina Booklet.

GREAT EVENTS IN.....
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

The Conditions that Led to the Ku-Klux Klans...

—BY—
MRS. T. J. JARVIS.

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The Conditions that Led to the Ku-Klux Klans.

BY

MRS. T. J. JARVIS.

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"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

THE CONDITIONS THAT LED TO THE KU-KLUX KLANS.

The fourth and fifth decades of the last century were scarcely less momentous, in their historical import, than was the first lustrum of the sixth.

Titanic battles were fought on the hustings, and on the floor of the United States Senate, between Federalists and State Rights giants, Abolitionists, and Free Soilers, with the profound legal acumen of Justinian, and the eloquence of Cicero. Yet, when the wild plaudits of partizans and adherents had died on the air, no man could truthfully say on which banner victory had perched.

But the mighty triumvirate, whose names are to live even when the English language, like that of Cicero, is known only through the classics, were but human after all; and matter yielded in rapid succession, to the triumphs of mind.

John Caldwell Calhoun, the champion of the South, the author of the doctrine of Nullification—the defender of slavery, as permitted by the laws of God and the provisions of the Constitution;—for years a member of the lower House of Congress,—twice Vice-President of the United States,—member of the Senate,—the Preserver of Peace, when war with Great Britain was eminently threatening, pending the Oregon Claim; the great Patriot,—the illustrious Statesman—the man whose ability, integrity and worth were spoken of in the highest terms, even by his political opponents, had dropped his mantle and "Fallen on Sleep" at Washington, on March 31st, 1850.

Henry Clay, the matchless advocate, whose power with a jury has never been surpassed,—Statesman in the highest sense of the word,—four times Speaker of the House of Representatives,—member of the Senate,—three times a candidate for the Presidency,—member of the Cabinet,—Peace Commissioner abroad,—Courtier in the Salons of Madame DeStael,—Author of the Senate bill in 1850, which well might have averted the great battle on the slavery question—was the second to answer the imperative roll call of the ages, on the 26th day of July 1852. Death had no terrors for him, for he had "preferred to be right, rather than to be President." And the day of his funeral was observed in New York, as in the States of his nativity and adoption.

Just three months later, in October 1852, Daniel Webster, orator, statesman, jurist, patriot, the profoundest intellect ever eminating from a New England State,—Cabinet officer, Senator,—twice within easy reach of the Presidency,—yet twice defrauded in the language of Edmund Burke "by the Calumnies of Malice, and the Judgments of Ignorance," had been followed to his six feet of earth at Marshfield, almost amid the hootings of the blood-thirsty rabble, whom the gods had made mad, because, as he had stated, "He could not subscribe to the code of the fanatical and factious Abolitionists of the North."

Had these three men in the fifties, with their phenomenal giant intelligences, been only as old as the century—who will deny but that justice and judgment might have clasped hands; and a remedy been discovered; by which, in the language of De Toqueville, "Emancipation might have been accomplished, as in Brazil; and voluntarily

adopted, without having wrung a tear, or a drop of blood from mankind!"

But the unfortunate zeal of millions of fanatics sowing dragons' teeth upon the grave of Webster, which were to lay his son Fletcher a victim by his side, was destined to bring forth a harvest of blood-thirstiness which could find its parallel only in France, in the early nineties of the previous century.

Wendell Phillips, William Loyd Garrison and the hosts of Abolitionists, who followed in the wake of these men, were dead alike to reason and to mercy. "The Brother in Black" was to be set free at the cost of rivers of blood and the sacrifice of millions of lives of the "Brother in White." It mattered not that the Constitution had guaranteed the right of owners to their slaves, and that Webster had consequently declared, with unclouded legal vision, that "the principle of the restitution of the fugitive slave was not objectionable, unless the Constitution is objectionable." And Cheves, another illustrious statesman, had also maintained in vigorous language, that "the highest violation of the Constitution is to employ the use of its forms to violate its spirit."

In vain was it urged, as a matter of law, that, at the time of the Declaration of Independence slavery was an acknowledged right of all the colonies; and at the time of the adoption of the Constitution it was a leading feature of domestic institution in nearly all the States. Yet, it is astonishing to reflect, in the sober methods of ratiacination of to-day, what trivial causes were lending an all potent influence, in plunging a nation into a war which might have

been avoided; yet which was to be fought with a loss of nearly a million lives. Uncle Tom's Cabin—an intensely dramatical romance; "but" in the language of the ablest editor and critic of any English journal of to-day—"A rediculous Old Melodrama" when viewed in the light of history, had now appeared. This story furnished about as correct a portrayal of Southern life-conceding that its incidents were all true, as Brockway, of Syracuse notoriety, rendered infamous by the atrocious barbarities practiced on his helpless victims, if taken as an exponent of New York society generally, or as Mr. Squeers, of Dickins' fiction, if regarded as a universal type of London character. Yet this story fired the imagination of thousands of idle, unreasoning, weak-nerved fanatics who had never wandered more than a score of miles from their own hearth-stones, and who had consequently never seen a slave or freedman of the colored race, in all the period of their narrow existence.

Viewed from such a distance, slavery was the sin of sins, besides which slaughter, wholesale murder—call it what you will, paled into insignificance. The Dred Scott Decision was to their minds the crowning act of infamy. The Chief Justice of the United States, the illustrious Taney, who delivered the opinion of the Court, six of the nine judges concurring with him, was villified and lampooned and even burnt in effigy as a judicial monster of the Jeffries type. In short, no language was strong enough, no epithets sufficiently defaming to give utterance to the public condemnation of as pure and upright and able a judge as ever sat upon the woolsack or wore the ermine.

Since the war a prominent Northern jurist has said of

Taney, "His opinions were distinguished by their clear, ness, learning, directness and firm grasp of the points discussed; and, when dealing with Constitutional subjects, for sound and weighty reasoning, thorough acquaintance with the political history of the country, and for the close bearing of all contained in it upon the great question under examination." One of the Associate Justices who sat upon the bench with him, declared that the Chief Justice possessed a power of subtle analysis which exceeded that of any man he had ever known; and again, we read, from another illustrious critic, that to question his integrity would beggar the resources of falsehood. Yet his decision, in stern conformity to the requirements of the Constitution, raised a howl of denunciation at the North, that hissed at reason, and could only be appeased when satiated with blood. As in later days the demented nihilist Guiteau took the life of President Garfield; and later still, the conscienceless anarchist Czolgosc murdered the unsuspecting President of the United States; —so, from the national dementia of 1860 there were rapidly rolling up "Elemental forces which imported a tremendous outbreak somewhere in American History." Ever and anon the high points of tragedy in the drama of a nation's life "thrust into the focal blaze of the world's attention some human insignificance and forbid us to smile at him because of his tragic situation." Thus out of the same caldron of evil influences —from the same fiery furnace of monstrous ingredients out of which was forced James Guiteau and Lewis Czolgosc, there had emerged, a score of years in advance of either. (We quote from The Independent of recent date.) "At the

psycological moment, an obscure tanner, who by one act provoked the nation into the settling of the rights and wrongs of a great question, though a continent was drenched in blood in the finishing of the argument." This crude development, "was a huge, hairy brute in whose breast burned the single spark of a celestial idea. He dreamed of liberating the slaves of the South and leaped to the accomplishment of his purpose like a gorilla." Guiteau and Czolgosc murdered each, one innocent and unsuspecting individual, albeit the beloved head of a great nation. John Brown sprang like a gorilla at the throats of sleeping men, women and children; and naught but the iron hand of law in the Old Dominion, swiftly falling, saved at that hour thousands of her citizens from indiscriminate massacre.

If a "celestial idea" could be found in the mental and moral make up of John Brown, might not the same sort of analysis find a gleam of the same fire in the dark souls of Guiteau and Czolgosc? Nay, do not these three deserve the same deep grave of infamy—John Brown the deeper, in that his victims would have been many thousands for one? A brilliant young Southern writer in an editorial which lies before me, truly says: "It is impossible to understand the problems of the present, without tracing their conditions back into the past," hence the necessity for stating the reasonings and deductions thus advanced.

The war was on. The crisis had now reached its climax. A war that made the world stand aghast at its colossal proportions—a war that has defied description for nearly half a century. Yet, for such an unequal struggle, the South was as armorless as David against Goliath. The

feeling, however, that nations like individuals, when wronged or insulted, must sometimes battle for principles, even with a foreknowledge that material might will often prevail in the settlement of human affairs, could not be set aside; there could have been no other appeal. In the language of a gifted Southern historian, "The South had made, could have made, no preparation for the war. Without the organized machinery of an established, national government, without a navy or the nucleus of an army, without even a seaman or soldier; with limited mechanical and manufacturing facilities, with no accumulation of arms or ordnance, and with no existing means for making them; without revenue, without external commerce, without foreign credit, without a recognized place in the family of nations, and confronted with the hostile prejudices of the world—it is not easy to conceive of a nation with fewer belligerent capabilities."

Four years was a continent drenched in blood, and there was no more to be shed. The last armed opposition to be encountered overwhelming armed resistance, and the end had come, Lee had surrendered at Appomatox Court House. The arbitrament was final. Men wept in stacking their rusty, almost powerless muskets. But "*C'est le Destin*" they said, as did Napoleon in returning from Waterloo; and from that hour to this the Union of the States has been recognized as indissoluble—whatever of disunion New England may have threatened in the early days, and whatever may have been the verbiage of California's plea for conditional admission into the Union;—victorious coercion set-

tled that vexed question, as did Romulus when his brother Remus sprang over the Roman wall.

Yet these heroes of a hundred battles, those above the sod in faded or tattered garments, without a dollar and without hope for the cause they loved better than life was dead—returned with sorrow unspeakable to their desolate Southland. They felt with far juster reason than did Mary Tudor, concerning Calais, that after death "Appomatox Court House would be stamped upon the fleshly tablets of their hearts." They kissed the pale furrowed brow of the wife they had left behind, as they murmured with a sob, "all is lost save honor, dear, and we must be one country again." The surrender then of "all save honor" was accepted. These men, pallid, starved; most of them broken in bone or muscle, by rifle ball or shell, had returned to build up their desolate homes, burned or laid waste by a ruthless foe; and to struggle in person for the sustenance of wife and children. The homespun dress, the faded grey coat, with army buttons covered with cloth by order of some freedman's bureau minion, were silent badges of honor. These things were some of the penalties of defeat and must be borne in silence.

But were they to have peace? The discharge of cannon or the continuous rattle of musketry might no longer be heard in the land, where foe should meet foe in open armed combat. But what of the midnight dagger or single shot gun, fired into the family circle, from the darkness without, as the gunless, defenseless soldier, returned from the war with a *promise of peace*, sat by his fireside? True, General Grant had been a generous foe—all brave soldiers

are; but the power of the great conqueror had ended for the time with the sheathing of Lee's sword and the stacking of the guns of his army. Yet there are forms of war, as they were fast learning, far more terrible than the tented field or—"the red belching of the cannon's mouth."

A swarm, nay an army, if such scum of earth could be collected on one field and falsely called an army, without insult to the man who wore the blue, had crawled down like vermine into Egypt, and were fattening upon man and beast in the South. There was no tribunal as of old, to which men could appeal. Vance, the great war governor, and ardent lover of his State, which he was no longer permitted to serve, was occupying a prisoner's cell in Washington City, and W. W. Holden had been appointed Provisional Governor of the State. In the dreary summer of 1865, President Johnson, to whom justice is rarely done in the South, and never in the North, had ordered an election to be held in North Carolina, for delegates to a State Convention, to frame a Constitution, and organize a State Government in harmony with the new order of things, as well as to provide for the representation of the State in the National Congress.

This Convention met in Ooctober of that year; and was composed, for the most part of men who had already been prominent in public life in North Carolina, and of others who were destined to become so. The Convention provided for an election to be held for Governor and members of the legislature. To fill the former position Jonathan Worth was duly elected; and a legislature composed of the best element of the State was chosen. This legislature met in

December, when Worth was inaugurated, and all the machinery of a full State government at once put in operation. An able judiciary was also chosen, and Wm. A. Graham, the most illustrious of her many distinguished sons, was sent at the head of the North Carolina delegation to Washington to take the State back to her place in the Union, but alas! the wild fanticism of the North, which had driven her from the Federal government was not sufficiently appeased, nor had the State and her people been sufficiently humiliated. Till that was done, there was no place for her around the old hearthstone. Her people must yet go through the "hell" of Congressional reconstruction, and drink deep of its fiery broth, before her Senators and Representatives could be admitted to their seats. This legislature recognized the changed status of the negro, and enacted laws appropriate to his new condition, giving him such civil rights and duties as that condition justified. County, town and city governments were reorganized, courts were regularly held and presided over by able and just men; the law was once more asserting itself and its invigorating influences were seen in the more hopeful demeanor of all classes of people. Had this state of affairs been allowd to continue, the dark pages of the reconstruction regime had never been written, and the the name of the Ku-Klux Klans would never have appeared in the pages of National or State history. But this was not to be. A prominent Northern politician had declared that the States which had been guilty of the crime of rebellion should be kept within the grasp of war for thirty years. The dark valley and shadow of death lay once more before the people of

North Carolina. The State was again to be put under military rule, and the conquerors were not only to plant their heels upon the necks of the men who had been overcome in war, but were urged to press with all the vigor of their conqering power. President Johnson had asserted that the States never having been separated from the Union, had lost their Constitutional rights only while engaged in rebellion, and that on the laying down of arms and the renewal of allegiance to the United States Government, they had resumed their ante-bellum attitude and condition and should at once be recognized as a part of the Union. This policy aroused a frenzy at the North, scarcely less savage than the abolition craze, and it found fierce utterance in the Congress assembled at Washington. A controversy of intense partizan bitterness was at once inaugurated between the President and the legislative branches of the National Government. The former fought single handed with patriotism worthy of the cause. Legislative vindictiveness, however, prevailed over the veto of the President, and Congress immediately voted to impose restrictions and conditions on executive powers in relation to amnesty, the command of the army and the right of removal from office. Congress still further vented its fury in the enactment of articles of impeachment against President Johnson. Fortunately the older, wiser heads in the Senate were not all of the hated type. The impeachment failed and Johnson remained President. The vindictive House of Representatives affirmed, with redoubled emphasis, that, by the act of secession, the States recently engaged in war, had forfeited all their rights under the Constitution;—and not having acknowledged their

rebellion until they were forced to do so at the point of the bayonet, they should be relegated to the condition of territorial possessions, to be governed by Congress till the latter should deem them sufficiently humbled; and until new Constitutions should be framed and adopted by a vote of all the people, including the recently freed negro. Most of the seceding States were formed into military districts, subject to the will of a Major General, and to be ruled by tyros and neohytes in government;—the standard of loyalty being the color of the skin, or an acknowledged membership in the Union League. A sense of justice had caused General Garfield to protest in the strongest language against this measure in the United States Congress of which he was then a member. He declared that such a measure "laid its hands on the rebel governments taking the very breath of life out of them and putting the bayonet at the breast of every rebel in the South, leaving in the hands of Congress utterly and absolutely, the work of reconstruction."

Such being the language of an uncompromising, honest Republican, was Peace even yet to be expected for the South? Soulless demagogues might cry, "Peace, peace, but there was no peace."

Disturbing elements were growing more and more prominent in the land; yet, lovers of their state, having a governor and officers of their own choosing, began, with the shadows of night still about them, to fancy for a brief space, that they could see indications of a coming dawn. True, their hearts were still bleeding for they had loved the cause for which they had sacrificed so much, yet they had seen it vanish like a dream, and had fully recognized that

it was not to be. They were asking now—these tempest tossed toilers on a ship wrecked strand, for calm, any calm, even "a calm despair."

Were their hopes to be realized? Were they to be left in peace, to toil upward again toward the autonomy, which the President had declared should be theirs, now that hostilities had ceased? Was the sovereignty of reason to assert itself in the sphere of morals, guiding the action of a ruling Congress? Later on we shall see. In the meantime, the Ex-confederate soldier set a seal upon his lips, hoping against hope. Novices in mechanics or trades of all description, these battle scared veterans, fresh from the Universities of North Carolina, Virginia, of Princeton, Yale, Harvard, Edinboro or Heidelburg, at the beginning of the war, were now setting an example to the world of patient endurance and toil perhaps without a paralell in the history of nations. They had rebuilt their houses out of rough hewn timber; for carpenter's tools like implements of husbandry were few and costly. The ever present "carpetbagger," to whom before the war the most insignificant sum of money would perhaps have seemed quite a fortune, had already thrown up shops at every cross roads, and were retailing calico at fifty cents a yard, and every other article of necessity at proportionally ruinous prices. "But needs must when the devil drives," and if purchases were to be made at all they were to be made here. White children went in tattered clothing shivering with cold. The Freedman's Bureau dispensed food and clothing to the "brother in black" with a lavish hand. The United States Government was defrauded of millions; but revenge

was sweet; and robbery and plunder were the prevailing idea of the post-bellum invader; nor was the "Fool" on his "errand" scarcely more to be tolerated. The latter might not be as numerous as the general beggar on horseback, but they were here in large numbers, and here as they believed to stay. Among them, a briefless barister without purse, without prospects so far, saw his opportunity and seized it. He stood not upon the order of his coming but came at once. This man, who was destined to sit upon the bench and pervert the law to the use of his party followers, was thereby to achieve fortune and fame not limited to a continent. The "carpetbaggers" generally were not so fortunate, yet did they—like the crusaders of old—have untold perils by land and sea to endure. There were no continents to march across on weary feet, with powerfully armed hostile nations on every side, and, consequently no crusade of the medieval age was ever undertaken with half the enthusiasm now manifested by the threadbare colored shirt, hungry band who came down upon us. No Peter the Hermit was needed to promise exemption from sins in the world to come. The good things of this life were the material glories of which they were in quest. True, the South was a waste almost as the "Black Forest" of William the Conqueror. It might be to the natives as impoverished as Canaan, to Jacob and his sons after years of famine; but to these lean Harpies of the Virgilian type it was to be a veritable Egypt with the storehouses of Joseph and Pharoah from which to draw. The freed negro was the *ultima thule* of their desires, the great bonanza from which they were to acquire untold

wealth; and the more ignorant they found these, the better were they pleased. The colored brother was the nation's ward, to be fed and clothed and kept in idleness, that devils workshop, with these Cyclops at the forge. Their agents could obtain and retail provisions from exhaustless government stores, the negroes gladly spending such sums as were given them, or as they could earn from their new employees, by services joyfully rendered. The ignorant and impertinent colored woman was encouraged to flaunt her fine things in the face of the young mistress in rough homespun, while she hissed at, or otherwise derided the "poor white rebble trash." And still the mutterings of a people goarded to madness, were all unheeded. The cry of the horse leech was still going by post and courier to Washington—"More! more!!" The negroes, as we have said, had at first blindly and implicity followed the directions of their new masters. But they were henceforth not to be altogether tools, they were to be allies as well, in a carnival of crime and vengeance. The "carpet-bagger" and scallawag population still churned up their witches cauldrons. The prejudices of the negro were inflamed and fostered. He suddenly found himself, like the Irish culprit, who, when acquitted solely by the powerful pleading of his attorney, sobbingly declared as he left the court room, that, "he had never known how grievously he had been injured until his lawyer had informed the Judge and Jury." Their crude self conceit was flattered until they were made to believe that only their former owners stood between them and social equality, the free gift of land, property, and high official distinction. Their arro-

gance and presumption became a species of howling frenzy. Women were insulted, men were threatened and shot down, houses were burned, propositions of marriage, or worse, were of frequent occurence. A notable instance came from a master's former coachman to that master's daughter; and when resented with a club, the father was brained with an axe. Yet false representations, unquestioningly believed, were carried up to Washington, by political adversaries, who were eager to make market of their opportunity. Some northern school mistresses and masters, and an occasional preacher of the gospel, who were receiving funds from their section of the country, for the ostensible purpose of educating and elevating the negroes, occupied their time, instead, in encouraging these ex-slaves to deeds of insolence and robbery. And when reprisals were made, although through the courts, such attempts at self protection were reported as unwarranted oppression of the colored race.

In 1868 a Convention assembled to frame another Constitution for North Carolina, in accordance with the new requirements of Congress. In this convention sat the stranger from New York and Ohio; and by his side the newly enfranchised negro, who knew no more of the true definition of the word "constitution" than the "carpet-bagger" did about military tactics. This convention overthrew the existing system of state, county, and municipal government, and provided for an entirely new arrangement of things in North Carolina. Every office from Governor to Constable was to be immediately vacated and a new incumbent introduced. An election was ordered to be

held in April, for governor and other state officers, including judges and members of the legislature. At this election many thousands of our best citizens were denied the right of voting, while every negro, who by any stretch of the imagination could declare himself twenty-one years of age, was permitted to multiply himself as often as he had the time and inclination to do so. All election returns were to be sent for approval to General Canby, Military Governor of the District, whose official residence was at Charleston, S. C. The election continued for three days, during the month of April, the ex-confederate going to the poles in many places, through lines of hostile bayonets, with challenges innumerable, while the negro marched exultingly to deposit his ballot. One of these unscrupulous poll holders stated, years afterward, that he and others, to whom the ballot box was assigned for safe keeping, amused themselves at night by changing the ballots to suit their views as to how the election should go. After three days of so-called election, these ballot boxes were sent to Charleston to Gen. Canby; whose prerogrative it was to count the votes and declare the result. Soon W. W. Holden was announced to be the successful candidate for Governor, and Chief Justice Pearson was at once telegraphed to administer the oath of office. Nothing of the old state government established, officered and supported by the white men of North Carolina was to remain. We publish as a part of the history of those times the following letter addressed to the incoming Governor.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,
Executive Department, Raleigh.
June 29th 1868.

GOV. W. W. HOLDEN,
Raleigh, N. C.

Sir:

Yesterday morning I was verbaly notified by C. J. Pearson, that in obedience to a telegram from Gen. Canby, he would, to-day at 10 a. m., adminster to you the oath of office required, preliminary to your entering upon the discharge of the duties of civil governor of the state; and that therefore you would demand possession of my office. I intimated to the Justice my opinion that such proceeding was premature, *even under the Reconstruction Legislation of Congress*, and that I should probably decline to surrender the office to you.

At sundown yesterday evening, I received from Col. Williams, Commandant of the Military Post an extract from general orders No 120 of Gen. Canby, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS
SECOND MILITARY DISTRICT,
CHARLESTON, S. C.
June 30. 1868.

General Orders No. 120 (Extract:)

"To facilitate the organization of the new State government the following appointments are made: to be Gov. of North Carolina, W. W. Holden, Governor elect, Vice J. Worth removod. To be Lieutenant Governor of North Carolina, (to fill an original vacancy to take effect Jnly 1st, 1868 on the meeting of General Assembly of North Carolina,) Todd R. Caldwell, Lt. Governor elect."

I do not recognize the validity of the late election under which you and those co-operating with you claim to be invested with the civil government of the State. You have

ɔur election save the certificate of a Major
Jnited States Army. I regard all of you
ntees of the military power of the United
s deriving your powers from the consent
m to govern.

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ıry to offer a futile opposition; but vacate
ut the ceremony of actual eviction, offering
sition than this my protest.

ıit to actual expulsion in order to bring be-
ıe Court of the United Stotes, the question
onality of the legislation under which you
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nment is surrendered as withont legality,
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ve the honor to be, etc.

JONATHAN M. WORTH.

The inaugural of Governor Holden duly followed amid the plaudits of the "truly loyal," while the men who had been hoping for better things saw those hopes vanish into the darkest despair. Never was a more ill timed or injudicious address delivered to a people who were still writhing under a sense of cruel injustice. The ex-soldiers of a lost cause sat by with grim, stern faces. They had submit-

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I do not recognize the validity of the late election under which you and those co-operating with you claim to be invested with the civil government of the State. You have

no evidence of your election save the certificate of a Major General of the United States Army. I regard all of you as in effect appointees of the military power of the United States, and not as deriving your powers from the consent of those you claim to govern.

Knowing, however, that you are backed by military force here, which I could not resist if I would, I do not deem it necessary to offer a futile opposition; but vacate the office without the ceremony of actual eviction, offering no further opposition than this my protest.

I would submit to actual expulsion in order to bring before the Supreme Court of the United Stotes, the question of the constitutionality of the legislation under which you claim to be the rightful governor of this State, *if the past action of that tribunal furnished any hope of a speedy trial.*

I surrender the office to you under what I deem military duress; without stopping, as the occasion would well justify, to comment upon the sigular coincidence that the present State government is surrendered as withont legality, to him whose own official sanction but three years ago declared it valid.

I have the honor to be, etc.

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The inaugural of Governor Holden duly followed amid the plaudits of the "truly loyal," while the men who had been hoping for better things saw those hopes vanish into the darkest despair. Never was a more ill timed or injudicious address delivered to a people who were still writhing under a sense of cruel injustice. The ex-soldiers of a lost cause sat by with grim, stern faces. They had submit-

ted as we have said to the inevitable; but they were human and consequently not yet prepared to join "in thanking God that the great rebellion had been suppressed, and that the flag of *freedom* once more floated above them." The statement that the sword would never have been drawn but for the *criminal* folly of the recently insurgent States" filled their breasts with angry resentment: For they knew the people of those States had been as conscientious in the belief of the rectitude of their motives as any that had ever led a people to action. They recognized the truth of Gov. Holden's statement that "the people of North Carolina are perverbial for their law-abiding disposition," but were stung by these insults and outraged by the contradictions that were strangely intermingled in this remarkable document, from which in furtherance of the purposes of this article, we quote the following:

"It is not apprehended that disturbances will arise or that combinations will be formed to resist the laws, yet it is known that many hold the opinion that the reconstruction laws of the United States are unconstitutional, and are therefore null and void; and it may be, that this may lead, if not to open resistance, to a forcible denial in some localities of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the States, formed and adopted in pursuance of said laws. It is also known that a disposition exists among an inconsiderable portion of our population to oppress the poor whites and the colored race, on account of their political opinions."

This they knew to be untrue, but was not the following an intimation of plans already formed by the Republican party now diametrically opposed to every effort of the democracy? "The magistrates and the coroners will be sus-

tained by the *whole power* of the State in the discharge of their duty, should resistance be offered. The Constitution provides that every male citizen shall be a voter, and that every voter with few exceptions shall be elligible to office. Sufferage has thus been bestowed upon all, the colored man has the same right with the white, to vote and hold office." Four millions of human beings who have once tasted the blessings of freedom will never surrener those blessings without a struggle.

They would find powerful friends here and elsewhere in the country, when greater calamities and suffering than those endured by our people in the late rebellion, would come upon us, and the result though long delayed would not be doubtful. Liberty for all would again triumph, and those who had promoted such a "war of races" would disappear from the earth and their *possessions would pass from their children to the conquerors.* The friends of reconstruction will prevail hereafter, as heretofore, not only in the State but in the Nation. The Constitution *must* be administered by its friends and supporters; the interests it guards are too precious to be committed to unfriendly hands.

"Every office and every appointment under the State from the most inferior to the most exaulted, must be filled by the friends of reconstruction and of the new state constitution. So far as the Executive is concerned this purpose will be inflexibly maintained. These principles are dear to the friends of liberty, and of the government of the United States; and no opportunity shall be afforded to those who are opposed to them to occupy official positions or to have employments in which they might be tempted,

as they certainly are disposed, to divert distort or misapply them. *The friends of the government must conduct the government in all its departments.* There will be no social proscription, no effort will be made to blacken the names of even *unrepentant rebels*, as was the case with the Tories of the Revolution, *but it will be left to history to assign to their proper places all the* actors in the late tragedy of rebellion."

If the definition of "history" in the lexicons be correct, then these ex-Confederate soldiers would have asked no other tribunal. But who was now to shape that history for them? The mercenary and vicious interloper, the negro or the yet more vicious deserter from his own ranks? A conquering foe may sometimes grow wickedly exultant and ride rough shod over his helpless victim, but when a conquered people turn upon each other to betray by slander, for selfish ends, what terms can properly stigmatize the infamy?

Here was the Governor of the State, who had in years past been a powerful leader of thought among those people, who had sought their esteem, enjoyed their confidence and owed much to their favor; who had agitated for disunion, and had, himself signed with eclat the ordinance of secession, now in the possession of great power to direct their futures, to compose their troubles, to allay their inquietude, and lead them through the difficult paths of reconstruction to peace, quiet and repose.

We shall see how signally he failed to rise to the height of the occasion and how, instead of a calm, a fierce social storm rendered his administration memorble in the annals of the people.

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The North Carolina Booklet.

GREAT EVENTS IN.....
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

The Ku-Klux Klans.

—BY—
MRS. T. J. JARVIS.

PRICE 10 CENTS. *$1.00 THE YEAR.*

Entered at the Postoffice at Raleigh, N. C., as second-class matter—June 24, 1901.

The North Carolina Booklet.

The Editors of the N. C. Booklet announce that should a sufficient number of subscriptions be received to warrant the publication of the N. C. Booklet, it will be issued monthly, as heretofore, for another year, beginning May 10th, 1902. The following being the proposed list of subjects:

1.—May—Ku-Klux Klans.
Mrs. T. J. Jarvis.

2.—June—Our Pirates.
Capt. S. A. Ashe.

3.—July—Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War.
Judge Walter Clark.

4.—August—Moravian Settlement in North Carolina.
Rev. Dr. J. E. Clewell

5.—Sept.—Whigs and Tories.
Prof. W. C. Allen.

6.—Oct.—The Revolutionary Congress of North Carolina.
Mr. T. M. Pittman.

7.—Nov.—The Battle of Guilford Court House.
Prof. D. H. Hill.

8.—Dec.—Historic Homes in N. C.,—The Groves, and others.
Col. Burgwyn, Col. Wade, Mr. Thomas M. Blunt, and others.

9.—Jan.—Old Charleston on the Cape Fear.
Prof. James S. Bassett.

10.—Feb.—Raleigh and the old town of Bloomsbury.
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NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

VOL. II. MAY 10, 1902. NO. 1.

The Ku-Klux Klans.

BY

MRS. T. J. JARVIS.

RALEIGH:
CAPITAL PRINTING COMPANY.
1902.

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

THE KU-KLUX KLANS.

When Gov. Holden was installed as Governor in '68, the State was declared to be a State in the Union, and it ceased to be a satrophy under the orders of the Maj.-General. There was a legislature; but as it was elected by the negroes and their allies, it was not at all responsive to the needs of the State. Its leaders were vultures, who considered the State as their prey. The scallawags, carpet-baggers and negroes who composed the large majority were wholly irresponsible, and launched upon a course of wild extravagance in order to feather their nests at the public expense. The work of this mongrel body could not be checked by the few brave spirits, who fought day and night with desperate persistence, to stem the tide of reckless extravagance and corruption. In utter defiance of public opinion, debts of many millions of dollars were foisted upon the state, offices were created in defiance of law, with exorbitant salaries attached, bar-rooms were openly run in the galleries of the capital itself, until the statue of justice might well have blushed under her bronze bandage, and dropped the scales from her hands. The reign of terror began with renewed horror in city, hamlet and country. The Union League, a secret organization formed at the North during the war, and now embracing carpetbaggers, deserters and negroes in the south, was zealously doing its barbarious work. This secret society whatever may have been the purposes of its creation had now fallen into the hands of bad men who were making it a terrible regime for evil. These

high-handed and lawless bandits, feeling that the State was their own, and that they themselves were the law unto themselves, knew no such word as "enough." The bonds of society were loosened. Law ceased to be enforced. Lawlessness stalked abroad unrestrained. Dwellings of families were burned in the night; and in many instances families already murdered were cremated in them; on the same night in Alamance county, three distinct fires, lurid against the darkened sky, were seen burning at one time, consuming the provisions of an entire year. The incendiary torch was common. The negroes, who at first had been satisfied to till the crops on shares, were now taught to plunder and rob, such were the teachings of the political gatherings. Incendiary appeals were made to the negroes and publications given out by those high in authority from which the inference could be clearly drawn that any owner of lands, failing to employ colored labor, the said colored applicant for work might be justified in forceably taking possession of the means of living; although in many instances the owners of small tracts of land were too poor to employ outside labor and had tilled, planted and stored their own crops with their own hands, or those of their children. But, how shall we speak of the unspeakable crimes before which the holocaust would have been an enviable fate—the shame, the anguish

> ——————"that befell
> The only sister of our race,
> —A thing too horrible to tell."

When families sacrificing their land for a song would steal away to some distant state, to spend the remainder of

their days in obscurity, with the dark story locked in their own breasts?

White women were not safe even in their homes: they could not venture abroad unprotected.

The rumbling of an earthquake was at last heard over the land. Patience had ceased to be a virtue. Longer endured it would have degenerated into pusillanimity and cowardice.

The dry bones in the valley of Gehosephat were at last gathered quickly together, clothed, vitalized and armed, and *The Ku-Klux Klans became a mighty factor in history.*

The young reader, especially at the north, being absolutely innocent of information upon the subject, or else guided by the equally ignorant prejudice of persons who could see only the discolored shadow of facts, will at once conjure up a motley body of rough, unwashed, vicious men; banded together for the sole purpose of maltreating, or, even in time, for the extermination of the colored race, whom they could no longer own at so much marketable value. On the contrary, however, this wide spread movement, yclept the Ku-Klux Klans, embraced in large proportion, the proudest, the most sensitive and cultured portions of the English race. They had been slow to move, but when once they were made to realize the necessity to go forward they moved like an avalanche. Perhaps it may not be amiss to quote from that very luminous writer, William Garrott Brown, the following account of the Origin of the Order, we give it in his own words:

"When the civil war ended, the little town of Pulaski, Tenn., welcomed home a band of young men, who

though they were veterans of hard fought battles, were for the most part no older than the mass of college students. In the general poverty, the exhaustion, the lack of heart, naturally prevalent throughout the beaten south, young men had more leisure than was good for them; a southern country town even in the halcyon days, before the war, was not a particularly lively place, and Pulaski in 1866 was doubtless rather tame to fellows who had seen Pickett charge at Gettysburg, or galloped over the country with Morgan and Wheeler. A group of these men assembled in a law office one evening in May 1866, to discuss ways and means of having a livelier time; some one suggested a club or society. An organization with no very definite aims was effected; and at a second meeting a week later, names were proposed and discussed. Some one pronounced the Greek word "Kuklos" meaning a circle. From "Kuklos" to "Ku-Klux" was an easy transition,—and "Klan" followed "Ku-Klux" as naturally as "dumpty" follows "humpty." That the name meant nothing whatever was a recommendation; and one can fancy what sort of badinage would have greeted a suggestion that, in six years a committee of Congress would devote thirteen volumes to the history of the movement that began in a Pulaski law office, and migrated later, to a deserted and half ruined house on the outskirts of the village. The initial movement of the organization—if such it can be called—partook only of the nature of a college society, or any other congregation of men leagued together by fraternal obligations. There was scarcely more of seriousness than attends the initiation of members into the order of "buffaloes" at

the present day. Its members as Mr. Brown says, "were not 'lewd fellows of the baser sort' but young men of standing in the community, who a few years earlier would have been men of wealth." The only serious clause in the oath of membership was a pledge of profound and absolute secrecy.

Disguises were adopted even at this early day. They consisted of a mask for the face, usually white surmounted by a cardboard hat,—many of them with folds or springs, which could be shot up in an instance from two to four feet in height. A loose robe enveloped the entire person; and when the Klans rode abroad the bodies of their horses were likewise covered, and their feet enveloped in mufflers, to deaden the sound of their coming. The officers were named as follows:

A Grand Cyclops, or President.
A Grand Magi, or Vice-President.
A Grand Turk, or Marshall.
A Grand Exchequer, or Treasurer.
Two Lictors.

At this time only men of culture, *esprit*, and good morals were permitted to join. Their objects were mutual amusement and the mystifying of their neighbors. In this their success was far beyond their most sanguine expectations. The knowledge of the Order spread like wild-fire through country, village and town. The following of the Odd Fellows, some years before, was as nothing compared to this. At this time the horrors of reconstruction were already in full blast in Tennessee; outrages of the most brutal order were of daily occurence, and the perpetrators

went unwhipped of justice; indeed the word *justice* seemed to have been blotted from our vocabulary. A great English writer has said that, war,—and especially an internecine war, retrogades mankind to the border land of paganism. The Union League, now following in the foot steps of "Parson Brownlow," flaunted the flag of the Union in the faces of ex-confederates, and made the national emblem the pretext for as foul and disgraceful crimes as ever blackened the escutcheon of a great state. Southern society had been completely inverted. The "canaille" were on top; and the southern gentlemen down, the former were avenging their long cherished grudge againt the latter, and the freed negroes were often as conscienceless as the most savage Indian tribes. The deeply wronged Anglo-Saxon, groping about for some means of righting himself grasped the Pulaski idea. Says Mr. Brown: "It seems astounding nowadays that the Congressional leaders in reconstruction did not foresee that men of their own stock, so circumstanced, would resist; and would find some means to make their resistance effective. When they did make up their minds to resist,—not collectively or through any representative body, but singly and by neighborhoods,—they found an instrument ready to their hands." To General Nathan Bedford Forest, the "bravest of the brave" is acredited the solving of the knotty problem, He directed the use of the Ku-Klux Klans to frighten the superstitious African into less open defiance of law.

Through what instrumentalities the order came into North Carolina it will not be permitted in the scope of this chronicle to relate. The secret brotherhood, however,

speedily clasped hands from the Tennessee line to the ocean. The outrages in Tennessee were being repeated with emphasis in North Carolina. The Ku-Klux Klans had a righteous work to perform, and when once their minds were made up they were no longer slow to act. The fanciful, mythological or oriental names of the pleasure seeking order were dropped.

The Chiefs of the Klans in North Carolina were simply denominated "commanders," each Klan having its own ruler thus named. Those who were a menace to society whether a carpetbagger or scallawag, were to receive the blunt of their displeasure. The order was not harmful to the inoffensive portion of the colored population. They were by no means to be hung and quartered, they were simply to be frightened into a non-committal of crimes. In many instances the order was enabled to do this. The Klans began by simply parading at night. And the terrified negroes, for a time, hid their diminished heads believing that the ghosts of the Confederate dead, were stalking abroad in the land. Nor did the sight fail to awaken wonder and amazement among the un-initiated whites. No more thorough or perfectly organized body of men had ever worked together, for a common cause. The "White Brotherhood," "The Constitutional Union Guards," "The Knights of the White Camellia," "The Pale Faces" were some of the names of the Invisible Empire, generally denominated Ku-Klux by outsiders. The members of each separate order no longer called themselves Ku-Klux; but were known or rather knew themselves, only, by the name of the special order to which they belonged; and thus a

member of the "Pale Faces" could under oath, testify that he knew nothing of the existence of the "White Brotherhood" except by general hearsay. And indeed this was strictly true. Names were never handed down. No one knew the number of members in his Klan, except, perhaps, the Commander.

Horses were often whitwashed to prevent recognition. Horns as large as those of an ordinary cow, were stuffed and sewed into the brow of the masks, while red probosces or snouts almost as long as those of an Elephant were attached to the chin. The pasteboard caps, running several feet into the air, with the long white robes, caused these men to appear to be of monstrously inhuman proportions. Terrible noises, sometimes resembling thunder, at others unlike any sound that ever fell upon human ears, emanated from these strange figures. Riding thus, a party of negroes were visited at one of their union league gatherings. Many of the latter plunged headlong through the windows. They were ordered to halt and salute. Icy hands, forged from iron, or severed from the elbows of some skeleton, and consequently denuded of all flesh, were extended, in greeting, from beneath these ghostly robes. It is needless to say that another meeting was not immediately held in that place.

We have stated that the various branches of the Ku-Klux, by whatever names they might prefer to be called—were as thoroughly organized a body of men as ever united for any purpose. The brain and energy of the State were in a great measure behind it. If there were men of culture, men of chivalrous honor in North Carolina, much of

the best blood of this class fed the sinew and muscle of the Ku-Klux Klans. The stern necessity for action faced them, and they "rode" prosperously because of oppression." Often a "*noll pros*" was entered in the sham courts, where a member of the Union League had been indicted, alike for the worst of capital offenses, as for petty larceny. Men felt that they must again imperil their lives for a cause more sacred than liberty, viz: to save from starvation and foul dishonor the wives, daughters or sisters of their families.

A gentleman of profound culture, of high social standing, of exalted christian character, conversing some weeks ago with the author of this article, said: "I belonged to the order and have never regreted it. I was so located that they needed my services, though I was only eighteen years of age. I had intimated a desire to join, but I did not know that I had been balloted on, or accepted, when an intimate friend of our family, some ten years older than than myself, called to me from the veranda one afternoon, and asked me if I would take a drive with him. We were speeding down a public highway in light hearted conversation, when suddenly he turned into the woods. He would not explain the cause of this unexpected movement. When far away from the road we were suddenly surrounded by a weird and mysterious sight of ghostly beings. They would run and leap, but there was no sound. Some could extend themselves into wonderful proportions and as suddenly change to insignificant pygmies. I never knew just how it happened, but soon I found myself kneeling by a stump, around me were strangely wrought, but terribly stern faces, masking I knew not what. In uncom-

fortable proximity to my head I discovered a perfect shower of glittering daggers and grinning pistols. At the same time a human skull was held out to me, I was ordered to place my hand upon it, and begin. A strong authoritive voice dictated, and it did not occur to me to hesitate in repeating after him. The fearfully binding obligation burned itself into my young mind, through the lapse of years the words have not faded away; and the impression of every circumstance is still there. I was bound to secrecy. For the sake of myself, as well as for others, I was not to make known to any one the secret plans of the Council; and was to be ready to meet when called for.

"My allegiance was to the Caucasian race, and our mothers and sisters were the patron Saints. Swift punishment was to be inflicted upon those who would seek to destroy the honor of the women dependent upon us for protection. I was to obey the "Chief" and the Council in all their proper and legitimate requirements. At the call of the Chief I was to go to those in distress; or in need of assistance and protection.

"Uncompromising determination that we would not rest from our efforts until we had established good government for the protection of our homes and property was absolutely demanded.

"We were to assist in a kind of secret policing of the entire community, for the general good; and the mutual protection of each other in cases of necessity. We were to assist in providing for those who might suffer in the performance of duty. We were to help provide for the needy. These were some of the stronger impressions which were

made on me, and remain vividly with me. There was a system of grips, signs, and pass words, but most of them are partially forgotten. The meetings were frequent and stated, but never long in the same place. They were held mostly at night, in some deserted spot or room. I was present when several ladies were taken into the order, for the purpose, as then expressed of preparing disguises and assisting in caring for those who might be injured; so as to save any publicity to them, and thus protect them from their enemies. Gross insults to women were of almost daily occurence. Old men were abused. Our sisters were safe nowhere. Harrowing anxiety and sleepless fear hung over our community like a threatening tornado. The unbridled propensities of a newly liberated race, the grudge of people who were the offscourings of civilization, among the whites, made life one unceasing dread of impending misery. Scenes that were of frequent occurence in those days would be discredited by those who are supposed to be skeptical, a third of a century later.

"The execution of the civil authority was the merest sham. Those who held the offices were the creation of the mongrel combination of a political influence, whose life-blood was from the foulest bilge water in the cess pools of the vicious and depraved. Frequent demonstrations and parades of their Leagues were made in the road in front of my father's house. Some white men were mingled among the negroes in these lines, and I well remember what a repulsive sight it was; and the administration of affairs was in their hands.

"Why then appeal to Cæsar when Cæsar was both Caligula and Nero combined. In one instance a negro was caught stealing; he was tried by a magistrate, who was a member of the league, and instantly acquitted. The next night he was visted promptly, but succeeding in shooting one of our neighbors in the knee, before receiving his merited thrashing.

"So far as I know, no act of unmerrited violence was ever committed by the Ku-Klux in the community in which I lived. The Union Leaguers did go, one night, with a crowd of about thirty, to a man named Rayford and beating him nearly to death, set fire to his mill. They told him that they were Ku-Klux, but he knew better. A quarrel in the league soon divulged the whole matter. John Tyndal was in the habit of beating his wife unmercifully, and failed to furnish support for his family. One night a ghostly crowd surrounded his house and informed him that at the end of a certain period they would return for business unless he got to work and treated his family more decently. From that time on there was not a more industrious man in all that region. He was a white man.

"My father was a minister of the Gospel. One day a burly negro came to the front of the house and abused him in language most revolting. Some one passing by heard him. During the next night he concluded it was best for him to leave the country.

"A number of smilar instances could be recited, but these will serve as samples of what took place. The Ku-Klux Klans were the salvation of our country. They awed

the negroes to such an extent that they did not return to the extreme of insolence and daring any more. Some white men who dishonored their race were also helped by its presence. It was only when mean men got into its ranks that the germs of decay began to ripen and caused disaster to the order. It served its purpose well and brought relief to the people. Governor Holden, to a great extent, broke up the organization in the State, but he could not stop its influence for good; our people will never know to what extent they are indebted to these daring men for the relief which came at a most important period."

Another gentleman of prominence, and of unquestioned integrity and veracity, who belonged to the order, furnished us the following:

"In the year 1868 I was just fourteen years of age, an active and inquisitive chap, as most of boys are. One day, as I entered abruptly into my older brother's room, I saw him hurriedly concealing a strange looking "dunce cap" as I called it; and yet a stranger looking robe in a closet, which he carefully locked, while he ordered me from the room, bidding me to have the decency to knock the next time I came in. I had of course heard of the Ku-Klux and felt sure that he belonged to the order; but when questioned by me or my grown sister, he would smile amusedly, make some evasive answer and change the subject.

On a certain afternoon I had gone into one of the great old parlors at home, and thrown myself upon a large old fashioned mohair sofa of huge dimensions; and pulling a buggy robe, which had been left there, over me, had fal-

len asleep. I was suddenly aroused by the voices in the room, and before stiring I heard my brother say:

"I have closed the door, we can talk freely here." They then spoke in terms of horror of an assault and murder, which had been committed the night previous; and discussed the course which the Ku-Klux must pursue.

I lay perfectly still and when they had all left the room I crept out. I did not wish my brother to see me, but I foolishly told my sister of what I had heard. And when John returned in the evening she began to banter him about the Ku-Klux and their plans, and even used some of his own expressions which I had repeated to her. He looked, in angry surprise, first at her and then at me, I suppose I looked guilty. "You have been eavesdropping," he said with a haughty sneer. "Tell me what you have heard?" and to this day I have never forgotten his expression. My father was dead and I stood in much awe of this big brother; but my pride was stung to the quick.

"No!" I cried, and I told him how I had overheard.

"Your offense is still unpardonable" he replied with chilling sternness. "A true sense of honor should have constrained you, at the first word, to announce your presence and withdraw." I and my sister, especially myself, were solemnly warned, that we would be the means of bringing untold disaster upon his head, if we ever divulged, to human being, a hint of what we had heard. I gave a solemn promise which I am sure I would sacredly have kept; but that was not enough. The next morning my brother had two saddled horses at the gate; and calling to me, said he wished me to ride with him. When fairly in.

to a belt of woods he suddenly turned out to an old church, where services were only held once in every few months. I was asked to go around and see if the door was opened. It was, and as I ascended the steps I glanced back and my brother was no where to be seen. A company of masked figures, already described, drew me in. My hand was placed upon a grinning skull, *and when I emerged I was a member of the order.* That evening some of the party were in our parlors. John went for my sister, at first she demurred, but he soon silenced her objections and led her in. She took the oath. She was to make mufflers for the horses feet, hats and robes for the men; and care for any that might be brought to the house, wounded or in distress. I was too young to be taken on many of the raids, but I often carried robes, horses and letters, written in cypher of which the following is a sample:

ALPHABET, A. B. C. D. E. &c.
K. L. M. N. O. &c.

Signs of meeting

At day: $4/3$ 4x3—12th at 9 o'clock.
9

At night: $\frac{3}{4)9}$ 4x3—13th at 9 o'clock.

Through this sign manual the Ku-Klux did all their correspondence, which was readily understood: and such a determined front did they present on incredibly short warning, wherever crime was committed, that the Governor himself, grew alarmed, detailed a special guard for the Executive Mansion; and tried the menacing effect of several proclamations without result. As crime went on, the punishment of crime continued.

The following winter, with the legislature largely under his control, the Governor procured the passage of a law, making it a felony to go masked in a company, and to bear arms. This bill gave him full power to declare the State, or any part of it, in insurrection, to proclaim martial law, and to call for troops to enforce these iniquitious measures. The act was denominated the "Shoffner Bill" an act that is spoken of with abhorrance to this day, an act whose author, Shoffner, was obliged, a little latter, to seek safety outside of the State which he had dishonored; for there was no shadow of insurrection in any portion of it, certainly not more, than, when in his message of Oct. 12th, the Governor had said: "Every good citizen is gratified that North Carolina is at present as peaceable and quiet as any state in the Union." In this message he had declared "the right of the people to have arms in their houses, and to "bear" them under the authority of law is not questioned: "On the contrary it is claimed as a constitutional right, sacred to freemen." This declaration correct as it might be, had permitted the League to fill their houses with arms; and fortunately for the "sacred rights of freedmen" it had been the means of putting the necessary weapons of defense in the homes of her respected citizens. In the meantime the vandals who sold the State, and lent themselves to robbery, arson, murder, and some nameless crimes, were reveling in illgotten gains. The military were called out to help carry the elections. None but the "faithful" were to have office. The negroes were now carefully informed that the Ku-Klux were not "goblins damned," or avenging shades of confederate soldiers,

slain in battle; but the *living* ex-soldier, who was still trying to deprive him of his rights; and they were advised to use their torch, or the shot gun if necessary. A town police of four negroes and one white scallawag were called out to parade and patrol the streets of the old and respectable town of Graham. The next evening a company of seventy-five mounted Ku-Klux rode quietly through the town at midnight, and chased them from their beats. The town preferred no police, to one of that description.

The city of Wilmington had no special Commander for Klans. The Chief of the neighboring county was sent to the city, to ask, if a member should get into trouble, in the protection of his property or his life, or the honor of his family, whether he might find a refuge there, or be sent out of the reach of lawless retaliation. He was assured that Wilmington's good citizens would do all that *just laws should have done.* In twenty-four hours "A" had spoken to "B," and "B" to "C" etc.; each man knowing only his immediate informer, until an invisible chain, so to speak, had encircled the city. Acts of violence or robbery were of frequent occurrence, within her own border: and a touch of sorrow makes the whole world kin. The bleeding city was to be made the altar of her refuge for her sister towns, and adjacent country. Great boxes marked "merchandise" were brought into the city and taken to private store houses. They contained fire arms and rifles. The faces of men were calm, but cold and set: They were a reproduction in base relief of the old time fading from vision "Regulators." And still outrages were committed; and the courts of law were silent. Governor Holden, who

was more sinned against than sinning, in that he was surrounded by a corrupt gang, who were filling his mind with foul slanders upon the people of the State, while they profited by the very conditions they had helped to create, was issuing proclamation after proclamation, maddening to the men who had the good of the State, most at heart. His agents were employing a secret detective force, and using underhand sneaks, to skulk around in suspected localities, and report the acts or language of irresponsible persons, who, in a supposedly friendly conversation, might give utterance to sentiments thoughtlessly expressed or grossly exaggerated—a very "*vox et praeteria nihil*," perhaps forgotten, by the speaker, in the hour of utterance.

General Abbott, a federal general, who had taken up his residence at Wilmington, and had been sent, as a Senator, to represent the State at Washington, in lieu of the illustrious Graham, had been prominent in inflaming the negroes who had attacked a procession of white citizens one afternoon. He was waited on, by a party of gentlemen, who told him that in case of a race conflict, they would seek him first and hang him to a lamp post.

"Do you mean to threaten me," cried Abbott, flushed with anger?

"No" was the deliberate rejoinder, "we don't mean to threaten you at all. We are simply warning you." The next day General Abbott went to Raleigh and held conference with Gov. Holden. The inflammatory speeches were less vigorous after that. Yet, over the State crimes still sat in high places, as well as low; and the Ku-Klux Klans rode by night, with the grim determination of Gra-

heme of Claverhouse: And their swift marches and fantasmic disguises, often struck terror to the guilty.

There was, now, no doubt of their determination to be heard from wherever crime was committed. They had bound themselves by an obligation, so solemn, that men who duly understand the sacredness of an oath, will to this day refuse to give utterance to it; just as an Odd Fellow or a Mason, though no longer an active member, feels in honor bound, not to divulge the nature of their obligation. And hence, it is only through the treachery or cowardice of men, who wished to make capital out of the betrayal of their friends, that the secret workings of the Order have ever been made known. The yankee school master or mistress were not all occupied with the thought of elevating the benighted African whom they delighted to teach. Certainly their methods were often injudicious. In a town, in the central portion of the State, a Northern school mistress, in instructing the colored idea how to shoot, caused it indeed to explode with shot gun force. The pupils of this maiden lady, on their way home from school, one evening, expressed a wish for some flowers in the yard of a stately old southern homestead. This missionary to the "benighted race," at once opened the gate; and ordered her pupils to go in, ond pluck all the flowers they wanted, as their parents had toiled to make the flower beds all that they were. When the lady of the house appeared on the veranda, and commanded them to desist, shells and pebbles were hurled at her, amid hootings of derisive laughter: And when aprons full of flowers had been pulled, the beds of geraniums and other flowers, were danced upon and

trodden under foot. That night a solemn body of men visited the houses of the older pupils of the school, and entering used a horse whip with some emphasis. The next day the teacher was notified that such an act of trespass *must not* be again encouraged.

In another locality, a white girl, coming from school, with her little brother, was set upon by a dozen or more colored children, emerging from their own *alma mater*, beaten umercifully, and disfigured for life, by having an eye thurst out by a fork. The following morning a body of men visited the school, administering a thrashing whereever suspicion rested, and this time the male teacher came in for his share, as it was alleged he had walked quietly by, and had not attempted to stop the fracas. A few nights later, a member of the visiting Committee of the "White Brotherhood" was shot through his widow. Disguises were now found to be an absolute necessity, instead of a simple source of amusement or mystery. And work must be done at night.

It was about this time that the organization, in some localities fell into the hands, and under the control, of men who did not have its high purposes at heart; and who, consequently, did not hesitate to use it, not for the protection for society but, to avenge some personal grievance, or to accomplish some other selfish and dishonest end. In this way many outrages were committed, of the most wanton nature, and for which, there could be no excuse. These were not only charged up to the Ku-Klux; but they were made the pretext for Gov. Holden to declare Alamance and Caswell counties in a state of insurrection; and to call

from Tennessee one Colonel Kirk and his army of cut-throats, to aid in this pernicious warfare. Hundreds of the most prominent men in these counties were arrested and thrown into prison; some into loathsome dungeons with hardened criminals: While others were hung up by the neck to extort confession from them. Many of these were aged men of high repute, against whom no word of reproach had ever been uttered; and who, as a matter of fact, had never been members of the Ku Klux; and who knew nothing of its operations.

When these men appealed to the courts, of their State, for protection, from these marauders, they were informed by the Chief Justice that as Kirk claimed to be acting under the orders of the Governor, and set the judicial power at defiance, that the courts were powerless to interfere. But an upright courageous Judge was found in the person of George W. Brooks, of the Federal Bench, who commanded these imprisoned citizens to be brought before him: and when, after inquiry, he found nothing against them, he ordered their release.

The President was appealed to, by telegram, with the statement that Judge Brooks was usurping powers which did not belong to him. But, be it said to the honor of President Grant, he declined to interfere; and the orders of Judge Brooks were obeyed. Public indignation was at fever heat. A general election was then in progress. The people spoke at the ballot for better government: and in condemnation of the Governor's course. Kirk and his minions fled to Tennessee; and the conditions which had called the Ku-Klux Klans into existence began to pass away.

This action of Judge Brooks, for which his name should ever be honored, alone prevented a bloody conflict between Kirk and his cut-throats, and the men of the State. In the meantime, men were being ordered to Washington city, to testify before an investigating committee of Congress, which likewise demanded confessions regarding the alleged outrages perpetrated by the Ku-Klux Klans. Some of these brave men, from day to day, notwithstanding threats of imprisonment for contempt of congress, shook their heads in silence, and were ordered from the witness stand—to be recalled again on the morrow—until months had passed, and thirteen volumes of evidence had been accumulated. "From these volumes"—in the language of Mr. Brown, from whom we have before quoted. "He who lives long enough to read it all, may learn much that is true, but not particularly important; much that is important, if true; and somewhat that is both true and important."

As the forced outcome of these investigations, prosecutions were instituted against several of the Ku-Klux who had already been testified against—some of them falsely. And who in consequence suffered a cruelly unjust imprisment for a term of years. Yet, to quote again "this spontaneous, popular movement was too all-pervading to be attributed to any one man, or any conspiracy of a few men. It was neither an accident nor a scheme: it was no man's contrivance; but an *historical* development."

On the cessation of these prosecutions, and a partial restoration of good government in the State, the orders known as the Ku-Klux Klans, feeling that their mission

had been accomplished, were disbanded: and later still an unjustly delayed amnesty-act was passed.

The author of this sketch has given this subject a good deal of thought and study, during the past year. We have read books, legal and simple narrative, receiving the latter with such allowance as was necessary, where affidavits had not particularized statements; we have visited in various localities of the State, where the order, or orders referred existed in greatest force. We have talked with ministers of the gospel, and men of high official positions in church and State: and we have, all imperfectly, but conscientiously, given our honest views, as deducted therefrom. And, if the question had to be "studied against its proper background of a disordered society and a bewildered people," we have tried, likewise to do that.

Mr. Brown was writing for a northern magazine. Sir Walter Scott, in his original preface to his life of the First Napoleon, makes this significant statement, "I am writing a history for the English people." And, in it he consequently failed to discover many of the justly distinguishing, and equally justly extenuating, circumstances of Napoleon's wonderful personality. We are glad that we are writing, regardless of the special prejudice of any particular class of readers. Mr. Brown, concludes *his* argument thus, "If one asks of the movement, was it necessary?" this much at least may be answered; that no other plan of resistence would have served so well. If one asks, "was it successful?" the answer is plain. No open revolt ever succeeded more completely. If one asks, "was it justifiable?" the "yes" or "no" is harder to say.

We have to reply, in conclusion, that, if no other plan of resistence would have served so well; when, as we have shown, "resistence was a necessity:" and it succeeded; *then*, without question, it was justifiable, since "the end attained was mainly good."

Many of the actors in this tragedy have passed away. If somewhat that seemed unjustifiable was done; at least, remember this, that—

> "There are deeds, you may not know,
> Lashing the pulses into strife:
> Dark memories of deathless woe,
> Pointing the bayonet and knife."

The invisible chain that linked the great brotherhood of the Ku-Klux Klan together which was first broken by the dismemberment of the order, nearly thirty years ago, has been yet more widely disintergrated by the fell hand of the great destroyer, Death.

If the clasp was indeed of steel: and this modern order of Knighthood wore a breast-plate of brass, and an ungloved, mailed hand, when it became imperative that a blow must be struck; then let the reader calmly review the provocations; even as they are so feebly and imperfectly given here; and say, if he can, that he could have imitated the Divine meekness, and turned the other cheek.

"And there were also many other things—the which if they should be written, every one," would fill far more than the thirteen volumes of Congressional investigation, which sought, in vain, to criminate them.

THE END.

See last page of cover on Ku Klux

Great Events in N. C. History

Resistance to The Stamp Act. 1765 - - Page 6

Brunswick on the Cape Fear River Nov 28th 1765

Resistance to Stamp Act in Virginia Feb 27 1766

from "Hazards Old Churches" Vol II - pp - 434 - 436

WHEN THE KU KLUX RODE. BY Eyre Damer. $1 net; by mail, $1.10. Neale Publishing Company, New York.

No political organization of equal magnitude and importance has been so grossly misunderstood as the famous Ku Klux Klan. An organization—one might better say an institution—of the purest patriotic motives, it was variously maligned during its lifetime, and since has been constantly misinterpreted. Today only painstaking students of post-bellum history have an adequate conception of its aims and motives, of the conditions which necessitated it or of the beneficent work it accomplished. To the rest, the Ku Klux Klan is a mystery of vague outline, dramatic, fascinating, of which grotesquely caparisoned horses and black-shrouded figures are the only salient features.

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His work is so logical and level-headed, so simple and direct, that the narrative is almost painful in its cumulative effect. Following this heaped-up testimony, one understands with perfect clearness why there was a Ku Klux Klan, just what it had to do, the appalling odds against which it had to work, and how it conquered those odds.

In his preface, Mr. Damer refers to himself as one "who was in the midst of the struggle and a close observer." His description is justified by his book. "When the Ku Klux Rode" is a fine example of historical writing, candid, logical and intelligent

June 1902

The North Carolina Booklet.

Vol II No. 2

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Our Own Pirates.

June 1902

—BY—
S. A. ASHE.

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Vol II No

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Common Wealth the Civil Govt of N.C.
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NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

VOL. II. JUNE 10, 1902. No. 2.

Our Own Pirates,

Black Beard and Bonnett.

BY
S. A. ASHE.

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While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

OUR OWN PIRATES.

BLACKBEARD AND BONNETT.

S. A. ASHE.

Every age has its peculiarities, which pass away under the influence of advancing civilization. And so we find some very odd things have happened in the world which may have seemed natural enough at the time but appear to us as more than passing strange. History tells us that while first the settlers were seeking homes in the wilds of North Carolina, there existed, a little further South of us, in the West India Islands, a regular government of desperate sea-robbers, embracing thousands of men, who not only swept the seas with fleets of ships, but even captured forts and cities and destroyed European squadrons sent out to disperse them.

The tales of their adventures now seem to be marvelous, but in this case truth is stranger than fiction. When these robbers had taken towns and despoiled them of booty they repaired to other towns where they lived soberly or riotously, according to their individual whims, selling their stuff openly, without regard to the manner of its capture, and enjoying the fruits of their crimes as if they had only made lawful gain in legitimate business. Indeed King Charles II even conferred knighthood on the most successful of these notorious freebooters, Henry Morgan, who was long a chief among the Buccaneers, as they named themselves.

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Although the calling was not altogether respectable, yet this suffices to show that in the good times of the auld lang syne people were more tolerant as to sea-rovers than in the present day.

Eventually the Buccaneers disbanded, but the spirit of making unlawful gain did not entirely die out. The European government two centuries ago did not possess many ships in their regular navies, but when at war, they gave commissions to sea captains to fit out private ships and make roving cruises to prey upon the commerce of their enemies; and since there was nearly always a war on foot, privateersmen were seldom long out of employment.

These private war-vessels would sail from port under bond to engage in no unlawful enterprise, but when in distant seas, where dead men tell no tales, the captains would not be very careful to keep within the letter of the law. Any fish that came to their nets were very good fish—and the gold of a friend was quite as yellow as the gold of a foreign enemy. Many privateers were fitted out in New York and at other towns along the American coast, and these practiced the trade of making captures quite successfully, for being so distant from the navies of Europe they pursued their work with but little fear of interruption. Indeed, some of the governors of New York, of South Carolina, of Massachusetts and of other colonies were said to have been interested in the success of some of these cruisers, and harbored the pirates as if all the prizes taken were according to the rules of international law. Because of these numerous piracies on the high seas, commerce was so greatly impeded along the American coast that it became

necessary to capture the privateers who had thus become pirates.

The king had no ship to send, so it was agreed to fit out a big privateer to catch the little ones. Mr. Livingstone, one of the most influential men in New York, started the plan and subscribed for one-fifth of the stock in the company, and he recommended a man named Kidd to be the captain. The Lord Chancellor of England and many other noblemen also took stock in the enterprise and the king said he would take for his part one-tenth of all the vessels that Kidd might capture. It was a speculation that they hoped would prove a bonanza—an expedition which it was expected would make great gain for those who furnished the money. The vessel was equipped, armed with the best cannon, manned by brave seamen, and Kidd was duly commissioned to sail out as a privateer in pursuit of piratical crafts. But alas for the speculation! Kidd soon fell into evil ways himself and set up for a pirate on his own account.

After a three years' cruise, during which he scourged the coast of Africa and sent many a poor fellow to Davy Jones' locker, he at last turned up in Boston, having burned his ship off New England after burying treasure at different points along the coast. He was speedily arrested, and a list of the places where he had hidden his gold was found among his papers. He was taken to England, tried and executed.

All along the coast tradition points out places where he concealed his plunder, and many are the "Money Islands" named from the supposed fact that he buried treasure there.

For instance, there is a "Money Island" situated between Wrightsville and Masonboro sounds, near Wilmington, which has been dug all over for Kidd's money. Whether any was found there is not known, but forty years ago we heard from the lips of an elderly lady, herself the daughter of a bold but respectable privateersman, many tales about Captain Kidd and his money, and in particular she would point out a gnarled and ancient live-oak tree just on the point at Wrightsville, and tell how, long, long ago, they found a key to Kidd's money-chest suspended from one of the knotty limbs, all rusty with age and stained with blood. They dug just beneath where the key was found for the iron chest, but if it was there those who dug never made much noise in the world about it. Similar tales of buried treasure are told around the inlets all along the coast, but those things are traditions and although curious and interesting are foreign to our purpose, for we are dealing now only with historical facts.

All vessels leaving the Gulf of Mexico turn the Florida peninsula and follow the Gulf Stream northward. And just off the point of Florida lie the Bahama Islands, which were given by King Charles II to some of his courtiers as a part of the princely domain of Carolina. Their number runs up into the hundreds—little islands separated by intricate channels, which none knew but the freebooters who frequented those dangerous seas.

It was there that the pirates chiefly congregated, and from this safe retreat they sallied out to reap a rich harvest of spoil from the merchant ships engaged in lawful commerce.

The inlets and harbors along the Southern coasts also

afforded them convenient refuge, and from these sheltered nooks they would dash out to sea and make prize of passing vessels. At times they would collect in large force and sail gallantly into some undefended port and take possession or make heavy demands upon the people for booty. Thus Charleston, which was then the most important town south of Boston, was made to pay tribute, and the entire Atlantic coast was more or less infested with those rovers of the seas. As they got much plunder—merchandise as well as gold—which they had but little use for, they were liberal and generous in dispensing it, gaining favor by their prodigality, which enriched those who dealt with them; and so, although they were public enemies, the pirates had many private friends among the people of the seaboard.

It was a strange time when a new continent was being settled, when the colonists were brought into deadly contact with the treacherous Indians, and when the bloody Spaniards to the South of us were steeped in crimes committed against humanity and Englishmen, and life was not so highly esteemed as now, and there was a roughness and ruggedness among the people quite in contrast with the humane sentiments that prevail in this more enlightened age. And pirates were not so severely judged as now. Indeed, those sea-robbers were not altogether so ferocious as they have been painted, for although when making a prize or seeking to escape capture they fought desperately, yet after the victory was won they did not make a frolic of butchering their prisoners. They seldom murdered them in cold blood. But the tale ran that they had the habit of rigging out a plank from the side of the vessel and, having blindfolded

tneir victims, they made them walk the plank. The poor fellows would inevitably fall into the sea and be drowned; but then the pirates could hold up their hands and say "There is no blood on our hands"—and dead men told no tales!

Along about 1717 there was a noted pirate named Hornigold, who had his headquarters at New Providence, down in the Bahamas, where Nassau now is, the port that the Confederate blockaders used to slip into during the late war, bringing back loads of Yankee meat for the Confederate army. All old soldiers recollect the Nassau bacon served out in rations in the war times. It came by way of the former haunts of the old-time freebooters.

In one of Hornigold's trips he enlisted with him an English seaman named Edward Thatch, sometimes called Edward Teach, who was born at Bristol in England, and who had followed the sea many years. On a cruise in 1716 they captured another vessel, which, as the sailors say, had clean heels, and Capt. Hornigold gave command of it to Teach, who sailed along with him, and, together, they devastated the American coast.

They took many prizes and obtained much plunder. Among the prisoners who fell into their hands was one Major Steed Bonnett who was a man of good education and great courage. He joined Thatch, and taking charge of a vessel, accompanied him as a consort, for the pirates liked to hunt in couples. While their chief rendezvous was New Providence they frequented the Carolina coast, where they made themselves very familiar. At that time the inhabited parts of North Carolina were confined to the northern sec-

tion. Bath town was a little straggling place; Beaufort had just begun to be settled, and New Bern and Edenton, but by an order of the Lords Proprietors the people were forbidden to settle in the Cape Fear country, and all along that river was an unbroken wilderness. Amid the quiet solitudes of the lower harbor of the Cape Fear the pirates established their quarters, whence they could conveniently sally out and seize their prey and return in safety with the booty. As they kept no record of their performances, the details of their murders and captures were never known. There is a record, however, that they once put some men ashore in Onslow county, but generally they forced their prisoners to join them or made them walk the plank, although, sometimes, when it was convènient for them to do so, they gave them a captured vessel which was not needed and let them go on their way rejoicing.

Thatch or Teach or Thack, for he was known by all these names, was a man who drank hard and led a carousing life. To great physical power, he united a strong will, dominated by ungovernable passions. He habitually wore big bushy black whiskers over his face, whence was derived the sobriquet "Black Beard," the name he is now most generally known by. He was fond of luxuries and aimable to the fair sex, and it is said that so successful was he in his wooings that he had no less than eight wives, and indeed some accounts say twelve; but where he kept them or whether he rid himself of any after the manner of his brother in story, old Blue Beard, is not recorded. Doubtless though he would not have hesitated to put any to death who disobeyed him, for he was passionate and of violent temper and

reckless of life. He used to be a good deal in the quiet waters of Pamlico and Albemarle sounds, and was on terms of easy intercourse with some of the people there. Indeed he was fond of boasting that he could invite himself to dine with any gentleman of the colony and that he would be welcomed. And without doubt there were many in the colony who, notwithstanding they held him in detestation and abhorrence were, nevertheless, deterred from fear of his vengeance from treating him as he deserved. But all were not so. There were some who keenly felt that this man should not be permitted to frequent the waters of Carolina as if he were an honest trader.

These belonged to the old families who had been long settled in the colony. Among them were the connections of the former president of the colony, Major Alexander Lillington, such as Edward Mosely, Maurice Moore, the Swanns, John Porter, Jeremiah Vail, etc., who represented the true sentiment of the old settlers.

An anecdote has come down to the effect that Black Beard, in pursuance of his boast that he could dine with any man in the colony he chose, one day sent word to one of the Swanns that he would take dinner with him and would come at noon. Steps ran down from Col. Swann's landing into the water, and a short way off in the harbor lay the pirate's vessel. At noon Teach manned his boat, and, with a dozen oarsmen, pulled up in fine style towards the landing; but promptly Col. Swann appeared on his steps at the landing place, rifle in hand, and warned the pirate that if the boat came nearer he would send a ball through his heart. With a fallen coutenance, Black Beard beat a

rapid retreat, muttering loud curses over his discomfiture. He did not break bread with Col. Swann. The same spirit pervaded most of the gentlemen who were bound by ties to the colony, who were native and to the manner born, who felt that the good fame of the settlement, was their good fame—the good fame of their native land. But there were a few who were friendly with Thatch, and, strange to say, he found favor in the sight of Tobias Knight, who had, a few years before, come over from England as the Secretary of the colony, and who was a member of the council and a deputy of one of the proprietors, and, indeed, had even served as Chief Justice. But then it must be understood that none of these offices were in the gift of the people, and Knight was only an adventurer from the old country who had the address to win the favor of the governor's council, whose business it was to govern the colony as the agents of the lords proprietors, being most commonly at variance with the people and not popular among them. He was a friend of Teache's and gave him countenance and advice, and, it seems, also proposed to share his booty. But there is no evidence that the people generally sympathized with pirates, or that they would not have sought to capture Black Beard if the authorities had called on them for help. Of themselves they could do nothing; and indeed, without ships and without cannon, against a vessel ready at all points for a desperate encounter, the authorities themselves were powerless.

At length Hornigold and Vane and Teach and Bonnett and the other corsairs who ruled the seas on the American coast so interfered with commerce that some measure had to be adopted to arrest their ravages, and the King was in-

duced to offer pardon to all who, within one year, would surrender themselves and make oath not to engage in unlawful enterprises again. It was in 1717 that the King issued his proclamation to that effect, and some of the freebooters came in and made peace with the government and became planters and traders in various parts of America.

Teach brought his crew to North Carolina, and, having surrendered, the King sent him a pardon, and old Black Beard made a great pretence that he would thereafter lead an honest life. But he soon became dissatisfied with his inactivity. Maybe his numerous wives bothered him; but however that was, constant carousals depleted his store of gold, and when his money was all squandered, the reformed pirate was in desperate straits. His ship still lay in the harbor—and she was a fast sailing craft, easy to fetch, but hard to catch. The temptation to return to his old courses was irresistible, and, gathering a crew about him in November of that year, he sailed from Bath on a piratical cruise and again became the terror of the seas. He returned to his old haunts at Providence, and there re-established the reign of the Buccaneers, of whom he became the acknowledged chieftain. So frequent were his devastations that the trade of Charleston was almost destroyed, and the King, being pressed for aid, despatched a force under Sir Woods Rogers to break up the pirates. Rogers was one of the most famous officers of his day. He had circumnavigated the globe, and it was he who rescued from his desert island in the South Sea poor Alexander Selkirk, whose story the charming pen of Defoe has immortalized under the title of Robinson Crusoe. Rogers, with his wonted vig-

or, made a rapid descent on Providence and captured such of the Buccaneers as happened to be there, except Vane, who, with a crew of ninety men, managed to escape.

Black Beard, with Major Steed Bonnett and some of his vessels were off on a cruise and eluded the vigilance of the British squadron. In June 1717, however, he again appeared off the coast with four vessels flying his black flag. The governor of South Carolina sought to persuade him to accept a new pardon and come in and cease his interference with the commerce of the colonies. But Teach felt too secure in his strength and in the fleetness of his ships to heed such counsel. He had staunch vessels and desperate fighters to command and knew no law but his own rough will. Proudly he sailed along the coast, the sovereign of the seas. Kings had their domain on land but he ruled the waves. Still in so short a time as eight days, misfortune overtook him. His own fine ship was cast away at Topsail inlet, where another one of his sloops was wrecked, and most of his men, disheartened, began to disperse. Some went to Pennsylvania and some to New York to quit their evil ways forever, while others under Steed Bonnett sailed away to the southward.

Teach kept one ship for himself, the "Adventure," and taking a crew of twenty men came into Bath and surrendered, again claiming the benefit of the King's proclamation and declaring his purpose to abandon a pirate's career and lead a new life. And strange to say again did he receive mercy, for the King was pleased to pardon him once more, and the pardon was duly made out and sent to Virginia for him. But it never took effect. Before it reached

America other things had happened, and Black Beard had been called to a bar of justice more to be feared than even the courts of the King of England.

The declaration of his intention to reform was a mere ruse. He had no purpose of reformation. His old passion for piracy, his love of gold, his daring spirit, were too strong for lawful purposes. He kept a crew of rough fellows about him and caused such a serious disturbance at Bath that the Governor had to take measures to quell the trouble. At length after a month's rest, he left the harbor and turned the prow of the "Adventure" once more to the sea. This time he cleared for a voyage to St. Thomas, but on the 22d of August he fell in with two French vessels returning homeward from Martinique loaded with cocoa, sweetmeats, cotton and sugar. One of these vessels he despoiled, transferring the plunder to the other, while he put both crews on the vessel he had robbed and allowed them to depart in peace. The loaded vessel he carried into Ocracoke inlet, arriving there on the 13th of September. That night he rowed in his periauger to the residence of Tobias Knight near Bath, carrying a present of four kegs of sweetmeats and other booty, quitting the house of his friend before daybreak. On the way back he met with a boat in which were William Bell, his son and an Indian, loaded with rum and merchandise, which he attacked, and robbed. He landed his cargo and hid his sugar, cotton, etc., in the barn of Tobias Knight, where they were concealed under fodder—and then burnt the French ship which he had brought into the harbor. The news of his proceedings caused great indignation among the people and alarm among

the merchants trading along the coast, and application was made to Governor Spotswood of Virginia by some of the colony to rid them of the pest.

Gov. Spotswood tells us that he had to act with the greatest secrecy because there were so many persons in Virginia who sympathized with the pirates that he dared not let even the members of his own council know his purpose, for fear his plans would be betrayed. Only the officers who were to command were taken into his confidence Two sloops were privately hired and were manned and equipped from the British frigates Lyme and Pearl then in the Chesapeake, and on the 17th of November, they sailed out under the command of Lieutenant Maynard, a British naval officer from the Lyme, in search of the pirate vessel.

On the evening of the 21st of November these two vessels appeared at Ocracoke inlet, and Black Beard, for the first time, became aware of the effort that was being made to capture him. Recognizing his danger, he would have escaped to sea had it been possible; but he found himself at last at bay, with no channel open to avoid the conflict that seemed inevitable. Hitherto he had warred on those weaker than himself—vessels but poorly equipped and insufficiently armed; now he was in the presence of a foe more than a match for his pirate craft. But the danger only aroused his mettle. He prepared his vessel for action, arranged every detail with care, and having by his own display of courage strengthened the confidence of his desperate crew, he repaired to his cabin to spend the last night of his career of crime and sin. He sat down to his bottle and drank heartily, stimulating his spirits to frenzy, as a lion in the toils

making the last efforts for life. Knowing all the threads of the intricate channel, he complacently regarded the approach of Maynard's vessels as the next morning they carefully sought to enter the inlet. Repeatedly were they grounded on the hidden shoals, and with difficulty did they gain the entrance; but at length they passed the inlets and the conflict began. The pirate now brought to his aid his superior knowledge of the location, and manœuvred his ship handsomely, and in the running fight that ensued secured some advantages. But at length the attacking vessels pressed him so hard that the Adventure herself grounded on a projecting shoal, and an engagement at close quarters became inevitable. Maynard ordered his brave crews to prepare to board, and, with quickened zeal, sought to lay his two vessels alongside the pirate sloop. But the heart of Black Beard did not quail. He reserved the fire of his heavy guns, double-shotted, until his assailants were close at hand, and delivered a destructive broadside upon them. So successful was he in this defence that at this very first broadside twenty-nine of Maynard's force were either killed or wounded, and one of the sloops was seriously disabled. But Maynard was not made of the stuff to be driven off by a first repulse. He had come to destroy the pirate and he determined to fight it cut to the bitter end. His decks were cleared of the dead and wounded, and he prepared every detail for a fierce renewal of the encounter. His own sloop alone was fit for action, but the Adventure being fast grounded, manœuvring was impossible, and the struggle resolved itself into a question of mere physical power. Observing that his vessel drew so much water that he could

not readily close in with the Adventure, he threw overboard whatever could be spared to lighten the ship, and then resolutely undertook once more to grapple with the enemy. The better to protect his men he made them remain below, while he himself heroically seized the helm and steered directly for the Adventure.

But if Maynard was resolute, so was Black Beard, who, resolving to sell his life as dearly as possible, had posted one of his bandits at the powder magazine with a lighted match, ready to make a heroic catastrophe-rather than permit his capture.

Maynard skillfully handled his ship and approached so as to prevent a similar broadside to that which had disabled his consort; he alone was on deck as the bow of his ship crashed up against the quarter of the stranded corsair.

Immediately Black Beard and his crew threw hand-grenades of his own manufacture that enveloped their antagonist in a cloud of dense foul smoke, under cover of which they leaped over her bows and hurried to assail the gallant Maynard who alone was visible. But instantaneously the men below rushed on deck and sprang to his relief and a furious hand-to-hand conflict ensued.

The pirates fought with a resolution born of despair. It was an effort to make havoc, without hope of success. Black Beard was cut down but seemed endued with more than human life, so violent was his fury, so terrific his frenzy. His men with equal passion fought in sheer desperation, inflicting great loss before they were subdued. But at length Black Beard, himself wounded unto death, when in the act of cocking his last pistol, fainted from loss of blood,

and falling, expired. Those who remained, overcome by superior numbers, were then subdued; and Maynard had the satisfaction and glory of a victorious issue of his undertaking although dearly bought with heroic lives.

The survivors of the pirate crew were all found to be negroes. They were carried to Virginia, where the judiciary of the royal government had jurisdiction to try crimes of piracy, and were tried the following March. Contemporaneously with the descent on Black Beard, Capt. Brand of the frigate Lyme, had come overland into North Carolina, and accompanied by Edward Mosely and Maurice Moore and Jeremiah Vail, had been seeking information as to those who were in complicity with Black Beard. At first Tobias Knight denied all knowledge of the booty the pirate had brought in, but eventually admitted that it had been stored in his barn, where it was found hid away under some fodder. The claim was then made that Teach had found the French ship deserted at sea and that the goods belonged to him as the finder, but later, after Black Beard had met his death, the pretence was made that the goods had merely been stored in a warehouse to await the demand of the lawful owners. The pretence was too thin, and Capt. Brand had the stuff carried to Virginia where it was sold on account of the French owners and the money accounted for.

This man Knight was Secretary of the colony, and lived near Bath, but the public papers were kept at the house of John Lovick, the deputy Secretary, at Sandy Point, in Chowan, near where Edenton now is, and where Governor Eden himself resided. It was this man Lovick whom, subsequently, Gov. Burrington sarcastically dubbed "Eden's

affidavit man." Apparently to secure evidence that would throw light upon this dark spot in the history of the colony, Edward Mosely, who was the most influential man in the colony, along with Maurice Moore, his brother-in-law, who having come with his brother, Colonel James Moore from South Carolina to fight the Indians five years before when they rescued the colony from the great peril of being entirely cut off by the savages, was also greatly esteemed by the people, forcibly entered the Secretary's office and locking themselves in, remained there twenty-four hours examining the records and public papers. The object of their search was without doubt to obtain record evidence touching the pirates and their accomplices. And they claimed that their action was lawful because when the Lords Proprietors sent over instructions to the Governors, as they did every third year, they had invariably instructed that the records should be open to public inspection. This unusual seaching the records occurred on the 27th of December, and threw the Governor and his friends into great excitement, and thereupon a force was collected to arrest Mosely and Moore for high crimes and misdemeanors.

When the posse came to arrest Mosely, who was the leading lawyer in the colony, and had for many years been the Speaker of the House, he remonstrated with one of the men that it was a frivolous business and that he was astonished at their coming that way to arrest him; that the governor and authorities could easily procure armed men to come and disturb quiet and honest men, but could not, though such a number would have done, raise them to destroy Thack, but instead of that the pirate had been suffered to go on in

his villanies, etc. These scandalous utterances stung the Governor to the quick, and Mosely was arraigned for his crimes and the whole power of the government was brought to bear for his conviction. At November term 1719, he was fined five shillings for detaining the records, and for his scandalous language about the Governor he was fined 100 pounds and declared incapable of practicing law or of holding any office in the colony for a period of three years. But because he was employed in all the important cases pending, on the application of the Chief Justice he was allowed to appear in the cases already brought, and somewhat later he put on record that his language about the Governor had been hasty and passionate. When the three years of his sentence had expired, he was immediately elected to the assembly and chosen speaker of that body, for he was so influential with the people that he was Speaker of the House whenever he was a member. His sentence was not remitted, as some histories erroneously state.

As for Tobias Knight, when the pirates were tried in Virginia in March, the evidence implicated him so positively that a copy of the testimony was sent to the Governor of North Carolina with a request that he be sent to Virginia for trial. But his associates at the council board were not of that mind. They however, called on him to answer before them, and he filed a statement on May 27th, 1719, accompanied by the affidavit of Edmund Chamburlane, a young man who lived with him. The council was complacent enough to resolve that Knight was innocent, but he never again sat at the board, and two months afterwards had the grace to die.

When Black Beard came in to surrender himself, in June, Major Steed Bonnett and his consort under Richard Wormly, repaired to the solitudes of the lower Cape Fear, and from there continued their depredations on the commerce of Charleston, hardly any vessel going out or coming in escaping their plundering crews.

So great was the interruption of its commerce by these pirates that the people of that city determined to help themselves, and in order to destroy these corsairs fitted out two well-equipped vessels, putting them under Major Rhett, a bold, brave and determined man, who was born in London, but who had removed with his family to Charleston twenty years before.

Major Rhett sailed out in search of the pirates and soon discovered Bonnett's ships in waiting for some prey; but when Bonnett saw that instead of the two vessels fleeing from him, they were seeking to overtake him, he quickly made sail for his den in Cape Fear harbor. Thither Rhett pursued with all sail set, and soon brought on a conflict. A desperate engagement followed within the harbor, the pirates fighting like mad-men, but getting the worst of the battle. Their vessel, however, escaped after the fight and, according to tradition, made its way to the mouth of Black river. There the pirates stood at bay. The men, fully aware that the halter awaited them, purposed to die rather than suffer capture. In the frenzy of despair they laid a plan to allow Rhett's force to board their vessel and then blow her up, all perishing in one fearful moment of destruction. Major Bonnett, however, was a man of education, and had seen much of the world, and he treasured

hopes of some day abandoning his nefarious life and returning to an honest calling, as others had done in South Carolina. He did not approve of this desperate heroism, and discouraging the men from it, at length persuaded them to abandon their project and surrender to Major Rhett, trusting that thereby he might secure some favor for himself. Thus the following day Major Rhett obtained possession of the pirate vessel without further bloodshed. Amid great rejoicing he carried Major Bonnett and the survivors of his crew, forty in all, to Charleston. After refitting his ship, Rhett sailed out again in search of Wormley, and having come up with him, the pirates fought so desperately that the whole crew was killed but two, and these were so severely wounded that when they reached Charleston they were immediately tried and executed to prevent their dying from their wounds.

Bonnett and his forty men were tried also, and were all hanged and buried in Charleston harbor below high water mark. On his trial it was pressed so hard that he was a "gentleman," and the people were so favorable to him, that the judge, Trott, in his charge to the jury, had to comment on the fact that being a gentleman was only an aggravation of the crime, to secure a conviction. After sentence, Bonnett, by means of friendly aid, escaped from prison in women's clothes, and on being retaken, he addressed a long and touching letter to Colonel Rhett, praying his intercession for a reprieve until the King could have an opportunity to pardon him, in which he expressed himself as follows:

"I entreat your charitable opinion of my great contri-

tion and godly sorrow for the errors of my past life, and if I had the happiness of a longer life granted me in this world, I shall always retain in mind and endeavor to follow those excellent precepts of our holy Saviour—to love my neighbor as myself; and do unto all men as I would they should do unto me, living in perfect holy friendship and charity with all mankind. This I do assure you, sir, is the sincerity of my heart upon the word of a penitent Christian and my only desire of my enjoying such a transient being, is that it may be for the future consecrated to the service of my Maker, and by a long and unfeigned repentance, I may beseech Almighty God, of His infinite mercy, to pardon and remit all my sins, and enable me to live a wholly religious life, and make satisfaction to all persons whom I have any ways injured."

But this did not save him. He shared the common fate of his miscreant band, and thus the last of the famous pirates who had infested the coast of Carolina, suffered the merited penalty of his villainous crimes.

THE END.

Battles of Revolution Fought in North Carolina.

Moores Creek Bridge,	Feb'y 27th, 1776
Ramsour's Mill,	June 20th, 1780
Pacolet River,	July 14th, 1780
Earles Ford,	July 18th, 1780
Cane Creek,	Sept. 12th, 1780
Wahab's Plantation,	Sept. 21st, 1780
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The North Carolina Booklet.

Vol II July 1902 No 3

GREAT EVENTS IN.....
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War
1711-'13.

July 1902

—BY—
WALTER CLARK.

PRICE 10 CENTS. $1.00 THE YEAR.

Entered at the Postoffice at Raleigh, N. C., as second-class matter—June 24, 1901.

The North Carolina Booklet.

The Editors of the N. C. Booklet announce that should a sufficient number of subscriptions be received to warrant the publication of the N. C. Booklet, it will be issued monthly, as heretofore, for another year, beginning May 10th, 1902. The following being the proposed list of subjects:

1.—May—Ku-Klux Klans.
Mrs. T. J. Jarvis.

2.—June—Our Pirates.
Capt. S. A. Ashe.

3.—July—Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War.
Judge Walter Clark.

4.—August—Moravian Settlement in North Carolina.
Rev. Dr. J. E. Clewell

5.—Sept.—Whigs and Tories.
Prof. W. C. Allen.

6.—Oct.—The Revolutionary Congress of North Carolina.
Mr. T. M. Pittman.

7.—Nov.—The Battle of Guilford Court House.
Prof. D. H. Hill.

8.—Dec.—Historic Homes in N. C.,—The Groves, and others.
Col. Burgwyn, Col. Waddell, Mr. Thomas M. Blunt, and others.

9.—Jan.—Old Charleston on the Cape Fear.
Prof. James S. Bassett.

10.—Feb.—Raleigh and the old town of Bloomsbury.
Dr. K. P. Battle, Sr.

11.—March—Confederate Secret Service.
Dr. Chas. E. Taylor. Conditional.

12.—April—The Story of the Albemarle.
Major Graham Daves.

Parties desiring to subscribe will please send at once, their address with the subscription price $1. for the year, to "The N. C. Booklet Co., P. O. Box 125, Raleigh, N. C."

If for any reason the Booklet should not be issued, each subscriber's money will be returned.

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NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

VOL. II. JULY 10, 1902. No. 3.

Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War 1711-'13.

BY

WALTER CLARK.

RALEIGH:
CAPITAL PRINTING COMPANY.
1902.

'Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

INDIAN MASSACRE AND TUSCARORA WAR 1711-'13.

WALTER CLARK.

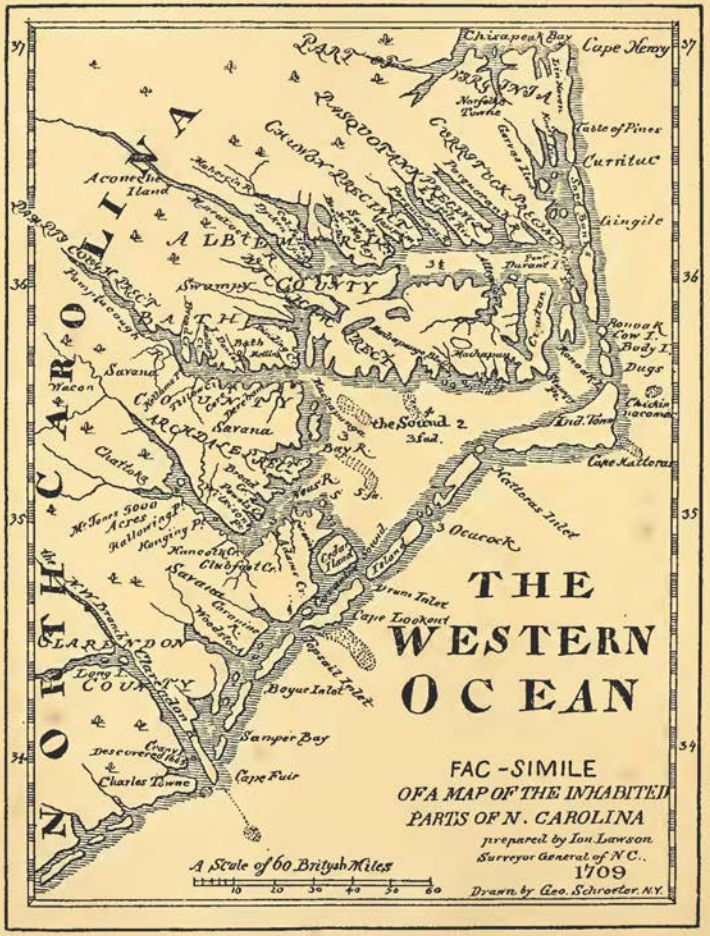
The fate of the "Lost Colony of Roanoke" is one of the enigmas of history. Whether worn out with three years of weary waiting for sails which came not to whiten the sea, or forced by starvation, the colony removed to a more eligible site and gradually amalgamated with the natives, as is claimed, or whether weakened by disease or taken by surprise it was massacred by the savages no man knoweth to this day. The curtain of history has fallen and the breezes that breathe softly over the scene of the settlement and the trials of the colony tell no story to the ears of the anxious enquirer.

But, unless the colony of 1587, under John White, was taken off by massacre, the boast 124 years later of our first historian, John Lawson in 1711, that North Carolina was the only instance of a nation planted in peace and located without blood-shed was well founded. Yet even while he wrote the tomahawks were being sharpened and the Indian warriors plumed and painted were already stealthily gliding along narrow trails, gathering for the harvest of death and torture.

Till that date, friendly relations between the natives and whites had been unbroken. There may have been occasionally variances or feuds between individuals, but these had always been settled by the law, and the races remained at peace. The Indians were employed by the whites, in many instances, as domestics, and all were admitted, without suspicion, and at all times, into the white settlements.

Many reasons have been assigned for the bloody and remarkable outbreak of 1711. By some it has been attributed to the steady encroachments of the whites upon the hunting grounds and fishing of the Indians, threatening their livelihood and thus forcing them to remove far from the burying grounds where reposed the bones of their ancestors. Others thought that the spectacle of the whites engaged in conflicts with one another, divided and weakened, encouraged the Indians to avail themselves of the opportunity to remove the intruders. There is not lacking co-temporary assertion that Carey, who had just been defeated in his rebellion, or at least Roach, his subordinate, instigated and procured the savages to make the assault. Feeling ran high against the defeated and discredited faction and this last motive should be accredited with hesitation, though it has received the support of Dr. Hawks. Certainly the first two causes were sufficient to have moved a suspicious and treacherous race, as the Indians by nature were.

At that time, the force of fighting men among the Indians in this colony contiguous to the white settlement were as follows, as appears from the estimates of that date. The Tuscaroras who lived in Bertie and in the country south of the Roanoke and on the waters of Tar and Pamlic could muster about twelve hundred men. North and Northwest of Albemarle Sound were the Meherrins, Nottoways, Chowanokes, Pasquotanks, Poteskeets (or Currituck,) Connamox and Yeopims. These had been much reduced in number by contact with civilization and use of the white man's fire-water, but they could still furnish one


Chesapeak Bay
Cape Henry
VIRGINIA
Norfolk Towne
Table of Pines
Currituc
Pasquotank
Currituck
Pequimans
Jingile
Roanoak
Dugs
Chickinacomo
Ind. Town
Cape Hatteras
Hatteras Inlet
Ocacock
the Sound
Bay R.
Sand Island
Drum Inlet
Cape Lookout
Topsail Inlet
Beaufort
Bogue Inlet
Sampit Bay
Cape Fair
Charles Towne
Albemarle
Clarendon
Archdale
Bath
Bath Town
Pamticough
Neus R.
Chattoka
Savana
Macon
Hanging Pt.
Kenneth Ck.
Clubfoot Ck.
Long I.
Swamp
Indian Town
Roanoak Isl. I.
Body I.
Chickinacomo
Ind. Town
Cape Hatteras
Hatteras Inlet
Ocacock
Drum Inlet
Cape Lookout
Topsail Inlet
Bogue Inlet
Sampit Bay
Cape Fair
Charles Towne
Clarendon
Archdale
Bath
Albemarle

hundred and sixty warriors. Southwest of Albemarle, besides the Tuscaroras were the Pamlicos, Cotechneys and Neusiocs, and between them and the ocean were remnants of the Maramuskeets, Matchapungos, Hatteras, Cores (or Coranines), Woccons, Croatan and Bear River Indians. Though also reduced in numbers they yet numbered altogether two hundred and fifty fighting men. Farther south were the Saponas of some strength and a feeble tribe, the Sippahaws. Altogether the tribes immediately contiguous to the whites were able to put near eighteen hundred men into the field.

The province at that time, as appears from Lawson's map,* made in 1709, consisted of two counties, *Albemarle*—which was divided into Currituck, Pasquotank, Chuwon and Wickham, (later Tyrrell) precincts. *Bath* county, which embraced Pampticough precinct (now Beaufort and Pitt) and Archdale precinct, (now Pamlico and Craven). The original division had been into Albemarle and Clarendon on the Cape Fear, but as population passed South from Albemarle, the county of Bath had been established, and in 1690 Clarendon county had ceased to exist. In December 1710 the Germans and Swiss landing at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent had founded the town of New Bern, though there was no incorporated town in the colony until later. The Germans were from Heidelberg and vicinity in the Palatinate and hence were called Palatines. The Swiss were from the canton of Bern and the combined Swiss and German settlers under DeGraffenreid and Louis Michel numbered six hundred and fifty. There were two

* A fac simile of this map is prefixed hereto.

other streams of white population, to-wit: the English on the north side of the Albemarle, who had gradually extended west of the Chowan, and comprised the bulk of the population. About half of these were Quakers and not available in war. Some of the Albemarle people had pushed south and were settled on the Roanoke and Tar and about the town of Bath. The third element was the French Huguenots who had come from Virginia in two distinct migrations in 1690 and 1707, the former settled on Pamlico and the latter on Neuse and Trent rivers, whence a few had wandered into what are now Carteret and Onslow counties. There was probably about seven thousand whites all told in the province in 1711. Excluding the Quakers there, was about 1,000 men able to bear arms. Such was the status and strength of the respective races. The rich country of the Pamlico had enticed settlers from north of the Albemarle, especially to the town of Bath which had been established by the French Huguenots from Virginia, in their first migration of 1690 in expectation of making it the commercial metropolis of the province by reason of the access to the ocean through Ocracoke inlet. At Bath, Gale, the Chief Justice of the province, and Knight, the Secretary, resided, and Governor Hyde spent much of his time there.

The Tuscaroras were the leaders in the movement for the slaughter of the whites, and their plans were prepared with skill and secrecy. They assumed the work of destruction of the settlers on the Roanoke, Tar and Pamlico rivers. The tribe of the latter name were to slaughter those on the lower Pamlico above Bath, while the Mara-

muskeets (or Matamuskeets) and Matchapungoes were to complete the work at Bath, and upon the settlers in that section. The Cotechneys, who lived in what is now Greene county, were to join the Cores, and together they were to effect the destruction of the settlers at New Bern and upon the Neuse and Trent rivers. The Tuscaroras calling to their aid the Meherrins and other small tribes above named north of Albemarle, were to harry the whites in that section.

A day was set for simultaneous action, to wit; on the day before the new moon in September 1711, which would occur on 23 September. The work of universal murder was therefore to begin on 22 September, a day which was long thereafter observed by the colony as a day of fasting, prayer and mourning, under an act of the General Assembly. The secret was kept profound as the grave, and the whites suspecting nothing slept in fatal security.

A few days before the appointed time an incident occurred, which, if known to the colonists at New Bern might have aroused them to take measures for their safety. Baron deGraffenreid, and Lawson, the Surveyor General, left New Bern in the former's boat to go up Neuse river to ascertain how far it was navigable and to inspect the lands on either side. About nightfall they landed at an Indian village called *Corutra*, intending to spend the night. Being soon surrounded by a large number of armed Indians, they attempted to return to their boat, but were taken captive and marched all night by their captors to another village some distance from the river and were delivered to its chief. The next day they were tried by a coun-

cil and interrogated as to their purposes. The Indians complained of Lawson as the man who had surveyed and sold their lands. After some vacillation, the negro servant and Lawson were put to death. The body of the latter was stuck full of lightwood splinters and he was burnt alive, the splinters being set on fire. DeGraffenreid was kept a close prisoner and no suspicion was aroused at New Bern by an absence which was expected to continue for an uncertain period.

On 21 September twelve hundred Tuscaroras and their six hundred allies divided into numerous detachments, began their march at all points. Scouts were sent forward among the whites to reconnoitre. About nightfall larger numbers appeared near the white settlements, but as they merely asked for food no alarm was excited. At dawn on the 22nd the war whoop was heard throughout the colony. The domesticated Indians in the homes of the whites answered the signal of those lurking in the woods and the massacre began. No age or sex was spared. The slaughter was indiscriminate and the wonder is any escaped. The torch was then applied and those who had hidden themselves were forced out and killed. As a sample, Chief Justice Gale, soon after the massacre tells this of the fate of one family: "The family of Neville was treated after this manner. The old man was found, after being shot dead, laid out on the floor, with a clean pillow under his head, his stockings turned over his shoes and his body covered with fine linen. His wife, after being murdered, was set upon her knees in the chimney corner and her hands raised up on a chair, as if at prayer. A son was laid out in the

yard, with a pillow under his head and a bunch of rosemary laid to his nose. At the next house the owner was shot and laid on his wife's grave." (Then follows accounts of unspeakable atrocities). * * * * * *

"In short their manner of butchery has been so various and unaccountable, that it would be beyond credit to relate them. This blow was so hotly followed by the hellish crew that we could not bury our dead; so that they were left for prey to the dogs and wolves, and vultures, whilst our care was to strengthen our garrisons to secure the living." One hundred and thirty were killed on the Roanoke alone, and sixty of the palatines on the outskirts of New Bern. The total loss of life was appalling throughout the province. The savages infuriated by the liquor they found, commenced a systematic man hunt, and for three days the carnival of blood continued. The smaller settlements and the isolated farms were all destroyed. North of the Albemarle the loss of life was small as the whites outnumbered their assailants in most places.

Governor Hyde saw at once the impossibility of raising near half as many men as there were Indian warriors, for besides the large number of whites slain there were the disaffected who had sided with Carey and Roach who were suspected to have instigated the massacre, and there were also the Quakers who composed so large a part of the population, and who were non-combatants. At the first onset Governor Hyde was not able to embody more than one hundred and sixty men. Many doubtless had gone to Virginia to carry the women and children to safety and many of Carey's faction had recently gone thither for their

own security. There was also no public funds to pay the troops that were raised. The confederacy of the Indians was so wide-spread and comprehensive that the Governor could get no allies from that source by appeals to tribal jealousies. He called upon the adjoining provinces for aid. Governor Spottswood, of Virginia, marched sixteen hundred militia to Nottoway town which prevented Indian attacks extending to that province, and probably to some extent overawed the Indians in North Carolina near the line as Gov. Spottswood's request for the liberation of Baron de-Graffenried was granted, after he had been kept a prisoner for five weeks, but owing to internal feuds the appropriation requested to support troops to be sent to the aid of North Carolina was not voted, and hence no assistance was received from Virginia.

DeGraffenreid's enlargement was based upon his treaty with the Indians that his Germans and Swiss at New-Bern should remain neutral in the war between the English and the Indians, and this probably saved that settlement from destruction. DeGraffenreid soon sold out to Col. Thos. Pollock his holdings for eight hundred pounds and put the Atlantic between himself and his late captors.

The legislature of South Carolina to whom Chief Justice Gale was sent to implore aid, promptly sent six hundred militia and three hundred and sixty Indians, mostly Yemassees, under Col. Barnwell, who with great expedition, traversed the wilderness then separating the settlements on the Neuse from the settled parts of South Carolina. The surviving population on the frontier lines were collected into temporary forts on the Chowan, Neuse and Pamlico,

and guarded by the militia. Food was brought from north of the Albemarle, as elsewhere nearly all the crops and provisions had been destroyed.

As soon as the South Carolina forces arrived they were joined by all the North Carolina militia not required to guard the forts. They advanced upon the Indians, who also collected into one body, fell back to a strong wooden breastwork, or palisade fort which they had erected on Neuse river about twenty miles above New Bern. Here Barnwell, with his combined forces made an attack upon them 28 Jan. 1712. The Indians having been reinforced, marched boldly out to give battle, but they were defeated with a loss of three hundred killed and one hundred taken prisoners, the number of wounded unknown. Those left upon the battle field were doubtless included among the slain. The survivors retreated into the fort and were at once surrounded. By pushing his parallels, Col. Louis Michel succeeded in placing a battery of two guns within eleven yards of the palisade, whereupon the Indians beat a parley and were allowed to surrender. Some three months after, the Council of State put on record their condemnation of Barnwell's conduct. The complaint seems to have been that he accepted the surrender of the Indians at a moment when he had them in his power and might have exterminated them, and further, that after the treaty he had allowed his men to fall upon some of their towns, in violation of the treaty, and carry off many as slaves to South Carolina. Barnwell himself was wounded and returned to Charleston together with his disabled men by water. His Indian allies, according to savage custom, left him in large

numbers immediately after the battle to mourn their fallen braves and sell their slaves and the diminution of his forces from this and other causes may have required him to refrain from exacting an unconditional surrender of the fort. The spot is known as Fort Barnwell to this day.

On 12 March 1712 the General Assembly met and voted 4,000 pounds to carry on the war. They engaged the Sapona Indians as allies and erected Fort Hyde on Core Sound to overawe the Core Indians, and garrisoned it with thirty men. They also erected Fort Reading on Tar river with a garrison of ten men. Application as before was made again for aid to the adjoining provinces, and as before the aid came from the South alone. There was great alarm over a rumor that the Five Nations of New York were to come down to join their Tuscarora brethren for the destruction of this province. A powerful epidemic of yellow fever also broke out and sadly diminished the number surviving from the massacre. Governor Hyde died of the yellow fever 8 Sept. 1712, and on 12 September the Council elected Col. Thomas Pollock President of the colony and Commander-in-Chief.

He took the government at a gloomy time. The colony was bankrupt and Carey's rebellion, the Indian massacre, the succeeding war and the yellow fever had so reduced the population that the whole available force under arms was 140 men. The whole province had to look to the country north of Albemarle Sound for food. Pollock acted with admirable skill. By Indian messengers and negotiations he kept the Five Nations quiet. He obtained an interview with Tom Blunt, chief among the Tuscaroras

and secured a treaty of neutrality with his part of that tribe and ultimately an agreement that he should capture and bring in Hancock, the most hostile of the chiefs. Governor Pollock also pacified the Quakers and secured their aid in provisioning the forces. He also obtained from South Carolina the dispatch of a force of one thousand Indians and fifty white men under Colonel James Moore. Virginia voted 3,500 pounds to aid North Carolina in carrying on the war, and 600 pounds to be used in the purchase of blankets and clothing for our troops. When Virginia asked however for a mortgage on the lands on the Roanoke as security for re-imbursement Pollock resolutely declined to give it on the ground that he was without authority to do so.

On 25 November 1712 President Pollock made a treaty with Blunt and five subordinate chiefs by which they were not only detached from the Confederacy, but they agreed to make war on the Cotechneys, Cores, Neuse, Bear river, Pamlico and Matchapungo Indians, and to slay all above fourteen years of age, and further, to return all property stolen from the English, and to relinquish all claims to lands south of Neuse river or below Cotechney and Bear Creeks on the north side of Pamlico river, with other stipulations and giving hostages.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, which the approach of Colonel Moore and his troops doubtless hastened those auxiliaries arrived. The other portions of the province being bare of food, Gov. Pollock requested Colonel Moore to march his troops into the territory north of the Albemarle. It took much address to prevent collision be-

tween the Indian allies under Moore and the whites of that section and to the great relief of the latter Moore marched his troops about the middle of January 1713 to Fort Reading, south of the Pamlico river. There they were detained by a fall of snow till 4 February.

The Indians had built a fort near where Snow Hill, the county seat of Greene, now stands, which they called *Nahucke*. Into this they retired under command of Hancock on Moore's approach. He laid seige to it 20 March. By a strange oversight no wells were provided in the fort, and on learning this Moore cut them off from the streams from which they were supplied. After having thus greatly distressed them, he took the fort by storm. A large number of Indians were slain and eight hundred were taken. Moore lost fifty-eight men, of whom thirty-six were Indians and eighty wounded, of whom only twenty-four were whites. The Indian allies, as in the previous expedition under Barnwell, having secured all the prisoners they could for slaves left for home save 180 only, who remained with him. The defeated Indians had another fort *Cahunke*, about 40 miles to the southwest, to which those who escaped fled, but taught by the loss of two forts, they did not trust to their palisades again and abandoned this fort before Col. Moore reached it. The greater part under Hancock, crossed the Roanoke higher up and joined their kindred in New York, whose designation was henceforward the Six Nations. Those Tuscaroras who did not choose to go North submitted and accepted whatever terms the whites laid upon them.

Tom Blunt, for his fidelity to the English, was made

king of all the Indians south of the Pamlico river, and thenceforward was known as *King Blunt*. The war was now about over. In April 1713 the Matchapungos made an inroad on Alligator river and killed some twenty whites. Col. Moore sent some of his Indians thither and no trouble has occurred from Indians in that quarter since that day. The only remaining tribe, the Cores, soon after sued for peace. The victory at Nahucke came just in time, as it was afterwards learned that the Five Nations were on the point of coming to the aid of the Tuscaroras in this province.

The war left the province depleted in population and bankrupt. To cure the lack of money, the Legislature issued bills for eight thousand pounds, which was the first paper money it had emitted. There was also the peculiarity that these bills were not promises to pay gold and silver, but were to pass as money *per se*.

The war having closed, Colonel Moore, who had only about one hundred of his one thousand Indians remaining with him returned by water to Charleston.

Not long after, in 1715 an Indian war burst out in South Carolina, an Indian Confederacy of all the tribes from the Cape Fear to Florida having been formed for the extermination of the whites in that province, doubtless by instigation of the Spanish. In this war, our former allies, the Yemassees were the most conspicuous tribe. Gov. Eden, who had then arrived, promptly called out our militia and sent both horse and foot under the command of Colonel Maurice Moore, to the aid of South Carolina, where they rendered efficient service.

The Matchapungoes and Cores in Hyde, hearing of the

South Carolina troubles and the march of our troops again broke out and murdered several whites at the more distant and unprotected settlements but they were promptly punished and suppressed. King Blunt and his faithful Indians were removed and settled on a beautiful reservation in Bertie county, known to this day as the *Indian Woods.* Later these Indians also joined their brethren of the Six Nations in New York, though the Indian title was not extinguished till a centnry later. A descendant of King Blunt having married into the royal Hawaian family the last sovereigns of Hawaii were lineal descendants of our North Carolina Indian chief.

Col. Louis Michel was the ancestor of the well known New Bern family which now spells its name Mitchell. Chief Justice Gale numbers among his descendants the Little family of Raleigh. Gov. Pollock's descendants are, many of them, buried in the cemetery at Raleigh, and among his living representatives is the Devereux family of this city

Space has not been given to the horrifying details of brutality perpetrated in the great Indian massacre. They can be gathered from the details given of savage outrages in other wars. The massacre of 22 Sept. 1711 was well planned, and embraced all the inhabited parts of the province except the more thickly settled portions north of the Albemarle. Had the Five Nations joined their Tuscarora brethren, as was twice imminent, the total destruction of the colony was within the bounds of probability. From this we were saved first by the efforts of Gov. Pollock and later by the victory at *Nahucke*·

THE END.

Battles of Revolution Fought in North Carolina.

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Whitsell's Mill,	March 6th, 1781
Guilford Court House,	March 15th, 1781
Hillsboro,	April 25th, 1781
Hillsboro,	Sept. 13th, 1781
Sudleys Mill, (Cane Creek,)	Sept. 13th, 1781

August 1902

The North Carolina Booklet.

Vol II No 4

GREAT EVENTS IN.....
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

Moravian Settlement in North Carolina.

—BY—
Rev. J. H. CLEWELL.

PRICE 10 CENTS. $1.00 THE YEAR.

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EDITORS:

MISS MARTHA HELEN HAYWOOD, MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD.

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

VOL. II. AUGUST 10, 1902. NO. 4.

Moravian Settlement in North Carolina.

BY

J. H. CLEWELL.

RALEIGH:
CAPITAL PRINTING COMPANY.
1902.

'Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

INTRODUCTION.

The literature concerning the Moravian Church in general is so extensive that it forms a library in itself. The information concerning the Moravian Church in North Carolina is contained in thousands of pages of valuable manuscripts preserved in two rooms of the Historical Building in Salem, N. C. These manuscripts, covering one hundred and fifty years, are of the utmost importance to the historian of North Carolina. Our story embraces the memorable visits of Governor Tryon to Wachovia in 1767 and 1771. Every story must have an introduction and a conclusion. We preface the narrative by a few items in regard to the Moravian Church in general, and we will conclude our monograph with a rapid glance at a few of the events in the subsequent development of this important colony in Western Carolina. For general and detailed information see "History of the Moravian Church," Hamilton, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. For a full account of one hundred and fifty years in our own State see "History of Wachovia in North Carolina," Clewell, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 365 pp., 32 maps and illustrations.

THE MORAVIAN CHURCH.

The Moravian Church is well known, and little known. Both statements are true. On the one hand to the student of church history the work of four and a half centuries, with the bright lights of noble work, and the dark shadows of persecutions, forms a grand picture. On the other hand there are many who scarcely know the name of the church. In what we say we will assume that to the general reader the facts of the Moravian Church history are not well known.

In the year 1415 the great reformer, John Huss, was burned at the stake. From the ranks of his followers came the little band which, in 1457 organized the " Unitas Fratrum, or "Unity of Brethren." The Moravian Church is thus the oldest Protestant denomination. The purity of their doctrine, the godliness of their lives, and the energy of their work caused the denomination to spread rapidly, in Bohemia and Moravia. From the latter country has come the name " Moravian Church, " though the official name of the denomination is " Unitas Fratrum. " Hundreds of churches were established, thousands of members were received from the high and the low of the land, and with the membership made up of learned professors in the Universities, the nobility and the wealthy, as well as those from the more humble walks of life, the Unitas Fratrum caused beautiful Moravia and Bohemia to flourish as it has never

done since the destruction of the church organization by persecution.

Then came the thirty years' war. General history relates how the cruel and bigoted Ferdinand crushed out the Protestant church of the Unitas Fratrum with fire and sword, with torture and persecution, by banishment and by death; the Bohemian-Moravian branch of the Unitas Fratrum suffered, till in 1627 its church of one hundred and fifty thousand souls ceased to exist as an organization. No more thrilling and terrible page of history exists than that which covers these years of sorrow and suffering.

We will not follow the weary years of the church in exile. The sorrowful life of the great Moravian Bishop, John Amos Comenius, will serve as a type of the church in these years. Bishop Comenius prophesied that the Moravian Church would not only be re-organized, but that it would be restored to its home land; the former prophecy was realized in 1727; the latter is being realized in a remarkable manner in our own day. The bishops carefully preserved and perpetuated the Episcopal succession, which through the Waldenses comes to the present day in unbroken succession from the apostles. In 1727 the church was renewed on the estates of the good Count Zinzendorf, in Saxony and the prophecy of many aged fathers of the denomination was fulfilled.

The membership of the renewed Moravian Church realized that the wonderful preservation carried with it the obligation to do some special work, and following the leading of Providence they entered upon the two great spheres of missionary effort and of education. In these the church

is best known in our day and time. So widespread around the world are its mission fields that it can be said of them, as it is said of the British flag, the sun never sets upon them. Its schools too are found in many parts of the world, and they always enjoy the confidence of the sections in which they are located.

THE MORAVIANS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

In the year 1752 a large tract of land was purchased in what is now Forsyth county. This tract was about fifteen miles long, and ten miles wide. It contained nearly one hundred thousand acres. The object of the purchase was to provide a home free from the persecutions which they experienced in some of the European lands. In addition to this they wished to establish a strong and prosperous colony from which enlarged missionary efforts could be made.

Full and complete records of the events that followed were made, and this history is preserved in the Archive House in Salem. Each event in itself furnishes material sufficient for the pen of the historian or novelist. The good Spangenberg and his surveying party nearly lost their lives in the mountain wilds north of the present towns of Morganton and Hickory; the first company of a dozen or more settlers journeyed laboriously through the forests of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, to their new North Carolina home. The first year was one of labor and toil with exposure, hardships and dangers. There were able men in the party, men who became known to the scattered settlers all about them as persons skilled in medicine, able in fi-

nancial matters, thrifty in the trades, and true and honest in their dealings. The best leaders in the Moravian Church at large were interested, and came to visit them, and advise with the little colony. Spangenberg, the wise theological writer, Boehler, (the spiritual friend of Wesley) Zeisberger, known as the apostle to the Indians, and many others.

The colony grew and prospered. Bethabara, established in 1753, was the first village, and is six miles north of the present Winston-Salem. A few years later (1759) Bethania was begun three miles northwest of the first settlement. Both of these were intended to be only villages. In 1766 the central town, Salem, was laid out, and more pretentious buildings erected. The administration officers were taken thither. The trades were varied and flourished. Within a few years a dozen or more enterprises were established which could not be called "factories" in the modern sense of the term, yet the amount of manufactured goods turned out by these "trades" brought customers from a distance of a hundred miles and more in every direction, and had wagon trains traveling to Charleston, S. C., and other towns.

The most trying event of the early years was the French and Indian war. A fort was erected at Bethabara, and many refugees from near and far fled to this fort after their homes had been destroyed, and many who were endangered came thither for protection. The yellow, musty manuscripts in the Archive House in Salem contain hundreds of pages describing the years 1753 to 1763, and if a future writer of "Indian Stories" arises within the Old North State and desires to use home material, he will find all that

can be desired in these same manuscripts. There are stories of sufferings and tortures; of terrors and horrors; of hair breadth escapes and merciless massacres; of men attending divine service with a trusty rifle upon the knee, ready for instant defence; of women and children wandering by night hither and thither through the forests, alarmed by the cry of the panther, but dreading the wild beast less than the merciless red man.

The days of the Indian war came to an end. The farming operations were enlarged, the old industries were strengthened and new trades started. The wagons of the Moravian colony went back and forth between Charleston, Cross Creek, Newbern and Hillsboro. It is not possible to give the number of inhabitants residing within the tract of Wachovia at the close of the Indian war, but it was doubtless five hundred or more.

TRYON'S FIRST VISIT, 1767.

Governor Tryon is a unique character in North Carolina history. His predecessor, Governor Dobbs, died in 1765. Tryon had been acting as Lieutenant-Governor before the death of Governor Dobbs. He was really a "royal Governor," for he established a miniature court where the elegance of the English court was imitated, and many of the evils. The ladies of the Governor's household were cultured, refined and popular, and they fascinated the lawgivers and legislators by the very atmosphere of the place, and this, more than anything else caused the wishes of the Governor to be carried out, often not wisely. To build his "man-

sion " and carry out his " court " plans, heavy taxes were imposed, and what was worse, every petty official copied the abuses of his royal master. A protest arose throughout the land, and gradually assumed the shape of the rebellion of the Regulators.

On the other hand Tryon was possessed of many qualities which endeared him to his people, and called forth their admiration. He was a brave man and a true soldier. He was genial and refined, though we know he could be cruel and relentless. Altogether he was possessed of such contradictory characteristics that the pleasant picture which appeared on the occasion of his visits to Wachovia was a natural result of one side of his nature, and the cruelty of the Hillsboro executions brought out the other side.

Naturally Governor Tryon desired to see this well-known and prosperous colony in Wachovia, and in 1767 news was received in Bethabara, (then the largest village) that he would visit them Friday, September 18. The roads over which he would pass had been repaired, and a carefully arranged plan was devised, with a view to make his stay as pleasant as possible. The Governor had with him Mrs. Tryon, the Counsellor, McKellock, three colonels, Fanning, Frohok and Banton, the Episcopal minister Micklejohn, from Hillsboro, and others. As the party drove into town they were greeted with music, for the village already boasted of its carefully drilled band.

The diary gives a detailed account of the manner in which the four days were spent, and the elaborate plan of entertainment challenges our admiration. A town or village of the present day would with difficulty surpass the

Moravians of ante-revolution days in according honors to the Chief Executive of the State.

A dinner was served in the public hall, after which the Governor in company with a number of gentlemen of the place, took a walk through the village, inspecting the various industries. He also examined the Constitution which governed the colony, and expressed himself as greatly pleased.

On the succeeding day Governor Tryon went to Bethania, three miles distant, and to Salem, six miles from Bethabara. He visited the large mill which was so important during the revolution; he rode across the great meadow and inspected the fields and orchards; finally he expressed his satisfaction by saying to the people that the colony had assumed such a degree of prosperity and importance that he recommended that they send a representative to the legislature to guard their interests in that body.

A number of books bearing upon the history of the church in various parts of the world were presented to the Governor and his good wife. Among them was a copy of the act of Parliament of England which acknowledged the Unitas Fratrum as an ancient Episcopal Church.

In order that the reader may have a glimpse of the delightful cordiality which existed between the visitors and the people of Wachovia, we give the following brief extract from the diary. This will show how carefully the entertainment was provided, and how cordially the visitors responded. We quote from "history of Wachovia in North Carolina" pp. 100, 101, which is an extract from the original diary:—

"Sunday, Sept. 20, 1767.—The Episcopal minister from Hillsboro preached from Hag. 2:6. The sermon of the Moravian minister was based on Gal. 5. The Episcopal minister then baptized the children of a number of members of his church who lived in the neighborhood of Wachovia. We had arranged for a quiet afternoon for our visitors, but Mrs. Tryon expressed a desire to play upon the organ, and as she played a number of the girls sang. This pleased her. She made the request of Graff to perform on the organ, and he did so. By this time the Governor became interested in the music, and came to the meeting hall from his room. An hour was pleasantly passed in this way. From the meeting hall Mrs. Tryon visited the room which specially belongs to the older girls, and she requested them to sing for her as they had done during the afternoon. While thus engaged, supper was announced, and the visitors seemed loath to have the little gathering broken up. Supper being over, a visit was paid to the home of the single men, (one of the largest and most important buildings in the village.) At the usual hour the Sabbath evening service was held, a portion of the exercises consisting of responsive singing. Governor and Mrs. Tryon were present, and manifested a devout interest, being specially pleased with the antiphonal singing. After the service Mrs. Tryon was presented with a copy of the 'Berlin Sermons,' preached by Count Zinzendorf. When the friends had gone to their rooms for the night, a number of the musicians gathered in front of the house and discoursed music as a pleasant way to express our 'good night.'"

As a result of this visit a large lot of goods were sent

from the shops and stores of Wachovia, to Brunswick on the Cape Fear. These goods had been ordered by the Governor. When the wagons arrived at their destination below Wilmington, the Governor was absent. His representatives were evidently neither fair nor liberal in their dealings with the men from the western part of the State. As a result, the effort to establish a trade with Brunswick and the lower Cape Fear section was not a success, and the trade of Wachovia was diverted to Charleston, S. C., and to Cross Creek, and other North Carolina towns.

We pass over the history of the intervening years between 1767 and 1771. The opposition of Tryon's minions galled the people beyond endnrance. The discontent began to crystallize. Enemies came together and formed groups. These groups came together and finally assumed the shadow of general organization. The object was the regulation of affairs so as to restore justice and to destroy oppression. Hence the members reeeived the well known name of "Regulators." Little is known of these organized companies. It is probable that the first step was the gathering together into bands of those who were under the ban of the law. To these were added later those who suffered unjustly from oppressions, and still later many men from the masses joined the Regulators.

The difficulty was the absence of wise organization, and the presence of vicious influences. The culminating act of folly was the selection of a miserable leader, one Herman Husbands by name. When he became the head of the organization it was at once lowered to the standard of mob rule, and the logical result of all their efforts was naked

anarchy. Had the Regulators been successful in defying Governor Tryon, the state of the country under Regulator rule would have been worse than under the oppression of Tryon. It is not our object to discuss the Regulators, but to understand the position taken by the Moravians the above statement is necessary. Some have described the Regulators as American patriots. This is an error. Many good men were in their ranks; they were opposing injustice and oppression; but they were using means which were worse than the evils they sought to cure. The patriots of the eastern part of the State repudiated them, many in the western part were opposed to them, and as their errors became more and more apparent, the Moravians of Wachovia firmly refused to espouse their cause. They were always treated kindly by the people of Wachovia, but they could not unite with them.

Passing over the intervening developments we find the forces of Governor Tryon in battle array over against the forces of the Regulators, at Alamance, some distance from the present site of Greensboro, and perhaps fifty miles from Wachovia. The story of this battle is to say the least "hazy." Tryon's official reports were garbled to gain certain ends, and to try to justify certain unjustifiable deeds. The traditions which have been preserved are, like all traditions, unreliable.

The straightforward record of this event, contained in the Moravian archives is of the highest value, since the writer made his record on the very days that the events took place; he was free from bias, was the enemy of neither the Regulators nor of Governor Tryon, and yet received

full accounts from the participants on both sides. Hence the account alluded to should play an important part in deciding the disputed points connected with the battle of Alamance, and the events which followed.

While the stories told by the refugees are most interesting and thrilling, we must pass them by with a brief mention, in order that we may come to the visit of Tryon. The battle was fought. Governor Tryon had troops well armed, well drilled, and he was an able leader. The band of Regulators over against him were unorganized, many were without arms, and though some fought bravely, many of them seemed to consider the entire situation as an interesting scene to study, rather than the eve of a battle. Thus they confronted each other at Alamance. At the sound of the artillery many fled or were shot down. Of course they could not successfully resist Tryon and his well drilled army. The latter drove them into the woods, then set fire to the leaves and undergrowth, and cruelly burned to death the poor wounded men. Some of the captives were executed at once, others were put in irons and carried with the Governor to Wachovia, whither he marched to hold a form of "court," and to receive the defeated Regulators. As he journeyed towards Salem he wreaked his vengeance by utterly destroying the houses and farms of the deluded Regulators.

In the meantime strange scenes were transpiring in Wachovia. Herman Husbands, the leader of the Regulators, deserted his people early in the battle. In person he went to Wachovia, and begged Dr. Bonn to go to the place where some of the wounded had been taken, in order to minister

to their needs. This of course could not be done. They did not know their visitor. Still the report was later circulated that he had been assisted in Wachovia, and it was proposed to send a division of cavalry from the camp of the Governor and utterly destroy the colony. Fortunately Tryon's visit in 1767 had made him acquainted with the people, and he advised against the hasty destruction of Wachovia. The Governor later expressed his great gratification at having suppressed the hot headed plan of destruction.

It is a thrilling account of fleeing men, terrorized by the dangers which surrounded them, and again the modern writer can find new and fresh material of unquestioned veracity, but which has been buried, lo, these many years. We pass these by, and find Governor Tryon again in Wachovia.

TRYON'S SECOND VISIT TO WACHOVIA, JUNE 4-9, 1771.

The second visit was different from the first. On the latter occasion he was surrounded by one hundred officers and officials, the leading men of the State. He had with him three thousand soldiers, who encamped near Bethabara, and satisfied their hunger with the ample provisions to be found in Wachovia. He also had a company of miserable prisoners chained together, two and two, who were confined in the large Bethabara barn, temporarily used as a prison.

Here the Governor set up his court. The proclamation granting conditional pardon to the defeated Regulators, is

still to be seen in the Salem Historical rooms. It has attached to it a great seal, as large as a small saucer. The Regulators came and took the oath. Some the Governor refused to pardon till they had been subjected to the later court martial. Three or four days were occupied in this way. The Wachovia records show that the period between the battle of Alamance and the executions at Hillsboro centered in Wachovia. The general history of the State has entirely lost sight of this important time and place, when the large body of Regulators met the Governor, took the oath and were pardoned. This again is an important link in history, which the old archives offer to the North Carolina historian.

Aside from the troubled nature of the visit, Tryon was happy to renew his friendship with the Moravians. He recognized their clear cut principle of obeying the existing powers, and by virtue of this friendship the Moravians were able to secure the release of some of the prisoners who would otherwise have been taken to Hillsboro in chains.

Again we will quote from the original diary to bring as vividly as possible before the reader one of the characteristics of the visit. "History of Wachovia in North Carolina," pp. 114–117.

"June 6, 1771.—We had a conference early this morning in order to discuss the question of sending a formal address to the Governor, to express our submission to the existing government, and we felt that the occasion of the King's birthday would be a fitting time. The Governor had not required us to take the oath of allegiance. Having decided to send the address, we consulted the Secreta-

ry, Mr. Edwards, and he referred the matter to the Governor. The latter was much pleased with the idea, and appointed as the time the close of the review of the troops.

"The celebration of the King's birthday was after the following manner :—

"At ten o'clock in the morning all the troops came out of their camp by companies. Our musicians furnished the music for the review. The soldiers marched to the field beyond the barn. The army was drilled for several hours, and the manoeuvres of the battle of Alamance were repeated. Volley after volley was fired, both from the musketry and the artillery until the houses in the village trembled and shook. This display of an army of 3,000 men, under the command of selected officers, was a grand and imposing sight. At two o'clock the manoeuvres were finished and the army marched back to its quarters.

"Meanwhile the Governor's tent had been erected in the public square. After returning from the drill ground he entered his tent with a number of his more distinguished officers. Then Marshall, Graff, Utley, and Bagge were received in the tent by the Governor and his staff, and Marshall read the formal address. At the mention of 'His Majesty, or 'His Excellency' they made a low obeisance.

"*To His Excellency, William Tryon, Esq., Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Province of North Carolina.*

"May it please your Excellency.

"Upon this most solemn occasion the celebration of the birthday of our most gracious King, the United Brethren in Wachovia inviolably attached to his Majesty's Govern-

ment, esteem themselves particularly favored by the presence of this representative of the Province in the person of your Excellency. With hearts full of the warmest sentiments of allegiance give us, leave, Sir, to lay before your Excellency our most fervent wishes to the Lord, by whom Princes rule, to pour down His choicest blessings upon the sacred person of our Sovereign, King George III and all his Royal Family, and to establish his kingdom to the latest posterity over the British Empire.

" 'May the troubles which have of late unhappily torn this Province, be the last that shall ever give uneasiness to the paternal breast of the best of Princes, and may this very day be the blessed period from which this Province shall date her future happiness through the good success of your Excellency's measures, as well as in the reward of the dangers your precious life was eminently exposed to in his Majesty's service. The kind protection this settlement has enjoyed during your Excellency's administration will ever leave the deepest impression of gratitude in the minds of the thankful people and combine their prayers with all well wishers of this Province for your Excellency's prosperity in your future government.'

" After this address had been communicated the Governor graciously read his answer, and then handed it to Marshall.

" '*To the Ministers and Congregations of the United Brethren:*

" 'GENTLEMEN:—I return thanks for your loyal and dutiful address. I have already had the pleasure to acquaint his Majesty of the zeal and attachment which his subjects

of Wachovia have on all occasions shown to his government and the laws of this Province.

"'I am obliged to you for your congratulations on the success with which it has pleased Almighty God to bless the army under my command, and cordially wish with you that it may lay the foundation of peace and stability of this country.

"'Your affectionate regard for my particular welfare I gratefully receive.

WM. TRYON.

Moravian Campe,
Bethabara, June 6, 1771.'

During the reading of these papers it was noticed that there was special attention and a sympathetic feeling displayed by the Governor. This was spoken of by officers later. The four who presented the address to the Governor were invited to dine with him, and all accepted the invitation except Utley, who was unable to remain. There were several toasts during the dinner, and to each of the toasts the response was a loud :—

"'Hurrah! Hurrah!'

Our musicians furnished music while the dinner was in progress. The last toast was

"'For the prosperity of the United Brethren in Wachovia!'

"The Governor was specially gracious to Marshall and placed him at his right hand during the meal. Next to Marshall sat Graff.

"The remainder of the day was spent in a happy and cheerful manner. As soon as it was dark there was a dis-

play of fireworks in front of the Governor's tent by order of his Excellency, and the homes around the square were brilliantly illuminated."

The Governor seemed loath to leave these friends, his servant declaring that it was as if the Governor were leaving home. But he did leave, with his army, and with his poor prisoners, and at Hillsboro his severity was such that the executions brought upon him the hatred and condemnation of the people of the State. Still we must admit that aside from the crimes and wrongs described, he was an able soldier and leader, and a polished gentleman with magnetic powers.

The history of Wachovia continued to develop in interest. There was not a movement of importance in the Southern campaign of the war of the American revolution but that Wachovia was directly or indirectly associated with it. The diaries are again filled with matters of thrilling interest. It is probable that a thousand or more people lived in Wachovia at that time.

Then came the close of the century, with unusual zeal and energy abroad. A notable event was the founding of

SALEM ACADEMY AND COLLEGE,

the famous school for girls and young women, known all over the United States, and which has educated ten thousand and more pupils.

Missionary work engaged the attention of the people, and trades and industries increased.

In the dark days of the civil war the Moravians sent

many soldiers to the front, and they were among the bravest of the brave North Carolina men.

Then came the advent of the new era. Winston, the twin sister of old Salem was founded, grew and flourished. The two towns, divided only by a street, have joined hands, and have formed the Twin City, with its 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants. The county of Forsyth, somewhat larger than the original Wachovia, and embracing it, now has taxable property listed at $10,000 000.

The growth of the religious work in Wachovia has been such that the congregations now number between five and six thousand members, and the Sunday-schools have a list of more than four thousand children. The Moravian church is only one of the many churches on the original sight of Wachovia, but in many respects it stands in a unique position. While its past history is great and beautiful, its present work is just as interesting, and we close this sketch with the closing words of "History of Wachovia."

" The past is sometimes emphasized at the expense of the present. This is an error. The true student will find that the day of enlarged work for the Master is now dawning for the Moravian Church of Wachovia. Its pure doctrine, its beautiful customs, its inspiring history, its successes in the past and in the present, its consecrated ministry, its devoted membership; all these things point forward to a bright and successful future which will not only bring bright jewels of success to the church here on earth, but will gain for it the smile of approval of the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords."

Pamphlet 1902
Mrs S E Moffitt

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Sept 1902

—BY—
PROF. W. C. ALLEN.

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VOL. II. SEPTEMBER 10, 1902. NO. 5.

WHIGS AND TORIES.

BY

PROF. W. C. ALLEN.

RALEIGH:
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1902.

'Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

These names were first used in England as terms of reproach. *Whig*, a good Scotch word, means a sour drink prepared from milk. In 1648 it was applied to the Covenanters of the south-west of Scotland on account of their sourness of features and demeanor. Afterwards the name was given to all who opposed the policy of the reigning house of Stuart. In 1680, it became the name of a great political party that endeavored to defeat the succession of a Roman Catholic prince to the English throne. Later, it became the party of the people in their struggle against the "Divine right" of kings.

Tory, on the other hand, is Irish origin. It is derived from the Celtic term *tora* or *toree*, which means "stand and deliver." It was applied first to those bands of outlaws that infested Ireland for some years after the rebellion in that country; was stamped out by Cromwell in 1650. Later, the name was given to the Roman Catholics in both England and Ireland, who supported the claims of James, Duke of York, to the throne of England. After a time it came to be the name of a powerful political organization which sustained the king in that irrepressible conflict in which the revolution of 1688 was one battle and that of 1775 another.

By a slight process of imagination one can readily discern the significance of those historical names. The Whigs, kept away from the counter of royal patronage,

had, in the opinion of their opponents, become soured; while the Tories, the tax assessors and collectors, could force the people to "stand and deliver" their goods at will. It is perfectly legitimate to conclude that these counter opinions formed the basis of that great struggle which began in England, and, after raging there for a hundred years, leaped the ocean and reached a conclusion on the shores of the New World.

In America this strife raged with all the bitterness of partisan rancor; and nowhere, perhaps, was it more intense than in North Carolina. Here, party spirit ran high, bringing about personal conflicts between neighbors, in which, later in the struggle, no quarter was asked or given.

The beginning of this strife in North Carolina may be placed at the time when the British ministry began to tax the colonies. Opposition to the Stamp Act in 1765 grew into the rising of the Regulators in 1771, reached high-water mark in the resolves of 1774, and became a revolution in 1775. This last fact was peculiar only to North Carolina, for in all other States the opposition to England was in the nature of a rebellion until the 4th of July, 1776. Until that time all of them claimed to be loyal subjects of the king, fighting for their rights as Englishmen under the English constitution.

North Carolina, however, boldly proclaimed, in 1775, that the American States had out-grown their English clothes, and that American liberty demanded an American government. With that understanding North Carolina sent her soldiers to the field, and maintained them until

victory and independence were achieved. That was not a rebellion. It was a revolution.

As to the number of Tories in North Carolina during the time of the revolution, there can, of course, be no accurate estimate given. It can be stated with accuracy that a large majority of the people of the State in 1776 were revolutionists. There were, however, a large minority that favored the rule of the king. These did all they could to uphold the waning power of royalty, but did not have the grace to yield when they saw the majority was against them. Hence the hated name of Tory. They were active in most parts of the State, and in some places out numbered the Whigs. "There were," however, "no Tories in Bute." Nor in Rocky River settlement in Cabarrus, and very few in Mecklenburg, Halifax and the Chowan country. No Tories were allowed to live in the Watauga settlement in what is now East Tennessee. They flourished in Cumberland, Bladen, Chatham, Orange, and the counties at the foot of the Blue Ridge. The number that were in arms against their country at different times may be roughly given at twelve thousand. North Carolina sent to the patriot army twenty-two thousand men.

In this estimate, North Carolina does not make a worse showing than other States. New York and New England were cursed by Tory influence; Georgia and South Carolina were throttled by their power; Virginia and Maryland struggled with them as with a night-mare; and Washington's army around Philadelphia in 1777–'78 came near starving because the Tory farmers of Pennsylvania refused to sell them supplies. It is, therefore, seen that the struggle

was a gigantic one, two-thirds of America being pitted against the other third with the whole power of the British government to strengthen and encourage the one and to weaken and destroy the other. No wonder the Whigs believed that Providence was on their side. Certainly this time he was not on the side of the heaviest battalions.

CAMPAIGN OF 1775-'76.

Three desperate attempts were made by the British to conquor North Carolina, each one resulting in failure. The first one was in accordance with a deep laid scheme concocted by John Stuart, the British agent among the Cherokees of Western North Carolina, and approved by Lord George Germaine, British Secretary of War for the colonies. It was a far-reaching scheme worthy of greater genius than Stuart afterwords displayed. The failure was no fault of the schemer.

Briefly stated the plan was this: Sir Henry Clinton with a British fleet and army was to appear, about the first of March, 1776, at the mouth of the Cape Fear river. The Tories of the State were to embody and march to the Cape Fear to join him. The Cherokees and Chickamaugas were to take the war-path, destroy the western settlements, and pour over the mountains to meet the British and Tories in their grand march of triumph from the seaboard. Thus the Whigs would be crushed in the mighty coils of the anaconda which John Stuart had made.

It was a magnificent scheme, and its execution was attempted with enterprise. Clinton cast anchor in the Cape

Fear about the last of February. He issued a proclamation of pardon to all North Carolinians, except Cornelius Harnett and Robert Howe, if they would take the oath of allegiance to king George. Howe and Harnett had sinned too grievously to secure pardon from this haughty Briton. The Tories assembled and began their "march to the sea" about the same time. West of the Blue Ridge the Indians fell upon the white settlements and spread terror before them.

At each point, however, the Whigs were completely victorious, and the stratagems of the schemer came to naught. The activity of the patriots during this trying time served them in good stead.

About the first of February, 1776, Donald McDonald, of Cumberland county, who had been commissioned by the British government to mobolize the Tories, erected the royal standard at Cross Creek, and invited all loyal subjects of the king to join him. McDonald was a Scotch Highlander, who had supported the claims of the young Pretender to the throne of England, and had afterwards sworn allegiance to king George. Some years before this time, he had come with a large Scotch colony to North Carolina and settled along the banks of the Cape Fear. He, with all his clansmen, were Tories, and a very respectable body of them they made. Because of their character for honesty and thrift they were afterwords treated with a great deal of consideration by the victorious Whigs.

The Highlanders obeyed the call of their leader and flocked to his standard. Tories from Orange, Chatham, Guilford, and Wilkes, also came in large numbers. By the

middle of February about two thousand had assembled with their broad swords. Amid pibroches and shouts of "long live king George," they began their march to the seaboard.

In the meantime the Whigs were not idle. Colonel James Moore, with a regiment of North Carolina continental troops and the Cumberland county militia, was watching the movements of the Tories. He had posted himself on Rocky River, where he supposed the Tories would pass, and fortified his position. Colonels Caswell and Lillington had assembled the militia of Craven and New Hanover counties and taken position at Moore's Creek. They were determined to prevent the junction of the British and Tories.

McDonald sent Moore a summons to surrender, which was politely declined. Instead of marching against Moore, however, the Tories left him on their right and hurried on toward Wilmington. They were surprised, on reaching the bridge at Moore's Creek, to find it torn up and the Whigs in considerable number posted on the other side. But this was the way to Wilmington and they must cross.

"Lay down your arms and ask pardon of king George," was the haughty summons of the Tory leader to Colonel Caswell; but that patriot refused and declared that he would dispute every inch of the ground. McDonald was wroth and prepared to attack the Whigs next day.

Early on the morning of February 27, the Tories advanced to the creek and began to cross. In tearing up the bridge the Whigs had removed the planks and left the girders which stretched from bank to bank. Upon these

the Tories began to make their way over. Caswell and the Whigs opened upon the first comers a destructive fire. McLeod and Campbell, who were leading the attack, were shot down before gaining the level land of the other side. The men who followed them were either shot down or taken prisoners. No one could stand the murderous fire of the Whigs.

Seeing the disaster of their comrades the Tories on the other side began to hesitate. Caswell saw this, and ordered the Whigs to make a counter charge across the creek. This was done with bravery and dispatch. The Tories were seized with panic and began to flee. In their flight they threw away their arms in a vain attempt to get out of the presence of the Whigs. The patriots pursued and killed hundreds of them in the woods and swamps. Eight hundred prisoners were taken, among them Donald McDonald, Allan McDonald, husband of the celebrated Flora McDonald, and others of note. Fifteen hundred stands of arms fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Whigs lost but one man.

This was a great and glorious victory. The Tories that escaped fled to their homes and remained inactive for some years. Clinton was effectually baffled; and, after remaining in the Cape Fear until the last of May, during which time he ingloriously burned Gen. Robert Howe's home in Brumswick county, he weighed anchor and sailed to Charleston S. C., where he was again baffled.

Thus was North Carolina saved from British invasion that year.

Across the mountains, the Indians were endeavoring to

carry out their part of the programme. Oconostata, the famous chief of the Cherokees and Dragging Canoe, the cruel Sachem of the Chickamaugas, marshalled their braves and fell upon the settlements of Watauga with all the horrors of Indian cruelty. The back-woods men, however, gathered themselves together, and, under the leadership of Sevier, Shelby, and Robertson met the Indians in a desperate encounter and routed them with tremendous loss. About the same time General Rutherford was sent over the mountains with eight hundred men to the assistance of the Watauga patriots. He descended upon the hunting grounds of the red men, laid waste their country with fire and sword, and chased the worriors to the mountain fastnesses. In his humiliation and distress Oconostata asked for peace and a generous foe granted it.

Thus was the great anaconda scotched, but not killed. By the enterprise and bravery of the Whigs the plan was every where frustrated, and John Stuart was put to his wits to formulate another.

During this time numerous collisions took place between the patriots and the Tories in different parts of the State, in consequence of the latter's attempt to embody and join the British. In Rowan the Whigs organized early in 1775, and appointed committees to watch suspected Tories and report any doubtful maneuvers of theirs to the Committee of Safety. All persons suspected of friendly feelings toward the king were arrested, brought before the Committee, and made to swear allegiance to the State of North Carolina and to the congress of the colonies.

In the forks of the Yadkin, then a part of Rowan, the

Whigs and Tories were very nearly evenly matched. A military company had been in existence there for some years with Samuel Bryan as Captain and Richmond Pearson as lieutenant. Bryan was a Tory and Pearson a Whig. After the beginning of the war there was friction in this company. The Whigs wanted the company to volunteer for the service of their country. The Tory members opposed the proposition. A difficulty arose between Bryan and Pearson which threatened to come to blows. Bryan ordered Pearson under arrest, but this was resisted by the Whigs. It looked for a time as if the guns of the company would be turned upon one another. Finally it was agreed that Pearson and Bryan, on a day fixed, should settle the matter by a fair fist fight, and who ever was victorious to him the company should yield obedience. The parties met at the time and place appointed, and the lieutenant was the victor. Thus the company was saved to the side of the Whigs, while Bryan went farther up the river and raised another company of Tories. This incident shows what trivial circumstances sometimes influenced sentiment in in those days.

In the North-western counties of the State, Stokes, Surry, Wilkes, and Watauga, a most cruel partisan warfare was raging. The Tories seemed determined to force those counties to remain faithful to the king, while the Whigs, led by Colonels Benj. Cleveland, Joseph Winston, William Lenoir, James and John Martin, and Joseph Williams, were equally bold in their determination to put down the Tory influence. The conflict was a long and bloody one, and finally resulted in the expulsion of the greater part of the

Tories, who fled to the Indians of East Tennessee or to the British in South Carolina.

The real hero of all the North-western counties was Col. Benj. Cleveland, who lived in Wilkes county. He hated the very name of Tory and couldn't bear the sight of one. He met them in many conflicts, and would rarely ever allow his men to take any prisoners. Whenever a prisoner was brought before him he would order him hanged, for he looked upon the Tories as murderers and incendiaries.

On one occasion Colonel Cleveland went alone to New River on a matter of personal business, and was there taken prisoner by a band of Tories. They took him to the woods and ordered him to write passes through his lines for them. Cleveland was an indifferent pensman, but he pretended to be complying with the order. He felt sure that they were going to hang him, but he meant to delay that as long as possible. So he fumbled with his pen for a good while anxiously hoping that some of his men would come upon the scene. Sure enough Capt. Robert Cleveland, his brother, with a body of Whigs, came dashing upon them. Colonel Cleveland slid down behind the log he was using as a writing desk to escape the bullets that began to fly, and the Tories fled. Some weeks after that, in a skirmish, Cleveland captured the same band that had captured him. Forthwith he had their leaders hanged. This occurred near Wilkesboro.

On another occasion a notorious Tory assassin was captured and brought before Cleveland. The criminal was promptly sentenced to death. There being some delay in leading the culprit to execution, Cleveland impatiently

said: "Waste no time, swing him off quick." Whereupon the Tory turned coolly upon him and said: "You needn't be in such a d——d hurry about it, Colonel."

That retort arrested the attention of Cleveland, and he ordered the man released. Then the Tory with much feeling said: "Well old fellow, you have conquered me. Forever after this I'll fight on your side." He kept his word and was afterword one of the heroes of King's Mountains.

So it turned out that the scheme for the conquest of North Carolina, in 1776, failed at every point. The Tories were held in check and the Whigs were triumphant.

CAMPAIGN OF 1779-1780.

For about three years North Carolina virtually had peace within her borders. The war was being fought out in the North. But when Burgoyne was captured at Saratoga, and Clinton beaten at Mammouth, the tide of war began again to roll southward.

Another tremendous scheme for the conquest of North Carolina and the South was formulated. This was more far-reaching than the other, because it contemplated not only North Carolina, but South Carolina and Georgia as well. This time the British were to make a landing in Georgia, capture Savannah, disperse the Whig forces, turn the State government over into the hands of the Tories, march into South Carolina, do the same thing in that State, and then advance into North Carolina. This was to be the first act in the great drama. Meanwhile the Tories were to rise everywhere, and the Indians of the frontier were to begin their work of death and destruction.

The first part of the programme was carried out to the letter. Georgia and South Carolina were quickly overrun by the British and Tories, the patriot forces dispersed, and the King's government re-established. Flushed with victory the British army, about the first of June 1780, advanced toward the North Carolina line. They expected to meet with no resistence, for about fifteen hundred of the North Carolina troops had been captured and held as prisoners at Charleston, and Colonel Buford's command, the last organized Whig force in the South, had been cut to pieces by Tarleton a few days before at Waxhaw. Expecting therefore, an easy victory Tarleton and his dragoons marched toward Charlotte.

At the same time the Tories began to rise. The successes of the British had made them bold. From the counties of the centre and the west they began to march toward the south to meet the oncoming Briton. Camps of rendezvous were stationed at Calson's Mill, Ramseur's Mill, and the forks of the Yadkin, where the loyalists were to assemble. Thousands gathered at those points ready to join the British and bring war and desolation upon their country.

But North Carolina was not crouching at the feet of the conqueror. She had lost, it is true, all of her regular troops at Charleston in May, but the militia was still active and vigilant. General Caswell was in command of the eastern division and General Rutherford of the western. These two officers were efficient in maintaining and recruiting their forces. Besides, there were two officers of the regular army who had escaped the disaster at Charleston.

These were Colonels William R. Davie and William L. Davidson. Davie had been desperately wounded at the battle of Stono and was home on a furlough. Davidson's command was hurrying to the relief of Charleston and failed to reach there in time. These two men thus Providentially saved to the State were towers of strength at this time.

Rutherford, about the first of June, issued a call for all patriots to assemble at Charlotte for the protection of the State. Nine hundred brave men obeyed the call and assembled there on the third of June. Tarleton heard of this and turned back toward Charleston. Rutherford organized the militia into companies of minute men and dismissed them with orders to re-assemble at a minutes notice.

In a few days it was learned that Lord Rawdon, with a large British force, was advancing toward Charlotte, and that the Tories were assembling in large numbers at Ramseur's Mill, Calson's Mill, and the forks of the Yadkin. It was a time of great fear and excitement in the State. To meet this great danger General Rutherford called for the minute men to assemble at McRee's plantation on the 12th of June. Nearly one thousand responded to the call, and these were divided into three corps. Colonel Davie was given the command of the cavalry. The light infantry consisting of three hundred picked men was assigned to Colonel Davidson. General Rutherford assumed immediate command of the remainder. The three commands moved in concert to meet Rawdon. That officer, however, did not accept the challenge, but retreated to Camden to await the coming of Cornwallis.

Rutherford then resolved to attack and disperse the Tories. Accordingly he dispatched Colonel Francis Locke and Major David Wilson with a small force, with instructions to increase it by new levies, to watch the movements of the Tories at Ramseur's, and, if possible, disperse them. These were joined on the way by Colonels Joseph McDowell and Hugh Brevard with small forces. Other recruits were added until the little army amounted to four hundred men.

Colonel John Moore and Major Nicholas Welch, two notorious Tories, had assembled thirteen hundred men at Ramseurs. They were ready to march to the aid of the British whenever they should cross the border.

Locke moved with his force against them, and arrived in sixteen miles of the Tory Camp on the 19th of June. In a council of war held that night it was decided that the Whigs should march during the night and fall upon the Tories at sunrise. This was a bold decision, for it was well known that the Tories outnumbered the patriots three to one. Nothing daunted, however, the brave little band made the attack, and, after a stubborn conflict, routed the Tory regiment and scattered them to the four winds. Colonel Moore with about sixty-five of them found his way to the British camp, but the others were killed, captured, or dispersed beyond the chance of re-assembling. It was a brilliant victory and checked the Tories in that part of the State.

Rutherford, Davie, and Davidson with their commands arrived upon the field about two hours after the battle had ended. They assisted in burying the dead, administering

to the wounded, and securing the prisoners. Then these patriots turned their attention to the other Tory bands that were embodying. Rutherford marched to the Yadkin for the purpose of striking the Tories a blow in that quarter. Colonel Samuel Bryan, however, who was commander of the Tories in that locality, did not wait for Rutherford's approach, but broke up his regiment into small divisions, and in that way escaped to South Carolina.

Davidson marched against the Loyalists at Calson's Mill. He attacked them with enthusiasm and drove them from their position, but received a dangerous wound himself from which he was two months in recovering.

Davie was dispatched to the Waxhaw settlement to intercept Bryan, if possible, and bring him to action. There he learned that about eight hundred North Carolina Tories had joined the British at Hanging Rock, S. C. He joined General Sumter and the two planned for a concerted attack upon that place, which was done with spirit and success. It so happened that, in the battle, Davie's command was pitted against Bryan's, North Carolinians against North Carolinians. Davie charged upon the Tory lines with all the enthusiasm of certain victory. The Loyalists were routed, and driven from the field with tremendous loss. The British regulars, however, stood their ground, and Sumter withdrew his force. Davie then returned to the State with his command flushed with victory.

It had been a short but glorious campaign. The Tories had beed beaten everywhere, and North Carolina seemed safe from British invasion. But an evil day came. General Gates was sent to North Carolina to take charge of the

Southern army. He assumed command about the first of August, and without waiting to discipline the troops or to gain recruits he marched into South Carolina to give battle to Cornwallis. That officer was anxious for a trial of skill with the hero of Saratoga. The two armies met near Camden and a bloody battle was fought, in which Gates was ignominiously defeated and his entire army routed and dispersed. Thus it was that North Carolina a second time lost the flower of her soldiery. Rutherford was captured with a large part of his command, and hundreds of his best men lay dead upon the field; and so the State was again opened to the invasion of the enemy.

Cornwallis remained at Camden until the first of September. He then began to march upon Charlotte. There was no force to oppose him except Colonel Davie's dragoons, who had not been in the battle of Camden. These annoyed the British advance in every possible way. Whenever a British foraging party left the main army, Davie and his dragoons would fall upon them like a thunderbolt and either destroy them or put them to flight. At Charlotte, Davie held the whole British army at bay, and repulsed three attacks. He was however, obliged finally to retreat.

Cornwallis established his headquarters at Charlotte on the 26th of September, and waited to hear the result of the Tory uprising in the western part of the State. Colonel Ferguson with a small force of British regulars had been sent to the foot of the mountains to arouse the Tories and enlist them in the service of England. He advanced to Gilbert Town in Rutherford county and issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens to take the oath of alleg-

iance to England, and to take up arms against their countrymen. About twelve hundred joined him.

Meanwhile the Whigs were not idle. McDowell, Shelby, Sevier, Cleveland, and Campbell gathered their forces together in a great meeting at Sycamore Shoals, and marched through the defiles of the mountains in search of Ferguson. That officer heard of the gathering storm and fled before it. He retreated to Kings Mountain and there fortified himself. The over mountain men followed and attacked him in his stronghold. It was a hotly contested battle, but resulted in the complete success of the Whigs and the utter defeat and destruction of the Tories. Ferguson was killed and his command broken up, all of them being either killed or captured. This was a crushing blow to the Tories, from which they did not recover. They made no further risings in the western counties.

Cornwallis heard of the battle with astonishment. He broke up his camp at Charlotte, and hastily retreated to Winnsboro, S. C. And so North Carolina was again rescued from the clutches of the enemy, and this campaign was at an end.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781.

The last and greatest attempt to conquer the State was made in 1781. In this year two simultaneous invasions were made from different directions, one from South Carolina by the way of Lincoln county under Lord Cornwallis, and the other by the way of the sea under Major Craig. It was about the last of January that Cornwallis came into the State in hot pursuit of General Morgan, who had just won

a glorious victory over Tarleton at the Cowpens. At the same time Major Craig landed a force on the Cape Fear and captured Wilmington. His object was to hold that city as a base of operations whence he would arm the Tories and turn loose the dogs of war upon the fairest portion of the State.

Greene's retreat before Cornwallis from the Catawba to the Dan, while it was a masterly stroke of war, was construed by the Tory sympathizers as being an indication of the waning power of the patriots. The Loyalists, therefore, began to rise in all parts of the State where British influence was felt. When Cornwallis unfurled the standard of the king at Hillsboro in February, hundreds of Tories joined him; and hundreds more collected themselves into companies and regiments ready to join whenever they should be needed. The country between the Yadkin and the Neuse rivers was filled with them.

About four hundred of them assembled in Alamance county under Colonel John Pyle. Cornwallis sent Tarleton into that county with a small force to enroll them and lead them to Hillsboro. Green had sent "Light-Horse Harry Lee" and General Andrew Pickens to the same locality to hold the Tories in subjection. As good luck would have it Lee and Pickens came up with Pyle before Tarleton did. Pyle, not dreaming that any patriots were near, allowed Lee to bring his force up within ten paces of him. Thinking that Lee was Tarleton, the Tory leader was about to make over his command to him, when Lee ordered him to surrender. Instantly Pyle saw his mistake and sounded a retreat, but he was too late. He with ninety of

his men were shot down in less than five minutes, and the rest scattered in every direction. That was the breaking up of Pyle's command, and Tarleton, when he heard of it, hastened back to Hillsboro without his game. Soon after that the battle of Guilford Court House was fought, and Cornwallis was forced to retire to Wilmington, which was in the hands of Craig; and later on to Yorktown.

Major Craig was an energetic but cruel officer. Soon after he reached Wilmington in February, 1781, he invited all Tories to repair to the standard of the king. He threw into prison two distinguished patriots of Wilmington, Cornelius Harnett and General John Ashe, who after lingering for a while died just as the dawn of American independence began to break.

In response to the invitation of Craig, David Fanning, a notorious bandit of Chatham county, went to Wilmington and enlisted in the British service. He was at once appointed Colonel of the loyal militia, given a British uniform, and sent back to the middle section of the State to embody the Tories and terrorize the Whig inhabitants. Just before that time the Whig forces under Colonel Thomas Wade, of Anson, had been defeated by the Scotch Highlanders at Piney Bottom, near Cross Creek. As a consequence the Whigs were drawn out of that part of the State and took refuge in Duplin and Wayne counties.

Fanning became a terror to the Whigs of Chatham and Orange counties. On the 16th of July he rode into Chatham Court House and captured a Court Martial that was in session and hurried them off to Wilmington. His next exploit was an attack upon the house of Colonel Philip

Alston, one of the patriots who had beaten him in some of his expeditions. He succeeded in capturing the house and all the inmates. Later, he totally defeated Colonel Wade and six hundred Whigs at McFall's Mill. In September six hundred Tories under Fanning and McNeil captured Hillsboro, and carried off Governor Burke as a prisoner.

On the next day after the capture of Hillsboro, as the Tories with their booty were making their way to Wilmington, they found a force of three hundred Whigs in their way at Cane Creek. With his usual dash and enterprise Fanning led the attack and soon broke the line of the Whigs. Some of them, however, under Major Robert Mebane stood their ground and beat back every attack of the enemy. Finally, after a hotly contested battle, the Whigs were compelled to retreat and yield the field to the Tories, who continued toward Wilmington.

So far the Tories under Fanning had been entirely successful. The Whigs had been beaten in every conflict. They had been driven from their homes, and many of them were in exile in Sampson, Duplin, and Wayne counties, having gone there from Bladen and Chatham.

About the middle of September, sixty of these exiles in Duplin organized themselves into a company and resolved to return to their homes in Bladen. Colonel Thomas Brown was chosen leader. They marched to the Cape Fear, opposite Elizabethtown, crossed in the darkness of the night, and made a determined attack upon the Tories under Slingsby stationed at that place. Brown's plan of attack was masterly, succeeding in so deceiving the enemy that they thought themselves attacked by a very large force.

As a consequence they fled with precipitation, leaving the sixty Whigs as masters of the field. This easy victory broke the power of the Tories in that county, and turned the tide of success against them in the State.

General Rutherford, who had been taken prisoner at Camden in August 1780, after a year's confinement, was exchanged, and returned to North Carolina in September 1781. He at once raised a command of fourteen hundred men for the purpose of driving Craig and his bandits from the State. Early in October this gallant command set out from Mecklenburg for the Cape Fear country intending to assault and capture Wilmington. On the 15th of October they came up with a Tory force at Rockfish Creek, and routed them with loss. In a few days they again encountered the Loyalists at Raft Swamp, where the Tories were again defeated and retreated to Wilmington.

Rutherford then marched toward that city, and began to prepare for an assault. Before he got in position to make an attack, he received intelligence that Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown a few days before. The next day he led out his force for the attack, but there was no need of it, for Craig had abandoned the town, and was at that time sailing down the river with all his forces. Rutherford's army marched into the town in triumph. The last vestage of British power had vanished from the State.

READJUSTMENTS.

After the surrender of Cornwallis many of the Tories left the State. Fanning and his minions fled to Canada. Bryan returned to his home in the forks of the Yadkin, and was

arrested on the charge of treason. Colonel Davie, who had often crossed swords with Bryan on the battlefield defended him and secured his release. The Highlanders of the Cape Fear sections accepted the result of the struggle in good faith, and laid down the sword for the pursuits of peace. The murderers and incendiaries among the Tories were not allowed to remain, but were driven out to make place for better citizens. Now, the descendants of both sides can say, "God bless North Carolina.

Battles of Revolution Fought in North Carolina.

Moores Creek Bridge,	Feb'y 27th, 1776
Ramsour's Mill,	June 20th, 1780
Pacolet River,	July 14th, 1780
Earles Ford,	July 18th, 1780
Cane Creek,	Sept. 12th, 1780
Wahab's Plantation on The Waxhaws.	Sept. 21st, 1780
Charlotte	Sept. 26th, 1780
Wilmington,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Cowans Ford,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Torrence Tavern,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Shallow Ford	Feb'y 6th, 1781
Bruce's Cross Roads,	Feb'y 12th, 1781
Haw River,	Feb'y 25th, 1781
Clapp's Mill	March 2nd, 1781
Whitsell's Mill,	March 6th, 1781
Guilford Court House,	March 15th, 1781
Hillsboro,	April 25th. 1781
Hillsboro,	Sept. 13th, 1781
Sudleys Mill, (Cane Creek.)	Sept. 13th, 1781

Compiled by Mrs E. E. Moffitt
1902

The North Carolina Booklet.

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The Revolutionary Congresses of North Carolina.

BY

THOMAS M. PITTMAN.

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1902.

'Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

THE REVOLUTIONARY CONGRESSES OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The seeds of the Revolution in North Carolina were planted in the very beginning of the Colony. The princely gratitude of Charles II towards the Duke of Albemarle and other favorites was expressed in the Carolina Charter. He granted them a rich and extensive territory, and a larger measure of popular rights than was common to Englishmen at home. England had just emerged from the great Civil War, and men of the Commonwealth were in constant dread of the King's displeasure. The Lord's Proprietors, fully alive to this situation, offered inducements of large civil and religious liberty to such as should settle in Carolina, with the result that Albemarle was quickly occupied and a government set up.

The men who fought under Cromwell and made the Commonwealth were not weaklings. It may be that these settlers were not actual followers of Cromwell in war, but they were of the same class and spirit. Tradition asserts that under the name of Crowell members of Cromwell's own family settled in North Carolina and that their descendents were represented in the revolutionary movements in this State.

From the beginning the settlers asserted their rights under the charter, contending that they were as fixed and inviolable as land titles acquired by like authority. When the Lords Proprietors yielded up the colony to the crown they still insisted that their rights were not affected; they

had acquired them lawfully by a grant which was sacred under the British Constitution. The denial of their claim furnished the third and final revolutionary element. Given the Carolina Charter, the Carolina settlers and the claim of royal prerogative adverse to the charter and we have a conjunction of all the elements of a revolution, only waiting the fulness of time when a spark shall set all aflame.

Local disturbances marked the virile spirit of the colonists. Obnoxious Governors were deposed, practical nullification of distasteful laws ante-dated by many decades South Carolina's famous effort, and actual outbreaks of violence were not unknown. The war of the Regulation was among the most notable of the latter, and so shortly preceded the Revolution as to constitute a most significant introduction to that great movement. During Governor Tryon's administration the Regulators were organized in North Carolina pretty much as they already existed in South Carolina and elsewhere. Their efforts to correct certain official irregularities by rather irregular methods led to the Battle of Alamance and the correction of their own irregularities, while those of the officials were left untouched. That event has been variously estimated according to the point of view of different writers. At any rate it was significant of the temper existing in a large portion of the Province. Only six years earlier, during the same administration, the Proud Spirits of the Cape Fear had brought humiliation to the Governor's soul by forcibly preventing the operation of the Stamp Act in North Carolina. These were but local manifestations, but they were repeated in different forms throughout the Colony. Events

as if endowed with life and prescience now pressed on in quick succession, gave to the people a sense of their unity and strength and hastened the inevitable conflict.

The grievances were not always the same in different localities, and this gave rise to misunderstandings, which in one case at least, proved a costly blunder to the Americans. The more opulent and thickly settled communities near the coast did not experience the annoyances that called the Regulators into being, and failed to recognize the Spirit of Independence in the alleged turbulence of their conduct. The coast men gave assistance to the Governor in suppressing their demonstrations and forcing them into submission, and into an oath of allegiance to the British Crown which they held to be binding upon their consciences. When the Revolution broke out these people remained loyal, and their communities were Tory strongholds where civil war raged with all the bitterness of internecine strife.

Governor Martin found his Carolinians even less tractable than had his predecessors. The Assembly repeatedly passed a court and attachment law to which he refused assent, with the result that the Colony was for years without a Superior Court. It also asserted that the taxes levied to redeem the paper currency of the Colony had been sufficient for that purpose, and the council refusing to join in the repeal of the law authorizing such taxes, the Assembly directed the collectors to desist from their further collection and undertook to indemnify them against harm for so doing. For this, Governor Martin indignantly dissolved the Assembly on March 30, 1774.

It is at this point we have the suggestion of a Provincial

Congress. A letter from Samuel Johnston to William Hooper, dated April 5, 1774, is in part as follows: "Colonel Harvey and myself lodged last night with Colonel Buncombe. Colonel Harvey said during the night that Mr. Biggleston told him that the Governor did not intend to convene another Assembly until he saw some chance of a better one than the last; and that he told the Secretary that then the people would convene one themselves. He was in a violent mood, and declared he was for assembling a convention independent of the Governor and urged us to cooperate with him. . . . . He says he will lead the way and will issue hand-bills under his own name. . . . . I do not know what better can be done. . . . . Colonel Harvey said he had mentioned the matter to Willie Jones the day before, and that he thought well of it, and promised to exert himself in its favor. I beg your friendly counsel and advice on the subject, and hope you will speak of it to Mr. Harnett and Colonel Ashe or any other such men." A little later, the 26th of the same month, Hooper wrote James Iredell, brother-in law of Johnston: "With you I anticipate the important share which the Colonies must soon have in regulating the political balance. They are striding fast to independence, and ere long will build an empire upon the ruins of Great Britain." On July 14th, the spark had kindled and James Reed, the missionary, wrote home to the Secretary: "All America is in a most violent flame."

That violent flame was not confined to North Carolina, but raged in all the Colonies, kindled largely by four acts of Parliament relating to Massachusetts: (1) Closing

the Port of Boston until compensation should be made to the India Company for their tea; (2) Vacating the Charter of Massachusetts Bay; (3) Authorizing the Governor in case of indictment preferred against any officer of the crown, to suspend the proceedings against him in America and send him home for trial; (4) Quartering soldiers in the Colony. If the principle held good no Colony was safe. Iredell wrote: "The arrival of all these thundering regulations (which very quickly succeeded one another) caused the greatest alarm in America. Here was a full avowal of tyrany in its most frightful form. We did not view the storm merely at a distance; it was almost at our very door. These measures, affecting one Colony only, made no difference in the general indignation they caused. They were all interested in the principle. Their rights were nearly the same; an invasion of one was equivalent to a declaration of war against the rest. Heaven had placed them in the neighborhood of each other, as it were, for their mutual defence; such an union was absolutely necessary for their safety; singly they might be easily crushed; united—."

William Hooper was a native of Boston and a graduate of Harvard. He had studied in the office of James Otis, imbibing at once law and patriotism from the same master. He had been ten years in North Carolina, and had become one of the inner circle of the splendid body of Cape Fear men. The enactments against Massachusetts were assaults upon his home and kindred. On July 21, 1774, he presided over a meeting at Wilmington, which appointed a Committee of Correspondence and called a Provincial Congress to meet at Johnston Court House, August 20th, "to debate

upon the present alarming state of British America, and in concert with other Colonies to adopt and prosecute such measures as will most effectually avert the miseries which threaten us." It also proposed a Continental Congress to be held in Philadelphia on September 20th, "that such regulations may then be made as will tend most effectually to produce an alteration in the British policy and to bring about a change honorable and beneficial to all America."

The call met with a hearty response. The freeholders of Johnston, Pitt, Anson, Craven and other counties, and of New Bern, Halifax and other towns met and adopted resolutions warmly endorsing the movements and expressing their views of the situation. Those of Rowan give a fair exhibit of the prevailing spirit. First declaring loyalty to the British Crown, they proceed in part as follows:

"That the right to impose Taxes or Duties to be paid by the inhabitants within this Province for any purpose whatsoever is peculiar and essential to the General Assembly in whom the legislative authority of the Colony is invested.

"That any attempt to impose such Taxes or Duties by any other is an Arbitrary Exertion of Power, and an infringement of the Constitutional Rights and Liberties of the Colonies.

"That the late cruel and Sanguinary Acts of Parlaiment to be executed by military force and ships of war upon our Sister Colony of the Massachusetts Bay and town of Boston, is a strong evidence of the corrupt Enfluence obtained by the British ministry in Parliament and a convincing Proof of their fixed Intention to deprive the Colonies of their Constitutional Rights and Liberties.

"That it is the Duty and Interest of all the American Colonies firmly to unite in an indissoluble union and association to oppose by every just and proper means the infringement of their common Rights and Privileges."

Of the Granville resolutions we note two:

"That by the civil compact subsisting between our King and his People, Allegiance is the right of the first Magistrate and protection the right of the People, that a violation of this Compact would rescind the civil Institution binding both King and People together.

"That the King at the head of his American Assemblies, constitutes a supreme Legislature in the respective Colonies, and that as free men we can be bound by no law, but such as we assent to, either by ourselves or our representatives. That we derive a right from our Charters to enact laws for the regulation of our Internal Policy of Government, which reason and justice confirm to us, as we most know what civil Institutions are best suited to our state and circumstances."

One extract from the Chowan meeting:

"That the act for the better regulating the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America, is an attempt to dissolve a contract most solemnly entered into by the present ancestors of the Massachusetts Bay with their sovereign; a contract which ought to be held inviolable, without the mutual consent of King and People; That if the King and Parliament continue to exercise this power, none of the Colonies may expect to enjoy their rights and Privileges longer than they approve themselves obsequious to the dependents on administration. That the

act for the impartial administration of justice in the case of persons questioned for any acts done by them in their execution of the Laws, or for the suppression of Riots and Tumults in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, puts it in the power of a cruel and despotic Governor, wantonly to sport with the lives of His Majesty's subjects in that Province with impunity."

Among the remedies which found favor was a cessation of commercial intercourse with the mother country. The Halifax resolution on this subject is of interest—

"That we continue our exports to Great Britain until the debts due from America are fully discharged, and hereby recommend it most heartily to the several counties in the Province, as the most elligible plan to secure to us the affections of our Mother Country, in as much as by that we shall convince her of the uprightness and honesty of our intentions, most warmly recommend ourselves to those who have trusted us on the common faith and Credit of the Country, and will magnify our firmness, patriotic virtue and Public Spirit."

We note three things of these meetings: (1) They were composed entirely of the responsible class of citizens, freeholders; (2) All declared themselves loyal to the British Crown, and that they were but asserting their rights as English subjects; (3) While a common spirit characterized all the resolutions, they are distinctly unlike in form and expression, and present a series of clear and able statements of the political relations subsisting between Great Britain and her American Colonies comparable to the papers of any publicist who has written since that time, and furnish

striking proof of the ability of the men who laid the foundations of our independence.

Governor Martin was deeply offended. He laid the matter before the council and upon its advice issued his proclamation "to discourage as much as possible proceedings so illegal and unwarrantable in their nature, and in their effect so obviously injurious to the welfare of this country." He required the people on their allegiance "to forbear to attend at any such illegal meetings and that they do discourage and prevent the same by all and every means in their power, and more particularly that they do forbear to attend, and prevent as far as in them lies the meeting of certain deputies, said to be appointed to be held at New Bern on the 26th, instant, and do more especially charge, command and require all and every His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs and other officers, to be aiding and assisting herein to the utmost of their power." This power was very limited for the Governor himself when he announced to the council that the deputies were gathering, was advised "that no other steps could be properly taken at this juncture."

The success of the movement warranted a change of plan, and instead of meeting at Johnston Court House as at first proposed, the Congress or Convention met at New Bern, the seat of government, on August 25th. Thirty counties and six towns were represented by seventy-one delegates. Five counties—Edgecombe, Guilford, Hertford, Surry and Wake, and three towns, Brunswick, Campbellton (Fayetteville) and Hillsboro—were not represented. Col. John Harvey was Moderator. It was a body of singularly able men,

brave, patriotic, earnest and clear-headed. The meeting had no spectacular features. It was in session three days and its whole work is embraced in a series of resolutions —some twenty-five in number—said to have been written by Hooper. Of the debates and deliberations of the Congress we are left in ignorance. One letter conveys an intimation of some trouble over the appointment of delegates to the Continental Congress, and capital was afterwards attempted to be made of the fact that no western man was appointed. In substance, these resolutions declared allegiance to the King; asserted the exclusive right in the Provincial Assemblies to impose taxes in America, the King by his Governors constituting a branch of such assemblies; denounced as oppressive, cruel and illegal the acts of Parliament directed against Massachusetts; endorsed the course of the inhabitants of Massachusetts "for their manly support of the rights of America in general;" provided for non-intercourse with Great Britain and India in commercial matters; approved the proposal of a Continental Congress and appointed Wm. Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell delegates to attend the same, with ample powers of representation; authorized the appointment of a committee of five in every county, by freeholders favorable to the Congress, to carry out the plans of the general Congress, and authorized the Moderator, or in case of his death, Samuel Johnston, to convene the delegates at such time and place as he should deem proper.

The immediate result of this meeting was the establishment of dual governments throughout the Province. The freeholders met in the several counties and elected the com-

mittees recommended by the Congress, in most instances a larger number than the five proposed. There was no interference with the orderly administration of the law by the regular authorities, but these committees, called Committees of Safety, were the real rulers and exercised such despotic powers as would not have been tolerated under other conditions. In one instance a lady at whose house the gentlemen of Wilmington had arranged to give a public ball was notified "to decline it, and acquaint the parties concerned, that your house cannot be at their service, consistent with the good of your country." On another occasion young men who had horses in training for a race were notified to desist. In one case notes of hand had been exchanged between the parties to a proposed race; the notes were required to be surrendered and the race was called off. In fact the seriousness of the Puritan dominance in England was well-nigh repeated in North Carolina. The dignity and solemnity of a great occasion were upon the people. There was government by public sentiment. Every adverse element was quietly but certainly being silenced and subdued by the concentrated force of a powerful public sentiment. Long before armed hostilities began, freedom's battle had been fought and won in the greater part of North Carolina.

It was the good fortune of the people at this time that Governor Martin had no real comprehension of what was going on. When John Harvey, in violent mood, was threatening to call an independent convention, and Johnston, Hooper, Iredell, Willie Jones and others, were planning their measures of relief, he thought the representatives

of the people were growing more complaisant to authority; when the call had gone out for the second Congress and he had discovered that even his council were in sympathy with the people, he thought he saw a re-action in favor of the government.

The second Congress met in New Bern, April 3, 1775, concurrently with the General Assembly called by the Governor. Sixty-one out of sixty-eight members in attendance upon the Assembly were also members of the Congress, and John Harvey was President of both bodies. Governor Martin, as usual, issued his proclamation against the Congress. His address to the Assembly called upon that body to oppose the illegal gathering. The reply of the Assembly was an endorsement and defence of both the Provincial and Continental Congresses and a sharp arraignment of Parliament for its oppressive and unconstitutional proceedings towards the American Colonies. This was unsatisfactory to the Governor and he at once dissolved the Assembly. It was the last to convene under royal authority in North Carolina. The Congress ratified the doings of the Continental Congress, adopted the association entered into by that body, and approved the course of its own delegates, who were reappointed. It asserted the right of the people to petition the Throne for a redress of grievances and declared the Governor's proclamation against them illegal and an infringement of their just rights. Hillsboro was named as the place for the next meeting.

So far there had been little of exciting incident. The organization of the people had been wonderfully wise and prudent. It had been quiet, steady and strong, dominating

the whole life of the Colony, yet carefully avoiding all conflict with the constituted authorities. Soon all was changed. News of the Battle of Lexington was spread by special express throughout the country. The excitement and resentment were intense. At Charlotte, the now famous Mecklenburg Declaration was the immediate result. At New Bern the Governor, in alarm, dismounted the cannon at the palace and concealed his ammunition to prevent their falling into the hands of the Safety Committee. He disingenuously told the committee that the cannon were dismounted because the mountings were rotten. In a little while he became panic stricken and fled, taking refuge on a British war vessel. He never again occupied the palace. From his refuge he issued proclamations, sent out emissaries to arouse the King's party, called for military assistance to suppress the people, and wrote home hysterical letters to show that he had been wise and prudent in his conduct, and recommending a policy for adoption towards the Province when it should be brought into complete subjection.

The government now passed from the Governor's hands to those of the Safety Committees, who took active control of affairs in their respective counties.

About this time the Colony suffered a severe loss in the death of John Harvey, President of the Congress and Speaker of the Assembly. Samuel Johnston succeeded to his authority, and convened the Congress at Hillsboro on August 20th. Every county and burrough town elected delegates and one hundred and eighty-four were in attendance. Johnston was elected President. The plans of the first Congress had been so wise, and were so well executed

that the transition from a royal government to a popular one was effected without friction, and the work of the Congress was little more than a development of the system already in force. A Provincial council of thirteen members and six district Safety Committees were created. The county and town committees were continued as before. These with the Congress constituted the government. A military organization was arranged and officers were appointed from every district and county. Steps were taken to secure arms and ammunition. An emission of not exceeding $125,000 of paper currency was ordered. Inducements were offered for manufactures within the Province. Hooper, Hewes, and John Penn were elected delegates to the Continental Congress and instructed not to agree to any union with the other provinces, further than the association then existing, without first submitting its terms to this Congress. Their assumption of power was explained in the following paragraph of an address to the inhabitants of the British Empire:

"Whenever we have departed from the forms of the Constitution, our own safety and self preservation have dictated the expedient; and if in any Instances we have assumed powers which the laws invest in the Sovereign or his representatives, it has been only in defence of our persons, properties and those rights which God and the Constitution have made unalienably ours. As soon as the cause of our fears and apprehensions are removed, with joy will we return these powers to their regular channels; and such Institutions formed from mere necessity, shall end with that necessity that created them."

The Provincial Council organized at Johnston Court House, October 18, 1775, with Cornelius Harnett as President. The other members were Samuel Johnston, Samuel Ashe, Thomas Jones, Whitmill Hill, Abner Nash, James Coor, Thomas Person, John Kinchen, Willie Jones, Thomas Eaton, Samuel Spencer, and Waightstill Avery. This Council had the administration of the Province. The King's forces were not ready for hostilities, and the Council had until the battle of Moore's Creek in February of the next year for preparation. In this time it proceeded steadily to strengthen its military organization and equipment, and to suppress with a firm hand all dissent from the authority of Congress. The battle of Moore's Creek and the destruction of the force around which General Martin had hoped to gather all the loyal elements in the Province elicited warm praise from the Council, as did also the distinguished services of Colonel Howe in Virginia.

A fourth Congress met at Halifax, April 4, 1776. Samuel Johnston was President. Its notable act was a resolution unanimously adopted, empowering its delegates in the Continental Congress to "concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independence, and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this Colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a Constitution and laws for this Colony." It also authorized a further issue of £500,000 in paper currency, to be redeemed by a poll tax to commence in 1780.

News of the Declaration of Independence reached Halifax, where the Provincial Council was in session, July 22, 1776. It was ordered to be proclaimed in the most public

manner throughout the State. Jones gives this account of the ceremony at Halifax: "At mid-day Cornelius Harnett ascended a rostrum which had been erected in front of the Court House, and even as he opened the scroll, upon which was written the immortal words of the Declaration, the enthusiasm of the immense crowd broke forth in one loud swell of rejoicing and prayer. The reader proceeded to his task, and read the Declaration to the mute and impassioned multitude with the solemnity of an appeal to heaven. When he had finished, all the people shouted with joy, and the cannon, sounding from fort to fort, proclaimed the glorious tidings that all the Thirteen Colonies were now free and independent States. The soldiers seized Mr. Harnett and bore him on their shoulders through the streets of the town, applauding him as their champion, and swearing allegiance to the instrument he had read."

The time had now come for the Congress to return the powers it had assumed to their regular channels. It assembled for its last session, at Halifax, November 12, 1776. On the 13th a committee was appointed to form and report a Bill of Rights and a Constitution. It was adopted on December 18th, in such form as to endure without amendment for nearly sixty years. Richard Caswell was elected Governor. A few ordinances were adopted, making temporary provision for the well ordering of the State until the General Assembly should establish government in accordance with the Constitution, and the Provincial Congress of North Carolina passed into history.

Battles of Revolution Fought in North Carolina.

Moores Creek Bridge,	Feb'y 27th, 1776
Ramsour's Mill,	June 20th, 1780
Pacolet River,	July 14th, 1780
Earles Ford,	July 18th, 1780
Cane Creek,	Sept. 12th, 1780
Wahab's Plantation	Sept. 21st, 1780
Charlotte	Sept. 26th, 1780
Wilmington,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Cowans Ford,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Torrence Tavern,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Shallow Ford	Feb'y 6th, 1781
Bruce's Cross Roads,	Feb'y 12th, 1781
Haw River,	Feb'y 25th, 1781
Clapp's Mill	March 2nd, 1781
Whitsell's Mill,	March 6th, 1781
Guilford Court House,	March 15th, 1781
Hillsboro,	April 25th. 1781
Hillsboro,	Sept. 13th, 1781
Sudleys Mill, (Cane Creek.)	Sept. 13th, 1781

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(By Kemp P. Battle, LL. D.)

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The North Carolina Booklet.

Vol II November 1902 No 7

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Raleigh and the Old Town of Bloomsbury.

BY

KEMP P. BATTLE, LL. D.

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CAPITAL PRINTING COMPANY.
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'Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

Raleigh and the Old Town of Bloomsbury.

Three years after the Restoration of Charles II to the throne of England, in the flush of gratitude, to eight of his great lords, he renewed a lapsed grant to a large part of the new Continent, called Carolina, after his fathers's Latin name, Carolus I. Two years afterwards the boundaries were enlarged so that the territory stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific; from the boundary between North Carolina and Virginia to the parallel which passes through Florida near Cedar Keys. As England did not own the territory west of the Mississippi, the grant was only effective as far as that mighty river. For over three score years these noblemen, their heirs and assigns, through their deputies, directed the government of our people.

In 1729 the representatives of seven of these Lords Proprietors, finding in their possessions no honor, but continued trouble and very little profit, sold all their rights to the crown of England for $12,500 each. It is a wonderful illustration of the rapid growth of our country that about a century and three quarters ago lands through the heart of our continent were sold, ten thousand acres for about one dollar. John, Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville, surrendered the right of government but refused to sell his eighth part of the soil. In 1744 Commissioners, appointed for the purpose, laid off his share between latitude 35° 34' and the Virginia line. The straight line north of the counties of Moore, Montgomery, Stanly, Cabarrus and Mecklenburg, and south of Chatham, Randolph, Davidson, Rowan and Iredell show on the map the southern boundary of his grand property.

In the beginning of this century there occurred in Raleigh a battle of giants. The arena of conflict was the Circuit Court of the United States. The arbiter of the fray was Judge Henry Potter. The champion of the plaintiffs was Wm. Gaston; on the side of the defendant the most eminent was Duncan Cameron. The heirs of Earl Granville were seeking to wrest from free-holders of North Carolina the lands they had won by the sword. When the fight was ended all that remained to the claimants was the honor of having the names of their family and earldom affixed to two of our counties, Carteret and Granville.

Earl Granville took possession of his North Carolina territory in 1744. He sent his agents, Childs and Frohock and others to make his sales. His practice was to reserve quit-rents to be paid yearly. The settlers thus had the double burden of paying these rents to their landlord across the great water and poll taxes to the royal government at Newbern, practically further off than are now Quebec and the city of Mexico. Roads were horrible with jagged rocks, tenacious mud and yielding sand. Few bridges spanned the streams; the meagre crops could not be turned into money; specie was almost unknown and paper money was forbidden. The collecting officers, appointed by the royal Governors or the agents of the Earl had no sympathy with the people and were often brutal and cruel. The money raised by these exactions in large degree stuck to the pockets of the officers, while the rest was spent for distant objects unknown to the settlers or offensive to them. In addition to these evils the officials about the towns extorted illegal fees and were be-

lieved to be growing fat on their robberies. And so rage grew fierce and tempers fiery hot, and old rifles were rubbed up and bullets moulded, and scythe blades were sharpened for swords, and the Civil War of the Regulation began. It ended in a pitiable defeat, for Tryon had been a Lieutenant Colonel in the British army, and the militia of the eastern counties promptly obeyed his order to march, and on the 16th of May, 1771, the undisciplined mob without a military head were scattered over the hills of Alamance.

Tryon and the General Assembly however had made efforts to end the insurrection without resort to the sword. In 1770 it was endeavored to conciliate the insurgents, and at the same to render it more difficult for them to gather together, by creating four new counties in the western section. One cut from Orange and Rowan, was called in honor of the earldom of Guildford, of which Lord North was heir apparent, another Chatham, cut from Orange, after the celebrated William Pitt, the elder, Earl of Chatham; Surry, cut from Rowan, after Lord Surrey, the heir apparent of the Duke of Norfolk, and Wake, cut from Johnston, with slices of Cumberland and Orange, in compliment to his wife, courteously addressed by our ancestors as Lady Tryon, whose maiden name was Margaret Wake. The Governor in choosing the names proved himself to be a true courtier. The eldest son of the Earl of Guildford was Prime Minister and popular with the Tories, Chatham and Surrey was powerful friends of the colonies in their dispute with the mother country, while Lady Tryon, by her gracious manners, was a favorite with all our people.

I know that Jo. Seaweli Jones (of Shocco), in his "Defence of North Carolina," says that Esther Wake, the beautiful sister of Lady Tryon, was the person complimented but it is altogether impossible that the Governor's wife wife should have been passed over, even if such a damsel ever existed. Of this there are grave doubts. No contemporary evidence mentions her as being in Newbern, or New York, where Tryon lived as Governor for several years, after leaving North Carolina. Judge Wm. Gaston stated that he often talked with his mother who was a frequent visitor to Tryon's family and although she spoke freely of the various members she never mentioned Esther. Moreover the present heads of the families of Wake and of Tryon know nothing of her. All this however is only negative evidence, and there remains a problem of North Carolina history, whether Esther Wake is a myth, and, if so, from what source did Shocco Jones get the story.

The General Asssembly appointed seven Commissioners to locate the county seat. They were Joel Lane, Theophilus Hunter, Hardy Sanders, Joseph Lane, John Hinton, Thomas Hines and Thomas Crawford. Of these fathers of our Capital City, Joel Lane was the strongest. His ancestors removed from the Albermarle Country to Halifax County. Thence, he and his brothers, Joseph and Jesse, transferred their residence to the part of Johnston, that is now Wake. Joel became a very large land owner and influential. His residence, still standing, though modest now, was the most imposing in the county and in it he dispensed a liberal hospitality. He was Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment that marched against the Regulators.

He was member of the State Congress of 1775, of that of April 1776, and beginning with 1782, thirteen times State Senator, continuously, except in 1793. During the war he was a member of the County Committee of Safety. He was a Commissioner to locate the boundaries of Wake County. As Justice of the Peace he was a member of the first Court in the county, on the 4th of June, 1771, and was afterwards Chairman. He was one of the Charter Trustees of the University and offered 640 acres at Cary as a site. He was a delegate to the convention of 1788, and to that of 1789, voting against the Federal Constitution in the first and for it in the second.

His brother, Joseph Lane, another of the Commissioners, was of more modest temperament. This appointment-ment however and the fact that he likewise was a member of the first court shows his high standing. The other brother, Jesse, although still more modest, was a grandfather of two very eminent men, David L. Swain, Governor, Judge and President of the University, and Joseph Lane, a General in the Mexican war, Senator from Oregon and candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Breckenridge ticket.

Of the other Commissioners, Theophilus Hunter was Chairman of the first County Court, a Commissioner to locate the county boundaries and a Lieutenant Colonel of Militia. It is interesting that Tryon on his expedition against the Regulators camped on his plantation, called Hunter's Lodge. His son, of the same name, familiarly called "Orphy" Hunter, was famous for bountiful hospitality at his residence called Spring Hill, a few miles from

his father's home. Another Commissioner, John Hinton, father-in-law of Joel Lane, was Colonel of the County, in the Provincial Congress of August 1775 and April 1776, and a member of the Committee of Safety for Wake. Another, Hardy Sanders, was a Lieutenant Colonel of Militia, a member of the War Legislature and Sheriff. Thomas Hines was a member of the Provincial Congress of August 1775, and Major of Militia and Sheriff. Thomas Crawford was a Justice of the Peace and member of the first court. Descendants of most of these Commissioners still reside in the county, and a portion of Joel Lane are citizens of Raleigh. The Devereux family, the Mordecais, Mackays, Hinsdales Thomases, Browns, Dr. Everett, claim him as an ancestor.

Wake Cross Roads, a notable place near the centre of the county, was naturally chosen for the establishment of the court house, and its inevitable accompaniments, the jail, the whipping post and stocks. It was probably the taste of his lady to affix to it the fancy name of Bloomsbury. At that date John Russell, Duke of Bedford, owned the hamlet of that name, with adjacent fields, north west of the city of London. It is a corruption of Blemundsbury, the name of de Blemontes, Blemunds or Blemmots, in the reign of Henry III and Edward I. The Duke's palace, Bedford House, was on the site of the Manor-house of the Blemunds. He was a man of wealth and strong character and gathered to himself a compact little party, known commonly as "the Bloomsbury Gang." He was in office as President of the Privy Council when Tryon was appointed Lieutenant-Governor under Dobbs,

soon to succeed him, and it is likely that to the noble Duke he owed, in part at least, his appointment and honored his benefactor by the name. The Dictionary of National Biography however says that Tryon's wife was a relative of the Earl of Hillsborough and that she was the cause of her husband's advancement. At any rate the name perpetuates the memory of the Duke of Bedford. The next Duke, Francis, was a great benefactor of his country in the promotion of agriculture. Having little love for city life, he tore down his palatial mansion and laid off the land into building lots, streets and squares. Augustus J. C. Hare in his Walks in London, says: "When the changeable tide of fashion in the last century flowed north from the neighborhood of St. Clement Dane and Whitehall, it settled with a deceptive grasp, which seemed likely to be permanent, on the estate of the Duke of Bedford. Everything here commemorates the glories of that great Ducal family. Bloomsbury Street and Square, Chenies Street, Francis Street, Tavistock Square, Russell Square, Bedford Square, and many other places have their names and titles." Macaulay, writing of the year 1685, says: "A little way from Holborn, and on the verge of pastures and cornfields, rose two celebrated palaces, each with an ample garden. One of them, then called Southampton House, and, subsequently Bedford House, was removed early in the present century, (1800), to make room for a new city, which now covers with its squares, streets and churches, a vast area renowned in the the seventeen century for peaches and snipes." The other was Montague

House, since burned, rebuilt and torn down to give place to the British Museum.

I have seen it stated that the name was given by Colonel Lane to his residence. I cannot think that this is correct as I can conceive of no reason for his introducing it into the middle of North Carolina. Even conceding the truth of the tradition, said to have been in old times in the family, that they were descended from a brother of Sir Ralph Lane, the Governor of the abortive Colony at Roanoke (the Governor was unmarried it is thought), that family lived in Northamptonshire, not Middlesex.

The people of North Carolina refused to accept the aristocratic Bloomsbury, though, while substitutiting Lincoln and Rutherford for the odious name of Tryon County, their chivalrous nature induced them to allow the memory of his charming wife to be perpetuated on our map.

At Wake Court-House the county seat remained for twenty years, distinguished for the princely hospitality of Colonel Lane and his neighbors, for its comfortable inn erected by him, for the grand hunting parties, which assembled at his mansion, or at that of Theophilus Hunter. It occupied a central position between the Capitals of Orange and Johnston, Cumberland and Granville, among the pleasant hills near the dividing line of the eastern plains, where the road from the east and that from the north crossed one another. So convenient was it, and so surrounded by a people devoted to the patriot cause, that the General Assembly in a very dark hour of the Revolution, June 23rd, 1781, met in the commodious house of Colonel Lane. It was here that Governor Thomas Burke

was elected in the place of Abner Nash, soon to be captured by Fanning at Hillsborough, while a prisoner to break his parole and thus ruin his political career.

Let us now trace the steps by which this favored spot became the Seat of Government, the City of Raleigh.

The first Capital of North Carolina was Edenton, the second, practically though not by law, Nerbern. When the central and western parts of the State became populated, there was general agreement that this latter town was too far east, but it was difficult to reconcile competing localities. For some time the executive officers lived at their homes, while the General Assemblies selected their place of meeting. During the Revolution their choice depended on the exigencies of war; at Newbern, Halifax, Smithfield, Hillsborough, Wake Court-House, and a session was appointed at Salem, at which a quorum did not attend. After the war the favored towns were Hillsborough, Newbern, Tarboro, Fayetteville.

This state of things was not only extremely inconvenient but led to the loss of valuable State papers. The evil became insupportable as population and public business increased. It led the General Assembly of 1787, in calling the Constitutional Convention of 1788, to recommend the people to instruct their representative to "fix on the place for unalterable seat of government."

The question of thus locating the seat of Government was accordingly brought up in the Convention, which was held at Hillsborough. The members from the Cape Fear and its tributaries and those west of that territory preferred Fayetteville—then written Fayette-Ville. Those of

the Albermarle region, and the valleys of the Roanoke, the Tar and Neuse advocated a point further east. No agreement seemed possible, but Willie Jones was unexcelled as a manager of men. On his motion the Convention agreed to select by ballot some place and to order the General Assembly to make the location within ten miles thereof.

The following were placed in nomination: Smithfield, Tarborough, Fayetteville, Isaac Hunter's plantation in Wake County, Newbern, Hillsborough, the Fork of Haw and Deep rivers. On the first ballot there was no choice; on the second Isaac Hunter's plantation was chosen. It was a mile from Crabtree on the Louisburg road. A wayside inn was there and liquid refreshments were sold. James Iredell brought in a bill to establish the Seat of Government within this circle of twenty miles diameter, and it passed. Wm. Barry Grove, delegate from Cumberland, drew up a protest, which was signed by one hundred members and entered on the Journal.

The friends of Fayetteville were not disheartened by this action. They took the ground that a legislative ordinance of the Convention, not a part of the Constitution could be repealed by the General Assembly. In November 1788 the motion of Willie Jones to carry the ordinance into effect passed the Senate but was smothered in the House. In 1789 the session was in Fayetteville and the question was not taken up. In the next year in the same town the proposition passed the House by the casting vote of the speaker, Stephen Cabarrus, of Chowan, and failed in the Senate by the casting vote of the President, William

Lenoir. The friends of the measure determined to procure the session of 1791 in an eastern town. The friends of Fayetteville fought this desperately but without success. Newbern was selected and there the pressure of influential men and of social blandishments, for which that town was famous, procured a majority for the measure in both houses; in the Senate 27 to 24 and in the House 58 to 53. Joseph R. Gautier of Bladen drew up a protest which was signed by himself and the Senators from Burke, New Hanover, Orange, Iredell, Sampson, Cumberland, Randolph, Stokes, Chatham, Mecklenburg, Guilford, Lincoln, Anson, Montgomery, Robeson, Moore, Rockingham, Rowan. So strong was the feeling, that Wm. Barry Grove donounced James Terry, Senator of Richmond County, as a "Renegade" for deserting his section of the State on this question.

The Commissioners for locating the Capital, or as it was called, the Seat of Government, were Joseph McDowell, of Quaker Meadows, to distinguish him from his cousin of the same name, called of Pleasant Gardens, both heroes of King's Mountain; James Martin, a Revolutionary Colonel of repute, who had the high honor of being court-martialed and acquitted for strict discipline of his militia; Thomas Person, a Militia General of the Revolution, whose liberality to the University is recognized by a hall named in his honor, and services to the State by the name of a county; Thomas Blount, who fought well at Eutaw as Lieutenant and was afterwards a Representative in Congress; Wm. Johnston Dawson, grandson of Governor Gabriel Johnston and great-grandson of Governor Eden, a

Congressman of uncommon promise, but his career cut short by early death; Frederick Hargett, a militia officer of the Revolution, a most trustworthy Senator from Jones; Henry William Harrington, an active General of Militia in the Revolution; James Bloodworth, a Representative and Senator from New Hanover, son of the old gunmaker and United States Senator, Timothy Bloodworth, and lastly Willie Jones, of Halifax, member of the State and Provincial Congresses and Chairman of the State Committee of Safety, often Senator and Commoner in the State Legislature, aristocratic in associations but a violent, almost radical, Republican in politics.

Of the Commissioners only six acted, Messrs. Hargett, Dawson, McDowell, Martin, Blount and Jones. On 30th of March, 1792, they decided in favor of Wake Court-House, buying of Colonel Lane one thousand acres of land for $2,756. They then laid out a city of four hundred acres into lots, squares and streets, naming some of the streets after themselves, others after the court towns, others after the speakers of the two Houses of the Assembly, Joel Lane and Colonel, afterwards General aud Governor, Wm. Richardson Davie, the father of the University. The boundary streets were called after the points of the compass. The square in which is the State-House bears the name of Union, while the four others dedicated to the public commemorate three war Governors, Caswell, Nash and Burke and the Attorney General, Alfred Moore. Two of the squares have been taken from the city by the General Assembly, Caswell for the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, and Burke for the Governor's Mansion, without any resist-

ance, or even protest against such illegal and, I think, harmful action, as time will prove when more parks shall be needed for the health and recreation of the people, especially the children.

In 1587 a charter was granted by Sir Walter Raleigh, who, as Lord Proprietor under the patent of the Queen, had authority so to do, to the Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh. The Governor was to be John Whyte, the Assistants were Roger Bayly, Ananias Dare, Christopher Cooper, John Sampson, Thomas Stevens, Roger Pratt, Dyonisius Harvie, George Howe, James Platt Simon Fernando. It was the first charter of an English city in America. But the Assistants were slain or merged among the Indians. The Governor was saved by returning to England for supplies and recruits. The contemplated capital of the transatlantic colony had only a paper foundation.

Two hundred and five years afterwards the name of the great "admiral, philosopher, statesman, historian and poet, all in one," at the suggestion, it is said, of Governor Alexander Martin, a brother of the Commissioner, James Martin, was honored by being conferred on the new capital. None more appropriate can be found. It was by his efforts and sacrifices that the State was first made known to the civilized world, and his exalted place in the world's history entitles him to be the eponymous father of our city. The very name, meaning in Saxon, "Field of the Roes," is appropriate, as numerous wild deer once abounded in the forest where the city stands. There is veracious testimony that forty of them fell before the rifle of one hun-

ter, Edmund Lane, at his favorite stand near the old sassafras tree in Union Square, while the bounding game fled before the dogs between the rich bottoms of Crabtree and the rich bottoms of Walnut Creek.

It is impossible to find a place where the conditions for health are superior. The elevation of the highest point in Union Square is 363 feet above the sea level. The ground slopes gently towards the streams that flow into Neuse six miles off. The latitude of the State-House is 35° 17′ N.; the longitude 78° 41′ West from Greenwich. Its isothermal, or line of equal temperatures, enters Europe a little North of Lisbon; passes through Madrid, near Genoa and Florence; leaves Europe not far from Constantinople; passes near the spot designated by tradition as the Garden of Eden; then through the valley of the Yang-tse-Kiang in China, the Southern islands of Japan and enters the American continent near San Francisco. Its climate is, therefore, the climate of the grape and the fig, of cotton and tobacco, of corn and wheat. Its spring temperature is 58°, its summer 78°, its autumn 60°, its winter 40°. Its rainfall is 48.2 inches. It is nearly in the centre of the next largest county, which is near the centre of the State.

After locating the city on 400 of the 1,000 acres purchased, the Commissioners made sale at public auction of a majority of the lots, which were one acre each. Forty-two lots were left unsold, being mostly those South of Cabarrus street. The late James D. Royster, a most estimable citizen, remembers that his father, in order to give him a moral object lesson, took him to a hanging in the middle of South street in front of the Rex Hospital. The rope was sus-

pended from the limb of an oak tree, one of many then standing. The prices obtained at the sale were considered satisfactory. Of the two acres next the Capitol Square on the South, that on the East of Fayetteville street brought $232, that opposite $222. The four acres on which Dr. Thomas D. Hogg lives brought $254. They were purchased by General Davie. The highest price paid was the lot on which are the Agricultural and Supreme Court Buildings, $263. The buyer was Thomas E. Sumner, son of General Jethro Sumner. Of course the prices away from Union Square were much less. Many lots were bought on speculation and the ventures were said to be unprofitable. For many years there was little increase of population. The inhabitants found remunerative employment to only a small extent. There is only one piece of property in possession of the heirs of the original purchaser, the square comprising numbers, 140, 141, 156 and 157, bid off by Richard Bennehan, and owned by the heirs of the late Paul C. Cameron. Treasurer John Haywood purchased a lot in the Western part of the city and exchanged it for that on Newbern Avenue, which he made his home. The house erected by him, and occupied by the widow of his son, the late Dr. E. Burke Haywood, is the only residence owned and occupied by the same family continuously since 1792.

The Commissioners for building the first State-House, which name as well as that of the United States, was copied from Holland, were prominent business men; Richard Bennehan, of Orange, a wealthy planter; John Macon, often Senator from Warren, brother of Nathaniel Macon; Robert Goodloe, of Franklin, a planter and ex-

perienced house builder; Nathan Bryan, Senator from Jones, afterwards Representative in Congress, and Theophilus Hunter, already described, who was a brother of Isaac Hunter, whose plantation has been mentioned. They were allowed to use the proceeds of sale of the lots. The architect employed by them was familiarly known as "Rhody" Atkins. The bricks were made out of State clay on lots Nos. 138 and 154 reserved for the purpose. They were burnt with fuel cut from the State forest. The barn-like, reddish walls loomed up imposingly among the wide-spreading oaks. In two years, January, 1794, it was ready for occupancy by the General Assembly. The members, as a rule, brought their horses and rode to the daily sessions from their lodgings in the neighboring farm houses. The State officers, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Governor; James Glasgow, Secretary of State; John Haywood, Treasurer; John Craven, Comptroller, were all in attendance with their official papers brought from their distant homes. Another John Haywood, the Attorney General, great in body and great in learning, in the same year transferred to the bench, was ready to give sound opinions on all public questions of a legal nature. The State officers, except the Governor, were required to reside in the new Capital, and in 1798 the same requirement was made of the Governor.

Although the first State-House was plain, it probably served more uses and gave more pleasure than any building ever erected in the State. Its halls above and passages below were open for patriotic festivals, religious congregations, political meetings, theatrical performances and the

like. In the vacations of the Legislature on one day the candidate would proclaim the pure righteousness of his cause and the diabolical mischiefs of the opposing party; on the next men with their stomachs filled with barbecued pig, washed down with corn whiskey or apple-jack brandy, shouted defiance to Great Britain and boastings of the greatness of America. Then the floor would be swept and at night belles and beaux would walk in the stately minuet or caper in the quick-time Virginia reel, while the old negro musician sawed his violin with the enthusiasm created by the triple inspiration of the Goddess of Melody, of expected largesses and of old John Barleycorn. Afterwards came the mountebank, dancing, as stated by a newspaper of that day, a hornpipe with both feet on the crown of his head, or itinerant companies attempting tragedy or comedy with improvised stage and home-made scenery. And when the week was over, the people assembled in the sobered chambers and trembled as the preacher thundered forth the wrath of God, and sulphurous punishment on those whose lives were given up to worldly pleasures.

I have described Wake Cross Roads, Bloomsbury, Wake Court House and traced their change into Raleigh. It would be a labor of love to follow the history of the North Carolina Capital up to its present proud position among the minor cities of this favored country. Situated in the interior, surrounded by lands by no means fertile, without a navigable stream, separated from the great centres of wealth by many miles of unimproved roads, for decades of years it was a mere straggling village. Its only prosperity arose from the residence of the officers of state, the meet-

ings of the legislatures, the lawyers, who attended the courts, with occasional wealthy families from the east, fleeing from malaria. In 1831 the Capital, which had been repaired and improved was burned and Fayetteville made another vain attempt to secure for herself the Seat of Government. It was not until after the great Civil War that the upward march of Raleigh really began. The scores of thousands of strangers, who visited the city during the war and after its capture were captivated by its natural advantages. Capital has flown in, manufactories have sprung up, the rail road system has been enlarged and improved and has supplied the needed facilities for transportation. Growth has been steady and healthy. The government is wisely administered and is free from corruption. The citizens are orderly and conservative. The future evidently offers rich rewards to intelligent enterprise. So mote it be!

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For some items in the preparation of this paper I am indebted to Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood, whose forthcoming History of Governor Tryon will be a very valuable contribution to our State history. Also to Mr. M. N. Amis' Historical Raleigh, a very useful work.

I have consulted the Journals, Ordinances of Convention and Acts of Assembly, and my Centennial Addresses of 1876 and 1892; also Hare's Walks in London and the Dictionary of National Biography, (Great Britain).

K. P. B.

Battles of Revolution Fought in North Carolina.

Moores Creek Bridge,	Feb'y 27th, 1776
Ramsour's Mill,	June 20th, 1780
Pacolet River,	July 14th, 1780
Earles Ford,	July 18th, 1780
Cane Creek,	Sept. 12th, 1780
Wahab's Plantation S. C.	Sept. 21st, 1780
Charlotte	Sept. 26th, 1780
Wilmington,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Cowans Ford,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Torrence Tavern,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Shallow Ford	Feb'y 6th, 1781
Bruce's Cross Roads,	Feb'y 12th, 1781
Haw River,	Feb'y 25th, 1781
Clapp's Mill	March 2nd, 1781
Whitsell's Mill,	March 6th, 1781
Guilford Court House,	March 15th, 1781
Hillsboro,	April 25th. 1781
Hillsboro,	Sept. 13th, 1781
Sudleys Mill, (Cane Creek.)	Sept. 13th, 1781

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Historic Homes in North Carolina.

HISTORIC HOMES AND PEOPLE OF OLD BATH TOWN.
MISS LIDA TUNSTALL RODMAN.

BUNCOMB HALL,
MR. THOMAS BLOUNT.

HAYES AND ITS BUILDER,
RICHARD DILLARD.

RALEIGH:
CAPITAL PRINTING COMPANY.
1903.

'Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

HISTORIC HOMES AND PEOPLE OF OLD BATH TOWN.

BY LIDA TUNSTALL RODMAN.

In the vicinity of the ancient town of Bath may be found rare old landmarks and traces of early colonial homes bearing testimony indubitable of the generous hospitality and good living of the people of that generation.

Much historical interest is attached to this section, Bath having been for a time the capital of the Province, residence of a Royal Governor, and headquarters of a bold and bloody pirate.

It was incorporated as a town in 1705, being the first in the State, forty-two years having intervened between the earliest settlement and the commencement of the first town. It consisted at the time of about twelve houses and is described as being "not the unpleasantest part of the country,—nay in all probability it will become the centre of trade, as having the advantage of a better inlet for shipping and surrounded with most pleasant savannas very useful for stocks of cattle. In this as in all other parts of the province there is no money, every one buys and pays with their commodities, the difference of their money is as one to three."

The earliest settlers being without roads sought the convenient shores of creek, bay or river for their residences, the waters forming a broad highway upon which transportation was carried on by means of various craft, the pi-

†Pronounced periangur.

rogue† being much in vogue at that time, this also accounts for the small number of houses in the towns, most of the population residing on the large plantations near by.

About two miles north of Bath is the old Ormond estate, the house built in early Colonial days is rapidly going to ruin, yet the hadsome old stairway running down to a small paned window, with doors on either side, still remains as does the picturesque hip roof. The fined tiled mantlepiece, a gem in its day, has been destroyed. Some miles beyond this at Hunter's Bridge was another large plantation owned originally by one of the Ormond brothers, an old bachelor whose wealth excited the cupidity of his slaves, and while their master slept, they threw an immense feather-bed over him, jumping on it to complete the process of smothering and killing. Tradition says the negroes were apprehended and three of them burned at the stake in Bath Town. If this be true it is the only case of its kind on record in the State.

The Ormonds were an English family of wealth and distinction.

In another direction a few miles from Bath are still to be seen the foundations of a large brick house owned by the Rhoulhacs, the size and plan giving token of gay and generous French hospitality, for tradition has kept up the memory in all this country side of "grand balls in which gay ladies in rich brocades trod the stately minuets with their gallant partners."

Perhaps the quaintest house in existence to-day, is the old Marsh home, situated on the principal street of Bath

Town, and in good preservation. It was built in 1744 by Monsieur Cataunch for Mr. and Mrs. Whitemore. The chimney is of immense size, being seventeeen feet broad. and four feet thick, having windows in it which open on closets having stone floors. The bricks and tiles of the chimney are of the same pattern as those used in the construction of St. Thomas Church and were brought from England.

In the rear of the building is a family burying ground where is interred Mrs. Mary Evans, niece of the Whitemores, the grey stone slab at the head of her grave is very quaint, as at the top surrounded by scroll work is carved a medallion of the fair lady herself. She has the figure and face of youth and is arrayed in the long pointed waist and tight sleeves of that era.

The incription is perfectly distinct and reads thus:

"Here lies the Body of Mrs. Mary Evans,
Who departed this life Jan. 31st, 1758, aged 19 years."

Then follows a poem recording her youth and graces.

The beautiful Mary Evans died of a broken heart caused by the loss of her husband in a wreck at sea. The Whitemores being devotedly attached to her were so grieved that they moved away, selling the place to Jonathan Marsh, a large ship owner whose descendants still reside there.

Near the southern extremity of Front St. some remains are still seen of the old Fort, built about the time of the terrible Indian massacre in 171, being the highest point in that locality it commanded the approach by land and sea, and furnished a place of refuge in time of danger when the

people were compelled to flee their homes for safety from the dreaded Indian outbreaks.

Fort Reading on Pamlico river, was also built about this time on the estate of Lionel Reading. Just opposite Bath on the South side of the river, where it attains a width of five miles, is Core Point named for the Coree Indians, and in 1722 an act of Assembly provided for laying out a public road from Core Point to connect the southern part of the Province with the northern. Several miles of this old colonial road remains in good condition.

Lawson, Surveyor General under the Crown, and Carolina's oldest historian, lived in Bath; it is noted as a singular coincidence that in his history he boasts that his colony was the only instance of a colony being planted in peace and without bloodshed of the natives little dreaming that in a few years he would be captured by the Indians while on an exploring expedition, and murdered in a fiendish way having his body stuck full of lightwood splinters and then set on fire.

Christopher Gayle, Chief Justice of the Colony, also a resident of Bath Town, writes to his sister in London, "that he was still living though by as signal a hand of Providence as this age can demonstrate.

About ten days before the fatal day (Sept. 22nd 1711) I was at the Baron's (De Graffenreid's) and had agreed with him and Mr. Lawson on a progress to the Indian towns; but beiore we were prepared to go a message came from home (Bath) to inform me that my wife and brother lay dangerously sick; which I may call a happy sickness to me, for on the news I immediately repaired home and

thereby avoided the fate which I shall hereafter inform you."

Neville's Creek on the outskirts of Bath perpetuates the name and site of the residence of the family of Mr. Neville, who were all murdered and scornfully treated by the savages.

Christopher Gayle in another letter speaks of leaving his "wife and sister in garrison at Bath Town," which was the Fort just mentioned.

An act of Assembly was passed making the 22nd of September a day of fasting in commemoration of the mssacre of whites at Bath by Tuscarora and Core Indians.

Bath Town has the honor of having possessed the first Library in the State, as is seen by an Act of Assembly 1705, providing in the most rigorous manner for the care of the Public Library of St. Thomas Parish, this was the Library sent out by Rev. Thos. Bray founder and secretary of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel. According to the old record, "He did send to us a library of books for the benefit of this place, given by the Honorable the Corporation for the establishing of the Christian religion." This collection was valued at one hundred pounds and at first lead a wandering life, going from end to end of St. Thomas Parish; it finally settled down in Bath and its subsequent history is enveloped in obscurity.

Certain lands were early set apart as the Glebe of St. Thomas Parish, and a small creek near is called Glebe Creek.

There is a record that in September 1711 the people "having no minister met every Sunday at the house of

Christopher Gayle, a very civil gentleman, where a young gentleman, a lawyer, was appointed to read prayers and a sermon."

The act incorporating the Town, March 8th, 1705, provided that "convenient Places and Proportions of Land be laid out and preserved for a Church, a Town House and a Market place." Upon this land St. Thomas church was built, being completed in 1734 during the reign of George II. The bricks and large square tiles used in its construction were brought from England, and it is said Queen Anne gave to St. Thomas Parish the silver communion cup and the bell; the silver cup has long since disappeared and the bell which was cracked and broken having been recast, there is no record to place the seal of historic truth upon this otherwise pleasing tradition, though many believe it to be well authenticated.

An old resident writes, "the church stands a grim sentinel of the past, gloomy and rusty with age, with no steeple it presents a mediaeval aspect, producing a thrill of reverence and awe when we contemplate the officers of the English crown walking down the aisle to worship at its shrine."

It is indeed a mute witness of the days that are gone, and could it speak how many tales of history, romance and tragedy would fall upon the listening ear, for within its portals came soon or late all the people of the Parish and perhaps of the Province, the prattling babe to receive the sign of holy church, gay cavalier and blushing maid to plight their troth, and there must have been weeping ones who found the sting of death and separation just a bit more

keen, because they had left home and motherland for this new country so full of strange terrors.

A stone tablet on the wall is a pathetic record to the memory of "Mrs. Margaret Palmer, wife of Robert Palmer, Esq'r, one of His Majesty's Council and Surveyor General of the Lands of this Province."

It is claimed that Governor Hyde resided for a short time in Bath Town, and the records show a purchase of two lots by his successor Governor Eden and also a large tract of land on the opposite side of the river known as "Thistleworth," there are in addition, records of two marriage licenses granted by him, both facts furnishing some proof of his residence in Bath. His stay was probably of short duration, and perhaps he was quite glad to leave as it was while there that his political enemies accused him of having given countenance to the notorious Pirate Teach, or Black Beard.

Tobias Knight, Secretary of the Province and Judge of the Admiralty Court, resided in Bath Town and an old inhabitant writes, "near the mouth of the creek on its western bank stood the palace of Governor Eden, and from the creek to the steep bank was cut a subterranean passage through which Edward Teach, or Black Beard, in complicity with Governor Eden and his secretary Tobias Knight, received goods captured by Teach on the high seas and through this passage deposited in the cellar of the palace. What he did with them has never been known. Opposite the palace of the Governor was a rock wharf, the stone foundation still remaining, and buried in the mud just beyond this wharf is one of Teach's old cannons."

Beyond the mere accusation no proof has ever been found to tarnish the good name Governor Eden bears in history, he is described as a polished, genial and popular man, trusted and beloved by the people.

Tobias Knight, owing probably to his high position, was not convicted, but the proof was so conclusive of his guilt that he lost the esteem of his friends and countrymen.

Edward Teach was a giant in wickedness, and for a time the inland waters of North Carolina were the scenes of his infamous piracies.

On the shore of Pamlico river about a quarter of a mile from the mouth of Bath Creek was located his residence, some remnant of the brick foundation yet remaining.

Here he had his carnivals as well as in Bath Town where after one of his lootings on the Caribbean Sea, it is said he "worked the town firing indiscriminately upon all, or any one of its citizens, using such fiery oaths as never man heard before."

The King having promised a pardon to all Pirates who would surrender in twelve months, Teach took advantage of this, surrendering to Governor Eden, and obtaining a certificate, soon after at a court of Admiralty convened in Bath, he obtained the condemnation of a sloop "as a good prize," though he never held a commission. He now pretended to become respectable and settle down marrying his thirteenth wife.

One authority says she could not have been very inquisitive as to how many of her predecessors were still living.

After spending some time rioting on the Pamlico and in Bath Town, the old passion for piracy being so strong he

sailed on a cruise, on which, though the skull and cross bones were veiled, their horrid significance was no less evident to those who chose to read the facts. Returning with a large and valuable French ship loaded with sugar and cocoa, four men swore she had been found at sea without any person on board; on this evidence the court of admiralty adjudged her a lawful prize to the captors. In order to elude an investigation the ship was declared unseaworthy and promptly consumed by fire. Unfriendly people said the Governor and the Judge received each sixty and twenty hogsheads of sugar as a douceur. Be that as it may, Teach remained on Pamlico river becoming bolder and more offensive to the lawabiding people who were more and more terrorized by his depredations. Governor Eden certainly had not the means at his disposal to make any effective resistance if he had wished to do so.

Application was secretly made to the Governor of Virginia to send a force to subdue the pirate, and Lieutenant Maynard of the Royal Navy was ordered to proceed to North Carolina in command of two sloops. A reward of one hundred pounds was offered for the apprehension of Teach and smaller sums for his officers and men. Teach had learned of the expedition in some way and was prepared, the encounter taking place near Ocracoke was very desperate and bloody, the exact spot is pointed out to-day by boatmen as Teach's hole.

Lieutenant Maynard displayed both courage and the skilled diplomacy of battle for finding his men fatally exposed by their position, he ordered them below, but to be ready for close fighting on the first signal. Seeing none

but the dead on deck the black old pirate, who had said there should be no quarter given or taken, with a fearful oath ordered his men to board her, as they did Lieutenant Maynard's crew rushed up in obedience to his signal and the fight was on. Maynard engaged Teach, first firing, and then each using dirks until Teach fell exhausted from many wounds. Lieutenant Maynard caused Teach's head to be severed from his body and hung on the end of his bowsprit, he then sailed up to the town of Bath where he landed his men. What rejoicing in the old Town and in all the country side over the death of this villian whose impudent robberies and murders were at last avenged.

We shall never know until the secrets of the Great Deep are revealed, how many innocent men and women with their little ones were forced to walk the plank while Teach commanded Queen Anne's Revenge or the sloop Adventure, or others of his ill-gotten craft. Small wonder he always kept supplied with good West India rum to drive from memory those white and agonized faces.

One term of the Assembly was held in Bath during Gov. Gabriel Johnston's administration in 1752 at which time an act was passed for facilitating navigation of the Port of Bath, the town was then prosperous carrying on a brisk trade with the West Indies and other ports.

Though so long an incorporated town Bath never possessed a court house, jail or pillory until 1766.

In 1765 George Whitefield, the eloquent English Evangelist, visited Bath, but he was so coldly treated by the people that he is said to have shaken the dust from his

feet invoking the curse of heaven upon the place and its inhabitants.

Whether attributable to this or to the natural shifting of men and events to more central and richer localities, it is certain that prosperity with brilliant wings outspread, flew away and has never returned to this picturesque old haven.

There are other places of interest in and near Bath Town but space forbids further mention.

BUNCOMBE HALL.

BY THOMAS BLOUNT.

Amid the fens and breaks and forests of juniper, covering the crest of the low divide running up from the sea, between Albemarle and Pamlico sounds, Kendrick's creek takes its rise. Slipping thence northwardly, into the open country, it winds between fertile hills dotted over with well tilled farms, and rushing through roaring gates, or whirring wheels, gliding past busy villages and sleepy woodlands, its amber tide pours into Albemarle sound, south of Edenton. Narrow of mouth, and no more than fifteen miles in length, this modest stream does not attract the attention of the passing navigator of the Albemarle, nor does it make any great figure in the topography of the country. Yet every foot of its shore line is pregnant with facts in the primal history of North Carolina.

During the Culpepper rebellion, and the unhappy administration of Seth Sothel, many hardy spirits slipped away from the North Albemarle colony, and settled along the banks of Kendrick's creek, preferring the solitude of the wilderness, and the society of the simple savage, to the doubtful protection of an unstable government administered by avaricious tyrants. In vain the authorities "commanded them back." They blazed a rugged trail from the mouth of the creek along its western shore, and on through the forest, to the banks of the Pamlico where Bath Town was later located, and planted a thin line of humble homes by its side; the seed-bud of that wondrous growth which has

since expanded into a mighty state. Along this rout, flowed for half a century the ceaseless tide of imigration coming up from the Virginia coast, and peopling the wilderness to the south and west. It was a part of the first mail rout in the province, and was the course taken by the impatient Governor Dobbs when hastening from Virginia to Newbern to take the oath of office, after being detained at Edenton "above a whole day by contrary winds so fresh he could not cross the ferry some eight miles." On the south side of this road, about three-quarters of a mile from the Tyrrell court house at Lee's Mills, was the entrance to the Buncombe Hall grounds, over which was suspended the famous distich:

"Welcome all,
To Buncombe Hall."

This was no empty invitation posted to make the vulgar stare. It meant rest and good cheer for any travel-stained pilgrim who would avail himself of it, dispensed with a lavish hand by the princely owner himself, to rich and poor alike. For no matter how humble the traveler, while he was within the gates of Buncombe Hall he was its master's guest, and as such was treated with the most courtly consideration. If a boon companion showed a premature disposition to depart, trusty slaves knew how to remove certain bridges on either side of the estate and the wooing of that guest's fair charmer was deferred to another day.

Near this same road, but a little higher up stream than the Buncombe plantation, Captain Thomas Blount of the first Chowan vestry, erected a mill in 1702. This man was a blacksmith and ship carpenter by trade. He came from

Virginia to Perquimans where he married Mary, the widow of Joseph Scott. During the winter of 1698–'99 he removed with his family to the "east side of the mouth of Kendrick's creek." Later he purchased "Cabin Ridge plantation" where the town of Roper now stands and immediately began the erection of a mill on the creek hard by. This was for a while the "one miil in the whole province" and in time came to be the industrial centre of the "South Shore" settlement. At it, was manufactured the lumber for many of the earlier buildings at Edenton, such as flooring for the first church (never used), material for the first court house, and much more. With a continuous service of two centuries rounded out to its credit, this mill is now the oldest developed water-power in North Carolina.

Captain Blount died in 1706 and Thos. Lee, marrying his widow, subsequently got possession of his mill and most of his other property.

To this circumstance is due the scattering of his immediate descendants to the four-winds and the opportunities of advancement which they thus found. Verily—

> "There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
> Would men observingly distil it out."

With one brief exception the mill remained the property of the Lee family until 1814, hence the place came to be called "Lee's Mills." The assembly which Gov. Gabriel Johnston called to meet him in Edenton in the winter of 1735–'6, was the first to which Tyrrell had sent delegates. Prominent among her representatives that year was Capt. William Downing of Lee's Mills, who was unanimously elected speaker of the house.

This Assembly fixed Tyrrell's court house at Lee's Mills where it remained until the erection of Martin county in 1774, when it was removed to the house of Benjamin Spruill on Scuppernong river.

At the first session of the court held at that place, which was on "third Tuesday in May, 1774," Colonel Edward Buncombe presented his commission from the Honorable Samuel Strudwick, Esq'r, dated December 18, 1773, appointing him Clerk of the court. He immediately qualified, giving bond in the sum of one thousand pounds, with Stevens Lee and Archibald Corrie as sureties. His successor qualified on the tenth day of February, 1777, hence Colonel Buncombe was the last clerk of the county court for Tyrrell under the colonial government. Mr. Corrie often performed the duties of the office as Colonel Buncombe's deputy. They were "Co-partners and merchants" at Lee's Mills.

It is said that Colonel Buncombe's fine Tyrrell estate came to him by the terms of his uncle Joseph's will.

Some years before Colonel Edward Buncombe was born, Joseph Buncombe went from England to St. Kitts hoping to improve his fortune. While there his brother Thomas sent him money with which to buy land. Being a bachelor "heart whole and fancy free" and hearing of the fair women and fertile lands of Albemarle, he sold his holdings in the "tight little island" to his brother, and came to North Carolina. On the 20th of March, 1732, he purchased from Edward Moseley one thousand and twenty-five acres of land in Tyrrell county, "bounded on the east by Kendrick's creek, and on the south by Kendrick's creek

and Beaver Dam branch." About this time he married Ann, the oldest daughter of Geo. Durant who had died in 1730. They made their home on the Tyrrell lands near what is now known as Buncombe Landing. On the 17th day of August 1735, Joseph Buncombe qualified as the guardian of Geo. Durant's children, giving bond in the sum of 2,994 pounds, with Stevens Lee and William Downing as sureties. On the 10th of September following he executed to these bondsmen an indemnifying deed covering all his lands and including several slaves. This deed recorded in the Tyrrell office 16th April, 1736, was the first instrument registered in that county.

Later we find Mr. Buncombe renewing this deed, and adding a sum of money "adjudged to be due him from the public" for slaves executed at Edenton. November 30th, 1739, he assigned negroes to his wife Ann and his daughter Mary. A few years later Thomas Corprew who had married Mr. Buncombe's widow, settled up the Durant guardianship. Mary Buncombe married a Mr. Sutton, and her mother who was born July 14th, 1714, died in 1741, leaving two sons by her Corprew marriage.

Colonel Edward Buncombe who was born in 1742, was probably sent when quite a young man to look after his father's St. Kitts' property. At any rate he married Elizabeth Dawson Taylor there April 10th, 1766. Their first child, Elizabeth Taylor, was born in St. Kitts, March 11th, 1767, and the second, Thomas, was born in North Carolina, February 3d, 1769, while the last child Hester, was born April 25th, 1771.

Colonel Buncombe's first public act in his new home was to sit as a member of an "Inferior court" held at the Tyrrell court house, "On the second Tuesday in May, 1769." His name appears last in the list of justices at this term, but he was one of the three who remained to sign the docket at the end of the session.

From these circumstances it would appear probable that Colonel Buncombe removed with his family to North Carolina as early as the spring of 1768. The story of his coming as popularly related, is as follows:

One Mr. Cox of Edenton learning that Colonel Buncombe had come into possession of the Tyrrell lands, went to St. Kitts and offered to buy the property. But young Mrs. Buncombe advised her husband that if it was worth all that trouble on the part of Mr. Cox, it surely was worth a visit from its owner before confirming a sale of it. Acting upon this suggestion Colonel Buncombe came to North Carolina, and was so much pleased with the place that he at once gave orders to Stevens Lee of Lee's Mills to build a house for him on the farm, while he returned for his family.

Considering the fact that lumber could only be sawed during the winter months, and that bricks were only made in the summer, and taking into account the fact that all processes of building at that time were very slow, it seems probable that this first visit of Colonel Buncombe's was made during the summer of 1766.

It has been said that the bricks used in the building were brought from England. But Governor Tryon wrote

that very year "We do not import lime, lumber or bricks, either from the northern colonies, or from England." There were brick yards at Lee's Mills.

One who had read the "Buncombe Notes"—an elaborate account of Colonel Buncombe's removal to North Carolina, preserved until 1874—says that in these it was related that the vessels in which he came were loaded with great quantities of valuable stores, farming implements, seed, stock, slaves, furniture, and all things necessary for the farm in the new country. These were landed at the place now known asBuncombe landing, at the east end of the beautiful ridge on which Buncombe Hall stood, some three-quarter of a mile to the west. Vessels trading with the West Indies, New York, Boston and other points along the coast came regularly to Kendrick's creek in those days for cargoes of lumber, and farm produce. So profitable was this trade, that Colonel Buncombe built a vessel of his own to engage in it, and on the 20th of September, 1775, the schooner "Buncombe" was registered at Port Roanoke, Edenton, N. C., Jno. McCrohon being her first master.

Just below the landing at Buncombe Hall the dark waters of the stream are unusually deep, so much so that the place was popularly said to have no bottom. This was called the "Guinea Hole" from a very pathetic circumstance said to have occured there.

During the days of Mr. Joseph Buncombe a vessel from the West Indies was unloading at this wharf which had among her crew a young man who had "shipped" one trip in a Guinea slave trader. He recognized among the negroes handling the cargo, some natives of Guinea, whom

Mr. Buncombe had recently purchased from a New England dealer, and getting into conversation with one of the men, our wag managed to make him understand that he was but recently in the man's own country. After answering many eager inquiries as best suited his whim, the sailor was finally urged to point in the direction of Guinea. Either in a spirit of mischief, or intending to indicate that the place was on the other side of the world, he pointed over the stearn of the ship down through the deep hole. The simple child of the Niger understood the gesture to mean that here was a secret passage to Guinea, and hugging his precious secret he took the first opportunity imparting it in all confidence to his fellow countrymen, who like himself were longing for their native jungles. Getting a long pole, they secretly sounded the place, and finding no bottom, they concluded the kindly looking young sailor had told them truly, so selecting a dark night when no one was watching, and loading themselves with weights, that they might sink quickly, plunged beneath the inky waters on their long journey to the other shore. Though their unfortunate lives were lost, may we not hope that they found an eternal abiding place in the presence of Him who said "Come unto me all ye that labor, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

Be this legend true or false there were among Mr. Buncombes slaves some desperate men, who in their efforts to escape, slew their keepers, and were executed.

"It is along the borders of streams that men usually seat," wrote Thomas Woodward the first Surveyor General of Albermarle. This custom fixed the early roads paralled

with the water courses, and usually next to them. The one leading from "Edenton's sound" to Lee's Mills was no exception to the rule. It zigzagged along the edge of the hills next the stream until it reached the end of the long ridge composing the southern portion of the Buncombe estate, then leaving the creek it turned down the northern side of this, going in a westernly direction. It was on top of this ridge, and about half a mile west of the spot where Joseph Buncombe had lived, that Buncombe Hall was erected. As originally constructed, it was a long two story frame building, containing four large rooms, wide halls, and three cellars. It faced the road on the north and had on that side a rather pretentious double piazza, through which the lower hall was entered by wide double doors. The cooking was done in a great open fireplace in the east cellar, and the dining room was immediately above. The stairs leading to the upper chambers was entered through a door from the piazza. Later, and certainly during Colonel Buncombe's life, a long wing was erected from the south side of the west end of the building, making it L shaped. This new wing contained two large rooms on the first floor, and one above, which was entered by stairs leading up from the room next the main building. There were two cellars under this wing. The basement walls of brick, were about five feet above ground, and had small windows in the top. There were chimneys outside at the end of each wing, and probably one double chimney running up through the middle. The lower rooms had high ceilings, and were carefully finished inside, but the dormered walls of the second story were low, through

which numerous little windows jutted out, like many eyes peeping from under the heavy eaves of the quaint hipped roof above. In front of the building was a plot of ground devoted to the cultivation of flowers, oramental shrubs, and border plants. At the end of a pretty walk on the east side of this, was Colonel Buncombe's office. In the rear of the building broad piazzas extended the entire length of both wings. From this piazza the two rooms in the annex, or south wing, were entered. In the rear of the building, and on the broad hill-side sloping to the south-east, were the orchards of peaches and other fruits. To the west of this, nestling in a grove of virgin oak, and hickory trees, were the ample slave quarters. A few of these venerable oaks are still standing, majestic witnesses of a dead past. The branches of one of them has a spread of more than two-hundred feet, and its gnarled trunk measures eighteen feet in circumference above spurs. Near this stood the "smithy" and "wood shop" of the plantation. In these were manufactured many domestic utensils, the farm implements in use at the time, the carts, wagons great carry-logs, the light chair, or gig in which the master rode forth on journeys, and even the mahogony chariot, or carriage in which the mistress was wont to travel abroad could be repaired there. It is highly probable that in these shops were mended, and "made fit for use" the heterogenous collection of arms with which the fifth battalion was at first equipped. For the day after the election of Colonel Buncombe to the command of this regiment, the Provincial Congress sitting at Halifax appointed Stevens Lee and Hezekiah Spruill, a committee

for Tyrrell, "to receive, procure and purchase firearms for the use of the troops," and to have such as required it repaired with all possible dispatch. If one had stopped to rest under the shade of this old tree in those busy days at Buncombe Hall, he would have heard above the din of the anvil, and the roar of the forge, the quaint songs of many dusky damsels in the cabins hard by, as they busily "seeded" the cotton, carded the wool or sped the soughing spindles of many great wheels, while the clatter of resounding looms would have told him that the "tasks" of yarn from the spinners of yesterday, were supplying those of the weavers of today. These, with the dyers, the shoemakers and the tailors were all busy with the mighty task of equipping a regiment of fighting men. For they were here nearly a year, arming and drilling for the fray, and we are told that Col. Buncombe practically bore the expense himself.

The original deed from Edward Moseley placed the acreage of the Buncombe tract of land at one thousand and twenty-five acres, but when we remember that rent was paid on land in those days at so much per acre, and then taking into account the general callings by which the surveyor had bounded it, we need not be surprised to find two thousand acres in the tract, and to this Colonel Buncombe added until the estate consisted of four square miles of the finest farm, and timber lands in the Albermarle section. The land drained naturally, and was easily brought into cultivation, the removal of the forest growth being the chief difficulty. During the eight or nine years Colonel Buncombe resided on this property he made at least two

thousand acres of it fit for tillage. The Hall was so situated that one could view the entire plantatation from the upper floor of the front piazza, and a magnificent sight it was said to be, those seas of golden wheat ripe for the sickle, surrounded by the gleaming green of great fields of corn just budding into tassel.

Colonel Buncombe was loyal to the crown, and supported the colonial government heartily, as is shown by his unwillingness to aid Governor Tryon in suppressing the insurrection of the Regulators, and the promptness with which he always discharged his duties, either as a militia officer, or member of the county court. But when Colonel Harvey came riding from Halfax, and his conference with Willie Jones on that eventful fourth of April, 1774, and lodging that night with Colonel Buncombe, poured out to him and Samuel Johnston, the story of Governor Martin's tyranny and with fervid eloquence unfolded to them his plans of resistance and defiance, not only was the impetuous young lion of Buncombe Hall won to the cause of popular liberty, but the calm, calculating prudence of the astute Johnston, surrendered to him. It was just two years and ten days later that Colonel Bunombe's adopted country called upon him to prove his faith by his works. On the 15th of April, 1776, the Halifax Assembly, of which Archibald Corrie was the sole representitive from Tyrrell, elected him Colonel of the fifth batallion of North Carolina troops. He had just laid his loved young wife to rest within the sacred precincts of old St. Paul's at Edenton, and his bruised heart had turned for "surcease of sorrow" to the care of the three bright pledges of her love, their

children. But like the patriot soldier that he was, he never hesitated. Proceeding at once to gather about him a band of devoted men, who like himself, preferred the privations, and uncertain fortunes of the tented field, with honor, to inglorious submission to foreign tyrants, he equipped and drilled them with all possible dispatch, largely at his own expense. Then taking such order with his private affairs as the unsettled state of the country would permit, he bade his children adieu, and turning his back forever upon them, and the home which his ardent soul had sought so faithfully to make the aery of loves bright dream, he placed himself at the head of his regiment, and began that career which was to end so disasterously at German Town. Here he was wounded, captured by the enemy, and according to a letter of his sister, Mrs. Cain, dated March 23rd, 1780, died a prisoner of war at Philadelphia, 1779, aged thirty-seven years.

Of Colonel Buncombe's children, Elizabeth Taylor, the oldest, was sent when eleven years old, 1778 for education to Abraham Lot in New Jersey, Thomas and Hester were placed under the care of Mrs. Ann Booth Pollock of North Carolina. For many years after this Buncombe Hall became the prey of the spoiler.

While Colonel Buncombe was organizing his regiment, the Tories about Lee's Mills were very active. At their head was one Daniel Legget, who taking to himself the title of "Senoir Warden," went from farm to farm during the summer of 1776, and with notched sticks, tripple oaths, mysterious grips, and spelled-out pass-words, initiated all who would join him into a society for the pro-

tection of the Protestant religion, the maintainance of King George's authority, the assistance of deserters, and the protection of members from service in the patriot army. They were promised that as soon as Colonel Buncombe should march with his command, that Gen. Howe would certainly come to their assistance, and give over to their tender mercies his estate, and the property of all those who had enlisted with him. Gaining some strength, they began formulating a plan for assassinating all the chief men in the province, when their bloody purpose was disclosed, the ring-leaders apprehended, and loged in jail at Edenton. One of them at least, one Llewellyn, was executed, and this so frightened Leggett that he had a fit of hysteria, and wrote Governor Caswell a most penitent letter, begging that his unprofitable life should be spared, and assuring him that his penitence was so great that he would ever after be incapable of harm. He appears to have escaped with his neck.

Elizabeth Taylor Buncombe, Col. Buncombe's oldest daughter was married, by Bishop Benjamin Moore, to Jno. Goelet of New York, October 23rd, 1784. Eight children were the result of this union, three being born prior to their removal to North Carolina, which was about 1793. About this time Colonel Buncombe's estate was divided among his three children. Mrs. Goelet's part being the south-eastern portion of the Tyrrell plantation, on which Buncobe Hall stood. It was probably during the minority of these heirs, certainly prior to 1811, that the public road was changed, and laid out through the middle of the farm running nearly north and south, leaving the Buncombe Hall

fully three hundred yards to the east, and side to the road. They planted long rows of shade trees, principally sycamores, along the top of the ridge between the house and the road, and on either side of the latter through the entire estate, making the change as attractive as possible, but there was no attempt at altering the house to front the new road. This could easily have been done, as either wing was about equal in length, and contained the same number of rooms. But there was no disposition to make any alteration. In fact the reverential affection of Mrs. Goelet for everything that had been her father's, made her exceedingly averse to any change in Buncombe Hall, the home he had made. And thus it remained until 1876, when the Connecticut carpetbagger began to demolish it. True the piazza on the north side had fallen away, but the building itself was pratically as good at the close of tsi century of service, as when first erected.

After the division of the Buncombe property, the several parts were quickly taken by two or three good families, the Washington county Court House was erected at Lee's Mills, Mr. and Mrs. Goelet's large family of children, began to be "grown up," and altogether Buncombe Hall was again a social centre of first importance, on the "South Shore."' In 1836 they erected a chapel in the centre of the little colony, placing it on the west side of the public road, and only a few hundred yards from the entrance to the Buncombe Hall grounds.

This church, St. Luke's, was the scene of the early priestly ministrations of Bishop A. A. Watson, as it also

was of Rev. Dr. George Patterson, who recently died in Tennessee.

About the centre of this church-yard, marked by a modest marble slab, is the grave of Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor Buncombe Goelet, wife of John Goelet, and oldest daughter of Colonel Edward Buncombe. Mrs. Goelet died in Greenville, N. C., at the home of her son, Dr. Peter Goelet, March 9th, 1840, being within two days of seventy-three years old. She was first interred in the family burying ground on the farm, but was later removed to the churchyard. By her side, and to her left is the unmarked grave of Mr. Jno. Goelet, her husband. Mr. Goelet was born in 1759, on the day of the fall of Quebec, and died at Buncombe Hall, October 6th, 1853, and was buried in St. Luke's churchyard by Rev. Dr. Geo. Patterson, two days later. Mr. Goelet was a man of small stature, and slight figure, but he had the voice of a Boanerges, being able to make himself heard at a great distance. He was remarkable for his activity in his old age, frequently walking to Plymouth and back, a distance of eighteen miles, in half a day, even after he was eighty years old. On the right of Mrs. Goelet is the grave of her seventh child, and third son, Major John Edward Buncombe Goelet, who was born January 4th, 1807, and died November 13th, 1857. This grave is also unmarked. It is highly probable that the plot contains the graves of others of the Goelet children, but the two I have mentioned are the only ones certainly identified.

In 1811 Mr. and Mrs. Jno. Goelet gave their daughter who married a Mr. Haughton, one hundred and seventy

acres of the Buncombe Hall land, as her portion, one of the callings being a sycamore now the north-east corner of St. Lukes churchyard. It was their son who in 1859 purchased the homestead, it having been sold for division. The terms of the purchase not having been complied with, it was again in 1868 sold by decree of court, this time to an adventurer from Connecticut, who obtained very liberal terms from his political friends of the court. He completed the payment of the purchase price, $800.00, in 1874, perfecting his title. Pushing an old office building into the grove, between the house and the public road, he moved into this, not feeling himself equal to the presumption of residing in such a dignified looking building as Buncombe Hall was even in its ruins. To provide himself with spending money, he would sell with equal readiness, to negroes or political associates, a piece of the land, or a part of the house. Thus it came about that in 1878 there was nothing of the old building left save the naked framework of the dining room, and the kitchen walls under it. That nothing of its destruction might be wanting, the Norfolk and Southern railroad, whose track crosses the ridge about in line with the western walls of Buncombe Hall, dug away the earth on which it stood, to a depth of about five feet, leaving nothing to indicate its location save a slight depression at the side of the cut where the kitchen cellar was.

The last time I saw Buncombe Hall was in the spring of 1874, I had been sent to Lee's Mills on some errand by my father, and returning late, passed by the place after dark. The evening moon hung low in the west, its faint

light throwing indistinct shadows across the fenceless, fennel covered grounds, revealing the moss covered, sombre looking old building standing tenantless at the end of the long vista of sycamores. The upper windows, lined with the accumulated dust of years of neglect, threw back the light of the moon so brightly at times, that I nearly fancied these reflections were the spirit lights of ancient heroes holding high carnival in those silent upper chambers. About it, in perfect alignment were rows of great sycamores, their whitened branches pointing heavenward, like the bleached bones of many armed skeletons, hands uplifted. From the thicket jungle north-east of the house, containing the old burying ground, came the disquieting call of a lone whippoorwill, while way down by the Guinea hole on the creek, a horned owl sounded his melancholy note. Such were the last days of Buncombe Hall.

HAYES AND ITS BUILDER.

BY RICHARD DILLARD, A. M., M. D.

"Time has a Doomsday-book upon whose pages he is constantly recording illustrious names. Only a few stand in illumined characters never to be effaced." Each century has left us large legacies of wisdom and experience, but that which was useless has been reduced to dross in the merciless crucible of Time.

History is the essence of biography, and biography is the great open door to universal information. We cannot read too often the record of the truly wise, and virtuous; their deeds are of inestimable value to a Commonwealth. The soul only grows noble by the contemplation of the noble.

Gov. Samuel Johnston, the builder and master of Hayes, was of ancient Scotch lineage, and distinguished personnel. His commanding figure was well fitted to carry the fine head, and Jove-like brow which his portrait denotes. In early life he studied law under the distinguished barrister, Thomas Barker, of Edenton, and was soon appointed Deputy Naval Officer of the Province, an office which he filled with great ability, until removed by the royal governor Martin, for his decided revolutionary sentiments. The literature of an age undoubtedly impresses its stamp upon the characters who figure in it. The writings of Coke and Blackstone unconsciously affected every youth who studied law then. Gov. Johnston's strong forensic mind was evidently moulded, and illumined by them. His preeminent

GOV. SAMUEL JOHNSTON.

FROM A RARE OLD WATER COLOR IN THE HAYES LIBRARY.

ability and shrewdness became famous throughout the province, and his name is inseparably connected with the early history of law, and equity in North Carolina. His great octopus mind seemed to reach out in every direction; he filled with distinction the offices of Judge and Governor, and was the first United States Senator from North Carolina. He was on a commission created by Congress to settle the boundary line between New York and Massachusetts, with Jno. Jay, Elbridge Jerry, Rufus King, and others. The result was so satisfactory that in the election of 1796 he received two votes from the State of Massachusetts for the Vice-Presidency. He presided over the Hillsborough Provincial Congress, and over the Convention of Fayetteville in 1789, which adoptod the Federal Constitution. His associates were the greatest men of the time, and he was their peer. Governor Johnston was a federalist in politics, and helped to stamp strength upon our own State institutions. The revolutionary correspondence of Gov. Johnston, including letters from the Adames Jefferson, John Sevier, Anthony Wayne, James Madison, Robt. Morris and others, is an inviting and untilled field for the future historian, but it is too voluminous to publish here. I myself shall rest content, while humbly gleaning in this rich harvest of Canaan, to have my sheaves make their proper obesiance into those of my brother reapers.

His marriage to Miss Cathcart brought him additional wealth in the fine Caledonia estate on Roanoke River, and a large number of slaves. Both the Governor and his wife were hospitable hosts, and their elegant home became the resort of the cultured and refined. The distinguished

James Iredell, who wrote so charmingly of those days, was always glad of an opportunity to take tea, or spend the evening there, especially to meet the Governor's sister, Hannah, whom he subsequently married, and Mr. Barker, his old tutor, during his last years made frequent visits to Hayes to discuss the great political changes, which had taken place in the government. The affection between tutor and pupil became stronger and stronger, and when Mr. Barker died Gov. Johnston was his executor, and had him buried, by special request, in his own family graveyard at Hayes. As we view Governor Johnston down the long vista of time, he filled the full measure of Shakespeare's successful man, "Honor, wealth and ease in waning age." He was one of the ablest men the State has produced, and will live forever among the immortals who helped to mould her history.

Hayes, his beautiful seat, was built in 1801, and named for the home of that versatile and kingly knight, Sir Walter Raleigh. A fact in itself, which lends great interest to its history.

The homes of the early settlers indicated their type; here the cavalier prevailed, and he brought over with him his grand ideas of English life. Sir Christopher Wrenn, the famous architect of St. Paul's London, had for a long time set the fashion in architecture: the projecting second story; the gabled roof, and its most necessary embellishment, the lanturne or cupola, which was lighted up on the King's birthdays, and other festive occasions. This aerie in summer became the social heart of the mansion, just as the great fireplaces and inglenooks were the center for win-

HAYES, THE SEAT OF GOV. SAMUEL JOHNSTON.

NOW THE RESIDENCE OF MR. JNO. G. WOOD.

ter evening's amusements. When guests were present, tea would sometimes be served there, and the lord of the manor could spend hours there looking out upon the broad expanse of Albemarle Sound, watching for some overdue vessel, which was to bring him tidings and newspapers from England, or fruit and luxuries from far off Indies. Newspapers were scarce, and personal correspondence took their place. The elegant diction, and beautiful penmanship, are in striking contrast with the curt, typewritten, stenographic modern letter. By way of parenthesis, Col. Edward Buncombe was probably the exponent of the hospitality of Eastern North Carolina in those days. His gates always stood wide open, and above them he had inscribed, with great pride, his royal welcome. Whenever it was the good fortune of the stranger to lodge there, he would invariably find the next morning that the bridge across Kendrick's Creek had been taken up during the night, by the Colonel's orders, and that he was a prisoner in the castle to await the pleasure of his host. In passing it is an interesting study in philology to note that the modern word Buncombe or "bunkum" is indirectly derived from his name. A certain member of the Legislature from Buncombe County named Felix Walker, whenever a question was presented always persisted in making a speech, declaring that his constituents expected it, and that he was obliged to make a speech for Buncombe, hence its general use now meaning a pretended enthusiasm.

After the revolution, when our forefathers had accumulated wealth and slaves, a modification of their architecture became necessary to keep balance with their munifi-

cence, and they built with a spaciousness commensurate with their broad hospitality, and the pattern became classic, and for the most part Corinthian. Perhaps Hayes is one of the purest types of that style. It generally consisted of a large central mansion, with its huge portico, and columns, the wings connected to it by a colonade, or Grecian peristyle; the observatory taking the place of the lanturne. The gardens were for the most part formal, and of the Italian pattern, laid out in hearts, and horse-shoes, and stars, and edged with box. The long avenues were bordered by cedars, or stately elms, and tulip trees. Then there was the summer-house covered with Lady Banksia roses, a suitable tryst for the amours of Florizel and Perdita, and off on the sunny sward stood the ever-warning sundial. The gateway to the carriage drive was wide and inviting, and the posts were usually surmounted by couchant lions, urns, or the American Eagle.

Hayes is seated in the midst of a lovely grove and lawn upon a broad plateau, with its gentle trend toward Edenton Bay, an estuary of Albemarle Sound. The shore line broken here and there by clusters of feathery cypress trees, forms enchanting vistas of ever changing water scenery, and the dignified old mansion nestled among its stately trees lends a picturesque serenity to the landscape. The grounds are laid out with artistic skill and beauty, and pictorial cleverness. The walks lead to surprises of arbors, bowers of roses, and beautiful groupings of shrubbery: And when the summer moon hangs in the sky like a cutting of silver, the waves kiss back at her a thousand broken reflections, and the sheen thrown upon the landscape trans-

forms trees and bowers into fairy islands, dells and grottoes more weird and beautiful than the caves of Ellora. In the spacious dining-room hang the portraits of Clay and Webster, (both by Bogle) Marshall, Peter Brown, Judge Nash, Badger, Governor Morehead, Governor Graham and Gaston, the poet statesman. The portrait of Clay was painted especially for Mr. Jas. C. Johnston, and was the last one of that famous statesman. In a personal letter to Mr. Johnston, Mr. Clay stated that he would not have had his portrait painted at that time of life for any other living man.

The library, which occupies one wing of the mansion, is of unique octagonal design and antique appointment: It contains more than five thousand rare books, manuscrips, etc,, principally collected by Governor Johnston and is still sacredly preserved by its appreciative possessor, Mr. John G. Wood. There are many rare and costly old editions of various authors. Upon its walls hangs the portraits of Thos. Barker, (by Sir Joshua Reynolds,) John Stanley, Judge Iredell, Judge Ruffin the elder, Gavin Hogg, and around the cornice are busts of Washington, Marshall, Hamilton, John Jay, Zachary Taylor, Henry Clay, Dewitte Clinton, Webster, Walter Scott, Chancellor Kent, and James L. Pettigrew of Charleston, the erstwhile law partner of Gen. Pettigrew. The catalogue of books, though done with a quill pen, has the appearance of the most exquisite steel engraving. Mr. Edmund M. Barton of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass., says: "The catalogue is a wonderfully quaint thing in itself; the collection of books is very fine; worthy of careful in-

vestigation and preservation, and would make an excellent foundation for the public libraries, which must, and are gradually coming up through the South."

This library is a tempting, and enchanting pasture, where the mind may browse to its content, like herds upon the green Sicilian slopes, or wander like a bee, to gather nectar from the poet's flowers, and where fancy may, with wanton joy, chase the golden butterflies of fiction, or of romance.

Mr. James C. Johnston, a son of the Governor, was the last of the family to occupy Hayes. He was a courtly polished man, and inherited much of the physique, and strength of mind ofhis father. He lived in great exclusiveness and elegance at Hayes, with his retinue of servants. It is said that an early disappointment in love consigned him to celibacy, and changed the whole tenor of his life.

Mr. Johnston was an extensive planter, and engaged also in milling and shipping. At the outbreak of the Crimean war, in 1854, prices of breadstuffs went up in a fabulous way. That year the sales of wheat and corn from his Caledonia farm alone, amounted to over one hundred thousand dollars, nearly all of which was profit. And Mr. Johnston was so gratified at the result, that in addition to the regular salary paid his manager, he presented him with his check for one thousand dollars. This incident alone will give some idea of his munificence. He had the highest appreciation of sterling worth of character, especially applied to those with whom his extensive business operations associated him, and when his trusted Attorney, Malachi Haughton of Edenton died, with characteristic

generosity he erected to him a handsome shaft in St. Paul's Churchyard, and inscribed thereon his estimate of him in these lines:

"A wit's a feather, and a chief's a rod
An honest man's the noblest work of God."

Mr. Johnston was an extravagrant admirer of Henry Clay, and when the great commoner became embarrassed, voluntarily, and without his knowledge, paid off the entire indebtedness amounting, it is said, to over forty thousand dollars.

During the civil war Mr. Johnston was a Union man, and had but little sympathy with the ultra states right doctrine held by many.

If we are the reproduction of those who have preceded us, we cannot blame him too much for his political opinions. Rigidly reared under his father's influence, he had been taught to believe in a strong centralized government, and he held that there could only be complete strength in complete union of the component parts thereof.

When the war came with its bouleversement, the wrecking of fortunes, and the estrangement of friends, Mr. Johnston felt that he was neglected by his family, and became permanently alienated from them.

He died May 9th 1865, and by his holographic will, bitterly contested in chancery, by the ablest jurists of the day, his vast estate passed from his family forever.

"Here let us rest his case,
He's gone from hence, unto a higher court
To plead his cause."

RICHARD DILLARD.

Edenton, N. C.

Battles of Revolution Fought in North Carolina.

Moores Creek Bridge,	Feb'y 27th, 1776
Ramsour's Mill,	June 20th, 1780
Pacolet River,	July 14th, 1780
Earles Ford,	July 18th, 1780
Cane Creek,	Sept. 12th, 1780
Wahab's Plantation or Waxhaws.	Sept. 21st, 1780
Charlotte	Sept. 26th, 1780
Wilmington,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Cowans Ford,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Torrence Tavern,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Shallow Ford	Feb'y 6th, 1781
Bruce's Cross Roads,	Feb'y 12th, 1781
Haw River,	Feb'y 25th, 1781
Clapp's Mill	March 2nd, 1781
Whitsell's Mill,	March 6th, 1781
Guilford Court House,	March 15th, 1781
Hillsboro,	April 25th. 1781
Hillsboro,	Sept. 13th, 1781
Sudleys Mill, (Cane Creek.)	Sept. 13th, 1781

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Historic Homes in North Carolina.

THE GROVES—THE HOME OF WILLIE JONES,
BY COL. BURGWYN.

HISTORIC HOMES IN THE CAPE FEAR COUNTRY.
BY COL. A. M. WADDELL.

WAKEFIELD,
BY MARTHA HELEN HAYWOOD.

HAMLET, N. C.:
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1903.

'Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

THE GROVES.

THE GROVES—THE HOME OF WILLIE JONES.

BY COL. BURGWYN.

Situated on the banks of the Roanoke River, but a few miles from the Virginia line, is the little town of Halifax! A name fraught with memories of gallant deeds and the home of more than one hero. If age gives prestage to a place then we may claim an interest along this line for this town. The exact date of its first settlement is not known, but it was, perhaps, in the early part of the 18th century. It is situated in what was then Edgecombe county, but in 1758 the county of Halifax was formed and thus became the centre of judicial administration by being made the shiretown of the new county.

In the intercourse between the settlements in Virginia and those in inland eastern Carolina, this was the best and safest place to cross the Roanoke, rightly named, "river of death," always dangerous from its strong and powerful current, often it became a raging torrent of seething waters and impassible even at this point. The delays from this and other causes no doubt prompted the erection of shelter for the traveler and the beginning of that hospitality for which the town became noted in after years.

We read that "in the early history of the state the town of Halifax bore an important part." That here on the 12th day of April 1776, the first Provincial Congress in America declared for independence. Except the Mecklenburg Declaration there had not been anywhere in America an

instance of a public declaration in favor of a complete separation from Great Britian.

On a slight elevation called Constitution Hill, the house is still standing in which this convention met. Of the personnel of this convention we have much in a general way. Moore in his history says—"During October the elections were held for members of the convention that was soon to meet for the formation of a new government for North Carolina. Two distinct and antagonistic parties were developed, which struggled for ascendency at the polls on the 15th day of that important month, in the state's history.

Samuel Johnson and his friends were anxious for the establishment of a splendid system which should be possessed of great powers of repression and should rest authority largely in the hands of the enlightened few, who had been for two years past so largely "influential in shaping the destinies of the infant commonwealth." The leader of the opposing party was Willie Jones of Halifax who fiercely denounced this scheme. He was the avowed champion of the masses; and though an aristocrat in his habits and associations, was still theoretically the most radical politician then in the state.

Col. Caswell sympathized with such views but was wary and moderate in expression and went not to such lengths as were habitual with Mr. Jones.

Willie Jones was no demagogue, no office seeker; and few men have exerted a more salutary influence in North Carolina than he. Although the son of a provincial officer, Col. Robert Jones, who was appointed Attorney Gen-

eral for the Province of North Carolina by King George II, in 1749, and possessing an education acquired with the nobility of England, he was an ardent patriot and firmly advocated and believed in the rights due the infant colonies.

Moore says of him as he appeared in 1774: "Willie Jones was to North Carolina what Thomas Jefferson was to Virginia. Never conspicuous on the hustings or in the debates of deliberative bodies, but in his powerful and original mind was to be developed the larger portion of the policy of his people during the continuance of his life," and in another place the same historian says of him: "Willie Jones was a chapter of contradictions. He was always a leader of the assembly and yet rarely joined in the debates and then only to utter a few pungent and pointed sentences. Again, no man was so democratic in theory and yet so patrician in tastes. When the house had adjourned after an exciting debate his real strength manifested itself. No man could be so insinuating and convincing at the fireside. Probably Governor Caswell never realized how much his views were colored by the adroit and accomplished member from Halifax."

Mr. Jones was the leader of the majority in the constitutional convention which met in Hillsboro July 21st 1788 for "the purpose of deliberating and determining on the proposed plan of Federal Government." There is a tradition that before the convention met, Mr. Jefferson wrote an autograph letter to Mr. Jones requesting him to use his influence to prevent the ratification of the Federal Constitution by North Carolina. As the story goes Mr.

Jones read that letter privately to every member of the convention known to be a disciple of Jefferson and converted from opposition to ratification others who were in doubt, so that he had counted the masses before the convention was called to order and knew that the Federal Constitution would not be ratified as it stood. Knowing that a large majority was with him, Mr. Jones wished the question immediately put without debate.

He said: "The constitution has so long been the subject of deliberation by every man in this country and the members of this convention have had such ample time to consider it, that I believe every one of them is prepared to give his vote now upon the question." Mr. Iredell spoke at length against voting without debate and Mr. Jones in a very short speech withdrew his motion saying: "If gentlemen differ from me in the propriety of this motion I will submit." As is often the case his apparent submission carried his point for the vote stood 184 to 84 against ratification. Until the Declaration of Rights and certain amendments were made a part of the constitution. Willie Jones won the day, and as long as he lived, was the most popular political leader in the state. In this way his friendship for and with the great Jefferson was strengthened. In after years the families were united by the marriage of Mr. Jones' daughter, Martha, to Judge John W. Eppes, of Buckingham county, Va., whose first wife had been Thomas Jefferson's daughter.

Willie Jones' father, Col. Robert Jones, lived at what was called "Jones' Castle" in Northampton county, just

across the river from Halifax but died while his son was at Eton, England.

After young Willie's return to America in the year 1765, he moved his father's house to Halifax and built in the extreme south of the town what has since been known as the "Grove House."

All the building material of the first house which was erected in 1740 had been brought from England. This when moved to Halifax was added to and improved to suit the taste of the young owner and his prospective bride. The construction of this house which has stood so well the storms of years was elaborate; the workmanship was of the best and it was built according to the demands of the times in regard to hospitable entertainment, situated in an immense park of native white oaks, it still stands a ruin of what was once the castle from which its owner extended such lavish hospitality and around whose hearth-stones he used those graces which won men to his views and brought such lasting results.

Of the majestic oaks which formed this park, or "Groves" which Mr. Jones preferred to call it, and through whose branches the sunlight fell on dead leaves and bronze mosses which formed a carpet of varied colors for the feet, there are five remaining in one group; these five oaks divide honors with two immense sycamores in guarding the approach to the front door of the castle. One of the provisions of Mr. Jones' will was that not an axe should be laid to the body of one of these trees, but alas, how impotent the will of man to control the events of passing years—many of them have been removed. The door-yard

is a wilderness of shrubbery, which has reached an abnormal growth, and the limbs of huge Crepe Myrtles are interlaced with those of the "Rose of Sharon" and Mock Orange which are more trees than shrubs, so long and deep have their roots fastened themselves in the generous soil.

The steps to the front porch were of semi-circular shape and built of red granite, which was brought from Scotland. The entrance hall is large and square, the wainscoting of handsome paneled oak, the moulding around the ceiling of each room is precisely what many are using to-day, with the addition of the dignity given by more than a hundred years, the large open fireplaces in hall, salon, and parlor offer suggestions of the warmth and cheer of which only these shadows remain. In one corner of this hall is a peculiarly arranged window or nook, said to have contained secret chambers which opened with a concealed spring and which is credited with having been the receptacle of state papers of no little importance. Uncanny tales are told of other spirits than those which cheer as visiting this mysterious corner at most unlooked for times, and "hants" are often seen by the credulous passers-by, when overtaken by the darkness in this forsaken spot.

A wide cross hall separates this one from the banquet hall or dining room which deserves more than a passing notice. All the rooms are large, this one unusually so. The wide and deep bow window, the high carved mantel which reached to the ceiling, the heavy frescoe and many other small paned windows give it still an air of more than ordinary interest. The tone and coloring of the

paper on the walls can be seen in places but much of its ornamentation has been taken away by relic seekers.

This large bow window which formed a semi-circle with one wide center window and two smaller windows on either side, was the first one ever built in North Carolina, and Mr. Jones arranged it so that he could have a perfect view of his private race track, and from this room watch the racing of his blooded horses of which he was passionately fond. Of the cost of this window we can form some idea, when we remember that the duty on glass was one of the chief grounds of complaint at the time this house was built.

The historian Moore again says of Mr. Jones, "that he was authority on all matters concerning field sports, and lost a most advantageous alliance in marriage in preference to surrendering his thoroughbred horses.

Mr. Jones was married June 27th 1776, to Mary, second daughter of Col. Joseph Montford, of whom the historian says: He was a grand specimen of the old time Virginia gentleman who had settled in that part of Edgecombe County which afterwards became Halifax. Col. Montford was descended from Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leecester. He was appointed by the Duke of Beaufort to be the first Grand Master of Masons in the Province of North Carolina. His oldest daughter, Mrs. Jones' sister, Betsey, married Gov. John Baptista Ashe Oct. 7th, 1779, and it was in this room at the Grove House in which Col. Tarleton was dining with Lord Conwallis that the conversation occurred in regard to Col. Wm. Washington which has immortalized her name in history. Mrs. Ashe was with

her sister at the Grove House while her husband Col. Ashe was away in command of his regiment of patriot soldiers and Col. Jones was in Virginia in command of another. Lord Cornwallis in his march from Wilmington to Yorktown in April 1781, on reaching Halifax found the waters of the Roanoke so high that he could not cross the ferry so took forced possession of the house and grounds. He soon found that though he could establish a forced occupation of the premises he could not control the sharp speech of the mistress of the mansion and her wily sister.

This house and grounds in after years were occupied by portions of two other armies. First during the civil war Col. Duncan K. McRea with the 5th North Carolina Regiment, with the consent of the owners, spent quite a while in camp there; after the war closed it was occupied and partly destroyed by a portion of the Federal army. Another interesting incident is that owing to a railroad accident just opposite the Grove in which several Confederate soldiers were killed and wounded Gen. Johnston Pettigrew and Col. Harry K. Burgwyn were detained and rested at the Grove House until transportation could be resumed. This was in the early summer of 1863, when Pettigrew's Brigade, of which Col. Burgwyn's Regiment the 26th North Carolina was a part, was ordered to Virginia to unite with Gen. Lee's army in the invasion of Pennsylvania. The dinner taken here was the last meal eaten by either of these gallant young soldiers in their native state—one fell leading his men at Gettysburg,

the other a few days thereafter, defending the retreat of the army across the Potomac.

A narrative of this family and their home would not be complete without the statement that it was here the young Scotchman John Paul found a home in his wanderderings and from grateful recognition of kindness shown him adopted the name he afterwards made so famous.

Winston Churchill in his book Richard Carvel, as others have done, claims that John Paul Jones got his name from a Virginia planter. Mr. Cyrus T. Brady in his biography of his favorite heroes contained in his Great Commander Series says "that he adopted the name in affectionate regard for the Hon. Willie Jones and his beautiful and charming wife who had both been very kind to him in his days of obscurity." He adds "that it was Willie Jones, one of the leading attorneys and politicians in his native state who afterwards secured for Paul a command in the United States navy. He likewise surmises that, as the Jones family were the first people of refinement and education with whom young Paul ever associated, it was to them that were primarily due the polish and cultivation which later admitted the gardener's son to the highest circles in American and French society. The impression made upon young John Paul by the privilege of association with these friends who had raised him from a "tramp" to a welcome guest for an indefinite time, was of the deepest, and he gave to them, especially to Mrs. Jones, a warm hearted affection and devotion amounting to veneration."

Mr. Brady is right in his statements. An autograph

letter from Willie Jones' grand-daughter, Mrs. Wm. W. Alston, who is now living, in Isle of Wight county, Va., in answer to one of enquiry regarding this statement says: "You ask did John Paul Jones change his name in compliment to my grand-father, Willie Jones? I have always heard that he did and there is no reason to doubt the fact. Not only have I always heard it, but it was confirmed by my cousin, Mrs. Hubbard, wife of Col. E. Hubbard from Virginia, while in Washington in 1856, with her husband who was a member of congress. She then met a nephew of John Paul Jones who sought her out on hearing who she was. He told her of hearing his uncle and the family speak of the incident often and his great devotion to the family, so that in my opinion you can state it as a historical fact." This lady is more than 80 years old but her letter is full of love and veneration for the name of her honored grand parents and the associations of her childhood. There are several churches in Halifax—one built on a portion of the Grove estate, the lot was given by Mr. Jones' daughter, Mrs. Eppes for this purpose; but on the farther side of the town just as you descend toward the river still stands one built so long ago that no one can give the date of its erection. Some say it was built for a "free church" and was used by preachers of all creeds, others say that it was the established church in which many of the leaders worshipped before the Revolutionary war. There is a crown over the pulpit and a sounding board. This would seem to prove the correctness of those who claim the latter, and say that the clergyman of the church of England in charge of this parish was

allowed the same salary given to each incumbent, which was $650 per annum by the province and another hundred by the London Society for the propogation of the gospel. Perhaps it was from contempt for some such incumbent, too prevalent at that time, as Miss Johnson gives to the character of "Darden" in her last book on Allen, the tool of Richard Carvel's arch enemy, that caused Mr. Jones to lean too much to the views which were sweeping over France and America at that time.

The intense hostility which he imbibed for church establishment had its origin in religious persecution for non-conforming to the required rites and ceremonies of church, and often carried its adherents too far; but from what we know of the sterling piety of some of his family we would judge that he was in sympathy with a recently published letter of his friend, Mr. Jefferson, in which he says, "I always rejoice in efforts to restore us to primitive Christianity; in all the simplicity in which it came from the lips of Jesus. Had it never been sophisticated by the subtleties of commentators now paraphrased into meaning totally foreign to its character, it would at this day have been the religion of the whole civilized world."

In Mr. Jones' will which is lengthy and bears date Feb. 22, 1798, he states the ages of his children then living, giving as his reason that there is no public record kept of births of these children. Willie Jones, Jr., according to the English law of primogeniture inherited most of his father's estate and lived at the Grove House until he died in 1846. This young man was mentally dwarfed and died without issue leaving his paternal estate

to his three surviving sisters. One of these as we have said had married Judge John W. Eppes, of Buckingham county, Va. Another, Sallie, married Governor Burton, of North Carolina, and after his death was again married to Col. Andrew Joyner, of Halifax county. The third became Mrs. Joseph B. Littlejohn, of Oxford.

This will which is on record at Halifax is peculiar in other ways. There is a singular provision as to Mr. Jones' burial place, directing that if he die while a member of the General Assembly at Raleigh in session there, he shall be buried there; but if he should die in Halifax he should be buried by the side of his little girl who was buried in the orchard; that his family and friends were not to mourn his death even with a black rag, on the contrary "I give to my wife and three daughters each a quaker colored silk to make them habits on the occasion." Another remarkable extract from the will of this remarkable man is: "I appoint my brother Allen Jones and my friend Wm. R. Davie executors of it. My brother is to be acting executor as long as he lives; if he should die Gen. Davie must act; for two acting executors or administrators at the same time are like two Kings of Brentford."

Mr. Jones was buried in Raleigh, as he directed, but the family graveyard in the orchard is still preserved. The tomb of the little girl mentioned in this will is of brick covered by a heavy marble slab which bears the following inscription.

MARY MONTFORT JONES,
THE CHILD OF
WILLIE AND MARY JONES,
SHE WAS BORN AUGUST 21, 1788,
AND DIED JUNE 29, 1791.

"Venus gave all the graces, Pallas formed the mind
With rival art, to make the first of woman kind,
Jove, of the wonderous work too soon enamored grown
Sent the stern tyrant death and claimed her for his own.
The spirit soar'd to Jove the fine, cold, senseless clay
Shin'd in spight of death, as bright as orient day."

This tomb though more than a century old and for many years uncared for, is well preserved and the inscription perfectly legible. How sad that we are behind our mother Virginia again in that we have no society to look after such things; so many of our places of interest are allowed to vanish in ruins for want of such protecting care. The state or county should own this old home and restore it to its former condition.

In the extreme north of the town, repaired and in good condition is the home of Gen. Wm. R. Davie of "Hornets Nest" fame, and in the old church yard above alluded to is the tomb of his wife who was Mr. Jones' niece. This tomb has a slab of marble over it similar to that of the little girl and is inscribed as follows:

To
The Memory of
SARAH DAVIE,
Daughter of
General Allen Jones,
Born the 23rd Day of September, 1762.
She was Married to William R. Davie, Esq.,
On the 11th of April 1782,
And Departed This Life
On the 14th of April, 1802.

Ida T. Wilkins.

HISTORIC HOMES IN THE CAPE FEAR COUNTRY.

BY COL. A. M. WADDELL.

There are very few "historic homes" in North Carolina if, by that phrase, homes of distinguished men remaining in the same families for more than a hundred years be meant. There are a great many sites of the homes of the early settlers, and a few original buildings left, but nearly all of the latter have perished, and even where they have been restored, or where new ones have been substituted for them, the owners are in most cases not of the blood of those who made those homes historic. This is the inevitable result in any country where the law of primogeniture is unknown, where families are large, and where real estate cannot be entailed, or escape liability to creditors. I can scarcely recall an instance of a home which is more than a hundred years old, and which is still kept up by the descendants of the original proprietor in the same, or a better, style than he affected. It was not so prior to 1861, for up to that date there were scores of such homes in the states; but the deluge came, and, with it, wreck and transformation.

Aside from this, the truth is, that our people have never taken especial pride or interest in preserving historic memorials of any kind.

One of the most remarkable and pitiful illustrations of this was what occurred several years ago in regard to

Hilton,* the home of the Revolutionary patriot Cornelius Harnett. The house and grounds, which lie just outside of the city of Wilmington, were bought by a Northern man, as a site for a manufacturing establishment, and, not wishing to tear down the venerable mansion, the proprietor offered (according to a statement in the city papers published at the time) to exchange the house with any one who desired to remove and preserve it, for the same quantity of brick contained in it. It was not a large house, and the cost of removal would have been small, but no one could be found willing to comply with the offer, and it was torn down.

Orton and Kendall, adjoining plantations on the lower Cape Fear, are the only "historic homes" that have been continuously occupied as residences (but not by the descendents of the original proprietors) for a hundred and fifty years or more—the former being the only house that has remained substantially the same, and the latter a comparatively new building. There are in the city of Wilmington two houses opposite each other on Market Street at the corner of Third, still occupied as residences, one of which, the McRary house, was built before the Revolution by John Burgwin, Esq., and occupied by Cornwallis in 1782 as headquarters, and the other the DeRosset house, built in 1798 and occupied by that family ever since until recently, which was occupied during the war of 1861-65, by Gen. Whiting as headquarters.

* This name has long been spelled so, under the popular belief that it was so called after Hilton, one of the original explorers of the country; but Harnett named it Maynard, and after it passed into the possession of Wm Hill, Esq., he gave it the name of Hilton after his own family.

These are the only instances of "historic homes" still standing on the lower Cape Fear, but there are on both branches of the river for many miles up and down, the ruins of residences once occupied by men who were prominent in making our early history. In some cases the foundations of the houses are visible, but in most there is hardly a vestige of them left. Very few modern houses have been built on these plantations, and hardly one of these on the old site, which is generally occupied by undergrowth and weeds, or is a bare, bald spot.

It is, to those who have sensibilities on the subject, a source of profound sadness that these old homes of the men who laid the foundations of our state, and through trials, and suffering, and sacrifices, little dreamed of by the present generation, secured the liberties of the people, have disappeared, and their very sites become unknown to ninety nine of every hundred of the inhabitants of the country. But such has been the fate of the "historic homes" of the South generally.

It is diferent in New England, where, from the Revolution to the present time, no armies have been seen, and the thrift of the people has been supplemented by perpetual bounties from the Federal government—that is to say, from all the other people of the country.

One of the historic homes near Wilmington should be of especial interest to the Masonic fraternity, as it was the summer residence of William Hooper one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the place of meeting, before and during the Revolution, of the Masons belonging to the first Lodge established in the state, and

the place from which the locality took its name of Masonboro. It is on the Sound about eight miles from Wilmington. The walls of the house, (which was burned a few years ago) bore Masonic emblems which were visible nearly up to the time of its destruction.

On the east side of the N. E. branch of the Cape Fear about 25 miles above Wilmington, and the uppermost of the old places, was Lillington Hall, where lived and was buried Gen. Lillington, one of the heroes of the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, the first victory of the American Revolution, fought on the 27th February 1776. It was a notable place in its day, and is described in Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution."

Opposite to Lillington Hall, on the west side, and extending thence to within three miles of Wilmington, there was a succession of estates, the first of which was Stag Park, first located and patented by Gov. Burrington of Colonial, (and unsavory) reputation. Then came "The Neck," the residence of Gov. Samuel Ashe; and next "Green Hill," the residence of Gen. John Ashe of Revolutionary fame.

Then came Moseley Hall, the residence of Col. Sampson Moseley, who was prominent in civil and military life before and during the Revolution; then Clayton Hall, the residence of Francis Clayton, who was frequently in the legislature, and, after him, the residence of Col. Sam. Ashe, where occurred the remarkable and amusing adventures of Tom Martin (too long to be told here). Next came "The Vats," located by Col. Maurice Moore, after a controversy with Gov. Burrington, which came near ending

in blood. The point of rocks at the bend of the river on this place gave the name of Rocky Point, which it still bears, to the neighborhood. Col. Maurice Moore the founder of the town of Brunswick is buried there, and his son Judge Maurice Moore. Then came a succession of nine plantations owned by prominent men, (among them Col. Jno. Pugh Williams of the 9th Regiment of the Continental Line), and then crossing the river again, came another series of places, the most historic of which were Castle Haynes owned by Gen. Hugh Waddell, who is buried there, and the Hermitage owned by Mr. Burgwin, Treasurer of the Province before the Revolution, which was one of the most celebrated homes in the Cape Fear country for a hundred years, but which, like most of the rest of them, finally succumbed to that destroyer of country homes, fire.

The great majority of these residences were wooden structures, some of them being large, with wide halls and piazzas, but without any pretence to architectural beauty, and some being one story buildings, spread out over a considerable space. A few were of brick, but none of stone, as there was no building stone within a hundred miles; but all, whether of brick or wood were comfortable, and the seats of unbounded hospitality.

On the west or main branch of the Cape Fear above Wilmington, there was a similar succession of places once owned by men distinguished in military or civil life, the first of which was Maclaine's Bluff, where the famous lawyer Archibald Maclaine is buried. He was a member of the Committee of Safety for Wilmington in 1776, of

the Provincial Congress at Hillsboro in 1775, and of the Convention of 1778 at the same place, to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and represented the town of Wilmington in the legislature from 1783 to 1786. The Bluff is now occupied by a guano factory, and the acid chamber is over the spot where he was buried. Further up the river in Bladen County is "Owen Hill," the residence of Col Thomas Owen, a brave officer who was at the battle of Camden, and was frequently in the legislature. It was also the home of his son Gov. John Owen, a very prominent man for many years, and until a recent date was the home of the latter's daughter.

In this county there was also the residence of Gen. Thomas Brown, a Colonial and Revolutionary soldier, the hero of the "surprise party" at Elizabethtown in 1781, and a brave and noble patriot. This residence remained in his family until a few years ago. Near Elizabethtown was "Belfont," the residence of Gen. Hugh Waddell, and the place on which Cornwallis's favorite officer, Lt. Col. Webster, who was wounded at the battle of Guilford Court House, is buried. The estate was afterwards bought by James J. McKay, who was a distinguished member of congress for many years. He devised the property to the County of Bladen, which I believe, still owns it.

* "Brompton," the residence of Gilbert Johnson, brother of Gov. Gabriel Johnson, (who was Colonial Governor for 18 years) was also in Bladen, but has long since gone to decay. It is said that at this place Gen. Francis Marion met a number of officers and re-organized his command,

which—it will surprise some people to learn—was largely composed of North Carolinians.

The foregoing list, I think, embraces all or very nearly all of the "historic homes" on the lower Cape Fear, although it is quite possible that some have been omitted.

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* Letter of Gilbert Johnstone, Gentleman, written March 8th, 1790.

My grand father, John Johnstone, Stapleton, Officer in Scotch Regiment and in French service married Elizabeth, her father Gabriel Belchier, French Protestant. Their children, 1 John, he and only son died in North Britain. 2 Gabriel, Governor of North Carolina. 3 Gilbert, my father. 4 Samuel, lived in Onslow, N. C. 5 Elizabeth, married Thomas Kenan, at our home, Armagh. My father married Caroline, her grand father, George Johnstone, Armagh 1724, children, Gilbert, Henry, Caroline, Gabriel, Robert, William, Isabel; John. I married Margaret Warburton, North Carolina 2nd, June 1750. Children, Hugo, Gilbert, Jean, Isabel. Henry died Catawba County, son James, Col. in war. Caroline married William Williams, son William. John lived in Yadkin county now in Bertie, N. C. Gabriel married Janet Macfarland, son Frances killed, Lieut. Mother and Aunt Francis died Brompton. My father to Ireland after 1715. Got my lands through George Gould. Barfield tories burned my home to cellar. Was at Culloden with father, he wounded, came Cape Fear 1746. My father died 1775.

Marion, two Horrigs and Francis Huger met Folsome and Giles my house. All chose Marion, bar Folsome. Hugo took my men with Marion 1780, all horsemen. Francis Huger and James often at my house. John Rutherford a tory.

Writ by my hand for Susanna 8th day March 1790.

(Signed) Gilbert Johnstone, Gentleman.

The following endorsements are on the back of this letter:

"Folded and addressed on back to Susanna Johnstone by Stephen."

"NOTE: "Hugo" was the eldest son of Gilbert Johnstone who wrote the letter and Susanna was Hugo's wife."

"I certify upon honor that this is a true copy of the original letter which is now in my possession at Idylwild, Ga.

August 20, 1900. (Signed) Huger W. Johnstone,"

Idylwild, Ga.

WAKEFIELD.

BY MARTHA HELEN HAYWOOD.

Just without the boundaries of Raleigh, quaint and gray, like a page torn from some dim history of the past, lies "Wakefield." Quiet and vine covered it stands in its simple dignity with a stateliness in its modest architecture which recalls the bygone days of Lady Lyon (nee Miss Wake) from whom it was named; and of Joel Lane pioneer and patriot, who in 1792, "conveyed to the state as a site for a capitol one thousand acres of land contiguous to his residence at Wake Court House.

Although "Wakefield" bore a tory name it was for many years the rallying spot of the most ardent patriots. "Here the General Assembly of the rebellious and traitorous Province of North Carolina (the proudest title she ever won whether in ancient or modern days) met in June 1781 and elected Thomas Burke, the accomplished Irishman, Governor of the State. Here also tradition tells us rested the Great Wolf of Carolina while he rallied his forces to march against the Regulators. In that day the gray old house wore a suit of "tory red" to match the governor's own, and consisting as it did of only two low stories with slanting roof and dormer windows was considered "a rare specimen of architectual elegance," in every way worthy the representative of the King.

Joel Lane was a man of influence and of strong character. On Lyons march against the Regulators he served as Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment, and during the war

for American Independence he served with faithfulness and bravery occupying many positions of both civil and military trust, all of which he filled with honor to himself and his country.

* "He was a member of the State Congress of 1775, of that of April 1776, and beginning with 1782, thirteen times State Senator, continuously, except 1793. During the war he was a member of the County Committee of Safety. He was a commissioner to locate the boundaries of Wake County. As Justice of the Peace he was a member of the first court in the county. He was one of the charter trustees of the University and offered 640 acres at Cary as a site for it. He was a delegate to the convention of 1788 and to that of 1789 voting against the Federal Constitution in the first and for it in the second."

Joel Lane died in the year 1795 on March 25th and he now lies buried in an open field on the east of Boylan Avenue, "mouldering in the midst of the unrecorded dead," [Letter of Gov. Swain], beneath the shade of an old mulberry tree. He bequeathed his residence at his death to his son Thomas who sold it to Dr. Allen Gilchrist who had married a daughter of Joel Lane.

From Dr. Gilchrist it was bought by an old Scotchman named Peter Brown, who was an able scholar and lawyer, and who built in the grounds, close to the residence a large library for which he accumulated while on his travels in America and Europe a most interesting and extensive collection of the best books of the day.

In an old newspaper we read that in 1818 Peter Brown

* Hon. Kemp Battle in "Raleigh and the old town of Bloomsbury."

sold "Wakefield" to Wm Boylan, "the first editor of the Raleigh Minerva, a gentleman of great positiveness and yet kindliness of character. Accumulating a large estate he spent the last years of his life in the enjoyment of private and domestic life, though when a public emergency called him to the front as in 1850, when the prospect of obtaining the necessary subscription to secure the building of the Central Railroad was imperiled, he was prompt to come forward aggressive, bold, liberal, and public spirited, with one hand on a true North Carolina heart, and one in a patriotic pocket."

Wakefield has remained in the possession of the "Boylan" family ever since it came into the possession of Wm. Boylan in 1818, and to-day it stands under the shadow of its spreading trees (except for an addition of a South wing and the falling away of the old Colonial columns that graced the front portico), exactly as it stood, long before city of Raleigh was planned or even dreamed of. Holding as it ever will something of its old world atmosphere, it seems a thing apart from the stir and bustle of modern life, the rush and clamor of the business world of to day. A region of quiet and repose where the fancy travels far, where dim shapes in lace and powder in buff and blue, seem not the things that dreams are made of, where memories faint and half forgotten, find yet a weal, habitation and a name.

Battles of Revolution Fought in North Carolina.

Moores Creek Bridge,	Feb'y 27th, 1776
Ramsour's Mill,	June 20th, 1780
Pacolet River,	July 14th, 1780
Earles Ford,	July 18th, 1780
Cane Creek,	Sept. 12th, 1780
Wahab's Plantation or Weitheurs.	Sept. 21st, 1780
Charlotte	Sept. 26th, 1780
Wilmington,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Cowans Ford,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Torrence Tavern,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Shallow Ford	Feb'y 6th, 1781
Bruce's Cross Roads,	Feb'y 12th, 1781
Haw River,	Feb'y 25th, 1781
Clapp's Mill	March 2nd, 1781
Whitsell's Mill,	March 6th, 1781
Guilford Court House,	March 15th, 1781
Hillsboro,	April 25th. 1781
Hillsboro,	Sept. 13th, 1781
Sudleys Mill, (Cane Creek.)	Sept. 13th, 1781

Feb 1903

The North Carolina Booklet.

GREAT EVENTS IN ..... NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

Feb No 10

The County of Clarendon.

Or. Old Charleston on the Cape Fear

—BY—

JAMES S. BARRETT.
BASSETT

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The County of Clarendon.

—BY—

JAMES S. BARRETT.

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1903.

'Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

THE COUNTY OF CLARENDON.

BY JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, PH. D.

It is to the island of Barbados that we must look for the beginning of Clarendon county on the Cape Fear. To this island came during the parliamentary war in England a number of loyalists who would not submit themselves to Cromwell. They found the place a welcome but a restricted home far south of the Tropic of Cancer. Sugar grew profitably and wealth began to accumulate. But one thing disturbed the thoughts of the settlers. They realized that they were on a small island, where no influential community could be planted, and where their children would find themselves isolated among the people of the earth or forced to seek homes elsewhere. It seemed good to some of them to move at once to a larger and more promising field. Added to this was a political reason for their dissatisfaction in the island. It had long ago been granted to Lord Carlisle who failed to improve it. When the loyalist refugees came to it they found no one to forbid them to settle and no one to sell them land. They took possession and built their homes without land titles. Ere long the original proprietor's claim was brought up and a cloud was thus cast upon their titles. This caused them much concern and concern deepened into dismay when, after some long discussions, it was decided that the settlers should pay to the proprietor's creditors, for he was deeply in debt, four and a half per cent. of their gross yearly produce, and that after

these creditors were satisfied the inhabitants should continue to pay a like sum to the king. It was equivalent, said they in dismay, to a tax of ten per cent. on their net incomes. Their dissatisfaction was little allayed by the fact that the king after the restoration in 1661, as a token of his esteem for the islanders, made baronets of thirteen of them, among whom were John Colleton, one of the future proprietors of Carolina, and in due time, Sir John Yeamans, who took part in planting the Cape Fear colony, as we shall soon see.

In 1663 the king granted Carolina to the eight Lord Proprietors. It was natural for the Barbadians to think of this as a field for their settlement. Promptly, in less than six months after the king signed the grant, two gentlemen of Barbados, Thomas Modyford and Peter Colleton, wrote to the new proprietors in behalf of themselves and two hundred others of the same place proposing that they should make a settlement 'in that goodly land of Florida," (on the Cape Fear river.) They declared that many hundreds of experienced and respectable planters of Barbados would follow them to the proposed colony if they were properly encouraged. They asked to be allowed to name their own rulers, to make their own laws, and to have a tract of land consisting of one thousand square miles subject to fixed rents. They asserted that they were qualified for the task of settling the place "as well for their experienced planters, as for the number of their Negro and other servants fit for such labor as will be there required."

This was not the first information the proprietors had of the design of the Barbadians. Private letters had already

told them the same story, and on August 25th they sent to the island an outline of the terms on which they would grant land in Carolina. They announced that a colony might settle on the south side of Cape Fear river, near the mouth, that 20 000 acres of land must be reserved in such a colony for the proprietors, that the settlers must send them the names of thirteen men, from whom they would appoint a governor and six councillors to rule the colony for three years, that there should be an assembly chosen by the people to make laws, subject to the approval of the proprietors, that all persons should have personal and religious liberty, and that for the first five years each adventurer should have one hundred acres of land for himself, fifty acres for each man-servant and thirty acres for each woman-servant. For this land they reserved as an acknowledgement and to help pay the charges of settlement one-half penny for each acre—presumably as a quit-rent, though the proposals do not explicitly say as much. It was expected that this colony would produce wine, oil, silk, rice, currants, etc., which were not then raised elsewhere in the king's possessions. The Duke of Albemarle, who was the executive head of the eight proprietors, wrote cautiously to the governor of Barbados explaining that it would be an advantage to that island to have the proposed colony planted. It would prevent, said he, an overproduction of sugar, and that would promote the interests of Barbados, by taking off a part of the sugar planters there. He added, and it was much more to the point, that the new colony would produce corn, beef, and pork for the supply of the island.

He might also have mentioned in the same connection staves and lumber.

The proposed Barbadian colony was not the first which went to the Cape Fear. Some time before it was projected some New Englanders had discovered and entered the mouth of the river. They found out how favorable a place it was for a colony and gave report of it at home. The feature which attracted them was the large cane-brakes and open meadow. It seemed to them to offer advantages for cattle-raising.

The New Englanders secured an Indian grant for the region—and prepared to make a settlement. They brought the matter before some London business men, and a company was organized there to co-operate with them in their scheme. To these they declared that they were the first who had ever entered the mouth of the river, which they called the Charles, the first to land and set foot on its banks, and that they possessed good Indian deeds to the land, after the fashion of settlers who came into some new region. They went so far as to apply to the king for a patent, not doubting that it would be granted. But in this they were disappointed. When Carolina was granted to the proprietors, these Londoners sent to the latter a petition in behalf of the New England enterprise. The settlement had already been made, and since the patent for it could not be got from the king it was important that some kind of an arrangement should be made with the proprietors. Speaking for their associates in New England, who were the controlling part of the company, the petitioners asked that the new settlement be

given as liberal a form of government as was enjoyed by New England colonies generally; that is to say, that they might choose their own governors, make and confirm their own laws, and be exempt from any taxes but those they laid themselves. If either of these privileges was not fully granted to them then those who were concerned in the settlement, although some of them had established considerable estates there, would incontinently abandon it. The petitioners added, furthermore, that the progress of the settlement had recently met a short check from some who had gone thither and becoming dissatified had returned to New England with reports in their mouths about the difficulties of the harbor, and the sterility of the soil. They urged that the privileges requested be granted, lest the refusal of them in connection with this evil report should be the end of the colony. What answer they received we do not know. But we know from the proposals the proprietors made for settlers on August 25th, that they were not disposed to introduce New England institutions into Carolina, and we know, also, that the New England colony was withdrawn by its promoters. When they withdrew they set up a post on which they placed a bit of information very uncomplimentary to the place.

The settlement of the Cape Fear was left, therefore, to the Barbadians. They had heard of the bad report of the New Englanders, but they did not believe it, as became good Cavaliers. They had already sent William Hilton to explore the Carolina coast, and his report was good. They were about to send him on another trip for the same purpose. He was dispatched with two others in the fall of 1663

and the explorers were in the river from October 12 till December 4. They explored the main stream as much as fifty leagues and some of its branches nearly as far. They found much poor land and much that was as good as any in the world. Of the latter there was enough to accommodate thousands of Englishmen; to all of which they duly testified in a report to those who sent them out.

"We saw mulberry trees," they said, "multitu les of grape vines, and some grapes, which we eat of. We found a very large and good tract of land on the northwest side of the river, thin of timber except here and there a very great oak, and full of grass, commonly as high as a man's middle, and in many places to his shoulders, where we saw many deer and turkeys; one deer having very large horns and great body, therefore called it Stag-Park." This delightful park, they added, stretched away for several miles. They found other tracts like this. Some of the land was pine-barrens; but most of it was good for pasturage. It was the latter fact which had attracted the New Englanders who hoped to raise cattle there. They heard of the droves of cattle left there by the New England people, but they could not find them.

The report of the commissioners pleased those who employed them. Preparations for sending out a colony were begun at once. The winter was devoted to them and in the spring of 1664 the expedition set sail from Barbados. Who led it, and how many people it contained we do not know. We only know that it arrived in the Cape Fear, or the Charles, on May 24, 1664. On the south side of this river some twenty or thirty miles from the sea they

selected the site of a town which they hoped would become the metropolis of their new nation. In loyalty to the king they called it Charles Town. They did not all settle there, however, but placed themselves along the river as they found good land. At the end of three years the plantations extended up and down the river for sixty miles.

Two prominent men in the colony were Robert Sandford and John Vassall. Peter Colleton in Barbodos and his brother, Sir John, one of the proprietors were interested in it. The displayed hurry in setting out proved to be unwise.

The proprietors, it is true, had promised liberal terms, but no formal charter had been signed. To get such an instrument they authorized Henry Vassall, a cousin of John Vassall, to negotiate in London with the proprietors. He found no difficulty in his task. He prepared the draft of a charter which was submitted to his principals in Barbados. These accepted the same and authorized him to sign it in their behalf. In the meantime, the proprietors recognized the existing state of affairs and gave it a form of legality by appointing two agents of themselves in the colony. They appointed on November 14th and 20th respectively, Robert Sandford and John Vassall to be secretary and surveyor-general of the County of Clarendon. The former was authorized to issue land grants according to the terms offered by the proprietors and the latter was to survey the land actually granted. These men were in the colony and exercised their offices, as it seems, during the years 1665, 1666, and part of 1667. For actual internal government the colony probably organized themselves ac-

cording to the plan first outlined by the Lords, but on this point we have no evidence.

It was at this point that the colony's fate was determined Another group of Barbadians desired to plant in Carolina. They were led by John Yeamans, soon to be a baronet. Yeamans was a selfish man and a skilful manipulator. He organized a company to send out a colony. He expected, as no doubt the others expected, to reap great advantages from the project by getting large tracts of land in the colony and by engaging in the trade thither. He and his associates sent his son, Major William Yeamans, to England. He opened negotiations with the proprietors in the fall of 1664. He offered them more favorable terms than Vassall had agreed to accept, and the result was that their lordships closed with him. Vassall and his associates were set aside and left to accept, if they would, the terms of the grant of Yeamans.

It was on January 7, 1665, that Major Yeamans signed the "concessions" of the proprietors, as the charter was called. This instrument was a general form of government for Carolina. It provided for three counties, each of which was to be an independent government, with governor, council, and assembly.

One county was Albermarle, or the sound of the same name; another was Clarendon, to be established on the Cape Fear river, near its mouth; the other was to be in the later colony of South Carolina. The proposed settlers might go to either of these counties as they saw fit. They decided to go to Clarendon. To all who came hither the proprietors offered to give one hundred acres of land to

each adventurer, and a like amount to his wife if he had one, and fifty acres for each able-bodied man-servant. These several amounts were to be scaled down for those who arrived after the first year. Sir John Yeamans was made governor of Clarendon as well as of all the land lying south of it as far as Florida. He had the entire confidence of the proprietors and they wrote that they had just got him made a baronet. In Barbados active preparations for a settlement were going forward. A company was formed there to promote the enterprise, and each member of it was to have 500 acres of land in the colony for each 1000 pounds of Muscovádo sugar he paid into the common fund. In October, 1665, this colony sailed for its destination.

The fleet which carried them to Carolina consisted of three vessels; a "fly boat" of one hundred and fifty tons, a small frigate which was his own property, and a sloop which had been purchased for the use of the colony out of the common funds of those who projected the settlement. What Sir John Yeamans, who was only a peaceable citizen, was doing with a frigate does appear. Possibly he was concerned in the West Indian trade and had a man-of-war to be safe against the pirates in that part of the world. Possibly the frigate was a privateer. In the Caribean Sea many strange things happened in the seventeenth century.

The largest ship was the "fly boat." In it were the governor of the colony and many of his associates, as well as the arms and ammunition sent by the proprietors, and many other supplies. A storm dispearsed the little fleet soon after it set sail, but in the beginning of Novem-

ber all were reunited before the mouth of the Cape Fear river. Here they anchored; but a sudden gale came upon them and blew the "fly Boat" out to sea, she narrowly escaping the dangers of Frying Pan Shoals. "But this," says Sandford in the beginning of the account of his voyage southward, "proved but a short difference in their fate, for returning with a favourable wind to a second viewe of the entrance to Charles River, but destitute of all pilates (save their owne eyes, which the flattering Gale that conducted them did alsoe delude by covering the visage of their objected dangers with a thicke vaile of smoothe waters) they stranded their vessell on the middle ground of the harbours mouth to the Westward of the Channell where the Ebbe presently left her and the wind with its owne multiplyed forces and the auxiliaryes of the tide of flood beate her to peeces." All persons on the luckless ship were saved but most of her precious freight was lost. The two other vessels got safely into the river and landed the settlers.

The necessities of the colony were now dire. Sir John immediately returned to Barbados in his frigate. To relieve the most pressing wants he sent the sloop to Virginia where she secured a load of provisions and sailed promptly for the South. But here again an unlucky fate intervened. A storm seized her, old and rotten as she was, and drove her on the beach at Cape Lookout, whence her men were glad to escape with the loss of only two lives to the settlements on the north of Albemarle Sound. The governor had proposed to send the colony a ship from Barbados under the command of Captain Edward Stanyon. The loss of the

sloop, therefore, left this vessel the only hope of the colony. She was anxiously expected. Late in the spring of 1666 she came into port with a discouraging tale. Her captain had sailed from Barbados without a full crew, and with no first mate; storms had kept him out at sea till his mind had given way under his load of anxiety; and he had jumped overboard in a frenzy of insanity. The effect of all these events on the spirits of the colony was depressing.

When Yeamans left the colony he gave the charge of it to John Vassall, who was probably lieutenant-governor. Robert Sandford, who was in the place, was ordered to take the sloop or Captain Stanyon's ship, whichever should first arrive in the river, and go on an exploring journey along the Carolina coast to the southward. The design was to find a place for another settlement which it was expected to make in this region. Sandford took Stanyon's ship as soon as he could get it and was off on June 14, 1666. He went as far as Port Royal and on July 12 returned to Clarendon with the most favorable report of the country he had seen.

The first Barbadian settlers and the second colony lived together peacefully. In 1666 they numbered eight hundred persons. They all settled around Charles Town, and began to clear fields for themselves. They were already experienced in new world settlements and they probably had brought slaves with them.

They found the climate congenial and healthy. Houses were built, cattle were imported, fields of corn and peas were planted; and it seemed that the dangers of a "starving time," which so many new colonies experienced, would be

avoided. And, speaking literally, such a time was avoided. There was no period, as appears from the scant record which has come down to us, when food failed. The bounty of nature was too great for that.

Nevertheless there was dissatisfaction in the colony. It grew out of the relations between the settlers and the proprietors. Besides the two groups of people who had come from Barbados there were present a number of colonists from New England. These were not of the first New England movement; for when Hilton visited the river in 1663 the place was abandoned and a warning against the place had been left where all new comers might read it. But in the same year, and at the same time, that the proprietors responded to the first overtures from the Barbadians they sent their terms to New England also. It is probable that these terms caused a number of people to go from New England to Clarendon. They seemed to have arrived about the time Vassall's colony reached there. They were, however, not satisfied with conditions in Clarendon. They complained that they were not given as much political liberty as they desired, and they desired as much as was held by the people of Massachusetts. They sent doleful reports of their condition back to Boston, and in 1667, the year in which the settlement was abandoned, a general contribution was by order of the court laid on the Massachusetts colony for their relief. It was out of these discordant purposes and hopes that the enterprise was destined to reap its ruin.

The discontent was not long in coming to a formal protest. The colony of Yeamans arrived with the formal Concessions of January 7, 1665, early in November of the same

year. By this instrument they were instructed to elect an assembly of twelve delegates chosen by the people. Such an assembly was ere long in session. It proceeded straight to the task of framing a remonstrance to the proprietors, the subject of it being land tenures. Since seeing the charter and the concessions of the proprietors, said they, there were three things for which they asked redress;—"1. The halfe penny per acre for all lande, 2. The undecimall way of division of there lande, 3. The Injunction on penaltye of forfiture of keeping one man on every hundred acres." They explained these points more fully as follows:

1. The demand of half a penny quit-rent for all land was a burden because in every track there was much more pine swamp and marsh land than high land, or "oake land," as they described it. Now the former was wholly unprofitable to the owner and on it he should not be required to pay quit-rents. They were willing, however, to pay a higher rent for the oak land, as much as one penny an acre, if they might be allowed to pay quit-rent for the oak land only.

2. As to the undecimal division of the land, it is necessary to explain that in the concessions the proprietors had provided that all the land should be divided into small districts, one eleventh of each of which should be reserved for their own use. In the same spirit they ordered that the settlement should be on only one side of the river. By these two provisions the proprietors were reserving to themselves tracts of land which at some day might be very valuable. This reservation, declared the assembly, would work a great hardship on the people, since most of them had arrived in

Clarendon before the concessions were framed, and had taken up land on which they had made improvements. All this land by the new arrangement was to be divided over again. Many men would, therefore, lose their improvements. Besides, the good land was found so rarely in the large stretches of poor land that the division which was proposed to be made would bring it about that some persons should have very poor land. They added that under the existing system the eight hundred inhabitants were, through their desire to get good land, dispersed over a distance of sixty miles.

3. To the requirement of keeping one man on each hundred acres they replied that under the proposed arrangement many of the divisions of one hundred acres would not support a man.

In this petition not only the delegates joined but the lieutenant-governor and the council also. Furthermore, they were able to state that the matter had been brought before the governor before his return to Barbados and that he had at first approved it; but that when it was written out and presented to him for his signature he had refused on the ground that he did not know the soil of the country well enough to give such a positive account of its worth. After he left the colony it does not appear that he gave himself much concern about it. The lieutenant-governor was John Vassall, as appears from the responsibility he assumed in connection with the removal of the colony.

In truth, the position of the settlers was unfortunate. Most of them were of the original Vassall party. They had, as they said in their petition, come to Clarendon, when, all

the fame of this province was left in that black cloud of Reproaches which a party of new england Adventurers had wraped the whole country in, and noe mans eare or mouth or hand was open to heare or speake or act in her defense. We then for no other incitemt but the glory of that venture which is made for Publick advantage, did by a vollentary and full contrybution dispell those mists of scandall and revive a lustre bright enough to direct and provoke to a seizure by meanes of which expence your Lordshipps have the possession of a parte which may be improved to aseminary for the whole provence if the discoridgement from without the place prove not more fatall than those within it."

They had not only planted this colony but they had paid the expenses of the exploration of the whole Carolina coast to the south of them, which was a most important fact in the settlement of the province. For this expense they had been promised by one whom they regarded as the authorized agent of the proprietors in Barbados five hundred acres of land for each thousand pounds of sugar given to the common undertaking. But the new division of land ignored this promise. They could not but take it to heart, as one may see in their petition, that after all they had done another party of adventurers had "intercepted that treaty which we had commenced with your Lordships."

Those who projected Yeamans's colony had not at first designed to settle in Clarendon, but at Port Royal, to which place Yeamans's second colony was sent out in 1669. It was for a long time a favorite idea of the proprietors to have a colony there on account of the good harbor as well as of

the advantage of having so far southward an outpost against the Spaniards. Diverting the colony of 1665 to Clarendon weakened the enthusiasm of the projectors. Some calamity, the nature of which it is not easy to understand, befel Yeamans at this time, and that discouraged them from giving further assistance. This, in turn, discouraged that party who had joined in the enterprise of Vassall. Unless the proprietors, said the petition which has been mentioned, should interfere and grant the colony the favorable terms which they had one time come so near granting, inevitable ruin awaited it. There is no evidence that the proprietors were moved to any action by this paper.

In the meantime the Clarendon settlement moved on to its fate. All its supplies from abroad were cut off. Even the proprietors lost sight of the settlement. John Vassall, the head of it, declared on October 6, 1667, that he had received no communication from the proprietors since he got his commission as surveyor-general, which was issued three years earlier. The greatest need was clothing. Of corn they had enough on hand to last them two years. But they depended on the outside world for clothes. The company which sent them out thought that they forsaw certain failure and they were not willing to spend more money on the enterprise. They would not even furnish ships to carry the people back to Barbados.

In these circumstances Vassall had much trouble in maintaining his authority. Those who had risked most in the project were loth to leave it. They kept hoping for relief. The Indians cut off their cattle, but they did not dare attack the colonists. If only two hundred pounds worth of

clothing were sent them they might make out for another year. It was expected that Henry Vassall might come with succor; but this hope proved vain. Those who had least property at stake were the first to conclude that the place ought to be abandoned. They were, said John Vassall, "dayly redy to mutany against mee for keeping them there soe long." Finally they formed a project of going northward to Virginia by land. Whereupon Vassall yielded to them. He seized the first ship which came into the river and sent for other shipping in which all sailed away together in August or September, 1667. Vassall left with great reluctance. If only twenty men would stay with him, he said to the others, he would remain till he heard from the proprietors; but not six would join him. Some of the people, presumably the New England element, went to Boston. The others went to Virginia, and some of these seem to have settled finally in Albemarle County, North Carolina.

The failure of the Clarendon settlement was the first result of the insufficient rule of the proprietors. It was due primarily to the conflicting terms granted to the first and second bands of Barbadian settlers. The location itself was an important one. It had the first good harbor south of Virginia. It was on one of the longest navigable rivers in Carolina. Although there was much poor land, there was still enough good land to support the colony amply. There is nothing to indicate that the place was unhealthy. Even after the settlers gave up the colony nothing was said by them, so far as we know, against the healthfulness of the location. The only charges ever made depend on the gen-

eral charge of the unwise and unexpected reversal of the terms of taking up land, and for this reversal the proprietors were responsible.

Had the settlement prospered it would have made a vast difference in our history. The lines of settlement would have gone out from the Cape Fear instead of from the Albemarle sound. On account of the good harbor we should have been brought from an early period in our history directly into touch with Europe, instead of indirectly through other colonies. We should have had the center of colonial life so far away from Virginia that we should not have been, as we so frequently were, merely a weak reflection of Virginia ideas, Virginia business life, and Virginia politics. In fact, had the Clarendon settlement become permanent, it is hardly likely that Cape Romaine would have been the dividing point between the two great divisions of Carolina. It would have been more logical to have made Clarendon the center of a powerful colony—the southern boundary of which would properly have been the Ashley and Cooper rivers. If Clarendon had survived, Charleston probably would not have been settled in 1670, or have become so powerful after it was settled; and the center of the Southern colony might have been at Port Royal or on the Savannah.

Battles of Revolution Fought in North Carolina.

Moores Creek Bridge,	Feb'y 27th, 1776
Ramsour's Mill,	June 20th, 1780
Pacolet River,	July 14th, 1780
Earles Ford,	July 18th, 1780
Cane Creek,	Sept. 12th, 1780
Wahab's Plantation or, Waxhaws	Sept. 21st, 1780
Charlotte	Sept. 26th, 1780
Wilmington,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Cowans Ford,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Torrence Tavern,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Shallow Ford	Feb'y 6th, 1781
Bruce's Cross Roads,	Feb'y 12th, 1781
Haw River,	Feb'y 25th, 1781
Clapp's Mill	March 2nd, 1781
Whitsell's Mill,	March 6th, 1781
Guilford Court House,	March 15th, 1781
Hillsboro,	April 25th. 1781
Hillsboro,	Sept. 13th, 1781
Sudleys Mill, (Cane Creek.)	Sept. 13th, 1781

March 1903

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—BY—

DR. CHAS. E. TAYLOR.

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1903.

'Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

THE SIGNAL AND SECRET SERVICE OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

To present an elaborate and consecutive account of the Secret Service of The Confederacy would transcend the limits of a Booklet and demand a volume. Indeed, two large volumes† have been required to set forth adequately the work of the Service in its foreign relations.

My present task is a very modest one and I shall be satisfied if I can succeed in giving the reader only a very general idea of the working of the Signal and Secret Service of the Confederate States as it was familiar to me nearly forty years ago.

The beautiful Capitol Square in Richmond falls southward in verdant and well shaded slopes to a short thoroughfare known as Bank Street. Here were located several of the Departments of the Government and most of the Bureaus of the War Department. Among these situated about half way between the offices of President Davis and of the Secretary of War, was a suite of rooms which, by a modest sign over the outer door, announced itself as THE SIGNAL BUREAU. These offices consisted of a public reception room and of inner apartments into which none but trusted officers and employees were ever admitted.

The "Bureau" was by day and night a centre of interest to higher officials and to newspaper reporters. The great

† "Secret History of The Confederate States in Europe," by Capt. J. D. Bullock, 2 Vols. Putnams, New York, 1884.

majority of people in Richmond thought that it was only a sort of headquarters for the officers and men of the Signal Corps. A few others knew enough to stimulate the imagination with some sense of mystery. Only a small number, even of the well informed, knew that from those rooms was conducted a correspondence, usually in cipher, with numerous agents beyond the limits of the Confederacy, that in them, with occasional interruptions mail was received from Washington almost as regularly as from Charleston, and that through them cipher dispatches between generals in the field and the Departments were constantly passing.

Among the many patriotic sons of Maryland who pledged their fortunes to Southern Independence was Major William Norris. Early in the war he was released from duty on Gen. Magruder's staff and placed at the head of the Signal and Secret Service. It was largely due to the inventive and executive ability of Major Norris and of Captain (afterward General) E. P. Alexander that this Service became very efficient and useful in several directions.

The Signal Corps was composed of one Major, ten Captains, twenty Lieutenants, twenty Sergeants, and about fifteen hundred men detailed from the ranks of many regiments. These men, though privates, were, for the most part, well educated and of high social standing. And the fact is noteworthy that, while they were often employed in independent service and were trusted with important secrets, no case has ever been reported of a betrayal of trust by any one of them. All were experts in signaling

and in the use of cipher. They were, of course, entrusted with the key-word. "These men," says Mr. H. E. Cummins, † who was an officer in the Corps, "when occasion required, became dauntless messengers and agents, going into the enemy's lines and cities, or to lands beyond the sea; communicating with agents and secret friends of the Confederate Government; ordering supplies and conveying them to their destination; running the blockade by land and sea; making nightly voyages in bays and rivers; threading the enemy's cordon of pickets and gunboats; following blind trails through swamp and forest, and as much experts with oar and sail, on deck and in the saddle, and with rifle and revolver, as with flags, torches and secret cipher."

To every division of infantry and brigade of cavalry was assigned a squad of from three to five men, all mounted. These were commanded by a lieutenant or sergeant. Each of these men was provided with signal flags for sending messages by day, and torches, filled with spirits of turpentine, for use at night. The flags were about four feet by two and a half feet in size and contained in their centres squares of another color than that of the body of the flag. For use against a dark background like a forest or hillside, the white flag was used; against the sky, a dark blue flag; and against a field of snow a scarlet flag. To establish a line of communication for temporary use in the field was short and easy work for those who had experience. Of course this was more difficult in a flat than a hilly country. The stations were not far apart

[† So. Hist. Soc. Papers Vol. 16, p. 98.]

and glasses were not always necessary. Whenever possible, some elevated central point was chosen as a station to and from which, as a medial point, messages could be sent from the field.

In 1864, when Gen. J. E. B. Stuart was falling back, covering the retreat of Gen. Lee after the battle of Bristoe Station, closely followed by Gen. Kilpatrick, he left a brigade hidden in the woods on the flank of the advancing enemy. With this brigade he kept in communication by means of signal stations. In this way he was enabled to attack Kilpatrick's flank and front simultaneously and to achieve a success which was long known in cavalry circles as "The Bucktown Races." Kilpatrick's wagon train supplied the Confederate Cavalry with enough genuine coffee and toothsome sutlers' stores to feast on for several weeks.

The Confederate soldier, in spite of his rags and lack of rations, was always on the qui-vive for fun, and his sense of the humorous was always appealed to when a column marched in sight of the men whom they called "flag floppers." It was hard for them to refrain from such good natured inquiries as "Mister, is the flies a botherin' of you?" "Say, is mosquitoes plentiful around here?"

One of the chief uses of the signal corps was in work over permanent lines extending to the headquarters of the several army corps and divisions which were not reached by telegraph lines. Mount Poney, near Culpepper Court House, Va., was successively used by the Signal Corps of the Confederate and the Federal armies. Early in 1862 Gen. Pope had caused to be constructed a high scaffold, or

pen, of trunks of trees on the summit of this mountain. From this elevation the whole country was visible for many miles around, especially after it had been denuded of its forests. Here, as on all other permanent lines, were used powerful glasses. Some of these were secured from Southern colleges, and, later on, many excellent ones were brought from Europe through the blockade. Mount Poney served admirably as a post of observation as well as a centre for communication. When Gen Lee fell back behind the Rapidan River I was able to watch for six or eight hours the slow and cautious advance of the whole Federal army, extending about eight miles east and west, and on some of the roads massed in great numbers. A more magnificent spectacle I have seldom witnessed.

Later on, Clark's Mountain, near Orange Court House, Va., was used for the same purpose. When Gen. Lee's army was in Orange County in 1863, reports were sent every few hours about the movements in the camp of Gen. Meade, which, for the most part, lay in full view. Some of the glasses of stronger power almost revealed the features of the nearer Federal soldiers.

One morning a party of ladies, escorted by Confederate officers, rode to the top of Clark's Mountain and became deeply interested in the sending and receiving of messages. One young lady, from Charleston, S. C., asked to be allowed to send over the line a greeting to a gallant General, well known as a ladies-man. As the line happened to be idle, the message was cheerfully sent. In a few moments the young signal officer rose from his seat at the glass, saying "I have a reply for you, do you wish me

to deliver it?" "Why, certainly," said Miss B. "Well," said he, "The message is, "Gen. S. sends a kiss to Miss A. B." The young lady turned away in confusion, suffused with blushes. In spite of the rigor of military law, that message was not fully delivered, but I have never heard that the young officer was court-martialed.

It was not generally known during the war and it is not known now that for many months there was a permanent post of observation hidden on a timbered bluff overlooking the Potomac River. By a line of signal stations this post was in communication with the nearest telegraph office on the Fredericksburg railroad. No steamer carrying troops passed up or down that river without Gen. Lee's knowing of it within a short time. Changes of base and movements of troops between Northern and Eastern Virginia were thus observed and reported.

The best regulated lines of communication will play tricks sometimes. Gen. Stuart once received a message from one of his staff officers who was visiting near the lower end of this line inviting him to "come down and eat jumping mules, which are very abundant." Even at its worst, however, the Confederate army did not often have to resort to mules for commissary supplies—especially near the great rivers, which at certain seasons abound in *Jumping Mullets*.

The system of flag communication was very simple, an alphabet being formed by combinations of right and left waves of the flag. A practiced operator could in this way spell out a message almost as rapidly as a telegrapher can do it with his dots and dashes. And the work was

greatly facilitated by the use of many abbreviations which came to be universally known by all skilled operators.

One distinct department of the work of the Signal Corps was on blockade-running steamers. No steamer ventured to come into port, especially in the later days of blockade running, without at least one signal officer on board to communicate with the forts and batteries. Instead of flags or torches, each officer was provided with two large lanterns of different colors with sliding screens in front. Standing between these and using the same alphabet which was used in the army, he sent his message. In this case the two colors were used instead of the right and left waves of the flag.

Stations were located for thirty or forty miles along the coast on both sides of the blockaded port. The blockade-runners came in close to shore after nightfall and from time to time flashed their lights toward the shore. These were soon answered. Information was then given as to the condition of things, the position and movements of the blockading fleet, and the chances of a safe home run. If it was decided to try to bring the steamer in, proper lights were shown for the pilot's guidance and a swift run was made for the port.

An illustration of this special duty of a signal officer is given in *The Narrative of a Blockade-Runner*, by Capt. Wilkinson of the C. S. Navy. "The range lights were showing and we crossed the bar without interference and without a suspicion of anything wrong, as it would occasionally happen that under particularly favorable circumstances we would cross the bar without even seeing

a blockader. We were under the guns of Fort Fisher, in fact, and close to the fleet of United States vessels, which had crossed the bar after the fall of the fort, when I directed my signal officer to communicate with the shore station. His signal was promptly answered, but turning to me, he said: 'No Confederate signal officer there, sir; he cannot reply to me.' The order to wear around was instantly obeyed; not a moment too soon, for the bow of the Chameleon was scarcely pointed for the bar before two of the light cruisers were plainly visible in pursuit, steaming with all speed to intercept us. Nothing saved us from the capture but the twin screws, which enabled our steamer to turn as upon a pivot in the narrow channel between the bar and the ribs. We reached the bar before our pursuers, and were soon lost in the darkness outside."

Positions as signal officers on blockade-running steamers were considered very desirable and were much sought after. Not only had this special service its exciting and romantic features, but it was also profitable, as the officer usually contrived to store away a few bales of cotton on private account on the outward trip and was thus able to bring back from Nassau many articles of necessity and luxury which could not be secured within the limits of the Confederacy. And I have known it to create a small sensation in Richmond when one of these young fellows, just in from a successful run, would unscrew the heels of his boots and take out a handful of English Gold.

From time to time, in order to prevent the enemy from reading our messages, the alphabet was changed throughout the South. Our men were often able to take down

the dispatches of the Federal Signal Corps. One man, sitting at the glass, would call out the right and left waves of the enemy's flag. Another, at his side, would take them down. Then, by noting the relative frequency of similar combinations, as illustrated in Edgar A. Poe's *Gold Bug*, they were able, not infrequently, to decipher the message and secure the alphabet. Whenever this was successfully done, it was at once communicated throughout the Corps.

The Yankees were as shrewd as we were at these tricks. But Gen. Early in his Valley Campaign, finding that Sheridan's Signalmen were reading his messages, cunningly availed himself of the fact to create a diversion. He instructed his men to flag to himself the following message:

Lieut. Gen. Early,
Fisher's Hill, Va.

"Be ready to advance on Sheridan as soon as my forces get up, and we can crush Sheridan before he finds out that I have joined you."

J. Longstreet.

Gen. Longstreet was supposed by Sheridan to be (as he really was) with Lee in front of Petersburg. The bogus message, therefore, greatly mystified not only Gen. Sheridan, but Halleck in Washington and Grant in front of Lee. They never solved the puzzle. When Gen. Early was asked about it after the war, he only smiled and said nothing.

Nowhere was the Signal Corps more effective, both in

communicating with their own stations and in reading the messages of the enemy, than in the operations around Charleston, S. C. At this point seventy-six signal-men were constantly employed, twelve of whom did nothing but read the messages of the enemy. As large a per cent of casualities were reported from this command as from any other stationed around Charleston.

In his report for July 1863, Capt. Markoe, who was in command of these stations, stated that over 500 messages had been sent, at least a third of them under fire. He said "I have read nearly every message the enemy has sent. We were forewarned of their attack on the 18th., and were ready for them, with what success is already a part of history. The services rendered by the Corps in this respect have been of the utmost importance. But I regret to state, that, by the carelessness of staff officers at headquarters, it has leaked out that we have read the enemy's signals. I have ordered all my men to disclaim any knowledge of them whenever questioned. My men have also been actively employed in guiding the fire of our guns, and have thus rendered valuable service."

In his report for August, Capt. Markoe says, "We have continued to read the enemy's signals, and much valuable information has been obtained. I have temporarily changed the signals, as we intercepted a message from the enemy as follows: 'Send me a copy of Rebel Code immediately, if you have one in your possession.' I make the men, moreover, work out of sight as much as possible, and feel sure that they can make nothing out of our signals."

In reporting for September, he said "On the night of

the 5th, the enemy made an attack on Battery Gregg, which failed, and was repulsed by the timely notice from Sullivan's Island Signal Station, which intercepted the following dispatch:

'To Admiral Dahlgren—I shall try Cummins Point to-night and want the sailors again early. Will you please send two or three monitors by dark to open fire on Fort Moultrie as a diversion. The last time they were in, they stopped reinforcements and may do so to-night. Don't want any fire in the rear. (Signed) Gen. Gilmore.'"

The attack on Fort Sumter on the night of the 8th, was foiled by a similar notice of a dispatch from Gen. Gilmore announcing that the attack would be made that night.

After it became evident that the enemy might possibly read our messages through possession of our alphabet, the use of cipher became imperative. Especially during the later years of the war all important communications sent by flag or wire were put into cipher.

The use of cipher or disguised writing was known at least five hundred years before the Christian Era. We know that the Spartans had an ingenious method of communication between their Ephors at home and their generals in the field. The latter, on setting out on an expedition, carried with them round wooden staves (called scytales), leaving an exact duplicate with the Ephors. When a message was to be sent, a strip of parchment was wound spirally around the the scytales and the message written upon it. When this was unrolled, only fragmentary and detached letters could be found upon it. But when this parchment was wound upon the duplicate

staff, the message could easily be read. During the Middle Ages the knowledge and use of cipher was believed to pertain to the black art. In modern times, various systems have been devised, and one or another of these has been almost universally employed to conceal military dispatches and diplomatic correspondence.

The entire control of the cipher used by the State and War Department of the Confederate Government was in the hands of the Signal and Secret Service. The system used was what is known as "Court Cipher" and depends upon the use of a key-word or sentence known both to the sender and the receiver. From time to time a special messenger was sent to the headquarters of the several departments to communicate orally a new key-word. This was never put in writing by anyone. The principle of the Confederate system of cipher is very simple. The whole alphabet was written 26 times upon a page in such a way as to appear alike when read horizontally or perpendicularly. For instance:

a b c d e f g etc
b c d e f g etc
c d e f g etc
d e f g etc
e f g etc
f g etc
g etc
etc.

The first letter of the key-word is found in the first horizontal column and the first letter of the message in the first vertical column. At the point of intersection of the

two columns is found the letter used in the cipher message. The translation of the cipher into the original was, of course, the reverse of this process. The Confederate key-word always consisted of 15 letters, the same number being always retained for convenience in the use of several mechanical contrivances which made translation to and from cipher a very simple and easy matter. I remember that one of the old key-words was "Manchester Bluff." Suppose it were desired to put into cipher the message, "Grant is pontooning James River." The letter M would be found in the horizontal column of the page of alphabets, and the letter G in the first vertical column. At the point of intersection of these two columns would be found the letter S. Anyone having sufficient curiosity to work out this message would find that it revealed itself in cipher as follows-

SRNPA—NK—ISEUZISNZG—VCTIK—KMMFC.—

It hardly needs to be said that the division between the words of the original message as given above, was not retained in the cipher. Either the letters were run together continuously or breaks, as if for words, were made at random.

Until the folly of the method was revealed by experience, only a few special words in a message were put into cipher, while the rest was sent in plain language. This afforded opportunity for adroit and sometimes successful guessing.

A dispatch from President Davis, while the Confederate capital was still in Montgomery, to Gen. E. Kirby Smith, commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department was as

follows:—"By this you may effect O—TPGGEXYK above that part–HJOPGKWMCT–patrolled led by the etc." The author of *The Military Telegraph in the Civil War* says that at first sight the meaning of this captured message occurred to him. He read it correctly "By this you may effect *a crossing* above that part *of the river* patrolled by the etc." He had now only to apply the right words to the cipher in order to get the key-word. This revealed itself as "Complete Victory,"—one of the earliest of all the key-words used by us.

I think it may be said that it was impossible for well prepared cipher to be correctly read by any one who did not know the key-word. Sometimes, in fact, we could not decipher our own messages when they came over telegraph wires. As the operators had no meaning to guide them, letters easily became changed and portions, at least, of messages were rendered unmeaning thereby.

Only a few days before the fall of Richmond a dispatch, mutilated in this way, was received from the Trans-Mississippi department by President Davis. It was in reply to the President's order to Gen. Dick Taylor, that he should bring his army over the Mississippi River and effect a union with the forces of Gen. J. E. Johnston. Naturally, there was great anxiety as to Gen. Taylor's reply. The message was long and letters had been added or dropped or changed in every line. Three experienced operators locked themselves up and worked upon the puzzle through several hours of that April Sabbath day on which it was placed in their hands. At best they were only able to report detached fragments of Gen. Taylor's

reasons why he pronounced the movement impossible. It fell to my lot to carry our fragmentary results to the President. If he felt aught of disappointment, it did not reveal itself in his unperturbed and courteous bearing.

A full and detailed account of the services of the Signal Corps in conducting secret correspondence through and beyond our lines would be a most romantic and interesting history. Part of this can never be written, for most of the actors have passed from the stage, leaving no record. And part, in its details, one would not like to assume the responsibility of writing. Even the children and grandchildren of some of the confidential agents (who were sometimes called by a shorter and less euphemistic name) might fail to appreciate the patriotic daring and shrewdness of their heroic ancestors.

During the earlier months of the war, before the blockade became effective by land and sea, there were many open avenues through which messengers and trading pedlars passed back and forth without much difficulty or danger. When, one after another, these avenues were closed by the tightening coils of the Federal "anaconda," the Confederate Government undertook, through its Signal Corps, to keep open one permanent line of communication with its agents in the North and abroad.

In his *Four Years in Rebel Capitals*, † Mr. T. C. DeLeon says:

"Late in the war, when all ports were closed to its communication with agents abroad, the Richmond Government perfected this spy system in connection with its

† Four Years in Rebel Capitals, p. 286.

signal corps. This service gave scope for tact, fertility of resource and cool courage; it gave many a brave fellow, familiar with both borders, relief from camp monotony in the fresh dangers through which he won a glimpse of home again; and it gave a vast mass of crude information. But its most singular and most romantic aspect was the well-known fact, that many women essayed the breaking of the border blockade. Almost all of them were successful, more than one well nigh invaluable for the information she brought sewed in her riding-habit or coiled in her hair. Nor were these coarse camp-women, or reckless adventurers. Belle Boyd's name became as historic as that of Moll Pitcher; but others are recalled, petted belles in the society of Baltimore and Washington and of Virginia summer resorts of yore,—who rode through night and peril alike, to carry tidings of cheer home and to bring back news that woman may best acquire. New York, Baltimore and Washington to-day boast of three beautiful and gifted women, high in their social rank, who could—if they would—recite tales of lonely race and perilous adventure, to raise the hair of the budding beaux about them."

Mr. DeLeon was mistaken when he wrote that the system was organized "late in the war." As a matter of fact it was in full operation in 1862, the second year of the war. In reply to certain questions asked him after his return to his home in Maryland, after the war, Major Norris wrote as follows:

"Early in the war the necessity of having points on the Potomac river, at which Government agents and army

scouts might promptly and without delay cross to and from the United States, was so seriously appreciated that the Secretary of War suggested the propriety of establishing one or more camps in King George and Westmoreland counties, Va., with an especial eye to such transportation. The idea was immediately acted upon. In a short time the additional duties were assigned to these stations of securing complete files of Northern papers for the Executive Department and upon requisitions from heads of Bureaus, to obtain from the United States small packages, books, etc. Here our duties, strictly speaking, ended. But as we were forced, in order to perform the other duties, to establish a line of agents from the Potomac to Washington, it was determined, as far as possible to institute a regular system of espionage. The Government having failed, however, to place at our disposal the necessary means to carry into execution this design, we were forced to rely almost entirely upon the energy and zeal of a few devoted gentlemen of Maryland for such indications of the enemy's movements as they were able to acquire from mingling in official circles about Washington, Baltimore and New York. Our accredited agents were constantly in these cities. They were gentlemen of high social position who, without compensation, voluntarily devoted their time and energies to this work. There was no expense beyond the mere pay, rations, and clothing of the officers and detailed men. These lines never cost the government one farthing after I assumed command. Some of our agents acquired their information from personal observations, the others from friendly parties within the lines. They were

selected with great care and with an eye to their intelligence and devotion and energy. Actual experience proved their credibility."

Perhaps the most useful of all the men connected with the C. S. Secret Service was Mr. Thomas A. Jones of Maryland. His farm was bounded on the west by the Potomac River and on the north by Pope's Creek. His house was a frame building on a bluff 80 feet high, overlooking the river. He could stand in his back yard and look seven or eight miles up the river. Down the river he could see as far as the eye could reach. The Potomac was comparatively narrow at this place and the creek afforded excellent opportunities for landing and hiding boats. Not only Mr. Jones, but all his neighbors were in hearty sympathy with the South. Hence this became the chief point of junction between the routes of agents in the North and the couriers in the South. Mr. Jones frequently crossed the river, though it was two miles wide, twice in a single night and sometimes oftener. Hundreds of people who were allowed to do so by the Confederate authorities crossed at Jones' Ferry. On the Virginia side of the river was the farm of Mr. Benjamin Grimes in King George county. He heartily co-operated with Mr. Jones and with the agents of the Confederacy.

Of course no little courage and prudence were required to carry on these operations. The Potomac River was guarded with many gunboats and other craft, armed patrols guarded the Maryland shore, and the Federal Government had a spy on nearly every river farm in Southern Maryland. In addition to these a detachment of

troops was stationed at Pope's Creek and another on Maj. Watson's place, not 300 yards from Mr. Jones' house. But none of these precautions availed against the audacity and cunning of the Confederate agents.

On the Virginia side a signal camp was established in a swamp back of Grimes' house. The boats for the mail service, swift and strong, were kept on the Virginia side. A little before sunset, the reflection of the high bluffs near Pope's Creek extended out into the Potomac till it nearly met the shadow cast by the Virginia woods. At that hour of the evening it was very difficult to detect so small an object as a row-boat on the river. The Federal pickets did not go on duty till after sunset. It was, therefore, arranged that the boat from Grimes' should cross just before sunset, deposit the packages from Richmond in the fork of a dead tree on Jones' shore, and take back the packet for Richmond from the North, which would be found in the same place, if, for some special reason, Jones was not on the beach in person when the boat came over from Virginia.

If it was not safe for the boat to cross from Virginia a black dress or shawl was hung as a warning in a certain dormer window of Maj. Watson's house, right over the heads of the troops stationed there. The person who attended to this signal was Miss Mary Watson. Of this lady Mr. Jones once wrote: "Miss Watson was a remarkably pretty young lady, 24 years of age. She would have made almost any sacrifice for the Confederacy, and I know that I owe in great measure the success which attended the management of the Confederate mail to her ceaseless

vigilance and skill. About the close of the war she married Dr. C——, who had been a blockade-runner, and went to California to live."

It was Mr. Jones who helped John Wilkes Booth to cross the Potomac River five days after the assassination of President Lincoln. This fact he was able to keep a secret for nearly twenty years. It was well that he could do so, for in the passion of the hour he would surely have been sacrificed for a crime for which he felt no sympathy. For a number of years after the war he was employed in the Washington Navy Yard and died in 1895.

After conveying Booth to the Virginia side of the river, Jones was offered $100,000 for information which would disclose the hiding place of the assassin. He was a poor man and he knew exactly where Booth was at that time. But he said nothing and thus refused what would have made him a wealthy man. Such was the heroic fibre of some of the men who were in our Secret Service.

Every afternoon a courier would arrive in Richmond by the Fredericksburg Railroad, bringing files of newspapers, letters and reports in cipher from parties in Canada and various portions of the United States. So regular was this service that for one continuous period of six months not a day passed without the authorities in Richmond being put in possession of Washington and Baltimore newspapers of the day before. The New York papers came a day later. The same courier would go out the next morning and connect by relays of other couriers with the hidden camp at Major Grimes' place on the Potomac. Many letters were sent for private individuals

after they had been inspected in the office in Richmond. These were quietly dropped into the post office in Baltimore or Washington. The couriers were not infrequently accompanied by special messengers of the Government. I remember well the arrival at our office one afternoon of a lady, who, before going to her room at the Spottswood Hotel, called for a knife and cut off the large buttons of her cloak. When these had been ripped open, there were disclosed sheets of the finest white silk closely written with cipher dispatches for the Department of State.

One of the habitues of the Richmond office for several months was Dr. P.——, one of the most versatile and gifted men whom I have ever known, he had travelled all over the world and was a thorough Bohemian in his manner of life. He had been connected with some of the best New York newspapers and was himself an author of repute. This gentleman was employed to write letters, purporting to be from Washington, to a number of the most influential and widely circulated newspapers in the North. They were written for the purpose of moulding public opinion adversely to the continuance of the war and for other more specific purposes. Some of these lettters written in Richmond though dated from Washington, were published in the great New York dailies as "From our own correspondent." I remember that at the time when the Confederate Congress was discussing the policy of arming batalions of slaves, letters were written by Dr. P——, urging that the United States Government should make peace before the Confederate army should receive this

new reinforcement. And most adroitly was this literary deception carried out.

In the great conflagration at the time of the evacuation of Richmond the Signal office was destroyed and with it the invaluable copies of dispatches received and sent.

The Signal and Secret Service of the Confederate States and its work are now only memories. But out of the experience gained by the signal men of both armies has arisen a beneficent, peaceful institution. Signal men now receive their dispatches from the winds and the clouds. Their flags are signs to the world of coming meteorological changes. Torches have given place to barometers, and the world wide cipher codes are now in the daily use of commercial interests. Here, also,

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

FINIS.

Battles of Revolution Fought in North Carolina.

Moores Creek Bridge,	Feb'y 27th, 1776
Ramsour's Mill,	June 20th, 1780
Pacolet River,	July 14th, 1780
Earles Ford,	July 18th, 1780
Cane Creek,	Sept. 12th, 1780
Wahab's Plantation or Wahaws,	Sept. 21st, 1780
Charlotte	Sept. 26th, 1780
Wilmington,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Cowans Ford,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Torrence Tavern,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Shallow Ford	Feb'y 6th, 1781
Bruce's Cross Roads,	Feb'y 12th, 1781
Haw River,	Feb'y 25th, 1781
Clapp's Mill	March 2nd, 1781
Whitsell's Mill,	March 6th, 1781
Guilford Court House,	March 15th, 1781
Hillsboro,	April 25th. 1781
Hillsboro,	Sept. 13th, 1781
Sudleys Mill, (Cane Creek.)	Sept. 13th, 1781

April 1903

The North Carolina Booklet.

April 1903

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—BY—

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The Last Days of the War.

—BY—

HENRY T. BAHNSON.

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1903.

'Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'

THE LAST DAYS OF THE WAR.

AS SEEN BY A CONFEDERATE PRIVATE,
HENRY T. BAHNSON,
Co. B, 1st, N. C. Batt'n. S. S., A. N. V.

Apparently not many privates survived the war. At least very few have spoken or written about it. Perhaps like me they feel they have'nt much to brag of. Then, too, nobody expects much from a private; therefore, he is not obliged, as his superiors are, to explain, and contradict, and generally prevaricate, in an effort to sustain his reputation.

The glowing accounts of battles and campaigns, have nearly always been written by general officers, or by non-participants who style themselves historians. It seems hardly fair that we privates should be entirely ignored; because, without us, there would have been no generals, nor would there have been a war to write about.

In choosing my subject, "The Last Days of the War, as Seen by a Private," I certainly have no desire to parody Gen. Gordon's famous lecture, "The Last Days of the Confederacy." He was my general and I entertain only respect and admiration for the man. I have never heard his lecture and if in any way I differ from his statements, such discrepancy is doubtless due to the fact that we looked at events from different standpoints. The general rode on horseback and I went afoot.

Before daylight on the morning of Sunday, April 2nd, 1865, a couple of us were at the little stream that supplied our camp with water. Our command was temporarily in reserve, on the north bank of the Appomattox river, and the night before we two had received permits to visit our friends on the lines in front of Petersburg. We were industriously scrubbing ourselves for the occasion, and I was about to put on my clean underclothes, having made arrangements to wash the suit I had worn four weeks on the campaign, when our occupation was suddenly arrested.

The steady monotonous firing by the pickets in the rifle pits across the river, which we were accustomed to hear all through the night, ceased for a moment. This ominus silence was broken by an outburst of hoarse huzzas which the still night air bore to our quickened ears with alarming distinctness. The dropping musketry fire, deepening into a sullen roar, and broken only by the quickly recurring, ear-splitting, crack of field artillery and the jar of bursting shells, left no doubt in our minds that our lines had been assaulted and a big battle had begun. Our holiday was spoiled, and in a few minutes we were on the way to the scene. Crossing the river and passing through Petersburg we were halted in a ravine behind the breastworks, where we learned that a part of the advanced lines, occupied by Clingman's and Scales' Brigades, had been captured by the enemy. The firing was still kept up, and shells burst over our heads, or rolled and spun and darted and hissed about our feet in a dreadfully demoralizing way. Then, too, the wounded men, pale-faced and bloody, some borne on litters, others limping and tottering, and passing

us in crowds, had no tendency to enliven our spirits. It was a real relief to be ordered forward. On reaching the reserve line of breast-works, we were ordered to take position in a ditch (called a covered way), which led in a slanting and zigzag direction to the advanced lines captured earlier, and now held by the enemy. The bottom of the ditch was stiff blue clay, through which the water trickled. Our feet stuck fast to the sticky stuff, and more than once I had to stop and dig out my shoe. Every few steps we came upon a dead man, nearly always shot through the head. When we finally halted we were not more than a hundred yards from the enemy, and just in front of us was a battery of five pieces, which had been captured and was now turned against us. The artillerymen were busily throwing up earth to protect themselves. Our brigade was ordered to charge the breast-works, and thirteen of us were detailed to go as close to the battery as possible, and pick off the artillerymen to prevent their firing on our troops in the charge. We crept along the ditch some thirty or more yards, and when the order to charge was given we fired at the artillerymen. Our execution was terrible at such close range, and in a few seconds so many were killed or wounded that the rest ducked down behind their improvised breast-works. They only fired three of the five guns, and these did no execution; but many of our men, including Maj. Wilson and Lieut. Shultz, were wounded or killed by the galling infantry fire, and the charge effected little or nothing. Our firing, however, and our exposed position made us a target for the enemy, and two of our little party were killed. One of them, Abner Crews, from this county, was next to me.

We had made a furrow with our guns in the top of the ditch bank to protect our heads, and through this we fired alternately. I was waiting for him to shoot but he was so slow, that I grew impatient and pushed him to attract his attention. We were squatting on a narrow ledge and my push destroyed his balance. Before I could catch him he toppled over, and as his face turned toward me I saw a bullet hole midway between his eyebrows. Our bodies had been touching from knee to shoulder, but not a quiver did I feel when his life so suddenly went out. The killing and wounding of my comrades thoroughly aroused the brutal part of my nature. The desire for revenge made my aim deliberate, and I felt a fiendish delight, as I saw a man sink down or tumble over after my shot. Of course there were others firing with me, and I cannot say with certainty that I killed anyone. I thank God fervently for this possible doubt. Even now I shudder when I recall the frenzy that possessed me on this occasion, and indeed in every battle when the excitement of conflict had overcome the natural fear and dread which always preceded it. The consciousness of danger was lost, and with wounds and death on all sides, the desire to aid in the carnage became an all-engrossing passion. The foulest blasphemy rolled from the tongue; every instinct of humanity was obliterated; the man was transformed into a raging lion or a ravening wolf. I have seen a prize fight with all its disgusting concomitants, and I am sure every old soldier will agree with me when I declare my deliberate conviction that the prize ring is the quintessence of refinement—an object lesson of forbearence and morality, when compared with the hellish brutality of

a battlefield. Several men were left behind in the charge, and these crawled to us and cleaned and loaded our guns. One of them, a captain, volunteered to go back to the lines and bring us more ammunition, ours was exhausted by as the continuous firing. He had gone but a few steps when a shell tore off his arm at the shoulder. I hastened to his assistance, as fast as the sticky mud would let me, but just as I reached him he fell back in my arms dead. I went for the ammunition, and when I returned our volunteer re-inforcements had left us, and another of our party had been killed; the whole top of his head torn off.

Annoyed by our destructive fire, the enemy had concentrated their attention upon us, and balls and shells literally rained in our direction. Fortunately we were protected by the ditch in the bottom of which we were crouched but the artillery swept away the bank and nearly buried us. I was at the angle of the ditch nearest the enemy, and happening to glance around in their direction, I saw a party of blue coats within a few yards of us. The ditch was so narrow that they could only walk two abreast, and as they saw my head the foremost men fired, but missed me. We held our guns in the ditch and fired down it for a minute or two, then cautiously peeping around the angle we saw the ditch clear, except for six or eight men lying on its bottom.

To stay where we were seemed certain death. About twenty yards to our left was an abandoned breast-work, with embrazures for three guns. To reach it however, we had to pass over the level ground. We chose a moment when there was a dense smoke from the bursting shells.

One of our number was killed in the attempt; completely torn to pieces by a shell. Evidently our movement was unseen, for we had hardly got to our new quarters, when the place we had left was literally torn out of the ground by mortar shells thrown from three batteries on the enemies' lines. I counted thirteen shells in the air at one time, all converging to the same spot. Half stiffled as we were by the sulphurus fumes, and almost buried by flying masses of earth torn up by their explosion, we could not help admiring the beautiful rings of smoke, ascending a hundred or more feet in the air, as the mortars belched them forth on their murderous mission.

In our new position we were exactly between two heavy batteries which kept up an artillery duel. It was some time, however, before we could realize that we actually saw rifled shells flying through the air. A dark speck would appear out of the smoke from a cannon, and in a second it had grow to a mass, apparently as large as a man's head. As it passed over us we felt faint and had to gasp for breath in the rarified air.

It was noon when we shifted our quarters, and we remained, (nine of us) alone throughout the day and far into the night. We had enough to eat if we had been hungry, but such was not the case. Our thirst, though, 'was insatiable. Again and again one would run or crawl to the ditch and fill several canteens from its foul bottom, full of dead men and spattered with blood and brains, but how refreshing to our parched mouths and throats that water was.

During the day the enemy made repeated charges on our lines. Fort Mahone was only a few hundred yards to our

right, and our firing did considerable damage to the charging columns. Again and again the attack upon it was repulsed, until the ground in front of it was covered with dead and wounded men. Finally when the ammunition of its garrison was exhausted the fort was carried just before night by assault, its brave defenders disputing every inch of the ground with the bayonet; the only time during the war I saw this awkward part of a soldiers' accoutrement put to its legitimate use.

All that long day, God's holy Sabbath, we shot and were shot at. Our shoulders were so sore from the rebound of the guns, that we had to pad them with our blankets. Even after night fell the balls were flying thickly and shells bursting about us. After some hours, however, we noticed that the firing was only from the lines of the enemy.

My comrades had put themselves under my direction and I sent a man back through the ditch to see what was the matter. He did not return and fearing that he had been killed, I went myself, taking another man along, in case of accident, and arranging a signal to call my companions. We made straight for the battery behind us, preferring the chance of being shot, to floundering in the mud and stumbling over the dead men in the ditch. We were too stiff to run, but a few minutes brought us safely to the fort. There was perfect silence inside it. No one responded to our call. We crawled up along side of a gun and to our horror found it spiked. As I dropped to the ground inside, I stepped on a wounded man, and from him—poor fellow, left there all alone to die—we learned that our troops had evacuated the lines two hours before. The six men we had left behind

responded quickly to our signal and together we made our way back to Petersburg. The city was in indescribable confusion. Men and women thronged the streets in every sort of deshabille—some drinking and cursing, others praying and wringing their hands. Many homes were open and deserted, and piles of household goods littered the streets. Great fires were burning in various places. When we reached the Pocohontas bridge, some men were pouring turpentine over the planking. We had hardly crossed when with a hiss and a roar as of a rushing wind, the long structure burst into flames. As we ascended the hill, the light from the burning bridge and the fires in Petersburg, brought out the minutest object in glaring distinctness; and when we got to the top, the glow of burning Richmond, 22 miles away, cast our shadows behind us, while every few minutes the ground trembled and jarred under our feet, as the magazines along the lines were blown up. I fully sympathize with the sentiment expressed somewhat differently by a comrade, that the judgment day had come.

Apparently we had been forgotten up to this time, but here we found a courier awaiting us, with orders to set fire to the stores and ammunition at Dunlap's Station, on the Richmond and Petersburg railroad, and then rejoin the army in retreat on the river road. We found the great sheds and long trains of cars already burning in places, and taking only time to spread the fire where the cars had not ignited, we hurried on, leaving a number of women and children, whom we had plainly warned of their danger, dragging clothing and provisions out from the flames. As we left, the cars of ammunition began to explode, and we

could see women and children blown about in every direction over the ground. The air was filled with burning cartridges, like shooting stars, the balls of which rained down on us. We were all bruised about the head and shoulders, but none of us were seriouly hurt, although many shells, likewise, exploded or fell around us.

As we got back to the road we could hear again the hoarse huzzas which announced that the enemy had discovered our retreat and were taking possession of our lines. Presently we caught up with a train of wagons and scattered out amongst them trying to steal a ride. I found an ambulance, closely buttoned up all around, with the driver asleep. Loosening the back curtain, I peeped in, and in the darkness made out the forms of two men lying in the bed. I could not hear them breathe, and putting my hand on the head of one, I felt it was cold and his hair matted and sticky. Both were dead. Finding an oil-cloth on the bottom of the ambulance, I spread it over them and lay down between them. How long I slept I do not know, but sometime after daylight I was awakened by the driver pulling my hair and cursing me for daring to ride in the general's private ambulance. I don't remember his name, but, poor fellow, dead as he was, he had done me a great service, for my cramped and stiffened limbs would never have carried me the long miles I had slept and jolted away by his side.

On rejoining our command we were immediately ordered on the skirmish lines. Without food or rest we were busily engaged in prizing wagons and horses out of the deep mud,

or repelling attracks of the enemy's cavalry on the long wagon train.

At Amelia Court House we were drawn up in line to await an attack. I was leaning on a rail fence, surrounding a grove of large oaks. A lot of caissons and ammunition wagons were hauled into the grove, and some artillerymen were cutting the wheels and boxes of ammunition to pieces with axes. I was so tired that I hardly noticed what was going on, when suddenly I found myself lying on my back breathless, with rails piled over me, and I could see wheels, pieces of ammunition chests and great branches of trees, sailing in the air away above me, while shells were bursting in every direction. The great pile of ammunition had exploded, whether designedly or not, I do not know. One of our skirmishers had a broken leg, and all of us were stunned and bruised, but much more damage was done in our line of battle, several hundred yards behind us. The enemy did not appear, so we skirmishers were again sent to our tiresome task of protecting wagon trains. Several nights we acted as rear guard, and tried ineffectually to to keep up the stragglers. They lay asleep singly or in squads, in the woods and fields where they had dropped, dispirited and exhausted, and out numbered us a hundred to one. They had thrown away their guns, and only encumbered us, so we left them lying as they were.

In one of our skirmishes with the enemy, the shank of my shoe was cut through by a ball, and the bottom of my feet badly bruised. I was stooping forward, the pain jerked my knee up till it struck my chin, and I bit my tongue most painfully. For a moment I was sure I was wounded

all over. Another time the blanket on my shoulder was cut and torn nearly into by a ball. Later on, however, I got another blanket. Some cavalry that we had driven from the wagon train made a stand at a little house on a hill. As we advanced against them over an open field, one of them shot at me sixteen times with his carbine. I danced about pretty lively, dodging his balls, but managed meanwhile to load my gun, and he turned I sent my bullet through his thigh, and killed his horse. His comrade helped him off, but on his saddle I found a splendid blanket to make good the loss of mine. The cavalry still hung around, and we found that they had forced the lady of the house to cook their breakfast. While some of us fought them off, the rest of us ate their rations; the only meal we had the whole way from Petersburg to Appomattox. The kitchen had a window toward the enemy and doubtless in revenge for the loss of their breakfast, they kept up a constant fire at the window. The balls whizzed through it and struck the other side of the room, but that brave woman never stooped as she passed the window in going from the fireplace to the table.

The bridge across Sailor's creek had broken down and hundreds of our wagons were detained. The enemy were pressing us hotly, and Gen. Gordon rallied three or four hundred of us to protect the wagons. We formed a horseshoe with the curve to the front, and by his orders held our fire until the enemy, charging our whole line were only a few yards from us. Such destruction I never saw. Nearly every man was on the ground, but some were only playing off, because they joined the fresh regiment which came up

in a few minutes to a second charge. We repeated our tactics and again drove them back with terrible loss. In the meantime, however, they had brought up their artillery, and Gen. Gordon, seeing further resistance was hopeless, gave us orders to save ourselves, he showing us the way by galloping his horse down the hill and fording the creek. We followed as fast as we could with shells hurtling and bursting over our heads. That night we were twice sent across the high bridge near Farmville to repel the approaching enemy. The last time as we started back to the Farmville side, a panic ensued, and in an instant the bridge was a mass of wriggling humanity, wedged so tightly that moving and even breathing seemed impossible. Many were trampled under foot, and one man I saw forced up above our shoulders, cling for a moment to the parapet, and with a wild scream disappear over the side. Next morning at Farmville some packages of French soup material, done up in tin foil, were issued, the only rations I received during the seven days of retreat. I got a lump of dried onions about as large as two fingers, and was munching them industriously, when shots were heard just in our front, and the bugle called the skirmishers to advance. The enemy's skirmish line had crept within fifty yards of us, but being unsupported they slowly gave away before us, for a mile or more. At such close range their fire was very effective, and a number of our men, including the officers in command were killed or wounded. Our line became much scattered and in pursuing a man in front, I found myself with only two comrades in sight, on a little eminence overlooking a field in which were two railroad cuts. My man

dropped his gun, and, falling to the ground, rolled over and over down the hill, until he tumbled into the second of the two cuts. Thinking I could capture a prisoner, I called my two comrades to head him off, and ran to the further end of the cut. Just before I reached it, a mounted officer dashed out of the other end. He lay flat on his horse's neck, and as I fired at him I saw the blue fuzz fly from his back, but he rode on apparently uninjured. (I learned afterwards that he was a major-general from Pittsburg, Pa.)

Stepping on the railroad I found the cut full of Blue Coats, every man with hands up, and crying. "Don't shoot Johnnie! We give up Johnnie! For God's sake don't shoot!" To say I was surprised wouldn't begin to express my feelings. If one of them had pointed a gun at me, it would have afforded me infinite pleasure, under the circumstances, to give up myself, but they seemed so anxious to surrender that I leveled my gun at them, and with a variety of emphatic and peremptory expletives, hurried them out before they had a chance to change their minds. As we got out of the cut, my two comrades and eight others who had joined them came up. In the second cut were some more equally willing to give up, and we drove them all out before us. Then one of our prisoners looking around, in surprise, exclaimed: "Why, is this all of you? You yelled so we thought Lee's whole army was after us."

They were enlightened too late. I reckon we ought to have pitied the poor fellows, but we didn't have time, for within three or four hundred yards of us came another line of their skirmishers, at the top of their speed, calling on

their comrades to stop, and cursing and threatening to shoot us. We jeered them and dared them to shoot, knowing they would hit a dozen of their men to one of us. But we didn't feel as funny as we pretended, for in spite of all our urging and threatening and jabbing with guns, our prisoners would stumble and blunder and go slow, and the enemy's line was within 50 yards of us when Gen. Gordon saw our predicament and sent a force to our relief. Once behind our own men we took it leisurely and counted our prisoners. We had 103; 21 commissioned officers, several still carrying their swords, a dozen or more non-commissioned officers and the rest privates, composing the better part of the Veteran Fifty-ninth New York and Seventh Michigan Regiments.

Gen. Gordon complimented us and told us to turn our prisoners over to the provost guard but we didn't try very hard to find them at once. Our prisoners were clever fellows and gladly shared with us the rations they had in their haversacks. Stopping at a little branch to wash our powder-grimed faces, we found to our surprise, and our captives disgust, that only one man of our eleven had a load in his gun.

When we got back to the rear a stout colonel, whose spotless uniform and white complexion had not been acquired in field service, undertook to pull the blanket off the shoulders of one of the prisoners with whom I was chatting. I only said, don't, but I very solemnly aimed my gun at the most prominent part of his well filled uniform—and he didn't.

How the next day or two passed I hardly know. We were constantly fighting on the skirmish line, but so worn out, and hungry and sleepy that my recollection is a maze of physical and mental misery. I can remember our skirmish line lying in front of a battery in action to protect it against a charge of the enemy, when the premature bursting of a shell from one of our guns tore open the head of a comrade and spattered his brains over me. Then, too, I remember coming across Dr. Shaffner one night at a camp-fire, and his kind gift of a piece of cold corn-bread. It was all he had to give, but it was a God-send to me. He also took charge of an officer's belt and pistol I had captured some days before, and brought them home for me.

As we truged wearily along one morning, we were startled by the sounds of a conflict in front of us. All our fighting up to this time had been with the enemy on our flanks and rear. We were hurried forward and just at dawn we reached a little cross road village—Appomattox Court House. We were deployed in skirmish line and within half a mile came upon a strong force of the enemy, drawn up in line of battle and supported by artillery. After feeling their position, we were ordered back to the court house. My old brigade, a few hundred strong, had just come up and were wheeling into line as Gen. Lee rode close by us. He looked care-worn and haggard. The boys broke out into their usual cheer of welcome, but his only response was shading his face with his hat, and, bowing his head almost to the mane of his old familiar gray horse, Traveler, and I saw the tears trickle down his cheeks. It was my last sight of our beloved and revered commander.

The line was ordered forward, and as we were deployed on their left we could see the whole movement. It was my fortune to witness several charges during the war, including the famous third day's attack on the heights of Gettysburg, but I never saw one so magificently executed as this. Our men advanced as regularly as though on parade, and as the shells and grape shot ploughed through the ranks, the files closed up without the slightest faltering. Presently they broke into a double quick, and with the old time yell, and an irresistable rush, they carried the enemy's position, capturing several guns and a number of prisoners. It was North Carolina's last oblation to the fame of the Army of Northern Virginia. In the meantime, we on the skirmish line became engaged with some dismounted cavalry. A man named Alfred Long, from Yadkin county, and myself had gotten to a small house, and were firing from the corner of it. I shot at three men who were crossing a ditch on a rail, less than a hundred yards away. The middle man dropped into the ditch, and I noticed his companions draw him up and lay him on the bank, crossing his hands and covering his face with his hat. Just at this moment several balls whistled over us from our rear, and turning round we saw five of the enemy's cavalry at the yard fence, within fifty feet of us. Our skirmish line was several hundred yards behind them, in full retreat, and could no nothing but surrender. I bent my faithful gun under the house, and narrowly escaped being shot by my captors for the senseless act. After some cursing and parleying, however, they contented themselves with taking my hat, and the good blanket I had captured a few days

before. Their moderation was due to the fact that nothing else I had, seemed to them worth taking. One of them conducted Long and myself to their advancing lines. We passed by the poor fellow I had shot. His coat was torn in the center of his breast and between his folded hands, the frothy blood had welled up. I could not resist the impulse, and gently raising his hat, I gazed on a boyish, beardless face, whose peaceful expression was marred only by the stony stare of his widely open eyes. I have learned by heart all the sophisms that prate of patriotism, fighting for the right, defending homes and fire-sides, etc., etc., but will a just God, who has commanded: "Thou shalt do no murder," be satisfied with such empty platitudes?

On our way out we met Gen. Sheridan, who seemed to me a coarse-featured, short-necked, chunky man, with redundant length of arms, and riding a horse two or three sizes too large for him. Long and myself were so tired and worn out that we had to hang on to the saddle skirts of our guard. Our strange appearance attracted the general's attention and halting us, he asked me how many men Gen. Lee had with him. I told him 70,000 or 80,000, and he invited me to the bad place with a fluency and versatility of expression that indicated a thorough acquaintance with the resources of profanity. Everybody knows Sheridan was a great soldier. I have since been told that he was handsome. He may have been. I was a better judge of cursing in those days than I was of good looks. Just before we met Gen. Sheridan we noticed that firing had ceased on the lines, and we could recognize Gen. Gordon, with another man carrying a white flag, riding toward

the little white house where we had been captured. There Sheridan and Gordon met, and shortly afterward we were informed that Gen. Lee had surrendered our army. Later on I learned the advisibility of being civil to a darkey behind a gun. We met a colored soldier and I foolishly replied to some of his taunts, when without warning he leveled his gun at my head. I remember looking into the gun barrel and closing my eyes in expectation of immediate death. However, my guard spoilt his aim by cutting his head open with his sabre and the charge went harmlessly over my shoulder.

We were kept prisoners for a week, and during that time we had nothing given us to eat. Hampton's cavalry had destroyed Grant's wagon trains, and our captors had not enough for themselves. How we chewed roots, and bark and buds, and sucked the inside of our grimy haversacks, and skewered up our waist-bands, and drank water by the gallon to lesson the aching void of hunger, is painful to remember, and prosy and monotanous to tell about. One day a poor fellow prisoner, who felt himself dying, gave me a couple of spare-ribs in return for some little attention I had shown. I don't know how he had got them or how long he had carried them. They were so soft they didn't need chewing, and the most of the meat had stuck fast to the inside of his dirty haversack; but you may be sure I didn't lose any of it on that account. Many of our friends who had been paroled at Appomattox Court House, passed us with pleasant greetings. One of them on horse-back overtook Gen. Grimes, my division commander, and told him I was a prisoner. Although he was on his way home he

rode three miles back to intercede for my release. It availed nothing, but I shall never forget his kindness. I grieved for a friend, indeed, when long after the war, the ball of an ambushed assassin brought his gallant life to an untimely close.

I will not weary you with an account of our return home. We were paroled at Farmville, and begging food by the way, sometimes welcomed—often repulsed, we walked by slow stages on account of our weakness, to Clover Station on the R. and D. R. R., where we found a train which carried us to Danville. Here we appropriated a construction train, and standing on a flat car, rode to a burned bridge, ten miles from Greensboro. Walking on, I reached home the second morning thereafter. I had been mourned for as dead. Some of my company had taken the description, given by a burying detail, of a young fellow resembling me, and marked his grave with a board on which they carved my name. My welcome home can be imagined.

I had lost 38 pounds in three weeks, and was so emaciated and filthy that my father at first failed to recognize me. As I emerged from the nasty clothing I had worn night and day for seven consecutive weeks, and enjoyed the luxury of a warm bath, and donned clean garments, and again sat in a chair and ate with a fork, and drank water from a glass, and joined in the family prayers, and slept in a bed, the glamour and illusions of the pomp and pride, and circumstances of glorious war, were forever dispelled. I certainly wasn't built for a soldier. I don't want to impugn the veracity nor would I curtail the pleasure of these old soldiers who speak and write so enthusias-

tically of the duty of patriotism, and the glory of war. But must express my selfish regret that they so successfully concealed their real feelings at the time. If any single one among the thousands I saw felt at all happy or contented, he failed utterly to show it. I know if I had been half so badly scared as everybody around me looked, I never would have stayed to go into a single battle.

Speaking for myself, I have few pleasant recollections of the war? To my mind come only sad, and grim, and gloomy memories:—the forms of my comrades and friends hurried to an untimely death by disease and wounds; left a prey to the birds of the air, and the beasts of the field—at best hastily and unceremoniously shoveled into a shallow trench; if haply surviving, maimed and crippled, and marred in health and usefulness; the privations and sufferings from fatigue and hunger, and heat and cold, and filth and nakedness, in comfortless camp, on toilsome march, in ruthless conflict, in loathsome hospital, in pitiless prison; fields deserted, homesteads and towns pillaged and burned, graves violated, sanctuaries defiled; Sabbaths desecrated; the havoc and ruin, the wanton waste and destruction, the merciless carnage; the unutterable agony of heart-rending grief that hung like the smoke of torment over the tens of thousands of bereaved and desolated homes. The abomination of desolation!

May justice and righteousness dwell in this land; may mutual toleration and forbearance take the place of sectional jealously and bitterness; may the God of love so completely fill the hearts and minds of this people, that the God of battles can nevermore find room in their thoughts; may the reign of the Prince of Peace speedily begin, and and His dominion extend over all God's beautiful earth!

Resignation of first Editors

With this issue of the Booklet its present editors retire. Before doing so, we desire to thank our friends for their many kindnesses, without which we could not have made the Booklet a success. The object with which the work was undertaken, was to raise a sufficient amount of money, that some appropriate memorial might be erected to the memory of the patriotic women of the Edenton Tea Party, held Oct. 25, 1774. As yet, the sum obtained from the Booklets have been so small, and a substantial memorial seems so far in the future, that we beg the Booklet itself, maybe accepted, as a loving tribute, and memorial, until something more enduring can be obtained. With us, the work has been a labor of love. If by chance some of these Booklets have fallen in the hands of any descendants of these patriotic women, and their hearts have been quickened with the glow of pride, in their heroic ancestresses, and they feel that they too would like the privilege of contributing to the memorial, we feel that our labor has not been in vain.

The Booklet will be continued by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, and we hope that the many kindnesses shown us, will be extended to her.

Very truly,
MISS MARTHA HELEN HAYWOOD,
MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD,
Editors N. C. Booklet.

At next meeting
Mrs E E Moffitt elected Co-Editor

Battle of Lexington April 19th 1775
Battle of Alamance N.C. May 16th 1771
Concord " April 19th 1775
Destruction of Tea Boston Mass " 1773.
"Edenton Tea Party. Oct 25th 1774
"Mecklenburg Declaration. May 20th 1775

Battles of Revolution Fought in North Carolina.

National Declaration of Independence July 4th 1776

Moores Creek Bridge,	Feb'y 27th, 1776
Ramsour's Mill,	June 20th, 1780
Pacolet River,	July 14th, 1780
Earles Ford,	July 18th, 1780
Cane Creek,	Sept. 12th, 1780
Wahab's Plantation or Waxhaws	Sept. 21st, 1780
Charlotte	Sept. 26th, 1780
Wilmington,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Cowans Ford,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Torrence Tavern,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Shallow Ford	Feb'y 6th, 1781
Bruce's Cross Roads,	Feb'y 12th, 1781
Haw River,	Feb'y 25th, 1781
Clapp's Mill	March 2nd, 1781
Whitsell's Mill,	March 6th, 1781
Guilford Court House,	March 15th, 1781
Hillsboro,	April 25th. 1781
Hillsboro,	Sept. 13th, 1781
Sudleys Mill, (Cane Creek.)	Sept. 13th, 1781

Kings Mountain (S C) Oct 7th 1781

Resistance to the Stamp Act November 28 1765
Halifax N C.

Battle of Alamance N.C. May 16th 1771

Carolina becomes a Royal Province 1729
State divided into North and South Carolina

Regulators resisted unjust Taxation June 6. 1765
Granville NC at Nuttbush
Battle of Bunker Hill June 17th 1775

First Continental Congress Sept 5. 1774
Regulators in Anson - 1768.
Resistance to the Stamp act in N.C.
occurred in Wilmington - Brunswick - 20
miles South of Wilmington N.C. Nov 28th - 1765
see Vol I Pardon No 3 - also Oct 19th 1765

Battle of Lexington Mass - Apr 19th 1775
" " Concord " " " "
" " Bunker Hill " June 17th 1775
At Halifax C.H.
First open & public declaration of Independence by the proper authority of any one of the Colonies on record. } Apr 12th 1776

(From Jones' Defence of N.C."
Journal of Convention pp - 11, 12
Wiley Reader pp 202; 203 -.
declaring independence in Concurrence with other Colonies
"Halifax Resolutions" Apr 12. 1776 proposed
(Wheeler's History p - 82.)
adopted May 22d - 1776

Historic facts

1619. First Colonial Assembly at Jamestown Va

1607. First Settlement Jamestown Va

1620. Slaves first introduced in Virginia by the Dutch.

1620. Landing of the Pilgrims. Mass.

1625. Manhattan Island settled by the Dutch.

1627. Leading Mass. Colonists pay 9000 for their territory.

1651. North Carolina's first settlement at the mouth of Cherran River

1665. Clarendon Colony settled near Wilmington N.C.

1675. Commencement of King Philips war

1719. First Presbyterian Church founded in New York

1729 - Carolina becomes a Royal Province
State divided North and South.
May 29-30 1765 Patrick Henry's speech against the Stamp Act
1773. Destruction of 342 Chests of Tea in Boston Harbor
Oct 25th 1774 The Edenton Tea Party
1775. Ships and 10,000 men ordered to America
1776 St Pauls Edenton Vestry declaration June 19th 1776
1781. Battle of Kings Mountain S. C
1791. Dec 15th Constitution of the US amended 15 times to Dec 30th 1870
1783. "
Jan 29th "The independence of the United States was formerly acknowledged by England and George Washington was chosen President
"Woman"

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VOL. III MAY, 1903 No. I

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

TRIAL OF JAMES GLASGOW, AND THE SUPREME COURT OF NORTH CAROLINA,

BY

KEMP P. BATTLE, LL. D.

PRICE, 10 CENTS $1 THE YEAR

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

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VOL. III MAY, 1903. No. 1

THE

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

RALEIGH
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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

THE TRIAL OF JAMES GLASGOW, AND THE SUPREME COURT OF NORTH CAROLINA.

BY KEMP P. BATTLE, LL. D.,
(Professor of History, University of North Carolina).

The territory, now occupied by the counties of Lenoir and Greene, was cut off from Johnston in 1758 and was called after the royal Governor of that day, Dobbs, whose Christian name was Arthur. He was a Scotch-Irishman of Castle Dobbs in the county of Antrim, a member of the Irish Parliament, High Sheriff of Antrim and Surveyor-General of Ireland. He was an author too, but his books were of ephemeral interest. He was industrious and, I believe, honest, but was so lacking in tact that he had many quarrels with his Assembly. He did not, however, deserve the insult of having his name expunged from our map. As early as 1759 he was enthusiastic in resisting the encroachments of the French and showed his statesmanship by urging on the great English war minister, William Pitt, the importance to the American colonies of expelling them entirely from our continent.

Still in 1791 the name of the good old fussy Governor, possibly because his nephew, Richard Dobbs Speight, then a Federalist, was in bad odor politically, gave place to Lenoir and Glasgow, the former in honor of a King's Mountain hero, then Speaker of the Senate, the latter after the Secretary of State.

This Secretary, James Glasgow, was one of the most trusted men of the Revolution. In conjunction with Alexander Gaston, the father of Judge William Gaston, and Richard Cogdell, grandfather of George E. Badger, he was one of the Committee of Safety of the Newbern District. He was major of the militia regiment of the county of Dobbs. When North Carolina, on the 18th December, 1776, adopted its Constitution and took its place among the free States of the earth, Richard Caswell was its first Governor, Memucan Hunt its first Treasurer and James Glasgow its first Secretary of State. He was one of the venerable men who formed the first lodge of the noble order, hoary with age and crowned with honor, the Free and Accepted Order of Masons. His autograph is side by side with those of William Richardson, Samuel Johnston, Richard Caswell, Richard Dobbs Speight, John Stokes and others like them.

Behold the reward of dishonesty and official corruption!

The name of the great general, who saved our State from subjugation after Gates' tragic defeat at Camden, Nathaniel Greene, has supplanted that of the obliterated Glasgow, the worthy William White took his place in the office of Secretary of State, and on the records of the Masons the dismal lines of disgrace are drawn around the signature of the poor wretch, who was weighed in the balance and found wanting.

The same love of lucre, which often in our day drags to ruin public officers, entered the breast of Glasgow. It was in 1797 discovered with horror that he had been issuing fraudulent grants of lands in Tennessee and mountainous

North Carolina. He had been cheating the State for whose liberties he had suffered. He had been cheating the ignorant, who had relied on his integrity. He had disgraced a high and honorable office. He had many accomplices, men of pluck and daring, who hesitated not to cut through difficulties with the knife of the assassin, or to destroy incriminating evidence by fire or poison or the rifle ball.

Eminent public services, high official position, extensive family connections could not among our ancestors screen criminals from punishment. Glasgow was indicted for misdemeanor in office. It was more convenient to have the trial in Raleigh, where the public records were kept. A special tribunal was constituted by the General Assembly for the trial of the accused. The act was drawn by the eminent Judge John Haywood, a cousin of the popular State Treasurer of the same name. At least two of the Judges were to meet in Raleigh and hold the Court. While so convened they were authorized to hear and determine on appeal causes which had accumulated in the District Courts. They were to meet twice a year, and to sit not exceeding ten days at each term. Both the Attorney-General, Baker, and Solicitor-General, Jones, were ordered to prosecute, and a special agent was authorized to prepare and arrange the evidence and attend the trial. This is the solitary instance in our history of the employment of a public "attorney," charged with the functions of an English attorney, as distinguished from the barrister. The act was to expire in the beginning of 1803.

The accused sought for one of their counsel the man of

greatest reputation as a criminal lawyer in the State, Judge Haywood, who drew the act constituting the Court. They paid him a fee of $1,000, then considered enormous, to resign and take their case. The people generally much blamed him for what they considered a desertion of his post for a pecuniary consideration. His emigration to Tennessee, where he was elevated to the Supreme bench, is thought to have been caused by the popular disapprobation, which was intensified by his attacking the constitutionality of the act, which he himself had drawn.*

Glasgow and his accomplices were not content to trust to the eloquence and skill of Haywood. Certain documents in the Comptroller's office were evidence necessary to conviction. It was determined to abstract them and to burn the Capitol, in which they were deposited. The plot was laid in Tennessee in a room in the inn adjoining that in which lodged Judges McNairy and Tatom. They overheard the plans of the conspirators, and, after consulting with the District Attorney, afterwards President Jackson, determined to prevent them.

Samuel Ashe, of an eminent family, ancestor of one of our ablest Supreme Court Judges, Thomas Samuel Ashe, was Governor of the State, after long and able service as Judge. A messenger was despatched in hot haste to warn him of his danger. The task was difficult and perilous. The roads over the mountains were little better than Indian trails.

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*While non-professional men may have been of opinion that Judge Haywood violated propriety, I think that lawyers do not consider him blameable. K. P. B.

Over precipitous cliffs, in the sharp winds and snows of winter, through swollen torrents, through the dense primeval forests he sped his way. He carried in his bosom the letter which would save our archives and ensure that there should be no miscarriage of justice. If his object had been known his murdered corpse would have fed the hungry wolves of the Alleghanies. Governor Ashe was prudent, and to this day the students of history know not whom to thank for saving our early records. A trusty watch was set, and soon a slave of one of the accused, Phil Terrell by name, was caught in the act of breaking into the Comptroller's office. The prosecutions were successful, the accused were convicted and punished, while the poor negro died a felon's death on the gallows-tree.

THE SUPREME COURT.

But what has the crime of Glasgow to do with the creation of the Supreme Court? Our legislative history shows that this great tribunal was indirectly caused by his fall.

By the 1777 Judiciary Act of the State of North Carolina, following that of the Province, in 1767, the State was divided into six Judicial Districts, of from four to eight counties each, the courts being held in the borough towns of Edenton, Newbern, Wilmington, Halifax, Hillsborough and Salisbury. In 1782 the District of Morgan (now called Morganton) was added; in 1787 that of Fayetteville. There were three Judges only. The courts corresponding to our Superior Courts were held in the towns named. Any two of the

Judges could hear appeals. In 1790 the eight districts were divided into the Eastern and Western "Ridings," and a fourth Judge added. Two of them in rotation were required to hold the courts in each Riding. While the new arrangement was more convenient to the Judges, their appellate functions were less satisfactory to litigants than under the old. Harassing delays and diverse decisions of the same questions of law were not only possible but frequent. And the tired Judges, worn out by tedious travel over almost impassable roads, were unable to give to the subjects thorough and satisfactory attention. All lawyers and their clients were keenly desirous of obtaining a more uniform appellate tribunal.

The Glasgow Court was in the right direction. Pressure was brought on the General Assembly to continue longer the parts of the act providing that there should be a meeting of the Judges to hear appeals. That body, economical to stinginess, at a time when land was taxed by the acre and the State revenue was less than $100,000 a year, doled out another three years' existence, but with the childish provision that no attorney should speak or be admitted as counsel in the Court. In 1804 it was made a Court of Record, and the opinions ordered to be reduced to writing. In the following year the name was changed from the Court of Conference to the Supreme Court, and the limit to its duration removed. In 1806 our present system of having Superior Courts in every county was adopted, and two more Judges added. In 1810 those who held the Supreme Court were required to write

out their opinions at length, for which they were allowed extra $100 each. They were also required to elect a Chief Justice, the choice falling on John Louis Taylor.

Although the meeting of the Judges at Raleigh to hear appeals was a great improvement on the preceding plan, in 1818 the General Assembly was induced to give us the priceless institution of a Supreme appellate tribunal, composed of learned Judges whose sole business was to decide questions of law on appeal. They were fortunate in securing men of highest character and recognized ability, Chief Justice Taylor and Judges Hall and Henderson. The Court has had a most useful and honorable career, and is firmly fixed in the confidence of the people of our people.

I have shown how a great and valuable institution grew out of a notorious malfeasance in office in the Executive Department of our State, even as Samson's honey flowed out of a lion's carcass, dried by the desert wind. While we should not hesitate to chronicle our short-comings, we should felicitate ourselves on the fact that such acts of misconduct by our public officers have been exceedingly rare, and that those appointed directly by our people, or by their legislative agents in the General Assembly, have as a rule been very fair representatives of the intelligence, the honesty and incorruptibility of the State.

THE LORDS PROPRIETORS OF THE PROVINCE OF CAROLINA, 1663:

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SIR JOHN COLLETON,
SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY.

VOL. III JUNE, 1903 No. 2

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

NORTH CAROLINA CHEROKEE INDIANS.

BY

WILLIAM W. STRINGFIELD,

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL 69TH N. C. T.

PRICE, 10 CENTS $1 THE YEAR

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THE

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

RALEIGH
E. M. UZZELL & CO., PRINTERS AND BINDERS
1903

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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

NORTH CAROLINA CHEROKEE INDIANS.

By WILLIAM W. STRINGFIELD,
(Lieutenant-Colonel 69th N. C. T.).

INTRODUCTION.

It was my intention, in the beginning, to record only my personal recollections of those Indians left in North Carolina after the Removal—known as the "Eastern Band of Cherokees." While I have not confined myself strictly to their story, such was my original intention, and for this reason, I have made no mention of many prominent members of the tribe who were identified with the "Nation" rather than the "Eastern Band," notably John Ross, Elias Boudinot, and the "Cadmus of his race," George Gist (Sequoya), inventor of the Cherokee alphabet.

It would take an article such as I have written to adequately describe their present condition and surroundings. However, as we are told "It is a foolish thing to make a long prologue and to be short in the story itself," I submit this sketch without further explanation or apology.

It is not of the mythical or traditional, but of the real Cherokee that I write—and not so much of the ancient as the modern.

Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, in her "Century of Dishonor," says the Indians are peculiarly the wards of the nation. While claiming to be as good a friend of "the poor Indian" as Mrs. Jackson, I cannot altogether agree with her in some of her statements and conclusions. As I mention later, I had several hundred of the Eastern Band of Cherokees in my

command during the Civil War, and since that time I have lived near them. I can, therefore, speak from a personal knowledge of their racial peculiarities and characteristics, such knowledge being as necessary when writing of the Indian as when writing of our *other race* problem, the more vexed one of our "brother in black."

A great deal has been written about the "mountaineers" of Western North Carolina, but very little about the *native* mountaineers—these lords of the forest, who roved from one "happy hunting ground" to another in this beautiful "Land of the Sky" for centuries before the white man came to disturb their Arcadia, and, eventually, take their lands.

The name "Cherokee" is a corruption of "Tsalgi," and has no meaning in their own language. We find it first in the Portugese recital of De Soto's expedition, published in 1557 as "Chalaque." In a French document it appears as "Cheraqué," the English form "Cherokee" appearing as early as 1708.

Linguistically the Cherokees are related to the Iroquoian stock, their marked differences being due to their long separation.

The Cherokee language had many dialects, as is the case with tribes scattered over a large territory. We find these dialects divided into three principal ones—the Eastern, Middle and Western. The Eastern, also called the Lower Cherokee, was spoken by the tribes in South Carolina and Georgia. The Middle dialect was originally spoken in the towns along the Tuckasegee, and is the dialect used by most of the Indians

now residing in the Qualla Reservation. The Western dialect was spoken by the tribes of Tennessee and by some in upper Georgia and North Carolina. It is the "literary dialect," and is spoken by those who reside in the West.

It will be seen, therefore, that Adair's classification of "Ottari" (among the hills) and "Erati" (lowland) will have to be rejected as insufficient. Also the derivation of the word Cherokee from "Cheera," meaning fire. This element was held in great respect by them, the "sacred fire" being kept constantly burning in their "town house." They believed if this house was destroyed by their enemies the sacred fire would sink into the ground, where it would continue to burn, though unseen by them. The older Cherokees believe this fire still burns within the mounds at Franklin and Bryson City. Some of their men, who were in the Confederate service and stationed near there, claimed to have seen smoke arising from them.

We are told that the Cherokees were the most intelligent of the tribes, and that it was due to their military prowess that they were able to hold the most beautiful, picturesque and secure homes of all the American tribes. Their love for their mountain home was, and is, intense, many of them dying of broken hearts when forced by the Federal Government to remove to the West. Of this blot on the escutcheon of our country, I shall speak later.

They possess a keen and delicate appreciation of the beautiful in nature, and their language is soft and melodious—when spoken by them. Their most beautiful names lose

their soft resonance of sound when spoken by English lips. Tlâge-si Se-le-tah, my Indian name, I like still to hear from the lips of my old comrades in arms. A pity it is that the euphonious names given our mountains and rivers by them, such as "Tocheeostee," "Zillicoah," "Wayeh," etc., should have been replaced by such prosaic ones as at present designate them.

The Cherokees, like their kindred, are very credulous and superstitious. They people the dark solitudes of the mountains with spirits, evil and good. The "Devil's Court-house," "Devil's Looking-glass," and other places believed to be the abode of His Satanic Majesty, were carefully avoided. Bravery atoned for a multitude of sins, and it was always the most courageous in arms who were most esteemed.

Many beautiful legends of the Balsams, whose majestic peaks, gloomy forests and sparkling cascades appealed strongly to their imaginations, are handed down to us. The following one is taken from Zeigler's "The Heart of the Alleghanies," and is as descriptive of the scenery now as in former days:

"The Indians believed they were originally mortal in spirit as well as body, but above the blue vault of heaven there was, inhabited by a celestial race, a forest into which the highest mountains lifted their dark summits. It is a fact worth noticing that while the priests of the Orient described heaven as a great city with streets of gold and gates of pearl and fine gems, the tribes of the Western Continent aspired to nothing beyond the perpetual enjoyment of wild nature.

"The mediator, by whom eternal life was secured for the Indian, was a maiden of their own tribe. Allured by the haunting sound and diamond sparkle of a mountain stream, she wandered far up into a solitary glen, where the azalia, kalmia and the rhododendron brilliantly embellished the deep, shaded slopes, and filled the air with their delicate perfume. The crystal stream wound its crooked way between moss-covered rocks, over which tall ferns bowed their graceful stems. Enchanted by the scene, she seated herself upon the soft moss and, overcome by fatigue, was soon asleep. The dream-picture of a fairyland was presently broken by the soft touch of a strange hand. The spirit of her dream occupied a place at her side, and wooing, won her for his bride.

"Her supposed abduction caused great excitement among her people, who made diligent search for her recovery in their own villages. Being unsuccessful, they made war upon the neighboring tribes in the hope of finding the place of her concealment. Grieved because of so much bloodshed and sorrow, she besought the Great Chief of the Eternal Hunting Grounds to make retribution. She was accordingly appointed to call a council of her people at the forks of the Wayeh (Pigeon) river. She appeared unto the chiefs in a dream, and charged them to meet the spirits of the hunting ground with fear and reverence.

"At the hour appointed the head men of the Cherokees assembled. The high Balsam peaks were shaken by thunder and aglow with lightning. A cloud as black as midnight settled over the valley, then lifted, leaving upon a large rock

a cluster of strange men, armed and painted as for war. An enraged brother of the abducted maiden swung his tomahawk and raised the war-whoop, but a swift thunderbolt dispatched him before the echo had died in the hills. The chiefs, terror-stricken, fled to their towns.

"The bride, grieved by the death of her brother, and the failure of the council, prepared to abandon her new home and return to her kindred in the valleys. To reconcile her, the promise was granted that all brave warriors and their faithful women should have an eternal home in the happy hunting ground above after death. The Great Chief of the forest beyond the clouds became the guardian spirit of the Cherokees."

The Cherokees dwelt in villages, usually near some stream where fish and game were plentiful. In Echota, their "city of refuge" and their capital, their councils were held, and there lived the Archi-magus, Oconostata, and the prophetess, the famous Nancy Ward, their "Beloved Woman," who though not as well known to the general reader as Matoaka, deserves as high a place in our regard as the Virginia maiden. This city of refuge was like the sanctuary of ancient times. Here an enemy, or even a criminal, could abide in safety.

The first account we have of the Cherokees dates back to 1540, when De Soto, the great Spanish explorer, traversed the southern and middle part of their domain, searching for gold. This march was one of destruction and devastation, equalled only in later times by Sherman's "March to the Sea."

In the century following De Soto's march there were numerous hostile incursions by the Spanish and their Indian allies, in which they carried off many Cherokees as prisoners and sold them into slavery in the West Indies. Being stalwart fellows, they were more valued as slaves than the less hardy negro. These incursions were usually from the south, as any one familiar with the topography of the country will see how their interior position kept them long from any intercourse with the settlers on the coast.

Cornelius Doherty is the first white man of whom we have any knowledge as living among them. In 1690 he settled among them as a trader, and I am sorry to chronicle that his influence, like that of many of his compatriots, was rather more degrading than elevating. Under his tutelage they soon became expert horse thieves, and the whites in retaliation would incite hostile tribes to make war upon them. So many braves were captured and sold into slavery by the colonists, that at last, in desperation, they appealed for aid to the Governor, who interfered and stopped the nefarious trade, securing thus, with but few lapses, the future loyalty of the tribe.

The French made and accepted similar overtures along the northern borders, but their persuasive powers were of no avail among the Cherokees, who remained friendly to the English.

It would be impossible to definitely locate the original boundaries occupied by the Cherokees, but they covered an area of at least 40,000 square miles, extending from near Pittsburg, Pa., on the north, to the Santee in middle South

Carolina, covering, as will be seen, the Appalachian, Blue Ridge and Cumberland regions.

The Cherokees are not without the trait possessed by all other Indians—they are good haters as well as fighters. Adair, who lived among them for forty years, has this to say of their thirst for revenge:

"I have known them to go a thousand miles in pathless woods, over hills and mountains, through large cane-swamps full of grape-vines and briars, over broad lakes, rapid rivers, and deep creeks, exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, the vicissitudes of the seasons, to hunger and thirst, to fatigue and other difficulties. Such is their over-boiling, revengeful temper, that they utterly disregard all these things as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of the murderer or enemy, to satisfy the supposed craving ghosts of their deceased relatives."

While contact with civilization has subdued the wild nature of the red man somewhat, much of his spirit still remains.

Not long since, at a game of La Crosse on their "reservation," between the clans, so great was their excitement over the game, that the squaws, when everything else had been "put up," cut off their "raven tresses" and cast them into the pile, which, as is their custom, was set on fire at the close of the game—all joining hands and dancing wildly around the bonfire, while they made the welkin ring with their uncanny war-whoop and unearthly screams.

The Cherokees had and have many redeeming traits of character. They did not always put their prisoners to death,

but adopted some whites into the tribe, turned others loose and allowed many to "run the gauntlet" to freedom. Their houses of refuge I have already mentioned.

As we look backward, shame to us! the atrocities committed were not all on the side of the savage. It seems incredible, yet history teaches us (white man's history too) that the Plymouth Rock settlers and their descendants not only scalped, but beheaded their prisoners. However, as they hanged and burnt witches of their own flesh and blood, they were no respecters of persons. The Cherokees being further west and south, knew little and suffered less from King Philip's War, but they heard much about these "northern barbarities."

It is only too true that the early settlers, as a rule, utterly disregarded every personal, private right an Indian was ever supposed to have. Treaty after treaty was made, only to be broken before the change of the moon. After treating or ceding away all of Kentucky—that "dark and bloody ground" —with parts of Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama, still the white man reached out for more, and *took* it, until finally little more than the backbone of the rugged mountains was left, and, as will be seen later, much of that was taken!

At the close of the Revolutionary War the Cherokees, broken in spirit and shattered in fortune, made a final peace with the whites. They were at war with the Creeks and other Indian tribes constantly—retiring to the mountain fastnesses of Western North Carolina and North Georgia.

In the Creek War they were appealed to by the great war-

rior Tecumseh to join him in a general uprising. This chieftain had been made a general by the British, and he made a personal visit to the Cherokee chief, Junaluska, at his home, and at the town house on Soco creek, in Swain county, which was near the home of the late "Black Fox," an old Methodist minister.

Tecumseh is said to have used his most persuasive arts and flattering promises upon the sturdy old warrior, but he remained true to his friends then and ever after.

It is a peculiar and, to the writer, a pleasing coincidence, that the vital conference was held here, where, on February 6, 1864 (improperly stated March 6th in "North Carolina Regimental History," Sixty-ninth Regiment), the writer, in command of two hundred whites and one hundred and fifty Indians, fought back, and but for lack of ammunition would have captured the notorious Kirk with his five or six hundred followers.

The Indians were led by a grandson of Junaluska, and both whites and Indians were descendants of the soldiers of 1812-'14. This was the only time during the Civil War that armed Federals were in their midst. The Indians remained loyal, but were greatly excited. It was impossible to keep them quiet. The war-whoop and crack of the rifle resounded everywhere. They followed close upon the heels of Kirk, even across the Smoky Mountains. However, this is anticipating somewhat.

When the War of 1812 was declared, Junaluska, at the head of eight hundred Cherokee warriors, did valiant ser-

vice for the United States, and, at the battles of Emukfaw Creek and Horse-shoe Bend, their services were indispensable.

In the former the father of the writer, a pioneer Methodist minister, then but a lad, was shot down in the immediate presence of General Jackson, and would have been killed and scalped but for the timely succor of the General, who personally aided in carrying him to the rear. He bore, hence, on his forehead, an honorable scar to his grave.

North Carolina remembered Junaluska, and as a slight reward he was given a farm in what is now Graham county, where he afterwards lived, died and lies buried. His grave may still be seen on the outskirts of Robbinsville.

Another great chief, by many considered the greatest, was Yonaguska (Drowning Bear). Tall of stature and of commanding presence, standing six feet five inches, and of strikingly handsome presence, he possessed qualities which made him both loved and feared by his people. He was considered by Colonel Thomas to be as great a man as John C. Calhoun. Certainly a man who wielded as great an influence for good over rude warriors as he deserves a place in history. He knew how to appeal to their superstitions as well as guard their weaknesses, as the following facts will show: Having been addicted to the use of whiskey himself, he realized its demoralizing influence, and determined upon the reformation of the tribe. And now he proved himself to be a master! With the cunning of the Indian and wisdom of a statesman, he appealed to their superstition. He fell into a trance, which lasted for fifteen days. During that time

the warriors, twelve hundred of them, marched and countermarched around his supposedly dead body. At last came the time for burial, but just as they were ready to perform the last rites—according to their custom—the dead chief was seen to move, and the well-known voice was heard again.

In an awe-stricken silence they listened to the voice of their new prophet. He told them of his long service. How he had always tried to serve their interests, and how the "Great Spirit," in His great love and pity for them, and grief over their excesses, had called him to the "happy hunting ground" that he might return and warn them. Tears streamed down the faces of all who listened, and they were eager to do the will of their prophet. Colonel Thomas was asked to write a pledge, which the old chief signed, then his followers: From that time the use of spirituous liquors was abandoned, any violation of their pledge being punished at the whipping-post. A good remedy at the present time!

A lack of humor is characteristic of the Indian—but Yonaguska was not wanting in this trait. Some one having brought a Cherokee translation of Matthew from New Echota, he would not allow it to be read until he had passed judgment upon it. He always held to his Indian faith, and was very suspicious of missionaries. However, after hearing several chapters read, with a grunt of satisfaction he dryly remarked: "It seems to be a very good book. Strange the white people are not better, after having had it so long."

During the life of Yonaguska pressure was frequently brought to bear upon him to induce him to move west with

his people. This he always indignantly refused to do, and he counseled them to the last to remain in their old homes, as they might go to a State where their liberties would be more curtailed than in North Carolina. He died at a very old age, a year after the Removal.

Of this removal, a Georgia soldier then, afterwards a colonel in the Confederate service, had this to say: "I fought through the Civil War, and have seen thousands of men shot to pieces, but that Cherokee Removal was the most cruel work I ever knew." The manner of removal is indeed a stain upon our flag!

This treaty (1835), it seems, was demanded by the people of Georgia, and enforced against the wish of the Cherokees, almost to a man. The Federal authorities (Jackson was President) hesitated and delayed in the matter, Jackson, no doubt, remembering the valiant service of these same Cherokees at the "Horse-shoe." His conscience pricked him sorely. A burning, stinging, acrimonious debate rang through both halls of Congress. Democrats for the bogus treaty, Whigs against it—the latter led by Clay, Webster, Everett, Wise and Davy Crockett. President Van Buren coming in, was disposed to give more time, but Governor Gilmer of Georgia was relentless. The Cherokees must go; and the majority did go. But how? Seventeen thousand were forced to move, two thousand left voluntarily.

State and Federal troops made the move. The Indians were hunted down like wild beasts. Many of the officers and soldiers protested against such cruelties; but the Cherokees

had to go. Soldiers guarded every one everywhere. One old man, when thus surrounded, calmly gathered his children around him, and all, in their own language, commended themselves to God; after which he said to the astonished soldiers: "Take us where you will, our God is with us."

Another brave ran off to the mountains, was followed for weeks; finally he came home and was found at sunrise half starved, prone upon the ground between the graves of his father and mother. Another notably cruel case was that of "Old man Charley." In his party were his wife, his three sons and their families. They were ordered in a rough manner to "move up"; a soldier at the same time prodded the old squaw, who was foot-sore and weary, in the side with his bayonet. Exasperated beyond endurance, Charley and his sons sprang upon the soldiers, and in the confusion which followed one soldier was killed. The Indians made their escape, but later, hearing that others would suffer if they did not surrender, Old Charley bravely came forth to his own death. By order of General Scott he and his two sons were shot, their friends being compelled to do the shooting, as it was thought this would have a salutary effect on the others. And so the work of removal went on! Junaluska said of General Jackson: "If I had known he would allow us to be treated so, I would have killed him at the Horse-shoe."

I quote from the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology concerning this tragedy in the lives of the Cherokees: "The history of this Cherokee removal of 1838, as gleaned by the author from the lips of the actors in

the tragedy, may well exceed in weight of grief and pathos any other passage in American history. Even the much-sung exile of the Acadians falls far behind it in its sum of death and misery. Under Scott's orders the troops were disposed at various points throughout the country, where stockade forts were erected for gathering in and holding the Indians preparatory to removal. From these, squads of troops were sent to search out with rifle and bayonet every small cabin hidden away in the caves or by the side of mountain streams, to seize and bring in as prisoners all the occupants, however, or wherever they might be found. Families at dinner were startled by the sudden gleam of bayonets in the door-way, and rose up, to be driven with blows and oaths along the weary miles of trail that led to the stockade. In many cases, on turning for one last look as they crossed the ridge, they saw their homes in flames, fired by the lawless rabble that followed on the heels of the soldiers to loot and pillage. So keen were these outlaws on the scent that in some instances they were driving off the cattle and other stock before the soldiers had fairly started their owners in the other direction." Indian graves were robbed of silver medals and other valuables placed with the dead. Some future Harriet Beecher Stowe may here find the truth to embody in a story of the oppressed!

The Eastern Band of Cherokees, of whom I am supposed to write, were, originally, the fugitives who refused to go, and could not be caught!

Colonel William H. Thomas, upon whose shoulders the

mantle of Yonaguska fell, needs no mention at the hands of the writer. As his history is so closely interwoven with that of his native State, it has been often written. The Indians lost nothing and gained largely under his leadership. Although a Democrat and true Southerner, he, at first, refused to take the Indians into the war, until forced to do so by public opinion, then for local defense. As the emergency of the times arose, a company was increased to a battalion, a battalion to a regiment, the regiment to the "Legion," and finally to two regiments, two battalions and a battery of artillery. None of this, however, has place here except the four Indian companies.

In thus going into the Southern army the Indians were actuated solely by their respect and veneration for their chief, Colonel Thomas. East Tennessee, where most of their military duties were performed, was just across the great Smokies from their homes. As one of the regimental officers of the "Legion," the writer can truthfully declare that in all of the conduct of the Indians towards the Federals they were always humane and generous, with no excesses beyond those of ordinary soldiers. In only one instance did the savage come to the surface. At Baptist Gap, in the Cumberland mountains, September, 1862, in a fight with the Federals, one of our lieutenants—a splendid Indian warrior, and a grandson of Junaluska—was killed in a gallant charge. His followers were so much incensed that they dashed forward with their war-whoop and battle-cry, and before they could be restrained they had scalped several of the wounded enemy.

This officer, Lieutenant John Astoogastoga, was a handsome, manly, Christian fellow, and would have been a man of mark in any community. Many of the Indians later on during the war had many good opportunities to desert, had they wished to do so. I must say that I cannot believe the statement sometimes made by Federals that the Indians deserted whenever they found an opportunity to do so.

As many intelligent and patriotic whites differed in opinion about the war, it would not have been so surprising had the Indians done so. A few months after the collapse of the Confederacy, I had occasion to travel through the Indian settlement, and I was astonished to learn how angry they were with the whites for surrendering so tamely, as they thought. It was more than a year after the close of the war before they would permit those who had fought on the Union side to return to their homes, and then only at the command of Colonel Thomas.

I wish to say, further, that while there was some confusion and drunkenness, their average behavior was better than that of the whites. I think it worthy of mention, and germane to the subject, to further state that the Indians were the last troops to surrender in the South—east of the Mississippi river. This surrender took place in the town of Waynesville, on May 10, 1865. It should be borne in mind that the entire Department of Western North Carolina, being isolated, after the surrender of East Tennessee reported directly to General Lee. After his surrender and the surrounding and capture of Johnston's army, the Federals, in the meantime, having

pushed forward, the Department was cut off from all communication with the outside world.

A truce had been called, when very unexpectedly Colonel Bartlett of New York (Third N. C. Federal) broke loose from flag of truce agreements at Asheville and went rapidly over Buncombe and Haywood counties *stealing horses.*

Colonel Thomas, with three hundred Indians, and Colonel James R. Love, with three hundred men, confronted him at Waynesville. He was driven into the town and surrounded. Colonel Thomas, with his Indians, retired to the mountain west of town (Mt. Maria Love), which was within shooting distance. Hundreds of camp-fires were built over the face of the mountain, and the night was made hideous by the war-whoop of the Indians. One Federal was killed and many more wounded by their sharp-shooters.

The bonfires and hideous yells had the desired effect. The following morning Colonel Bartlett sent out a flag of truce and asked for a conference. Colonel Love, with several of his men, and Colonel Thomas, with twenty of his largest and most warlike-looking Indians, stripped to the waist and painted and feathered off in fine style, entered the town. An agreement was made by which the Legion was paroled, the officers and men being allowed to keep their arms.

This surrender had a salutary effect upon all. Both whites and Indians returned to their homes and began work on their farms—the Indians the most peaceable of all, and less to be feared.

When these Indians were allowed to remain in the East a

small annuity was allowed each one. This fund had accumulated and had become quite a "plum." As we all know, "carpet-baggers" loved "plums," so it happened that the Cherokees were not allowed to escape the fate of their unfortunate white friends. This would not have happened but for the unfortunate illness of their much-loved chief, who was stricken in body and mind when his services were most needed. Rival claims for the chieftainship arose, and great confusion ensued. The younger generation growing up "knew not Joseph," and were the easy prey of designing men. However, the best citizens of the country, duly appreciating the gravity of their own and the Indians' surroundings, lent a helping hand, and alleviated much suffering.

For the last eighteen or twenty years the Federal Government has not been remiss in its efforts to train and educate the younger Indians in the necessary and useful arts of living. A Training and Industrial School, with extensive buildings, shops, gardens, etc., is in full operation on the banks of the beautiful Oconolufty at Cherokee, formerly "Yellow Hill," at the old Arneechee ford. How much permanent benefit is to arise remains yet to be seen.

Recently graduates from this school and Carlisle, Pa., were on the streets of Waynesville—husband and wife. She, in the usual way, had upon her back a great load of baskets, and a papoose. He was *loaded* down with a bow and arrow. She made the baskets, carried them to Waynesville, sold them and bought him a pair of shoes and a hat. For herself she

purchased a red bandana and some artificial roses, which she displayed with many grunts of satisfaction and pride.

Many tourists now visit this Reservation, and it certainly calls up a curious, if not startling, train of thought, to stand upon one of the many beautiful hillocks surrounding this school and hear the beat of "long roll" and the full swelling notes of the "Cherokee Band" of twenty-four brass horns, well tuned to music, daily drilling upon the beautiful green sward.

On the "Reservation" of one hundred thousand acres of land immediately surrounding the school, the Indians are now fairly happy and contented, and with each returning year are better able to support themselves. This school is located five or six miles from Whittier, N. C., by a good driving road, on the banks of the beautiful, sparkling and romantic Soco and Oconolufty rivers—one of the most favored spots in this beautiful Land of the Sky, "where God has written His love in trailing-arbutus, flowering azalia and many-tinted rhododendron; and has recorded His majesty on heights where centuries have slept, and woke to find their brows unchanged by marring stroke of time's rude pen."

VOL. III JULY, 1903 No. 3

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THE VOLUNTEER STATE (TENNESSEE) AS A SECEDER.

BY

MISS SUSIE GENTRY,

Regent "Old Glory" Chapter and State Historian
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In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

THE VOLUNTEER STATE (TENNESSEE) AS A SECEDER.

BY SUSIE GENTRY,

Regent "Old Glory" Chapter and State Historian D. A. R. of Tennessee.

"Yes, give me the land that hath legends and lays,
That tell of the memory of long vanished days;
Yes, give me the land that hath story and song,
To tell of the strife of the right with the wrong:
Yes, give me a land with a grave in each spot,
And names in the graves that shall not be forgot;
Yes, give me the land of the wreck and the tomb,
There's grandeur in graves—there's glory in gloom,
For out of the gloom future brightness is born;
As after the night looms the sunrise of morn,
And the graves of the dead with the grass overgrown
May yet form the foot-stool of Liberty's throne,
And each simple wreck in the pathway of might
Shall yet be a *rock* in the temple of Right."

—*Father Ryan.*

The "Volunteer State" is rightly named when we call to mind the times she has seceded. Never being a colony, she is remarkable in having made three attempts at secession—and her large measure of success in two of the three efforts.

The secession of 1861 is of too recent a date to be of special interest to the general reader, but the two previous attempts hold much for the descendants of men of both the "Old North State" and Tennessee.

To the North Carolinian and Tennessean it is interesting to read of the discovery of Tennessee, so to speak. Chisca, an Indian village, is believed to have occupied the present site of that notable cotton mart—Memphis. On the morning of its discovery by De Soto in the spring of 1541, his soldiery rushed disorderly into it, robbing the homes and taking many men, women, and children prisoners. The ruler, Chisca, was ill, but would have rushed headlong into battle, but for those peace-makers—the women—and the cooler-headed of his attendants.

De Soto called a camp, and the next morning some of the natives advanced without speaking, turned their faces to the east, made a profound genuflection to the sun, then turned to the west and made obeisance to the moon, and concluded with a similar but less profound reverence to De Soto.

They had come in the name of the Cazique, Chisca, and all of his subjects to bid them welcome, offer their services and friendship.

They were also desirous to see the kind of men who were to rule over them. A tradition had been handed down from their ancestors that a white people would come and conquer their country. Thus met these two warriors of widely distant lands—one acknowledged victor and ruler, the other a defeated king! The Spaniards remained in Chisca twenty days, during which time they built four piraguas; about three hours before day on the twentieth day De Soto ordered the piraguas to be launched with four troopers of tried cour-

age in each, and thus was the "Father of Waters" first crossed by white men in Tennessee.

Except the four piraguas built by De Soto, the cabin and fort erected by La Salle in 1682 was the first handicraft of civilized man in the boundaries of the State.

It was at the village of Nequassa (of the Cherokees), April, 1730, that Sir Alexander Cumming met the Cherokees and demanded of them obedience to King George. Here Moytoy of Tellequo was made Commander-in-Chief of the Cherokee nation. From *Tenassee* (their chief town on the west bank of the Little Tennessee river, a few miles above our "Tellico") was brought the crown, five eagle feathers and four scalps, which they requested Sir Alexander to lay at his Sovereign's feet. From this ceremony came our State's name—the changing of one letter and the addition of another to "Tenassee."

The Treaty of Paris, or of the Peace of 1763, was a transaction by which France ceded to England the territory now comprised by the State of Tennessee, as well as a large amount of other territory. In this cession of France to England the rightful owners of this vast property—the Indians—were entirely ignored. The Indians, as was natural, objected to the numerous excursions into their hunting grounds, and finally resistance was resorted to. To pacify the increasing hostility of the Indians, King George issued his wonderfully generous and logical (?) Proclamation of October 7, 1763—"That a Sovereign only has the right to purchase lands of the Indians."

Again, in 1768, Captain Stuart concluded a treaty with the Cherokees at Hard Labour, S. C. That vast area between the Ohio and Tennessee rivers was uninhabited by the Indians, but was the pugilistic field for their many desperate conflicts with their enemies. Its title was claimed by the Confederacy of the Six Nations; by a deputation from them a formal remonstrance was presented to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs against the continued encroachments upon these lands, May 6, 1768. Accordingly, a convention was held at Fort Stanwick, N. Y., October 24th; 3,200 Indians of seventeen different tribes were present, and November 5th a treaty and deed of cession to the King was signed.

At the treaty at Hard Labour the Indians had assented to an expulsion of the Holston settlements, and as a consequence the nucleus was formed of the first permanent settlement within the limits of Tennessee, in the latter part of December, 1768, and early part of January, 1769.

When, a year later, James Robertson ("the father of Tennessee") and his *confreres*—collaborators in hardship and ingenuity in dealing with the Indians—founded Watauga settlement, there was a latent idea of secession in their minds, although an humble petition was sent to the North Carolina Assembly as late as August 22, 1776.

North Carolina at this time held about twenty-nine million acres beyond the Alleghanies—from these mountains to the Mississippi river—all the region which now is within the boundaries of the great State Tennessee; and this vast domain was acquired without money or blood on the part of

North Carolina, she having used actually King George the Third's theory "that a Sovereign [State (?)] only has the right to purchase lands of the Indians," confiscated all lands south of latitude 36° 30′; the other unoccupied lands of the Cherokees she had gained through John Sevier and his brave comrades, who had been of not even one dollar's expense to her for several years!

The war with the Cherokees having happily come to an end, and safety and prosperity again reigning in the settlements, a treaty was made with them and signed July 20, 1777. In April of the same year the Legislature of North Carolina passed two acts of importance to this new-founded government—that of encouraging the militia and volunteers in prosecuting war against the red man, and in establishing "Washington District." In this district was all the territory of the now "Volunteer State"—and the budding flower of the seed of secession from North Carolina. In November following Washington county was created, and justices of the peace appointed and the establishment of Courts of Pleas and Quarter Sessions.

James Robertson and "The Notables" (men well known to history) really formed a government, though they did not so call it; still they were living without the laws and protection of either North Carolina or Virginia, though just on the boundaries of both. North Carolina and Virginia each claimed jurisdiction over this section, but the claim never extended further than slight discussions in State papers. They were entirely self-dependent—an unsupported, unpro-

tected outpost on the ragged edge of civilization! Having no regular government, it was necessary that they become a law unto themselves; therefore they thought out their laws, or rules of government, and lived by them in comparative comfort and satisfaction.

These self-proclaimed laws of James Robertson and the Notables were adopted in 1772, and are believed to be the first written compact of government west of the mountains. This "Tribunal of Notables" exercised every prerogative of government except the infliction of capital punishment, which for some time was necessary; and yet this government was the outcome of a man stealing a horse in the public thoroughfare. From what a small acorn does a giant oak sometimes grow!

For a number of years this form of government performed its functions with satisfaction and success to the people, but was in a reality a secession. It served its purpose of fitting certain men for places of responsibility, and a people for Statehood, and then ceased to exist.

From the ashes of Robertson's rule, or government, sprang Phœnix-like the "State of Franklin"—the first *independent* secession ever known of a State. This vast territory, by an act of the North Carolina General Assembly of 1783, had been ceded to Congress. According to this act North Carolina was to have authority over all this section until Congress should accept the cession.

The members from the four Western counties of Washington, Sullivan, Greene and Davidson were present, and

voted for the cession. These men seeing their well-being and protection, as a section, was of no special interest to the mother State, crimination and recrimination were freely indulged in by both North Carolina and her independent offspring—the "State of Franklin."

This self-willed child called to mind that in the Bill of Rights, adopted at the same time with the State Constitution (in 1776, at Halifax), a clause had been inserted authorizing the formation of "one or more governments westward of this State"; and believing that Congress would not accept this cession of land in the prescribed time—two years—and feeling that the settlements within the prescribed boundaries would practically be excluded from the protection of North Carolina and Congress, and with no authorized government, it devised means whereby it might extricate itself from the many and unexpected difficulties by which it was assailed and surrounded.

This was done by assembling a convention composed of two elected delegates from each captain's company to devise means of protection and redress. These thirty-six men, whose names are well known, accordingly met at Jonesboro, Tennessee, August 23, 1783, Davidson county having no representative present. Jonesboro, as we know, was named for General Willie Jones, of North Carolina.

John Sevier was chosen President, and Landon Carter Secretary. During the meeting the Declaration of Independence was read, and the independence of Washington, Sullivan and Greene counties suggested. An appointed com-

mittee drew up and presented a notable report to Congress—that it accept the cession of North Carolina, and that they be recognized *as a separate government;* and should any part contiguous to Virginia ("Frankland") make application to join this association, after making such request of Virginia, that both should enjoy equal and like privileges, and one or more persons should be sent to represent the situation of things to Congress. The report was adopted by a vote of many men whose names are as sentinels in the history of both North Carolina and Tennessee.

The plan of the association was drawn up by Messrs. Cocke and Hardin;, and after certain deliberations (in 1784) a plan was adopted to send a suitable person to Congress, and to cultivate public spirit, benevolence and virtue, and pledged themselves to protect the association with their lives, fortunes, faith, and reputation.

Some trouble arose as to this measure, and the convention broke up in great confusion—some wanting to secede, others opposing it; before disbandment of this meeting the General Assembly of North Carolina, then in session at New Bern, repealed the act of secession to the United States; appointed Attorney-General for the Superior Court, and ordered that the said court convene at Jonesboro; organized the Militia of Washington District into a brigade, and appointed John Sevier Brigadier-General. This was done in opposition to the appointments made by the government of the "State of Franklin." General Sevier expressed his satisfaction therewith, and advised "no separation"—as did Tennessee's "sil-

ver-tongued orator," Meredith P. Gentry, of a later period, but who finally gave his all—brains, health and wealth—for his loved Southland. But the people were not to be advised or controlled by North Carolina, she having, in her treatment of them, proven a veritable "step-mother"; so they proceeded to hold a convention, of which Sevier was elected President, and F. A. Ramsey Secretary. The people who had revolted from North Carolina continued to maintain and enjoy their government; but the Constitution was yet to be ratified or rejected by a convention chosen by the people. Such an assemblage met, when John Sevier, the President, presented the Constitution of North Carolina as the foundation of government for the new State; with some modifications it was adopted by a small majority. This Assembly at Greenville, Tennessee, was the first Legislative assembly that ever convened in Tennessee—November, 1784. John Sevier was chosen Governor, and filled the other offices with men of his own choosing.

Governor Martin, hearing of the organization of the "State of Franklin," wrote Governor Sevier, inquiring as to its meaning. Governor Sevier promptly returned answer as to what had been done, and the reasons therefor. An elaborate manifesto from Governor Martin and the Legislature of North Carolina proved of no avail, as the people had had a taste of self-government, and were not disposed to give up their sweet morsel.

This state of things continued until the latter part of 1787, when a Sheriff from North Carolina was commissioned

to seize upon the estate of Governor Sevier while he was fighting on the frontier with the turbulent "red man." The order was executed, and about sixty of his negroes were taken captive, but were afterward replevined. Again Governor Sevier tried to make reconciliation between the "State of Franklin" and the "Old North State," but to no purpose.

Soon after, on July 29, 1788, Governor Johnston issued a warrant for Governor Sevier's arrest for "high treason against the State of North Carolina."

His highly dramatic trial, and escape in total darkness from the one-roomed log court-house at Jonesboro; his rapid flight over the mountains on his fleet-footed race-mare, brought for his flight by his staunch friend, Dr. James Cozby; his expatriation and subsequent re-instatement; his serving as the first Congressman from the great Mississippi Valley in 1790, are well known to all.

The "State of Franklin," soon after Governor Sevier's impeachment, ceased to exist as such; but North Carolina saw the expediency of a final separation, and this was effected by the second cession act, dated December, 1789, seventeen years after the first seed of secession was sown—like the century plant, a flower of late fruition. The "State of Franklin" was hereafter known as "The Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio" (see "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio," passed July 13, 1787), again as the "Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio," by act of Congress of May 26, 1790.

JULY IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

The fleet under Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow anchored on the 16th, 1584, in Trinity Harbor; Miller assumed charge of Government, 1677; on the 13th, 1716, Charles Eden was appointed Governor; in 1777 Major Joseph Winston, Waightstill Avery and Robert Lanier obtained the treaty of the Long Island of Holston—securing lasting peace with the Cherokees; North Carolina Convention met in the Presbyterian Church at Hillsborough on the 21st, 1788, to consider the new Federal Constitution; engagements at Pacolet River on the 14th, and at Earle's Ford on the 18th, in 1780.

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HISTORIC HILLSBORO.

By FRANCIS NASH,

Of the Hillsboro Bar and Member of the American Historical Association.

The progress of settlement in Orange county presented the usual phases—first, the Indian trader; next, the hunter and pioneer, and then the settler, with his pack-horses, his sturdy helpmeet and five or six children, his axe, his strong health and dauntless self-reliance. A clearing is made, a log cabin is built, and there in that home in the wilderness, free from all artificial restraints, he and his—nature's children—thrive on what she provides. Neighbors come to partake with him of this freedom, and continue to come until Lord Granville's agents, with their surveyors, enter upon the scene, and grants must be sued out and quitrents paid. As the settlements grow more numerous, civil government appears—first in the form of the tax gatherer, and then in those of the Justice and his Constable. Soon a new county must be formed and a central location for the county-seat selected. There a town must be laid off and given a name. To it come the merchant, the lawyer, the tavern-keeper, the artisan and the court officials, adventurers, all, in the perennial pursuit of gain. Rude in its beginnings, the town is, however, the emporium for the trade and the headquarters for the politics, the news and the fashions of all the country

about it, and to it great crowds come at the quarterly courts for a holiday—a holiday that partakes of the strenuous character of the people themselves. The best shot of one community pits himself against the best shot of another; the cock of the walk of Haw River must try conclusions with him of Little or Flat River, while the friends of each look on, restrained from indulging in a free fight themselves only by their interest in the main event, and so on, wrestler with wrestler, runner with runner, race-horse with race-horse, and game cock with game cock—a strong, free people, as yet but half-civilized, unconsciously preparing itself for a great career. Meantime the stock of drinkables at the various taverns is growing smaller and smaller, and the self-important Justices are sitting in the court-house trying minor offenses or settling minor disputes between man and man, and puzzled occasionally by some astute lawyer referring, in hope of enlightenment, but in a helpless way, to Nelson's Justice, Cary's Abridgment of the Statutes, Swinborn on Wills, Godolphin's Orphan's Legacy, Jacob's Law Dictionary, or Wood's Institutes—books required by law to be upon the court table.

Hillsboro, as Hillsboro, began to exist November 7, 1766. It had been, at that time, a town for more than twelve years, but its growth had been very slow and its history uneventful. Since 1764, though, it had been an improving place. A number of young, energetic, able adventurers had located there between 1761 and 1764. Edmund Fanning came in 1761. He was born in 1737, in Connecticut, son of Colonel

North Carolina State Library

Phineas Fanning; graduated at Yale, 1757; studied law in New York, and came to Hillsboro, then Childsburg, as above said. In March, 1763, he qualified as Register of the county. It is generally thought that extortion in this office made him rich. As a matter of fact, his income from that office was small. His income from his law practise was, however, very large. He was the best equipped lawyer in the province, appeared on one side or the other of every litigated case—even the Regulators employing him—and there was much litigation. Besides this, he speculated in real estate and was a partner in a mercantile establishment until 1769, when he sold out to William Johnston. Thus he grew rich rapidly, and this, concurring with his haughty manners, made him many enemies. He built himself a fine house and was instrumental in the erection of a commodious store and a handsome church, and secured a parson for that church—Rev. George Meiklejohn—and a school-master for the town. And it is believed that it was through his influence with Governor Tryon, and Tryon's influence with the Earl of Hillsboro, that the clock that still keeps the time and strikes the hours was obtained from the King. He had a good library, and was, too, liberal in the loan of books to his neighbors. He returned to New York in 1772, after the Regulator troubles, paid a short visit to North Carolina in 1773, was Colonel of Loyalists during the Revolutionary war, Governor of Prince Edward Island, 1794; made an LL. D. by Yale in 1803; General in the British army, 1808; removed to England in 1815, and died in 1818. There has

been no man so harshly treated by our historians as this man.

In late 1762, or early 1763, two young Virginia lawyers came across the line to Childsburg—Abner and Francis Nash. Abner removed soon after to Halifax and New Bern, though he continued for many years to own property in Hillsboro and to practise in its courts. Francis qualified as Clerk of the County in March, 1763, and continued to reside in the town until his death. They came of a substantial English family, that in the time of the Commonwealth espoused the cause of Cromwell, and at the Restoration removed to Pembrokeshire, Wales, and located near Tenby, in that shire. John, son of Abner, of this family, about 1730, came with his wife, Ann Owen, to Virginia, purchased an estate, called Templeton Manor, in the fork of the Bush and Appomattox rivers, and afterwards became quite prominent in the minor political history of that province. There Abner, the third son, and Francis, the fourth, were born—the one about 1740, and the other about 1742.

Of the merchants of that period were James Thackston, a partner of Fanning, and John Dowell, a partner of Francis Nash, in mercantile ventures.

With the coming of these young, energetic and ambitious men, the town took on new life. At Governor Tryon's suggestion, probably, its name was changed to Hillsboro, as compliment to the Earl of that name. In 1767, Rev. George Meiklejohn, a tall, dark, raw-boned Scotchman, with harsh features, slow, deliberate manner, and the broadest of dialects, came as minister in charge of St. Matthew's parish.

A market-house was built over the intersection of King and Churton streets, with wagon-ways through it. A handsome church was completed soon after, and in 1768 or 1769 the wealthy Scotch merchants, William Johnston and Ralph Macnair, became residents of the place. Much more commodious residences were erected, and, though the men outnumbered the women, there was with the new stock of goods some show of dress and fashion. Mr. Fanning was notoriously careful of his person, and his raiment was of the most expensive material and the newest fashion. In this little society he was the model (and envy) of the lesser beaux. There was some culture, too. Besides, Mr. Fanning, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Macnair and Mr. Thackston were all educated gentlemen, well acquainted with books other than their day-books and ledgers. Mr. Francis Nash is said to have been handsome, and, though high-spirited, singularly gentle, generous and warm-hearted, and was educated as the well-to-do Virginia planter educated his son. Out in the country, but near enough to form part of this society, was Colonel Thomas Hart (he of whom Captain Smyth writes so admiringly in his "Travels in America"), with his bevy of handsome daughters. And Mr. Meiklejohn, with his abundant but cumbrous classical learning, his Scotch fondness for strong drink and his Scotch capacity for resisting its influence, must not be forgotten. To be able to drink steadily and freely with all the guests, without getting drunk, was a great accomplishment in those days. Says Waightstill Avery, passing through Hillsboro about that time: "The

evening was spent with a great crowd of lawyers and others. *I narrowly escaped intoxication.*"

These were some of the men whom the Regulators proposed to regulate. I can deal with that disturbance in a summary way only. That the people had just cause of complaint against officials is true beyond doubt. A loosely drawn and ambiguous fee bill gave an opportunity for each man to put his own construction upon it; and, as human nature was the same then (only more so) that it is now, the officials construed it liberally in their own favor, and the agitators construed it strictly against them. Of course calculations made upon such a totally different basis resulted in a difference that could not be reconciled. It was easy to convince a people always sensitive to the encroachments of any man or set of men upon their rights, that these officials were all rogues, fattening and growing rich upon what they had extorted from their own hard earnings. And history is in this regard constantly repeating itself. The ignorant but free masses, when there is a real grievance, always respond to the appeal of the artful agitator and hate the real or imagined oppressor with an intense if not savage hatred—a mad passion that we deplore, while we respect the spirit that inspires it. It is a racial instinct, inbred in their nature, that when wisely controlled by education and enlightenment, makes them a great people. It is, it seems to me, admiration for this spirit that has made some of the historians mistake the nature of the Regulator troubles and insist that the Regulation was the beginning of the Revolution. In truth, it was

never directed against any existing political institution. They expressly disclaimed any quarrel with King or Parliament or Assembly. They demanded that dishonest public officials should be removed and punished; and Governor Tryon not complying with the demand so summarily as they desired, they, inspired by hatred and revenge, proceeded to administer this punishment themselves. So they were an organized but irresponsible and uncontrollable mob—not a great people in the first throes of a struggle for independence. Fanning they hated with a cruel and relentless hatred. His haughty carriage, his pugnacious nature, his bull-dog tenacity, his rapid accumulation of wealth and his undisguised contempt for them maddened them. In March, 1768, they lay in wait for him to kill him, along the Salisbury road. In April, 1768, one hundred of them came to town, forcibly took from Sheriff Tyree Harris a horse upon which he had levied, tied the Sheriff himself to a tree, terrorized the citizens of the town and fired several shots through Fanning's house, he being at the time absent. In 1769 they caught Sheriff John Lea in the country, tied him also to a tree and trounced him soundly; and in September, 1770, they broke up the Superior Court, whipped John Williams, Thomas Hart, Alexander Martin, Michael Holt and others, and would have whipped John Gray, Thomas Lloyd, Francis Nash, Tyree Harris and others had they not "timorously fled." Judge Henderson, that night about 10 o'clock, with his thoughts still "much engaged on his own protection," stepped out a back way and made his escape, leaving "poor

Colonel Fanning and the little borough in a wretched situation." They first severely whipped and then made a prisoner of Fanning—like a huge tiger cat, with its prey, keeping him over for the morrow to make more sport for them before they should devour him. They stopped short of this, however, contented themselves with disgracing him further, destroying his furniture and wrecking his house, and drinking or spilling his wines and liquors.

Then came the Johnston bill, the battle of Alamance, the return of the army to Hillsboro, the trial of the prisoners, the execution of six of them, and the departure of Governor Tryon and Edmund Fanning to New York—events that must be passed over with the mention.

With the end of the Regulator troubles came renewed prosperity to Hillsboro. Several valuable citizens were added to its population. Among others, Nathaniel Rochester and Thomas Burke. Rochester was a man of decided parts, afterwards became a prominent man and patriot, going to Maryland in 1783, thence to New York, where the city of Rochester was named for him. Thomas Burke was a son of Ulick Burke and Letitia Ould, born about 1747 in Galway county, Ireland. Some family trouble made him, in 1764, come to Accomac county, Virginia. There he studied medicine and probably practised it for a while, but soon gave it up for the law. He came to North Carolina in 1772, and, after some hesitation between Halifax and Hillsboro, settled at the latter place in March of that year. He had married Miss Mary Freeman of Norfolk in 1770. He "was

of middle stature, well formed, much marked by the small-pox, which caused the loss of his left eye." His was a short but very remarkable career. As a lawyer and statesman he ranked with the ablest before he was thirty years of age. He was, too, an energetic, zeal-inspiring patriot—a man of fine executive ability, having the thorough confidence of the people of the State. With all these solid qualities, he was very high-strung, very susceptible to external impressions, a good deal of a humorist and something of a poet, as well as orator. In short, he was an Irish genius, with great virtues and serious faults, brilliant success and woful failure, excessive joy and heart-breaking grief, laughter and tears, side by side all through his life.

Governor Martin came to Hillsboro July 2, 1772, with his household and suite, to spend the summer. The citizens of the town and section made the most of this visit, met him in grand cavalcade on his approach, escorted him to his lodgings, entertained him and his suite most royally, dined and wined them to satiety, and witnessed their departure, the latter part of September, with regret.

While here the Governor visited the Regulator settlements, had interviews with James Hunter and others of their leaders, and assured them of his earnest desire to serve them. James Hunter says of this visit: "This summer our new Governor has been up with us, and has given us every satisfaction we could expect of him. * * * I think our officers hate him as bad as we hated Tryon, only they don't speak so free." In the same letter he says: "Morris Moore

and Abner Nash have been up to see me, to try to get me in favor again, and promised to do all they could for you" (William Butler), "and I think they are more afraid than ever." Both parties were evidently trying to gain the favor of the Regulators, with the advantage decidedly with Governor Martin. It is possible, also, that the Atticus letter was written soon after this visit, for its authorship was by many at first attributed to Abner Nash.

Until 1775 the life of the town presented no striking or unusual incidents. There was a quiet attempt to put the militia of the county upon a better fighting basis, and there was an independent company organized in the town, and it was assiduously drilled by an old British corporal—an unostentatious preparation for eventualities that they were willing to meet, but hoped to avoid. Late in 1774, Mr. James Hogg, a Scotchman of wealth and culture, came with his family to reside at Hillsboro. He himself was of the same stock as the Ettrick Shepherd, and his wife, Miss Alves, was second cousin to Sir Walter Scott.

The first provincial Congress (the third convention) convened at Hillsboro in August, 1775, and held its sittings in the handsome church that stood near the site of the present Presbyterian church. This was the first instance of the use of Hillsboro for a place of meeting for any general representative body. This great Congress—great in *personnel* and great in results—has recently been described in the Booklet, so I will pass it by. Its time was kept by the same clock that is striking the hours as I write—then in the tower of

the church, and now in the cupola of the court-house. The members were entertained very hospitably by the residents of the town and its environs; and, though some from the east, all high livers, suffered from a change of climate and water, and one died, on the whole they found their stay pleasant. Governor Caswell was in bad humor when, some years later, in the midst of a similar epidemic, he called it "an infernal place."

At the beginning of the Revolutionary war, society at Hillsboro had improved distinctly. There were fewer bachelor dinners, less dining and wining, and more family life. Edmund Fanning, with his fine gentleman manners, his show of wealth and expensive habits, had gone. Mr. Macnair had married Miss Hall, so it is thought, and was living one mile east of town. Francis Nash had married Miss Sally Moore, and was living just west of the church. Thomas Burke, with his handsome but unmanageable wife, resided near town on his farm, and they were visited occasionally by her somewhat gay sisters. Mr. James Hogg, with his family of sons and daughters, was living within a stone's throw of the east line of the town. Colonel Hart was still living and active, and one of his daughters had married Jesse Benton, and another John Taylor. Colonel Thomas Lloyd, south of town, was growing old and feeble, but one son-in-law in Orange, John Hogan, and another in Rowan, Adlai Osborne, were as prominent, socially and politically, as he had been. And ten miles west of town were the Mebanes, always prominent in the social and political life

of the section. Nine miles west of town, too, was Winindale, the summer residence of Mr. Samuel Strudwick, noted for its good cheer and hospitality. He would come up from Stag Park each summer with his French wife and two young sons, the older of whom was in a few years to have his romance that ended in a tragedy.

The sons of Hillsboro during the war volunteered freely and served willingly wherever duty called them, but no battle was fought near the town. There, however, troops concentrated, and there they took refuge after the battle of Camden. There, too, a ruthless and hungry and despairing soldiery preyed upon friend and foe alike until Mr. Burge interfered. I have told the story elsewhere, and have not space to retell it here. And after all the trials and deprivations of the fateful year 1780, Lord Cornwallis and his army came in February, 1781. On the 25th, though, he left the town little the worse for his visit, and the streets about the courthouse the better to the present day for the cobble-stones placed there by his soldiers.

General Francis Nash was the only prominent citizen of the town killed during the war. Desperately wounded on October 4th at Germantown, he lingered in excruciating agony until the 7th, attended by Dr. Craik, Washington's own physician. Thus was ended a short but very promising military career. As the chill of death was creeping upon him he said to Dr. Craik: "I have no favor to expect from the enemy. I have been consistent in my principles and conduct from the commencement of the trouble. From the first

dawn of Revolution I have been on the side of liberty and my country."

Thomas Burke was elected Governor June 25, 1781, qualified June 26th and entered at once, energetically and efficiently, upon the performance of his duties. Coming up from Halifax to Hillsboro, he arrived at the latter place on September 7th or 8th, 1781. On the morning of September 12th, a grey, foggy morning, David Fanning with his Tories, and Colonel McNeill with his Highlanders, raided Hillsboro and captured Governor Burke and his suite, and, without any efficient hindrance, carried them safe to Wilmington. In a short time Burke was transferred to Charleston, where he was paroled to James Island. There the Tories attempted to assassinate him, and he appealed to General Leslie, the commandant, for protection, but in vain. After waiting sixteen days, and no notice taken of his appeal, he, on January 16, 1782, broke his parole and made his escape, and after some negotiations through General Greene with General Leslie, that were fruitless, he returned to North Carolina and resumed the reins of government. The criticism of his course by the public, the exultation of some of his foes and ill-concealed contempt of others, and the coldness of some former friends, so preyed upon his mind that he refused to stand for re-election in April, 1782, retired to private life, found temporary relief in ardent spirits, and then, attacked by disease that he had not stamina to resist, succumbed to it on December 2, 1783, and was buried on his farm near Hillsboro. Governor of a State struggling for independence, by

the unanimous suffrage of its Assembly and with the universal approbation of its people, when he was thirty-four; dead of a wrecked life and broken heart when he was thirty-six, and buried in a grave so obscure and unmarked that now probably not a dozen persons know its exact location—surely this was the great tragedy of our Revolutionary history.

I must close, however, with the following, written by him for a lady a few weeks before his death, and when peace, and with it independence, was in plain view:

Let bards who give voice to the clarion of fame,
The worth of our chief and our soldiers proclaim;
Such only can Washington's glory pursue—
Too sublime for our notes, and too bright for our view.

But let softer scenes, which we hope to enjoy
Henceforth, gentle fair ones, our voices employ;
Our husbands, our lovers restored to our eyes,
Our cheeks know no tears, our bosoms no sighs.

No more shall the dread apprehensions affright,
Of soldiers by day and assassins by night;
Secure, bright and cheerful our days shall now prove,
And our nights know no tumults, but transports of love.

To make home delightful henceforth be our care,
With delicate skill the rich feast to prepare,
To converse with variety, freedom and ease,
And, with elegant novelty, always to please.

When mothers, to rear the young heroes to fame,
And infuse the true spark of the future bright flame;
To deck the young virgins with graces refined,
And embellish with sense and good humor the mind.

AUGUST IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

Manteo was baptized and made Lord of Roanoke on the 13th, 1587; Virginia, daughter of Ananias and Eleanor Dare, and granddaughter of Governor White, was born on the 18th, 1587; Governor White returned from England in 1590 and found the colony gone; Henderson Walker, Governor, 1699; in 1710, Edward Hyde arrived and took possession of office; Provincial Congress met at Halifax on the 20th, 1775; battle of Fort Hatteras, 1861.

VOL. III SEPTEMBER, 1903 No. 5

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

SOCIAL LIFE IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA.

BY

CHARLES LEE RAPER.

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"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

SOCIAL LIFE IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA.

By CHARLES LEE RAPER, PH. D.,

Head of the Department of Economics and Associate Professor of History, University of North Carolina.

The social life of any people has so many phases that to discuss it in a very limited space is almost impossible. To trace out, with any detail, all the social aspects of North Carolina during its colonial period would require much energy and time, and this tracing would fill the pages of a book of large proportions. Such a tracing, if done by an historical student and literary artist, would, however, be a thing of great interest and value. To my mind, North Carolina as a colony is still virgin soil for such an artist; the social life of its colonists is still almost wholly unknown. To be sure, we know something of certain phases of this life, but only in a loose and disconnected way; and we know almost nothing of the economic life of these pioneers.

To know the different races and religious sects which came to our soil during the first hundred years of our life, where they settled and lived from generation to generation, how they supported themselves and their families, how they married and intermarried, the kind of homes which they established as the centers of their affections and the birthplaces of their children, their ideals of marriage and the purity of their homes; to know of their educational opportunities and standing, their

schools and school-masters, their libraries and literature; to know of their churches, their ministers and acts of devotion to the religious ideal; to know of their social intercourse and pleasures, their holidays, their frolics and drinkings, of their low as well as of their high status of moral conduct—all of this would be most valuable and charmingly interesting.

But much of this can never be done, at least at all accurately. For such a picture to be made for us would not only require the student and the literary artist, but also the sources of information; and many of these are no longer within our reach. Pioneer peoples, as were our early ancestors, the settlers and colonizers of North Carolina, are not the ones to leave behind them full records of their life work; they care rather little whether the future shall know them as they were or not. Though the records left us are meager in many places, still from them we could, if we would, reconstruct a picture of ourselves, incomplete to be sure, during our infancy as a people.

It is the purpose of this paper to begin such a work, to lay the foundation, with the hope that at later times we may be able to build up certain parts of it, somewhat in detail. At present many of its parts could not be constructed, as the material for these is not yet collected. However, there are some phases of our social life the records of which have been brought together, and of these the historical student can now speak.

The colonists who settled in the province of North Carolina were, to a large extent, from England, directly or indi-

rectly. There were, to be sure, some other nationalities among them. A few Huguenots, a very few, came and settled near Bath and on the Trent river, between 1690 and 1707, bringing with them distinct ideas of industrious and sober living. Some Swiss and Germans, from the Palatinate, made a small permanent settlement at the confluence of the Neuse and the Trent rivers early in the eighteenth century, founding the town of New Bern, one of the first in the province. Other Germans, from the south-western part of their fatherland, came and settled along the Yadkin and Catawba rivers, then the western frontier of the colony. They reached North Carolina soon after 1750, having come first to the province of Pennsylvania. These brought with themselves their purity of religious devotion and their ideas of simple and active living. But next to the English, in numbers and strength, came the Scotch-Irish and the Scotch, from 1730 to 1770. These settled along the Eno, Haw and Catawba rivers, and in the present counties of Bladen, Cumberland, Robeson, Moore, Richmond, Scotland and Harnett. And with these came ideas which have had much to do with our political, industrial, social, intellectual and religious growth and development. More churches were built, and these became centers of great activity. Schools were now established throughout the middle and western portions of the province, and many of these became famous for their learning and influence.

These colonists, whether of one nationality and racial traits or of another, left their mother or fatherland before Europe

had become a great industrial country. The English colonists came to North Carolina when their mother country was still in a primitive condition and type of agriculture, industry and commerce, before the great industrial revolution had come, when the economic life was not much advanced over that of the feudal period. Crude tillage was to be found everywhere in England, and scientific fertilizing and rotation of crops were as yet almost wholly unknown. Their manufactures were still entirely of the guild or domestic type, carried on upon a very small scale and with the least possible skill, method and organization; their products were made in the homes of the artisan or of the small farmer, and for the most part by the hands of unskilled men and women. The trading, as a rule, was not extensive and in a comparatively small number of products. The other colonists came from countries even less advanced in their economic life than was England.

In every case these colonists, whether English, Swiss, German or Scotch, brought with themselves when they came to our soil the institutions of their mother country, social and economic, as well as political and religious; and they could not do otherwise, as their ideas, customs and institutions were inseparably connected with themselves. For the most part they were accustomed to the farm; they knew little about the skill of the finished artisan, of the sailor or the dealer in merchandise. Having been farmers in the old world, it was most natural that they should become farmers in the new. The necessities of the situation drove them to that occupation

which they knew best, both by training and tradition; and they soon found a soil suited to an easy living, being easily tilled and fertile. All the first colonists, and for the most part those who came during the eighteenth century, took up farms and established homes along the chief rivers, on the fertile lands of the valleys. Here it was most easy to produce their grains and breadstuffs, much of their meats being supplied out of the abundance of nature, out of the rivers and from the extensive forests. Here also it was possible to transport their surplus products to their neighbors, to the other colonies or to the old world, water being an easy means for such transportation. Finding the soil so fertile and fish and game so abundant, they cared little to enter the industrial and commercial fields, except in a very small domestic way. To be sure, they must manufacture some articles—materials for their cabins and houses—'though in some cases these were brought from England, some implements of tillage and of transportation, canoes and small boats, crude mills for converting their grains into breadstuffs, the coarser cloth with which to cover and protect themselves, hats and shoes, and some of the utensils of their housekeeping. But their manufacturing was on such a small scale, even during the latter part of the colonial period, that this part of their life never became a very important one. There are no records of the colonists of North Carolina making complaints against the famous trade acts of England, as was done by many of the New England and middle colonists, these acts having practically no effect in colonial North Carolina. This very fact—

that no complaints were made against the trade acts—is strong evidence that we did not carry on any extensive manufacturing, for had these acts restricted us in a material way we would unquestionably have complained; we, as colonists, were quite fond of making complaints, and even of going as far as violent conduct whenever our rights were infringed upon. In commerce the colonists did something, but never to any great extent. They sold the surplus products of their farms—corn, tobacco, cotton, meat and hides. They also, to an extent, sold clapboards and ship timbers.

Being largely agricultural in their occupation, it was very natural that towns should develop very slowly. In fact, during the first forty years of their life not a single town or village was developed, and during the latter part of the colonial period there were only a few. As late as 1750, almost one hundred years after the beginnings of the province, there was not a single town with a population of one thousand. Bath had been founded as a town in 1704, New Bern in 1710, Edenton in 1714, Beaufort in 1723, Brunswick in 1725, Wilmington in 1734, but these were very small and unimportant, even throughout the whole colonial period. Charlotte, Salisbury, Hillsboro and Fayetteville were organized as towns between 1758 and 1762, and none of these during the colonial period became important for their population or industrial and commercial activity. In short, town life never became very attractive to many of the colonists of North Carolina, and what few towns there were became much more important as centers of political activity than they did of

commercial, industrial or social life. They were centers of local government, and often of political conflicts. They were places where a few products were bought and sold—not places of their making. The surplus products of the farms for miles about them were taken there and exchanged for a few simple articles, salt being a very important one, and now and then converted into currency. At times they were centers of religious devotion and of intellectual life. There churches were erected, but during the last fifty years of the province more places for religious worship were to be found in the country than in the towns. Here were a few schools and libraries, but there were more in the rural districts.

So, then, for the most part our study is of the farmer, and of that farmer who lives, as do all colonists in a new country, close to the elements of nature, with environments on every hand which create and cultivate individuality and self-reliance. As we have seen, the North Carolina colonists did not, as a rule, congregate together in towns, nor did they so often live close to each other in the country; they scattered far and wide, ever moving westward in search of fertile lands. Their families were large, as is always the case with colonists in a new and fertile country; a large number of children was the ideal of each family. Parents living the life that the colonists must live, and having the strong, vigorous blood which flows in the veins of pioneers, were blessed with a great offspring. And to rear these children was a very simple task; as a rule they repaid their parents the expenses of their rearing, even during the first twenty years of their life.

These North Carolina farmers, during the colonial period, were as a rule much unlike the farmers of Virginia and South Carolina. They were rarely great landlords, as was the case in these two provinces. The territorial policy, both under the Proprietors and the Crown, looked to the establishment of a system of small land-holdings in North Carolina. Six hundred and forty acres were, as a rule, the largest number of acres granted to any one person. There were, however, a few exceptions to this policy, but only a very few. To be sure, a few very large tracts were granted by the Crown to certain London merchants, but these were made for purposes of speculation rather than settlement. This policy of small grants made it possible for almost every man or boy to become the possessor of a farm. To lease this or to purchase it did not require much money, as the quit-rents were small and the purchase price low. With easy and cheap lands and with large families, it was most natural that marriage should take place at an early age. Marriage at thirteen was not so unusual, and at fifteen was most common. There was therefore a high birth rate; the population increased rapidly by means of the excess of births over deaths and as a consequence of much immigration, especially after 1735. With such a territorial system we would not expect to find many great farmers during the colonial period of North Carolina, and they did not develop to any great extent. To be sure, one farmer could purchase the lands of some of his neighbors, especially so during the latter part of the period, and this was done here and there, but to no great extent. In

short, then, we must study the farmer colonists, and for the most part of the smaller type. And in this particular the subject of our study is quite different from what it would be were we to study the social life of South Carolina or Virginia—the homes of great landlords, with the show and power of feudal barons.

Now, having defined to an extent the subject of our study, and having given to it a certain general setting, we are able to take it up somewhat in detail. We may now study our farmer colonist in some particular phases of his social life. The remaining portion of this paper will be devoted to that phase of his life known as his education and culture.

I believe that it is now well established that most of the colonists came to North Carolina for economic, not religious, reasons. They came to improve their means of living and to add to their wealth and well-being in the material things of life. To be sure, the prospect of religious freedom was also attractive to them, but it was by no means the determining element in their coming. After they became colonists they paid no great attention to the securing of ministers or the erection of places of worship. As evidence of this, there were but two or three Anglican churches in the whole province prior to 1729, though this was the established church from 1701 to 1776. There were during the early period a few places of worship for the Quakers, but not many. After 1735 the Presbyterians and Baptists established churches in several places in the western portion of the province; and so did the Germans after 1753. But upon the whole the first

hundred years of the colony saw no great religious activity. There were, as we have seen, only a few churches, and there were at times practically no ministers to serve these. So that upon the subject of religious instruction not much can be said beyond the statement of its great scarcity and inefficiency.

What was the condition of secular instruction among the colonists? Here the picture is even less bright. During the first fifty years of the province there were but two or three little schools, and during the latter years, while there was an improvement, still it was by no means marked. It seems that as late as 1776, when the province was transformed by its citizens into a state, secular as well as religious instruction was in a low status; education was still almost wholly neglected by the great majority of the colonists, and so was it now by the masses of the people in the old world. While this was the condition of the bulk of these farmer colonists, still some of them were well educated, either by private tutors or in the schools of Virginia, New England or old England. However, most of the farmers lived an easy life, a life near to nature; and though they were unpolished in many ways, still in them the love of personal freedom became a great passion. For a long time the province was very thinly settled, the population being along the rivers and streams, which were often far separated from each other. The means of communication between these settlements and between North Carolina and the outside world were very few and inefficient. In fact, the American colonists as a whole were far away from

the great heart pulse of intellectual life and culture. They were separated from England and Europe, the source and center of this life and culture, by more than three thousand miles of space. To traverse this space during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was no easy or quick task; it required months. Not only was North Carolina, as the other provinces, separated from home by this great distance, but her means of communication were far less efficient than were those of many of the other colonies. She had few good harbors and few ships; she came in touch with the life of the old world largely indirectly—that is, through her neighbors to the north or south. It was therefore most natural that education should develop very slowly in North Carolina.

As we have stated, there were some educated and cultured people in the province of North Carolina. They had libraries of their own. There were some books in the colony as early as 1680, and three or four libraries during the first decade of the eighteenth century. Most naturally these were in the northeastern part of the province, the oldest and wealthiest part. In the Cape Fear and western sections there were no books prior to 1750, but from this time to the close of the provincial period we find books and libraries belonging for the most part to the Presbyterian ministers and school-masters.

In the education of the colonists, whatever it was, the Anglican Church played a most important part, especially so during the time prior to 1760. In fact, all of the educational effort in the whole province prior to this date came

from this source. The English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which was formed about the first of the eighteenth century and was in operation until the close of the provincial period, took the leading part in this work. It had great influence upon the colonists, especially in giving religious and secular instruction; it was the great teacher of the North Carolina colonists for more than fifty years. According to Dr. S. B. Weeks, whose statements are always found to be accurate, this society sent to the colonists at least six hundred bound volumes and a large number of tracts. It did more than send books and tracts. It sent missionaries and teachers, and established schools a well as libraries. As far as the evidence goes, Charles Griffin was the first professional school-master in North Carolina. He came and settled in Pasquotank county in 1705. He was during this year appointed by the vestry as reader, and then opened a school, the first one in the province. This was attended by a number of children, among whom were Quakers. Three years later, in 1708, the province was to have another teacher—Rev. James Adams. He was directed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to settle in Pasquotank county and to assume the control of the school which Griffin had established. Griffin was transferred to Chowan, where he opened another school and acted as reader and clerk. In 1712 we find record of another school-master at work in the province, at Saram on the frontier of Virginia as well as of Carolina. He, like Mr. Griffin, was a layman, and his name was Mashburn. That he held any position under the

vestry we cannot find out, but that he was under the general direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel there is sufficient evidence.

These three school-masters carried on for a few years successful local schools. Whether there were others devoting their energies to the instruction of the youth of the colonists during the proprietary period, 1663-1729, we cannot say; if so, they have left no records to speak for themselves. For some time after the Crown assumed control in the government of the province, local schools were apparently unknown. As far as we know, Rev. James Moir, a representative of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was the next school-master after Mr. Mashburn. In 1745 he opened in the town of Brunswick a little school, using the first story of his dwelling-house for such purposes. In 1759 Colonel James Innes, by will, left his plantation, "Point Pleasant," near the town of Wilmington, his large personal estates, his library and one hundred pounds sterling, to be used for school purposes. Apart from the donations of books and tracts by the English missionary society, of which we have spoken, this was the first gift made to education in North Carolina. Four years later a high school was opened at Bandon, not far from Edenton, by Rev. Daniel Earl and his daughter. Mr. Earl was a minister in the Anglican Church, being the rector of Saint Paul's Parish of Chowan. This high school of Mr. Earl's was to be followed by others of the same type, by the academies of New Bern in 1764, and of Edenton in 1770. The academy in New Bern was established by a Mr. Tomlin-

son, most probably under the influence of the English missionary society. His efforts were so successful that the society gave him an annual grant on his salary. After this school had been in successful operation for about two years, it was incorporated by an act of the provincial legislature. It was by this act made a public school for the town of New Bern. The trustees appointed by the act were required to take the oaths of the government and subscribe the test, thereby becoming public officers. Though now made a public school, it was still under the direction of the Church of England; its master and teachers must belong to this church. But this was most natural, as the Anglican Church was the provincial establishment; and it was in accord with the provisions of the schism act. Not only was it made a public institution, but the legislature gave it financial aid. A duty of one penny per gallon was levied on all rum and other spirituous liquors imported into the Neuse river for the period of seven years. The academy of Edenton was chartered in 1770-1771, with practically the same provisions as the one in New Bern, except the one granting financial aid from the provincial government.

So far we have traced the efforts and their results of the Anglican Church in the cause of education during the colonial period. We have also spoken of the two successful efforts on the part of the provincial legislature. This body made several other attempts to establish schools for the province and to found a public school system, but they were for one reason or another unsuccessful. Had such a system been

established it would have been under the direction of the Anglican Church, as the provisions of the schism act required; and this act was in force in North Carolina, theoretically at least, from 1730 to 1773. It practically forbade any one keeping a school, public or private, unless he was an Anglican in regular standing. Had it been rigidly enforced in the province of North Carolina, our paper would now come to a close, as there would have been no other schools for the colonists. But, luckily for North Carolina, the provisions of this act were not rigidly enforced. The scattered settlements of the middle and western parts of the province and the great numbers of Dissenters in these localities, especially after 1740, made it impossible for the provincial government, which had its residence for the most part along the sea coast, to carry out such provisions. The result was that western North Carolina was to have during the last few years of the colony's life several academies, apart and distinct from the Anglican Church. Of these we shall now speak for a few moments.

As we have stated, many Scotch-Irish and Scotch Presbyterians came to North Carolina from about 1735 to 1770. These came by different routes, but when they reached the province they to a large extent settled in one section, the Piedmont region. Here they mingled and intermingled with each other. Here they established a good many churches, and wherever a church was established there they also built a school. These Presbyterians were the leaders of the intellectual and religious growth of the colony during its lat-

ter years. They were an energetic people; they were vigorous in teaching others their ideas of a moral and religious life. And not only this, but these North Carolina Presbyterians were to be stimulated by those in the provinces to the north. As early as 1744 the Synods of Pennsylvania and New York began to send missionaries to the Presbyteries in the southern colonies, especially in North Carolina, and these continued to come until the close of the provincial period. In the number of those who came in this capacity to our province, and many of these became famous for power and influence, Princeton College could claim most of them as her sons. It is perhaps safe to state that the Synods of New York and Pennsylvania, under the leadership and inspiration of such an institution as Princeton College, had more to do with the education of North Carolina during its last fifteen years as a province than all other forces combined. They did for the colonists, especially those in the western part of the province, during 1760-1776, what the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had attempted to do during the first fifty years of the eighteenth century. The schools—and these were of the classical type—established by them were great in their influence. To do more than name them would not be in harmony with the other parts of this paper, though a detailed statement of their history would be most interesting. The most important of these high or classical schools were: Crowfield, near Davidson College, opened in 1760; Caldwell's "Log College," near Greensboro, with the famous Dr. David Caldwell as its master, in 1766; Queen's Museum, at Char-

lotte, in 1767; and the schools of Rev. Henry Patillo in Orange and Granville counties. Not only were these schools for the Presbyterian youth, but for the sons of other religious faiths. Neither were they local; to them went boys from all parts of the province. They soon became the really great educational centers of the whole colony.*

*For a much more detailed statement see Week's *Libraries and Literature*, Week's *Beginnings of the Common School System in the South*, and Raper's *The Church and Private Schools of North Carolina*.

GOVERNORS OF NORTH CAROLINA.*

PROPRIETARY GOVERNORS OF ALBEMARLE.

William Drummond .....1663-'67
Samuel Stephens .....1667-'73
—— Cartwright .....1673-'76
Thomas Eastchurch 1676
Thomas Miller, Deputy.....1678
John Culpepper 1678
John Harvey 1680
John Jenkins .....1680-'81
Henry Wilkinson .....1681-'83
Seth Sothel .....1683-'89

From 1689 the Chief Executive is called Governor of North Carolina.

Philip Ludwell .....1689-'93
Alexander Lillington .....1693-'95
Thomas Harvey .....1695-'99
Henderson Walker 1699-1704
Robert Daniel .....1704-'05
Thomas Cary, Deputy....1705-'06
William Glover .....1706-'07

From 1708 to 1711, utter absence of government.

Edward Hyde .....1710-'12
Thomas Pollock (acting).1712-'14
Charles Eden .....1714-'22
Thomas Pollock (acting)....1722
William Reed (acting).....1722
George Burrington .....1724-'25
Sir Richard Everard.....1725-'29

THE ROYAL GOVERNORS.

George Burrington 1729
Nathaniel Rice (acting).....1734
Gabriel Johnston .....1734-'52
Nathaniel Rice (acting).....1752
Matthew Rowan (acting). 1752-'54
Arthur Dobbs .....1754-'65
William Tryon .....1765-'71
James Hasell (acting).....1771
Josiah Martin .....1771-'75

*This list is compiled from Redpath's Encyclopedia, Moore's History of North Carolina, and list published by Dr. Kemp P. Battle of the University of North Carolina.

GOVERNORS OF INDEPENDENT STATE.

Richard Caswell .....1777-'79
Abner Nash .....1779-'81
Thomas Burke .....1781-'82
Alexander Martin .....1782-'84
Richard Caswell .....1784-'87
Samuel Johnston .....1787-'89
Alexander Martin .....1789-'92
Richard D. Spaight, Sr...1792-'95
Samuel Ashe .....1795-'98
William R. Davie.....1798-'99
Benjamin Williams 1799-1802
John Baptista Ashe (elected but died before qualification) 1802
James Turner .....1802-'05
Nathaniel Alexander .....1805-'07
Benjamin Williams .....1807-'08
David Stone .....1808-'10
Benjamin Smith .....1810-'11
William Hawkins .....1811-'14
William Miller .....1814-'17
John Branch .....1817-'20
Jesse Franklin .....1820-'21
Gabriel Holmes .....1821-'24
Hutchins G. Burton.....1824-'27
James Iredell .....1827-'28
John Owen .....1828-'30
Montfort Stokes .....1830-'32
David L. Swain.....1832-'35
Richard D. Spaight, Jr...1835-'37

Since 1836 Governors have been elected by the people.

Edward B. Dudley.....1837-'41
John M. Morehead.....1841-'45
William A. Graham.....1845-'49
Charles Manly .....1849-'51
David S. Reid.....1851-'55
Thomas Bragg .....1855-'59
John W. Ellis.....1859-'61
Warren Winslow (acting)...1861
Henry T. Clark.....1861-'62
Zebulon B. Vance.....1862-'65
William W. Holden.....1865
Jonathan Worth .....1865-'68
William W. Holden.....1868-'71
Tod R. Caldwell.....1871-'74
Curtis H. Brogden.....1874-'77
Zebulon B. Vance.....1877-'78
Thomas J. Jarvis.....1879-'85
Alfred M. Scales.....1885-'89
Daniel G. Fowle.....1889-'91
Thomas M. Holt.....1891-'93
Elias Carr .....1893-'97
Daniel L. Russell.....1897-1901
Charles B. Aycock.....1901

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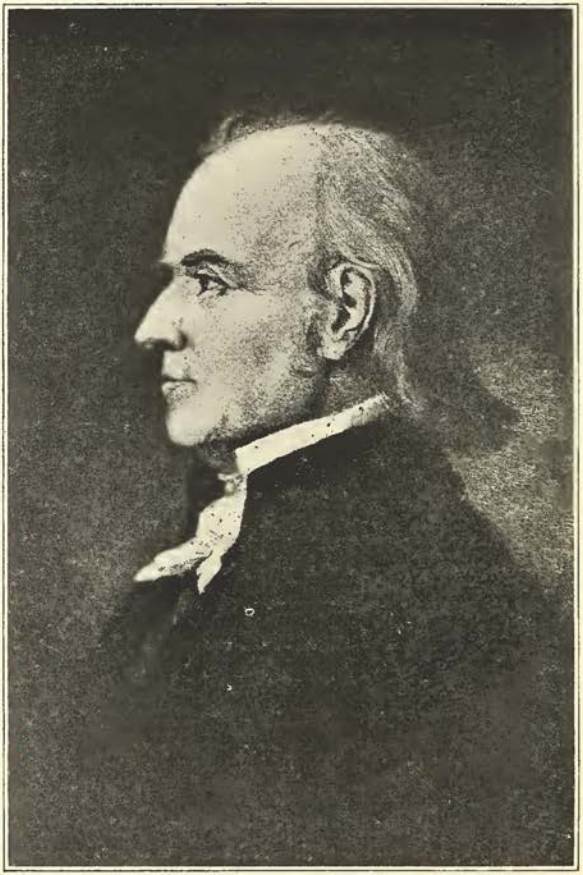
PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.



GENERAL WILLIAM LENOIR.

FORT DEFIANCE.

BY MRS. RUFUS THEODORE LENOIR, SR.

This ancestral home, called by many of its friends "The Fort," is located in a lovely little valley some twenty miles from the source of the Yadkin river. It stretches along the river on either side for five miles or more and nestles among the slopes and foot-hills, sleeping, as it were, in perfect peace and security, while the blue mountains guard and keep watch over it on every side, its beauty ever changing—dark and grand in storm, brilliant when bathed in the golden sunshine, soft and fleecy when the purple mists hang over it; even the seasons vie with each other in bringing their own peculiar and precious gifts.

It was to this favored spot that General William Lenoir came soon after the Revolutionary War, and in time became possessor of almost the whole of it, giving portions of it to several of his children as they in the course of events married and left the roof-tree.

On account of its many natural charms and because of the congeniality and unity that existed between these families, the gayety and happiness of the younger members—of whom there were a goodly number—one of its lovers many years ago called it "The Happy Valley," and the name still clings to it. General Lenoir built his mansion in 1784-'85, and one

can hardly realize in this age of architecture that it was a wonderful structure in that day, the people in the surrounding country coming long distances to behold and admire it. He chose a site near an old fort, from which the place takes its name, and it is of this fort that I write, quoting in this article a description of the old home as it was a quarter of a century ago.

This fort was built on the east side of a table-land, on the very edge of a precipice. It was built of logs, in the early history of the country, when the Indians were numerous and troublesome. The women and children were often hurried into this refuge, while the fathers, husbands and sons defended them. The family cemetery, a beautiful and quiet spot, commanding a view of a great portion of the country, is on the site of this fort. The first one laid to rest there was a little child who died while in the fort. Many arrow-heads have been found about the place, hurled there, no doubt, from the bows of the warrior who made desperate efforts to hold the dark, deep forests which he loved and of which he had been lord so long, claiming them as his own by prior right; and stout and brave hearts they must indeed have been who contended with this relentless and obstinate foe. Whether the red man has been wronged we do not stop here to enquire, but he has been driven far westward, and his Happy Hunting Grounds are now broad and fertile fields. His bones and relics mark his retreating foot-steps. Across the river from the fort is an Indian burying-ground, in which have been found many curious treasures buried with their dead. Two

very large and heavy battle-axes were found in the creek below the fort many years ago, and one other relic worthy of mention, said to be the finest specimen of the kind known—a rare and beautifully polished stone eighteen inches in length, slender and shapely and tapering from the symmetrically curved head to the end, smooth and black as ebony—thought by those versed in Indian lore to have been held by the ruling chief as a badge of authority when sitting in council. Many others, showing wonderful ingenuity in workmanship and ideas of proportion and finish, are still preserved in the old home.

If these hills and streams and fields and mountains could speak, what tales would thrill us, of hardships, sacrifices and sufferings of the whites, and what cunning and cruelty of the red man, so exasperated by his wrongs! But I must not digress, but pass on to the old mansion, and by permission of the author of "Hand in Hand Through The Happy Valley," I will give a description of it in her own words, as it was at that time. Mrs. Oertel says: "The home to which I would lead my readers is known by the very belligerent and bristling cognomen of 'Fort Defiance.' The name is far, however, from giving any idea of the spirit that pervades it or its inmates, but is derived from an old fort of that name, which in the early history of our country did service in the line of defence erected against the Indians. It was located here, just behind the spot where the residence now stands, upon the edge of a steep set-off, at the foot of which a creek flows. The former site of the fort is now the grave-yard,

where a goodly family group, members of four generations, are quietly waiting for the resurrection. A strange fascination clings about this curious old house. It is so quaint in construction and the air about it seems so thick with memories that we cannot help loving it. In the center of the building a spacious room running through the entire house, from which a stairway with heavy oaken banisters leads up to the second floor, is called 'The Hall.' A large fire-place with panel work above and around it fills up one end. In the corner the grim old clock stands, ruthlessly ticking away the hours and days and years—ticking slowly and solemnly, as if it had upon its beating heart a remembrance of the many lives it has 'seen come and go in this old home, whose hours of birth and death have been numbered from its dial, as if it had gained through all these years, watching the fleeting human shadows which have passed before it, a sense of its own steadfastness and of the importance of its mission."

This "Hall" has been largely used as a dining apartment, although the family dining-room is at present to the right of it. If its walls could speak, what tales they could tell of merry times in the long ago, of the family reunions, the birthdays and the wedding feasts!

The antique sideboard which has so often groaned beneath the dainties piled upon it still keeps its place near the old clock; there seems to be a kind of comradeship between them, as if they could say "You and I" to each other, and a sort of stately, old-time spirit lingers about them both. There are doors, front and back, leading from the "Hall" into the

open air. Behind the smaller dining-room is a bed-room, and from it a second stairway leads to a suite of rooms above, from which again a second stairway rises to the old garret, a perfect curiosity shop in its way, being filled with all the paraphernalia, the waifs and strays of a family life a century old.

To the left of the "Hall" is the parlor, with a room attached to it, and a third stairway enclosed and winding, with odd little drawers in the wall all up the sides. There is no connection with this parlor part of the house and the rest except by way of the piazza, which stretches the whole length of the house, festooned with trailing vines, grapes and roses. Neither is there any connection on the second floor between the apartments to which the three stairways lead. The modern ideas of convenience find no place here in this respect. The kitchen and servants' room are detached from the house, as is the usual custom in the South.

"Roses either side the door, are
Growing lithe and tall,
Each one set, a summer warder,
For the keeping of the hall—
With a red rose and a white rose
Leaning, nodding to the wall."

From the central door a wide walk leads out through the garden. It is bordered on each side with spacious beds of flowers that seem to flourish here as nowhere else. Surely never anywhere else do leaves unfold and buds bloom where they meet with such a gracious, loving welcome as here. All the sweet old-fashioned flowers find plenty of room. The

old spicy pink, the sweet william, tulips and hyacinths, the hollyhocks, the jump-up-johnnies, the blue corn flowers, sweet-peas and poppies and great clumps of annunciation lilies are not crowded out, though they stand in close proximity to many of the new and more pretentious blossoms; and in the winter the cold-pit is full of the newest triumphs of floriculture.

At the end of the walk is a secluded nook, covered and shaded by century-old cedars and surrounded by the old-fashioned box, dark and cool at the hottest midday, jocosely called by the family "The Lovers' Retreat." Indeed, it has been said that in the course of events several engagements have taken place in this romantic and cosy corner. Around the entrance roses and lilac bushes flourish, while in the early part of the day on every side the eye is gladdened by the clean, pure faces of the morning-glories which run riot over everything.

Of course, to those who have lived here so long this garden is haunted ground, peopled to their loving ken with forms that others see not. Among them there is one, a—

> "Little maid with wondrous eyes,
> Not afraid, but clear and tender,
> Blue and filled with prophecies,"

as she looked dreamily out at "life's unlifted veil," whose lovely, happy life was interwoven with its flower-life like warp and woof. Looking out beyond the garden bounds, on to the mountains, green pastures, rich harvest fields, and quiet, solemn woodlands lie. To the right the ground descends

rapidly to the same little stream of water before spoken of as running down below the family burying-ground. It flows through the barn-yard, giving drink, bright and fresh and clear, to the many full-uddered cows gathered therein. It is like the sweet idyl—

"The lovely laughter of the wind-swept wheat,
The easy slope of yonder pastoral hill,
The sedgy brook whereby the red kine meet
And wade and drink their fill."

Beside this stream there stands several large old beech-trees with great overhanging branches and white roots, with their multitudinous arms stretched and intertwined in the most fantastic way. They have a weird, elfish look, especially by moonlight.

"On the left the sheep are cropping
The stout grass and daisies pale,
And the apple-trees stand dropping
Separate shadows to the vale;
Over which, in choral silence,
The hills look you their 'All Hail'!"

Just behind the house, between it and the garden, stands a huge catalpa-tree. The old giant has basked in many a summer sun and braved many a storm. An aged grape-vine throws its snake-like form up the trunk and around its branches and gracefully intertwines its leaves and sprays with the large plain leaves of the tree.

Several smaller houses are grouped about, in one of which stands the loom, where wondrously fine fabrics are woven by hand—not only jeans and linseys, but fine dimities and table

and bed linen and tasteful carpets. Though in these days of steam machinery goods could be bought cheaper than they can be thus manufactured at home, and very much trouble be saved, still so many of the poor people around have been in the habit of depending on the old home for their subsistence in these various industries, that the present mistress feels it her duty to keep up the old customs.

In front of the house is a circle of grand old spruce pines. They are strong and vigorous and are magnificent in form and solemn and stately in their intensely dark-green foliage.

The mansion was built by General William Lenoir nearly one hundred years ago, the work of construction being commenced in 1785. It was a laborious undertaking in those days. The frame is of heavy oaken timber and still in a state of excellent preservation. General Lenoir lived at that time in a smaller house on the opposite side of the river. The nails were made by hand by the blacksmith on his plantation, and the most of the heavy lumber was sawed with a whip-saw.

The cornice which still adorns the eaves, the looking-glasses and other articles, were ordered from Liverpool. They were received at the port of Charleston and hauled all the long way in road wagons.

General Lenoir was born in Virginia. His grandfather was a French Huguenot—one of four brothers who were expelled from France at the time of the revocation of the Edict of the Nantes. He came to America in his own vessel, and in one of his voyages to or from his native country after-

North Carolina State Library.

wards, his vessel was lost in a storm, carrying him to a seaman's grave. General Lenoir was rather a stern man, of dignified demeanor, but it has been said of him that his manners towards the fair sex were like those of the knights of the olden time. He was exceedingly kind to the poor, and his doors were always open to receive the traveler, as there were no taverns in the country in those primitive days. Perhaps the best account that could be given of his life is contained in the epitaph upon his tombstone. The matter of the inscription was left to his friends and associates in public life. This is their estimate of him—their tribute to his memory:

HERE LIES
ALL THAT IS MORTAL OF
WILLIAM LENOIR,
BORN MAY 8TH, 1751.
DIED MAY 6TH, 1839.

In times that tried men's souls he was a genuine Whig. As a lieutenant under Rutherford and Williams in 1776, and as a captain under Cleveland at King's Mountain, he proved himself a brave soldier. Although a native of another State, yet North Carolina was proud of him as her adopted son. In her service he filled the several offices of Major-General of the Militia, President of the Council of State, member of both houses of the Legislature, Speaker of the Senate, first President of the Board of Trustees of the University, and for sixty years Justice of the Peace and Chairman of the Court of Common Pleas. In all these high public trusts he was found faithful. In private life he was no less distinguished as an affectionate husband, a kind father and a warm-hearted friend. The traveler will long remember his hospitality, and the poor bless him as their benefactor.

Of such a man it may truly be said that his highest eulogy is the record of his deeds.

A very interesting incident in connection with the battle of King's Mountain is related by the family. When the call

came for recruits, as Major Ferguson of the British army was coming up the country with his command, intending to embody and organize the Loyalists beyond the Wateree and Broad rivers, and to intercept the mountain men who were retreating from Camden, every man who had a horse started for the scene of action. William Lenoir was then living in Wilkes county and joined the forces under Cleveland. He was made a captain, and his two friends, Herndon and Jesse Franklin, afterwards Governor of the State, had also some official appointments. These three made a compact together that they would stand by and succor each other in whatever circumstances they might be placed. As the command was going up the mountain there came a man beckoning and calling, "Back! Back!" and he pointed out another way, which they took, and that proved to have been the only way by which Ferguson could have escaped. That man was quite unknown, had never been seen by any of them before and was never seen afterwards.

General Lenoir always said it was a providential interference—that it was God's will that the Federal forces should be triumphant, and so He led them by the right way to cut off the enemy's only chance of escape.

There is also treasured up in the old home an English officer's sword that General Lenoir picked up and brought home with him from the battle-field. It has a fine, keen blade, upon which is engraved this legend in Spanish:

"Draw me not without reason,
Sheathe me not without honor."

His wife was of an aristocratic English family and a thorough church-woman. She was so situated in life that she was cut off from all church association. But though true to her church and never uniting with any of the denominations around her, she had a large and loving heart, full of generous impulses, giving out its affection to all who called themselves Christians. She was so amiable and good that her children used to say "Mother not only forgives an injury, but really and truly forgets." She was a cripple and walked with crutches for the last ten years of her life, but she was always contented and cheerful.

Mrs. Oertel closes her description of the old place by saying: "A grandson of this worthy couple is now owner of the venerable home." This grandson, the youngest and last of his father's house, is still spared to it, strong and hale enough for one only two years from fourscore.

One is gone—a gentle sister, so closely allied to the old home and The Happy Valley—the "Aunt Sade" of all the connection and friends whom she loved—so faithful and so loyal to all the "family traditions."

"Life's work well done,
Life's race well run,
Life's crown well won."

She has been called to the peace and blessedness of Paradise.

Three generations bearing the same name—Rufus Theodore Lenoir—now live in the old mansion, and the happy frolics and joyous laughter of four-year-old Rufus Theo-

dore III. echoes through the halls that were for a time so quiet. The house has been necessarily remodeled and much of the quaintness and the "savor of the olden time" has given place to comfort and convenience.

Other changes there are. The old sun-dial that in the old, old time stood in the middle of the garden, surrounded by sweet-fringed pinks and thyme and camomile, is gone, and the old-time flowers are supplanted by others. The rows of lavender that so delicately perfumed the linen closet are "sweet memories of the past." But the dark old spruce pines, tall and stately, planted more than a century ago by the hand of the first master of the house, still stand around and woo the whispering winds. And the tulips, jonquils, crocuses, snow-drops and hyacinths, sweet heralds of spring—"the same fair things lift up the same fair faces"—coming forth out of their winter's sleep, perfume the air and gladden the hearts of all beholders, as they have done, year by year, since they were planted by dear hands a century ago. But the restlessness and aggressiveness so apparent everywhere has found its way into this "Happy Valley," and the sound of the falling of giant trees on the mountain sides, the noise of the ruthless saw and the steam whistle are heard on every side.

But God's works remain. His mountains stand around unchanged in form, the same soft mist hangs over them, the balmy breezes blow, the bird-songs thrill the air, and the same quiet peace—foretaste of God's perfect and eternal peace—broods over all. May the same peace abide ever in the hearts

of all those who know and love "The Happy Valley," ever bearing in mind that this same favored spot, this sweet vale that no works of man can destroy, is a precious heritage from the old Revolutionary soldier and hero, General William Lenoir.

Oh, if by Jesus' pity
  We gain the Heavenly Rest,
And find the loved and sainted
  Who slumbered in thy breast,

Shall we the Crystal River
  See gleam in land so fair,
And learn, Sweet Vale, thy beauty
  Had helped to bring us there?

That all thy charms so goodly,
  By a gracious Father given,
Were pledge of joys eternal
  And perfect peace of Heaven?

PANTHER CREEK.

BY MRS. HAYNE DAVIS.

About the year 1750, Joseph Williams and Rebecca Lanier of Granville county were married. They moved to what was then Surry county and settled about three miles from the "Shallow Ford" of the Yadkin river. They owned a large body of land and many slaves. They seemed to prosper in every way. In the course of a few years came the call to arms. Joseph Williams responded at once and was soon in command of a regiment and served all through the war. Mrs. Williams, who had three sons, took charge at home and managed all things well. Before leaving for the war, Colonel Williams had laid in all kinds of supplies for his family, and we have little idea what that meant in those days of plenty and comfort. After a time came the news of the approach of the army of Lord Cornwallis. Mrs. Williams had an infant of only two weeks old, her fourth son, and as the British army approached, she took her children and an old negro woman and sought refuge in the woods, where she remained until the army had crossed the river at the Shallow Ford. When she reached home she found that all of her supplies had been entirely destroyed by the army, nothing having been left. They were not as ruthless as many invaders, as her home and the quarters of her negroes were not

PANTHER CREEK.

burned. We can hardly imagine what it must have been to her to be again under a roof. Her infant child, named Nathaniel, had contracted a heavy cold while they were in the woods; and, not having even the barest necessaries of life left, and her husband away in the field, she decided to return to Granville county, where her family lived. How she was to make the journey was a most serious question, and one that we cannot realize. It tried her to the uttermost, but her brave heart did not quail; and after arranging for her two oldest boys and the negroes, she mounted a horse with her sick baby in her lap and a boy of two and one-half years behind her, and, alone, made the long journey to Granville in safety, much of the country being forests and a great deal of it swarming with Tories, but she was unmolested and at last found the rest which we can see she sadly needed. Her child was ruined by the exposure, the soft place in his head never closing, and although he lived to be over twenty years old, was a constant care to his mother, who was devoted to him. To the end of his life she kept him in her own room.

Her family were French Huguenots, who left France after the revocation of the Edict of the Nantes. Among other things, they brought their Huguenot Bible, which was lost when the old homestead, Panther Creek, was burned. Colonel Williams' Revolutionary uniform and cocked hat and many other relics were destroyed at the same time.

After peace was declared the Williamses began life again at Panther Creek. Colonel Williams was still active in the

field, several times helping to drive the hostile Indians back. On one of these expeditions his command camped on what is now the site of the city of Knoxville. Colonel Williams is said to have remarked, "Some day a great city will be here." He raised a family of ten sons and two daughters. Several of his sons were graduated at the University of North Carolina.

1. Robert, "a man of distinguished attainments, great research and acute intellect," was a member of Congress from 1797 to 1803. He was the Adjutant-General of the State during the War of 1812. He built the brick house in Raleigh down on Fayetteville street, owned by Mr. Roulhac afterwards, and then by Dr. Kemp Battle.

2. Joseph. He owned a large body of land in what is now Yadkin county, across the river from the town of Rockford. Among his descendants are James D. Glenn, of Greensboro, and Robert B. Glenn, of Winston.

3. John. He made the trip with his mother across the State on horseback. He settled in Knoxville, Tennessee. He was colonel of a Tennessee regiment and fought at the battle of Horseshoe Bend under General Jackson against the Creek Indians. He was Senator from Tennessee and Minister to Guatemala. While he was serving in the Senate, his son, Joseph L. Williams, was a member of the House of Representatives. Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson is his great-grandson.

4. Nathaniel, born during the Revolution and ruined by

exposure when only two weeks old, when his mother fled from her home on the coming of the British army.

5. Lewis. He entered public life in 1813 as a member of the House of Commons and was re-elected in 1814. In 1815 he was elected member of Congress and served continuously until 1842. He died in Washington in 1842. He never married.

6. Thomas, Lewis' twin brother, moved to Tennessee and was long Chancellor there.

7. Alexander lived in Greeneville, Tennessee, where he owned many broad acres. Judge Snead of Knoxville is his grandson.

8. William owned the Strawberry Plains Plantation in Tennessee, which, during the War Between the States, was ruined by the Yankees, nothing but the land having been left. Major Stringfield of Waynesville is his grandson.

9. James died comparatively young.

10. Nicholas. He inherited the home, Panther Creek, where he spent his days in ease and affluence, dispensing a most lavish hospitality until the end of the Civil War, which brought with it the changes which broke up so many Southern homes. The home was built in the old colonial style, and the garden was famous for its hedges, flowers and shrubbery, of which I am told but little except the tin box is left. Mr. Nicholas Lillington and his family live at the old place. Mr. N. Glenn Williams, another grandson, who owns much of the land, lives near.

11. Rebecca, the oldest daughter, married Colonel Wimbish of Halifax, Va. She was one of the two first pupils of the Salem Female Academy.

12. Fannie married Colonel John P. Ervin of Nashville, Tennessee. His sister was the wife of John Bell, the last Whig candidate for the presidency.

The Williams family were famous as high-toned men and women, always ready to answer with their best to the calls of State and country, and their descendants are numerous in many parts of the South.

From DeBow's Review, November, 1860, page 583, by James Colton, the following extract is taken:

THE RESIDENCE OF NICHOLAS WILLIAMS UPON THE YADKIN.

"Approaching the house, the scene before him reminded the writer of some of those splendid old baronial possessions in England which have been so graphically described by Sir Walter Scott in his brilliant stories of olden times.

"The forest of oak, pine, cedar and chestnut formed a complete circle, leaving an open space of about ten acres, in the midst of which the mansion—a neat and antiquated-looking building which was commenced before the Revolution and finished after its close—almost entirely hid from view by wide-branched oaks, which flung their gnarled arms over a thick carpet of the most delicious greensward.

"On our left, as we approached the mansion from the large gate of the outside enclosure, is a meadow of tall, waving

grass, and on the right is a lovely flower garden—shrubbery which Thurston might have envied, environed by a beautiful juniper hedge. No one who has read Milton's Paradise Lost can look upon a beautifully arranged garden without being so richly reminded of the charming Garden of Eden, which his strong imagination so richly bodied forth in that immortal poem."

CLAY HILL-ON-THE-NEUSE.

BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

As one journeys east from the capital of North Carolina over the Tarborough road, he sees on the right, after crossing Neuse River, a quaint colonial house standing high on a hill clearly outlined against the southern sky—a speaking memorial of a Revolutionary patriot, prominent during the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, and of a fascinating period that has passed away forever. This is "Clay Hill," the home of Major John Hinton of the Revolution. The antiquity and the very air of departed better days, and the gloom, which permeate this landmark of Wake county's early history, suggest courtly manners, stiff brocades, powdered coiffeurs, high-heeled slippers, knee-breeches and huge buckles. Later the uniforms of buff and blue, and the intrusion of the Tories. What a contrast to the valley below, where progress and invention have left their stamp! There a modern iron bridge spans the Neuse, and the quiet is broken by the mighty rush of water over the dam, the buzz, ever constant, of an up-to-date electric plant, the puffing of a gasoline launch and the occasional passing of an automobile. "Clay Hill" has witnessed many stirring events, and numerous interesting scenes have occurred within its walls. Could a fuller record of its past history be

CLAY-HILL-ON-THE-NEUSE.

obtained, how valuable it would be to a student of social life in North Carolina, since the mode of living here represented the customs of the higher aristocratic circle in this inland section. Here a lavish hospitality was dispensed, some of the most influential men of that time in the State—names familiar in our history—having at one time or another partaken of the courtesies of its genial host. Here gay hunting parties, sumptuous dinners and large weddings were some of the occasions of gathering together the distant planters, statesmen, soldiers and their families—the beaux and belles of long ago. Here has been known the vandalism of two wars and the secret meetings of the Ku-Klux Klan.

Major John Hinton came of an old and honored English family. He was the eldest son of Colonel John Hinton, one of Wake's pioneers and Revolutionary soldiers, and of Grizelle Kimbrough, his wife. He was born in Wake county, March 14, 1748. During his childhood his home was a log cabin, (the door of which was in the top of the house, entered by means of a movable ladder), surrounded by thousands of acres of primeval forest full of wild beasts and roving Indians. This section was the hunting-ground of the Tuscaroras. Near the site of Hinton's old home can still be found traces of an Indian burying-ground. There were no neighbors in that vast wilderness. Later, however, from the east came Colonel Joel Lane, whom tradition styles "a dressy widower," and settled at Bloomsbury; while some ten miles to the west Colonel Theophilus Hunter, senior, founded "Hunter's Lodge." Between these families existed the most

friendly relations, resulting in marriages. Eventually the family of Nathaniel Jones located at "White Plains," about fourteen miles away. Then, too, came Nathaniel Jones of "Crabtree," not a blood relation, though connected by marriage with the builder of "White Plains."

Major Hinton, being the eldest son, soon learned self-reliance. While his father was adding to his vast landed estate by taking up new grants of land, he also took up numerous grants from Earl Granville. These contained about six hundred and forty acres each, the usual amount bestowed on the early settlers of the Province of Carolina. After coming into possession of his inheritance on the death of his father in the spring of 1784, he was regarded as one of the three wealthiest men in his county, as well as one of the most influential. There were large tracts owned by him around the present town of Raleigh. On March 26, 1776, Colonel John Hinton sold his son John a tract of land containing 640 acres on Neuse river, for "the sum of one hundred pounds proclamation money," which shows the value of real estate at the beginning of the Revolution. He owned a number of slaves who were fresh from the jungles of Africa. These ignorant savages were soon enlightened in the arts of civilization and proved useful servants. As a proof of the kindness of their master, these slaves were devotedly attached to him.

On June 27, 1765, at the early age of seventeen, John Hinton, junior, married Pherebee, daughter of John Smith, the founder of Smithfield, North Carolina, and Elizabeth

Whitfield, his wife. The bride was but sixteen, having been born October 16, 1748, and childish even for her years. Often she was frightened by the boyish pranks played by her husband. They settled at "Clay Hill," where they lived happily till the war-cloud overshadowed the colonies.

"Clay Hill" is the second oldest house now standing in the county, the home of Colonel Joel Lane at Bloomsbury (now Raleigh) being the oldest. Major Hinton erected "Clay Hill" *before* the Revolution. It is well built, only heart timber having been used, while the nails are of wrought iron. Though more than a century and a quarter old, it is still in a fine state of preservation, and there is no reason, if care could be taken, why it should not stand many years longer. At that time in this sparsely settled back country it was really an elegant residence, without a superior. Such work then was a tremendous undertaking; on a river that is not navigable, with no town near by and only deep, muddy roads leading to the outer world, made the task of building almost impossible. The name naturally implies the character of the soil of that particular eminence—red clay. The grounds were covered with the greenest grass, shaded by stately sycamores, tall elms, and cedars. A neat white paling surrounded all. The main entrance faced the rising sun. A porch, whose slanting ceiling is plastered, supported by four small fluted columns, extends the length of the front side. From this point one has a fine view of the surrounding landscape: for miles can be seen the graceful undulation of the hills, intersected with

valleys, crowned here with forests, there with well-tilled fields. Through it all slowly flows the Neuse to join the Trent at New Bern. Bathed in the golden sunshine of autumn, softened by blue and purple tones, this is a goodly scene to gaze upon, recalling vividly that fairer "Land of the Sky." The single front door opened into the parlor; on the right a door led into the small but inviting dining-room; into this opened the butler's pantry. Through this butler's pantry all meals were brought from the outside kitchen (since destroyed) over the stone-paved walk. Back of the dining-room was a bed-room without a fire-place. The builder of "Clay Hill" deemed such a luxury as a fire in one's sleeping apartment unhealthy! Adjoining this was a dressing-rooms and closets. The parlors opened into a square back hall. From this a stair-case, with a quaint, plain balustrade, leads to the upper story. Here are a large hall-room and three chambers. In the lower hall are two out-doors. In this hall the last mistress of "Clay Hill" on summer evenings sometimes served tea from the daintiest china. The wainscoting on the first floor was high, but was replaced later by some about nine inches deep. The rooms, whose walls are hard-finished, are high-pitched; the wood-work is ornamented, but is not elaborate. The small windows have tiny panes and blinds. In the plan of the whole, convenience was regarded. There is a cellar in which were stored choice wines. Originally the house was painted white, the blinds green. The furniture was mahogany and walnut. The silver was of the severely plain colonial style, exceedingly white and only marked with

the initial "H." A certain ladle has been in the family for generations and descends to the eldest son, who has always borne the name John. It is now in the possession of the seventh of the name, a resident of Georgia. The family Bible also passed to that branch. There was a large collection of handsome cut-glass and elegant china, a set of India china and other dainty pieces.

Guests at "Clay Hill" could never forget the lavender-scented linen and the spotless napery. A few books composed the library. There were many substantially built outhouses on the premises—in fact, all necessary to the management of a large, well-ordered plantation. Some of these are still standing. On the south was the garden—a typical old-fashioned one, intersected by carefully kept walks bordered with all kinds of flowers. Here bloomed in profusion roses, jonquils, hyacinths, crape myrtles, snow-balls, lilacs, sweet betsies, honeysuckles and lavender, the very air being redolent with their heavy perfume. All the herbs found a place here, viz., tansy, rue, thyme, sage, mint.

John Hinton, junior, never wavered—his feelings were with the patriots. Though loyal to the Crown till tyranny reigned, he decided to defend the rights of his native land, risking life and fortune in the long struggle. On August 20, 1775, the Provincial Congress met at Hillsborough and made preparations for the approaching conflict. On September 9th Congress appointed officers for the minute-men in the different counties. The officers chosen for Wake were: John Hinton, Colonel; Theophilus Hunter, Lieutenant-Colonel;

John Hinton, junior, First Major; Thomas Hines, Second Major. Major Hinton was present with his regiment at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776, and took an active part in that decisive engagement.

During the war Major Hinton was compelled to leave his family and home to the mercy of those most ruthless invaders, the Tories, but happily they escaped alive. On one occasion, when he happened to be at "Clay Hill," a band of Fanning's fiends, knowing of his presence and that he had in his possession funds of the unrecognized government, came upon him at night. The guide to this band was an enemy whom Hinton had once found stealing at his fish-trap in the Neuse and fired at him. It was never forgiven. This man remained in the yard as a sentinel while the gang forced an entrance into the house, breaking a panel out of the front door. Major Hinton saw the hopelessness of his position, but determined to defend his sick wife and helpless children at all odds. In the fierce struggle they fired upon him, wounding him badly. They demanded that Major Hinton should relinquish at once his precious charge, but he refused to comply; whereupon they seized him, tying his hands in front, bound him to an arm-chair and beat him unmercifully; still that strong will yielded not. As a last resort they threatened to hang him and made preparations for the act. In the meantime a thorough search was made. The coin, tied in bags, was locked in the secretary. Suspecting this, they said they were going to break into it. It was then that his wife said: "Don't break it open; I shall unlock it." Throwing a

blanket around her, she rose from the bed, unlocked the desk, lowered the lid and slipped the bags of money under the blanket and retired to the bed safely. In the interval Major Hinton, unnoticed, undid with his teeth the knots in the ropes tied on his wrists, and, slipping out of the house, dispatched a message to his brother, Colonel James Hinton, to come at once with his troop of horse to his aid. Thinking of some silver spoons that had not been hidden, Mary, their little daughter, snatched them up, and, escaping from the house in the darkness, rushed into the garden and concealed them in the bed of pinks, thus saving them. The vandals seized upon the patriot's wearing apparel and the frightened slaves, and after finding their victim gone and hopes baffled, departed amid volleys of oaths which waxed but the stronger when the stolen clothes were found to be much too large. Colonel James Hinton and his troop, coming up at this critical moment, started after the Tories in hot pursuit. They finally succeeded in overtaking them on the Hillsborough road, nearer that town than Raleigh, and capturing some, hanged them to trees by the roadside as a reward for their fiendish conduct. Then they returned to "Clay Hill" with the slaves.

In 1779 Major Hinton represented Wake County in the General Assembly and again after the Revolution.

In 1788 our legislators decided to have a permanent instead of a migratory capital. Wake being the most centrally located county, it was voted that the site selected should be within her boundaries. Nine commissioners were chosen to

locate the seat of government. Only six acted. They were Frederick Hargett, Chairman; Joseph McDowell of "Quaker Meadows," William Johnston Dawson, James Martin, Thomas Blount and Willie Jones. It was Major Hinton's desire to have the capital on the banks of the Neuse where the little hamlet of Milburnie once stood. His brother-in-law, Colonel Joel Lane, was equally ambitious to obtain the vote in favor of the present site on his land some six miles west of the Neuse. These two were among the seventeen tracts offered. On the first ballot the votes were cast as follows: Hinton's tract on the Neuse, three votes; Joel Lane's, two; the land of Nathaniel Jones of "White Plains" (near the present village of Cary), one. They adjourned to meet the following day, March 30, 1792, when Joel Lane found his land accepted, while Major Hinton's obtained but one vote. The decision was a most bitter disappointment to the latter, and from that time a coolness existed between the two families, supposed by some to have been due to the conduct of Colonel Lane on that occasion. Tradition claims that he gave a dinner to the commissioners and that they partook too freely of the choice wines to vote clearly. Had Raleigh been situated on the river its scenic beauty would have been enhanced, though probably the course pursued has given better health to its inhabitants.

The slaves formed an interesting, unique group in that colonial home. There was "Blind Jim" (totally sightless), who always saddled Major Hinton's riding horse and brought him to the front door. Then there was that couple who came

from Africa and who never learned to speak English well—Old Mingo and "Mammy Kizzy," who was a princess, the daughter of a king on the dark continent. She wore bouquets of natural flowers in the holes in her ears. As a dairy-maid she excelled. She instructed the children and grandchildren in that especial branch of housekeeping. Jeffrey was another trusted slave. Major Hinton once sent him up the country horse-back. He was much astounded some time later to see him return horseless. Upon inquiry he learned that Jeffrey had swapped the horse for some reputed wonderfully fine species of peas! They were planted and found to be equal to representation and ever after went by the name of "Jeffrey's peas." The carriage driver, Buck, was a brother of "Uncle Brisco," who was Colonel John Hinton's body servant during the war, belonged to the "Gunny (a corruption of Guinea) stock," and was a remarkable negro. He drove "Peacock" and "Phœnix" to the second carriage brought to Wake. It was a high vehicle, entered by means of steps lowered from the back. The old cook was an unusual character. One day she went into the cellar for something for dinner, and could not resist the temptation of partaking of the rum. When found and reproved, she replied, "So I suits master, I don' keer." She prepared to perfection the Major's ideal spring dinner, "a boiled chicken and a bag-pudding," as well as his favorite salad, a bunch of lettuce leaves and mint tied with a shalote and dipped in dressing. There was one Johnson, an uncle of President Andrew Johnson, who was employed to superintend the women spinning.

Of the many weddings which occurred at "Clay Hill" the first was that of Mary Hinton to Henry Lane. Their daughter, Margaret Lane, was also married here to the brilliant lawyer, Moses Mordecai. She was married in white satin, Empire style, and her trousseau contained enough handsome silk and satin gowns to satisfy the fastidious bride of the twentieth century. It was here that Judge Henry Seawell, nephew of Nathaniel Macon, came a-wooing and won his beautiful bride, Grizelle, second daughter of Major Hinton. These rooms in those days echoed with the exquisite music of his violin. He had a most serious rival in Theophilus Hunter, junior, of "Spring Hill," wealthy, aristocratic and of prominent position, whom her parents preferred to the poor but handsome and gifted young lawyer, who came to the county with only his license and a horse. This partiality was shown by the treatment bestowed upon their respective steeds. When Theophilus Hunter, junior, rode over to "Clay Hill" to pay court to the choice of his heart, his horse was taken promptly, stabled, fed and groomed, while Henry Seawell's was allowed to remain tied to the rack and paw the earth in his fury and craving for feed and water! At a hunting party the latter was given a bird gun and the poorest stand in the country, where deer were never known to pass. Growing weary of ill luck, he retired to the house in quest of another *dear,* with domestication the object this time. He was more successful with the change, and that day won his suit. They were married at "Clay Hill," April 17, 1800, by Cargill

Massenburg. After the marriage Major Hinton highly approved of his son-in-law.

Major Hinton was a devoted Churchman, religiously observing all the feasts and fasts of the Established Church. There is now in existence a prayer-book containing his autograph. He was tall, large and fine-looking—a perfect gentleman, very refined, with elegant manners.

One of the favored members of the household was the favorite dog, "Venture," an immense animal that always accompanied his master on his rides, faithfully guarding his horse when tied.

Major John Hinton died October 19, 1818. He is buried at "Clay Hill." The grave-yard is back of the garden, surrounded by a rock wall. His grave is marked by a plain granite head and foot piece and bears a simple inscription, now nearly obliterated by time's touch. Beside his lie the remains of Pherebee Hinton, his wife, who died December 19, 1810. Their children were:

1. John Hinton of "Stoney Lonesome," who married Sally, daughter of Colonel Needham Bryan.

2. Mary, who married Henry Lane. Her remains are interred at "Clay Hill."

3. Samuel, who died soon after graduating at the University of North Carolina.

4. Grizelle, born May 26, 1782, known to a large circle of relatives as "Aunt Seawell," who married Judge Henry Seawell of "Welcome," Wake county.

5. Willis, who died young.

6. Betsey, who inherited "Clay Hill" and died unmarried in May, 1865.

Betsey Hinton, called by a host of loving relatives "Aunt Betsey," was the youngest child and a fine Christian character. As a housekeeper she had no superior. With her lived Mrs. Grizzy Ryan, youngest daughter of Colonel Joel Lane. An overseer attended to the plantation. In the sixties the old home experienced another warlike intrusion. It was in the spring of 1865, when Sherman's Army was indulging in its "vandalic march," that the families on the adjoining and distant plantations flew to the Capital for safety. No art of persuasion could prevail on the mistress of "Clay Hill" to leave, believing her presence would protect her property. Some slaves and a few white women and children alone remained with her. The enemy were scouring the country. One night she retired, to be awakened by soldiers breaking into the house at a late hour; the yard and every building were filled with Federal soldiers. An entrance was forced into her very room and this lady of eighty-odd years was driven from her bed. After ransacking the premises, they departed to apply the torch to the paper mill at Milburnie.

The great change of fortune and the weight of years were more than even that brave spirit could endure. She died a few weeks after the surrender. After her death the place passed to the nearest relatives out South, who sold it, and thus this historic home became the property of strangers, wholly unappreciative of its quaintness and history. What a sad change! To-day the fences and garden have disappeared,

many trees have been cut down, cotton is cultivated on the once beautiful lawn, some of the out-buildings have been burned, others are dilapidated, and there are signs of decay and neglect about the old homestead itself.

There are no descendants of Major Hinton's sons now living in North Carolina, the name in that branch having become extinct in the State.

It is to be lamented that we Americans do not retain the English custom of entailing the family seat and revering every relic that bears on a noble past.

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VOL. III NOVEMBER, 1903 No. 7

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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BY

MRS. L. A. McCORKLE.

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EDITORS:

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON. MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

VOL. III NOVEMBER, 1903. No. 7

THE

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

RALEIGH
E. M. UZZELL & CO., PRINTERS AND BINDERS
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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

ALAMANCE.

1771.

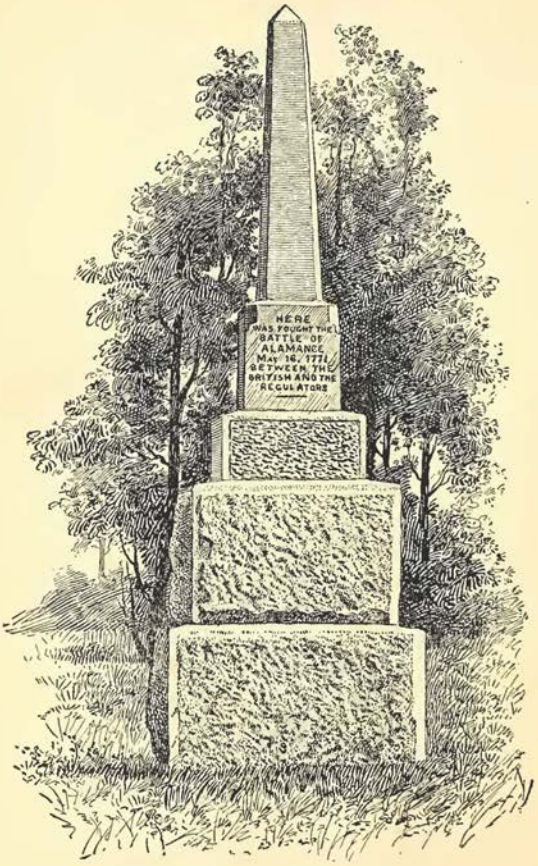
The following poem by Seymour Whiting should be memorized by every child in North Carolina. When this poem was written no monument had been placed on the old battle-ground. The monument which now marks the spot was erected in 1880.

No stately column marks the hallowed place
Where silent sleeps, unurned, their sacred dust—
The first free martyrs of a glorious race,
Their fame a people's wealth, a nation's trust.

Above their rest the golden harvest waves,
The glorious stars stand sentinel on high,
While in sad requiem near their turfless graves
The winding river murmurs moaning by.

But holier watchers here their vigils keep
Than storied urn or monumental stone;
For Law and Justice guard their dreamless sleep,
And Plenty smiles above their bloody home.

Immortal youth shall crown their deathless fame,
And as their country's glories still advance,
Shall brighter glow, o'er all the earth thy name,
Our first-fought field of freedom—Alamance!



MONUMENT ON ALAMANCE BATTLE-GROUND.

WAS ALAMANCE THE FIRST BATTLE OF THE REVOLUTION?

BY LUTIE ANDREWS McCORKLE,

Author of "Old-time Stories of the Old North State."

"Constructive historical work deserves and gets more credit than does destructive work. To overthrow the idols of our forefathers is considered akin to sacrilege; but the time is come when we are compelled to bow our heads and acknowledge that some of our forefathers were as great rascals as some of us."

This remarkable paragraph introduces an article entitled "Regulators in a New Light," which appeared in the *Charlotte Observer* of January 25, 1903. While few of us, I trust, are willing to admit the "soft impeachment" of being rascals ourselves, fewer still, doubtless, are willing to accord this distinction to their forefathers, and say in earnest what Burns said in jest:

> "My ancient but ignoble blood
> Has crept through scoundrels ever since the flood."

"The average history of Revolutionary events," our enlightened critic goes on to say, "gives but one side of the question, and even that side is whitewashed." After such a bold announcement, we are not surprised by the recklessness with

which the writer proceeds in his "destructive work." That he succeeds in showing the Regulators in a "new light" is unquestionable; but that it is a true light will at least admit of some degree of doubt.

Such sweeping assertions as these arraign a formidable array of writers of eminent talent as men incompetent, by reason of carelessness and partiality, to perform the tasks which they undertook. Bancroft, Lossing, Hawks, Wheeler, Swain and Graham were not only men of recognized ability, but were untiring, painstaking, conscientious seekers after truth. With one accord they believed and stoutly maintained that "the first blood shed in battle with the troops of the English government in support of the principles of the American Revolution was the blood of North Carolinians, and the first battlefield was the soil of that State" at Alamance. They had pursued their investigations under a profound sense of their duty to preserve the history of their country for the instruction of future generations, and they gave the results of their inquiries to the public as truth, to be cherished with honest pride by every patriotic American. Now it is charged that theirs was "constructive work"—the construction of an idol to be worshiped by a credulous people, and that it now becomes the bounden duty of the destructive critics of this generation to demolish this idol in the interest of historic certainty.

The causes of the Regulation movement, culminating in the battle of Alamance, it is alleged, were "ignorance and vengeance on one side and vanity and error on the other." The "flagrant and unjustifiable wrongs" under which the people

groaned are thus laughed to scorn, and the patriots of 1771 are represented as the dupes of a cowardly demagogue who was using his influence to avenge personal grievances.

Possibly no two facts in American history have been more doubted and discussed, and in consequence more indisputably proven, than that the battle of Alamance was the first battle, and the Mecklenburg Declaration the first declaration of independence in the revolt of the colonies against the Crown of England. The latter was the natural sequence of the former. And yet, just as during the Wars of the Roses, there were patriotic Englishmen who sided with the house of York, and others with the house of Lancaster; as during the Protectorate there were patriots both among the Roundheads and among the Cavaliers; as during the Revolution some good men sided with England against their own countrymen, believing Toryism to be a religious virtue; as during the war between the States there were conscientious Unionists who fought in the Federal army against their own neighbors and kindred; so for the last century there have been among us two parties—the one believing, the other refusing to believe, in the patriotism of the heroes of Alamance and in the authenticity of the Mecklenburg Declaration.

By far the ablest and best equipped advocate of the "destructive theory" in the former instance is Mr. Francis Nash of Hillsboro, N. C. In a most interesting and admirably written paper on "Hillsboro: Colonial and Revolutionary," he essays to prove that the organization known as the Regulators was "an ignorant, headstrong populace," "all criminals

in a common riot," moved by "imaginary grievances," and led by "an unscrupulous fomentor of strife," who has since been elevated as a "sentimental hero." He would have us believe that the battle so long regarded by our people with patriotic pride as the "first fought field of freedom" was "little more than a neighborhood riot," and denounces the assertion that "the same spirit inspired the Regulators that inspired the Sons of Liberty or the Lexington Minute Men" as "sentimental slush." The battle of Alamance he would have us believe was but "the after-clap of a disgraceful riot." Himself the descendant, if I mistake not, of a gentleman who was a victim of one of the few outrages charged against any of the Regulators, their self-assumed title a stench in the nostrils of his family for more than a century, Mr. Nash shows somewhat of the unreasoning spirit of hereditary prejudice, and writes with a zeal worthy of a better cause. I am persuaded that he is not just in his denunciation of the Regulators, albeit they may have been unduly prejudiced against that Francis Nash whose honored name he bears and whose patriotic blood flows in his veins.

Mr. Nash has undertaken to overthrow the position on this question of many men whose testimony is incontrovertible, and seeks to break the force of documentary evidence that is overwhelming in its mass and conclusiveness. Whatever may be said of Hawks, Wheeler, Swain and Graham on the score of hereditary bias and local prejudice as being natives of North Carolina, the same weakness cannot be charged to Bancroft, Caruthers, Lossing and Foote, all of whom are a unit in their

conclusions in the premises. These men were natives of other States, and, with the exception of Bancroft, they all visited the scenes they described and gathered the facts, not only from documentary evidence that had been handed down from colonial times, but in great part from men who witnessed or participated in the battle and in the events preceding. Thus, it is seen they had at their command not only the records to which Mr. Nash appeals so confidently, but the testimony of men who were able to communicate the facts at first hand. Not a few of these, it may be added, were Presbyterians, to whose testimony, as it will be shown presently, Mr. Nash is himself disposed to defer on all occasions.

The statements of Bancroft, in his "History of the United States," edition of 1854, are for the most part quotations from the letters of Governors Tryon and Martin to Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and from cotemporary publications in Philadelphia, New York and Boston. This great historian tells us that he had a very full collection of papers bearing on the Regulators, and he declares that "the blood of rebels against oppression was first shed on the branches of the Cape Fear river." Nor is the opinion of Dr. Caruthers to be despised. He lived for forty years in the section which had been the storm center of the Regulation movement, being the immediate successor of Dr. David Caldwell as pastor of the historic churches of Alamance and Buffalo. He gathered many of his facts from "old men of great respectability, who were then living and remembered the former times." When he used verbal testimony he "took pains

to get an account of the same thing from different persons or from the same person at different times, for the purpose of comparing them together and ascertaining the truth." And he tells us that "the Regulation is now regarded by our greatest men as the very germ of the Revolution in this State." Dr. Hawks tells us he lived "where the spot on which the Regulators were hanged met his eye every day," and declares that "God made the flower of freedom grow out of the turf that covered these men's graves." He also had a personal acquaintance with cotemporaries of those who laid down their lives at Alamance.

The Regulators were, in Mr. Nash's opinion, "an ignorant, headstrong, lawless populace," as they were regarded by Edmund Fanning and his associates. In this view, however, he is not sustained by the testimony of men of eminent character who were associated with some of the Regulators. Dr. Caruthers tells us "there were many men in most of the upper counties engaged in that affair who were then, as their descendants are now, among the most sensible, upright and respectable people in the country. Most of them had enjoyed the advantages of a Christian training, and at that time had the ministrations of able and devoted men. The parishioners of such men as McAden, Caldwell, Balch, Craighead and others were probably something more than semi-barbarians and were not likely to be an unprincipled and lawless rabble, but many from these congregations were not only united with the mass of the Regulators in their addresses and petitions and all their legal methods of obtaining a redress for their

grievances, but were actually engaged in the battle." He says further: "Those [of the Regulators] who lived in the region in which I have been acquainted seem to have been regarded as honorable in all the relations of life, and were much esteemed as men and citizens."

Dr. Foote, like Dr. Caruthers, spent years in the section involved in this disturbance, and enjoyed a personal acquaintance with the immediate descendants of the Regulators. "The descendants of these people," he writes, "who were at the time treated as rebels and stigmatized in government papers as ignorant and headstrong and unprincipled, hold the first rank in their country for probity and intelligence, have held the first offices in their own and in the two younger and neighboring States, and have not been debarred the highest offices in the Union."

Mr. Nash himself admits that the four men whose names we have of the six who paid the penalty of their patriotism on the gallows at Hillsboro did not answer the description "lawless and ignorant." James Pugh made a manly defense of his course in the speech he delivered on the gallows, rebuking Tryon for dereliction in duty, and "advised him to put away his corrupt clerks and tax-gatherers and be a friend of the people." Benjamin Merrill "was an honest, upright man." Of Robert Matear "little is known"; but against the statement of Caruthers that "he with Thompson had never taken any part in any riot and was a Regulator only in sympathy," Mr. Nash thinks the fact conclusive that "he was convicted at Hillsboro and executed, though six other convicts

were respited and afterwards pardoned." Surely Matear must have been "ignorant and lawless," since his character and record were not such as to commend him to the mercy of that humane Governor who refused to listen to the Regulators and shot down Robert Thompson, an unarmed man, with his own hand! Messer's integrity may be judged from the fact that he was permitted to leave the State in search of Hermon Husband, having promised to return and suffer himself to be executed if he could not bring Husband back. He failed in his effort and returned in due time to die for his offense. Many others who were numbered with the Regulators, such as Thomas Person, Colonel Bryan and Captain Raleigh Sutherland, were men of "unimpeachable character." If Mr. Nash is correct in saying that at that time "the most moral communities in the whole section were those over which a few Presbyterian ministers held sway and exerted an influence for good," then the weight of evidence seems to be against his position, for we are told that "a large proportion of the men in Dr. Caldwell's congregation were Regulators." True, Dr. Caldwell's letter to Tryon, in which he declares that the people of his congregation are not in sympathy with the Regulators, is often quoted; but those who make use of this letter for the purpose of discrediting the Regulation movement invariably fail to state that it was written in 1766, five years before the battle of Alamance, and at a time when Dr. Caldwell himself was a comparative stranger in that section, having settled there only the previous year. In the five succeeding years he and his flock had ample occasion

and opportunity to change their minds, and it is certain they did. Besides, "the people of Orange and equally of Rowan and Mecklenburg were unanimous in their resolutions to claim relief from the Governor." So we find "the most moral communities in that section" engaged in the contest; for the congregations of McAden, Caldwell, Balch and Craighead, who, to use Mr. Nash's phrase, "held sway and exerted an influence for good," extended over this section. Dr. Hawks tells us that "when the final struggle came every one of these spiritual guides, to a man, was on the side of an oppressed people." Even Hermon Husband, who figures in the pungent periods of our destructive critics as "a selfish stirrer-up of turmoil, a fomentor of strife," seems to have been regarded as a man of some character by those who knew him, Clerk Fanning and the Hillsboro lawyers excepted. Says Caruthers: "I have conversed with a number who knew him personally and intimately in their youth, as they were neighbors, some of whom are yet living, and they all speak of him as a man of strict integrity and as a firm and sincere advocate of what he considered the rights of mankind. When people find they have been deceived by a man who has courted their favor merely for some selfish end, they usually turn against him, but this was not the case with the people he represented." Dr. Caldwell thought, as Caruthers was assured by the family of that distinguished patriot and divine, "that Husband was a little headstrong and impetuous, but he believed him to be honest in his intentions." It is known that Husband was a personal friend and relative of Benja-

min Franklin, from whom at various times he received messages and pamphlets. Although Husband, bred a Quaker and deprecating all bloodshed as contrary to the law of Christ, fled at the first gun at Alamance, it appears by no means unreasonable that from Franklin he may have derived many of his opinions, and that, though desiring a peaceful solution of every difficulty, he may have been actuated by motives as pure as were the motives of those who afterwards laid down their lives for the cause of liberty. Very certain it is that the agitation begun by the Regulators had made good headway in Granville and Halifax, as well as in Orange and the more western counties, some time before Husband took a hand in it. Think what we may of his conduct at Alamance and afterwards, we are, in strict justice, compelled to accord him the verdict of contemporary public opinion. And while we would make no "sentimental hero" of him, we have no right to attribute to him selfish and vengeful motives.

Mr. Nash does not discuss the "causes leading up to the War of the Regulation, except as they affect the history of colonial Hillsboro." Having thus left out of view a large part of the facts bearing on our question, he persuades himself, and would persuade others, that the whole movement was contemptible in its origin and spirit, and that Alamance was only the "after-clap" of what all must admit was a "disgraceful riot." Conceding all the facts alleged as to the riot at Hillsboro, we are by no means compelled to regard Alamance as the "after-clap" of that unfortunate affair, and much less are we required to admit that the men of Alamance were men

of another spirit than that which animated the Sons of Liberty and the Minute Men of Lexington. The truth is, the disturbances around Hillsboro were but the temporary outflashings of a spirit of deep resentment against corrupt officials which pervaded the whole piedmont section of the colony, and was felt even on the distant sea-board. Before the Stamp Act bred defiance in the east, the people of the middle counties had long been groaning under the exactions of the officers of the law, and simultaneously, though without concert of action, "pleading in the anguish of their souls" for deliverance from the extortions and abuses of power under which they suffered. It would hardly be possible for discontent so widespread not to evoke some lawlessness. When men bred to count themselves freemen have seen law disregarded and justice trampled under foot, what wonder if they fail to respect the law and its officers? When wise heads are convinced that foul wrong is being done without rebuke, hot heads will sometimes plot hasty vengeance.

And what more natural than that the Regulators should have cherished an "especial antipathy toward Hillsboro"? It was a very small village, chiefly known to them as the home of Edmund Fanning, whose abuses of the law had made him odious to the people; as the home of the lawyers who justified and defended him, making his cause their own, and as the seat of a court in which a judge had flaunted his contempt for a long-suffering people in their faces by fining the chief culprit a penny and costs when convicted of extortion on six counts. Goaded by a sense of outrage, some of these

men, in an outburst of indignation, undertook to "administer wild justice" after their own fashion. But it is a well known fact that these outrages, instead of being excused as the "overflow of exuberant patriotism," as Mr. Nash would have us believe, were deplored and "condemned by the great body of Regulators." Because a small number of rude "fellows of the baser sort" were guilty of lawless conduct in one neighborhood, it is neither in accord with "historic truth" nor with historic justice to hold the entire body responsible for such conduct, and much less is it right on that account to impugn the motives of all those men of piedmont North Carolina who for ten long years waged a fight for their liberties. This was precisely the uncharity of Governor Tryon, according to the testimony of his successor.

But in referring to the "so-called extortions practiced upon the people," Mr. Nash concedes that "the charges of public officers were *in some instances* oppressive"; and yet, in his evident anxiety to establish confidence in Tryon's view of the "discreet and steady behavior of Colonel Fanning," and to relieve his character from unjust aspersion, he tells us that on certain papers Fanning "was entitled to a charge of eight shillings, whereas he made a rule, out of abundance of caution, to charge only six shillings." It is matter of well attested fact also that, "out of abundance of caution," to re-imburse himself for occasional generosity and keep his famous wine cellar well filled, Colonel Fanning was wont to charge $15 for a marriage license, for which the law allowed him but one dollar.

Governor Josiah Martin, who succeeded Tryon very soon after the battle of Alamance, was undoubtedly in a position to know whereof he spoke. After spending some months in and around Hillsboro, he wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies, as follows:

"North Carolina, Hillsborough,
"August 30, 1772.

. . . "My progress through this country, my Lord, hath opened my eyes exceedingly with respect to the commotions and discontents that have lately prevailed in it. I now see most clearly that they have been provoked by insolence, and cruel advantage taken of the people's ignorance by mercenary, tricking attorneys, clerks and other little officers, who have practised upon them every sort of rapine and extortion, by which, having brought upon themselves their just resentment," etc.

Referring to this letter of Governor Martin, and also to the petition of the people of Orange to Chief Justice Howard and his associates, Bancroft says: "The people had no respite from the insolence of mercenary attorneys and officers, and were subjected to every sort of rapine and extortion. The courts of law offered no redress. At the inferior courts the justices, who themselves were implicated in the pilfering of public money, named the juries. The sheriff and receivers of taxes were in arrears for near seventy thousand pounds which they had extorted from the people and of which more than two-thirds had been irretrievably embezzled." In 1769 Governor Tryon himself wrote to the Assembly:

"The fact is too well known to admit of a denial, that in a long course of years past great sums of the public money have

been lost by the negligence or insolvency of sheriffs and other collectors with their sureties. And it is presumed that in the same course of time considerable sums have sunk after they were lodged in the public treasury, whereof no account has hitherto been made."

Were it needful to add anything to these statements, we could rely upon the facts mentioned by Bancroft, that the petition of the Regulators was signed by about five hundred men and was fortified "with a precise specification of acts of extortion, confirmed in each instance by oath." He had in his possession a copy of that petition, with its signatures.

Against all this mass of evidence, conclusive to any unprejudiced mind, Mr. Nash brings up the address presented to Governor Tryon in the Assembly of 1770 by Robert Howe, Samuel Johnston, Maurice Moore, Cornelius Harnett, Abner Nash, Joseph Hewes and Edmund Fanning, in which they "condemn without stint both the motives and the acts of the Regulators." As these men, with the exception of Fanning, were afterwards "distinguished patriots," Mr. Nash would have us consider their opinion conclusive as to the status of the Regulators. But he fails to tell us that these men, except Joseph Hewes, were all lawyers, and, Fanning only excepted, all from the eastern part of the province. The fight of the Regulators had all along been largely against the lawyers. They had plainly stated in one of their protests: "It is not our form or mode of government, nor yet our laws, that we are quarreling with, but with the malpractice of the officers of our County Court, and the abuse we suffer from those who

are empowered to manage our public affairs." Can we wonder if the acts of mercenary individuals had brought odium upon the whole profession? Nor can we forget that the people of the sea-board had not felt the heavy hand of extortion as the poor farmers of the interior had felt it. The Governor residing in the east, the officers of the law would be held in check there and would hardly dare to practice the oppressions that were common in more remote regions. Besides, the east had been longer settled and was more prosperous through its flourishing commerce with the outside world, while in the interior there was little either of coin or currency, the people subsisting solely upon their small crops, and their trade being chiefly barter. Hence, men from the east were hardly prepared to appreciate the motives (even though they may at a later period have followed the good example) of the Regulators in fighting "for the liberties they had inherited."

The Regulators, says Mr. Nash, "demanded that dishonest public officials should be removed and punished; and Governor Tryon not complying with their demand so summarily as they desired, they, inspired by hatred and revenge, proceeded to administer this punishment themselves. So they were an organized but irresponsible and uncontrollable mob—not a great people in the throes of a struggle for independence."

Were the Regulators a mob? Let them answer for themselves. "We tell you, in the anguish of our souls," they said to Governor Tryon, "we cannot go to law with our powerful

antagonists; that step, whenever taken, will terminate in the ruin of ourselves and families." They had had experience with lawyers and had grown wiser because of that sad experience. "That is all we want," they said to the Governor's secretary—"liberty to make our grievances known," so confident were they of the righteousness of their cause. This, surely, is not the unreasoning spirit of a mob. Their determination, as set forth in resolutions adopted at one of their earlier meetings, was:

"1st. That we will pay no more taxes until we are satisfied that they are agreeable to law and applied to purposes therein mentioned, unless we cannot help it or are forced to it.

"2d. That we will pay no officer any more fees than the law allows," etc.

Again, let Governor Martin, who seems honestly desirous to deal fairly by them, answer in their behalf. The "tricking attorneys, clerks and other little officers," he writes to the Earl of Hillsborough, in the letter already mentioned, had "engaged government in their defense by artful misrepresentations, that the vengeance the wretched people in folly and madness aimed at their heads was directed against the Constitution; and by this stratagem they threw an odium upon the injured people that by degrees begot a prejudice which precluded a full discovery of their grievances. Thus, my Lord, as far as I have been able to discover, the resentment of government was craftily worked up against the oppressed, and the protection which the oppressors treacherously acquired, where the injured and ignorant people expected to

find it, drove (some of them) to acts of desperation and confederated them in violence, which, as your Lordship knows, induced bloodshed; and, I verily believe, necessarily." In the adroit special pleading of Mr. Nash, the craft and stratagem of Fanning is being repeated in this year of grace 1903.

The Regulators, says Bancroft, "asked no more than that extortioners be brought to fair trials and the collectors of public money called to proper settlement of their accounts." Tryon made promises, only to break them, until they found to their sorrow that "his Excellency was determined not to lend a kind ear to the just complaints of the people." And such was the craft and cunning of Fanning and the lawyers who aided and abetted his rascalities that the Regulators were doomed to disappointment in their sanguine "hope that naked truth and native ignorance would poise the superexcellent flourishes and consummate declamation of their powerful adversary." Certain it is, however, that something more than the "superexcellent flourishes" of Mr. Nash's specious argument will be needed to "poise" the right of the men of Alamance to be regarded as patriots contending for their liberties. History has given its verdict, and that verdict is not likely to be changed by the arguments of those whose methods and animus compel them to become the apologists of Fanning and of Tryon.

Mocked in the courts, stigmatized as "outlaws and rebels," again and again deceived by the royal Governor, these men whom Mr. Nash denounces as a "lawless and irresponsible mob" *twice* retired quietly to their homes on receiving a mere

promise of redress—once when they had gathered seven hundred strong at Hillsboro, and again when five hundred of them had assembled at Salisbury. Here again we do not find any spirit of irresponsibility and lawlessness.

Nor were they men of lawless and cowardly spirit who, without a leader and in large part unarmed, stood before Tryon at Alamance, desiring naught but permission to present to him a respectful petition laying before him in ample detail all their grievances, "in full hope and confidence of being redressed by him." To have submitted to his peremptory and insulting demands would have been to exhibit the cringing spirit of slaves. So, with the courage of martyrs, those of them who were armed stood their ground when Tryon precipitately began the battle. Thus was given, as Caruthers says, "the first expression of the principles and spirit which covered the men of '76 with immortal honor."

When Captain Raleigh Sutherland, coming with a force from Surry to help the Regulators, wept on hearing from a distance the guns of Alamance, because he was not there with his countrymen "who were shedding their blood in defense of their rights," he was animated by the same spirit which led General Francis Nash to say, with his dying breath, on the field of Germantown, "From the first dawn of Revolution I have been on the side of liberty and my country." The difference was, that Sutherland was first to recognize that dawn of Liberty's day.

But it is urged that the men of Alamance were not fighting British troops, and that they were not fighting for inde-

pendence. As to the first quibble, it is sufficient to state that they were fighting the same sort of a force that suffered defeat at the hands of Shelby and Cleveland at King's Mountain—colonial militia, flying the British flag and led by officers who represented the British crown. As to the second, the same argument would prove that Lexington was not a battle of the Revolution at all, and that in fact the Revolution did not commence until July, 1776. The truth is, none of the colonists at first desired independence. The common demand of all was redress of grievances. Only thirty-seven days before the battle of Lexington, John Adams declared "that there are any who pant after independence is the greatest slander on the province."

Once more, it is said that the men of Alamance did not come thither expecting to fight. Neither did the men of Lexington. We are told that "the night preceding the outrage at Lexington there were not fifty people in the colony that ever expected any blood would be shed in the contest." The patriots of Alamance were stigmatized as rebels, and suffered the spoiling of their plantations and the burning of their homes, and some of them were executed as traitors and rebels. According to the British view, the men of Lexington were nothing more nor less.

Compare the utterances and the deeds of the men of Alamance with those of the men of Lexington. They of Lexington instruct their representatives to demand "radical and lasting redress of their grievances." The Regulators, when promised a respectful hearing, are so sure of compliance with

their just demands that they cry "Agreed! That is all we want—liberty to make our grievances known." On the village green of Lexington free-born Americans swore "to combat manfully for their birthright inheritance of liberty." On the greensward of Alamance the Regulators, counting themselves free-born, gave full proof of their resolve "to know and enjoy the liberty which they had inherited."

Word chimes with word. Deed harmonizes with deed. The same spirit of freemen, ready to die for liberty, breathes in both. At Alamance there burst forth in a battle for right and justice the same undaunted spirit of love for freedom that afterwards flashed in the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and later flamed at King's Mountain, at Cowpens and at Guilford Court House. Nor does it alter this fact, that some of the Regulators, forced by Tryon to take the oath of allegiance to the British government, afterward fought in the ranks of the Loyalists against their own countrymen, as some of those who had oppressed them were in the ranks of the patriot army. This is, in truth, but another argument to show that theirs was not the irresponsible temper and lawless disposition of a mob. They kept their oath out of regard to solemn obligations which they considered binding in the sight of heaven; and it is matter of history that they were promised as loyalists all the redress for which they had fought at Alamance, and under a Governor who had declared his conviction of the justice of their cause. It is matter of history also that the Presbyterians of Mecklenburg hesitated because of their oaths, when independence was proposed, and disregarded

those oaths only under the advice of their leaders. If any fact in the history of the United States is well attested, it is that the fire which flashed forth at Alamance was not quenched in the ashes of defeat. It left embers burning from which, as the years went by, there was kindled throughout Surry, Anson, Rowan and Mecklenburg and across the Alleghanies in the independent "State of Franklin," founded by refugees from the country of the Regulators, a flame of patriotic fervor which, uniting at last with the fires of Lexington and Bunker Hill, swept away the entire remnant of British power in the colonies. In the State of Franklin, the immediate offspring of the Regulation movement, independence was a fact before it was dreamed of elsewhere. In that little Commonwealth in the mountains no British flag ever waved and no officer of the British Crown ever came, and there the people, outraged and outlawed by British oppression, "set to the people of America the dangerous example of erecting themselves into a State separate and distinct from and independent of the authority" of the English Crown.

In view of all the facts, attested by cotemporary witnesses and admitted by royal Governors, we feel constrained to believe that what Bancroft says of the men of Lexington should be, in all its particulars, held applicable to the heroes of Alamance, and to them only.

"There they now stood, with arms in their hands, silent, fearless, willing to fight for their privileges, scrupulous not to begin civil war, as yet unsuspicious of danger. The ground on which they trod was the altar of freedom, and they were

to furnish the victims. They gave their lives a testimony to the rights of mankind, bequeathing to their country an assurance of success in the MIGHTY STRUGGLE WHICH THEY BEGAN."

Let us hold their names in grateful remembrance, and let the "expanding millions of their countrymen renew and multiply their praise from generation to generation."

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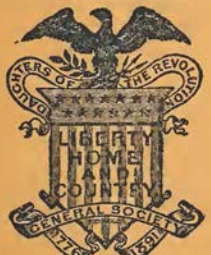

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THE

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

GOVERNOR CHARLES EDEN.

BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD,

Author of "Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765—1771."

To strike down the barrier by which Father Time separates the present from the past, and introduce our reader to a dignitary who was sent to rule the unruly people of North Carolina in the days of long ago, is the purpose of this sketch. We thus salute CHARLES EDEN, who bears the imposing title of "Governor, Captain-General, and Commander-in-Chief, in and over His Majesty's Colony of North Carolina, and Vice-Admiral of the same." This gentleman received his commission from Queen Anne, but she died a few months after his arrival in America, and he later served for a much longer time under her royal successor, George the First.

A native, probably, of England, born in 1673, Governor Eden was a little over forty years of age when he crossed the Atlantic to enter upon the duties of his office. The first record of his service which we are able to find is in the year 1713, when it appears in a communication from the British Board of Trade to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State under Queen Anne, that the Lords Proprietors of North Carolina had recommended Charles Eden, Esquire, to Her Majesty for appointment as Governor of said colony. This recommendation having met with the Queen's approval at a meeting of the Royal Council on the 18th of May, in the above year, Mr.

Eden was required to give bond to the amount of one thousand pounds for the faithful discharge of the duties of his office. Several months thereafter (August 13th) the Proprietors sent an order to Francis Brooke, Surveyor-General of North Carolina, directing him to apportion a tract of land, embracing one thousand acres, for the personal use of the new Governor.

It was a year, almost to the day, after receiving his appointment, that Governor Eden appeared before the Provincial Council, "holden at y^e^ house of Capt. Jno. Hecklefield in Little River on ffriday the 28^th^ day of May, Ano Dom. 1714," and took the oath of office. At the time of Eden's arrival the acting Governor was Thomas Pollock, President of the Provincial Council. The latter had succeeded Governor Edward Hyde, recently deceased, who was a cousin of the reigning sovereign.

At the time of Governor Eden's accession the members of his Council, or Deputies of the Lords Proprietors, were the following gentlemen: Thomas Pollock (President), Thomas Boyd, Nathaniel Chevin, Tobias Knight, Christopher Gale and William Reed. This Board was increased by the appointment of Francis Forster on August 10, 1714, and Frederick Jones on November 15, 1716. Richard Sanderson and John Lovick also appear as members at a later date during Eden's administration.

As Mr. Knight will figure in some of the transactions presently to be recorded, a few words concerning his personal history may be of interest. On November 6, 1714, he was reappointed Collector of Customs for the District of Currituck,

a post which he had held since the 9th of May, 1712, at the beginning of the administration of Governor Hyde. Under Hyde's administration, Knight was also a member of the Council, and he became Chief Justice on August 1, 1717. He died in the summer of 1719.

News of Queen Anne's death having been communicated to Governor Eden, a meeting of the Council was held on November 6, 1714, when it was duly proclaimed that "the High and Mighty Prince, George, Elector of Brunswick Lunenburg," was lawful heir to the imperial crowns of Great Britain, France and Ireland. After this ceremonial the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign was taken in turn by the Governor and his Councilors.

At the time of the terrible massacre by the Tuscarora Indians in 1711, the authorities of South Carolina had given generous and timely aid to North Carolina in her hour of peril by sending a force under Colonel John Barnwell to aid her against the savages. In the spring of 1715, South Carolina had troubles of her own with the hostile tribe of Yemassee Indians and Governor Eden was prompt to repay her kindness. On May 25th, in the year just mentioned, "The Honourable y^{e} Governor's own Regiment" was drawn up, and the companies of Captains Benjamin West, John Palin and John Norton furnished volunteers to go by sea to the scene of hostilities under the command of Colonel Theophilus Hastings, of South Carolina; while Colonel Maurice Moore (who had first come to North Carolina with Barnwell's men) was sent by land to the relief of his former

home with a force of colonial troops. The South Carolina Assembly was not unmindful of the assistance rendered by Governor Eden, as on the record of their proceedings, jointly thanking him and the Governor of New York, it appears:

"Governor Hunter and Governor Eden claim also our best acknowledgments as persons sincerely affected with our calamities, the one sending us very considerable assistance in gallant and expert officers and soldiers, and the other laboring with the greatest application and industry to engage the warlike Senekas in our cause, a people who by their power of their arms and the terror of their name are alone equal to the war and sufficient to subdue all our enemies, and whom we may daily expect to that purpose."

During the same session, upon motion to that effect, it was ordered:

"That Colonel Maurice Moore be desired by the messenger to attend this House; and, when come into the same, Mr. Speaker do give him the thanks of the House for his service to this Province in his coming so cheerfully with the forces brought from North Carolina to our assistance, and for what further services he and they have done since their arrival here.

"The House being informed that Colonel Maurice Moore attended, it was ordered that he should be admitted; he was admitted accordingly, and Mr. Speaker (according to order) gave him the thanks of this House for his said services.

"Having expressed his acknowledgment to the House for that favor, Colonel Moore then withdrew."

At a later period the South Carolina Assembly voted a sum of money to Colonel Moore and his command for their services, and the soldiers under Hastings were rewarded in like manner. Hastings, like Moore, was a veteran of the Barnwell expedition.

Having been greatly reduced in power by war with the whites, and also unable through smallness of numbers to cope with their Indian enemies, a large majority of the Tuscaroras, about the years 1714-'15, left North Carolina under Chief Handcock and went to join the Iroquois confederacy in New York. This northern confederacy—composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas—was up to that time called the Five Nations; and, after the arrival of the Tuscaroras, which added one tribe to their number, came to be known as the Six Nations, under which name it afterwards so conspicuously figured in the colonial and Revolutionary warfare of New York.

Before they made war on the colonists of North Carolina, which was just before Eden became Governor, the Tuscaroras had been the most powerful tribe in the province. The historian Lawson (who afterwards fell a victim to their torture) tells us that they had, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, about twelve hundred fighting men, scattered along the Neuse and Tar rivers, in fifteen villages. The names of these villages were as follows: Haruta, Waqui, Conta-nah, Anna Ooka, Conauh-kare Harooka, Una Nauhan, Kentanuska, Chunaneets, Kenta, Eno, Naur-hegh-ne, Oonossoora, Tosneoc, Nonawharitse, and Nursoorooka. After

the greater part of their tribe had gone northward, as above noted, a small band of the Tuscaroras stayed for a time in North Carolina under the friendly chief, King Tom Blount. In June, 1717, at their own request, they were removed from a reservation between the Neuse and Pamlico rivers which had been awarded them by treaty, but which they considered too much exposed to Indian attacks from the southward, and received in exchange a new hunting ground in Bertie Precinct, on Morratock (now Roanoke) river. These Indians seem afterwards to have followed their kindred to New York, as the North Carolina historian Martin (whose work was published in 1829, though written at a somewhat earlier date), says: "The descendants of these Indians, at this day, though removed to the northern lakes, still retain their right to the land thus granted them, and have at various times sent agents to collect the rents accruing thereon, in which they have been assisted by the Legislature."

When the great English philosopher and publicist, John Locke, wrote the Fundamental Constitution or Grand Model for the government of Carolina, that instrument provided for the institution of an hereditary order of colonial nobility whose members were to bear the title of *Landgrave.* At a council of the Lords Proprietors held in London at the Palace of St. James on the 19th of February, 1718, Governor Eden was raised to this Carolina peerage as a Landgrave, and was the last person who ever received that honor.

At a meeting of the Governor's Council on the 30th of October, 1718, it was ordered that a Board of Commission-

ers—consisting of Frederick Jones, William Reed and Richard Sanderson—should proceed in the following May to act conjunctively with a like commission from Virginia in settling the boundary between the two colonies. Owing to a disagreement between the Commissioners of the respective provinces, the duty with which they were charged was not performed, and it was not until about ten years later that the boundary was run by another joint commission, whose labors have been immortalized by Colonel William Byrd of Westover, in his *History of the Dividing Line.*

A vacancy having occurred in the Vestry of the parish in Chowan Precinct by the death of Thomas Peterson, Governor Eden was chosen as successor to that gentleman on the 3d of January, 1715. The parish, just alluded to, now lies in Edenton, and is known as St. Paul's, though the venerable edifice which at present serves as a house of worship was erected at a somewhat later date. The Parish of St. Paul was erected by an act of the Colonial Assembly in 1701. Governor Eden was very active in his efforts for the advancement of religion, and kept up a constant correspondence with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, urging that more missionaries be sent to the neglected field in North Carolina. Under the laws of England a parish is a certain amount of territory within the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical authority; and, in North Carolina, when the colony was a dependency of Great Britain, parishes were often fixed in their bounds before a house of worship, or parish church, was erected. It is probable that prior to the erection of the

present building of St. Paul's Church, which was begun about 1736, no church worthy of the name existed in Edenton, though there was a rudely constructed log building begun in 1702, the year after the parish was formed. In 1711 this log structure was described as without floor or seats—loose benches on the sand serving as pews. Often, in those days, religious services were held in the court-house; and sometimes, no doubt, private houses of the colonists were used for that purpose. In the spring of 1728, Colonel Byrd of Westover, in referring to Edenton, remarks: "I believe this is the only metropolis in the Christian or Mahometan world, where there is neither Church, Chapel, Mosque, Synagogue, or any other place of Publick Worship of any Sect or Religion whatsoever." This picture is almost as alluring as the one drawn by the Commissary of the Bishop of London, at an earlier period, when, referring to Charleston, then the capital of our sister colony of South Carolina, he wrote: "I never repented so much of anything, my sins excepted, as much as my coming to this place. * * * The people here, generally speaking, are the vilest race of men upon the earth; they have neither honour, nor honesty, nor religion, enough to entitle them to any tolerable character, being a perfect medley or hotch-potch, made up of bankrupt pirates, decayed libertines, sectaries and enthusiasts of all sorts, who have transported themselves hither from Bermudas, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Monserat, Antego, Nevis, New England, Pennsylvania, etc."

When Eden was Governor the Atlantic coast was swarming with pirates, who plied their trade with great energy and success. Foremost among these freebooters was the notorious "Blackbeard," whose real name history tells us was Edward Teach. In the original records, however, his name appears written about every other way but Teach, to-wit: Tach, Tache, Theach, Thach, Thache, Thatch, Thack, and Tack. Piracy finally grew so formidable that the authorities were powerless to cope with those engaged in that dread calling; and King George, about the year 1717, offered a pardon to all buccaneers who should forsake their nefarious operations and surrender themselves to some officer of the Crown. "Blackbeard" at first did not take advantage of this amnesty; but eventually he did make his submission to Governor Eden, receiving the King's pardon in due form. But the old corsair soon tired of life on shore, and put to sea again; nor should we judge him too harshly therefor, as history tells us that he had thirteen wives! "None but the brave deserves the fair," yet when these deserts run up to thirteen, even the brave may tremble. Apparently the gallant navigator was more sought after by the ladies of his time than if a prophecy had come to pass as recorded in Isaiah (iv, 1), where it is written: "And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man, saying: We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel; only let us be called by thy name." At any rate, Captain Teach was once more on the high seas, ostensibly as a merchantman bound for the Island of St. Thomas. Soon, however, it began to be whis-

pered that "Blackbeard" had not forgotten his old tricks; and these suspicions were strengthened when he one day made his appearance, towing into port a large French vessel laden with cocoa, sugar, and other sweet-meats. This vessel, though uninjured by storm and intact in every particular, was said by Teach to have been found abandoned at sea; and the Court of Admiralty sustained his claim. As the North Carolina authorities made no effort to apprehend Teach, Governor Spotswood of Virginia took the matter in hand, and sent Lieutenant Robert Maynard with an armed vessel (some accounts say two vessels) in search of the pirate. After a bloody battle fought at Ocracoke Inlet on the 22d of November, 1718, Maynard was victorious. He sailed back to Virginia with a number of prisoners, and the severed head of Teach (whom he had slain in single combat) dangling at his bow-sprit. On the pirate's body was found a letter from Tobias Knight, of whom mention has already been made. This letter contained many professions of friendship, with a few dark hints about matters which the writer said he wished to tell, but did not care to put on paper. Knight also said in his letter that he believed Governor Eden likewise would be glad to see Teach. There can be no doubt whatever that Knight was on very friendly terms with "Blackbeard," as a large part of the goods awarded to the pirate by the Admiralty Court was stored in a barn which Knight owned. So strong, indeed, were the suspicions against the latter that the Virginia authorities formally preferred charges against him for his alleged misconduct, and

demanded that he be put on trial as an accessory in the crime of piracy. When the matter, however, came before the North Carolina Council (of which, it may be mentioned, Knight himself was a member) he was acquitted of the charges made against him.

There is no evidence whatever that Governor Eden himself ever had any improper relations with Teach, though one might think, from some accounts printed in history, that they were bosom friends. Knight's note, found on the pirate's body, stated that the writer believed the Governor would be glad to see Teach before the latter left the country, and that is the only shadow of a foundation for the charge. What reason there was for this belief (if it really existed, and was not intended as a bit of flattery) does not appear. Knight was not Private Secretary to the Governor, though many histories state that he was. He was Secretary of the Colony, and did not even live in the same locality, his home being at the town of Bath, while the Governor lived in the vicinity of Queen Anne's Creek (now Edenton), nearly fifty miles away.

At the time Teach lived unmolested in North Carolina he held the royal pardon for his past offenses. The vessel and its cargo, which he later brought into the port of Bath, though piratically taken, were adjudged to be his property by a decision of the Admiralty Court, and the Governor had no right either officially or personally to set aside that decision and seize the property.

Of the disposition of Teach's skull I have read an account by Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer which says that it was made into a bowl and rimmed with silver; and that in such form it is said still to be preserved in Virginia. The truth of this tradition (for Mrs. Spencer seems not to speak from positive personal knowledge) may be well worth the investigation of some antiquarian of the Old Dominion.

On December 26, 1718, quite a disturbance was raised at Sandy Point, when Edward Moseley, Maurice Moore, Thomas Luten, Joseph Moore, and Henry Clayton forced their way into the office of John Lovick, Deputy Secretary of the Colony, and took possession of the public records, including Council Journals, together with the Great Seal of the Colony, and held the building for twenty-four hours. What their object was in so doing does not appear, but the Governor promptly had them placed under arrest for the offense. Moore and Moseley were bound over to court in a bond of one thousand pounds each, and Moseley had to give an additional bond of one thousand pounds to answer an indictment for slandering the Governor. The slanderous words were alleged to have been uttered on the day after Moseley's arrest for forcing Lovick's office. It was charged that he had declared that Governor Eden could easily engage an armed force to arrest honest men, but could not raise a power sufficient to apprehend pirates; that the Governor acted like a German Prince, and he hoped to see him put in irons and sent home to answer for his misconduct. When placed on trial for the forcible trespass, Moore was fined five pounds,

Luten twenty shillings, and Moseley and Clayton five shillings each. On the indictment for slander, Moseley was fined one hundred pounds and declared incapable of holding any office of honor or trust in the colony for the space of three years. It is probable that this sentence was later remitted, as Moseley afterwards apologized for his violent language, at the same time promising for the future to "behave himself with the greatest care and respect imaginable."

Governor Eden married Mrs. Penelope Golland, the widow of a Mr. Golland who lived at Mount Golland (now Mount Gould), on the Chowan river in Bertie Precinct. Eden had no children of his own; but, by her previous marriage, Mrs. Eden had at least two children, John and Penelope Golland. The last named was four times married: first, to Colonel William Maule; second, to Secretary John Lovick; third, to George Pheney; and fourth, to Governor Gabriel Johnston. It has been generally supposed, and often stated in print, that this lady, who eventually became the first wife of Governor Johnston (Johnston was twice married), was Governor Eden's own daughter. This, however, is unquestionably an error.

There is one piece of legal proof on record which in itself shows that Governor Eden died childless, and is as follows: If he had been the father of any children, they, of course, would be his next of kin and heirs at law. Yet at a meeting of the Provincial Council of North Carolina during the administration of Governor Burrington, on July 31, 1724, a petition was presented on behalf of Roderick Lloyd and

Anne, his wife, together with Margaret Pugh (daughter of Mrs. Lloyd by a former marriage), averring that Mrs. Lloyd was "only sister and heir" of Governor Eden; that John Lovick, "by pretext of a pretended will made by the said Governor," had fraudulently possessed himself of the Eden estate as executor; that the will had been procured in an unlawful and indirect manner, and was not signed and witnessed, as the law required. Mr. Lovick, as executor, made due answer to this petition; and, *while not denying that Mrs. Lloyd was next of kin,* proceeded to show that Governor Eden had made and signed his will in due form and that it was also attested by the number of witnesses necessary; that said will had been duly proven in open court, and afterwards recorded, as the law required. It may be of interest to add that the truth of Mr. Lovick's answer is even now shown by the fact that the will in question at present stands on record in the archives of North Carolina deposited in the office of the Secretary of State at Raleigh. It is signed by the testator, and witnessed by Henry Clayton, William Badham, and Mary Badham. In it Governor Eden makes no reference to any children or other relative, except his niece, the above-mentioned Margaret Pugh, "youngest daughter of Robert Pugh, Esq^{re}, des^{ed}." To her he bequeaths five hundred pounds sterling, and the rest of his fortune is left to friends in North Carolina and Virginia—with John Lovick as residuary legatee.

Mrs. Penelope Eden, wife of the Governor, was born in 1677, and preceded her husband to the grave by about six

years. She seems to have been a woman of strong mind and will power, deserving respect for the awe in which she was held by those impelled through selfish motives to influence her husband. The Reverend John Urmstone, whose character was not the most savory, wrote in 1717 as follows: "I have gained mightily upon the Governor since the death of his wife, a strange, meddling, troublesome, proud woman, who put him often upon doing that which he had no mind to. I believe for the future we shall always have a good understanding."

In the property inherited by John Lovick as residuary legatee of Governor Eden, was the latter's seat, Eden House, in Bertie Precinct. Lovick died childless and bequeathed the estate to his widow, who was Governor Eden's step-daughter, as has been noted. She married Mr. Lovick after Eden's death. In later years, when this lady was the wife of Governor Gabriel Johnston, the latter made Eden House his home; and, in the course of time it descended, with other property, to the Dawson family, Governor Johnston's only daughter having married John Dawson.

The death of Governor Eden occurred in the fiftieth year of his age on Monday, the 26th of March, 1722, and he was succeeded by President Pollock, who was Governor *pro tempore* only for a few months, himself dying on the 30th of the following August. Then William Reed, President of the Council, acted as Governor until the arrival of George Burrington, who was regularly commissioned to that office by the Lords Proprietors.

Governor Eden was buried in the precinct (now county) of Bertie, near Eden House, his late dwelling. There his remains rested until July, 1889, when they were exhumed and borne across the Chowan river to Edenton. In that historic town they now repose, being deposited in the burial-ground of St. Paul's Church, of which he was at one time a Vestryman. There, too, have been gathered the remains of Governors Henderson Walker and Thomas Pollock. Together lie these ancient rulers, with other builders of the colony, who, leaving their cares and earthly honors behind, have passed to a well-earned rest.

"The breezy call of incense-breathing morn,
The swallow twittering from the straw-built shed,
The cock's shrill clarion, or the echoing horn,
No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed."

The original slab which was placed as a memorial to Governor Eden still marks his grave. It is made of slate, set in brownstone, and has shown itself more capable of withstanding the ravages of time than many marble monuments of less age. On it are the following inscriptions:

HERE LYES Y^e^ BODY OF CHARLES EDEN ESQ^r^ WHO
GOVERNED THIS PROVINCE EIGHT YEARS TO Y^e^
GREATEST SATISFACTION OF Y^e^ LORDS PROPRIETORS
& Y^e^ EASE & HAPPYNESS OF Y^e^ PEOPLE. HE
BROUGHT Y^e^ COUNTRY INTO A FLOURISHING
CONDITION & DIED MUCH LAMENTED MARCH Y^e^
26 1722 ÆTATIS 49.

AND NEAR THIS PLACE LYES ALSO Y^e^ BODY
OF PENELOPE EDEN HIS VIRTUOUS CONSORT
WHO DIED JAN^ry^ Y^e^ 4^th^ 1716 ÆTATIS 39.

VIVIT
POST FUNERA
ILLE
QUEM VIRTUS NON MARMOR
IN ÆTERNUM
SACRAT.

Over these inscriptions were originally (on a separate slab) the armorial bearings of Governor Eden, but this escutcheon has been broken out and a part of it lost. A fragment of the shield, however, is still preserved, being in custody of the Reverend Robert Brent Drane, D. D., Rector of St. Paul's Church at Edenton. By the sheaves of wheat (or *garbs,* to use an heraldic term) displayed on this fragment, the Governor is proclaimed a member of the Eden family of the County Palatine of Durham in the north of England. This noted family has contributed two English Governors to American colonies: Charles Eden of North Carolina, whose services are set forth in the present sketch, and Robert Eden, who came to govern Maryland in the year 1768. The Eden family claims descent from Robert de Eden, an owner of land in Preston-on-Tees, held by knight's service under the Bishop of Durham, and who died about the year 1413. Another Robert Eden (of West Auckland, in the county of Durham) became a Baronet on the 13th of November, 1672, and a like title was conferred upon one of his great-grandsons, the above-mentioned Governor Robert Eden of Maryland, on September 10, 1776. The latter's seat was Truir, in the county of Durham. These two baronetcies became merged in 1844, when Sir Robert Johnson-Eden, of West Auckland, died unmarried and was succeeded by his cousin, Sir William Eden of Truir. Another William Eden (brother of the Governor of Maryland) was advanced to the Irish peerage on November 18, 1789, as Baron Auckland, and became Baron Auckland of West Auckland in the peer-

age of Great Britain on May 22, 1793. At a later date (in 1839) his son and heir received the additional titles of Baron Eden of Norwood, in the county of Surrey, and Earl of Auckland. This was George Eden, Earl of Auckland, at one time Governor-General of India. Among other distinguished members of the family have been Sir Ashley Eden, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; Admiral Henry Eden of the Royal Navy; Sir Charles Eden, Vice-Admiral in the same service and a Lord of the Admiralty; Lieutenant-General John Eden, of the Royal Army; Sir Frederick Morton Eden, a sociologist and author; the Right Reverend Robert John Eden, third Baron Auckland, who was Lord Bishop first of Sodor and Man and afterwards of Bath and Wells; the Right Reverend Robert Eden, Lord Bishop of Moray and Ross, and Primus of the Church in Scotland; Morton Eden, a noted diplomatist, who was raised to the Irish peerage as Baron Henley of Chardstock, and one of whose sons (the second Baron Henley) changed his surname of Eden to Henley; Lieutenant-General Morton Eden of the Royal Army; Sir Frederick Eden, also an army officer, who was killed at New Orleans during the second war between Great Britain and America, just a fortnight before the great battle of January 8, 1815; Lady Emily Eden, a novelist, and writer on affairs in India, and others who might be mentioned.

Though the old slab of slate which marks the resting-place of Governor Charles Eden has well served its purpose, the historic town of Edenton—named in his honor—is a nobler

and more enduring memorial. This place at first went by the Indian name of Matecomack, or "the Towne in Matecomack Creek," was sometimes called the Port of Roanoke, and later became known as Queen Anne's Creek, in compliment to England's lady sovereign. The Colonial Assembly gave it the name of Edenton about the time of Eden's death in 1722. For long years it was the capital of the colony. There it was that Governors Burrington, Everard, and the elder Johnston held sway; there, too, the patriotic ladies of a later period planned trouble for King George when they placed themselves on record against the tax on tea; there, in the dark hours of the Revolution, Samuel Johnston, Joseph Hewes, James Iredell, and their compatriots maintained a standard of statesmanship nowhere excelled in America; and, in the same ancient borough, within the memory of a generation still living, have dwelt men who, in peace and in war, well proved that they were worthy inheritors of the fair fame won by their forefathers—

"In the good old colony days,
When we were under the King."

VL. III JANUARY, 1904 No. 9

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

THE COLONY OF TRANSYLVANIA.

BY

CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK.

PRICE, 10 CENTS $1 THE YEAR

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THE

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

RALEIGH
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1903

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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

THE COLONY OF TRANSYLVANIA.

BY CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK,

Editor "North Carolina State Records" and "Regimental Histories of North Carolina."

In the army of the ill-fated Braddock, which, in 1755, marched to its memorable defeat in the mountains of western Pennsylvania, were a hundred North Carolina frontiersmen under Captain Hugh Waddell. Their wagoner and blacksmith, a native of Pennsylvania, but who had then for some years been a resident of what is now Davie county, North Carolina, was Daniel Boone,* at that time twenty-one years of age. In the following years he made the acquaintance of Colonel Richard Henderson, who, struck with Boone's intelligence and the opportunity for fortune offered by the new lands south of the Ohio, since known as Kentucky, organized a company, and employed Boone in 1763 to spy out the country.† The task was one of hardship and danger, and years passed before it took final shape. Boone is known to have made one of his visits to Kentucky in 1769, and was probably there earlier. In 1773 he again attempted to enter Kentucky, carrying his family, but was driven back, with the loss of six men killed by the Indians, among them his eldest son, at Wallen's Gap.

Under the North Carolina Judiciary Act of 1767, Martin

*Thwaites' "Life of Boone," 21.

†Haywood's "Tennessee," 48 (Ed. of 1891).

Howard was appointed Chief Justice, 1 March, 1768, with Maurice Moore and Richard Henderson associates, positions which they held until 1773, when the law expired and the courts were closed till another Judiciary Act was passed by the new government in 1777. It is possible that as Henderson and his associates had employed Boone in 1763 that Henderson's appointment to the judgeship prevented prompt action, for we find that soon after the expiration of his office Henderson and Nathaniel Hart, one of his partners in the proposed land scheme, journeyed in October, 1774, to the Otari towns to open negotiations with the Cherokees for the grant of suitable territory. The Indians very cautiously deputed one of their chiefs, called the "Little Carpenter," to return with the white men and examine the goods offered. This chief returned to his tribe with a favorable report in January, 1775, and the Overhill Cherokees were bidden to assemble at the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga. The order to assemble was given by the head chief, Oconostata, a very old man, famous for his prowess in war with the whites. At the appointed rendezvous, on 17 March, 1775, the treaty was signed by Oconostata and two other chiefs, Savanookoo and the Little Carpenter (Atta Culla-Culla), in the presence and with the assent of 1,200 of the tribe, half of them warriors.* In consideration of £12,000 in goods, the Indians granted to Henderson and his associates all the lands lying between the Kentucky and the Cumberland rivers, embracing over half of what is now Kentucky and part of Tennessee. The treaty was debated

*Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," Part II, Chapter 2.

sentence by sentence, the Indians choosing their own interpreter. It was only signed after four days' minute discussion and after fierce opposition from a chief known as Dragging Canoe. The goods must have been put at a high valuation, for one brave who received as his share only a shirt contemptuously said he could secure more with his rifle in one day's hunting. On the other hand, the Indians received full value, for they had in truth no title to convey, and they plainly told Henderson he would have great trouble to obtain or hold possession on account of other tribes. The territory was not occupied and owned by the Cherokees, nor, indeed, by any tribe, but was a battle-field, where hostile bands met to fight out their quarrels. Besides, as we shall see later on, neither the British government nor the authorities of Virginia or North Carolina would recognize the authority of the Indians to convey. None the less the plan of Henderson and his associates was a bold, audacious dash for fortune. He at once named his acquisition Transylvania.

Judge Richard Henderson, the moving spirit of the enterprise, was born in Hanover county, Va., 20 April, 1735. His ancestors by his father's side were from Scotland and his mother's people (Williams) were Welsh. He accompanied his father, Samuel Henderson, to Granville county, N. C., about 1745, where his father later became Sheriff. Richard Henderson studied law with his cousin, Judge John Williams, whose step-daughter, Elizabeth Keeling, he afterwards married. Besides being Judge 1768-1773, he was re-elected Judge

14 August, 1778, but declined. In 1778 and 1782 he was a member of the Council of State, and in 1781 a member of the House of Commons for Granville county.

The company formed by Judge Henderson to buy the Indian lands consisted of himself, John Williams (later Judge) and Leonard H. Bullock of Granville, William Johnston, James Hogg, Thomas Hart, John Lutterell, Nathaniel Hart and David Hart, of Orange county. The Harts were near kinsmen of Thomas Hart Benton, who was also born in Orange county. Thomas Hart, his grandfather, and Jesse Benton, his father, were among the colonists who accompanied Judge Henderson to Boonesborough.

A full account of the treaty and the incidents attending its negotiation and ratification are to be found in the proceedings of the Virginia Convention, 1777, taken upon the memorial of Richard Henderson and others, and is preserved to us in the Jefferson MSS., 5th Series, Vol. VIII. The British spy, Captain J. F. D. Smyth, in his "Tour in America," Vol. I, p. 124, visited John Williams at his home in Granville about December, 1774, where he met Judge Henderson, whom he lauds as a genius, and says he did not know how to read and write till after he was grown. As Henderson became Judge at the age of thirty-three, and as, besides, Smyth styles him Nathaniel Henderson, and adds that Williams was said to be a mulatto, and looked like one, no faith is to be given to any of his statements. He, however, says probably with truth (p. 126) that Judge Henderson had made a secret pur-

chase of territory from the Indians before his public treaty later on.

As soon as it became apparent that the Indians would sign the treaty, Henderson started Boone on ahead, on 10 March, 1775, with a company of thirty men to clear a trail from the Holston to the Kentucky. This was the first regular path opened into the wilderness, was long known as Boone's Trace, and became forever famous in Kentucky history as the Wilderness Road. It led over Cumberland Gap and crossed Cumberland, Laurel and Rockcastle rivers at fords which required swimming when the streams were in freshet. It was a narrow bridle path, chopped out in the wilderness and thickets, and a blazed way in the tall open timber. After a fortnight's hard work the party had almost reached the Kentucky river, when, before daybreak on 25 March, as they lay around their dying camp fires, they were attacked by Indians, who killed two of their number and wounded a third. The hardy pioneers held their ground without further loss till daylight, when the Indians drew off. Boone held on his course till he reached the Kentucky river, and on 1 April began to build Boonesborough on an open plain, where there was a salt lick and two sulphur springs. His small force had scarcely erected their log cabins and broken ground for corn planting when the Indians they had already fought returned with re-inforcements and "killed and sculped," as Boone termed it, several men. The rest would have abandoned the settlement, but Boone was made of sterner stuff and sent a special messenger to Henderson to hurry him forward with the main body.

Boone's terse and common-sense letter has been published and is mentioned in Henderson's journal below given.

Henderson had started off as soon as the treaty was completed, and took with him forty mounted riflemen and a number of negro slaves, a drove of beef cattle and a train of wagons loaded with provisions, ammunition, material for making gunpowder, seed corn and other seed, and various articles of necessity for his intended settlement; but he was obliged to leave the wagons in Powell's Valley, for Boone had not been able to construct more than a bridle path. Accordingly their goods and implements were packed on horses and they proceeded. Besides the journal which Henderson kept, a man named William Calk jotted down the daily incidents of the journey in his diary, which has also been printed, numerous extracts from which, some of them amusing, are given in President Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," Part II, ch. 2. The party carried with them "Irish tators" to plant, among the agricultural supplies, besides bacon and corn meal, and one of the driven beeves was occasionally killed, though their chief dependence for subsistence was the deer, turkeys, buffalo and other game which they shot. The journey was very painful and much impeded by rains, snow, the often steep and muddy path, swollen streams and hourly peril of attack from Indians. On 7 April, at Cumberland Gap, they met Boone's special messenger, and time and again they met panic-stricken parties of other intending settlers returning home in all haste. Henderson sent an encouraging reply by one of his party, Captain Cocke, who volunteered for this dangerous service, and

who later was one of the first United States Senators from Tennessee. But for the establishment of the fort at Boonesborough, Kentucky would have been entirely abandoned by the whites in 1775, just as it had been the previous year. Had this occurred again in 1775, Kentucky would have doubtless been entirely unsettled until after the Revolution, and might have remained British soil. To Boone and Henderson is due the fact that this did not happen, but they could not have held their ground, in all probability, had it not been for the defeat which had been inflicted on Cornstalk and his confederacy of Indians at the battle of the Great Kanawha, or Point Pleasant, in the October previous, by General Lewis.

Felix Walker,* one of Boone's party, thus describes in his narrative, which is still in existence, the arrival at the future site of Boonesborough: "On entering the plain we were permitted to view a very interesting and romantic sight. A number of buffaloes, of all sizes, supposed to be between two and three hundred, made off from the lick in every direction: some running, some walking, others loping slowly and carelessly, with young calves playing, skipping and bounding through the plain. Such a sight some of us never saw before, nor perhaps ever may again."

Henderson, in the meantime, as already stated, was pushing on with his party, and arrived, with the loss of some panic-stricken deserters, at Boonesborough on his fortieth birthday, 20 April, 1775, the day after the battle of Lexing-

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Later member of Congress from North Carolina, for three terms.

ton, which began the Revolutionary War, an event, however, of which he did not hear till 29 May. His journal on this memorable trip, from 20 March, 1775, and afterwards down to 25 July, is well worth preservation, and is here given:

JOURNAL OF COLONEL RICHARD HENDERSON RELATING TO THE TRANSYLVANIA COLONY.

Monday, March 20th, 1775.—Having finished my treaty with the Indians at Watauga, set out for Louisa, and arrived at John Shelby's in the evening.

Tuesday, 21st.—Went to Mr. John Sevier's, in company of Colonel Williams and Colonel Hart, and staid that day.

Wednesday, 22d.—Messrs. Williams and Hart set off home, and I staid with Mr. Sevier.

Thursday, 23d.—Still at Mr. Sevier's. N. B.—Because our horses were lost, though not uneasy, as Messrs. Hart and Luttrell made a poor hand of traveling.

Friday, 24th.—Set off in pursuit of Mr. Hart and Luttrell. Overtook them both and lodged at Captain Bledsoe's.

Saturday, 25th.—Came to Mr. Calloway's.

Sunday, 26th.—Staid there.

Monday, 27th.—Employed in storing away goods.

Tuesday, 28th.—Set off for Louisa.

Wednesday, 29th.—Continued our journey. N. B.—Luttrell not come up.

Thursday, 30th.—Arrived at Captain Martin's in Powell's Valley.

Friday, 31st.—Employed in making a house to secure the wagons, as we could not possibly clear the road any farther. N. B.—My wagon and Samuel Henderson's came up; also Mr. Luttrell in the evening.

Saturday (April) 1st (1775).—The first day of April. Employed in making ready for packing, etc. Mr. Hart came up.

Sunday, 2d.—Continued at Captain Martin's, waiting for the wagon.

Monday, 3d.—Still continued waiting for the wagon.

Tuesday, 4th.—Still continued waiting for the wagon. The same evening the wagon arrived, though so late we could not proceed.

Wednesday, 5th.—Started off with our pack-horses about three o'clock. Traveled about five miles to a large spring. The same evening Mr. Luttrell went out hunting and has not yet returned. The same evening Samuel Henderson's and John Farrar's horses took a scare, with their packs, running away with the same, saddle and bridle. Farrar's saddle-bags and other things damaged. Next morning Samuel Henderson and Farrar went in pursuit of their horses, saddles, etc. The same evening John Farrar returned to our camp with news that they had found all their goods, but two of their horses were missing.

Thursday, 6th.—Sent John Farrar back with provisions to meet and assist Samuel Henderson, with orders to stay with him till they overtook us, as we promised to wait for them at Cumberland Gap.

Friday, 7th (probably Saturday, 8th).—Samuel Henderson and John Farrar returned to us with their horses, packs and everything safe, we having waited at our camp, ten miles below Martin's, for them.

(Without date).—Traveled about six miles to the last settlement in Powell's Valley, where we were obliged to stop and kill a beef. Wait for Samuel Henderson. This was done (namely, "killing the beef") whilst waiting for Samuel Henderson.

Friday, 7th.—About break of day, began to snow. About eleven o'clock received a letter from Mr. Luttrell's camp, that there were five persons killed on this road to the Cantuckee by the Indians. Captain Hart, upon the receipt of this news, retreated back with his company and determined to settle in the Valley to make corn for the Cantuckey people. The same day received a letter from Dan. Boone that his company was fired upon by the Indians, (who) killed two of his men, though he kept the ground and saved the baggage, etc.

Saturday, 8th.—Started about ten o'clock. Crossed Cumberland Gap about four miles. Met about forty persons returning from the Cantucky on account of the late murder by the Indians. Could prevail on one only to return. Mem.—Several Virginians who were with us returned.

Sunday, 9th.—Arrived at Cumberland river, where we met Robert Willis and his son returning.

Monday, 10th (April, 1775).—Dispatched Captain Cocke to the Cantucky to inform Captain Boone that we were on the road. Continued at camp that day on account of the badness of the weather.

Tuesday, 11th.—Started from Cumberland. Made very good day's travel of near twenty miles. Killed beef, etc.

Wednesday, 12th.—Traveled about five miles. Prevented going any farther by the rains and the high waters at Richland creek.

Thursday, 13th.—Last night arrived near our camp. Stewart and ten other men camped within half a mile of us on their return from Louisa. Camped that night at Lorrel (Laurel) river. They had well-nigh turned three or four of our Virginians back.

Friday, 14th.—Traveled about twelve miles to a camp.

Saturday, 15th.—Traveled about eighteen miles and camped on the north of Rock Castle river. This river is a fork of the Cumberland. Lost an axe this morning at camp.

Sunday, 16th.—About twelve o'clock met James McAfee with eighteen other persons returning from Cantucky. Traveled about twenty-two miles and camped on the head of Dick's river, where Luna, from McAfee's camp, came to us resolved to go to the Louisa.

Monday, 17th.—Started about three o'clock. Prevented by rain. Traveled seven miles.

Tuesday, 18th.—Traveled about sixteen miles. Met Michael Stoner with pack-horses to assist us. Camped that night in the eye of the rich land. Stoner brought us excellent beef in plenty.

Wednesday, 19th.—Traveled about sixteen miles. Camped on Otter creek, a good mill place.

Thursday, 20th.—Arrived at Fort Boone, on the mouth of the Otter creek (on) Cantuckey river, where we were saluted by a running fire of about twenty-five guns, all that were then at the fort. The men appeared in high spirits and much rejoiced on our arrival.

On viewing the fort and finding it not sufficient to admit of building for the reception of our company, and a scarcity of ground suitable for clearing at such an advanced season, was at some loss how to proceed. Mr. Boone's company having laid off most of the adjacent good lands into lots of two acres each and taking it as it fell to each individual by lot, were in actual possession and occupying them. After some perplexity, resolved to erect a fort on the opposite side of a large lick near the river bank, which would place us at the distance of about three hundred yards from the fort—the only commodious place where we could be of any service to Boone's men, or *vice versa*.

On communicating my thoughts to Mr. Luttrell on this subject, with my reason for preferring this place to a large spring over a hill, at three-quarters of a mile from Fort Boone, he readily gave his assent and seemed pleased with the choice. Mr. Hart said, in a very cold, indifferent manner, "he thought it might do well enough." Accordingly it was resolved that a fort should be built on said place, etc. Moved our tents to the ground, *i. e.*, Mr. Luttrell and myself and our particular companies lodged there Saturday night.

Sunday, 23d (April, 1775).—Remained at camp. Passed the day without public worship, nothing of that kind having been put in practice before, and ourselves much at sixes and sevens and no place provided for that purpose.

Monday.—Proceeded, with the assistance of Captain Boone and Colonel Calloway, to lay off lots. Finished nineteen, besides one reserved round a fine spring.

Tuesday.—Finished the lots—in all, fifty-four in number.

Saturday, 22d.—Finished running off all the lots we could conveniently get, to-wit, fifty-four, and gave notice of our intention of having them drawn for in the evening. But as Mr. Robert McAfee, his brother Samuel and some more were not well satisfied whether they would draw or not, wanting to go down the river about fifty miles, near Captain Harrod's settlement, where they had begun improvements and left them on the late alarm, and being informed myself in hearing of all attending that such settlement should not entitle them to lands, etc., from us, and appearing much concerned and at a loss what to do, on which the lottery was deferred till next morning at sunrise, thereby giving them time to come to a resolution.

Sunday, 23d.—Drawed lots, etc. Spent the day without public worship.

Monday, 24th.—Employed in viewing the respective lots and endeavoring to satisfy the drawers by exchanging my own and those over whom of our company I had any influence to give entire satisfaction.

Tuesday, 25th.—As there were fifty-four lots and not so many drawers by thirteen, some of the best lots were left; therefore had a second lottery, at the end of which everybody seemed well satisfied. I had been able by one way or other to obtain four lots for the fort garden, etc., and

in these lotteries our particular company had such luck in drawing as to enable me to give in exchange lots which entirely gave satisfaction.

Wednesday, 26th.—Other people coming, employed in showing lots for their use. Sowed small seed, planted cucumbers, etc.

Thursday, 27th.—Employed in clearing fort lot, etc. Mr. Luttrell, Nat. Henderson and Samuel Henderson all that assisted me. Mr. Hart, having made choice of a piece of ground for his own and people's cultivation adjacent to the town lands, did not come near nor offer assistance, though I had often mentioned to him the necessity of building a magazine, our powder being exposed in tents and the weather somewhat rainy. Mr. Luttrell reported to me that Captain Hart would have nothing to say to the fort, things were managed in such a manner, though I cannot guess the reason of his discontent.

Friday, 28th.—Mr. Luttrell chose a piece of ground about three-quarters of a mile from the fort and set three of his people to work; two remained with me to assist in clearing about where the fort is to stand. He on all occasions is exceedingly obliging and good-natured and seems desirous of promoting the company's interest.

Saturday, 29th.—Built, or rather begun, a little house for a magazine, but did not finish it. Mr. Hart told me in the morning that he would assist, but never saw or heard of him this day more.

Sunday, 30th.—No public worship.

Monday, 1st May (1775).—Continued to work on the magazine.

Tuesday, 2d.—Continued same work and working on our lots.

Wednesday, 3d.—Finished the magazine. Captain John Floyd arrived here, conducted by one Jo. Drake from a camp on Dick's river, where he had left about thirty men of his company from Virginia, and said he was sent by them to know on what terms they might settle our lands; that if it was reasonable they would pitch on some place on which to make corn, or otherwise go on the north side of the river. Was much at a loss on account of this gentleman's arrival, as he was surveyor of Fincastle under Colonel Preston, a man who had exerted himself against us and said and did everything in his power or invention, as I am informed, to defeat our enterprise and bring it into contempt. 'Tis said that he not only had our case represented, or rather misrepresented, to Lord Dunmore, but actually wrote to Governor Martin on the subject. This man (Captain Floyd) appeared to have a great share of

modesty, an honest, open countenance and no small share of good sense, pleading in behalf of himself and his whole company, among which were one Mr. Dandridge (son of Nat. West Dandridge of Virginia) and one Mr. Todd, two gentlemen of the law in their own parts, and several other young gentlemen of good families. We thought it most advisable to secure them to our interest, if possible, and not show the least distrust of the intentions of Captain Floyd, on whom we intend to keep a very strict watch.

Accordingly, though the season was too far advanced to make much corn, yet we promised them land, etc., 1,000 acres to the principal gentlemen, on the terms of Henderson & Company. This we would not have done but for the scarcity of men and the doubt with respect to the Virginians coming into our measures, according title, etc.

We restrained these men to settle somewhere in a compact body for mutual defence and to be obedient to such laws as should from time to time be made for the government of all the adventurers on our purchase, and gave them leave to make choice of any lands not before marked by any of our men or a certain Captain Harrod and his men, who were settled somewhere about fifty miles west of us on the head of Salt river, and of whom we could form no conjecture, but thought it best to prevent any interruption to him or his men till we should know what he intended with respect to us and our title.

The day before this, one Captain Callomees and Mr. Berry, with five other men, arrived here from Frederick or somewhere in the north-west frontiers of Virginia. They had heard nothing of our purchase when they left home, but merely set off to view the country, etc. Hearing of us and our pretentions, they thought proper to come, though they seemed not very conversable, and I thought I could discover in our first intercourse a kind of sullen dissatisfaction and reserve, which plainly indicated a selfish opinion to our disadvantage. This, after some time, wore off, and they gladly treated with us for lands and other indulgences, which we granted.

Thursday, 4th (May, 1775).—Captain Floyd returned home; seemed highly pleased with gaining his point of settling, etc. I must not omit to mention here that Mr. Floyd expressed great satisfaction on being informed of the plan we proposed for legislation, and said he must most

heartily concur in that and every other measure we should adopt for the well governing or good of the community in general. This plan is exceedingly simple and I hope will prove effectual. 'Tis no more than the people's sending delegates to act for them in general convention.

Friday, 5th.—Nothing material. Let Mr. William Cocke have five yards and a half oznaburgs off my old tent, for which I charge him 5s. 6d. V. money.

Saturday, 6th.—Lived on as usual. Very little of Mr. Hart's company. He kept much to himself—scarcely social.

Sunday, 7th (May, 1775).—Went into the woods with my brothers, Nat. and Samuel, and Captain Boone, after a horse left out on Saturday night. Staid till night, and on our return found Captain Harrod and Colonel Thomas Slaughter from Harrodstown on Dick's river. Colonel Slaughter and Harrod seemed very jocose and in great good humor.

Monday, 8th.—Rainy. Was much embarrassed with a dispute between the above-mentioned gentlemen. Captain Harrod, with about forty men, settled on Salt river last year; was drove off, joined the army with thirty of his men, and, being determined to live in the country, had come down this spring from Monongahela, accompanied by about fifty men, most of them young persons without families. They came on Harrod's invitation. These men had got possession some time before we got there, and I could not certainly learn on what terms or pretense they meant to hold land, and was doubtful that so large a body of lawless people, from habit and education, would give us great trouble and require the utmost exertion of our abilities to manage them; and, not without considerable anxiety and some fear, wished for an intercourse with Captain Harrod, who, I understood, was chief and had all the men in that quarter under his absolute direction and command. But was soon undeceived as to this point. Though these gentlemen were friendly to each other and open in all their conduct, they were warm advocates and champions for two different parties. A schism had raised between Harrod's men, whom he brought down the Ohio with him, and those from divers parts of Virginia and elsewhere, amounting to about fifty in number on both sides. Harrod's men, being first on the spot, claimed a priority of choice; and had they stopped there the dispute would scarcely ever had existed, for the others seemed willing to give in to such

a preference. But the complaint laid before us by Colonel Slaughter in behalf of the other men, and on which we were to decide, was that Harrod's men had not contented themselves with the choice of one tract of land apiece, but had made it their entire business to ride through the country, mark every piece of land they thought proper, built cabins, or rather hog-pens, to make their claims notorious at the place, and by that means had secured every good spring in a country of twenty-odd miles in length and almost as broad. That, though it was in those parts one entire good tract of land, and no advantage in choice except as to water, yet it was unjustly depriving them of every essential inducement to their settling in the country. That, for their own part, after giving up that Captain Harrod should, as to himself, have any indulgence, that his men might each make a choice for himself first, and then that they might come in for the second choice. This was strenuously urged by their advocate, Colonel Slaughter, a sensible and experienced old gentleman, a man of good family and connexions and a great friend to our country, and with this farther in his favor, that the men he appeared for had, from their first assembling together at Harrodsburg, in obedience to our written declaration respecting encouraging settlers in our country, industriously employed themselves in clearing land and making ready for as large a crop of corn as possible, depending on a punctual performance on our part. That Captain Harrod's men had totally neglected to do anything that way, there being at this time in Harrod's settlement at the Boiling Spring, six miles from Harrodsburg, not more than three acres cleared and ready to be planted, and that for the Captain only, whilst in less time with the same number of hands they had somewhere between sixty and eighty.

Fair and clear as this case was in favor of Slaughter's men, upon every principle of justice and our own express declaration in writing, we were afraid to determine in favor of the right side; and, not being capable, if we could have done it, to give a decree against them, our embarrassment was exceedingly great. Much depended on accommodating the matter, which we dare not offer. The day favored us, being rainy, and caused them to spend it with us, by which means we had it in our power to get better acquainted with the opposite gentlemen and give a turn to the dispute for the present, trusting to a future day and

hoping that some conciliating measures would be offered and agreed to by themselves.

To divert the debate on the foregoing occasion and draw them a little off so disagreeable a subject, the lawless condition we were in, and the want of some such thing, made the subject conversation, mixed with occasional matters. It answered the end. Our plan of legislation, the evils pointed out, the remedies to be applied, etc., etc., were acceded to without hesitation. The plan was plain and simple; 'twas nothing novel in its essence; a thousand years ago it was in use, and found by every year's experience since to be unexceptionable. We were in four distinct settlements. Members of delegates from every place, by free choice of individuals, they first having entered into writings solemnly binding themselves to obey and carry into execution such laws as representatives should from time to time make, concurred with by a majority of the proprietors present in the country.

The reception this plan met with from these gentlemen, as well as Captain Floyd, a leader in Dick's river settlement, gave us great pleasure; and therefore we immediately set about the business. Appointed Tuesday, the 23d instant, at Boonesborough; and accordingly made out writings for the different towns to sign, and wrote to Captain Floyd, appointing an election, etc. Harrodsburg and the Boiling Spring settlement received their summons verbally by the gentlemen aforesaid.

Tuesday, 9th (May, 1775).—Colonel Slaughter and Captain Harrod took their departure in great good humor, and apparently well satisfied. Our plantation business went on as usual; some people planting, others preparing, etc. We found it very difficult at first, and indeed yet, to stop great waste in killing meat. Many men were ignorant of the woods, and not skilled in hunting, by which means some would get lost, others, and indeed at all times, shoot, cripple and leave the game, without being able to get much, though always able to keep from want, and sometimes good store by them. Others of wicked and wanton dispositions would kill three, four, five or half a dozen buffaloes, and not take a half-horse load from them all. These evils we endeavored to prevent, but found it not practicable; many complaining that they were too poor to hire hunters, others loved it much better than

work; and some who knew little of the matter, but conceity, from having a hunting shirt, tomahawk and gun, thought it an insult to offer another to hunt for him, especially as pay was to be made.

For want of a little obligatory law or some restraining authority, our game soon, nearly as soon as we got here, if not before, was drove very much. Fifteen or twenty miles was as short a distance as our good hunters thought of getting meat, nay, sometimes they were obliged to go thirty, though by chance once or twice a week a buffalo was killed within five or six miles. This method of destroying game was, from our first coming, kept a secret from us as much as possible, and indeed we did not wish to be informed of it. The strictest inquiry was made into every hunter's conduct. It would not do to have it in our power to convict a man of the fact we had highly censored, and spoken of as a thing to be taken notice of, and let the culprit pass unnoticed. 'Twas some pleasure to find they were afraid of discovery; and I am convinced this fear saved the lives of many buffaloes, elks and deer. As to bear, nobody wasted any that was fit to eat, nor did we care about them.

Mr. Hart continues to keep himself much retired on his hill, and unless urged does not give himself any pains about our public affairs. I wish it may not be owing to discontent with something done, or supposed to be done, by Mr. Luttrell or myself, or both.

Wednesday, 10th (May, 1775).—Nothing remarkable.

Thursday, 11th.—Common occurrences.

Friday, 12th.—Old story.

Saturday, 13th.—No washing here on this day; no scouring of floors, sweeping of yards, or scalding bedsteads here.

Sunday (May 14, 1775).—No divine service, our church not being finished. That is to say, about fifty yards from the place where I am writing, and right before me as I am now writing, with my face to the south, the river about fifty yards behind my camp, and a fine spring a little to the west, stand one of the finest elms that, perhaps, nature ever produced in any region. This tree is placed on a beautiful plain, surrounded by a turf of fine white clover, forming a green to its very stock, to which there is scarcely anything to be likened. Its trunk is about four feet through to the first branches, which are about nine

feet from the ground; from thence above it so regularly extends its large branches on every side, at such equal distances, as to form the most beautiful tree that imagination can suggest. The diameter of its branches from the extreme ends is one hundred feet; and every fair day it describes a semicircle on the heavenly ground around it, after the sun has risen to the tune of fifteen degrees, and so at evening, above the horizon, of upwards of four hundred feet in circuit, and at any time between the hours of ten and two, one hundred persons may commodiously seat themselves under its branches. This divine tree, or rather one of the many proofs of the existence, from all eternity, of its Divine Author, we came time enough to redeem from destruction. Not owing to its beauty—that was unnoticed—the leaves were not out; and the lazy could find no pleasure in basking under it—'twas too big to be cut down without labor, and it would not die for butting ('twas said) the first year. The claimer of the lot in town, on which it stood, would have wished it in the Red Sea, at the devil, or anywhere, to have got clear of it; and I believe 'twas owing to the dread of cutting this tree that made my way easy in endeavoring to obtain the lot for the purpose of building a fort.

Thank God, the tree is mine, where I often retire, and oh! were my family and friends under it with me, it would be a heavenly tree indeed. But this is not the case.

This same tree is to be our church, state-house, council-chamber, etc.; and, having many things on our hands, we have not had time to erect a pulpit, seats, etc., but have by Sunday sennight to perform divine service for the first time in a public manner, and that to a set of scoundrels who scarcely believe in God or fear a devil, if we were to judge from most of their looks, words and actions.

Monday (May), 15th.—Omitted to mention the receipt of a packet of letters by express from Colonel Hart, Messrs. William Johnson and James Hogg, as also two from Captain Russell with some enclosures (*vide* letters). Was much disappointed in not receiving accounts from my family and friends. It seems these gentlemen of the company, strangely transported with the news of a few men's being killed, and my writing precisely for ammunition and supply of salt, had not even given themselves time to think; but sent off an express with little

more advice than that my last letter had come to hand; they were sorry for the accident; prayed fervently against such evils for the future; d——d the Indians for rascals; commended our courage for going on notwithstanding the mischief; hoped that we were forted, and able to resist a little; gave us very good advice, and left us to destruction. These letters bear date from the 20th to the 23d of April. Must not omit to mention a most friendly letter accompanying these, from my old friend Colonel Fanning, dated the 10th. This, over and above the satisfaction of perusing the most cordial declarations of entire friendship, etc., by the by, gave me some satisfaction as to my wife and family. A true friend cannot omit offices of friendship. He did not omit to mention his stay at Colonel Williams' a few days before, and that all was well at my house. A word from Colonel Hart, which he got from Mr. Bullock, informs me that my wife and family were well about the 14th or 15th of last month, or Mr. Bullock must have been longer from home than 'tis presumable he was.

With this express arrived here ten men, inclusive, eight from Dunmore and two from Powell's Valley (express, etc.). Major Bowman, Captain Bowman and one Captain Moore were the principal men. With these we had no difficulty; they seemed to be well pleased with the country, offered to buy lands, and are willing to settle on our terms; were prepared to make corn; asked to be indulged, having come out at a late season, which we granted readily, as they seemed like very good people, and said they imagined one hundred families at least would be out with them before spring. They seemed desirous of being in Harrod's neighborhood, and there was some degree of relationship and acquaintance among them. Therefore sent them off in great good humor.

Tuesday (May), 16th.—Continue eating meat without bread, and should be very contented, were it not for the absence of four men who went down the river by land, on Friday sennight, to bring up the goods left by Captain Callomees at the mouth of Elkhorn, about fifty or sixty miles below. These men were expected on Tuesday or Wednesday last, at farthest; and having no news of them till now, some matter of great concern to Captain Callomees; and it is not a little alarming to ourselves.

Wednesday, 17th.—Hunters not returned. Almost starved—drank a little coffee, and trust to luck for dinner. Am just going to our little plant patches, in hopes the greens will bear cropping; if so, a sumptuous dinner indeed. No meat but fat bear and a little spoiled buffalo and elk, which we made out with pretty well, depending on amendment to-morrow.

Captain Callomees grows very uneasy on account of his men—applies to me for men and horses to go in search—six men and nine horses. Gave my permission to do what was in my power; proposed it at dinner to Mr. Luttrell, who denied, as having no horses fit to go and thinking footmen would answer. In short, Mr. Luttrell was unwell; seemed in an ill humor with everything about him, or don't think he would have refused doing a thing in which not only the honor of the company was so much concerned, but 'twas refusing to listen to the calls of humanity herself. He is at sometimes thoughtless, but, I think, means to act as well as may be for himself and company.

This evening wrote a line to Colonel Calloway at the fort (Mr. Boone being away) and another to Captain Hart, stating the case and desiring assistance, and, withal, asking them to come to my camp in the morning to determine on something.

Thursday, 18th (May, 1775).—Colonel Calloway and Captain Hart came early. Mr. Calloway could raise three men and one horse; Captain Hart, one horse. Mr. Luttrell was in bed, and not in good humor. (The bells made too much noise.) This I suppose from hearing him quarreling with the horses in the night and his lying later than usual. Had only two mares and one horse; the mares in the plough, the one very poor with a sore back, and the other not much better, but willing she should be rode. My horse was * * * running in the woods, very poor, and I believe would not go on a journey of twenty miles without giving out. However, the day proving dark, and no good woodsmen to be gotten, our hunters, Mr. Squire Boone and Michael Stoner, being still out, as also Captain Boone and some others, all of whom were by promise to have returned last night, and on whose account, as they were gone over and down the river, I was a little uneasy; went about a mile to Captain Callomees' camp, stated the case, etc. He seemed of my opinion, that it was best to wait this day,

and try to get more men and horses (which we hoped to effect), especially some good woodsmen.

'Tis now 12 o'clock. No news of hunters or the absentees.

Three o'clock. Hunters came in; no news of the lost men.

Friday, 10th (May, 1775).—Sent off Mr. Stoner with Captain Calloway and some of his men in search of those persons above mentioned. On this occasion no person turned out except John McMillion, and no person offered, or could be prevailed upon to lead (though there were many fat, idle ones about town every day, and at this time more than twenty in sight), save Captain Cocke, Captain Hart, Nat. Henderson and myself. (Mine indeed was one of the companies). P. S.—Callomees returned, and Hogan going in his place.

This evening Mr. Nath. Jewet arrived here from Captain Floyd, whom, with six other men, he says, he left about ten miles off on the west side of the river, looking land, etc. By him heard that Captain Floyd was not at St. Asaph at the return of Captain Slaughter and Mr. Harrod, and being afraid that the town on that account has not proceeded to elect delegates to meet in convention.

Saturday, 20th (May, 1775).—The election for Boonesborough was had this afternoon with great regularity, when Squire Boone, Daniel Boone, William Cocke, Samuel Henderson, William Moore and Richard Calloway were elected. Number of votes as follows: (Here occurs a blank of several lines in the MS.).

Wrote to Mr. Todd and sent Wm. Bush to St. Asaph, directing an election in case 'twas not done, with orders to be in on Tuesday evening at farthest.

Monday 22d.—One Captain Thomas Guess arrived from above Pittsburg with six or seven men. Their business was to survey 8,000 acres of land by officers' claims on the north side Kentucky. Brought news that the Lees, surveyors for the Ohio company, were at Wheeling as they past, and talked of coming down the river.

Tuesday, 23d (May, 1775).—Delegates met from every town. Pleased with their stations, and in great good humor.

Wednesday, 24th (May, 1775).—The Convention met; sent a message acquainting me that they had chosen Colonel Thomas Slaughter, Chair-

man, and Mr. Math. Jewet, Clerk; of which I approved. Went and opened the business by a short speech, etc.

Thursday, 25th.—Three of the members of the committee waited on the proprietors with a very sensible address, which they asked leave to read, and read it and delivered it in. Returned an answer, and business went on. This day four bills were fabricated and read: One for establishing a Tribunal of Justice; 2d, Malitia; 3d, for Preventing the Destruction of Game; 4th, a Law Concerning Fees—some of which I got a slight view of—(very imperfect). The delegates very good men, and much disposed to serve their country.

Friday, 26th, (May, 1775).—Convention continues. Good order, etc.

Saturday, 27th.—Finished Convention in good order. Everybody pleased, etc.

Sunday, 28th (May, 1775).—Divine service for the first time by the Rev. John Lyth, minister of the Church of England. Most of the delegates returned home.

Monday, 29th.—Captain Guess and Captain Harrod set out on the north side of Kentucky to look for land whereon to lay officers' claims to the amount of 8,000 acres—five or six in company. Mr. Lawrence Thompson and —— Thompson arrived from Orange. No letters from our friends. Letter with an account of the battles at Boston.

Tuesday 30th,—Nothing uncommon.

Wednesday, 31st.—Mr. Hay and Captain ——. arrived from P. D. News that Governor Martin turned Regulator, joined by John Cobon and a number of other scoundrels.

Thursday, 1st June (1775).—Jesse Oldham arrived from the C. (probably Carolina) with letters. Much news.

Friday, 2d.—Hunters returned. Very good meat, etc.

Saturday, 3d.—People arrived from St. Asaph. Had wantonly broke up. Had their tools, and on their way home.

Sunday, 4th.—Whitsunday; rainy; divine service by Mr. Lyth. Captain Harrod returned.

Monday, 5th.—Made out commissions, to-wit: for Harrodsburg, Boiling Spring Settlement and St. Asaph, both military and civil.

Tuesday, 6th.—Captain Harrod went down the river home, accompanied by Mr. David Wilson and Alexander from McLenb'g, who arrived

here last week. Mr. Hart talks of going next Monday. Abundance of people going away, selling their lots, etc., and will not be detained. Offered several young men to admit them to enter lands as if they were making corn, etc., rather than they should go; they seemed determined on going, and accordingly went in the evening. This afternoon Captain Hart entered 1,000 acres of land on Salt River, including the Salt Springs. His reason for so doing, as Mr. Luttrell informed me—and said Mr. Hart seemed much disturbed—was that I intended for myself the mouth of Salt Lick Creek, including a salt spring. Mr. Luttrell entered 1,000 acres adjoining Mr. Hart's entry at Salt Lick.

Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday.—Nothing extraordinary.

Sunday, 11th (June, 1775).—Daniel Goodman went away with John Luney, Wm. Wilson and Page Portwood. Divine service by Mr. Lyth. Wrote by Daniel Goodman to my wife, Daniel Williams and John Christmas.

Monday, 12th.—People going away—Mr. Hart, etc. Wrote constantly till 3 o'clock in the morning.

Tuesday, 13th (June, 1775).—Colonel Boone set off for his family, and the young men sent with him for salt, etc.

Wednesday, 14th.—Made a list of what men we had left at the camp, and found them to amount to ——.

Thursday, 15th.—Things as usual.

Friday, 16th.—Fine rain.

Saturday, 17th.—A muster of the men at the fort by Captain Moore. Thirty-two men appeared under arms—in bad order; weather wet, etc.

Sunday, 18th (June, 1775).—Fine growing weather. Corn planted the 26th and 27th of April was tasseled and shot. Had a mess of snap beans. Peas ripe and cucumbers set. Michael Stoner, our hunter, not returned; was expected yesterday. No meat. Two men from Virginia found bacon, on which, with the beans aforesaid, we had an excellent dinner.

Monday, 19th.—Fair and fine growing weather. Hunters not returned; grow very uneasy on their account.

Tuesday, 20th.—Went a-hunting. Hunters returned just as we were ready to set out.

Wednesday, 21st.—Returned home late at night with a load of buffaloes, and found two gentlemen with Colonel Harrod and some young men at our camp. These gentlemen, Mr. Nourse and Mr. Johnston, were from Virginia; Nourse from Berkeley, and Johnston from Frederick county. Both had called on Captain Russell at Pt. Pleasant, who had tempered them well. We found them clever and as much in our interest as we could wish. They were then on their way to the No. of Kentucky, to survey officers' claims, etc. They soon resolved on purchasing and becoming settlers with us. Mr. Johnston made application to have about 10,000 acres of land granted to him as officers' claims, though not more than 1,000 surveyed, the rest only entries in Colonel Preston's books. On being refused, or what amounted to the same, advised to survey on Crown lands, lest he might fail, went over to lay his claims on the other side. Seemed satisfied with our reasons for giving no arrearage warrant. N. B.—One piece of 1,000 acres, surveyed near the Falls, we gave him some encouragement about.

Thursday, 22d.—Colonel Harrod, with the other two gentlemen, crossed the river.

Friday, 23d.—Nothing extraordinary. Discharged Mr. Stoner and Mr. Jackson, our hunters, for a while. Stoner engaged to go after my brother Samuel's horses. Samuel and two others set off down the river in a canoe to hunt elks, our horses being too much fatigued with constant riding.

Received a letter by Mr. Johnston from the Rev. Charles M. Thurston, advising of the proceedings in the Virginia Convention, and desiring to make a large purchase in partnership with Johnston and Emd's Taylor.

Saturday, 24th (June, 1775).—Things as usual.

Sunday, 25th.—Mr. Nourse and Mr. Johnston arrived from the woods much pleased with the lands, but complained much for want of water. Hunters returned; good luck.

Monday, 26th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Tuesday, 27th.—Mr. Nourse, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Alexander and Mr. Jonathan Jennings set off for Virginia. Colonel Harrod and Mr. Benjamin Johnston set off just before them for Harrodsburg. In the afternoon two very good fellows, to-wit, Sigismund Striblin and Daniel

Holloback, who had been with us, off and on, upwards of a month, set off for Pittsburg. They took with them in their canoes two young men to bring up two canoes from down the river about seventy miles, belonging to Captain Callomees and Mr. Benj. Parry, for which we were to give 3£ 10*s.* in case they brought them up safe. Striblin and Holloback left us 93 pounds of flour, 20 of which was for Mr. Luttrell, the rest for two brothers and ourselves. This day settled all accounts with Abraham Mitchell and allowed him £6 for his trouble in coming out and having assumed to pay Ralph Williams £5 for him, am now indebted 2 of V. m'x, which is in full.

Wednesday, 26th.—Things as usual, only scarcity of meat.

Thursday, 29th.—Same case.

Friday, 30th.—Meat plenty, and many joyful countenances.

Saturday, 1st July, 1775.—Dry weather. People going away. Mr. Luttrell and myself set off for Harrodsburg to meet Colonel Slaughter, who has been about four weeks viewing Green River, etc.

Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.—Were bogging in the woods, seeking the way. Went too near the river, and was much plagued with the hills, cane and bad ways.

Wednesday morning, 5th July.—Arrived at Captain Harrod's and found all well.

Thursday, 6th.—Went to Harrodsburg; saw Colonel Slaughter and others from Green River; accounts something different. Colonel Slaughter seemed well pleased in general, but could not find a spot on which to locate his 10,000-acre tract, but said there was a fine country. Others spoke indifferently and thought otherwise.

Friday, 7th.—Set off back in company with Mr. Slaughter and about twelve others who were going on to bring out their families or stock. Harrodsburg seemed quite abandoned—only five men left on the spot to guard the crop, etc. Came on to St. Asaph, where we lodged that night. On our way saw the Knob and Flat Lick—the former of which is a great curiosity—containing within the lick and (illegible) near 100 acres of land.

Saturday, Sunday, Monday and a part of Tuesday.—On our way home. 'Twas our intention to have hit Boone's Trace about 20 miles south-west of Boonesborough, but crossed it inadvertently and got out

of our way. We suffered in this journey a little for want of provisions. The weather very dry, and the springs being scarce, water was rarely to be gotten. Buffaloes had abandoned their range, and were gone into other parts. When we got to this place we found all well, but a scarcity of meat. Sundry people gone since we left home, and more going.

Wednesday, 12th (July, 1775).—Horses being almost worn-out, my brothers, Nathaniel and Samuel, with some others, went up the river in a canoe to get meat if possible. Our salt quite out, except a quart which I brought from Harrodsburg. The men sent for salt not yet returned, nor any news from the East. Times a little melancholy; provisions very scarce; no salt to enable us to save meat at any distance from home. No account or arrival from (illegible). Weather very dry, and we not able to raise above ten or fifteen fighting men at any one time, unless they were all summoned, which could not easily be done without long notice, they being much dispersed, hunting, etc.

Thursday, 13th July.—Things as usual. Meat a little difficult to get.

Friday, 14th; Saturday, 15th; Sunday, 16th; Monday, 17th; Tuesday, 18th; Wednesday, 19th.—Nothing uncommon, more than that three men arrived, to-wit, Captain Linn, Mr. Crittenden and one Thornton Farrar, from Monongahela, intending to settle on the No. of Kentucky. No news.

Thursday, 20th.—My brother Samuel, Joel Walker, Val Harmon, John Harmon, and their boys set off for Carolina; and Captain Linn and his company set off down the river to Lee's Settlement, with whom I sent two men for a little salt, our men being not yet returned.

Friday, 21st, Saturday, 22d; Sunday, 23d.—Nothing uncommon, more than that a fellow called Grampus, belonging to Mr. Luttrell, ran away on Thursday, which was thought nothing of at first, supposing he would return; but on Saturday it was discovered that he had stolen Mr. Luttrell's mare (his only riding beast), and was totally gone, supposed to be countenanced by the Ralstons, who went away a day or two before my brother, and were to wait.

Monday, 24th (July, 1775).—Mr. Luttrell took a resolution of following his man, and immediately set off with Captain Benning and Mr.

Hay and one William Bush, I believe with an intent of not returning till he goes home, though he declares he would not go farther than the settlement, or where he could get his man, till I should overtake him, as I have intentions of going home as soon as a sufficient number of people comes to defend the fort.

Tuesday, 25th.—Things as usual. Weather dry, and indeed has been so most of the summer. We had a little rain on Sunday and Monday as sennight, but are still in great want. One Mr. Thomas Carlen, from Colonel Floyd's camp, informs me that all is well there. By Captain Linn we were informed that five or six men were gone down the Ohio to the Falls, by order of Captain Bullit. Mr. Bullit's orders and his men's resolutions were to pay no regard to our title, but settle the land *nolens volens*. They also inform that Major Connolly is resolved on the same conduct.

At the close of the above Journal (which is now in the "Draper" collection in the State Library at Madison, Wis.) Judge Henderson states that his journal, beginning with Wednesday, 26 July, continues the narrative, but the latter has never been found.

Henderson established a land office at Boonesborough and proceeded to issue grants, over nine hundred in number, to the Transylvania colonists for five hundred and sixty thousand acres altogether. He also had hastened to organize a government and issued a call for the election of delegates to the Legislature of Transylvania. There were three other settlements at that time within the bounds of Transylvania, *i. e.*, Harrodstown, Boiling Springs and St. Asaph's, and each sent its delegates to Boonesborough to establish a government. As stated in the journal above, these delegates, seventeen or eighteen in number, met at Boonesborough 23 May, in session under a gigantic elm, and were addressed by Colonel

Henderson. They organized a government and passed sundry laws, under his advice, providing for courts of law, for regulating the militia, fixing clerks' and sheriffs' fees, issuing writs of attachment, prohibiting profane swearing or Sabbath breaking, for the protection of game, for preserving the breed of horses, to prohibit firing the range, and guaranteeing complete religious freedom and the toleration of all sects. The colony soon after, owing to the troublous times, began to lose population, and the new government not being recognized, the Legislature met only once more, in December, 1775, to elect a Surveyor-General.

Virginia claimed the Kentucky country, and North Carolina that part of Transylvania which lay south of the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes, and both proclaimed the Indian treaty with Henderson to be null and void as against themselves, but valid against the Indians, for the statute law from the beginning had forbidden that any citizen should acquire title to any lands directly from the Indians. Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, denounced Henderson and his acts, as did Governor Martin of North Carolina in special proclamations, which last is dated 10 February, 1775, and is to be found in Vol. IX, N. C. State Records. Indeed, the latter in a letter styled Henderson and his associates "an infamous company of Land Pyrates."

The Journal of the Legislature which met at Boonesborough is printed in full in the appendix to Ranck's "History of Boonesborough," together with Judge Henderson's elaborate address to them as President of the Colony of Transylvania

and many other valuable documents connected with the brief history of the colony.

On 8 July, 1775, Judge Henderson was doubtless surprised to see appear in the colony Captain (or Dr.) J. F. D. Smyth, who in Vol. I of his "Tour in America," p. 325-346, gives a fairly full description of the colony, country and a free opinion of Henderson and his followers. He had traveled the last four hundred and ninety miles through the almost unbroken wilderness in nineteen days. After a stay of six weeks, he left (p. 353) for New Orleans, going down the Ohio and Mississippi. Had the settlers suspected his true character as a British spy, his journeyings would have abruptly ended. Indeed, all during the Revolution the sparse population of Kentucky had to endure the bloody inroads of the Indians, in the pay of the British government. Boonesborough sustained Indian sieges in 1776, 1777 and 1778. The account of the latter, given in Ranck's "Boonesborough," is graphically told, and is one of the most thrilling and interesting incidents of the kind extant. The fort was constructed under Henderson's orders, and the original plan, in his handwriting, still exists. The history of the fort proves that it did not deserve the contemptuous opinion expressed of it by the aforesaid Smyth. It was in shape a parallelogram, two hundred and fifty feet long and half as wide. Little or no iron was used in its construction. At each corner was a two-story loop-holed block-house to act as a bastion. The stout log cabins were arranged in straight lines, so that their outer sides formed part of the wall, the spaces between them being filled with a high stockade, made

of heavy squared timbers, thrust upright into the ground and bound together within by a horizontal stringer near the top. They were loop-holed like the block-houses. The heavy wooden gates, closed with stout bars, were flanked without by the block-houses and within by small windows cut in the nearest cabins. The houses had sharp sloping roofs, made of huge clapboards, and these great wooden slabs were kept in place by long poles, bound with withes to the rafters. In case of dire need each cabin was separately defensible. When danger threatened the cattle were kept in the open space. The weak point in this, as in all other Kentucky forts of that day, was the lack of water, for, strange as it may seem, all the colonists depended upon natural springs, and did not know that wells could be dug. There was not a well in that whole section till years later.

The siege of 1778 took place after Transylvania had ceased to exist, but as it was against the fort built by Judge Henderson, these incidents may be mentioned. Early in the morning of 7 September, 1778, suddenly a war party consisting of four hundred and forty-four Indians, mostly Shawnees, and twelve whites, appeared. As they pretended to be peaceful, the men of the fort sent their women to bring in a supply of water and to drive in the stock, knowing the savages would not show their real designs by firing on them. An attempt at treachery in a meeting for a treaty of peace having failed, the savages noisily drew off at night, and their horses could be heard splashing in the stream, but they quietly returned

by another route and lay in ambush. Boone, however, commanded the fort, and this *ruse* also failed. Then open siege began, lasting nine days, during which, out of the garrison of thirty men and twenty boys, two were killed and four wounded, while thirty-seven were killed and a great many wounded of the enemy. At one time the Indians stole near in the darkness and set the stockade on fire and shot at the defenders, who used their scanty supply of water to put it out, in which they were aided by a providential rain. Besides, the Indians had begun a tunnel from the river bank. The garrison finding this out, started a counter mine, and raised upon Colonel Henderson's former kitchen in the stockade a bullet-proof conning tower. The following colloquy took place: "What are you red rascals doing down there?" yelled one of the garrison in Shawanese to the unseen Indians below the bank. "Digging," was the return yell. "Blow you all to the devil soon; what you do?" "Oh," was the cheerful reply, "we are digging to meet you, and intend to bury five hundred of you." When water and provisions in the fort were about exhausted and everything was desperate under the continuous fire, night and day, a rain came down in torrents, causing the Indian tunnel to cave in, as well as putting out the fire, as already stated, and replenishing the garrison's supply of water. Thereupon the Indians were discouraged and sullenly withdrew.

Among the most romantic incidents of the history of Boonesborough was the capture of three young girls by the Indians

14 July, 1776. They had gone a short way down the river in a canoe on a bright summer's day and were taken prisoners by a straggling party of braves and hurried off. With the presence of mind of their time, they indicated the route taken by pieces furtively torn from their dresses and broken twigs, which caught the eye of their kinsmen. They were thus tracked and speedily retaken. One of them, Betsy Calloway, was soon after, on 7 August, 1776, united in marriage to Samuel Henderson, brother of Judge Henderson. This was the first marriage in Kentucky and was celebrated in great style, as was also the news of the Declaration of Independence, which reached the colony about the same time. In 1792, when Kentucky was admitted to the Union, Boonesborough was one of the largest towns in the State, but in 1810 it had almost ceased to exist, and now for long years has been a corn field. *Ilium fuit.*

John Williams visited the colony in December, 1775, and opened a land office. He returned to North Carolina in September, 1776. Whether this was Judge John Williams or John Williams of Caswell (later Speaker of the North Carolina Senate) is not clear. Among the early pioneers who went with Boone and Henderson in 1775 were Isaac Shelby, afterwards a leader at King's Mountain in 1780 and later on the first Governor of Kentucky and United States Secretary of War; also Twitty, of the well known Rutherford County family, who brought a contingent of men from his neighborhood. The school-teacher at Boonesborough, Joseph Doni-

phan, was father of Colonel A. W. Doniphan, who made the famous ride to Chihuahua in the war with Mexico.

On 25 September, 1775, the Proprietors—as Henderson and his associates were styled—held a meeting at Oxford, N. C., and sent James Hogg as their delegate to Philadelphia with a written application to the Continental Congress to admit Transylvania as the fourteenth colony. He also carried letters to Jefferson and Patrick Henry, but they opposed any recognition of the colony, and it was refused. In 1778 the Virginia Legislature solemnly set aside the Transylvania proceedings as null and void, but allowed Colonel Henderson and his associates a grant of 200,000 acres. North Carolina pursued a similar course and also allotted the company 200,000 acres on the collapse of the colony.

Boone having gone back to North Carolina, returned early in 1776 with his family and a re-inforcement of sturdy settlers. Among them were his wife and daughters, the first white women in Kentucky. The arrival of the sun-bonnets made a great change at once. The young fellows spruced up, and decency and cleanliness came more into evidence. Boone remained permanently in Kentucky, but his connection with Henderson and Transylvania was over. Henderson likewise went home and returned the next year with forty settlers, but the enterprise collapsed in December, 1776, altogether. He visited Boonesborough again, and for the last time, in 1780, to procure corn for his settlement on the 200,000 acres granted him by this State near Nashville, Tenn. The Virginia part of Transylvania became Kentucky county

in Virginia, 7 December, 1776, and later was further subdivided. Kentucky became a State in 1792.

In 1779 Judge Henderson was appointed a commissioner to extend the line between Virginia and North Carolina through Powell's Valley, his associates in this duty being Oroondates Davis, John Williams of Caswell, James Kerr and William Bailey Smith. The same year he opened a land office at the French Lick, now Nashville, Tenn., for the sale of the lands which had been granted his company by Virginia and North Carolina—200,000 acres by each State.

The next summer he returned home and spent the remainder of his life in the service of North Carolina, as above narrated. He died at his home in Granville county 30 January, 1785, not quite fifty years of age. No stone or memorial marks his grave and no portrait of him exists. He lives in the memory of his deeds and in the fame of his descendants. The residence he occupied had been removed to Williamsboro, and though somewhat modernized still stands.

He left by his marriage with Elizabeth Keeling, stepdaughter of Judge Williams, six children: 1. Fanny, who married Judge Spruce McCay of Salisbury. 2. Richard, who died at the age of thirty, but who was already a lawyer of note. 3. Archibald, also a lawyer and attaining great distinction. He was a member of Congress, 1799-1803. 4. Elizabeth, who married Mr. Alexander. 5. Leonard, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of this State. 6. John Lawson Henderson, also a lawyer. He was Comptroller of the State

in 1825, and afterwards, for several years and up to his death, in 1843, Clerk of the Supreme Court. From them have been descended many of the foremost citizens of this State, who have honored every walk in life.

WALTER CLARK.

Raleigh, N. C.,
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GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

BY

ALEXANDER Q. HOLLADAY, LL.D.

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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA.

By ALEXANDER Q. HOLLADAY, LL.D.,

(In answer to Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, Virginia).

There are few figures in the stately pageant of American colonial history so brilliant and fascinating as that of Colonel William Evelyn Byrd, son of the first William Byrd, who came to Virginia about 1656, and, purchasing the fertile lands on James River previously owned by the Pauletts and Blands, created there the noble old home of Westover, the dwelling place of the Byrd descendants for considerably more than a century; and now, after several changes of ownership, fortunately in the possession of a chatelaine in sympathetic touch with all the associations of the place, and dowered with the graces of temperament, taste and talent to cherish and perpetuate its traditions of social charm and polished hospitality.

Colonel Byrd was born to one of the amplest estates in America, and may be said to have been a favorite child of fortune to the very end of his active and prosperous life, at the age of three score and ten. He possessed much solid ability, as well as the lighter, sparkling gifts of the *salon*. He was noted for the beauty and commanding grace of his person, and endowed with a magnetic bearing which drew men to him and made him a central figure in every circle, the cyno-

sure of neighboring eyes. As a fitting crown and climax to so many shining qualities, his character was strong, enterprising, and sagacious, continually spurring him on to profitable and public-spirited uses of the extraordinary advantages and opportunities he enjoyed. Wise, well-bred, and witty; rich, and respected; generous, and genial; surely all the good fairies brought their best gifts to his cradle, and on his tombstone might well be engraved the one word *"Felicissimus"* instead of the somewhat labored inscription we may still read in the pleasant old-time garden at Westover.

And yet one fairy must have been present at his birth with a spice of malice in her nature, since with all his goodly gifts this brilliant and lordly gentleman of a lordly age grew up with one foible that never left him—a sharp and cynical wit, the shafts of which he was prone to scatter with something of careless levity, leaving his auditors uncertain whether he spoke in jest or earnest, and his readers doubtful lest he might be quite capable of distorting facts to heighten his antithesis, or of sacrificing accuracy to make a better background for his *bonmot.*

Colonel Byrd, though not a professional author (perhaps he thought with the great Mr. Congreve that professional authorship was beneath the dignity of such a magnate as himself), had very considerable literary talent, not excelled, if equaled, by any American of his day, and left behind him a folio volume of manuscripts, evidently carefully copied by a neat amanuensis, and afterward studied by the author, with many revisions and corrections in his own handwriting. This

volume was preserved for more than a hundred years, first at Westover and then by Colonel Byrd's Harrison descendants at Lower Brandon in Prince George County, Virginia. After their century-long slumber, these sprightly and entertaining manuscripts were published in 1841, and since that time have been several times reprinted, the last time in very sumptuous form, and edited by a North Carolina scholar. The subjects treated by Colonel Byrd are as follows: "The History of the Dividing Line between Virginia and North Carolina" (Colonel Byrd being one of three commissioners from Virginia appointed to meet a similar commission of representative gentlemen from North Carolina, and jointly with them to determine the line), "A Progress to the Mines," and "A Journey to the Land of Eden in 1733." All of these are written with an ease and vivacity that lead us to wish that instead of being as it were, born in the purple, the conditions of Colonel Byrd's life had been such as to force him into authorship as a profession, and so led him to the production of works that might have achieved permanent fame and greatly enriched the scanty treasury of American colonial literature. It is in "The History of the Dividing Line" that we find the utterances to which we demur, for the reason that the witty writer, in the recklessness of his satire, makes statements about North Carolina which cast slurs upon the conditions of that colony, not only unneighborly and unnecessary, but, as may be easily shown, wholly unjustified by the facts themselves, or by any serious investigation on his part. We proceed to quote freely and literally some of his caustic remarks, not omitting the severest,

to show the worst that a mocking wit could say of a young colony, not yet removed by one long human life from its first settlement:

"And because a good number of men were to go upon this expedition a chaplain was appointed to attend them, and the rather because the people on the frontiers of North Carolina, who have no minister near them, might have an opportunity to get themselves and their children baptized." Speaking of a certain piece of land, he says: "It would be a valuable tract of land in any country but North Carolina, where, for want of navigation and commerce, the best estate affords little more than a coarse subsistence." "And considering how fortune delights in bringing great things out of small, who knows but North Carolina may one time or another come to be the seat of another great empire?" "Flax thrives likewise extremely, being perhaps as fine as any in the world, and I question not might with a little care be brought to rival that of Egypt; and yet the men are so intolerably lazy they seldom take the trouble to propagate it." He says of the Quaker creed: "That persuasion prevails much for want of ministers to help the people to a decenter way to Heaven."

"It is natural for helpless man to adore his Maker, in some form or other; and were there any exceptions to this rule, I should expect it to be among the Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope and of North Carolina." These be somewhat bitter words. We once heard of an exemplary English lady who, finding occasion to remain a considerable time in Paris, resolutely refused to speak French, and nobly submitted to all the

discomfort of never being able to make herself understood during her sojourn, because she felt it wrong to encourage the perverted inhabitants of that frivolous but interesting city to persevere in the use of their absurd mother tongue. Perhaps for reasons of State or conscience, Colonel Byrd thought it unwise to encourage the North Carolina settlers to persevere in making their own fortunes in their own way and in making a Commonwealth to suit themselves.

But we proceed with our quotations: "If a parson come in their way, they will crave a cast of his office, as they call it, else they are content their offspring should remain as arrant pagans as themselves. They account it among their greatest advantages that they are not priest-ridden, not remembering that the clergy is rarely guilty of bestriding such as have the misfortune to be poor. They do not know Sunday from any other day, any more than Robinson Crusoe did, which would give them a great advantage were they given to be industrious. But they keep so many Sabbaths every week that their disregard of the seventh day has no manner of cruelty in it, either to servants or cattle." "Some borderers, too, had a great mind to know where the line would come out, being for the most part apprehensive lest their lands should be taken into Virginia. In that case they must have submitted to some sort of order and government, whereas, in North Carolina every one does what seems best in his own eyes." "Surely there is no place in the world where the inhabitants live with less labor than in North Carolina. It approaches nearer to the description of Lubberland than any other, by the great felicity of

the climate, the easiness of raising provisions, and the slothfulness of the people. The men, for their part, just like the Indians, impose all the work on the poor women. They make their wives rise out of their beds early in the morning, at the same time that they lie and snore till the sun has risen one-third of his course and dispersed all the unwholesome damps. Then, after stretching and yawning for half an hour, they light their pipes, and, under the protection of a cloud of smoke, venture out into the open air, though if it happens to be never so little cold they quickly return, shivering, into the chimney corner. When the weather is mild they stand leaning with both arms upon the corn-field fence, and gravely consider whether they had best take a small heat at the hoe, but generally find reasons to put it off till another time. Thus they loiter away their lives like Solomon's sluggard, with their arms across, and at the end of the year scarcely have bread to eat. To speak the truth, it is a thorough aversion to labor that makes people file off to North Carolina, where plenty and a warm sun confirm them in their disposition to laziness for their whole lives." "Since we were like to be confined to this place till the people returned out of the Dismal, it was agreed that our chaplain might safely take a turn to Edenton to preach the gospel to the infidels there and christen their children. He was accompanied thither by Mr. Little, one of the Carolina commissioners, who, to show his regard to the church, offered to treat him on the road with a fricassée of rum." "Very few in this country have the industry to plant orchards, which in dearth of rum might

supply them with much better liquor." A page or two further on, when not very distant from Edenton, he says: "Here there may be forty or fifty houses, most of them small and built without expense. A citizen here is counted extravagant if he has ambition enough to aspire to a brick chimney. Justice herself is but indifferently lodged, the court-house having much the air of a tobacco house. I believe this is the only metropolis in the Christian or Mahometan world where there is neither church, chapel, mosque, synagogue nor any other place of public worship of any sort or religion whatsoever. What little devotion there may happen to be is much more private than their vices. The people seem easy without a minister as long as they are exempted from paying him." "For these reasons, these reverend gentlemen have always left their flocks as arrant heathen as they found them. This much, however, may be said for the inhabitants of Edenton: that not a soul has the least taint of superstition or hypocrisy, acting very frankly and above-board in all their excesses. Provisions here are extremely cheap, and extremely good, so that people may live plentifully at a trifling expense. Nothing is dear but law, physic and strong drink, and the last they get with so much difficulty that they are never guilty of the sin of suffering it to sour upon their hands." "Our chaplain returned to us in the evening from Edenton. He had preached there in the court-house, for want of a consecrated place, and made no less than nineteen of Father Hennepin's converts." "We christened two of our landlord's children, which might have remained infidels all their lives had we not

carried Christianity to his own door. The truth of it is, our neighbors of North Carolina are not so zealous as to go much out of their way to procure this benefit for their children; otherwise, being so near Virginia, they might, without exceeding trouble, make a journey to the next clergyman upon so good an errand; and, indeed, should the neighboring ministers once in two or three years vouchsafe to take a turn among these gentiles, to baptize them and their children, it would look a little apostolical, and they might hope to be requited for it hereafter, if that be not thought too long to tarry for their reward." "Then we went to Mr. Kinchin's, a man of figure and authority in North Carolina, who lives about a mile to the southward of the place where the surveyors left off. By the benefit of a little pains and good management this worthy magistrate lives in much affluence. Amongst other instances of his industry, he had planted a good orchard, which is not common in that indolent climate, nor is it at all strange that such improvident people, who take no thought for the morrow, should save themselves the trouble to make improvements that will not pay them for several years to come; though if they could trust futurity for anything they certainly would for cider, which they are so fond of that they generally drink it before it has been done working, lest the fermentation might unluckily turn it sour." "This being Sunday, we had an opportunity of resting from our labors. The expectation of such a novelty as a sermon in these parts brought together a numerous congregation. When the sermon was over, our chaplain did his part toward making eleven

of them Christians." "This part of the country being very proper for raising cattle and hogs, we observed the inhabitants lived in great plenty without killing themselves with labor." And on another occasion "Our chaplain did his office and rubbed us up with a seasonable sermon. This was quite a new thing to our brethren of North Carolina, who live in a climate where no clergyman can breathe any more than spiders in Ireland." "The indolence and dissipation of the middling and lower classes of white inhabitants are such as to give pain to every reflecting mind. Horse-racing, cock-fighting and boxing matches are standing amusements, for which they neglect all business, and in the latter of which they conduct themselves with a barbarity worthy of their savage neighbors. The ferocious practice of stage boxing in England is urbanity compared with their mode of fighting. In their combats, unless specially precluded, they are admitted (to use their own term) "to bite and gouge," which operations, when the first onset with fists is over, consists in fastening on the nose or ears of their adversaries with their teeth and dexterously scooping out an eye, on which account it is no uncommon circumstance to meet men in the prime of youth deprived of one of those organs. This is no traveler's exaggeration; I speak from knowledge and observation. In the summer months it is very common to make a party on horseback to a spring, near which there is usually some little hut with spirituous liquors, if the party are not themselves provided, where their debauch frequently terminates in a boxing match, a horse race, or perhaps both. I was myself accidentally

drawn into one of these parties, where I soon experienced the strength of the liquor, which was concealed by the refreshing coolness of the water. While we were seated round the spring, at the edge of a delightful wood, four or five countrymen arrived, headed by a veteran Cyclops, the terror of the neighborhood, ready on every occasion to risk his remaining eye. We soon found ourselves under the necessity of relinquishing our posts and making our escape from these fellows, who evidently sought to provoke a quarrel. On our return home, whilst I was rejoicing at our good fortune and admiring the moderation of my company, we arrived at a plain spot of ground by a wood side, on which my horse no sooner set foot than, taking the bit between his teeth, off he went at full speed, attended by the whoops and hallowings of my companions. At the end of half a mile my horse stopped short, as if he had been shot, and threw me with considerable violence over his head. My buckle—for I was without boots—entangled me in the stirrup, but fortunately broke into twenty pieces. The company rode up, delighted with the adventure, and it was then for the first time I discovered that I had been purposely induced by one of my friends to change horses with him for the afternoon; that his horse had been accustomed to similar exploits on the same *race ground;* that the whole of the business was neither more nor less than a native piece of pleasantry, and that my friends thought they had exhibited great moderation in not exposing me at the spring to the effects of "biting and gouging."

Before turning to such illustrative records on these subjects as are accessible to us, we will cite the judgment of another, of higher authority than ourselves, upon Colonel Byrd's trustworthiness as a historian, and, holding as we do with the gentleman who said that for a really nice, dignified and influential job he would rather have that of a bishop than any other, we will first quote the late venerable Bishop Meade of Virginia, so long one of the foremost figures in American church history. Referring to one of Colonel Byrd's characteristic sarcasms leveled at the inhabitants of Governor Spottswood's once noted town of Germanna on the Rapidan, the good Bishop says: "Mr. Byrd's writings being full of such remarks, we may conclude that he does not always expect us to receive them as historical verities."

The observations of our witty Colonel seem to have been limited to a few miles along or near the undetermined line between the two colonies, now on one side, now on the other, sometimes uncertain on which side he was sojourning, and to have been made in exactly thirty days, being wholly incidental to the tedious and harassing work of directing the surveyors through swamp and wilderness, scarcely inhabited. For rather more than half the time specified the commissioners seem to have made their halting places on the Virginia side of the line, though the shafts of the Colonel's satire are invariably leveled, not indiscriminately, but at the dwellers on what he supposes to be the Carolina side. It seems hardly credible that a mile or two either way from an unknown boundary should show such remarkable variation. If true,

it presented an interesting and difficult problem to scientific investigators, and we grieve that there was no Humbolt or Darwin to sift these extraordinary facts to the bottom and explain the causes producing phenomena so unexpected. It seems to us, however, more reasonable to suppose that our traveling Colonel, with the celerity of impatient genius, was a little too hasty in his generalizations to be accurate. Perhaps he pursued the novel though somewhat unsatisfactory method of collecting information practised later by Mrs. Leo Hunter's noble guest, Count Smartlark, when making notes for his monumental work on Chinese Metaphysics. With the directness and simplicity of real genius this accomplished nobleman accumulated everything the encyclopedias contained, first under the heading Metaphysics, and second under China, and then dexterously united the two subjects into one, thereby producing an immortal work, ingenious and unique, and probably quite as beneficial to mankind as if it had emanated from the mind of Hobbes or Kant. Colonel Byrd's account of the habits, morals and general condition of Edenton is in the Count's happiest vein. He never saw Edenton, not having accompanied the chaplain on his notable visit, but setting out with the axiom that the North Carolina settlers were Hottentots, and Hottentots being admittedly fond of intoxicating liquors, and Edenton being a North Carolina town, *qu. e. d.*, the inhabitants of that unhappy metropolis cannot have any other virtue but that of being without hypocrisy and are shamelessly open and above-board in their vicious lives. We feel like crying out with the pious fruit peddlers of Smyrna,

"In the name of the Prophet! Figs!" but nothing shall make us believe there was ever any dearth of "cakes and ale," to say nothing of good Nantes and Madeira, among the dainties of hospitable Westover.

If all this captious badinage only means that the colony of North Carolina was younger than Virginia or Massachusetts, with a less numerous and more scattered population, and, as a necessary consequence, the details of governmental routine perhaps less completely organized at the extremities of its territory, and the settler's life in general somewhat simpler, then nobody wishes to deny that the settlement of that colony began about two generations later than the planting at Jamestown. Georgia was first settled two generations later yet than North Carolina, and we fail to see wherein the age of either colony furnishes occasion for ridicule or criticism.

If Colonel Byrd's sarcasms seriously mean (which we are loth to believe) that in his deliberate judgment the brave men and good women who as pioneers opened the ground and laid the foundation on which was built the colony and State of North Carolina were not as respectable and respected as those of other American colonies, then we say bluntly and emphatically he either wrote in utter ignorance or in great disregard of all the authorities on the subject. Colonel Byrd was too well-read a scholar not to know that everything solid and lasting must have its modest beginning. Never yet has any nation sprung into the arena of earthly grandeur, all panoplied, magnificent and mighty, like Minerva with the majesty of Jove encircling her. The mighty empire of Persia began

with the enterprise of a petty tribe of mountain shepherds. The still greater power of imperial Rome grew out of the banding of a handful of outlaws under a bold, ambitious captain. England, the Rome of modern times, has grown out of repeated incursions of creek pirates who at last took possession of the soil, driving the native British into the swamps and mountains to lodge and feed with their own swine. In every pioneer State the whole method and apparatus of living is naturally simpler and less elaborate than it becomes in even one generation later, and the simplicity of life characteristic of the first settlers of every State in this great Union is in no sense the badge of that bitter poverty and unthrift which degrade or destroy. It is rather the beginning of affluence and the parent of luxury, and American manhood should feel a noble pride in the character, ideals and energy which enabled our forefathers, under many difficulties and privations, to lay broad and deep the foundation of various Commonwealths, out of which has grown a nation so populous and mighty that from the beginning of the present century it must be compared with the greatest empires of history. About the time Englishmen were busy planting settlements along the American coast, quaint Sir Thomas Browne wrote: "With all his faults, man is a noble animal." And so indeed he is, as he ought to be, since he is, even though faintly, the image of his Divine Maker; and it is one of the highest and noblest qualities of any race that it can send forth its young men, strong and brave, to subdue a wilderness, to form new societies and found new States, in the proud confidence that instead of sinking

into savagery and degradation they will patiently endure temporary hardship, privation and, as actually happened at Jamestown, even starvation, and march steadily on, stubborn, invincible, triumphant, to their destined goal. North Carolina has every right to feel proud that at a period when the daily exigencies of life in a new settlement made constant demands upon time and energy her founders could show so much accomplished in the way of creating and organizing a new Commonwealth, with its varied needs and all the complex machinery of government for a territory larger than England, with a scattered population about equal in all to some of the parishes of London. It would be an interesting and useful work to make a thorough study of this matter in all its phases, and investigate the social conditions of colonial North Carolina in the broadest sense, and it could not fail to throw light on the genesis of a nation if it were possible to fully set forth all the conditions and environments of one of its component units. We should, indeed, like to see the founders as they really were, to know all about their ways and means of living, their domestic economies, their primitive manufactures, their schools and libraries, their recreations; in short, every interest, great or small, that made up the sum of their lives. None of these are without value to a faithful historian; but to study and present the subject would require a huge volume, and is far beyond the power or scope of the present writer, whose only purpose is to refute Colonel Byrd's flippant criticisms.

To be more specific, we may, without unfairness, sum up his charges as follows: total depravity, almost universal idleness, and general roughness and grossness of living.

On the first count of this sweeping indictment, the utter disregard of all religious or moral obligation, we will first quote again from Bishop Meade: "Colonel Byrd was a man of great enterprise, a classical scholar, and a very sprightly writer. The fault of his works is an exuberance of humor and of jesting with serious things, which sometimes degenerates into that kind of wit which so disfigures and injures the writings of Shakespeare. He never loses an opportunity of a playful remark about Christians, and especially the clergy. He was under the impression that there was not a single minister of the church in North Carolina. *In this we think he is mistaken.*" The venerable Bishop might have spoken his *last sentence* much more positively. We know that Colonel Byrd was entirely wrong. In the third volume of the Rev. Dr. Anderson's "History of the Colonial Churches," published in London (and a most instructive and valuable work it is to American students), we find ample evidence bearing directly on this subject. Speaking of the labors of missionary clergymen sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, just two hundred years ago, Dr. Anderson says: "Foremost among these were the services of John Blair, who first came out to North Carolina in *1704* as an itinerant missionary, through the courtesy of Lord Weymouth, and after suffering many hardships returned to encounter them a second time as one of the permanent missionaries of the society and

commissary of the Bishop of London. At the time of Mr. Blair's *first visit* to North Carolina he found three small churches already built in the colony, with glebes belonging to them. His fellow-laborers sent out by the society in *1707* and the next few years were Adams, Gordon, Urmstone, Rainsford, Newman, Garzia and Moir. Governor Eden, and after him Sir Richard Everard, appear to have actively exerted themselves to promote the extension and welfare of the church, and later Governor Dobbs urgently begged that a bishop be sent to the colony to take energetic charge of the spiritual needs of the people. In *1715* the Assembly passed an act dividing the colony into nine parishes, affixing a stipend to each, not to exceed fifty pounds per annum [a sum then equal to about seven hundred dollars now]." "Two more of the North Carolina clergy at this time deserve to be named with especial honor, because they had both resided as laymen for some years in the province, and therefore been eye-witnesses of the hardships to which the church there was exposed. The first of these, John Boyd, received from the Bishop of London authority to enter upon his arduous work, and the manner in which he discharged his duties in Albemarle County, North Carolina, till his death, six years later, proved how fitly it had been conferred upon him." "Clement Hall was the second of these two consecrated men, and his career even more distinguished. His labors and journeyings remind us of those of the great Wesley. In eight years he traveled about fourteen thousand miles, preached near a thousand sermons, baptized more than six thousand grown persons and

children, administering the Lord's Supper frequently to as many as two or three hundred persons on a single journey, besides performing the incidental labors of organizing churches and classes, catechising children, visiting the sick and burying the dead." This would seem to be no indifferent example of a true Christian soldier and shepherd of souls, not unworthy of comparison with St. Paul himself. He stands out in pleasing contrast with the Rev. John Dunbar, who distinguished himself by fighting a duel in Westover churchyard, behind the wall of the pulpit from which he had often preached, and celebrated the Last Supper of the Prince of Peace. This edifying specimen of a Christian minister was the son-in-law of Colonel William Byrd, whose intimate knowledge of his character may have added sharpness to the Colonel's many gibes at the clergy. We do not think the figures given in the above account of Rev. Clement Hall's labors make any bad showing for the Hottentots of Colonel Byrd's satire. They seem to have heard the Word gladly, to have welcomed Mr. Hall's ministrations and yielded such fruit to them as must have mightily lifted up that good man's soul and given him strength and courage for still greater exertions in the Master's service.

It is not easy to produce direct evidence of the industry or indolence of any community a hundred and seventy years ago, but we can form a safe judgment from admitted indicative facts. There is no doubt that a mild climate, a fertile soil and teeming waters offer strong temptations to indolent enjoyment; and as Colonel Byrd concedes all these natural

advantages and attractions to North Carolina, the wonder is, not that some surrendered to the allurements of this earthly Paradise (their kind is by no means unknown north as well as south of this particular Elysium), but that a sufficient number resisted their temptations to create material for export not proportionately exceeded in quantity or value by any of the thirteen colonies. Certainly no other colony paid such taxes as $14 for a marriage license, or dreamed of building a vice-regal palace to cost a quarter of a million. All the facts go to show that a great majority of the people were resolutely bent on accumulating values and improving their fortunes as rapidly as possible, and we can draw pretty accurate inferences as to the general industry of a people when we look into the books of the tax-gatherer.

The personality of the influential men of a community, its statesmen and leaders, their character, public and private, their homes and way of living, furnish a sure guide to the standard of intellect, culture and refinement obtaining among their people. Does not Edward Moseley, statesman and patriot, stand out the peer of any public man in America of his own or any earlier day, not excepting Vane in Massachusetts, or Nathaniel Bacon in Virginia? Governor Gabriel Johnston was a worthy rival of Governor Spottswood in the energy and good sense with which through his long and successful administration he pushed forward the development of his province. No fair-minded student will assert that the names of Pollock and Harvey, Samuel Johnston, Harnett, Porter, Caswell, Ashe or Hewes do not deserve as high and honorable

place in our eighteenth century as those of Hancock or Adams, Dickenson, Trumbull, Rutledge, Pendleton, Wythe or Mason. William Hooper was a greater statesman than Charles Carroll, and a much better man than Benjamin Franklin. In the military service Waddell, Nash, Davidson, Rutherford, John Ashe, Sumner approved themselves in all things worthy brothers-in-arms and true "knights companion" of Warren or Mercer.

No cavil can break down the evidence of a Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence on May 20th or May 30th, 1775, an action more spirited and dangerous to its participants than the famous wresting of *Magna Charta* by the united Barons of England from a powerless King, and entitling the names of Alexander and Brevard to a lofty niche in the American Walhalla.

Truly there were giants in those days in North Carolina as elsewhere. Stately men were there, too, and if Colonel Byrd had dined with Governor Eden or Sir Richard Everard he would have met some of them and have been invited to visit their hospitable homes, some of them not unworthy of comparison with his own fair Westover; and we feel sure that when "put on his book oath" he would have freely admitted that not grand homes but grand souls make a people great. // Distinction of social charm, high breeding and refinement of domestic life are matters of local tradition rather than of statistical record. It is not often that one man or fmaily can draw the eyes of a nation to these neighborhood particulars, though it was said of Sir Walter Scott at Abbots-

ford that he did the honors for all Scotland; but all the country-side in North Carolina is rich in the legend of these virtues, clustering around the hearth-stones of many a gallant mansion whose very ruins are more than a century old. These are only echoes now around the sites of Belfont and Brompton, The Hermitage, Lillington Hall, The Neck, Winendale, Ormond House and Mosely Hall—*"etiam ruinæ perierunt."* But when we remember the great men who dwelt in these vanished homes, and the kindred spirits who gathered around them, we bow in silent reverence over their honored names. Clay Hill and Wakefield still remain, old and faithful custodians of the precious memories of their gentle owners. Orton still stands in solitary grandeur, keeping watch and ward over the lower Cape Fear, and King Roger Moore was a worthy counterpart in every respect to King Carter of the Rappahannock.

Is Buncombe Hall, with its open doors, its princely welcome and boundless hospitality, no more to be remembered of men because its mutilated grounds and crumbling walls are now silent monuments of by-gone splendor, "whose lights are fled, its garlands dead" almost a hundred and fifty years ago? As Steele finely said of a gifted lady in London, it was a liberal education to have enjoyed the privileged entrée to the Montfort House, that realm of maiden beauty and purity, the home sparkling with wit and innocent mirth, of every refining influence, where Colonel Willie Jones and Colonel John Ashe found those exquisite wives, whose grace and wit and spirit not only charmed their countrymen but put to the

blush and silenced armed foes, even the surly and savage Tarleton.

It is difficult to imagine a more brilliant and attractive home than that of Colonel Willie Jones himself, in historic Halifax. It was like Monticello, the home of his friend, Thomas Jefferson, a roof which by the magnetism of genius and high breeding drew to its cherishing hearth-stone everything of wit and wisdom and cultured merit that came within reach, and which gave out of all these as freely and richly as it received.

There was no fairer home in all America than the old Johnston House by Edenton, later known as Hayes. Not even Drayton Hall on the Ashley near Charleston, nor splendid Hampton near Baltimore, nor Livingston Manor on the Hudson, nor Rosewell on the York, speak more eloquently of home refinement in the olden time nor look down more gloriously upon the shining waters. The last time we saw it was near sunset. From the mossy walls of the grave-yard where rests so much honored dust we walked through the beautiful grounds by the windows of the library toward the bay, striving as we walked to bring before our mind's eye the forms of the long-vanished fair women and great men who once lived and moved amid these exquisite scenes. Ships were gliding on to their appointed havens. "The horns of Elfland" seemed to send out their mellow notes, echoing from shore to shore, and over everything was shed a golden glow that gave one moment's fleeting vision of a celestial "light that was never on

sea or land." Almost unconsciously the words rose to our lips: *"Vede Napoli é muori."*

We do not believe a more dignified and polished society ever met in America than gathered in Governor Tryon's palace in New Bern. We look back through the mists of a century and a half, and may fancy we see in powdered hair and rustling brocade the gorgeously-attired figures gliding through solemn minuet and quick gavotte, keeping joyous time to bassoon and viol, all unconscious of the storm destined to break so soon and bring to an end forever these loyal and royal fêtes. The last ball in that grandest of all the vice-regal palaces on the American continent must have been sounding like the Duchess of Richmond's entertainment in Brussels the night before Waterloo, "where youth and pleasure met to chase the glowing hours with flying feet," and

> "There was a sound of revelry by night,
> And Belgium's capital had gathered there
> Her beauty and her chivalry; and bright
> The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
> A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
> Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
> Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spoke again,
> And all went merry as a marriage bell."

But hush! hark! A deep sound strikes like a rising knell, and the stern Governor must go forth, like a fierce eagle, to rend with bloody talon the plain of Alamance, and open the first act of the coming tragedy. Belles and beaux, courtiers, councilors, Governor—all are dust now, but we may be sure

they made a gallant show in New Bern "in the auld time of the King."

We will not pursue the subject further. It is not worth while to invoke the thunderbolts of Heaven to crush a butterfly. Men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles, and both blossom and fruit of this Carolina century plant, in every season and sort of trial, have never failed to furnish proof beyond dispute or cavil as to the kind of seed from which it sprung. North Carolina can proudly rest, *"sans peur et sans reproche,"* upon the made-up record of what her past has been. Her brave and good men, her fair and noble women of the present are the sure pledges of what her future shall be.

Before we close perhaps we ought to state that the last and longest of our quotations—the one describing certain offensive and barbarous diversions of the natives—is not taken from Colonel Byrd's volume, but is to be found in the journal of the Marquis de Chastellux, a French officer under Rochambeau, and is not written of North Carolina, but narrates a personal experience in 1782 near the Potomac River in Virginia, in one of the most fertile, salubrious, beautiful and wealthy districts of that grand old State, fifty-four years later than Colonel Byrd's flying journey along its southern borders.

The late famous orator, Henry A. Wise, Governor of Virginia, used to say of Williamsburg, the old capital, where was and is a magnificent hospital for the insane, and which was a part of the district he represented in Congress, that it had about one thousand inhabitants, one half lazy and the other

half crazy; yet we can assure all who may read this tract that if they ever visit that ancient burg they will find there one of the most polished and charming societies on our continent. We will not quote the indictment drawn by the Commissary of London against the inhabitants of Charleston. His epithets art so sweeping and terrible that we might well wonder if he is describing Algiers or Hades, and we ask in amazement if he is speaking of the haughty Charleston we have read of, enthroned by the sea, and, like Tyre or Carthage, receiving tribute from the nations. Nothing that he can say, however, can shake our conviction that from a time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary" Charleston has been one of the most delightful of American cities. We make no argument out of the *"tu quoque,"* for we feel sure these unpleasant pictures are no more accurate than Colonel Byrd's, and we refer to them only in order to show how easy it is to draw caricatures and use hard words. There is no just foundation for quarrel or mutual jealousy in the family group of the South. In essentials the old slave-holding agricultural States of the South were one, as the same colonies were; in heart they should be indivisible. True comrades have they been in the past, alike in good and evil fortune; true brethren may they ever be, even to the last hour of recorded time.

We confess to no small admiration for Colonel William Byrd. His public life was distinguished and useful, his private life manly and generous, and he was a fine specimen of the grand *seigneur* of olden time. In the Presence to which

he was summoned a hundred and sixty years ago, rivalries, quarrels, ambitions, jealousies, earthly passions all are stilled. We doubt if he was ever very much in earnest in his satirical extravagancies, and, having entered good-humored protest against some of them, we call a truce to battle and reverently breathe a *requiescat* over his silent dust.

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VOL. III MARCH, 1904 No. 11

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BY

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WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

THE BATTLE OF MOORE'S CREEK BRIDGE,

FEBRUARY 27, 1776.

MOORE'S CREEK BATTLE-GROUND IS HALF A MILE FROM CURRIE, PENDER COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA.

BY PROFESSOR M. C. S. NOBLE,

(University of North Carolina).

Eighteen miles northwest of Wilmington, North Carolina, on a low, sandy bluff overlooking a deep, wide creek whose sluggish waters flow into the Black River, a tributary of the Cape Fear, there stands to-day a simple brownstone monument with this inscription on its western face:

IN COMMEMORATION
OF THE BATTLE OF
MOORE'S CREEK BRIDGE,
FOUGHT HERE
27TH FEBRUARY, 1776.
THE FIRST VICTORY GAINED
BY THE AMERICAN ARMS
IN THE WAR OF THE
REVOLUTION.

The right to this direct claim to precedence in Revolutionary success and martial glory is one of North Carolina's greatest historic possessions. The events leading up to and

culminating in this battle are full of interest and reflect clearly the patriotic character of North Carolinians.

The Coercive Acts of 1774 were passed in order to punish the people of Massachusetts, and although they dealt only with that colony, it was clear that any other colony might, at any time and without warning, receive similar treatment at the hands of a British Parliament.

The news of the closing of the port of Boston made a profound impression in all of the colonies. North Carolina, in great alarm for the safety of the constitutional rights of the colonies, and in deepest sympathy for the suffering people of Boston, began to act speedily and heartily. Throughout the province there rang the cry "The cause of Boston is the cause of all."

At a meeting of the people of the Wilmington district, in July, 1774, the various counties in the province were urged to send delegates to a Provincial Congress to be held at Johnston Court House the following August for the purpose of appointing delegates to represent North Carolina in a Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia. Among the resolutions adopted at this meeting was the following:

"*Resolved,* That we consider the cause of the Town of Boston as the common cause of British America and as suffering in defence of the Rights of the Colonies in general; and that therefore we have in proportion to our abilities sent a supply of Provisions * * * as an earnest of our sincere Intentions to contribute by every means in our power to alleviate

their distress and to enduce them to maintain, with Prudence and firmness the glorious cause in which they at present suffer."

In rapid succession, in fact almost instantaneously, counties in every section of the province chose delegates to the proposed Provincial Congress, adopted resolutions bold, clear-cut and denunciatory of the Coercive Acts, and expressed the greatest sympathy for the people of Boston. From Anson and Rowan in the west to New Hanover and Chowan in the east the men of the province spoke forth to the world through their "Resolutions" the characteristic North Carolina spirit of sympathy for the oppressed, and devotion to justice and liberty. Their sympathy did not stop with mere words. Contributions of money and provisions were made almost immediately—as much as $10,000 worth being sent from the port of Wilmington alone—and we shall presently see that, in their devotion to right and freedom, ten thousand men sprang to arms when the time for action came, in the early months of 1776. The temper of the people is shown in the following extracts taken from resolutions adopted at a meeting of the citizens of Rowan, August 8, 1774:

"*Resolved,* That the Cause of the Town of Boston is the common Cause of the American Colonies.

"*Resolved,* That it is the Duty and Interest of all American Colonies, firmly to unite in an indissoluble Union and Association to oppose by every Just and proper means the Infringement of their common Rights and Privileges."

Resolutions similar to the above were adopted throughout the province in town and county meetings. The seriousness of those who adopted them could not be doubted. They endeavored to force the mother country to a just consideration of their complaints in a most practical manner. They declared that no friend to the rights and liberties of America ought to purchase commodities imported from Great Britain; that every kind of luxury, dissipation, and extravagance ought to be abolished; that slaves ought not to be imported, and that manufacturing in this country ought to be promoted and encouraged, for "to be cloathed in manufactures fabricated in the Colonies ought to be considered as a Badge and Distinction of Respect and true Patriotism."* From meetings breathing such a resolute spirit of patriotism as this, delegates were sent to the first Provincial Congress held at New Bern instead of at Johnston Court House.

Governor Josiah Martin forbade the assembling of the Congress. It assembled, however, on the appointed day, August 25, 1774, elected William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell as delegates to the Continental Congress, and unanimously adopted resolutions which were as bold, direct and patriotic as any previously adopted in the towns

*Col. Recs., Vol. IX, 1025-1026.

and counties of the province, and from which the following are extracts:

"*Resolved,* That the inhabitants of the Massachusetts province have distinguished themselves in a manly support of the rights of America in general and that the cause in which they suffer is the Cause of every honest American who deserves the Blessings which the Constitution holds forth. * * *

"*Resolved,* That we will not directly or indirectly after the first day of January 1775 import from Great Britain any East India Goods, or any merchandize whatever. * * *

"*Resolved,* That unless American Grievances are redressed before the first day of October, 1775, We will not after that day directly or indirectly export Tobacco, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, or any other articles whatsoever." * * * * *

The Congress then adjourned and its members went to their homes determined to faithfully carry out the spirit of their "Resolutions."

The first Continental Congress met at Philadelphia during the following September and adopted the famous "Association" committing the colonies to the non-importation of British commodities, tea, and slaves. The eighth article of the "Association" read as follows:

"We will in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry * * * and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting,

exhibition of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments."

The "Association" was in harmony with the resolutions already adopted in the province and the Committees of Safety enforced it unsparingly. The Wilmington Committee having heard (March 1, 1775) that a "Public Ball" was to be given at the house of a lady in that town, sent her the following note:

"MADAM:

"The committee appointed to see the resolves of the Continental Congress put into execution, in this town, acquaint you, that the Ball intended to be given at your house, this evening, is contrary to the said resolves; we therefore warn you to decline it, and acquaint the parties concerned, that your house cannot be at their service, consistent with the good of your country.

"By order of the Committee,

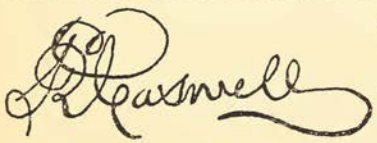
"Signed, THOS. CRAIKE."

The warning was heeded, and yet we are sure that foregoing the pleasure of the dance was no great hardship. The young people of North Carolina have ever been ready and willing to sacrifice on the altar of freedom not only pleasure but property, and even life itself whenever the public good required it.

On April 2, 1775, Governor Martin heard that another Provincial Congress was soon to meet in New Bern and appoint delegates to a second Continental Congress to be held in Philadelphia. With the approval of his Council he issued a proclamation forbidding the assembling of the Congress and

declaring that "the meeting of such Convention and the declared purpose thereof will be highly offensive to the King and dishonourable to the General Assembly of this Province, which is appinted to sit at this time for the dispatch of public business."* But no attention was paid to his proclamation.

On April 3d the Congress met, organized, and adjourned till the next day, when the General Assembly was to meet. The next morning the Congress met, received four new members and adjourned till the following day. A few minutes after this second adjournment of the Provincial Congress the General Assembly met, and of the forty-eight members present, forty-seven were members of the Congress. The Provincial Congress thus continued to meet daily one hour before the General Assembly met. It thanked Hooper, Hewes and Caswell for their services in the First Continental Congress,



adopted resolutions approving the "Association," and then having finished its work, adjourned on April 7th, two days *after* Martin had issued a proclamation commanding the members "on their allegiance and on pain of incurring His Majesty's highest displeasure to break up the said meeting and to desist from all such illegal, unwarrantable and dangerous proceedings."†

In his address to the General Assembly (April 4th), Governor Martin reviewed the condition of affairs in the

*Col. Recs., Vol. IX, 1177. †Col. Recs., Vol. IX, 1187.

province and plead with the members to be faithful to the royal cause, saying, among other things:

"Be it to your glory, Gentlemen, to record to latest posterity, that at a time when the monster, sedition, dared to raise his impious head in America, the people of North Carolina, inspired with a just sense of their duty to their King and Country, and animated by the example of its legislature, stood among the foremost of his Majesty's subjects, to resist his baneful snares, and to repel the fell invader of their happiness."

But the angry Governor was merely shrieking in the teeth of a rapidly rising gale of revolution, which was soon to gather force and sweep him and every other vestige of royal power from off our shores forever. The North Carolina spirit was thoroughly aroused and his high-sounding appeal met with a defiant answer. In their reply (April 7th) the Assembly boldly asserted their right of petition for a redress of grievances, and in utter disregard of his wishes they said:

"We take this opportunity Sir, the first that has been given us to express the warm attachment we have to our sister Colonies in general, and the heartfelt compassion we entertain for the deplorable state of the Town of Boston in particular, and also to declare the fixed and determined resolution of this Colony to unite with the other Colonies in every effort, to retain those just rights and liberties which as subjects to a

British King we possess and which it is our absolute and indispensable duty to hand down to posterity unimpaired."

These ringing words came from the very men at whom, as members of the Provincial Congress, he had hurled his proclamation in vain two days before, and now as members of the General Assembly, they were still bold, determined, and defiant. No wonder then that the Governor dissolved the Assembly on the following day.

This constantly growing spirit of resistance to the alleged unconstitutional acts of Parliament impressed Martin with the seriousness of the situation and he began to act accordingly.

After the battle of Alamance many of the Regulators had been placed under bond to appear at court from time to time, and they were thus kept under fearful apprehensions of the day of trial. Martin had endeavored to win their good-will by urging the home government to grant them a pardon. Others of the Regulators had taken the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. To the Regulators therefore the Governor might turn with reason for help in time of need, and so he sent his agents among them to secure their faithful service.

In the valley of the Cape Fear there were hundreds of Scotch Highlanders. Many of them had come to North Carolina since the battle of Culloden (1746) where, as defeated followers of the Pretender, scores of their comrades, like the Regulators at Alamance, had felt the keen edge of the British sword. As an act of royal favor, these followers of the Pre-

tender had been permitted to come to America and build new homes in a strange land. They had had enough of war, they had taken the oath of allegiance to the Crown, and, being royalists at heart, they had little sympathy with the political views of the Whigs in Carolina. Many of them had but recently come to North Carolina and their purses were empty. Serving as paid soldiers in a cause they believed in was far better than fighting with strangers against a government whose power they feared and whose rule they had sworn to support. They therefore gladly received the Governor's emissaries when they came among them in behalf of the royal cause.

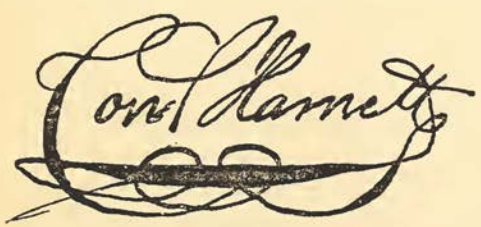
In the meantime Martin's alarm was increasing daily. In a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, he wrote (May, 1774): "In this little Town (*i. e.*, New Bern) they are now actually endeavoring to form what they call independant Companies under my nose, & Civil Government becomes more and more prostrate every day."* He had the guns in front of the palace dismounted in order to keep them from falling into the hands of the "Committee of that Town," but when a few days thereafter the angry people led by Abner Nash demanded his reason for such action, he claimed that he had done so because he feared that the rotten gun-carriages were unable to stand the strain of discharge at the approaching celebration of the King's birthday.† This seemed to satisfy the "mob" as he called it, but, fearing further

*Col. Recs., Vol. IX, 1256. †Col. Recs., Vol. X, 42.

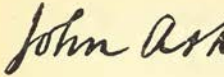
violence, he sent his family to New York and then fled to Fort Johnston at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, arriving there June 2, 1775.

In a few days Martin heard that Robert Howe was then on his way to the Fort at the head of a band of patriots. He immediately dismounted the guns and took refuge on the *Cruizer* sloop of war in the river near by. Soon after arriving on the *Cruizer* he wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth, and, after referring to the King's recent proclamation proscribing John Hancock and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, said "and seeing clearly that further proscriptions will be necessary before Government can be settled again upon sure Foundations in America, I hold it my indispensable duty to mention to your Lordship, Cornelius Harnett, John Ashe, Robert Howes, and Abner Nash * * * as proper objects for such distinction in this Colony * * * that they stand foremost among the patrons of revolt and anarchy."*

Three days afterwards, five hundred men led by Ashe and Harnett came to the Fort and burned it. As Martin stood on the deck of the *Cruizer* that July morning and looked in helpless wrath at the burning Fort, he must have felt more than ever that Ashe and Harnett were indeed and in truth the "patrons of revolt



*Col. Recs., Vol. X, 98.



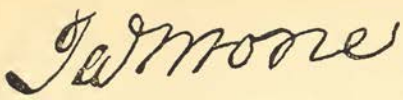
and anarchy." But he was neither an idle man nor a coward. He begged permission to be allowed to raise a battalion of Highlanders and asked that the commission of Lieutenant Colonel held by him prior to his coming to North Carolina be restored to him. The government declined to return his commission, but instructed him to organize the Highlanders and informed him that an officer would be sent to take command of them.

His activity in rallying the Highlanders and the belief that he intended to incite the slaves to revolt (which he denied except as a last resort),* led the Wilmington Safety Committee to forbid any one to communicate with him without having first obtained permission from some Safety Committee.

On August 8th, Martin issued his "Fiery" proclamation denouncing Ashe, Howe, Caswell, and others, the actions of the Safety Committees in the province, and the "resolves" of the people of Mecklenburg, and warned His Majesty's subjects not to send delegates to the Provincial Congress soon to meet in Hillsboro. The only notice that the Congress took of his proclamation was to denounce it as "scandalous, scurrilous, and malicious" and to order it to be "burnt by the common hangman."

Among the many acts of this Congress (which now became the legislative body in the province) was one providing for the raising of two regiments to serve in the Continental Army.

*Col. Recs., Vol. X, 138.



James Moore of New Hanover was appointed Colonel of one of them. We shall soon hear more of him and his Continental regiment.

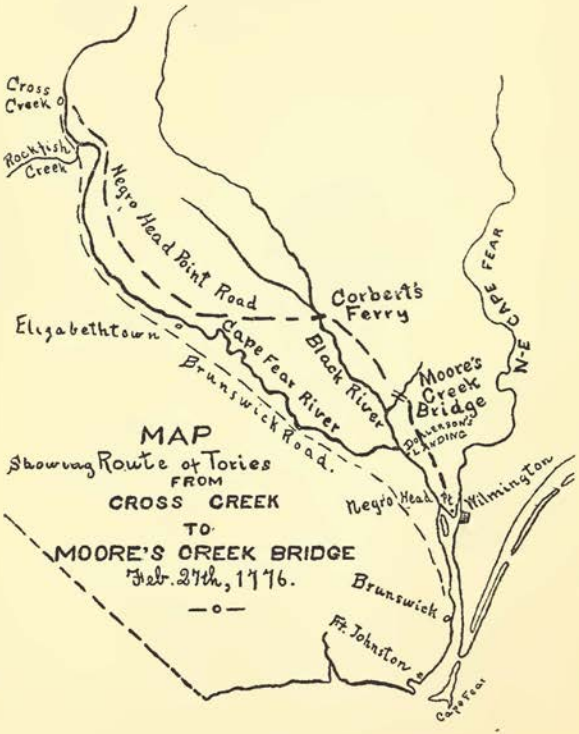
Early in 1776 Martin's heart was gladdened by the receipt of a letter telling him that Lord Cornwallis and seven regiments would soon sail to his relief on a fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker. Additional aid was also to be brought to him from the north by Major General Clinton. The time for action was at hand. The Highlanders, Regulators, and all other loyalists must be brought down to the coast to join with the coming British soldiers and march through the province to overawe the people. All of his insults and injuries, beginning with the first Provincial Congress and ending with his virtual imprisonment on the *Cruizer,* are to be avenged at last. The rebellion will be crushed and his Majesty's lawful government restored.

He issued a proclamation declaring it to be necessary to raise the royal standard and calling on all of his Majesty's faithful servants to repair to it or be regarded as "Rebels and Traitors." He had long looked for and planned for the coming of this hour.

Donald McDonald, an old hero of Culloden and Bunker Hill, had been in the neighborhood of Cross Creek for months advocating the King's cause. Having been appointed General, he raised the royal standard and called on all to rally to it. In a few days two thousand Tories had assembled at Cross Creek and were ready to be led to Brunswick by

February 15th, according to Martin's instructions. Will the well-laid plans of the Governor succeed? We shall see.

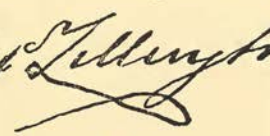
Colonel Moore now marched his Continental regiment to meet the Tories and fortified a position at Rockfish Creek, eight miles from Cross Creek,* on the road running to Brunswick along the south side of the Cape Fear.

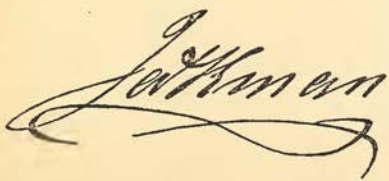


*Now Fayetteville.

In the meantime the Committee of Safety at New Bern, hearing of the Tory uprising, had ordered Richard Caswell, Colonel of minute-men in the New Bern military district, to "march immediately with the Minute Men under his Command to join the Forces"* from the other parts of the province for the purpose of suppressing the insurrection. The militia colonels in the several counties in the district who, according to the military act adopted at Hillsboro,† were outranked by the Colonel of minute-men in the district, were ordered to take their men and "join the Minute Men under the Command of Colonel Richard Caswell."‡ While Caswell was hurrying from the east to join Moore at Rockfish, several other colonels from different parts of the province were marching rapidly to the front for the same purpose.

By the middle of February Moore had with him at Rockfish a force consisting of his own Continentals, Alexander Lillington, Colonel of minute-men of the Wilmington district, with one hundred and fifty men, Colonel John Ashe, of New Hanover, with one hundred volunteers, and Colonel James Kenan with the Duplin militia. Colonel Thackston of the Hillsboro district and Colonel Martin of the Salisbury district were in striking distance of Cross Creek. In a





*Col. Recs., Vol. X, 444. †Col. Recs., Vol. X, 199. ‡Col. Recs., Vol. X, 444.

few days McDonald marched to within four miles of Moore's position and sent him the following letter:

"Headquarters, February 19, 1776.

"Sir:—I herewith send the bearer Donald Morrison * * * to propose terms to you as friends and countrymen. I must suppose you unacquainted with the Governor's Proclamation, commanding all his majesty's loyal subjects to repair to the King's royal standard, else I should have imagined you would, ere this, have joined the King's army, now engaged in his Majesty's service. I have therefore thought it proper to intimate to you, that, in case you do not, by twelve o'clock tomorrow, join the royal standard, I must consider you as enemies, and take the necessary steps for the support of legal authority. I again beg of you to accept the proffered clemency. * * *

"I have the honor to be, in behalf of the Army, sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"Donald McDonald.

"P. S.—His excellency's Proclamation is herewith enclosed."

Moore had had practically no military training, and yet he was a born strategist, as is shown by his management of the troops under his command in this campaign. To make sure of his game he "plays for time" until Thackston and Martin may be near enough to cut off the enemy's retreat,*

*Moore's Letter to Harnett, Rev. Hist. of N. C., Hawkes, Swain, Graham, 218.

and hence his method of reply in the first of the following letters:

"Camp at Rockfish, February 19.

"Sir:—Yours of this date I have received; in answer to which I must inform you, that the terms which you are pleased to say * * * are offered to us as friends and countrymen, are such as neither my duty or inclinations will permit me to accept, and which I must presume you too much of an officer to expect of me. You were right when you supposed me unacquainted with the Governor's Proclamation; but as the terms therein proposed are such as I hold incompatible with the freedom of Americans, it can be no rule of conduct for me. However, should I not hear further from you before twelve o'clock to-morrow, by which time I shall have an opportunity of consulting my officers here, and perhaps Colonel Martin, who is in the neighborhood of Cross-Creek, you may expect a more particular answer; * * *

"I am, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

"James Moore."

"Camp at Rockfish, February 20, 1776.

"Sir:—Agreeable to my promise of yesterday, I have consulted the officers under my command, respecting your letter, and am happy in finding them unanimous in opinion with me. We consider ourselves engaged in a cause the most glorious and honorable in the world, the defence of the liberties of mankind, in the support of which we are determined to hazzard every thing dear and valuable; and in tenderness

to the deluded people under your command, permit me, sir, through you, to inform them, before it is too late, of the dangerous and destructive precipice on which they stand, and to remind them of the ungrateful return they are about to make for their favorable reception in this country. If this is not sufficient to recall them to the duty they owe to themselves and their posterity, inform them that they are engaged in a cause in which they cannot succeed, as not only the whole force of this country, but that of our neighboring Provinces, is exerting and now actually in motion to suppress them, and which must end in their utter destruction. Desirous, however, of avoiding the effusion of human blood, I have thought proper to send you a copy of the Test recommended by the Continental Congress, which, if they will yet subscribe and lay down their arms by twelve o'clock to-morrow, we are willing to receive them as friends and countrymen. Should this offer be rejected, I shall consider them as enemies to the Constitutional liberties of America, and treat them accordingly. I cannot conclude without reminding you, sir, of the oath which you and some of your officers took at New Bern, on your arrival to this country, which I imagine you will find difficult to reconcile to your present conduct. * * * *

"I am, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

"J. Moore."

"Head-Quarters, February 20, 1776.

"Sir:—I received your favor * * * and observed the declared sentiments of revolt, hostility, and rebellion to

the King, and to what I understand to be the Constitution of this country. If I am mistaken, future consequences must determine; but while I continue in my present sentiments, I shall consider myself embarked in a cause which must * * * extricate this country from anarchy and licentiousness. I cannot conceive that the Scots emigrants, to whom I imagine you allude, can be under greater obligations to this country than to the King under whose gracious and merciful Government they alone could have been enabled to visit this Western region: and I trust, sir, it is in the womb of time to say, that they are not that deluded and ungrateful people which you would represent them to be. As a soldier in his Majesty's service, I must inform you, if you are yet to learn, that it is my duty to conquer, if I cannot reclaim, all those who may be hardy enough to take up arms against the best of masters, as of Kings.

"I have the honor to be, in behalf of the Army under my command, sir, your most obedient servant,

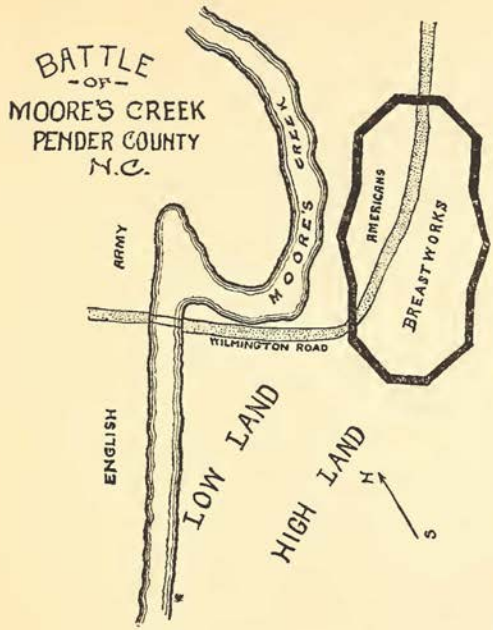
"DONALD McDONALD.

"*To* JAMES MOORE, ESQ."

The next day Moore was informed that the enemy had crossed the Cape Fear the night before near Cross Creek and was then on the way to Wilmington. He knew the country perfectly and formed his plans immediately. Thackston and Martin were ordered to take possession of Cross Creek so as to prevent the enemy's return to that place, a special courier ordered Caswell to take possession of Corbert's Ferry over

Black River, while Lillington and Ashe were sent to re-inforce Caswell, if possible, but if not, to take possession of Moore's Creek Bridge, which, like Corbert's Ferry, was on the road the Tories were traveling to Wilmington. And now with every avenue of escape closely guarded, Moore and his Continentals, accompanied by Kenan and the Duplin militia, rushed down to Elizabethtown, hoping to cross the river there in time to meet McDonald on his way to Corbert's Ferry or to "fall in their rear and surround them there." Every order of Moore, the Commanding Colonel, was obeyed to the letter. Thackston and Martin took possession of Cross Creek, Caswell went to Corbert's Ferry, and Lillington and Ashe took their stand at Moore's Creek Bridge. Soon Caswell informed Moore that the Tories had raised a flat, sunk in the Black River, five miles above him, and by erecting a bridge, had crossed it with their whole army.* Moore immediately hurried on towards Moore's Creek and ordered Caswell to do the same. In faithful obedience to the orders of his superior officer, Caswell, who had been joined by Colonel John Hinton, of Wake county, marched to Moore's Creek Bridge, arriving there at night,† February 26th, where he found Lillington and Ashe in an entrenched position on a sandy elevation, about one hundred yards from the bridge. The flooring of the bridge was taken up, the pine pole girders thoroughly greased

*Moore's Letter to Harnett, Rev. Hist. of N. C., Hawkes, Swain, Graham, 219.
†Caswell's Letter to Harnett, Col. Recs., Vol. X, 482.



with tallow, over which quantities of soft soap were poured to make crossing the more difficult, and then the patriots resolutely awaited the coming of the Tories.

We are now on the eve of a decisive battle which is to determine North Carolina's stand in the long struggle for American independence. From across the ocean Cornwallis and his regiments are coming to help establish forever the rule of Great Britain in North Carolina, Clinton and his army are on their way down the coast to join Lord Cornwallis at the mouth of the Cape Fear, and Governor Martin, eager to welcome the coming of the Highlanders and Regulators, has moved up the river near to Wilmington, where, under the pretext of demanding supplies from its citizens, he stands on the deck of the *Cruizer* sloop of war anxiously awaiting to catch sight of the advancing loyal clans and hear the tri-

umphant sound of the Scotchmen's bagpipes. But whether North Carolina is to be saved to the British Crown or not, depends not so much on the coming of Cornwallis and Clinton, as on McDonald's leading his army safely over the bridge and on through the patriots' lines of defence. Far out there in the piney woods of North Carolina, away from British interference, the Tories and the patriots are soon to settle forever, at the point of the sword, the political future of the province.

In the early morning of February 27, 1776, the Highlanders began their march. They moved bravely on, led by their gallant commander, Colonel McLeod, who crossed over on the poles, and seeing an abandoned entrenchment "next the bridge," supposed that the patriots had fled. With a glad shout he called to his followers that the day was won, but just then the alarm gun sounded, volley after volley was poured upon the advancing columns,

MOORE'S CREEK BRIDGE, 1904.

the little cannon on the breastworks swept the bridge, McLeod fell riddled with bullets, and the Tories, stunned by the destructive and unexpected resistance, fled in confusion before the now advancing patriots, who quickly replaced the flooring of the bridge and rushed on in pursuit of their enemies. In the meantime a detachment of patriots had crossed the creek above the bridge and added to the defeat of the Highlanders by a flank attack.

Thus in a few minutes sixteen hundred* Tories had been put to flight by one thousand patriots, who had only one killed and one wounded. "The number (of Tories) killed and mortally wounded * * * was about thirty; most of them were shot on passing the bridge. Several had fallen into the water, some of whom, I am pretty certain, had not risen yesterday evening (February 28th) when I left the camp. Such prisoners as we have made, say there were at least fifty of their men missing."†

General McDonald, who had been too unwell to command the Tories during the battle, was captured the next day at a house a few miles from Moore's Creek Bridge. Together with Allan McDonald and many other prisoners he was sent to Halifax for confinement and afterwards to Philadelphia.

A few hours after the engagement Colonel Moore arrived on the ground, and, although he was too late to take active part in the battle, he could but rejoice in the successful

*Caswell's Letter to Harnett, Col. Recs., Vol. X, 482.
†Gen. McDonald's estimate, Col. Recs., Vol. X, 482.

execution of his well-laid plans by his subordinate officers, whose every movement had been in strict accord with his direct orders.

The results of the victory were most important. The patriots roamed over the country in pursuit of the Highlanders and Regulators, disarming them wherever found. Among the trophies were "350 guns and shot-bags; 150 swords and dirks; 1,500 excellent rifles; two medicine chests, fresh from England, one of them valued at 300 pounds sterling; a box containing half Johanesses and Guineas, secreted in a stable at Cross Creek, discovered by a negro, and reported to be worth 15,000 pounds sterling; thirteen wagons, with complete sets of horses, and 850 common soldiers," who were disarmed and then discharged.

This brilliant victory saved North Carolina to the cause of American independence; it showed that North Carolina was able to hold in check the Tories within her borders; it won over to the cause of freedom many who had hitherto held back for fear of England's power, and it so thoroughly broke the spirit of Regulators and Highlanders that they never again rallied to the support of the royal cause,—no, not even when in 1781, Cornwallis marched among them on his way from Guilford Court House to Wilmington. And the fact that ten thousand men, during this month of February, 1776, had taken up arms in defence of liberty, showed that North Carolina's opposition to wrong and oppression had reached

the fighting point of seriousness, thus teaching England what to expect from all of her southern Colonies.

Soon after the battle, Cornwallis and Clinton reached the Cape Fear, learned of the defeat of the Tories and sailed away to South Carolina, taking with them Josiah Martin, the last of North Carolina's royal Governors. Space will not permit our following him further at this time.

Unfortunately there is a dispute as to whether Lillington or Caswell commanded the American forces at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge.

According to an act of the Provincial Congress, passed at Hillsboro, September 7, 1775, a colonel of minute-men in a military district ranked the militia colonels in that district, but was himself ranked by a colonel in the regular army. In case two colonels of minute-men should hold commissions of the same date, the Provincial Council was to determine the relative rank of each. Lillington and Caswell were made colonels on the same day, and there has not yet been found any record of the Provincial Council determining their relative rank.

The spirit of the military legislation of the times was that a resident colonel or general of one district ranked an officer of the same grade coming from another district.*

The battle was fought in Lillington's district, and according to Caswell's own statement he found upon his arrival at

*Col. Recs., Vol. X, 530.

LILLINGTON'S CRESCENT.†

Moore's Creek Bridge, the night before the battle, a detachment of the Wilmington Battalion of minute-men already on the ground "under the command of Colonel Lillington."* Certainly Lillington, who had come to Moore's Creek in obedience to Colonel Moore's orders, and had thrown up defences,‡ and taken his position behind them ready to receive the coming foe, would have hardly given up the post of honor to Caswell, who had been ordered to Moore's Creek Bridge by Colonel Moore, simply because the Tories had crossed the river five miles above his (Caswell's) position, and had again begun their march towards Wilmington. No doubt a glad shout greeted "Caswell and the brave officers and soldiers under his command" as they marched over the bridge that February night and took their position in the rear where they might support those already posted on the fighting line. A visit to the locality and a careful study of the battle-field and the old breastworks, yet to be seen, will, I think, convince one that this would be the natural arrangement of troops arriving there at different times. The only man killed was John Grady, of Duplin. We are told that he belonged to the company of Captain Love, who lived in New Hanover, near the Duplin line. If so, he was no doubt either a minute-man in

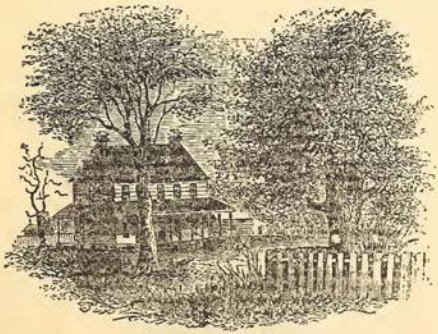
*Col. Recs., Vol. X, 482. †Many of the patriots wore silver crescents on their hats during the battle. Lillington's was sent, with other Revolutionary relics, to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, where the whole collection was lost. ‡Col. Recs., Vol. XV, 785, 788.

Lillington's Battalion, since his county was in the Wilmington district, or belonged to Ashe's New Hanover volunteers, which formed a part of Lillington's command, a fact helping to show that Lillington's men were in the front of the fight. It is said that he did not go to the war until Caswell's command passed his home, when he marched away with it, and thus reached his old company in time to give his young life for his country.

Tradition in the neighborhood of the battle-field gave the praise of leadership to Lillington, "and the matrons and maidens of New Hanover would often beguile the winter nights by a popular song, whose burden was the field—

"'Where Lillington fought for Caswell's glory.'"*

Mr. Joshua G. Wright, in a speech delivered at the dedication of a monument on the battle-field in 1857, said: "Aye, even from the lips of the late Colonel Samuel Ashe, we have it that Lillington was the Great Leader of the contest." Colonel Ashe was in his fourteenth year at the time of the battle and must have received his in-



LILLINGTON HALL.

*McRee's Iredell, Vol. I, 272.

formation from his uncle, who was there with his volunteers.

Lillington died ten years after the battle and was buried at his home, Lillington Hall, about six miles from Rocky Point. The following inscription on his tombstone is of great interest and help in determining the question of command at Moore's Creek Bridge:

BENEATH THIS STONE
LIE THE MORTAL REMAINS OF
GENERAL
JOHN ALEXANDER LILLINGTON,
A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION
WHO DIED IN 1786.
HE COMMANDED THE AMERICAN FORCES
AT THE BATTLE OF MOORE'S CREEK,
ON THE 27TH FEBRUARY, 1776;
AND BY HIS MILITARY SKILL
AND COOL COURAGE IN THE FIELD
AT THE HEAD OF HIS TROOPS, SECURED A
COMPLETE AND DECISIVE VICTORY.
TO INTELLECTUAL POWERS OF A HIGH ORDER
HE UNITED AN INCORRUPTIBLE INTEGRITY
AND A DEVOTED AND SELF-SACRIFICING
PATRIOTISM; A GENUINE LOVER OF LIBERTY,
HE PERILLED HIS ALL TO SECURE THE
INDEPENDENCE OF HIS COUNTRY,
AND DIED IN A GOOD OLD AGE,
BEQUEATHING TO HIS POSTERITY
THE REMEMBRANCE OF
HIS VIRTUES.

The claim that Caswell commanded the American forces at Moore's Creek is based on the following resolution adopted by the Provincial Congress at Halifax six weeks after the battle:

"*Resolved,* That the thanks of this Congress be given to Col. Richard Caswell, and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for the very essential service by them rendered this country at the battle of Moore's Creek."

Now, who were "the brave officers and soldiers under his command," to whom thanks were given for "the very essential service" rendered at Moore's Creek?

We have already seen that when the New Bern Safety Committee heard that the Tories were about to march to Brunswick, it ordered Colonel Caswell of the minute-men in the district to "march immediately with the Minute Men *under his Command* to *join* the Forces which may march from different Parts of this Province," and that it also ordered the militia Colonels of Dobbs, Johnston, Pitt and Craven counties to take their troops and "join the Minute Men under the Command of Colonel Richard Caswell."*

Having been ordered to "join," and not having been ordered to take command of, forces coming from other parts of the province, he and "the brave officers and soldiers under his command" acted in accordance with the orders of Colonel James Moore from the time of their arrival in, and up to their

*Col. Recs., Vol. X, 444.

departure from, the Wilmington military district. Two days after the battle, in a letter to Harnett, Caswell wrote: "I, therefore, *with Colonel Moore's consent,* am returning to New Bern with the troops *under my command,*"—that is, with those he had brought with him from his own district and not Lillington's men, for they went down to the defence of Wilmington.*

With the evidence before me I believe that the vote of thanks to Caswell has been misconstrued beyond the intent of the Congress, that Lillington, the resident colonel of minutemen in the district, was technically the ranking officer in the battle; that he bore the brunt of the attack and turned the enemy back; that Caswell joined in the pursuit and helped to make the victory more complete; that each strove for victory, thinking little of rank, and that the Provincial Congress, to which Caswell had already been elected and in which he was soon to take his seat, gladly gave a vote of thanks to him who, twice their representative in the Continental Congress, had now led eight hundred men into a neighboring district and rendered "very essential service" in gaining the first battle fought in the province.

The great and undisputed hero of the campaign, however, was James Moore, of Brunswick, Colonel of the First North Carolina Regiment in the Continental Army. He planned the whole campaign, provided for every contingency, and drove the enemy into the hands of the two brave colonels who had taken their stand at Moore's Creek Bridge in faithful

*Col. Recs., Vol. XV, 785, 788.

obedience to his orders. The success of the American arms is due entirely to his foresight, energy, and skill; and the Provincial Council, the military Board of Control in the Province, most promptly and properly passed the following resolution at a meeting held in New Bern, March 4, 1776:

MONUMENT AT MOORE'S CREEK.

"Resolved, That the thanks of of this Council be given to Col. James Moore and all the Brave Officers and Soldiers of every denomination for their late very important services rendered their country in effectually suppressing the late daring and dangerous insurrection of the Highlanders and Regulators, and that this Resolve be published in the North Carolina Gazette."*

In 1857 a monument was erected on the battle-field to commemorate the victory. On one face of the monument is the name of LILLINGTON and on the opposite one is that of CASWELL; on the third face is the inscription already quoted, while on the remaining face is the following:

*Col. Recs., Vol. X, 475.

HERE LIE THE REMAINS OF
PRIVATE JOHN GRADY,
OF DUPLIN COUNTY,
WHO FELL BRAVELY FIGHTING FOR HIS
COUNTRY—THE FIRST MARTYR IN
THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IN NORTH
CAROLINA, AND THE ONLY WHIG
KILLED IN THE BATTLE.

It would be of great interest, did space permit, to write more fully of these gallant leaders,—Moore and Kenan, Thackston and Martin, Lillington and Caswell, Ashe, Hinton, and others. Their names will ever be gratefully remembered when the story is told of how they fought the fight that saved our State and won "The first victory of the Revolution." But of equal interest, charm and pride would be the story of the lives of the brave men they led to battle, those sturdy patriots who never laid aside their arms until independence was acknowledged, and who then went back to their homes where, as quiet, private citizens, they helped to build up the "Old North State"—that State which their descendants will ever love, honor and defend.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.,
March 31, 1904.

NOTE.—I thank Dr. C. A. Smith, of the University of North Carolina, for careful reading of the proof, and Mr. A. D. Ward, of New Bern, and Messrs. Junius Davis and J. O. Carr, of Wilmington, for help in collecting *data* used in the preparation of this BOOKLET.

M. C. S. N.

VOL. III APRIL, 1904 No. 12

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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VOL. III APRIL, 1904 No. 12

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

RALEIGH
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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

THE NORTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA BOUNDARY.*

BY DANIEL R. GOODLOE.

It is not surprising that an important event in the history of North Carolina, which transpired within the present century, has been almost entirely lost sight of in view of the fact that its interesting incidents have not been recorded by any one of our historians. Hawks made thorough work as far as he went, but his valuable history stops short in 1729. His predecessors, Williamson and Martin, only brought down the narrative to the date of the Revolution. Jones wrote only sketches. Colonel Wheeler collected valuable materials for history in compiling the annals of the counties, but he somehow overlooked the most important incident in those of the great county of Buncombe. Mr. Moore refers to it in three lines. I can recall no reference to the affair, even by Governor Swain, whose essays and addresses are not now before me. Yet the materials for a history of this border war and struggle for territory are ample, and are preserved in the most authentic form—that of official documents. I find them in the annals of Congress; and they may be seen in the laws and legislative proceedings of both Georgia and North Carolina.

It appears from the annals of the House of Representatives that a memorial from the Legislature of Georgia was pre-

*Reprinted by permission from the State Normal Magazine. This is a posthumous contribution, Mr. Goodloe having been dead several years.

sented on January 13, 1806, setting forth that great oppression and injury had arisen to sundry citizens of the State in consequence of a claim of the State of North Carolina to certain lands lying within the boundary of Georgia; that the rights of Georgia had been affected and violated thereby, and praying that Congress would interpose and cause the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude to be ascertained, and the line between the two States to be plainly marked.

The memorial was referred to a special committee consisting of Messrs. Spalding of Georgia, George W. Campbell of Tennessee, Moore of South Carolina, Stanford of North Carolina, and Epps of Virginia, with instructions to examine and report their opinion thereupon to the House.

On February 12th Mr. Spalding, of the committee, made a report in which it is stated that between the latitude of 35 degrees north, which is the southern boundary claimed by North Carolina, and the northern boundary of Georgia, as settled by a convention between that State and South Carolina, intervenes a tract of country supposed to be about twelve miles wide, from north to south, and extending in length from the western boundary of Georgia, at Nicajack, on the Tennessee, to her northeastern limits on the Tuzalo. The committee say that this tract was consequently within the limits of South Carolina, and in the year 1787 it was ceded to the United States, who accepted the cession. This territory, the report continues, remained in the possession of the United States until 1802, when it was ceded to the State of Georgia.

The committee, from the best information at hand, estimated the number of settlers upon this territory at 800. It was not known where they came from, and it was denied that they had any title to the land they occupied and on which they had made improvements. No title, indeed, could have been given, the committee say, since the lands remained within the boundary of Cherokee until 1798, when a part of it was purchased by treaty held at Tellico.

At the earnest entreaty of the inhabitants of the territory, we are told, the Legislature of Georgia, in 1803, passed an act to organize the inhabited part of the territory, and to form it into a county, authorizing, at the same time, the Governor to appoint commissioners to meet such commissioners as should be appointed by the Government of North Carolina, to ascertain and plainly mark the line dividing the territory from North Carolina.

After adverting to some circumstances attending the failure of the two States to agree upon terms of settlement, the committee came to the following resolution:

"*Resolved,* That the President of the United States be authorized to appoint a commissioner to meet such commissioners as may be appointed by the States of North Carolina and Georgia, for the purpose of ascertaining and running the line which divides the territory transferred by the United States to Georgia from North Carolina.

"The report was read and referred to a Committee of the Whole House on Friday next."

But the Committee of the Whole House failed to take up the report and resolution on the Friday designated; and nothing more was done in the premises. The reader will have noticed that the committee assumed all the facts to be such as they were stated in the memorial. But they failed to impress the majority of Congress as they had done the committee, and the matter was permitted to drop.

It is said, indeed, that the North Carolina delegation gave the assurance that they would represent the matter to the State authorities and endeavor to bring about a settlement without the intervention of Congress.

The county which was organized in the disputed territory by the State of Georgia, and which is referred to in the report of the committee, took the name of a prominent citizen, Judge Walton. It not only bordered on the county of our Buncombe, but it was carved out of it, as the subsequent survey demonstrated. It is a curious fact that that Georgia county within a North Carolina county was, in the settlement of the controversy, erased, expunged, obliterated, and no longer exists, but the State of Georgia—determined to preserve the name—half a dozen years later organized a new county in the interior of the State of the same name! Old Buncombe, on the other hand, though curtailed of her vast proportions, still lives, and on her narrowed territorial limits she contains ten times the population, the wealth and the intelligence which she possessed three quarters of a century ago.

The two States, in 1807, came to an agreement as to the basis of a survey, the result of which, as will be seen, failed

to satisfy the Georgians. They again appealed to Congress, and that circumstance led to the preservation of all the facts in the Annals and in the House Journals. In the latter I find the case presented as follows:

"APRIL 26, 1810.

"Mr. Bibb of Georgia presented a representation of the Legislature of the State of Georgia relative to her claim to a certain tract of country west of the State of South Carolina, ceded to her by the United States in the year one thousand eight hundred and two, which tract of country is claimed by and in the possession of North Carolina, and soliciting the Government of the United States to appoint some person to run the dividing line between the States aforesaid, which was ordered to lie on the table."

Nothing further was done with the memorial or "representation" at that session. But early in the next, or third, session of the Eleventh Congress, viz., on December 27, 1810, it was, on motion of Mr. Bibb,

"*Ordered,* That the representation of the State of Georgia in relation to their disputed boundary with North Carolina, presented on April 26th last, be refered to a select committee.

"Messrs. Bibb of Georgia, Macon of North Carolina, Calhoun of South Carolina, Stephenson of Virginia, and Ringgold of Maryland, were appointed the said committee."

I have examined the Journals carefully, as well as the Annals, and find no report from this committee. The appli-

cation appears to have been abandoned by the Georgians as hopeless, as well it might have been, in view of the report made to the Legislature of that State by her commissioners appointed to run the line jointly with those of North Carolina.

The memorial recites that the State of Georgia, by her convention with the United States of April 24, 1802, for the cession of her western territory, having acquired a right to a certain tract of country which was west of South Carolina and separated the States of North Carolina and Georgia; and the commissioners of the United States having held out this territory as a strong and valuable part of the consideration offered, the State of Georgia sent her Surveyor-General to ascertain the extent and quality of the territory she had thus acquired. He ascertained the boundary to be at the points that had long been supposed by South Carolina and by all the precedent claims to this tract of country. Georgia then proceeded to extend her laws and government over the people there resident, and she then, with astonishment, first heard that her claims were to be resisted by North Carolina unless she would agree to sanction grants that had issued from the Government of that State, and which would swallow up the right of soil through the whole extent of country; the sanction of which would have overthrown her benevolent intentions to its resident inhabitants, and confirmed a system of speculation which it had been the effort of Georgia to weed out of the limits of her State.

The memorial states that Georgia, disappointed in her application to North Carolina, then addressed herself to Con-

gress; that her Representatives in Congress refrained from pressing the application, on the assurance given by the North Carolina Representatives that they would bring the matter to the attention of the State authorities. This agreement led to the appointment of commissioners on the part of the two States. The commissioners met and made "some observations" about the latitude of places. But these observations differed so widely from all the preconceived notions of the Georgians that the Legislature of that State refused to abide by the result.

Accordingly, another application was made to the State of North Carolina to appoint commissioners, that the doubts on the subject might be removed, and that if Georgia had no just claim to the territory in dispute, and for which she had given a valuable consideration, she might go to Congress with conclusive evidence of the fact and claim to be remunerated. The memorial proceeds to state that the State of North Carolina had refused to listen to this second proposal for a survey, after Georgia had refused to abide the result of the first.

The application to North Carolina, the memorial states, was reiterated, but was rejected; and hence "The Legislature of Georgia now see but one mode of calming the irritations that have arisen between the two States on this subject; they therefore apply to the Government of the United States to appoint a proper person to run the dividing line between the two States, through the whole extent, either at the expense of the Union, as Georgia believes she has a right to demand, or at the expense of the two States, if Congress should so insist."

A resolution is added, calling on the Senators and Representatives of the State in Congress to press the matter upon the attention of the General Government.

The reader would naturally infer from this statement that the work of the joint commission of the two States was the merest pleasure excursion, and that its results were without moral or legal obligation upon the parties who had agreed to abide by them. But the papers which accompany the memorial, or "representation," as the Legislature chooses to style it, presents the subject in a quite different light.

First, we have correspondence between the two Governors. It begins with a letter from Governor Jared Irwin of Georgia, dated Louisville, Georgia, December 10, 1806. He encloses sundry resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Georgia, and announces that that body had chosen Thomas P. Carnes, Thomas Flournoy and William Barnett as commissioners to ascertain the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude "and plainly to mark the dividing line between the States of North Carolina and Georgia."

Governor Nathaniel Alexander of North Carolina, under date of January 1, 1807, responds cordially to this letter from the Governor of Georgia, encloses him a copy of an act of the Legislature passed at the preceding session, assenting to the proposition of Georgia and appointing the commissioners. In view of the sparse population of the region to be surveyed, Governor Alexander suggests that the commissioners meet at Asheville, in Buncombe county, for the purpose of organizing and agreeing upon the plan of procedure. He announces

that Messrs. John Steele, John Moore, and James Welbourn had been appointed commissioners on the part of North Carolina.

Governor Irwin replies, under date of March 11th, that he had corresponded with the commissioners on the part of Georgia, and that the arrangements proposed by Governor Alexander were quite agreeable to them. The only modification proposed was that the meeting should take place on June 15th instead of April 20th.

In turn, Governor Alexander, on March 25th, acknowledges receipt of Governor Irwin's letter with pleasure, and says June 15th will suit the commissioners from North Carolina.

The gentlemen met at Asheville at the time specified and proceeded to organize for the work before them. The North Carolina commissioners had selected and were accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Caldwell, President of the University and a distinguished mathematician, as their scientific observer. The Georgia commissioners were accompanied by Mr. J. Meigs, also distinguished as a scientist, in the same capacity. They adopted formal articles of agreement as to the mode of procedure.

Article I declares that the territories of Georgia and North Carolina are, and of right ought to be, separated and bounded by the thirty-fifth parallel of north latitude, and for preventing in future all manner of discussions concerning jurisdiction, the underwritten commissioners will proceed forthwith to ascertain the said thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, and to run and mark the line accordingly, which line,

when ascertained and completed with joint concurrence, shall ever after be regarded as the line of separation and boundary between the two States.

Article II simply disclaims on the part of the Georgia commissioners the power to confirm land titles, in the event of the disputed territory falling on the south side of the line. That must be left to future settlement between the two States.

Article III recites that there having been great dissensions between the people resident in the neighboring counties of Buncombe and Walton, and the said dissensions having produced many riots, routs, affrays, assaults, batteries, trespasses, woundings and imprisonments, as well on one side as the other, and it being of primary importance that peace and tranquility should be restored and all animosity and ill-will be forever buried between people who from their local situations will in all probability be constrained to continue in the vicinity of each other, and as the several outrages committed on both sides proceeded more (as the undersigned are impressed) from a mistaken zeal to support the government to which they thought themselves constitutionally bound than from a wish to injure their neighbors or disturb the public peace, the undersigned agree to recommend in the most earnest manner to the Legislatures of their respective States to pass laws of amnesty, forgiveness and oblivion for all such offenses (under the degree of capital) as may have been committed within the said counties of Buncombe and Walton, respectively, subsequent to December 10, 1803, and which

shall have arisen from and had relation to the disputes which existed concerning the jurisdiction of the two States.

These articles are formally signed June 18, 1807, with the mark of the seals (L. S.) by five of the six commissioners and witnessed by James Call, William Robertson, Joseph Caldwell and J. Meigs. The name of Mr. Flournoy of the Georgia commission fails to appear in the proceedings.

The report of the observations, or survey, is given by the Georgia commissioners. Doubtless a similar report was made by the North Carolina commissioners to the Governor or Legislature of that State. But the former is perfectly fair and is all the more satisfactory as coming from the losing side. It is dated July 25, 1807, and signed by Messrs. Carnes and Barnett.

After reciting some of the facts which have been stated above, they say that the proposition of the North Carolina commissioners to make some arrangement for securing the rights of North Carolina patentees of lands that might be found on the south of the dividing line showed that they expected that result, and this accounts for the disclaimer of authority on the part of the Georgia commissioners contained in Article II of the agreement to settle such questions.

The commissioners, all arrangements having been perfected, left Asheville about June 20th for the disputed territory, and made their first observation at the house of Mr. Justice, which they supposed to be upon or near the dividing line of thiry-five degrees. But they say: "Taking the mean difference, it is found that Justice's is on latitude north 35°,

22′, 32″. In other words, "instead of Justice's being on the line which divides the two States, it was twenty-two miles within old Buncombe." The report continues: "We take leave to state that when the report of this first observation made at Justice's was received our astonishment and disappointment were great in the extreme. We who had been taught to believe from preceding calculations, and those made under the authority of our government, and by a person whose public station obliged us to believe that a scientific fault could not be attributed to him, had the most abundant reason to be astonished and mortified at the result of their first attempt, which made a difference and varied from the preceding observations twenty miles or upwards. The case was the more perplexing and unaccountable when we reflected that all the observations, both by the Surveyor-General of this State and the present artists, were made by the same kind of instruments and such as have become proverbial for their verity and accuracy. We were, however, accompanied by an artist appointed by the Government, whose talents and integrity we had no reason to doubt, and of course were under the necessity of suspending our astonishment and proceeding on the duty assigned us."

On June 22d the commissioners say they proceeded about fifteen miles west, and there, at the mouths of Davidson's and Little rivers, "where Mr. Sturges, the Georgia Surveyor-General, ascertained the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude to be," where another careful observation was made by Messrs.

Meigs and Caldwell. At this place the observation of Mr. Meigs was less favorable to the Georgia claim than that of Mr. Caldwell, although there was substantial agreement between them.

Mr. Caldwell reported 35°, 17′, 6″, 93‴.

Mr. Meigs reported 35°, 18′, 10″, 22‴.

Upon this the Georgia commissioners remark that "After finding, from the foregoing observation, that we were upwards of seventeen minutes north of the desired point, we agree to proceed to Cæsar's Head, a place on the Blue Ridge about twelve horizontal miles directly south and in the vicinity of Dowthet's Gap." In this vicinity three observations were taken: the first, on June 24th, resulted as follows:

Mr. Meigs' observation showed 35°, 11′, 1″, 0‴.

Mr. Caldwell's observation showed 35°, 9′, 15″, 21‴.

The second on the 26th:

By Mr. Meigs, 35°, 6′, 20″, 24‴.

By Mr. Caldwell, 35°, 7′, 21″, 11‴.

And on June 28th, which was the last observation, Georgia makes the latitude 35°, 02′, 57″, 56‴.

North Carolina, 35°, 04′, 54″, 04‴.

The commissioners say: "This last observation, on the 28th, was made under unfavorable circumstances, as the clouds obscured the sun, about the time he was on the meridian, in such a degree that only one imperfect glimpse could be obtained."

These Georgia commissioners then refer to the supplementary articles signed by them conjointly with those from North Carolina.

Article I of this document is as follows: "The commissioners of Georgia, for and on the part of their State, acknowledge and admit, which acknowledgment and admission are founded on the aforesaid astronomical observations, that the State of Georgia hath no claim to the soil or jurisdiction of any part of the territory northwest of the ridge of mountains which divide the eastern from the western waters, commonly called the Blue Ridge, and east or south of the present temporary boundary line between the white people and the Indians.

"And that they will consequently recommend to the Legislature of the State of Georgia to repeal, at the next ensuing session, the act to establish the county of Walton, and to abrogate and to annul all executive, ministerial or other proceedings for the organization thereof."

Article II of this supplemental agreement gives the pledge of the North Carolina commissioners that they, in turn, will exert their influence to dissuade the authorities of Buncombe from proceeding in the arrest of parties for the breaches of the peace in the disputed territory until the Legislature shall have had time to act in the premises.

This paper is signed by the five commissioners and witnessed by "J. Meigs, Joseph Caldwell, William Robertson and Amos Justice."

Next follow the reports of the astronomical observers, signed jointly by them, from which the Georgia commissioners made up their report to Governor Irwin. They need not be repeated here.

December 28, 1808, Governor Irwin of Georgia writes to Governor Stone of North Carolina, informing him that the Legislature of Georgia urgently requested the appointment, on the part of North Carolina, of a new commission to meet one already appointed by Georgia for the purpose of ascertaining the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude.

Governor Stone replies under date of March 21, 1809, expressing regret that he could not do so at an earlier date. He informs him that his (Governor Irwin's) previous communications on the same subject had been laid before the Legislature, and that that body considered the subject of difference between the two States as solemnly adjusted. "Indeed, it does not readily occur on what basis the adjustment is to rest, if not upon that where it now stands—the plighted faith of two States to abide by the determination of commissioners mutually chosen for the purpose of making the adjustment those commissioners actually made. I cannot, therefore, consistently with my sense of duty, make the appointment urged in your letter of December last."

Before this letter of Governor Stone reached Governor Irwin the latter wrote again, March 16th, urging the matter, to which Governor Stone politely replied, reiterating what he had already said.

The Legislature of North Carolina, December 17, 1807, adopted and ratified by an act of that date the joint report of the commissioners of the two States, and on the following day, December 18th, it passed an act of amnesty for offenders within the disputed territory, as recommended by the commissioners.

And this was the case which the Georgia Legislature sent up by way of appeal to Congress. It is not surprising, after being referred to a committee of which a Georgia member was made chairman, it was never heard of again.

The Legislature of Georgia, on December 5, 1807, put forth an earnest protest against the decision arrived at by their own commissioners. They declare that the very slight discrepancies in the observations of Messrs. Meigs and Caldwell "ought to have raised in their minds rational doubts as to the accuracy of the instruments," etc.

The Legislature further declares, by resolution, some facts which are not sustained by the report of their commissioners, viz., that the commissioners from the State, in their "zealous solicitude," made repeated efforts to induce the North Carolina commissioners to join them in further surveys. On the contrary, the Georgia commissioners, as has been shown above, "sorrowfully" admitted their disappointment in finding that the claims set up by their State were without foundation.

But it is gratifying to know that the Georgians finally acquiesced in the report of the commissioners. Indeed, there is reason to believe that they at length became convinced that their claim of jurisdiction over the disputed territory was

without foundation, for when in the year 1819 some of their citizens who had set up claims to land in the extemporized county of Walton appealed to the Legislature for redress their claims were summarily rejected. The petition was referred to what was called "the Joint Committee on the State of the Republic," which reported "that they have had under their consideration the petition of sundry citizens of what was formerly Walton county, in this State, and the accompanying documents, and are of opinion that it would be unreasonable and improper for the State of Georgia to compensate the said petitioners for their alleged losses of land and other property."

There can be no doubt that the Georgians were fully persuaded of the justice of their claim of jurisdiction over the disputed territory. And when they called in the astronomers to interrogate the heavenly bodies, like Balak, the son of Zippor, king of the Moabites, who sent the messengers, with the rewards of divination, to Balaam, the son of Beor, to curse the Israelites, they confidently anticipated a favorable answer. But as the prophet of Moab, to do him justice, albeit less gifted with spiritual insight than the ass he rode, gave an honest report of what the Lord revealed to him, so did the astronomers truly state what they learned from the sun at noon and from the stars in their courses by night. And as Balak, the son of Zippor, was dissatisfied with the first answer and with the second answer reported by Balaam from the Lord, so were the Georgia commissioners with the answers reported by the astronomers after communing with the heav-

enly hosts. Altar after altar was reared upon every hill-top, yet the same answer came.

But here the parallel ceases. The Georgians have been wiser than the people of Moab. Within a generation they have submitted to the inevitable, they bowed to the decrees of fate, and peace reigned.

North Carolina Booklet III
no. 9

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VL. IV MAY, 1904 No.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

THE LORDS PROPRIETORS OF CAROLINA,

BY

KEMP P. BATTLE, LL.D.

PRICE, 10 CENTS $1 THE YEAR

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

VOL. IV.

The Lords Proprietors of the Province of Carolina.
Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.

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VOL. IV MAY, 1904 No. 1

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

RALEIGH
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of

PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

67746

THE LORDS PROPRIETORS OF CAROLINA.

BY KEMP P. BATTLE. LL.D.,

(Professor of History, University of North Carolina).

The first Lord Proprietor of the land now called North Carolina was the accomplished courtier, daring navigator, fierce fighter, elegant poet and learned historian, Sir Walter Raleigh. His energy and lavish expenditures in settling his grand territory, and their dismal failure, are known to all. Beyond the introduction into civilized life of the potato, and giving to our State capital his name, to the county of Robeson a claim to have among her half-breed Indians some drops of the blood of his "Lost Colony," and to the State the sentimental honor of the first white child born and the first Christian baptism, the first Lord Proprietor of Virginia, extending indefinitely southward, is only a tender and cherished memory.

Raleigh, having sold part of his rights and lost the residue by forfeiture for treason, James I. in 1606 regranted the part of the land from the Cape Fear northward to Sir Thomas Gates and many lords and rich merchants, called Adventurers. Under this charter Jamestown was settled. It was vacated in 1624, and in 1629 Charles I. granted to Sir Robert Heath, his Attorney-General, all the land between 31° and 36° north

latitude from the Atlantic to the west "as far as the continent extendeth."

This *de jure* Lord Proprietor was a man of mark in his day. He was an able lawyer and held important positions. He was member of Parliament, Recorder of London, then successively Solicitor-General and Attorney-General, offices of much power in those arbitrary days. As a reward for his activity in advancing the King's tyrannical measures, the grant of Carolina was made to him. He was stringent against non-conformists, prosecuted those who refused to pay forced loans, drew up an elaborate answer to the Petition of Right, procured the conviction of Eliot, Holles, Selden and other patriots for their course in Parliament, conducted the prosecutions of the Star Chamber, which resulted in the atrocious fines, mutilations and imprisonment of Leighton, Prynne, Bostwick and others. So well satisfied was Charles with his zeal that he was elevated to be Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He seems then to have become alarmed at the storm of hatred gathering against the Crown. He was removed from the bench, but, when the King desired to placate his adversaries of the Long Parliament, he was created a Judge of the Court of King's Bench. When the breach between King and Parliament came he sided with the King, and was appointed to the empty honor of Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1642. He was impeached by the House of Commons, and excepted from the Act of Oblivion. He fled to France and died at Calais the same year

in which his royal master lost his head. His son Edward, after the Restoration, was restored to the family estates.

The only effort of Sir Robert to procure settlers for his province across the Atlantic was the sending of a ship-load of Huguenots in 1630, but for some reason not known they were landed in Virginia. For this breach of contract the owners of the vessel, named the *Mayflower,* possibly the same which carried the Pilgrims to Plymouth, were made to pay about $3,000 damages.

Sir Robert Heath sold his interests in 1637 to Lord Maltravers, and by several assignments they were vested in Dr. Daniel Coxe, to whom, by way of compromise, after many years, was given a tract of 100,000 acres in Western New York. Early after the Restoration, however, the Heath patent was declared vacated and the territory, with the same name, was in 1663 granted to eight nobles, favorites of Charles II. It appears then that the "eponymous hero" of our State is Charles I., a much more worthy man than his son, debauched in morals and a traitor to his kingdom. The old story that the infamous Charles IX. of France was so honored is disproved by the fact that only the fort at Port Royal in 1562, and not the land, was called Carolina by the French emigrants.

Two years afterwards a new charter was issued to the same Lords Proprietors, including additional strips of land on the north and the south, practically from the Virginia line to about the middle of Florida.

The powers of these sub-kings were to be the same as exercised by the Bishop of Durham in his civil capacity. What were those powers? As in ancient Rome the King's mansion on the Palatine hill was called palatium, in the course of time "palatial" was equivalent to royal, and a County Palatine was one in which its chief lord had royal powers. These counties were on the borders of countries often hostile, and the lieutenant of the King must have extraordinary powers to meet dangerous emergencies. On the continent the German district bordering on France was called the Palatinate, and in England the Earl of Chester and Duke of Lancaster guarded the west and the Bishop of Durham the Scotch frontier. The Lords Proprietors, therefore, had *jura regalia,* or royal rights, the legislation, however, to be subject to the consent of the people.

We now describe the "Property Kings," as DeFoe called them, in the order in which they are mentioned in the two charters.

The first was the great Edward Hyde, Lord High Chancellor and until 1667 Prime Minister, though not then so called. He was the son of Henry Hyde of Wiltshire, born February 16, 1608, and was graduated at Oxford University. He became a lawyer, and his resolution to pursue steadily the dictates of his conscience on all public matters was strengthened by the earnest injunction of his father, who, while charging him never to sacrifice the laws and liberty of his country to his own interest, fell to the ground under a fatal stroke of apoplexy. Accordingly, as a member of

the Short and of the Long Parliaments which met in 1640, he condemned the iniquitous proceedings of the Star Chamber, High Commission Court, the Privy Council and the Council of the North, but opposed the bill of attainder of Strafford, though he did not record his vote against it. When Parliament began to raise the militia against the King and to deprive the Bishops of their votes in the House of Lords, his conservative temperament led him to take the royal side. He was soon knighted and was made Chancellor of the Exchequer and Privy Councillor. On the defeat of the King he retired with Prince Charles to Jersey. Here he began his History of the Great Rebellion, which, after many interruptions, was completed in 1673.

Notwithstanding his staunch churchmanship, which admitted no compromise with Roman Catholicism, he was a favorite with Queen Henrietta Maria, and in 1648 was called by her to Paris. He visited Spain as Ambassador to procure aid for Charles, but in vain. He then resided at Antwerp, constantly intriguing for the Restoration. He held the offices successively of Secretary of State and Lord High Chancellor in the little court of the exiled King. When the times were ripe for the Restoration he drew up the Declaration of Breda, and procured the royal assent to it, thus allaying the fears of a large majority of the people of England.

Honors fell thick and fast on Sir Edward Hyde. He retained his post of Lord Chancellor, was chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford, was created a peer as Baron Hyde of Hindon, and in 1661 received the titles of Lord

Cornbury and Earl of Clarendon. Moreover, the King entrusted to him the conduct of the government, in which he showed strong desire to be as moderate and prudent as was consistent with safety. What were considered by many as proofs of malignant hatred towards non-conformists, the so-called Clarendon Acts, namely, the Uniformity, Conventicle, Five Mile and Corporation Acts, were doubtless inspired largely by the fear lest the old soldiers who had once ruled the land might be re-embodied for another civil war. He was in the sunshine of the royal favor when he was named as first of the Proprietors of Carolina.

But the favor was evanescent. He lost the regard of the King and his male and female licentious associates. His severity of aspect excited their ridicule. He was called the royal school-master. As Charles and his wife had no children, the marriage of his oldest daughter Anne to the Duke of York brought his grandchildren near the succession to the throne, and this aroused envy at his grand fortune. His building a palace costing about $200,000 increased this envy, especially when the foul whisperings began that bribes for the sale of Dunkirk to the French had furnished the funds. A libelous song, called "Clarendon's House Warming," was everywhere sung. He was accused of sacrilege for using in the building of his mansion stones dressed originally for St. Paul's, and no credit was given to the explanation that he had honestly bought them. He was held responsible for the disasters of the Dutch war. The cavaliers were displeased that they did not get more favors from the government, the papists

and non-conformists, because their disabilities were not made lighter. The great Earl was removed from office, and, by the King's advice, retired to Rouen in France. Such was the popular hatred of him that he was set upon by some drunken English sailors at Evreux, treated with much cruelty and would have been slain but for the timely interference of their lieutenant.

Clarendon was an author of ability, his History of the Civil War being especially valuable for the delineation of the characters of the leading men of that important period. He married, first, Anne, daughter of Sir Gregory Ayloffe, who died without issue, and, secondly, Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. It is noticeable that he named his oldest daughter after his first wife, and two of her daughters, Mary and Anne, ascended the throne after the expulsion of their father. The Chancellor's two sons, Henry, Earl of Clarendon, and Lawrence, Earl of Rochester, were elevated to high office. Governor Edward Hyde of North Carolina, after whom a county is named, was probably a grandson.

The title of the noble earl is perpetuated by the name of a county in South Carolina. A large county under the provisions of the Fundamental Constitutions, with this name, stretching from the Cape Fear southwest, was projected but abandoned. Cape Fear river was once called Clarendon. The name is from Clarendon Park in Wiltshire, England, in the "New Forest," where the Plantagenets had a palatial hunting lodge. Here were sometimes held Great Councils,

which adopted weighty ordinances, those in the days of Henry II. being called Constitutions of Clarendon. The palace was about three miles from Salisbury.

The second named Proprietor was George Monk, or Monck, Duke of Albemarle, who had a very eventful life. He was a Devonshire man, younger son of a knight of slender fortune, Sir Thomas Monk. He volunteered to serve under Sir Richard Grenville against Spain, and speedily rose to the rank of captain in the war against France. He became a master in the military art, and, when the civil war broke out, took the side of the King. At first Colonel, he was appointed Brigadier-General in the Irish Brigade recently brought to England and engaged in the siege of Nantwich. He arrived just in time to be present in its surprisal and defeat by Sir Thomas Fairfax. He was confined in the Tower until November, 1646, when he subscribed to the Covenant and accepted service under the Parliament. He was faithful to the King until his armies were destroyed and he was a captive.

Monk was given by Parliament the command of their forces in the north of Ireland, with the rank of Major-General. Afterwards, as Lieutenant-General of Artillery, he served against the Scots, and when Cromwell pursued Charles II. to his defeat at Worcester, General Monk was left in Scotland as Commander-in-Chief. He was then joined as Admiral with Dean in the Dutch war, and, after Dean was killed in battle, continued the fight and gained the victory. Peace being declared, he was sent into the Highlands of Scotland to quell disturbances, which he effected in four months. He

resided in Scotland, near Edinburgh, for five years, and became so popular as to incur the suspicion of Cromwell, it is said, although created by him a member of the House of Lords. When the nation was ripe for the restoration of Charles to his kingdom, Monk effected it with consummate skill, for which he received many pensions and honors. He was made Knight of the Garter, a Privy Councillor, a Master of the Horse, Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp and Tees, Earl of Torrington, and Duke of Albemarle, with a grant of about $35,000 a year, besides other pensions. When he went up to the House of Lords all the members of the House of Commons escorted him to the door. His freedom from pride was observed by all. In the Dutch war of 1664 he was placed at the head of the Board of Admiralty, and during the great plague was entrusted with the care of London. The same year he was appointed Joint Admiral with Prince Rupert and displayed his usual bravery and energy, gaining a great victory off North Foreland. He was recalled to take charge of London after the great fire of 1666. Such was his hold on the affections of the people that he was hailed by the cry: "If you had been here, my lord, the city would not have been burned." He died in January, 1670, and was buried with distinguished honor in the chapel of Henry VII.

The title of the great Duke, Albemarle, was transferred to England from Normandy, corrupted from Aubemare Castle. In France it took the form of Aumale and was borne by a brilliant son of King Louis Philippe, the Duc d'Aumale. It gives to Virginia the name of a county and to North Caro-

lina a sound of the Atlantic and a county-seat. Monk's Corner in South Carolina may commemorate his family name. The great county of Albemarle, the first successful political organization in North Carolina, composed of the precincts of Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Chowan and Tyrrell, was abolished in 1738 and its precincts changed into counties.

The third named Proprietor was William, Earl of Craven, born in 1606. He was son and heir of Sir William Craven, Lord Mayor of London, whose career resembled that of the more ancient Dick Whittington. Coming to the great city from Yorkshire an humble apprentice, he rose to its highest office and amassed large wealth. His motto was *virtus in actione consistit,* and he lived up to it. Besides lending lavishly to the King when in need, he endowed a large school in his native town, Burnsall; was president of the great Christ Hospital in London and its munificent benefactor. His funeral was attended by five hundred mourners. His second son, John, Baron Craven, endowed two scholarships, one at Oxford and one at Cambridge University, which to this day educate an aspiring youth in each.

William Craven, the younger, was of an adventurous turn. At the age of seventeen he fought under the great Maurice, Stadtholder of Holland, and Frederick Henry, his successor. On his return to England in 1627 he was knighted and then made a Baron.

The beautiful Elizabeth, daughter of James I., married the Protestant Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate of the Rhine. The Protestants of Bohemia chose him the King of

that country, while the Catholic Emperor of Austria, Ferdinand II., disputed his claim. In the war that ensued Frederick lost both Bohemia and the Palatinate. His English father-in-law, notwithstanding strong pressure of his people, was slow and niggardly in aiding him. The Marquis of Hamilton with a small force was sent over, and Craven was one of his officers. At the capture of Creuznach he was the first to mount the breach, although wounded. He received a handsome compliment from the lips of the great Gustavus Adolphus, which may be freely translated: "Young man, you bid your younger brother have fair play for your estate." While he was a reckless fighter, his generosity had no limits. He gave $150,000 (in our day equal to half a million) to aid in fitting out a fleet commanded by Charles Lewis, elder brother of Prince Rupert, "an act said by many to savor of prodigality, by most of folly." The Protestant army was beaten and Craven was wounded and captured. To the titular Queen of Bohemia, after her defeat, he was munificent, advancing for her $100,000 at one time, and when the Parliament discontinued her allowance of $50,000 a year he supplied her needs out of his own funds. He was especially kind to her daughters, supplying them with jewelry, dresses and pocket-money, which they, among them Sophia, from whom comes the Hanoverian line of Kings of Great Britain, repaid with mirthful ridicule of "little Lord Craven." He resided in Elizabeth's mansion at The Hague, holding the office, then honorary, of Master of Horse. He is said to have privately married her, but of this there is no

evidence. He was a devoted royalist, and once supplied Charles II. with a loan of £50,000, the equivalent of about a million of dollars of our money. His property was confiscated by Parliament in 1649 because of his assistance to the royal cause, but restored at the accession of Charles II.

At the Restoration he received many honors. He was made Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex and Southwark, Colonel of the Cold Stream Guards of the Regular Army, and Lieutenant-General. He was also High Steward of Cambridge, and a Privy Councillor, and in 1664 created Viscount Craven of Uffington, and Earl Craven. When the so-called Queen of Bohemia returned to London, the Earl, seeing that the King, her nephew, delayed assigning her a residence, gave up to her his town mansion, Drury House, which he afterwards rebuilt on a grander scale and named Craven House. She died at Leicester House in 1662, leaving a tender memory by reason of her virtues and winning manners amid many trials, the ancestress of the good Queen Victoria. The constant devotion and generosity to her of the Earl of Craven are worthy of all praise, whether or not she rewarded him with a morganatic marriage. At her funeral he and his brother, Sir Robert, supported the heralds-at-arms in the procession. She bequeathed to him all her pictures and papers, which were preserved in his country mansion, Combe Abbey. The mutual friendship between him and her family continued to his death. In truth, it was believed by many that his love was given to her oldest daughter, Elizabeth, and the impossibility of marrying her led to his celibacy. His old com-

panion in arms, Prince Rupert, made him guardian of his illegitimate but acknowledged daughter, Ruperta.

During the great fire in London Earl Craven was very active in preserving order and extinguishing the flames. There is a curious story that ever afterwards the horse then ridden by him would smell fire at a great distance and could with difficulty be restrained from running to it at full speed.

In 1685 he was made Lieutenant-General under James II., and was charged with the protection of the palace of Whitehall. When William III. entered London in triumph the sturdy old soldier refused to surrender his post until he received orders from James. He survived the flight of his Stuart master only two years, spending his last days in building and landscape gardening and in the congenial companionship of the learned members of the Royal Society. It is fortunate that we have the memory of one so good and true perpetuated in the name of one of our counties.

The fourth Proprietor was John, Lord Berkeley, first Baron of Stratton, youngest son of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Somersetshire, a distant relative of the Earls of Berkeley, whose ancestors came to England with the Conqueror. He was an ardent member of the King's party, and was appointed Ambassador to Sweden. On his return in 1638 he was knighted, then a member of Parliament, but was expelled for conspiracy. He of course was a royalist in the civil war, distinguished himself under Hopton at Stratton, was Commander-in-Chief of Devonshire and captured Exeter. He was chosen to be present at the baptism of the child of Queen Henrietta

Maria in that city. He was beaten at Aylesbury, succeeded in taking Wellington House, was made Colonel-General of Devonshire and Cornwall and lost Exeter. He then escaped to Paris in the suite of the Queen, with whom he was a favorite. One of his foibles was an exaggerated belief in his power of influencing others. He was busy in acting as mediator between the King and Parliament, but effected nothing. He fled with the King and joined in the fatal counsel to surrender to Colonel Hammond, whom he expected to win to the royal cause. While Cromwell was supreme he served under Turenne in the war against Spain and Condé. In 1658 he was created, by Charles II., Baron Berkeley of Stratton, and was placed on the Admiralty Board. He was then made Lord President of Connaught in Ireland. After the Restoration he was appointed in the Privy Council. His London house, which cost $150,000, was burnt, and on its site is now the mansion of the Duke of Devonshire. He became the purchaser of Twickenham Park, and in 1670 received the great office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in which he favored the Roman Catholics as much as was in his power. In negotiating the important treaty of Nimuegen he was a commissioner on behalf of the English, together with Sir William Temple and Sir Leoline Jenkins. He died August 26, 1678. His wife was Christian Riccard, described as being "of large dowry and yet larger graces and virtues."

Sir John Berkeley was a good soldier, faithful to his convictions, but with the defects of "vanity, want of tact, and ignorance of human nature." His oldest son, Charles, died

without issue and was succeeded by his brother, the second John, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1697, after distinguished naval services as Vice-Admiral of the Red, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and commander of the fleet.

The fifth Proprietor of Carolina was a man of varied fortunes, of commanding intellect, of winning manners, capable of great things, but of evil morals—Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, and Earl of Shaftesbury. He was born in 1621, the son of Sir John Cooper of Southampton county, and Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Ashley of Dorsetshire. He was very precocious and of a bold temper. When a boy at school he organized the younger boys and successfully resisted the vile custom of fagging. He entered Oxford at the age of fifteen, but did not graduate. He read law at Lincoln's Inn, with great ardor. He was, before reaching maturity, elected a member of Parliament and served throughout the civil war. At first he offered his services to the King, but finding himself out of sympathy with the haughty cavaliers, he joined the Parliament, and, accepting a commission, did some brilliant fighting. He was a member of the legislative body called the Barebones Parliament, and afterwards of the Parliament of 1654. He bitterly opposed the despotic government of Cromwell, but accepted the position of Privy Councillor under Richard Cromwell. Fearing the domination of the army, he was active in the restoration of Charles II., and being returned a member of the Convention Parliament, was appointed one of the twelve commissioners to bring over the King. While in Holland his carriage was over-

turned, by which he received a wound between the ribs which caused an incurable ulcer.

At the Restoration he was sworn a Privy Councillor, created Baron Ashley, and was one of the commissioners for the trial of the regicides. He was also made Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of the commissioners for executing the office of High Treasurer. He was afterwards Lord Lieutenant of the county of Dorset, and in 1672 created Baron Cooper and Earl of Shaftesbury, and the same year was elevated to the office of Lord High Chancellor. In this position, notwithstanding he had no experience as a practicing lawyer, he proved to be a very able officer, and in all respects impartial and just. He was from 1667 to 1673 a member of the Cabal ministry, and supported the King in his futile efforts to procure indulgence for non-conformists and Catholics. But he was utterly hostile to the ruin of Protestant Holland, to a close alliance with France, and to placing England under Catholic rule. He aided in procuring the passage of the Test Act, which drove Catholics from office and broke up the Cabal, for which he was dismissed from his Chancellorship. The King was forced to withdraw from the French alliance and end the Dutch war.

Shaftesbury was a leader in organizing the "Country Party," as opposed to the "Court Party," and which afterwards developed into the great Whig party. It is to the disgrace of his memory that he also fanned the hatred to the Catholics, especially the Duke of York, by countenancing the infamous perjuries of Oates and Dangerfield. He was made

President of the short-lived Council of thirty, organized under the advice of Sir William Temple. He procured the passage of the great muniment of liberty, the Habeas Corpus Act, which provided the judicial machinery by which unlawful imprisonment might be remedied. He was prominent in the endeavor to force through Parliament the bill for excluding Papists, including the Duke of York, from the throne, which, after passing the Commons, was defeated in the House of Lords. He then engaged in intrigues in favor of the Duke of Monmouth, a fatal step, because he thereby alienated the supporters of William and Mary of Orange, Mary being the heir presumptive, as the Duke of York had then no son. The people, too, had not lost their dread of civil war, and when Shaftesbury boasted of his power over his "brisk boys" of London, and embodied them for terrorizing the Court party, there was a reaction against him. This was increased by the growing conviction that innocent men had fallen victims to wholesale perjury. He was imprisoned in the Tower, invoking in vain his own Habeas Corpus Act, but was released by the grand jury of Middlesex ignoring the bill against him. The King then, by resort to his corrupt courts, succeeded in annulling the London charter, replacing it with a new charter, in which the Tories had control; whereupon Shaftesbury fled to Holland and died in a few months, in January, 1783. Dryden, the court poet, satirized him under the character of Achitophel:

"For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
Sagacious, bold and turbulent of wit:
Restless, unfixed in principles and place,
In power displeased, impatient of disgrace."

After the publication of the biting satire of Absalom and Achitophel, a vacant scholarship in the Charterhouse school, of which the Earl was Governor, was at his disposal. He bestowed it on Dryden's son without solicitation of any one. The poet was so moved that in a second edition he added a verse descriptive of the Earl as Lord Chancellor:

"In Israel's court never sat an Abethdin
With more discerning eyes or hands more clean,
Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress,
Swift of dispatch and easy of access."

Shaftesbury had many virtues and conspicuous vices. When not in hot pursuit of some object of ambition, or of revenge for fancied injury, he was honorable in his dealings, amiable and generous. When roused by ambition or resentment, he would resort to any measures, good or evil, necessary to attain his object. He had no religious principles, yet was a stout opponent of papacy for political reasons. He was incorruptible by money, yet was an unblushing libertine. It was to him that the King, who would both take liberties and bear them, in reference to Shaftesbury's amours, said: "I believe, Shaftesbury, thou art the wickedest fellow in my dominions." With a low bow the Earl replied: "May it please your Majesty, of a subject I believe I am." The King laughed heartily.

The great author, John Locke, was his private secretary. He aided his patron in devising the elaborate but fantastic Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, whose conspicuous failure illustrates the great political truth that successful governments are the product of growth, not theory. The two rivers around Charleston in South Carolina, Ashley and Cooper, are named in his honor, and Currituck county was once called Shaftesbury precinct. The town which gave the title to his earldom has about two thousand five hundred inhabitants, is in Dorsetshire, England, and is the burial-place of King Canute and Edward the Martyr. It is generally called Shasbury, but locally Shaston.

The next named Proprietor is Sir George Carteret, Knight and Counsellor, Vice-Chamberlain of the royal household. He was of an ancient Norman family, which settled in Jersey and Guernsey. His father, Helier Carteret, at the time of his birth in 1599, was Deputy Governor of Jersey. He early entered the sea service, and by his skill and daring soon rose to be a captain. When twenty-seven years old he was appointed joint Governor with Lord Jermyn of Jersey and Comptroller of his Majesty's ships. He was so successful in procuring arms and ammunition for the Cornwall army that the King conferred on him the honor of Knight and a Baronet. He then returned to Jersey and ruled it so sternly that in all the fruitless negotiations with the King he was excepted from pardon. In 1646 he entertained most lavishly the Prince of Wales and his suite at his own expense, which was repeated three years afterwards. When Charles I. was

executed he undauntedly proclaimed Charles II. King, and held the island for two years against the forces of the Commonwealth. He had organized a little navy of small frigates and privateers, which gave his adversaries much annoyance. Such was his pluck that after the island was all lost except Elizabeth Castle, he fought stoutly behind its walls until the supply of provisions was exhausted, and being so instructed by Charles II., he lowered the last royal banner and made an honorable capitulation to Admiral Blake and General Holmes. Repairing to Paris, he angered Cromwell by organizing a plan to capture English vessels, and pressure was brought on Cardinal Mazarin, then governing France, to induce him to imprison Carteret in the Bastile. After his release he joined Charles II. at Brussels and then at Breda. At the Restoration he rode with the King in his triumphant entry into London. He was made Vice-Chamberlain, Privy Councillor and Treasurer of the Navy, and was an active member of the House of Commons. He was also, after the resignation by the Duke of York of the office of High Admiral, made one of the Commissioners of Admiralty. Afterwards he was a Lord of the Committee of Trade and Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. While the King was preparing to confer a peerage on him he died, in 1679, and, in recognition of his great services, the King authorized his widow and youngest children to "enjoy their precedency and pre-eminency as if Sir George had actually been created a Baron."

Besides being a Lord Proprietor of Carolina, Sir George Carteret and John, Lord Berkeley, were, by the gift of the

Duke of York, Proprietors of New Jersey, so called in recognition of the gallant defense of the Island of Jersey.

The wife of Sir George Carteret was a daughter of his uncle, Sir Philip Carteret. She was a noble woman. When, on a visit to London, she saw the vileness of the society about the court, she at once turned her back on its wickedness and retired to the purer air of her Channel island. Her name, Elizabeth, was given to a flourishing city in New Jersey. Their oldest son, Philip, was a brilliant soldier for the King in the civil war. He married Jemima, daughter of the illustrious Edward Montague, the first Earl of Sandwich, and served under him in the Dutch war. In the great sea fight in 1672, in Southwold Bay (Solbay), he refused to desert his father-in-law's ship and died with him. His eldest son, Lord George Carteret, married Grace, daughter of John Granville, Earl of Bath, and was the father of Sir John Carteret, Earl of Granville.

Sir George Carteret was a strong, true, brave man, loyal to his convictions through all vicissitudes.

The seventh Proprietor was Sir John Colleton, Knight and Baronet. He was a valiant fighter for the King in the civil war, reaching the rank of colonel of a regiment, which he raised in ten days. He expended out of his own means $200,000, and lost more than this amount by sequestration. After the ruin of the royal cause he emigrated to Barbadoes, and for some time aided in keeping the island true to the King. At the Restoration he received the honor of knighthood. He did not live long after the second charter was

granted, dying in 1666, the first of all his co-Proprietors, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Peter. Another son, Thomas, was a prominent merchant of Barbadoes and aided in the settlement of South Carolina. Still another son was Governor of Carolina in 1686. A sea-coast county south of Charleston and an obscure post-office in North Carolina perpetuate the name of the gallant soldier and munificent royalist, the seventh Lord Proprietor.

The last named Lord Proprietor was Sir William Berkeley, a younger brother of John, Lord Berkeley. He obtained the degree of Master of Arts at Oxford University, and, after traveling on the continent, became an officer in the household of King Charles I. He became a devotee of the muses, publishing a tragi-comedy called "The Lost Lady." He was sent to Virginia as Governor in 1641, and during the civil war kept his province so loyal to the King that it gained the title of "Old Dominion." After the execution of the King he offered Charles II. an asylum in the wilds of the new world. When forced to surrender to the power of the Commonwealth he lost his office but was permitted to reside in Virginia. At the Restoration he was again made Governor. As he became older he became stern and severe, writing to Lord Arlington in 1667 that age and infirmities had withered his desires and hopes. He suppressed the "Bacon Rebellion" with cruelty, the first Governor of the Albemarle country, William Drummond, being one of his victims. The oft-quoted saying of Charles II., "The old fool has taken more lives in that naked country than I for the murder of my father," is accepted as

authentic. A royal proclamation was issued censuring his conduct. He was of autocratic temper. He allowed no criticism of his conduct. His opponents charged that he was too fond of gain—that he refused to fight with hostile Indians because war interfered with a profitable fur trade in which he had a pecuniary interest. After the collapse of the rebellion he returned to England, was refused an audience with the King, and his brother, John, Lord Berkeley, stated that the insult contributed to his death in 1677. He was entombed, as we see in Haywood's excellent history of Governor William Tryon of North Carolina, in a vault in a church in Twickenham, about twelve miles from London. In an adjoining church are the tombs of Governor and Lady Margaret Tryon, his wife. It is remarkable that when his vault was opened the body of Sir William Berkeley was not in a coffin but enclosed in lead beaten into the shape of his body, showing the form of his features, hands, feet, and even nails. This is stated on the authority of Cobbett's Memorials of Twickenham.

Notwithstanding that in his old age his rage at being ignominiously driven from Jamestown, his capital, and at its destruction by fire by the forces of Bacon, drove him to what in our age is considered unnecessary cruelty, Berkeley had many good qualities. Governor Ludwell wrote of him: "He was pious and exemplary, sober in conversation, prudent and just in peace, diligent and valiant in war." The honor of knighthood was bestowed on him for his success in subduing the Indians. His hatred of Quakers was in accord-

ance with the ideas of his age, because they revolted against all church establishments, and the Church was part of the State. The laws recommended by him were as a rule wise and just. For a short while, under appointment of the Lords Proprietors, he was placed in charge of the inhabitants of the Albemarle country, and there was no complaint of his administration. In distrusting public schools and the printing press he was not behind his age. "Freedom of the press" in England did not exist until about twenty years after he wrote his thanks that Virginia was free from that pest. He never lost his taste for polite literature. In his desk was found the manuscript of an unpublished play called "Cornelia."

Sir William had little relationship to the Earls of Berkeley, the owners of the famous Berkeley Castle, where Edward II. was imprisoned and slain. They were of the Fitzhardinge family. The name in North Carolina was given to a precinct of Albemarle county, afterwards Perquimans. Bishop-elect Pettigrew, grandfather of General J. J. Pettigrew, wrote about "old Barkley," as the name was pronounced in old times, about a hundred years ago. The brothers, John and William, were likewise honored by the name of counties in South Carolina and West Virginia.

Under the Fundamental Constitutions the Proprietors were to organize a Palatine's court. The Duke of Albemarle was, on 21st October, 1669, elected the first Palatine, the highest officer, and afterwards, in order, John, Lord Berkeley; Sir George Carteret; William, Earl of Craven; John, Earl of

Bath; John, Lord Granville; William, Lord Craven; Henry, Duke of Beaufort; John, Lord Carteret, the last beginning August 10, 1714.

The devolution of the shares of the eight Lords Proprietors will now be traced, a task made easy by the researches of Mr. McCrady, as will be seen in the twelfth chapter of his "South Carolina under the Proprietary Government."

Clarendon's share was, after his exile and until his death, in 1674, represented by his oldest son, Henry, Lord Cornbury, who succeeded his father as second Earl of Clarendon. He sold it to Seth Southwell, pronounced and generally written Sothel, in 1681. On his death, in 1694, by virtue of the provisions of the Fundamental Constitutions, the other Proprietors sequestered his share and assigned it to Thomas Amy, who had been an active agent in inducing settlers to emigrate to Carolina. Amy gave it to Nicholas Trott, who married Amy's daughter. Under the decree of the Court in Chancery, this share, and also that which once belonged to Sir William Berkeley, was sold, the two bringing about $4,500, to Hugh Watson as trustee of Henry and James Bertie. Clarendon's share was allotted to "Honorable James Bertie."

The Duke of Albemarle, by his wife, Anne, daughter of John Clarges, a farrier, left Christopher, a son, who died in 1688 without issue. John Granville, Earl of Bath, who acquired his share, died in 1701; and was succeeded by his son, John, Lord Granville. Afterwards, in 1709, Somerset, the Duke of Beaufort., acquired the share and devised it to James Bertie and Doddington Greville, trustees for his sons,

Henry Somerset, second Duke of Beaufort, and Charles Noel Somerset, a minor.

The Earl of Craven died in 1687 without issue, and William, Lord Craven, his grand-nephew, succeeded him, and left as his sucessor William, Lord Craven, his son.

John, Lord Berkeley's, share descended to his son, Charles, who died without issue, and then to his second son, John, an admiral of great merit, who died at sea. As he failed to pay his quota according to agreement he forfeited his share to the other Proprietors, who sold it to Joseph Blake, the elder. On his death his son, of the same name, succeeded to his rights.

The Earl of Shaftesbury died in exile in 1679 and was succeeded by his son, Anthony Ashley, the second Earl, who died in 1699 and was succeeded by the third Earl of the same name. The share afterwards vested in his brother, Maurice, and after his death in Archibald Hutcheson, trustee for John Cotton. It appears from the Act of Surrender that Sir John Tyrrell was likewise once owner of this proprietorship.

The share of Sir George Carteret descended in 1672 to his grandson of the same name, who married Grace, daughter of John Granville, Earl of Bath. After his death in 1695 he was succeeded by his minor son, John, Lord Carteret. Until the maturity of this son his share was represented by his grandfather, the Earl of Bath.

Sir John Colleton's share descended in 1666 to his son, Sir Peter, who died in 1694, and was succeeded by his son, Sir John Colleton, then under age.

There was much dispute about Sir William Berkeley's share. He devised it, in 1677, to his widow, who had been the wife of Governor Samuel Stevens, and who afterwards married Governor Philip Ludwell. Before the latter marriage, however, she sold it, in 1681, to Thomas Archdale, son of John Archdale. After her marriage she and her husband conveyed it again, in 1682, this time to Thomas Amy, in trust for four Proprietors, Albemarle, Carteret, Craven and Colleton. In 1697 these four, or their successors, requested William Thornburg to take the place of Amy, which was done, although Amy had the legal title, and in 1705 sold it to John Archdale. Archdale conveyed it to John Danson. Litigation ensued, resulting in the sale of this share, together with that of Clarendon, to Hugh Watson, as trustee for Henry and James Bertie, as has been explained heretofore.

After over sixty years of careless, neglectful and ever bad government by the Lords Proprietors, having received little profit, the owners of seven of the shares determined to sell all their interests to the Crown for £2,500 each, and £500 each for arrears of rent due by those who had purchased land from them. The sale was perfected by act of Parliament in the second year of King George II., A. D. 1729, entitled "An act for establishing an agreement with seven of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina for the surrender of their title and interest in that province to his Majesty." In this the grantors and their interests are thus described: The part, share, interest and estate of the Earl of Clarendon is vested in Honorable James Bertie of the county of Middlesex; that of the Duke of

Albemarle in Henry, Duke of Beaufort, and the said James Bertie, and Honorable Doddington Greville of the county of Wiltz, devisees of the late Duke of Beaufort, in trust for the present Duke of Beaufort and his infant brother, Charles Noell Somerset; that of the Earl of Craven in the present William, Earl of Craven; that of John, Lord Berkeley, in Joseph Blake of the province of South Carolina; that of Lord Ashley (Earl Shaftesbury) in Archibald Hutcheson of the Middle Temple, London, in trust for John Cotton of the Middle Temple; that of the late Sir John Colleton in the present Sir John Colleton of Exmouth of the county of Devon; that of Sir William Berkeley in the Honorable Henry Bertie of the county of Bucks, Esquire, or in Mary Danson of the county of Middlesex, widow, or in Elizabeth Moor of London, widow, some or one of them. It thus appears that the share of the doughty warrior, Sir William Berkeley, gave as much trouble to the lawyers as he did to the followers of Bacon.

John, Lord Carteret, refused to surrender his share, but became tenant in common with the King, owning one-eighth undivided interest. The right of government was, however, conceded to the Crown.

Some of the successors to the first Lords Proprietors deserve special notice.

Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, the second Earl of Clarendon, was son of the great Earl and brother-in-law of James II. He was elevated to the office of Lord Privy Seal in 1685, and then of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Being, like

his father, a staunch member of the Church of England, he surrendered all his opportunities for greatness by refusing to aid James II. in putting England under Roman Catholicism. He was dismissed from all his offices. He intrigued, however, for the restoration of James, and was thrown for awhile into the Tower by William III. He never held office afterwards.

Southwell (Sothel) was of excellent family, came to the Albemarle country, was made Governor, but behaved so nefariously that he was banished by the Assembly. He then was Governor of Carolina 1690-'91 by virtue of his Proprietorship, and displayed much executive ability, as Mr. McCrady shows.

Nicholas Trott was probably father of the very able but rather unprincipled Chief Justice of Carolina of the same name.

Henry and James Bertie were of noble blood, near relatives, probably sons, of the Earl of Abingdon.

John Granville, Earl of Bath, was succeeded by his son, John, Lord Granville, in 1701, who was a strong Churchman, and as Palatine endeavored ineffectually to exclude from the Legislature all except members of the Church of England. He must not be confounded with John, Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville, son of his sister, Lady Grace, wife of the second Sir George Carteret.

Henry Somerset, first Duke of Beaufort, was a royalist in the civil war, but after the death of Charles I. retained good relations with Cromwell. He was made Marquis of Worcester and Privy Councillor, and afterwards Duke of Beaufort.

He was descended from Edward III., through John of Gaunt, and lived in most princely style. Two hundred people were feasted at his nine tables every day.

Lord John Tyrrel is said to have been a lineal descendant of the Walter Tyrrel who was accused of shooting King William Rufus.

The second Earl of Shaftesbury was of no force. The third was a distinguished scholar, and author of "Characteristics."

Joseph Blake was probably of the family of one of England's most eminent and worthy seamen, Robert Blake. He was Governor of Carolina in 1694 for a few months, and Deputy Governor under Archdale in 1696 to his death in 1700. The surrender to the Crown was made by his son of the same name.

John Archdale was appointed by the Proprietors Governor of Carolina in 1694 and continued actively in office for two years. He published a book entitled "A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina, with a Brief Account of its Discovery and Settling, and the Government thereof to the Time, with several Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence during my Time. By John Archdale, late Governor of the same. London. Printed in 1707." It is not of much value. His Quaker principles did not prevent his acceptance of a barony of 48,000 acres and the titles of Landgrave and Governor. He was diligent in his office and a good man of business. The laws which were passed at his instance appear to have been wise. Some of his posterity are citizens of North Carolina, descended from his daughter Ann,

who married Emmanuel Lowe. Among them was the wife of William Hill, for many years Secretary of State.

The most conspicuous of the later Proprietors was John, Lord Carteret, who, on the death of his mother, Grace, Viscountess of Carteret and Countess of Granville, in 1744, became Earl of Granville and Viscount Carteret.

He was a man of brilliant talents and varied acquirements. His knowledge of the classics was so extensive and thorough that Dean Swift said that he carried away from Oxford more Greek, Latin and philosophy than properly became a person of his rank. He was distinguished for his brilliant speeches in behalf of Whig doctrines and the Hanoverian dynasty. He was thoroughly versed in the history of Europe and the political questions of his day. As Ambassador to Sweden in 1719, Secretary of State in 1721 and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1724-'30, he had eminent success. He joined the party opposed to Walpole, consisting of William Pitt, Pulteney and others, and was for ten years a thorn in his side. On Walpole's fall, in 1742, he became again Secretary of State under Lord Wilmington, but resigned in 1744. Two years later he was offered the chief place in the ministry, but was unable to form a government able to command a majority in the House of Commons. In 1751 he was President of the Privy Council, and so continued until his death in 1763.

The greatness of Earl Granville was marred by want of steadiness of purpose, the consequence of deep drinking, a vice carried away from Oxford with his Greek and Latin

and practiced ever afterward. Chesterfield says that he "made himself master of all the modern languages. * * His character may be summed up in nice precision, quick decision and unbounded presumption." He professed to be a good Churchman, but looked on Chrisianity merely as a civil institution. For example, he was opposed to the conversion of negroes because they would not be obedient slaves, and argued that it would be a calamity to the fish interests of England for the Pope and Italians generally to become Protestants. He deprecated higher learning in the colonies because it would fill the minds of the youth with notions of independence.

Earl Granville married Frances, only daughter of Sir Robert Worsley, by whom he had three sons and five daughters, and after her death, Lady Sophia, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Pomfret, by whom he had one daughter.

His refusal to sell his share to the Crown could not have been caused by financial considerations, as he was notoriously contemptuous of money. The distinction of being lord of a territory as large as England probably fascinated him.

Probably because he was opposed to the Prime Minister, Walpole, his share was not laid off in severalty to him until 1744, after he succeeded to the Earldom, when he was a member of the Government as Secretary of State. To him was allotted in severalty all the territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, from the latitude of 35° 34′ to the Virginia line, excepting, of course, what had been already sold. This princely domain was confiscated at the Revolution.

After the Treaty of Peace and the adoption of the Constitution of the United States his heirs brought a test suit in the Circuit Court against William Richardson Davie and Josiah Collins for the establishment of their title. They failed and the appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States was dropped. It is said that they received from the British Government compensation amounting to about $250,000.

REFERENCES:—Dictionary of National Biography; Chalmers' Dictionary of Biography; English Histories; Haywood's Life of Tryon; McCrady's History of South Carolina; North Carolina Colonial Records; Second Revised Statutes.

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The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

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THE BATTLE OF RAMSAUR'S MILL.

JUNE 20, 1780.

BY WILLIAM A. GRAHAM,

(Major on Staff of Adjutant General of North Carolina).

Sir Henry Clinton, after the surrender of Charleston in May, 1780, regarded the Royal authority as restored in Georgia and South Carolina, and, leaving Lord Cornwallis in command with a force, which was regarded, with the anticipated re-inforcements from friends in upper South Carolina and North Carolina, as sufficient to subdue North Carolina, sailed with his main army to New York.

Lord Cornwallis' plan of campaign was to move with the main body of Regulars by a central route through Charlotte and Salisbury, and to send a small force under a competent commander to his right to organize his friends in the upper Cape Fear section, and another force to his left to embody the adherents of Britain in upper South Carolina and in Tryon County; to re-inforce his main army and also to protect his outposts from the attacks of McDowell, Cleavland and others aided by the "over the mountain men," as those beyond the Blue Ridge were called. The crops of the previous year being consumed, he delayed his movement until that of 1780 could be harvested and threshed. The section around Ramsaur's Mill was then, as it is now, very fine for wheat. He sent

Colonel John Moore into this country to inform the people that he was coming and would reward and protect the loyal, but would inflict dire punishment upon his opponents; for them to secure the wheat crop and be in readiness, but to make no organization until he should direct.

THE TORIES.

Moore had gone from this section and joined the British army some time previous and had been made Lieutenant-Colonel of Hamilton's Tory regiment. He had been an active Tory and committed many depredations upon the Whigs before his departure, and is especially named with others in Laws of 1779, chapter 2, and of 1782, chapter 6, as one whose property was to be confiscated. In those days there were no post-offices or country stores for the congregating of the people. The flouring mills were the points of assembling, and the roads usually named for the mills to which they led.

Derick Ramsaur, who was among the first German (generally called Dutch) emigrants to Tryon County, erected his mill prior to 1770 on the west bank of Clark's Creek, where the Morganton road bridge at Lincolnton now spans the stream.

The German population in North Carolina, who mostly came here from Pennsylvania, were, during the Revolutionary war, generally favorable to Great Britain. Some have attributed this to the fact that the "reigning" family (Brunswick) was German and that George was King of Hanover as well as of Great Britain. However this may have been

in the Revolution, it does not seem to have been in evidence during the Regulation troubles. After the battle of Alamance, Governor Tryon wrote the Secretary of State that the counties of Mecklenburg, Tryon and western Rowan beyond Yadkin were contemplating hostilities and that he had sent General Wadell with the militia of those counties and some other troops to require the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance. One of the points at which they were assembled for this purpose was Ramsaur's Mill. This would hardly have been the case if the people of this region had not been in sympathy with the Regulators. Having taken the oath of allegiance to King George, it was not strange that they should have felt inclined to regard its obligations, especially when those who were urging them to take up arms against the King were the very men who had administered the oath to them. General Rutherford, Colonel Neal, Captains Alexander, Shaw and others were at that time officers of the militia. They had sympathized with the Regulators on account of common wrongs and oppressions which they suffered, and knew what the evils were which they wished remedied. Now the cause of action is taxation, about which they had little interest and perhaps less knowledge. The Germans, as a race, are a confiding, trusting people to those in whom they have confidence and who act candidly with them, but they seldom live long enough to forgive any one who deceives them or who acts so as to forfeit their confidence. At this time the cause of America was in a depressed state, and many loyal hearts lost hope. It is not improbable that

at least some of these people anticipated with pleasure the time they should behold Griffith Rutherford and his comrades with bared heads and uplifted hands affirming their loyalty to King George and repeating the *role* they had compelled them to act in 1771; at any rate, they were not inclined at their behest to violate the oath they had forced them to swear. The friends of Britain in Tryon County were not confined to the Germans; there were probably as large a per cent. of the English Tories. Neither Moore nor Welch were German. Colonel Moore returned to the vicinity and appointed a meeting for June 10th at his father's (Moses Moore) residence on Indian Creek, seven miles from Ramsaur's. The place of the "Tory Camp" is still pointed out, and is on the Gaston side of the county line on the plantation which was owned by the late Captain John H. Roberts. Forty men met him on that day. He delivered Lord Cornwallis' message, but before they dispersed a messenger informed them that Major Joseph McDowell (who was one of the most ubiquitous officers of the North Carolina militia during the Revolution) was in the neighborhood endeavoring to capture some of the men who were present. Moore, having a force double in number to that of McDowell, sought him and followed him to South Mountains, but did not overtake him. He then dismissed the men with directions to meet at Ramsaur's Mill on the 13th of the month. About two hundred assembled. Nicholas Welch, who had lived just above Moore on Indian Creek, went from this vicinity eighteen months prior to this and joined the British army. He appeared dressed in a new uniform

and exhibiting a considerable quantity of gold coins, representing himself as Major of Hamilton's Regiment. He urged the men to embody at once, telling of the fall of Charleston, Buford's defeat and the bad condition of affairs for the Americans everywhere. By his narratives and judicious use of his guineas he prevailed over Moore and it was determined to organize at once. Eleven hundred men had assembled at Ramsaur's, to which Captains Murray and Whitson of Lower Creek, Burke (Caldwell) County, added two hundred on the 18th. Colonel Moore, although the embodying was contrary to his advice, assumed command. He led a force to capture Colonel Hugh Brevard and Major Jo. McDowell, who came into the vicinity with a small company of Whigs, but they evaded him. On the 19th, with his command of thirteen hundred men, he occupied a ridge three hundred yards east of the mill and which extended east from the road leading from Tuckasegee Ford to Ramsaur's Mill, where it joined the road from Sherrill's Ford, and placed his outposts and pickets in advance, the pickets being six hundred yards from the main force, and upon the Tuskasegee Road. The ridge had a gentle slope and was open, except a few trees, for two hundred yards; its foot was bounded by a glade, the side of which was covered with bushes. The glade was between the Tuckasegee and Sherrill's Ford Roads.

THE WHIGS.

General Rutherford, learning of the advance of Lord Rawdon to Waxhaw Creek, ordered a portion of his command, the militia of the Salisbury District, Rowan, Mecklenburg and

Tryon Counties, into service for a tour of three months. This force rendezvoused at Reese's plantation, eighteen miles northeast of Charlotte, June 12th. Learning that the British had returned to Hanging Rock, General Rutherford advanced ten miles to Mallard Creek, and on the 14th organized his forces for the campaign. This point on Mallard Creek is several times mentioned in Revolutionary papers as occupied by Whig forces. Hearing that the Tories were embodying in Tryon County, he ordered Colonel Francis Locke, of Rowan, and Major David Wilson, of Mecklenburg, to raise a force in northern Mecklenburg and west Rowan to disperse the Tories, as he did not think his present force could undertake this task until Lord Rawdon's intentions were developed. On the 18th Major Wilson, with sixty-five men, among whom were Captains Patrick Knox and William Smith, crossed the Catawba at Toole's Ford, about fourteen miles from Charlotte, near where Moore's Ferry was for many years and Allison's Ferry is now. The ford has been seldom used since 1865, and has been abandoned as a crossing for many years. It is three miles below Cowan's Ford. Taking the Beattie's Ford Road, he soon met Major Jo. McDowell with twenty-five men, among whom were Captain Daniel McKissick and John Bowman. Major McDowell, who had been moving about the country awaiting re-inforcements, probably informed him of the position occupied by the Tories. These troops, in order to unite with the forces being raised by Colonel Locke, kept the road up the river, passing Beattie's Ford, and three miles above, Captains Falls, Houston, Torrence,

Reid and Caldwell, who had crossed at McEwen's Ford with forty men, joined them. McEwen's Ford was near where McConnell's Ferry was, up to 1870, but both ford and ferry have long been abandoned.

Marching the road that is now the Newton Road, past Fleming's Cross Roads, they camped on Mountain Creek at a place called the "Glades," sixteen miles from Ramsaur's. Here, on the 19th, they received additional forces under Colonel Locke, amounting to two hundred and seventy men, among whom were Captains Brandon, Sharpe, William Alexander, Smith, Dobson, Sloan and Hardin. Colonel Locke had collected most of this force as he proceeded up the river and had crossed with them at Sherrill's Ford, which is used to this day, and where General Morgan crossed the following January. The whole force now amounted to about four hundred—McDowell's, Fall's and Brandon's men (perhaps one hundred) being mounted. A council of war was convened to determine plan for action. The proximity of the Tories and the small number of the Whigs made it necessary for quick movement, as the Tories would probably move against them as soon as they learned the true condition. Some proposed to cross the river at Sherrill's Ford, six miles in the rear, and to hold it against the Tories. It was replied to this that a retreat would embolden the Tories and that the re-inforcement to the Tories, who already outnumbered them three to one, would probably be greater than to them. Then it was suggested to move down the river to join Rutherford, who was about forty-five miles distant. It was objected to

this that nearly all the serviceable Whigs of this section were with them or Rutherford, and this would leave their families unprotected and exposed to pillage by the Tories; also the Tories might be in motion and they encounter them on the march. Then came the insinuation that these suggestions came from fear, or at least from unwillingness to meet the Tories, and a proposition to march during the night and attack the Tories early next morning, as they would be ignorant of their numbers and could be easily routed. This had the usual effect; not many soldiers or other people can stand an imputation of cowardice. So this plan was adopted. Colonel James Johnston, who lived in Tryon (Gaston) County near Toole's Ford, and who had joined Major Wilson when he crossed the river, was dispatched to inform General Rutherford of their action. Late in the evening they marched down the south side of Anderson's Mountain, and taking the "State" Road, stopped at the Mountain Spring to arrange a plan of battle. It was agreed that Brandon's, Fall's and McDowell's men, being mounted, should open the attack, the footmen to follow, and every man, without awaiting orders, govern himself as developments might make necessary as the fight proceeded. The British having retired to Camden, General Rutherford determined to give his attention to Colonel Moore, On the 18th of June he marched to Tuckasegee Ford, twelve miles from Charlotte and twenty miles from Ramsaur's. He dispatched a message to Colonel Locke, directing him to meet him with his command at General Joseph Dickson's, three miles from Tuckasegee (and where Mr. Ural M. Johnston,

a great grandson of James Johnston, now lives), on the evening of the 19th or morning of the 20th. That afternoon he moved to the Dickson place. The morning of the 19th was wet, and fearing the arms might be out of condition, at midday, when it cleared off, he ordered them to be discharged and examined. The firing was heard in the adjacent county; the people thinking that the enemy were endeavoring to cross the river, volunteers came to re-inforce the Whigs. At the Catawba, Colonel William Graham, with the Lincoln County Regiment, united with General Rutherford, whose command now numbered twelve hundred. Colonel Johnston reached General Rutherford about ten o'clock at night, who, thinking his courier had informed Colonel Locke, waited until early next morning before moving, when he marched for Ramsaur's.

THE BATTLE.

Leaving the mountain, Colonel Locke's force would follow the "State" Road until they came into what is now Buffalo Shoal Road, then into Sherrill's Ford Road as it ran to Ramsaur's Mill. A mile from the mill they were met by Adam Reep with a small company, perhaps twenty. Reep was a noted Whig, and although his neighbors generally were loyal to King George, he was leader of a few patriots who were always ready to answer his call to arms. The story which tradition tells of his acts would make a base for a fine narrative of Revolutionary times. He gave full account of the Tory position, and further arrangements were made as to plan of attack. There are two roads mentioned in General Gra-

ham's account of this battle in "General Joseph Graham and his Revolutionary Papers." He speaks of *the* road, *i. e.*, Tuckasegee Road, and *this* road, *i. e.*, the old or Sherrill's Ford Road, the track of which is still visible. They united at the western end of the ridge and just beyond the glade. The road at the right of the Tory position is now a cut eight feet or more deep; then it was on top of the ground. The Tories were on the right of the cavalry, who came the old road, and left of the infantry, who came the Tuckasegee Road—the center of the line being between the attacking parties. There seems to have been three attacking parties: First, mounted men, probably under McDowell, on the old road; second, mainly infantry, under Locke, on the Tuckasegee Road, upon which the Tory picket was placed, near where the Burton residence is now; third, Captain Hardin, who came over the hill where Lincolnton now stands, then through the ravine near McLoud's house and gained position on the right flank of the Tories.

The central party was formed, cavalry in front, infantry in two ranks in the rear—they moved by flank. The cavalry discovering the picket, chased them to camp. McDowell's men had pushed on and reached the enemy about the same time, and both parties, leaving the road, rode up within thirty steps of the enemy and opened fire. The enemy were considerably demoralized at first, but seeing so few (not over one hundred) in the attacking party, rallied and poured such a volley into them that they retired through the infantry, some of whom joined them and never returned. Most of the cavalry re-

formed and returned to the contest. Captain Bowman had been killed. Captain Falls, being mortally wounded, rode some two hundred yards and fell dead from his horse where the Sherrill's Ford Road turned down the hill. This spot is still noted. The infantry, nothing daunted, pushed forward, and, coming to the end of the glade, began to form by what is now called "by the right, front into line," and to open fire as each man came into position. The six hundred yards pursuit had much disorganized their line. The Tories advanced down the hill and endeavored to disperse them before they could form. As the Whigs came on they filled gaps and extended the line to their right and made it so hot that the enemy retreated to the top of the hill and a little beyond, so as to partly protect their bodies. The Whigs pursued them, but the fire was so deadly and their loss so heavy that they in turn retreated down the hill to the bushes at the edge of the glade.

The Tories again advanced half way down the ridge. In the midst of the fight at this time Captain Hardin arrived at his position behind the fence on the right flank of the Tories and opened fire. Captain Sharpe had extended the line until he turned the left of the enemy, and his company began firing from that direction (about where Mr. Roseman's barn now stands). The Tories, hard pressed in front, fell back to the top of the ridge, and, finding that they were still exposed to Hardin's fire on the right, as well as to that of Sharpe on the left, broke and fled down the hill and across the creek, many being shot as they ran.

When the Whigs gained the hill they saw quite a force of

the enemy over the creek near the mill and supposed the attack would be renewed. Forming line, they could only master eighty-six, and after earnest exertions only one hundred and ten could be paraded. Major Wilson and Captain William Alexander, of Rowan, were dispatched to hurry General Rutherford forward; they met his forces about where Salem Baptist Church now stands, six and a half miles from Lincolnton, on the old narrow-gauge railroad; Davie's Cavalry was started at a gallop and the infantry at quick-step. Within two miles they met men from the field, who told them the result. When the battle began the Tories who had no arms went across the creek. Captain Murray was killed early in the action; his and Whitson's men immediately followed. Colonel Moore made his headquarters behind a locust-tree near the road. Upon his right flank becoming exposed to the galling fire of Hardin, he did not wait to see the end, and was joined by Major Welch in his change of base.

Captain Sharpe's men, in deploying to the right, went beyond the crest of the ridge (below the present Roseman barn). Here, exposed to the deadly aim of the enemy's rifles, they advanced from tree to tree until they obtained a position enfilading the enemy, and with unerring aim picked off their boldest officers. Captain Sharpe's brother placed his gun against a tree to "draw a bead" on a Tory captain; his arm was broken by a shot from the enemy and his gun fell to the ground. A well-directed shot from the Captain felled the Tory captain and contributed much to the speedy termination of the battle. General Graham says that at this end of the

Tory line "one tree at the root of which two brothers lay dead was grazed by three balls on one side and two on the other." Colonel Moore, fearing pursuit, sent a flag of truce to propose suspension of hostilities to bury the dead and care for the wounded; but ordered all footmen and poorly-mounted men to leave for home at once. Colonel Locke, not wishing the enemy to discover the paucity of his forces, sent Major James Rutherford (a son of the General, and who was killed at Eutaw) to meet the flag. In answer to the request of Moore, he demanded surrender in ten minutes; the flag returned, when Moore and the fifty who remained with him immediately fled. Moore reached Cornwallis with about thirty followers, was put under arrest, threatened with court-martial for disobedience of orders, but was finally released.

In some instances this was a fight between neighbors and kindred, although there were not many Whigs in the Lincoln forces—the militia of the county being with Colonel Graham, who was with Rutherford.

In the thickest of the fight a Dutch Tory, seeing an acquaintance, said: "How do you do, Pilly? I have knowed you since you was a little poy, and never knew no harm of you except you was a rebel." Billy, who was out for business and not to renew acquaintance, as his gun was empty, clubbed it and made a pass at his friend's head, who dodged and said: "Stop! Stop! I am not going to stand still and be killed like a damn fool, needer," and immediately made a lick at Billy's head, which he dodged. A friend of Billy whose gun was loaded put it to the Dutchman's side and shot him dead.

Captain McKissick, who was shot through the shoulder early in the action, went over towards Lincolnton *en route* to a friend's. He met Abram Keener, a Tory captain, but personal friend, with ten companions, who had been to a neighboring farm, and were returning to camp. His companions would have treated Captain McKissick badly, probably killed him; but Keener took him prisoner and protected him. On reaching the camp, and seeing a good many strange faces with his acquaintances, who were prisoners, Keener said: "Hey, poys, you seem to have a good many prisoners." The Whigs, by his speech, knew he was a Tory, and were going to shoot him and his companions, but Captain McKissick interfered, and by earnest appeal saved their lives.

Adam Reep, as part of the history of the battle, was accustomed to tell that the Tories took all his cattle, including his bull, and drove them to their camp; that when the firing began the Tories soon began to pass his house, which was some three miles away, and it was not long before "old John" appeared in the procession bellowing: "Lib-er-ty! Lib-er-ty!! Lib-er-ty!!!"

There was no official report of the battle, consequently the exact number of casualties was never known. The badge of the Tories was a green pine twig in the hat. In the heat of battle some of these would fall out and others were thrown away, so that it could not be told to which side many belonged.

Fifty-six dead lay on the face of the ridge, up and down which the forces advanced and retreated. Thirteen of these

were of Captain Sharpe's Fourth Creek (Statesville) Company. Many bodies lay scattered over the hill. The killed were seventy or more, forty of whom were Whigs. The wounded were one hundred on each side, some of whom afterwards died from their wounds. Among the Whigs killed were Captains Dobson, Falls, Armstrong, Smith, Sloan and Bowman. Captains McKissick and Houston were wounded. Some of the Whigs wore a piece of white paper in their hats as a badge. Several of them were shot through the head. Many of the dead were buried on the field. Wives, mothers, daughters and other kindred of the contestants came that afternoon and next morning to inquire for their friends. As they discovered them among the dead and dying, there were heart-rending scenes of distress and grief. Mrs. Falls came twenty-five miles on horseback, accompanied by her negro cook. Finding her gallant husband dead, she obtained a quilt from Mrs. Reinhardt, whose husband lived near the battle-ground, and carried his body across Sherrill's Ford and buried it with his kindred.

The troops engaged, except Reep of Lincoln, and Major Wilson, Captains Knox and Smith of Mecklenburg, were from (what to 1777 had been) Rowan County. The officers' surnames were found among the militia officers of the county in the proceedings of the "Committee of Safety," of which many of them were members. Captain John Hardin's beat was along Lord Granville's line from Silver Creek in Burke to South Fork, and from these two points to the Catawba River. Captain Joseph Dobson was within its bounds. Much

the largest portion of the troops was from what is now Iredell County. Captain John Sloan was from Fourth Creek. I do not think all who are mentioned as captains held that position at this time; some may have been prior to and some became so afterward. No account was written until forty years had elapsed. There seems to have been but few commands given in the engagement; officers and privates acted as occasion required, and both suffered severely.

This was a battle between the ancestors of the North Carolina Confederate soldier, and taking armament and surroundings into consideration, is about a sample of what would have been witnessed in North Carolina in 1861-'65 if those who believed the proper course to pursue for redress of wrongs was to "fight in the Union" had refused to fight outside, or if Pettigrew's and Cooke's forces had been pitted against Lane's and McRae's. Tradition says Locke's men got some liquor at "Dellinger's Tavern" as they were going into the fight. This tavern stood on the present Robinson block in Lincolnton. At that time Henry Dellinger kept a tavern seven miles from Lincolnton at a cross-road, where John B. Smith now lives. It was probably Rutherford's men *en route* to the battle-field who "took courage" at Dellinger's Tavern.

IMPORTANCE OF THE BATTLE.

This battle is but little known in history, yet is one of the most important in results and best fought of the Revolution. King's Mountain and Ramsaur's Mill at that time were both in Lincoln County, and not twenty miles apart. If Moore

had obeyed Lord Cornwallis, and delayed organization until Ferguson advanced, he could have re-inforced him with two thousand men. If the Whigs had been defeated matters would have been in even worse condition. Ramsaur's Mill was the first and most important "act" in King's Mountain. It destroyed Toryism in that section and caused Bryan, with his followers, to leave the "forks of the Yadkin" and not return until Cornwallis came. The Dutch, as they had kept the oath to King George, kept their "parole" to the American cause. Cornwallis marched through this country the following January and camped at Ramsaur's Mill. He lost more by desertion than he gained in recruits. When he was here, Morgan passed the present site of Maiden, nine miles distant, and for five days was not twenty miles from him. A messenger on any of these days would have enabled Cornwallis to place his army between Morgan and the Catawba River. I do not think, in killed and wounded, in proportion to numbers engaged, the battle is equalled in the Revolution. Forty killed and one hundred wounded, out of four hundred engaged, is high class, even in Confederate annals. The defeat and rout of three times their number is certainly worthy of note. No attempt has been made to preserve the features of this battle-ground; to-day it is tilled by the plow of the farmer, and but slight mementoes of the battle can be seen. On the highest point of the ridge is a head-stone marking three Tory graves. One at the foot of the hill marks another. A brick wall near where the severest fighting was done contains the remains of Captain Dobson where he fell;

also the remains of his daughter and her husband, Wallace Alexander, who were buried beside him some years after the Revolution. The battle-field is now within the corporate limits of Lincolnton.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

General Rutherford remained here two days, sending Davie's Cavalry and other troops through the country arresting Tories, who were nearly all "paroled"; a few who had committed serious depredations being sent to Salisbury jail to await trial at next term of court. Being informed that Colonel Bryan, the noted Tory, had organized his forces in the "forks of the Yadkin," he determined to give him attention. On mustering his troops, he found he had only two hundred men of the sixteen hundred present two days before. This is a fair sample of the conduct of the Mecklenburg and Rowan militia in the Revolution. They would answer all calls to fight, but when the battle was over, or while preparation was being made, they declined to undergo the wearisomeness of camp-life. General Rutherford did not, as would be done now, send details to bring the absentees back, but sent messengers ahead along the road he would march, and before he reached the vicinity of Bryan he had six hundred men. Bryan immediately fled, and most of Rutherford's men again sought their fire-sides—this time by his permission.

When these people accomplished the object for which they had been called into service, or when the cause for the call

disappeared, they regarded the purposes for which they were wanted as fulfilled, and went home ready to answer when again called for. General Graham, who was one of them, called General Davie's attention to this trait of character when General Davie was collecting a force to attack Rocky Mount.

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These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

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BY ALPHONSO C. AVERY,

(Former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina).

The historic interest of homes centers in the families who found, occupy and adorn them, and connect them with the stirring legends and important events in the annals of a country. Amongst the earliest settlers in the valley of the upper Catawba, in the old county of Burke, were Joseph McDowell the elder, a grandson of Ephraim, the founder of the family in Virginia, Kentucky and our own State, and his cousin, known as "Hunting John," who was near the same age. They migrated, somewhere about the year 1760 and during the French-Indian war, from the old home of Ephraim McDowell, in Rockbridge county, Virginia, and, because the country west of the Catawba was rendered unsafe by roving bands of Cherokee and Catawba braves, went with their families through Rowan and Mecklenburg counties to some point in South Carolina, near the northern boundary line. Their sturdy Scotch-Irish friends had already drifted from Pennsylvania, where they, with the thousands of Germans, were first dumped by the English land-agents upon American soil, to upper South Carolina, and had commemorated their first American home by naming the three northern counties of that

Joseph McDowell, Sr and Margaret O'Neil his wife - father and mother of General Charles McDowell.

State York, Chester and Lancaster. Ephraim McDowell was born in the north of Ireland. When only sixteen years old he distinguished himself as a soldier in the siege of Londonderry. He emigrated to America at the age of sixty-two, and, after a short sojourn in Pennsylvania, moved with his sons to the old McDowell home in Rockbridge county, Virginia. He was descended from Someril, Lord of the Isles, through his son Dougald, who founded the clan of McDougald. Ephraim married Margaret Irvine, also of Scotch descent. His son, Captain John McDowell, fell in repelling a Shawnee incursion, and was the first white man killed by the Indians in the Valley of Virginia. His daughter Mary married James Greenlee and was the mother of Grizzell or Grace Greenlee. She first married Captain Bowman, who fell at Ramseur's Mill, and, after the war, her cousin, General Charles McDowell of Burke, who had inherited Quaker Meadows in 1775, at the death of his father, Joseph McDowell the elder, the first settler on that place.

"Hunting John" McDowell, so called because of his venturing into the wilderness so far from the white settlement in pursuit of game, probably first took possession of his beautiful home, Pleasant Gardens, in the Catawba Valley, in what is now McDowell county, about the time when his cousin Joseph settled at Quaker Meadows. I have not been able to ascertain the maiden name of the wife of "Hunting John," nor of the lady who married Joseph McDowell the elder; but there is abundant evidence that both had improved the advantages of being raised near Lexington, the Scotch-Irish educational cen-

Joseph McDowell was the man who made the records and his wife Margaret O'Neil learned the Shorthand — Their Mother was an Irish

ter of the Valley of Virginia, and made their homes attractive to the most refined and cultured people of their day. They were doubtless religious, for we find that the first Presbyterian minister who ever made his home in old Burke reported to Synod in 1777 as the pastor at two points, Quaker Meadows and Pleasant Gardens.

According to tradition the Quaker Meadows farm was so called long before the McDowells or any other whites established homes in Burke county, and derived its name from the fact that the Indians, after clearing parts of the broad and fertile bottoms, had suffered the wild grass to spring up and form a large meadow, near which a Quaker had camped before the French-Indian war and traded for furs. On the 19th of November, 1752, Bishop Spangenburg recorded in his diary (Vol. V. Colonial Records, p. 6) that he was encamped near Quaker Meadows, and that he was "in the forest 50 miles from all settlements." The Bishop desribed the lowlands of John's River as the richest he had seen anywhere in Carolina. But, after surveying a large area, he abandoned the idea of taking title for it from Lord Granville, because the Indian war began in 1753, the next year, and lasted nominally seven years, though it was unsafe to venture west of the Catawba till after 1763, and few incurred the risk of doing so before 1770.

"Hunting John" McDowell first entered "Swan Ponds," about three miles above Quaker Meadows, but sold that place, without occupying it, to Colonel Waightstill Avery, and established his home where his son James afterwards lived and

Catholic nun away and married Joseph McDowell a young Scotch Irishman & came to America. Married the "L.F. Perdue" a descendant

where still later Adolphus Erwin lived for years before his death. His home is three miles north of Marion on the road leading to Bakersville and Burnsville. The name of Pleasant Gardens was afterwards applied not only to this home but to the place where Colonel John Carson lived higher up the Catawba Valley, at the mouth of Buck Creek.

The McDowells and Carsons of that day and later reared thorough-bred horses and made race-paths in the broad lowlands of every large farm. They were superb horsemen, crack shots and trained hunters. John McDowell of Pleasant Gardens was a Nimrod when he lived in Virginia, and we learn from tradition that he acted as guide for his cousins over his hunting ground when, at the risk of their lives, they with their kinsmen, Greenlee and Bowman, traveled over and inspected the valley of the Catawba from Morganton to Old Fort, and selected the large domain allotted to each of them. They built and occupied strings of cabins, because the few plank or boards used by them were sawed by hand and the nails driven into them were shaped in a blacksmith's shop. I have seen many old buildings, such as the old houses at Fort Defiance, the Lenoir home, and Swan Ponds, where every plank was fastened by a wrought nail with a large round head sometimes half an inch in diameter. From these homes the lordly old proprietors could in half an hour go to the water or the woods and provide fish, deer or turkeys to meet the whim of the lady of the house. They combined the pleasure of sport with the profit of providing for their tables. The old Quaker Meadows home is two miles from Morganton, but

the eastern boundary of the farm is the Catawba, only a mile from the court-house. From the northwestern portion of the town, since the land along the river has been cleared, this magnificent and lordly estate is plainly visible, and the valley and river present a charming view for a landscape painter.

From his house on a hill on the eastern bank of the river, Peter Brank and his son-in-law, Captain David Vance, the grandfather of Z. B. Vance, could see the home of the McDowells. The place in the early days was surrounded by the newly-found homes of the Greenlees, Erwins and Captain Bowman, whose only daughter by his marriage with Grace Greenlee was the grandmother of Mrs. Harriet Espy Vance, first wife to Governor Vance. She was married to Governor Vance at Quaker Meadows—in full view of his grandfather's first home in Burke.

"Hunting John" must have died during the early part of the war for independence—probably near the time his ~~cousin~~ brother Joseph died—in 1775.

THE COUNCIL OAK.

On the 29th of August, 1780, Colonel Ferguson moved into Tryon (now Rutherford county) and camped first at Gilberttown, three miles north of Rutherfordton, with the purpose of capturing Charles McDowell and destroying his command and ultimately crossing into Washington and Sullivan counties (now Tennessee) and dealing with Shelby and Sevier of the Watauga settlement. Ferguson left Gilberttown with a detachment, in search of Charles McDowell, but McDowell laid

in ambush at Bedford Hill, on Crane Creek, and fired upon his force while crossing the creek at Cowan's Ford. Major Dunlap was wounded and Ferguson was forced to retire to Gilberttown.

After this affair Charles McDowell retreated across the mountains to warn Shelby and Sevier of the threatened desolation of their country and to invite their co-operation in an attack on Ferguson. It was agreed that the transmontane men should be gathered as expeditiously as possible, while McDowell should send messengers to Colonels Cleveland and Herndon of Wilkes county and Major Joseph Winston of Surry. The energies of Shelby, of Sullivan and Sevier of Washington county, North Carolina, then embracing the present State of Tennessee, were quickened by a message, which Ferguson had released a prisoner to convey, to the effect that he would soon cross the mountain, hang the leaders and lay their country waste with fire and sword.

The clans were summoned to meet at Quaker Meadows on the 30th of September, 1780. Meantime Charles McDowell returned to watch Ferguson, protect cattle by assailing foraging parties and give information to Shelby and Sevier of Ferguson's movements.

Rev. Samuel Doak invoked the blessings of God upon the Watauga men, as they left for King's Mountain to meet Ferguson, whose blasphemous boast had been that God Almighty could not drive him from his position. Those trustful old Scotchmen afterwards believed in their hearts that the hand

of God was in the movement which cost him his life and destroyed his force.

On September 30th, Shelby, Sevier, Cleveland, Winston and the three McDowells (Charles, Joseph of Quaker Meadows, and Joseph of Pleasant Gardens) met at Quaker Meadows, and on October 1st held a council of war under the shade of a magnificent oak which stood near a spring on the Quaker Meadows farm. This old tree, known as the Council Oak, had weathered the storms of more than a century when it was killed by lightning a few years since. At this historic spot these intrepid leaders agreed upon the plan of campaign against Ferguson. The fruit of their council was a victory, which was the turning point of the war for independence.

This venerable tree has been visited by scores of persons, and Burke takes pride in perpetuating the memory of the fact that there the old pioneer patriots, including three of her own sons, laid plans that turned the tide of war and possibly determined the destiny of the continent. The local Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution has already bought what is left of the old oak to be converted into souvenirs, and it has been proposed that the Chapter purchase a little spot, including the site of the oak, with the right of way to a road leading to it, and erect upon it a pavilion where visitors may rest.

THE McDOWELLS AT KING'S MOUNTAIN.

Charles McDowell had organized the clans into a compact, formidable force. The proposed scene of conflict was in his district, and, under military rules then in force, he was en-

titled to command. When, however, it became apparent that jealousy might impair the efficiency of the little army, he cheerfully agreed to go to Mecklenburg or Rowan and invite General Davidson to take charge. After he had left on this mission it was deemed by the council of war best to attack Ferguson before his force could be strengthened by Cornwallis, and the result indicated the wisdom of this conclusion.

Governor Shelby published an account in 1823, in which, after lauding General Charles McDowell as a patriot and a brave and able officer, he said that after it was decided by the council to send to headquarters for a general officer to take command, Charles McDowell requested, as he could not command, to be allowed to take the message, and added that "he accordingly started immediately, leaving *his men under his brother,* Major Joseph McDowell." (Wheeler's History, Part II, page 59). It was Shelby who next day made the generous move to place Campbell in command to obviate the danger of delay. Within the next twenty years some of the lineal descendants of Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens have insisted that the command of the Burke men at King's Mountain devolved on their ancestor, not on his cousin Joseph of Quaker Meadows. The writer would be rejoiced to be convinced that this contention is well founded, but is constrained to conclude that it is not. Shelby had come over with Sevier, at the instance of Charles McDowell, under whose command he had previously fought with all three of the McDowells at Musgrove's Mill and other places. He must have known whether the brother or the cousin of Colonel Charles

McDowell was next in rank to him, and he said it was the brother.

"Poor's Sketches of Congressmen" states that Joseph McDowell, who was born at Winchester, Va., in 1756, and died in 1801, was elected a member of the third and also of the fifth Congress, had commanded a portion of the right wing of the army that stormed King's Mountain. In a subsequent sketch of Joseph J. McDowell of Ohio he says that he was born in Burke county, N. C., November 13, 1800, was a son of Joseph McDowell, member from North Carolina, and was himself a member from 1843 to 1847. The widow of Joseph McDowell of Quaker Meadows left North Carolina with her little children and went to Kentucky soon after her husband's death. His home was on the banks of John's River, near where Bishop Spangenburg must have encamped when he declared that the land was the most fertile he had seen in Carolina. These sketches have always been prepared after consultation with the member as to his previous history, and we must conclude that both father and son bore testimony to the truth of history—the father that he was in command, the son that such was the family history derived from his mother. Dr. Harvey McDowell, of Cynthiana, Ky., who presided over the first Scotch-Irish Convention at Nashville, Tenn., and who died at the ripe age of fourscore, a year or two since, had devoted much of his life to the study of family history, and had conversed with members of the family who knew Joseph of Quaker Meadows and Joseph of Pleasant Gardens and were familiar with their history.

Speaking of the agreement of Colonel Charles McDowell to go to headquarters, Dr. Harvey McDowell says:

"He thereupon turned over the command of his regiment to his *brother Joe of Quaker Meadows,* who was thus promoted from the position of Major, which he had held in this regiment, to that of acting Colonel, and in the regular order of promotion, Captain Joe of Pleasant Gardens (the cousin and brother-in-law of the other Joe) became Major Joe, he having been senior Captain of the regiment."

With the rank, one of Colonel and the other of Major, these cousins of the same name led the brave sharp-shooters who fought so heroically at Cowpens and in the many fights of less consequence. Sarah McDowell, a daughter of Captain John, who was killed by the Shawnees, married Colonel George Moffitt, a wealthy and distinguished officer in the war for independence. His accomplished daughter Margaret married Joseph McDowell of Quaker Meadows, and her younger sister Mary became the wife of Joseph of Pleasant Gardens. The cousins served Burke county acceptably both in the House of Commons and Senate of the State Legislature and in the Convention at Hillsboro, as they had both won distinction while fighting side by side on a number of battlefields. The writer has inclined to the opinion that both served in Congress, Joseph McDowell, Jr., of Pleasant Gardens, from 1793 to 1795, when he died, and Joseph, Sr., of Quaker Meadows, from 1797 to 1799. But this is still a debated question.

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THE TWO JOSEPHS.

Joseph McDowell of Quaker Meadows was a handsome man, wonderfully magnetic, universally popular, and of more than ordinary ability. He was a born leader of men and was represented by the old men of the succeeding generation to have retained till his death the unbounded confidence and affection of his old soldiers. Margaret Moffitt was a woman of extraordinary beauty, as was her sister Mary.

After the battle of King's Mountain, in October, Joseph McDowell of Quaker Meadows remained in the field with 190 mounted riflemen, including the younger Joseph as one of his officers, until he joined Morgan on December 29th and participated in the battle of Cowpens.

Joseph of Pleasant Gardens was a brilliant man of more solid ability than his cousin of the same name. The late Silas McDowell, who died in Macon county, but lived during his early life, first in Burke and then in Buncombe, in discussing in an unpublished letter, of which I have a copy, the prominent men who lived "west of Lincoln county," reaches the conclusion that, prior to the day of D. L. Swain, Samuel P. Carson and Dr. Robert B. Vance, no man in that section had, according to tradition, towered far above his fellows intellectually except Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens, whose "light went out when he was in his noonday prime, and in the last decade of the eighteenth century." He was born February 26, 1758, and died in 1795. His widow married Colonel John Carson, whose first wife was the daughter of "Hunting

John." Samuel P. Carson, the oldest son by the second marriage of Mary Moffit McDowell, was a member of the Senate of North Carolina in 1822, and was born January 22, 1798. (See Wheeler's Reminiscences, page 89). Joseph of Quaker Meadows was born in 1756, was two years older, and therefore must have been Joseph, Sr. Wheeler records the name of Joseph McDowell, Jr., as having served successively from 1787 to 1792, inclusive, as a member of the House of Commons from Burke county, but not after the latter date. (See list of Burke Legislators, Wheeler's History, Part II, page 62). Joseph McDowell, according to same authority, was a State Senator, succeeding General Charles, from 1791 to 1795, inclusive, and during that time did not serve in Congress, though he unquestionably served later. These and other facts have led the writer to believe Joseph, Jr., served one term in Congress, from 1793 to 1795, when he died, and that afterwards, and up to the time of his death, the elder cousin was a member. Joseph McDowell, Jr., was not in public life after 1792, unless he served one term in Congress before his death. It is not probable that he lived from 1792 to 1795 without holding an official position.

THE McDOWELL WOMEN—MRS. GRACE GREENLEE McDOWELL, MRS. MARGARET MOFFITT McDOWELL, MRS. MARY MOFFITT McDOWELL.

Mrs. Margaret Moffitt McDowell, says Dr. Harvey McDowell, was a beautiful and charming woman. After the death of her husband she returned to the Valley of Virginia and went thence to Kentucky. Amongst her descendants

was a son, Joseph J., already mentioned, a member of Congress, and many other people prominent in public or social life, both of Kentucky and Ohio.

Mrs. Mary Moffitt McDowell was the mother of Mrs. Margaret McDowell, who married her cousin, Captain Charles McDowell, a son of General Charles, and was the mistress at the Quaker Meadows home, where she kept a house always open to her friends till her death in 1859. Her oldest daughter, Mary, first married General John Gray Bynum in 1838, and subsequently became the second wife of Chief Justice Pearson in 1859. The late Judge John Gray Bynum was the only son. Another daughter, Eliza, was the wife of Nicholas W. Woodfin, one of the ablest lawyers of his day, and another, Margaret, married W. F. McKesson, and was the mother of the first Mrs. F. H. Busbee and of C. F. McKesson. Another daughter married John Woodfin, a prominent lawyer, who fell at the head of his battalion, resisting Kirk's invasion at Warm Springs. The only son who survived Mrs. Annie McDowell was Colonel James C. S. McDowell. He married Miss Julia, daughter of Governor Charles Manly. His first service was when, as Second Lieutenant of Company G of the Bethel Regiment, he participated in the first battle of the war. Later he became Colonel of the Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment, and fell gallantly leading it in a charge on Marye's Heights in 1863. James McDowell, his oldest son, married Margaret Erwin, and was the father of Dr. Joseph McDowell of Buncombe and Dr. John C. McDowell of Burke, both of whom were

members of the Secession Convention of 1861, and of Colonel William, who was Captain in the Bethel Regiment and afterwards Colonel of the Sixtieth North Carolina. Another son, John McDowell, was the father of Colonel John of Rutherford County.

After the death of her husband, Mrs. Mary McDowell married Colonel John Carson, and made her home at his mansion near the mouth of Buck Creek, on the Catawba. The name of Pleasant Gardens followed her and was applied to her new as well as her old home. Her oldest son by the second marriage, Colonel Samuel P. Carson, after serving in the Legislature of the State, served four terms in Congress. He was at first a favorite of Old Hickory, and was selected as the readiest debater in the House to defend the administration on the floor of that body. He afterwards became the friend of John C. Calhoun, and his defense of nullification estranged Jackson and led to Carson's retirement from Congress. The last service of Carson to the State was as one of the members from Burke of the Constitutional Convention of 1835. His father had been one of Burke's members of the Convention of 1789, when the Constitution of the United States had been ratified by the State.

In the writer's boyhood older men spoke of Sam Carson as the most eloquent speaker and the most fascinating gentleman they had known.

In the early part of the year 1835, Samuel Carson went, with the view of finding a home, to the republic of Texas, then struggling with Mexico for independence. It was dur-

ing his absence that he was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1835. He migrated to Texas in 1836, and soon after his arrival was chosen a member of the Convention of 1836, which framed a Constitution, and, upon the election of General Samuel Houston to the presidency of the young republic, was made Secretary of State. The efforts of Carson to secure recognition of the Lone Star State were potent in beginning the agitation, which culminated in 1845 in recognition and annexation.

THE CARSON-VANCE DUEL.

Stung by defeat in 1825, Dr. Robert B. Vance determined to break him down in 1827. He believed, it is supposed on account of Carson's great amiability, that Carson was a coward, though a more fatal mistake was never made, and, acting upon that belief, charged in a public discussion at Morganton that Colonel John Carson, the father of his opponent, and who has already been mentioned as a member of the Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States, at Fayetteville, was a Tory, and took protection when Ferguson invaded Burke. Colonel Carson rose and denounced Vance as a liar. Vance tauntingly said to him: "You are too old. You have a gallant son, whose duty it is to fight your battles." I am reliably informed that Vance did not believe that Samuel Carson would resent this insult, and he knew that if he should not he could never be elected again after the election which was to take place in a few days.

To show how widely mistaken Dr. Vance was in his estimate of Carson, the writer has heard from his father that on the night after this discussion, Samuel P. Carson, his six brothers and his father met at the old family home, at the mouth of Buck Creek, and though the old Colonel insisted upon sending a challenge, his sons overruled him, and agreed that after the approaching election Samuel should challenge Vance, and should Samuel fall, each of the brothers, beginning with the oldest, Joseph McDowell Carson of Rutherford, should challenge him in succession. The Colonel was appeased by an agreement that should Vance kill all of his boys he should then have the opportunity to avenge the insult. All of the brothers were cool and courageous and were crack shots. Soon after the election Carson crossed the Tennessee line to avoid a violation of the laws of his own State, and sent by Colonel Alney Burgin of Old Fort an invitation to Vance to come over to Tennessee and discuss the grievance complained of. Carson, with the distinguished Warren David of South Carolina as a second, and accompanied by David Crockett as a friend, met and mortally wounded Vance at Saluda. Just before taking his place, Carson, who was as kind as he was courageous, said to Warren David: "I can hit him anywhere I choose. I prefer to inflict a wound that will not prove fatal." David said: "Vance will try to kill you, and, if he receives only a flesh wound, will demand another shot, which will mean another chance to kill you. I will not act for you unless you promise me to do your best to kill him." Carson promised, and Vance fell mortally wounded.

Carson's heart was tender, and he died lamenting that the demands of an imperious custom had forced him to wreck his own peace of mind, in order to save the honor of his family and remove the reproach upon his name.

The oldest son of Colonel Carson, Joseph McDowell Carson, was a prominent lawyer, and represented Rutherford county in the Convention of 1835, and frequently in the Legislature. He was the grandfather of Captain Joseph Mills of Burke and of Mrs. Frank Coxe of Asheville, as well as of Ralph P. Carson, a prominent lawyer of South Carolina.

One of the Daughters of "Hunting John" married a Whitson, and her descendants for a century have been honored citizens of McDowell and Buncombe counties. One of them married the only daughter of Samuel P. Carson. Joseph McD. Burgin of Old Fort, a son of General Alney Burgin, who bore the message to Vance, is another of his worthy descendants, and the accomplished daughter of Captain Burgin is the wife of the golden-tongued orator of the West, Hon. Locke Craig.

Colonel William Carson, second son of Mrs. Mary Moffitt Carson and J. Logan Carson, third son of her marriage with Colonel John Carson, both lived and died on one of the farms known as Pleasant Gardens. William married twice, and amongst his descendants are many prominent men and estimable and accomplished ladies. William Carson Ervin of Morganton is a grandson of William Carson, and J. L. Carson was the grandfather of Mrs. W. McD. Burgin and Mrs. P. J. Sinclair of Marion. C. Manly McDowell is the

Sheriff of Burke county, and her most popular citizen. He is a son of Colonel James C. S. McDowell of the Fifty-fourth North Carolina, who fell at Marye's Heights, and the grandson of Captain Charles, son of General Charles and of Annie, daughter of Joseph of Pleasant Gardens and Mary Moffitt. William Walton, a grandson of Colonel James and a graduate of the University, won a commission as Lieutenant in the Philippines by his gallantry and good conduct, and, thanks to his university training, stood the examination for the regular army.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THESE OLD HOMES.

The sacredness of home to all of us is born of its association with loved ones who have entered into our lives. So we listen to historical legends which connect homes with people who have won a place in history.

The Quaker Meadows of the Revolutionary era was known historically as the place where patriots rallied and where the chiefs, under the old Council Oak, laid the foundation stone of our independence. Later it was known to visitors as the home where Grace Greenlee McDowell dispensed a lavish hospitality to her friends and to the old comrades of her husband. She was known as the cultured woman who (with an infant in her arms, the grandmother of Mrs. Harriet Espy Vance) rode to Ramseur's Mills to nurse her wounded husband, and who afterwards went into a cave to aid in the secret manufacture of powder. To her family she was the lovely Christian mother who whispered into infants' ears the

story of the Cross, and taught her children, growing into manhood and womanhood, how, though remote from towns, to be cultured ladies and gentlemen.

It seems sad to those who have inherited the old English idea of establishing and maintaining family ancestral homes that descend from sire to son for ages, that these old dwellings have passed into the hands of good people outside of the families who founded them. Though their connection with family names has ceased, it is a patriotic duty of all who love their country and appreciate the blessings of liberty to perpetuate the history of these old homes as the scenes of great events. I have tried to show that many good and true and some great people trace their origin to the founders of these homes that in the last century were nurseries of the courage and fortitude that carried King's Mountain.

MRS. C. A. CILLEY, MRS. MARGARET BUSBEE SHIPP, MISS MARGARET McDOWELL AND MRS. LEE S. OVERMAN.

It is not inappropriate to mention a few of the McDowell women of to-day who are well known in North Carolina by other names.

The names of Mrs. C. A. Cilley, Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp, Miss Margaret McDowell of Morganton and Mrs. Lee S. Overman are living representatives of the Pleasant Gardens and Quaker Meadows stock, who show that the families have not degenerated in learning or culture. Mrs. Cilley is the great-granddaughter of Charles McDowell and Grace Greenlee. Mrs. Shipp is a descendant, one degree further

removed, of Charles McDowell and Grace Greenlee, and also of Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens. Miss Margaret McDowell is a great-granddaughter of Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens. Mrs. Lee S. Overman is the great-great-granddaughter of General Charles McDowell and Grace Greenlee. She is the wife of Senator Overman and the daughter of the late distinguished Chief Justice Merrimon and the niece of Judge James H. Merrimon, the two ablest and most distinguished of the descendants of General Charles McDowell. All of these ladies contribute interesting articles for the press. Mrs. Shipp is the widow of Lieutenant W. E. Shipp, who fell at Santiago. North Carolina is proud of him as a son and the nation of his career as a soldier.

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VOL. IV AUGUST, 1904 No. 4

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

THE CONVENTION OF 1788–'89 AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—HILLSBOROUGH AND FAYETTEVILLE.

BY

JUDGE HENRY GROVES CONNOR.

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"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

THE CONVENTION OF 1788-'89 AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—HILLSBOROUGH AND FAYETTEVILLE.

BY HENRY GROVES CONNOR,

(Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina).

The General Assembly of North Carolina, at an adjourned session in January, 1787, appointed Governor Caswell, Alexander Martin, General W. R. Davie, Richard Dobbs Spaight and Willie Jones delegates to the Convention which had been called to meet at Philadelphia on May 14, 1787, for the purpose of proposing amendments to the Articles of Confederation. Willie Jones and Governor Caswell could not attend, and pursuant to the power vested in him the Governor appointed Hugh Williamson and William Blount. On the first day of the Convention Messrs. Martin, Spaight, Davie and Williamson were present. Mr. Blount took his seat June 20, 1787. After a session of four months, the Convention, on September 17, 1787, reported to Congress a plan of government which, when ratified by nine of the thirteen States, was to become "between the States so ratifying the same the Constitution of the United States." A government was to be organized pursuant to its provisions. The Convention adopted a resolution expressing the opinion that, after being submitted to Congress, the Constitution should be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each State by the peo-

ple thereof "under the recommendation of its Legislature." Accompanying the Constitution was an open letter signed by George Washington, President.

Messrs. Blount, Spaight and Williamson signed the Constitution in behalf of this State. General Davie left Philadelphia for his home upon the final vote, and before the Constitution was prepared to be signed. Mr. Martin was also at home, as we learn from a letter to Governor Caswell, in which he says that he is compelled to be at Salisbury Superior Court. He further says: "My absence may, I think, be the more easily dispensed with when I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency the Deputation from the State of North Carolina have generally been unanimous on all great questions." In the same letter he explains to the Governor the reason why he has not had "particular information respecting the Convention," etc. On September 18, 1787, Messrs. Blount, Spaight and Williamson sent to the Governor an interesting letter regarding the several parts of the Constitution in which the State was specially interested.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Convention, the proposed Constitution was submitted to the Legislatures of the several States. On November 21, 1787, the Governor sent to the Legislature of North Carolina a message with certain "Papers respecting the Federal Convention." The two Houses of the General Assembly fixed the 5th of December as "a time at which they will enter on the important business of the Federal Constitution." On that day a message was sent to the Senate by the House announcing that

they were ready to meet in conference "on this business in the Commons room immediately." The Senate being ready, the two Houses met in conference and resolved themselves into a Committee of the Whole "to take into consideration the proposed Federal Constitution." The Committee, after some debate, adjourned, reporting progress. On the next day the Committee again met and adopted a series of resolutions recommending that a Convention be called for the purpose of "deliberating and determining on the said Constitution," etc. Provision was made for the election of five delegates for each county and one from each borough town. The third Monday of July, 1788, was fixed as the time of meeting. The place was afterwards agreed upon at Hillsborough. The Convention was also authorized to fix upon a place for the Capital of the State. The delegates were elected on the last Friday and Saturday in March, 1788.

Upon the adjournment of the Philadelphia Convention, the friends and opponents of the new Constitution began a spirited and, in some States, a bitter controversy in regard to its merits, etc. The conditions are well described by Mr. Fiske. He says: "And now there ensued such a war of pamphlets, broadsides, caricatures, squibs and stump speeches as had never yet been seen in America. Cato and Aristides, Cincinnatus and Plain Truth were out in full force. What was the matter with the old Confederation? asked the Anti-Federalists. Had it not conducted a glorious and successful war? Had it not set us free from the oppression of England? That there was some trouble now in the country

could not be denied, but all would be right if people would only curb their extravagance, wear homespun clothes and obey the laws. There was government enough in the country already. The Philadelphia Convention ought to be distrusted. Some of its members had opposed the Declaration of Independence," etc. Complaint was made that Hamilton and Madison were "mere boys," while Franklin was an "old dotard," a man in his second childhood. Washington, they said, was "doubtless a good soldier, but what did he know about politics?" Some went so far as to say that he was a "born fool."

Thomas Iredell, in a letter to his brother, May 22, 1788, says that "Mr. Allen read me a part of a letter he received from a gentleman of his acquaintance, who mentions a conversation he had with General Person, the substance of which was 'that General Washington was a damned rascal and traitor to his country for putting his hand to such an infamous paper as the new Constitution.'"

"Letters from a Federalist Farmer," by Richard Henry Lee, pointed out that the author saw "seeds of an aristocracy and of centralization" in the Constitution. That it created "a National Legislature in which the vote was to be by individuals and not by States."

Many of those who opposed the proposed Constitution admitted the necessity for amendment to the Articles of Confederation, but saw in the new plan danger to the integrity of the States and the destruction of local self-government. The defenders of the Constitution were by no means silent

or idle. Hamilton, Madison and Jay published over the name "Publius" a series of essays explaining and defending the Constitution, which, when bound in a volume, were known as "The Federalist." Mr. Lodge says: "The 'Federalist' throughout the length and breadth of the United States did more than anything else that was either written or spoken to secure the adoption of the new scheme." Mr. Fiske says: "The essays were widely and eagerly read and probably accomplished more toward insuring the adoption of the new Constitution than anything else that was said or done in the eventful year." Mr. McRee, in his "Life of Judge Iredell," which Mr. Bancroft says "for instruction is an invaluable work," says: "Contemporaneous with the meeting of the Convention at Philadelphia, the two great parties into which the people were divided began to be known as 'Federalist' and 'Anti-Federalist,' or 'Republican.' The former in favor of a more intimate union of the States, and fully prepared to receive the new plan of government; the latter either content with the Confederation, or content to submit to slight or partial amendments alone." William Dickson, a very intelligent and observant man, living in Duplin County, gives us a very clear and interesting description of conditions in the State. On November 30, 1787, he writes: "During the course of the last summer a grand Convention of delegates from the several States were assembled at Philadelphia. The only production of their councils which I have yet seen published is a Constitution for the United States of America to be submitted to the Legislature of each State for their appro-

bation and concurrence, a copy or a pamphlet of which, for amusement, I herewith enclose you. Our General Assembly for this State are now convened and have it under consideration. We hear that debate runs high concerning it, also the populace in the country are divided in their opinions concerning it. For my own part, I am but a shallow politician, but there are some parts of it I do not like."

Judge Iredell published in 1788 an "Answer to Mr Mason's Objections to the New Constitution," signed "Marcus." In this very able paper he states Mr. Mason's objections and proceeds to answer them *seriatim*. This paper was published in connection with an "Address to the People," by Mr. Maclaine, signed "Publicola."

That the "Federalist" was circulated in this State is shown by letters referring to it from Davie and Maclaine to Iredell. But Iredell was unanimously elected a delegate from Edenton to the Convention, Davie secured a seat from the town of Halifax, and Maclaine, Governor Johnston and Spaight were also selected. The election in a large majority of the counties showed much hostility to the proposed Constitution. William Hooper writes Iredell from Hillsborough: "I fear those who favor the new Constitution will be far outnumbered by their adversaries. The Western Country in general is decidedly opposed to it. Mr. Moore and myself essayed in vain for a seat in the Convention. Our sentiments had transpired before the election." Maclaine writes that while he hears that many of the people are changing their opinions in favor of the Constitution, that it is not very good

sign that such men as General Allen Jones, William Blount, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Moore, General Martin and Judge Williams have been rejected

The Convention met in the Presbyterian Church at Hillsborough on July 21, 1788, with two hundred and eighty-four members. Governor Johnston, although a strong supporter of the Constitution, was unanimously elected President. Mr. John Hunt and Mr. Joseph Taylor were elected Secretaries. Among the delegates, besides those named, were John Steele of Rowan, "laborious, clear-sighted and serviceable for his knowledge of men"; General Davie, who had won renown as a soldier in the Revolutionary War, served many times in the Legislature, a man of eminent ability and destined for high honors in the service of the State and nation.

Of James Iredell, Mr. Bancroft says: "Foremost among the Federalists, the master mind of the Convention was James Iredell, who before he was forty years old was placed by Washington on the Supreme Bench of the United States." He was at that time thirty-six, and had not before served in a parliamentary body. Moore says: "He was as ready in debate as he was profound in legal and constitutional knowledge."

Archibald Maclaine was a learned and able lawyer and ardent patriot, and had rendered eminent service in the Cape Fear section in the struggle for independence. He was strong in debate, but impatient and at times gave way to a hasty temper

Richard Dobbs Spaight had been a member of the Phila-

delphia Convention. He was a man of great ability, and was afterwards Governor of the State

Among the leaders in the opposition, by far the most influential was Willie Jones of Halifax. Of this remarkable man, Mr. McRee says: "Willie Jones was the most influential politician in the State. Although democratic in theory, he was aristocratic in habits, tastes, pursuits and prejudices; he lived sumptuously and wore fine linen; he raced, hunted and played cards. He was proud of his wealth and social position and fastidious in the selection of associates of his family. A patriot in the Revolution, he was now the acknowledged head of a great party. * * * He was a loving and cherished disciple of Jefferson, and was often taunted with his subserviency to Virginia 'abstractions.' He seldom shared in discussions. His time for action was chiefly during the hours of adjournment; then it was that he stimulated the passions, aroused the suspicions and moderated the ardor of his followers; then it was that, smoking his pipe and chatting of ploughs, stock, dogs, etc., he stole his way into the hearts of honest farmers and erected there thrones for himself."

Judge Spencer, of Anson, was probably the ablest debater in the ranks of the opponents. He spoke more frequently and at greater length than any other on that side. While he strongly advocated guarantees against apprehended dangers, he recognized the necessity for a stronger and closer union of the States. His temper was good and his language moderate.

Timothy Bloodworth was one of the most interesting men

in the body. McRee says of him: "By no means one of the least among them, he was one of the most remarkable men of that era, distinguished for the versatility of his talents and his practical knowledge of men, trades, arts and sciences. The child of poverty, diligence and ambition had supplied the place of patronage and wealth. Preacher, smith, farmer, doctor, watch-maker, wheelwright and politician. * * In the social circle, good-humored, gay and full of racy anecdotes, as a politician he was resolute almost to fierceness and almost radical in his democracy. He was a member of Congress and United States Senator.

Dr. Caldwell, a Presbyterian minister, was learned and intelligent. Among his people "he discharged the triple function of preacher, physician and teacher, and for all these various offices his industry and sagacity had so qualified him that he had no rival."

McDowell had won distinction at the battles of King's Mountain and Cowpens. He was a strong man, and always spoke with clearness and vigor. "He was throughout his life the idol of the people of Western North Carolina."

General Thomas Persons strongly supported Willie Jones in his opposition to the Constitution. Like him, he spoke but seldom.

Among other names prominent in our State's history were Elisha Battle, Stephen Cabarrus, Josiah Collins, John Sitgreaves, William Barry Grove, Thomas Owens, Thomas Brown, Joseph Winston, John Macon (brother of Nathaniel),

William Lenoir, James Kenan, John Branch, Joel Lane, Matthew Lockes.

Bancroft says: "The Convention organized itself with tranquility and dignity and proceeded to discuss the Constitution clause by clause." McRee says: "A Mr. Robinson attended as stenographer. The Federalists were desirous that the debates should be published, trusting that their dissemination would produce a salutary change in the opinions of the people. At their instance, Iredell and Davie assumed the responsibility and care of their publication. The debates are to be seen in Elliott's collection, and do so much honor to the State and compare so well with the debates on the same subject in other States, that no North Carolinian can fail in grateful recollection of the energy and industry of the two eminent men to whom he is indebted for their preservation." They lost money on their publication. The usual Committees on Rules and Credentials were appointed and reports adopted. The election in Dobbs County was declared invalid because of a riot and disturbance, the box being taken away by violence. After hearing the proposed Constitution and other papers read, Mr. Galloway moved that the Constitution be discussed "clause by clause." This was promptly opposed by Willie Jones and General Person, both of whom said that they supposed every delegate was prepared to vote at once; that the condition of the public treasury was such that no more expense should be incurred than was necessary. Judge Iredell said that he was "astonished at the proposal to decide immediately, without the least deliberation, a question which

was perhaps the greatest ever submitted to any body of men." He said that the Constitution was formed after much deliberation by honest and able men of "probity and understanding"; that ten States had ratified it. He urged with much ability and in excellent spirit a full consideration. Mr. Jones said that he was prepared to vote and supposed others were, but if gentlemen differed with him he would submit. The Convention, without coming to a vote, adjourned The next day, upon the suggestion of Mr. Galloway, the members of the Convention went into Committee of the Whole for the purpose of discussing the Constitution, Mr. Elisha Battle presiding, Mr. Caldwell submitted some "fundamental rules or principles of government" and proposed that the Constitution be compared with them. This proposition was rejected as impracticable. The preamble being read, Mr. Caldwell at once opened the discussion by attacking the language "We the People," saying "if they mean by 'We the People' the people at large, that he conceived the expression was improper." He contended that the delegates who formed the Constitution represented the States and had no power to act for "the people at large." Mr. Maclaine, admitting that they were "delegated by the States," insisted that when adopted the Constitution became the work of the people. General Davie said that he was called upon to speak because it was charged that the delegates had exceeded their powers, which he denied. Judge Iredell came to General Davie's aid, but neither of these able men could satisfy the troubled mind of the Presbyterian preacher, who, at the conclusion, simply said that "he

wished to know why the gentlemen who were delegated by the States styled themselves 'We the People'; that he only wished for information." Mr. Taylor, in a remarkably clear and forceful manner, expressed the thought of the Anti-Federalists. He said that by the use of the words "We the people" the delegates assumed a power not delegated. "Had they said 'We the States,' there would have been a federal intention in it, but it was clear that a consolidation was intended." He said that he was "astonished that the servants of the Legislature of North Carolina should go to Philadelphia and instead of speaking of the State of North Carolina should speak of the people. I wish to stop power as soon as possible." Mr. Maclaine expressed "astonishment" at the objection. He showed impatience by referring to it as "trifling," but the hard-headed Scotch preacher mildly said that he "only wished to know why they had assumed the name of the people."

Although, during the century or more that has passed since these men in Hillsborough, Patrick Henry and George Mason in Virginia, and others who were inquisitive in regard to the use of the expression, demanded an answer to their question, high debate, learned discussion and long treatises have been had and written, and grim war has played its part in the argument, it has not been answered satisfactorily to the minds of men like Mr. Caldwell. It certainly was not answered to the satisfaction of Willie Jones and his disciples.

The first section of article one, vesting all legislative power

in Congress, was read and passed over with but little discussion, Mr. Maclaine making some observations in regard to biennial elections. Mr. Shepherd remarked that he could see no propriety in the friends of the Constitution making objections when none were made by the opponents, whereupon Mr. Jones said that he would suggest that one of the friends of the measure make objections and another answer. General Davie said that he hoped personal reflections would be avoided as much as possible, that he was sorry to see so much impatience "so early in the business." Mr. Jones made no reply and said nothing until the end of the discussion. Mr. Bloodworth spoke for the first time, saying that any gentleman had a right to make objections, and that he was sorry to hear reflections made.

The satus of negroes in making up the basis for representation was discussed by Mr. Groudy, who "did not wish to be represented with negroes." General Davie said that they were an unhappy species of population, but they could not then alter their situation; that the Eastern States were jealous in regard to giving the Southern States representation for their slaves. He expressed the hope that the gentleman from Guilford "would accommodate his feelings to the interest and circumstances of his country." Mr. Spaight and Governor Johnston spoke with much good sense and temper.

"The sole power of impeachment" conferred upon the House of Representatives was objected to and fears were expressed that it might be construed to include the impeachment of State officers. Judge Iredell and Governor Johnston

fully answered the arguments of Mr. Bloodworth and Mr. Taylor, while Mr. Maclaine referred to them as "silly."

Mr. Cabarrus and Judge Iredell discussed the term of Senators, and explained the reason why they were fixed at six years The sixth section, or clause, gave rise to an acrimonious debate, in which Mr. Maclaine referred to the objections as displaying "horrid ignorance." Mr. Taylor said: "If all are not of equal ability with the gentleman, he ought to possess charity towards us and not lavish such severe reflections upon us in such a declamatory manner." This brought from the rather impatient gentleman a prompt expression of regret, etc. Mr. Bloodworth observed that he was obliged to the gentleman for his construction, but expressed the apprehension that the same construction might not be put upon the clause by Congress. He said were he to go to Congress, he would put that construction on it. No one could say what construction Congress would put on it. "I do not distrust him, but I distrust them. I wish to leave no dangerous latitude of construction."

The first clause of the fourth section being read, Judge Spencer spoke for the first time, expressing apprehension that the power given to Congress to fix the time, place and manner of holding elections for members of Congress did away with the right of the people to elect their representatives every two years. He wished the matter explained. Governor Johnston frankly said: "I confess that I am a very great admirer of the new Constitution, but I cannot comprehend the reason of this part." After some discussion, he said that

every State which had recommended amendments had given directions that the provision be removed, and he hoped that this State would do the same. Judge Spencer here spoke at some length with force and in excellent spirit. He admitted that the Constitution had a "great deal of merit in it." He thought this clause "reprehensible." "It apparently looks forward to a consolidation of the government of the United States, when the State Legislatures may entirely decay away." He regarded the State governments as the "basis of our happiness, security and prosperity." Mr. Iredell said that he was "glad to see so much candor and moderation. The liberal sentiments expressed by the honorable gentleman" commanded his respect. He proceeded to show that this power given to Congress was "both necessary and useful to the continued existence of the government," but conceded that great jealousy existed in regard to it, saying: "I should, therefore, not object to the recommendation of an amendment similar to that of other States, that this power in Congress should only be exercised when a State Legislature neglected or was disabled from making the regulation required." After other remarks by several delegates, General Davie made an extended argument in defense of the power, to which Mr. Caldwell remarked "those things which can be and may be," protesting strongly against the clause. Mr. Maclaine entered the list with the somewhat testy observation that the objection made by the reverend gentleman from Guilford "astonished him more than anything he had heard. After making some criticisms upon references to the history of England, he con-

cluded: "It cannot be supposed that the representatives of our general government will be worse than the members of our State government. Will we be such fools as to send our greatest rascals to the general government?" Mr. James Galloway and Mr. Bloodworth spoke strongly against the clause, while Mr. Steele, speaking for the first time, presented the other side with great clearness and power. Among other things, he said: "If the Congress make laws inconsistent with the Constitution independent judges will not enforce them, nor will the people obey them." The debate on this clause elicited more learning and ability than any which preceded it, the opposition getting rather the better of the argument.

The clause empowering Congress "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts," etc., elicited considerable debate. Mr. Spencer opened the discussion, expressing apprehension that the extensive power conferred upon Congress would deprive the States of any source of revenue. The Anti-Federalists insisted that Congress should "not have power to levy taxes in the first instance, but should apply to the States, and in case of refusal then direct taxation shall take place." The friends of the Constitution contended that direct taxation would not be necessary; that custom duties and excise taxes would meet the ordinary expenses of the government. Governor Johnston led in the debate for the Federalists, aided by a strong speech by Mr. Hill, who spoke for the first time. Mr. Iredell spoke briefly.

Mr. McDowell objected to the clause regarding the importation of slaves and the power conferred upon Congress to

restrict it after the year 1808. Mr. Spaight, who was a member of the Philadelphia Convention, explained that this section was the result of a compromise. Mr. Iredell said if it were practicable it would give him the greatest pleasure to put an end to the importation of slaves immediately. He said: "When the entire abolition of slavery takes place it will be an event that must be pleasing to every generous mind and every friend of human nature; but we often wish for things that are not attainable." Mr. Galloway was not satisfied with the explanation. He said: "I wish to see the abominable trade put an end to." In conclusion, he asked the oft-repeated, never-answered question: "I apprehend it means to bring forward manumission. If we manumit our slaves, what country shall we send them to? It is impossible for us to be happy if, after manumission, they are to stay among us." With a few explanatory remarks, this ended, for the time, the discussion. Whether it will be ended in "the tide of time" is one of the unsolved problems—unanswered questions.

When the second article, without further discussion, was reached, General Davie, evidently understanding the tactics of Willie Jones and his followers, expressed his astonishment at the "precipitancy with which the Convention was proceeding." Mr. Taylor thought it a waste of time to make trivial objections.

The several clauses in regard to the manner of electing the President and the powers conferred upon him were read and debated at considerable length, Mr. Iredell making an able and exhaustive defense of the mode of election, etc. The power to

make treaties with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate was strongly objected to by Mr. Spencer and Mr. Bloodworth and defended by General Davie and Mr. Iredell.

The article establishing and defining the jurisdiction of the Federal judiciary gave rise to a spirited and able discussion. The strong men on both sides took part, putting forth their best efforts. Judge Spencer opened the discussion, stating very clearly his objections to the article. He thought the jurisdiction conferred upon the Federal courts too extensive; that they would absorb the power of the State courts, leaving them nothing to do. He well understood the tendency of courts to extend by construction and implication their jurisdiction. He objected that men would be taken long distances from their homes to attend upon the courts, and there would be a horde of officers. He said: "If we consider nothing but the article of taxation, duties and excises, and the laws which might be made with reference to these, the cases will be almost infinite." He strongly protested because of the absence of any provision requiring trial by jury in civil cases. In the course of this discussion the objection that the Constitution contained no Bill of Rights was first made. Judge Spencer said: "There ought to be a Bill of Rights in order that those in power may not step over the boundary between the powers of government and the rights of the people." He was strongly supported by Mr. Bloodworth and Mr. McDowell. The friends of the Constitution joined in defending it and answering the objections. Judge Iredell, General Davie and their supporters were at their best, and Judge Iredell frankly

said: "I am by no means surprised at the anxiety which is expressed by gentlemen on this subject. Of all the trials that ever were instituted in the world, this, in my opinion, is the best, and that which I hope will continue the longest." He thought the right sufficiently guarded. The seventh amendment to the Constitution not only vindicated the wisdom, but removed the objection of Judge Spencer and his associates.

To the demand for a Bill of Rights, it was answered by Judge Iredell and General Davie that, as our government was based upon the principle that all political power was vested in the people, and that the government possessed only such as was expressly granted, it was unnecessary and would be incongruous to have a declaration or Bill of Rights. That in this respect our government essentially differed from the English, wherein all power was vested in the King and the people possessed only such rights as were expressly granted them. Theoretically, Iredell was correct, but practically and in the light of the struggle for the protection and preservation of civil and religious liberty, Bloodworth and Spencer were right in demanding that nothing, in this respect, be left to "mere construction or opinion." Bloodworth said: "I still see the necessity of a Bill of Rights. Gentlemen use contradictory arguments on this subject, if I recollect right. Without the most express restrictions, Congress may trample on your rights. Every possible precaution ought to be taken when we grant powers. Rulers are always disposed to abuse them." Mr. Bass, who spoke but once, said that he considered

the Constitution neither necessary nor proper; that gentlemen of the law differed about its meaning; that he could not understand it, although he had taken great pains to do so, and flattered himself with the possession of common sense and reason. He said that from the contrariety of opinion, he thought "the thing was uncommonly difficult or absolutely unintelligible." He apologized for his ignorance by observing "that he never went to school, and was born blind." He wished for information.

In regard to the fourth article there was no discussion, Mr. Iredell simply observing that the expression "persons held to service or labor" was used because the Northern delegates had scruples on the subject of slavery and objected to the use of the word slave.

Article five, in regard to the manner of making amendments, was passed over without discussion.

Section two of article six elicited much discussion. Mr. Iredell said that the declaration that the Constitution and laws of the United States should be the supreme law of the land was no more than saying "that when we adopt the government we will maintain and obey it." Mr. Bloodworth said this explanation was not satisfactory to him; that it seemed to him to "sweep off all Constitutions of the States." Just here was the pivotal point upon which the Federalists and Anti-Federalists differed in regard to the kind of Constitution they desired. One side saw in the supremacy of the national government the destruction of the States; the other side recognized it as essential to the maintenance of the

Union. The question of ultimate sovereignty, ultimate allegiance remained open until settled by a four years' bloody war, resulting in amendments to the Constitution. Mr. Bloodworth touched the sensitive point and expressed the apprehensions of Southern men by saying: "The Northern States are much more populous than the Southern ones. To the north of the Susquehanna there are thirty-six representatives and to the south only twenty-nine. They will always outvote us." In the same connection he stated the fears and feelings of his people on another then vital question. "We ought to be particular in adopting a Constitution which may destroy our currency, when it is to be the supreme law of the land and prohibits the emission of paper money." Mr. Bancroft says of Timothy Bloodworth, that "as a preacher he abounded in offices of charity; as a politician, dreaded the subjection of Southern to Northern interests." He says of this State, "towards the general government it was a delinquent, and it had not yet shaken from itself the bewildering influence of paper money."

There was grave apprehension that the then existing public and private debts would be made payable in gold and silver. Much was said about assigning securities to citizens of other States and suits being brought in the Federal courts. Mr. Cabarrus made a strong speech showing that this could not be done, and Mr. Galloway called attention to the fact that our securities were at a low ebb; that they were taken as specie and "hung over our heads as contracts." If Congress

should make a law requiring them to be paid in specie, they would be purchased by speculators at a trifling cost. General Davie said that no such construction could be put upon that clause.

A very singular and spirited discussion arose over the clause prohibiting religious tests for holding office. Mr. Abbott had grave fear that the Pope of Rome might become President; while Mr. Caldwell thought there was danger that "Jews and heathens" would accept the invitation to come here and "change the character of our government." Some said that under the power to make treaties Congress might make a treaty "engaging with some foreign powers to adopt the Roman Catholic religion in the United States"; that all sorts of infidels "could obtain office," and that "the Senators and Representatives might be all pagans." Mr. Iredell said: "Nothing is more desirable than to remove the scruples of any gentleman on this interesting subject. Those concerning religion are entitled to particular regard." He spoke at length and with much ability. Among other things, he said: "There is a danger of a jealousy which it is impossible to satisfy. Jealousy in a free government ought to be respected, but it may be carried to too great an extent." He said that he had seen a pamphlet that morning in which the author stated as a very serious danger that the Pope of Rome might be elected President. With the only language approaching humor, coming from this virtuous, wise and thoroughly good man, he remarks: "I confess this never struck me before." In response to a request from Mr. Abbott he gave an interesting

history of the various forms of oaths. Judge Spencer agreed with Judge Iredell in regard to this question, and said that he wished that every other part of the Constitution "was as good and proper."

The reading and discussion of each clause of the Constitution being completed, Governor Johnston moved that the committee, having fully deliberated, etc., report that though certain amendments may be wished for, that they be proposed subsequent to the ratification and that the committee recommend that the Convention do ratify the Constitution. This motion precipitated a general discussion, opened by Mr. Lenoir, who charged that the delegates who were commissioned to amend the Articles of Confederation "proposed to annihilate it." He reviewed its different parts, and in conclusion said: "As millions yet unborn are concerned and deeply interested, I would have the most positive and pointed security." He urged that amendments be proposed before ratification. The discussion continued until July 31st, several delegates, who had not theretofore spoken, taking part. At the conclusion of quite a long speech by Mr. Lancaster, Mr. Willie Jones said that he was against ratifying in the manner proposed. He had, he said, attended with patience to the debate. "One party said the Constitution was all perfection; the other said it wanted a great deal of perfection." For his part, he thought so. After some furher remarks he moved the previous question be put, upon a resolution which he held, expressing a purpose, if carried, to introduce certain amndments which he held in his hand. Governor Johnston

begged the gentleman to remember that the proposed amendments could not be laid before the other States unless we ratified and became a part of the Union. Mr. Iredell wished the call for the previous question should be withdrawn. Mr. Jones declined to withdraw it. He said the argument had been listened to attentively, but he believed no person had changed his opinion. Mr. Person and Mr. Shepherd sustained Mr. Jones. General Davie, referring to a remark reflecting upon the minority, said that "the gentleman from Granville had frequently used ungenerous insinuations, and had taken much pains out of doors to incite the minds of his countrymen against the Constitution. He called upon gentlemen to act openly and above-board, adding that a contrary conduct on this occasion was extremely despicable." He criticised the call for the previous question and pointed out the danger of a conditional ratification. Mr. Jones said that he had not intended to take the House by surprise. He had no objection to adjourning but his motion would still be before the House. "Here there was a great cry for the question." "Mr. Iredell (the cry for the question still continuing) : Mr. Chairman, I desire to be heard notwithstanding the cry of 'the question'—'the question.' Gentlemen have no right to prevent any member from speaking to it if he thinks proper. Unimportant as I am myself, my constituents are as respectable as those of any member of this House." He continued speaking with much spirit and ability. At the conclusion of his speech the previous question was ordered by a majority of 99. On the next day the debate continued with

much spirit, as to whether the Committee would recommend adoption suggesting amendments, or postpone adoption until amendments were made. Governor Johnston led in the discussion. Mr. Willie Jones in his reply gave out the plan which he, as the leader of the majority, had mapped out in advance. Said he: "As great names have been mentioned, I beg leave to mention the authority of Mr. Jefferson, whose abilities and respectability are well known. When the Convention sat in Richmond, Virginia, Mr. Madison received a letter from him. In that letter he said he wished nine States would adopt it, not because it deserved ratification, but to preserve the Union. But he wished the other four States would reject it, that there might be a certainty of obtaining amendments." Mr. Jones, conceding that it would take eighteen months to adopt amendments, said: "For my part, I would rather be eighteen years out of the Union than adopt it in its present defective form." Mr. Spencer concurred with Mr. Jones. It was now evident that the end was drawing near and the result certain. Judge Iredell and General Davie made one last appeal to save the Constitution, but Willie Jones and General Person were the victors. The Committee rose and made its report to the Convention.

On Friday, August 1, 1788, the Convention met. Mr. Iredell arose and said: "I believe, sir, all debate is now at an end. It is useless to contend any longer against a majority that is irresistible. We submit, with the deference that becomes us, to the decision of a majority; but myself and my friends are anxious that something may appear on the Jour-

nal to show our sentiments on the subject." He then offered a resolution which he had in his hand, and moved that the consideration of the report of the Committee be postponed in order to take up the resolution, which he read and delivered to the Clerk. Mr. McDowell and others most strongly objected to the motion. They thought it improper, unprecedented and a great contempt of the voice of the majority. Mr. Iredell defended his motion and was supported by Mr. Maclaine and Mr. Spaight. Mr. Jones and Mr. Spencer insisted that the motion was irregular. They said that he could protest. General Davie criticised the course of the majority. After a warm discussion, it was agreed that Judge Iredell withdraw his motion that the resolution of the Committee be entered on the Journal, which had not been done. The resolution of the Committee of the Whole was then read and entered as follows:

"Resolved, That a declaration of rights, asserting and securing from encroachment the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the unalienable rights of the people, together with amendments to the most ambiguous and exceptionable parts of the Constitution of government, be laid before Congress and the Convention of the States that shall or may be called for the purpose of amending the said Constitution, for their consideration previous to the ratification of the Constitution aforesaid on the part of the State of North Carolina."

Then followed a Bill of Rights containing the essential principles of the Bill of Rights contained in our State Con-

stitution, with twenty-six proposed amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. Spencer moved that the report of the Committee be concurred in. Mr. Iredell again endeavored to get a vote upon his resolution. "This gave rise to a very warm altercation on both sides, during which the House was in great confusion," Mr. Willie Jones, Mr. Spaight and Mr. Hill taking part. The latter "spoke with great warmth and declared that, in his opinion, if the majority persevered in their tyrannical attempt the minority would secede." After some further discussion, the motion of Mr. Spencer was withdrawn, whereupon Mr. Iredell offered his resolution, which ratified the Constitution, and offered certain amendments, which was defeated by a majority of one hundred. The Convention adjourned for the day.

On Saturday, August 2, 1788, the Convention, by a vote of 184 to 84, adopted the report of the Committee, which was a practical rejection of the Constitution. Eleven States having, at this time, ratified the Constitution, the organization of the new government was assured. North Carolina was, upon the dissolution of the Confederation, a sovereign, independent republic, having no federal relations with other States. Her political organism was intact and in full vigor. She therefore took no part in the first election or the organization of the new government.

At the session of 1788 (November 17th) the Legislature adopted a resolution calling a "New Convention" for the "purpose of reconsidering the new Constitution held out by

the Federal Constitution as a government of the United States." Provision was made for holding an election in each county, at which three, instead of five, delegates were to be elected, each borough town to send one. Fayetteville was named as the place and the third Monday in November, 1789, the time for holding the Convention. Of the leaders in the first Convention, Governor Johnston, General Davie, John Steele, Judge Spencer, Bloodworth, McDowell, Cabarrus, Thomas Person, Mr. Goudy were present. Judge Iredell was not a candidate for a seat in the Convention. Neither Willie Jones, Archibald Maclaine or Richard Dobbs Spaight were members. Dr. Hugh Williamson was a member. The Legislature being in session at Fayetteville on the day appointed for the meeting of the Convention, took a recess or adjournment during its session. Several gentlemen were members of both bodies.

The Convention organized by electing Governor Johnston President and Charles Johnston Vice-President. The secretaries who served the first Convention were elected. After the organization, Mr. Williamson introduced a resolution ratifying the Constitution. This being objected to, the Convention went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. John B. Ashe presiding. The resolution of Mr. Williamson, together with all papers relating to the new Constitution, were referred to the Committee. After some discussion, on November 20th the Committee reported to the Convention that it "had gone through the reading of the Constitution, or plan of government, and had come to a resolution thereon." On

the 21st day of November, General Davie moved that the Convention concur in the resolution. Mr. Galloway objected and offered a resolution reciting that although the amendments proposed by Congress "embrace in some measure, when adopted, the object this State had in view in a Bill of Rights and many of the amendments proposed by the last Convention, and although union with our sister States is our most earnest desire, yet as some of the great and most exceptional parts of the said proposed Constitution have not undergone the alterations which were thought necessary by the last Convention,

"Resolved, That previous to the ratification in behalf of and on the part of the State of North Carolina the following amendments be proposed and laid before the Congress, that they may be adopted and made a part of the said Constitution."

Following this were four amendments. The resolution was rejected by a vote of 82 to 187. The Convention thereupon considered the report of the Committee of the Whole. "Whereas, the General Convention which met in Philadelphia, in pursuance of a recommendation of Congress, did recommend to the citizens of the United States a Constitution, or form of government, in the following words (here follows the Constitution); Resolved, That this Convention, in behalf of the freemen, citizens and inhabitants of the State of North Carolina, do adopt and ratify the said Constitution and form of government." General Davie moved the adoption of the resolution, which motion was, upon a call of the

members, adopted by a vote of 195 to 77. General Davie completed the work by moving that the President of the Convention transmit to the President of the United States a copy of the ratification, etc. Mr. Galloway introduced a resolution recommending that certain amendments be sent to Congress, which was rejected. It was thereupon ordered by the Convention that the resolution offered by Mr. Galloway be referred to a committee and that the committee prepare and lay before the Convention such amendments as they deemed necessary. General Davie, Mr. Smith, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Bloodworth, Mr. Stokes and Mr. Spencer were named as the committee. The committee, on the next day, made a unanimous report recommending certain amendments, which was adopted.

The Convention, after adopting an ordinance giving to Fayetteville representation in the General Assembly, and thanking the presiding officers "for their able and faithful services in the arduous discharge of their duty," adjourned. Judge Iredell was not there to witness the successful completion of his labors to bring the State into the Union; nor was Maclaine to give the opposition a parting shot. Judge Spencer, Mr. Bloodworth and General Person left their testimony on record, voting at all times against the Constitution.

On December 4, 1789, Samuel Johnston, President of the Convention, sent a letter to "The President of the United States," transmitting the resolution, etc. It was filed January 12, 1790. The length of this paper precludes any com-

ments upon the record which it has undertaken to set out. Samuel Johnston was one of the first Senators sent from this State. Benjamin Hawkins was his colleague.

Notwithstanding the adoption of the Constitution by so large a majority, the sentiment of the State in its favor was far from unanimous. We get from Mr. Dickson's letters a fair view of the way it was regarded by many. He says, referring to the Constitution: "I will readily agree with you that a better could not be formed for the United States in general. I think it is formed so as to lay the foundation of one of the greatest empires now in the world, and from the high opinion I have of the illustrious characters who now hold the reigns of government, I have no fear of any revolution taking place in my day. * * * It was a matter of necessity rather than choice when the Convention of North Carolina received it about twelve months ago. * * * It appears to me that the Southern States will not receive equal benefit with the Northern States. * * * The Southern States will have their vote, but will not be able to carry any point against so powerful a party in cases where either general or local interests are objects," etc.

Governor Lenoir, in a letter to John C. Hamilton, written in 1834, says: "Our State had once rejected the Federal Constitution and had finally adopted it only as an alternative less fatal than absolute severance from the adjoining States. Those who had from necessity yielded their objections to the new plan of Federal Union still regarded it with great jealousy."

The most serious fears entertained by the people were in regard to slavery, which has happily passed away. Time adjusted the question of paper money. While the State has not kept her relative position in population or wealth, in the light of to-day we see in the views and opinions of James Iredell, General Davie, Governor Johnston and those who followed them a larger wisdom and clearer view than in Willie Jones, Judge Spencer, Timothy Bloodworth and Rev. Mr. Caldwell. They all served their day and generation with the lights before them, and we are their debtors for faithful service and wise foresight.

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The article on William Hooper, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, by Mrs. Spier Whitaker, should have appeared in this number of the BOOKLET, but has necessarily been deferred for a future number.

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PREFACE.

The object of the North Carolina Booklet is to erect a suitable memorial to the patriotic women who composed the "Edenton Tea Party."

These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On October 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing their Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or to be free.

In beginning this new series, the Daughters of the Revolution desire to express their most cordial thanks to the former competent and untiringly faithful Editors, and to ask for the new management the hearty support of all who are interested in the brave deeds, high thought, and lofty lives of the North Carolina of the olden days.

Mrs. D. H. Hill.

JOHN PENN.

JOHN PENN.

BY THOMAS MERRITT PITTMAN.

"There sounds not to the trump of fame
The echo of a nobler name."

American history is rich in examples of men who have overcome poverty and humble birth and wrought out for themselves enduring fame. Not many have accomplished the more difficult task of winning distinction, where high station and easy fortune were joined with associations indifferent to education and contemptuous of intellectual attainment. We enter the name of John Penn upon the roll of those who have achieved the higher honor.

He was born in Caroline County, Virginia, May 17, 1741.

His father, Moses Penn, was a gentleman of comfortable fortune, but so indifferent to intellectual culture, according to Lossing, that he provided his only son no other opportunity of acquiring an education than was afforded by two or three years' attendance upon a common country school. He died when his son was eighteen years of age, and is said to have left him the sole possessor of a competent though not large estate.

His mother was Catherine, daughter of John Taylor, one of the first Justices of Caroline County. James Taylor, who came from Carlisle, England, about 1635, was the first

of the family to settle in Virginia. The family was an important one and has contributed many able and useful men to the public service, including two Presidents of the United States—James Madison and Zachary Taylor. Hannis Taylor, a distinguished son of North Carolina, John R. McLean of Ohio and Mrs. Dewey, wife of Admiral Dewey, are among the distinguished members of the family at this time.

Those members of his mother's family with whom John Penn came into closest relations and who most influenced his course in life were his cousins, John Taylor of Caroline and Edmund Pendleton. The first, nine years his junior, is usually spoken of as his grandfather and sometimes as his son-in-law—an unusually wide range of kinship. The last may be true, since the family records show that he married a Penn, but more likely a sister or other relative than a daughter of John Penn. It is said in the family that the only daughter of John Penn married Colonel Taylor of Granville and died without issue. John Taylor of Caroline was born in 1750, graduated from William and Mary College, studied law under Chancellor Nathaniel Pendleton, served in the Revolution, was Senator from Virginia in 1792, 1803 and 1822, and was a writer of much note. One of his books won the heartiest commendation of Jefferson "as the most logical retraction of our governments to the original and true principles of the constitution creating them which has appeared since the adoption of that instrument." Edmund Pendleton probably contributed more than any other to the shaping of young Penn's career. He was born in

1721, and was a scholarly man and able lawyer, of conservative views upon political questions. Jefferson, whom he sometimes opposed, says: "He was the ablest man in debate I have ever met with. * * * Add to this that he was one of the most virtuous and benevolent of men, the kindest friend, the most amiable and pleasant of companions, which ensured a favorable reception to whatever came from him." He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775, President of the Virginia General Committee of Safety. He wrote the preamble and resolutions directing the Virginia delegates in Congress to propose to "declare the United Colonies free and independent States," was President of the Convention to consider the Federal Constitution, and President of the Virginia Court of Appeals. Upon the death of Moses Penn, he gave to his young kinsman, who resided near him in the same neighborhood, free use of his extensive library, an opportunity that was improved to such advantage that the defects of early education were largely overcome, and, without teacher or other aid than his own industry, young Penn studied law and was admitted to the bar of his native county when he reached the age of twenty-one years. But it may be inferred from a playful allusion of Mr. Iredell, "As Mr. Penn would say *'in nubibus'* (extremely uncertain)," that he was sometimes not entirely classical.

Of Mr. Penn as a lawyer, Lossing says: "His practice soon developed a native eloquence before inert and unsuspected, and by it, in connection with close application to busi-

ness, he rapidly soared to eminence. His eloquence was of that sweet persuasive kind which excites all the tender emotions of the soul, and possesses a controlling power at times irresistible."

Mr. Penn remained in Virginia but a few years. In 1774, while yet a young man of thirty-three years, he came to North Carolina and settled near Williamsboro in the northern part of Granville County, then the most important place in the county. Whatever may have been his attitude towards political questions prior to that time, his ardent nature quickly responded to the intense sentiment of patriotism that prevailed in his new home. He soon became as one to the "manner born," and a leader of the people in their great crisis. The year after locating in Granville he was sent by the inhabitants of that county to represent them in the Provincial (Revolutionary) Congress, which met at Hillsboro, August 20, 1775. Here he proved himself more than a pleasing speaker, and won the cordial recognition of the Congress. There were a hundred and eighty-four members, yet he was appointed on some fifteen or twenty committees, nearly all the more important ones, and his work was extraordinarily heavy. It will not be amiss to mention a few of these committees, with notes of their work:

(a). To confer with such inhabitants as had political or religious scruples about joining in the American cause, and secure their co-operation:

"The religious and political scruples of the Regulators were removed by a conference."—*Bancroft.*

(b). To form a temporary form of government:

"This was the most important committee yet appointed by popular authority in our annals."—*E. A. Alderman.*

(c). To prepare a civil constitution:

Mr. Penn was not on this committee at first, but he and William Hooper were added. "Before the body, thus completed, was fought one of the most desperate party battles to be recorded in the civil history of the State."—*Jones' Defense.*

Government of the people, for the people and by the people was a new and startling thought in those long-ago days. Now any fairly good lawyer can write a whole constitution by himself, and would be glad of the job if a good fee went with it. Then a Constitutional Convention had never been heard of, and the very idea of independence itself was held in abeyance, while men wondered what sort of government should clothe it. In January, 1776, Mr. Wythe of Virginia sat in the chambers of John Adams and the two talked of independence. Mr. Wythe thought the greatest obstacle to declaring it was the difficulty of agreeing upon a form of government. Mr. Adams replied that each colony should form a government for itself, as a free and independent State. He was requested to put the views there expressed in writing, which, upon his compliance, were published anonymously by R. H. Lee, under the title "Thoughts on Government, in a Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend." Later the delegates from North Carolina, by direction of the Provincial Congress, called on Mr. Adams for advice concerning a form of govern-

ment for this State. He furnished Mr. Penn, whom he calls "my honest and sincere friend," a letter similar to the pamphlet just mentioned. The conformity of the Constitution afterwards adopted to this letter in many particulars, shows the practical use to which it was put. The letter was afterwards given by Mr. Penn to his cousin, John Taylor of Caroline, who used it in his work on the Constitution, much to Mr. Adams' surprise, who, apparently ignorant of the relations betwen the two, could not account for Taylor's possession of his views.

(d). To review and consider statutes, etc., "and to prepare such bills to be passed into laws as might be consistent with the genius of a free people":

"The fruits of their labors are manifest in the laws passed in the years immediately succeeding, laws which have received repeated encomiums for the ability and skill and accuracy with which they are drawn."—*Preface to Revised Statutes.*

Other committees scarcely less important than those named required able and laborious service, but the space allotted to this paper must exclude them from mention at this time.

The impress of this stranger, so recently from another colony, upon the Congress was something wonderful. On September 8, 1775, less than a month from its assembling, it elected him to succeed Richard Caswell as delegate to the Continental Congress, with William Hooper and Joseph Hewes. In this connection it is stated in Jones' Defense that he was "a man of sterling integrity as a private citizen,

and well deserved the honor which was now conferred upon him." We learn from Dr. E. A. Alderman also that this "was the beginning of a close and tender friendship and sympathy between Hooper and Penn in all the trying duties of the hour."

The idea of the province at that time was to secure a redress of grievances, not a dissolution of political relations with the mother country. Indeed, the Provincial Congress declared: "As soon as the causes of our fears and apprehensions are removed, with joy will we return these powers to their regular channels; and such institutions, formed from mere necessity, shall end with that necessity that created them." But the trend of events was beyond their choosing. No accommodation with British authority was practicable. The end was inevitable, and Penn was one of the first to realize the true situation. He wrote Thomas Person, his friend and countyman, February 14, 1776: "Matters are drawing to a crisis. They seem determined to persevere, and are forming alliances against us. Must we not do something of the like nature? Can we hope to carry on a war without having trade or commerce somewhere? Can we even pay any taxes without it? Will [not?] our paper money depreciate if we go on emitting? These are serious things and require your consideration. The consequence of making alliances is, perhaps, a total separation with Britain, and without something of this sort we may not be able to procure what is necessary for our defense. My first wish is that America be free; the second, that we may be restored to peace and harmony

with Britain upon just and proper terms." Person was a member of the Council. By the advice of that body the Provincial Congress was convened on April 4th. On the 7th Penn and the other delegates reached Halifax from Philadelphia. On the 8th a committee, which included Thomas Person, was appointed to take into consideration "the usurpations and violences attempted and committed by the King and Parliament of Britain against America, and the further measures to be taken for frustrating the same and for the better defense of the Province." This committee reported, and the Congress adopted a resolution which empowered the delegates to the Continental Congress to "concur with the delegates from the other colonies in declaring independence and forming foreign alliances." By virtue of this authority William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and John Penn, in behalf of North Carolina, joined in the execution of the Declaration of American Independence. Colonel W. L. Saunders says: "This was the first authoritative, explicit declaration, by more than a month, by any colony in favor of a full, final separation from Britain, and the first like expression on the vexed question of forming foreign alliances." It may be added that both resulted from Mr. Penn's initiative, as just shown. It is entirely possible that the influence of Penn may have reached across the border and moved his cousin, Edmund Pendleton, to follow and improve upon the example of North Carolina, and offer the Virginia resolution directing the delegates from that colony to propose a declaration of independence.

The significance of Mr. Penn's action does not fully appear to the casual view, but the following letter from John Adams to William Plummer throws new light upon the situation:

"You inquire, in your kind letter of the 19th, whether 'every member of Congress did, on the 4th of July, 1776, in fact cordially approve of the Declaration of Independence.'

"They who were then members all signed, and, as I could not see their hearts, it would be hard for me to say that they did not approve it; but as far as I could penetrate the intricate internal foldings of their souls, I then believed, and have not since altered my opinion, that there were several who signed with regret, and several others with many doubts and much lukewarmness. The measure had been upon the carpet for months, and obstinately opposed from day to day. Majorities were constantly against it. For many days the majority depended on Mr. Hewes of North Carolina. While a member one day was speaking and reading documents from all the colonies to prove that the public opinion, the general sense of all was in favor of the measure, when he came to North Carolina, and produced letters and public proceedings which demonstrated that the majority of that colony were in favor of it, Mr. Hewes, who had hitherto constantly voted against it, started suddenly upright, and lifting up both his hands to Heaven, as if he had been in a trance, cried out: 'It is done, and I will abide by it!' I would give more for a perfect painting of the terror and horror upon the faces of the old majority at that critical moment than for the best

piece of Raphael." But for the action of the North Carolina Congress it is extremely doubtful if Mr. Hewes could have been induced to support the measure. Mr. Hooper was detained at home; so upon a vote at that time North Carolina's vote must have been against the measure, and independence at least delayed.

It is not to be ignored that the first delegates to the Continental Congress—Hooper, Hewes and Caswell—were from the east, "and had not ceased to regard the Regulators * * as red-handed traitors," while Penn must be classed as a representative of the Regulator element. He was the friend of Person and was not cordially esteemed by Caswell, possibly because of that intimacy. Caswell in a letter to Burke characterizes Person as "more troublesome this Assembly, if possible, than formerly." Hooper, Hewes and the men of their party were for what we call the aristocracy, for want of a better name. They "were in favor of a splendid government, representing the property of the people, and thus giving by its own independence and splendor a high character of dignity to the State." They had not learned the truth that men constitute a State. Even Hooper, almost unapproachable in fineness of spirit, in splendor of intellect and loyal patriotism, lacked sympathy and faith in the people. In consequence, his life was incomplete and his power failed at a time when the State had much need of his learning and great ability. Penn and Person, with their party, stood for the people, and had constant accessions of strength with every trial of their faith and sympathy. Governor Caswell wrote

Mr. Burke: "Mr. Harnett * * * I am sure will give you his utmost assistance. Mr. Penn has engaged his to the Assembly, I am told. Very little conversation passed between him and myself on public matters." This cannot have been the fault of Penn, for it is of record that he made advances for the friendship of Caswell. One after another of the delegates to the Continental Congress found the burdens, expense and hardships of the office too heavy and retired. Mr. Penn soon became the senior member from North Carolina. Others became gloomy and discouraged. Penn, more trustful of the people, quietly, steadily, hopefully and uncomplainingly remained at his post and wrote home to Person: "For God's sake, my good sir, encourage our people; animate them to dare even to die for their country."

There can be no doubt that the position of a delegate to the Continental Congress was beset with great difficulties. Under much more favorable conditions the conflict would have been unequal. But situated as the colonies were, the outlook was appalling. A government and all its departments had to be created outright; a currency and credit established; an army organized—all in the face of an enemy ever ready for war. There were also domestic problems that embarrassed the national administration at every step. The Confederation was little more than a rope of sand, and the government had little power to enforce its policies. In North Carolina the militia were not even available to oppose the invasion of Georgia and South Carolina, by which the British would reach this State, until an act was passed by the Gen-

eral Assembly authorizing their employment without its borders. This is mentioned only to show how serious were the problems which perplexed and burdened our delegates in the Continental Congress. These delegates also abounded in labors wholly foreign to their legislative duties. These have been strikingly summarized in Dr. Alderman's address on Hooper: "They combined the functions of financial and purchasing agents, of commissary-generals, reporters of all great rumors or events, and, in general, bore the relation to the remote colony of ministers resident at a foreign court. * * * They kept the Council of Safety well informed as to the progress of affairs; they negotiated for clothing and supplies for our troops. In the course of only two months they expended five thousand pounds in purchasing horses and wagons, which they sent to Halifax loaded with every conceivable thing—from the English Constitution to the wagoner's rum—pamphlets, sermons, cannon, gunpowder, drums and pills. They scoured Philadelphia for salt pans and essays on salt-making; they haggled over the price of gray mares, and cursed the incompetency of slothful blacksmiths whose aid they sought."

Is it any wonder, then, that Hooper resigned and Hewes laid down his life in the struggle; that Harnett appealed to be relieved, and that nearly every man who passed through the trials of the position only reached home to lay down his life without even a view of the morning of old age? None of these difficulties moved John Penn. His courage and

hopefulness were invincible. But he died while yet a young man!

The delegates served almost without compensation. A salary of sixteen hundred pounds per annum was allowed for a time, but the depreciation of the currency was so great that the amount proved wholly inadequate, and it was determined to pay their expenses and defer the fixing of compensation to a future time. As illustrating the depreciation of the money, Iredell wrote in 1780: "They are giving the money at the printing-office in so public and careless a manner as to make it quite contemptible."

The scope of this paper does not permit a more detailed discussion of his Congressional career. It may be added that while he made no conspicuous public display, Mr. Penn's services were highly efficient and useful, and entirely acceptable to the people he represented. Another distinguished honor that fell to him during his congressional career may be barely mentioned: with John Williams and Cornelius Harnett, he ratified the Articles of Confederation in behalf of North Carolina.

In 1777 he was appointed Judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer for the Hillsboro District. He questioned the legality of the Court and declined the appointment with what his associate in the appointment, J. Kitchin, called "inflexible obstinacy." But Samuel Johnston in like manner refused to exercise the same office in the Edenton District and notified Governor Caswell that the bar concurred in his opinion.

Upon the retirement of Governor Caswell, Abner Nash be-

came Governor. He complained to the Assembly that he derived no assistance from his Council, and suggested the creation of a Board of War. This was acceded to and the constitutional prerogatives of the Governor were probably infringed by the powers granted. It was charged with the control of military affairs within the State, and was composed of Colonel Alexander Martin, John Penn and Oroondates Davis. It organized at Hillsboro in September, 1780. The other members had occasion to leave for their homes within two or three days after its organization, and Mr. Penn became practically the Board, and exercised its powers alone during the greater part of its existence. He conducted its affairs with great energy, decision, tact and efficiency. Finally he became ill and unable to exercise the office. In a little while thereafter there was a clash with the Governor, who had become sore over the invasion of his dignity and authority. He carried his complaint to the next Assembly, who discontinued the Board of War and elected a new Governor. There has been some disposition to belittle the Board of War and its operations, particularly by General Davie. But Governor Graham, who was familiar with the records, and whose fairness, diligence and ability to judge correctly are beyond question, views their work very differently. He says: "They undertook the work devolved on them in the most devoted spirit of patriotism, and with a proper sense of its magnitude, and executed its duties with fearlessness, ability and eminent public benefit."

While the Board sat at Hillsboro that village was the scene

of great activity and was crowded to its utmost capacity. Iredell wrote his wife that he and Colonel Williams had to ride out every evening two or three miles to Governor Burke's, and "must have been deprived of that resource if Governor Rutledge had not been so obliging as to stay in town and take half of Penn's bed, in order to accommodate us."

Mr. Penn did not thereafter re-enter public life with any great activity. In July, 1781, he was appointed a member of the Governor's Council, and was notified to attend a meeting at Williamsboro, near his home, Thomas Burke, his old colleague in the Continental Congress, being then Governor. He replied: "My ill-state of health * * * will perhaps prevent my undertaking to act in the office you mention. As I have always accepted every office I have been appointed to by my countrymen, and endeavored to discharge my duty previous to this appointment, I expect my friends will not blame me."

After the war he was appointed by Robert Morris Receiver of Taxes in North Carolina, but resigned after holding the office about a month. He was yet a young man, but his work was done. In September, 1787, at the age of forty-six years, he died at his home in Granville County and was buried near Island Creek, whence his dust was moved to Guilford Battle-ground a few years ago.

The halo with which time and sentiment have surrounded those who wrought our independence has largely veiled the real men from our view, but they were quite as human as the men of to-day. Mention has been made of the bitter political

differences among the patriots of the Revolution. These developed at an early period. The election of Penn to the Continental Congres was the beginning of democratic representation from North Carolina in that body. The real struggle came over the formation of the State Constitution. The aristocratic party were deeply chagrined and resentful of democratic dominance, and proved sadly inferior to their opponents in self-control. The most eminent of their leaders was Samuel Johnston, a man of great ability and character, whom the State delighted to honor. Intemperate language from such a man indicates something of the prevailing tone of party feeling. He wrote: "Every one who has the least pretence to be a gentleman is suspected and borne down *per ignobile vulgus*—a set of men without reading, experience or principle to govern them." Very naturally Mr. Johnston lost his place in the Governor's Council and his seat in the Provincial Congress; and in the Congressional election next ensuing, upon a contest between Mr. Penn and his old colleague, Mr. Hewes, the latter was defeated. Throughout these controversies Mr. Penn seems to have borne himself with such prudence and moderation as to avoid personal entanglements and command the respect of those who opposed him. Aside from Governor Caswell's petulance and Governor Davie's silly sneer, he was almost uniformly spoken of in respectful terms, even in the free and confidential correspondence of Johnston and Iredell.

It is unfortunate that so little is known of Penn as a man and in his personal relations. At the age of twenty-two years

he married Susan Lyme, by whom he had two children, Lucy, who married Colonel Taylor, of Granville, and died without issue, and William, who removed to Virginia. No mention is made of Mrs. Penn in his will written in 1784, nor in his correspondence. It may be that she died before his removal to North Carolina. Messrs. James G. Penn, of Danville, Virginia, and Frank R. Penn, of Reidsville, North Carolina, are among the descendants of William. A sister married ——— Hunt, of Granville County, and many descendants of that marriage yet live in Granville and Vance Counties, useful and honored citizens. That Mr. Penn was an orator is proof that he possessed warmth of feeling. The absence of controversy marks him an amiable and discreet man. His labors show him to have been a patriot, endowed with judgment, tact, industry and ability. That he was not devoid of social tastes is very clearly recognized by his colleagues in the Continental Congress. Mr. Burke wrote from Philadelphia: "The city is a scene of gaiety and dissipation, public assemblies every fortnight and private balls every night. In all such business as this we propose that Mr. Penn shall represent the whole State." One anecdote is preserved of his life in Philadelphia. He became involved in a personal difficulty with Mr. Laurens, President of the Congress, and a duel was arranged. They were fellow-boarders, and breakfasted together. They then started for the place of meeting on a vacant lot opposite the Masonic Hall on Chestnut street. "In crossing at Fifth street, where was then a deep slough, Mr. Penn kindly offered his hand to aid Mr. Laurens, then

much the older, who accepted it. He suggested to Mr. Laurens, who had challenged him, that it was a foolish affair, and it was made up on the spot."

His fidelity could not shield him from criticism. But as he made no complaints of hardships, so he made no effort to justify himself, but was content in saying to Governor Nash: "I have done, and still am willing to do, everything in my power for the interest of my country, as I prefer answering for my conduct after we have beaten the enemy." Others were more considerate of his reputation. Mr. Burke wrote Governor Caswell, declaring his own diligence, and said of Penn, "nor did perceive him in the least remiss." Harnett wrote the Governor, "his conduct as a delegate and a gentleman has been worthy and disinterested." The General Assembly on July 29, 1779, directed the Speaker of the House to transmit to him its resolution of thanks in part as follows: "The General Assembly of North Carolina, by the unanimous resolves of both houses, have agreed that the thanks of the State be presented to you for the many great and important services you have rendered your country as a delegate in the Continental Congress. The assiduity and zeal with which you have represented our affairs in that Supreme Council of the Continent, during a long and painful absence from your family, demand the respectful attention of your countrymen, whose minds are impressed with a sense of the most lively gratitude."

Neither the county nor the State which Mr. Penn represented with such fidelity and credit have erected any

memorial to his memory. But the Guilford Battle-ground Company, which is making a veritable Westminster Abbey for North Carolina, has been more mindful to render honor. Maj. J. M. Morehead, President of the Company, writes: "There is a handsome monument at Guilford Battle-ground, twenty feet in height, crowned with a statue of an orator holding within his hand a scroll—The Declaration—and bearing this inscription on a bronze tablet:

IN MEMORIAM.

WILLIAM HOOPER AND JOHN PENN, DELEGATES FROM NORTH CAROLINA, 1776, TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, AND SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. THEIR REMAINS WERE RE-INTERRED HERE 1894. HEWES' GRAVE IS LOST.

HE WAS THE THIRD SIGNER.

* * * * * * * * *

TO JUDGE JETER C. PRITCHARD PRIMARILY THE STATE IS INDEBTED FOR AN APPROPRIATION OUT OF WHICH THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED.

After all, the value of the man's life rests in its example of unselfish, devoted patriotism, its fidelity to principle, its loyalty to the great spirit of Democracy—in that he lived not for man but for mankind.

"Vivit post funera ille, quem virtus non marmor in æternum sacrat."

NOTE.—A curious instance of the failure of different branches of American families to keep track of each other was brought to light in the preparation of the foregoing paper. Mr. J. P. Taylor, of Henderson, N. C., and Mr. J. G. Penn, of Danville, Va., have been copartners in business for seventeen years. In a recent conversation they first learned that they were kinsmen, one representing the male line of John Taylor, the other representing the female line through John Penn. T. M. P.

JOSEPH HEWES.

JOSEPH HEWES.

BY WALTER SIKES, M. A., PH.D.,

(Professor of Political Science, Wake Forest College).

"Particularly cultivate the notice of Mr. Hewes," wrote Henry E. McCulloch to his relative, young James Iredell, as he was about to leave his home in England to take up his abode at Edenton, N. C., in September, 1768. Young Iredell came to Edenton and wrote to his father afterwards that "I must say there is a gentleman in this town who is a very particular favorite of mine. His name is Hewes. He is a merchant here, and our member for the town: the patron and the greatest honor of it. About six or seven years ago he was in a few days of being married to one of Mr. Johnston's sisters (elder than the two young ladies now living), who died rather suddenly; and this unhappy circumstance for a long time imbittered every satisfaction in life to him. He has continued ever since unmarried, which I believe he will do. His connection with Mr. Johnston's family is just such as if he had really been a brother-in-law, a circumstance that mutually does honor to them both." When young Iredell met this man, who was not yet forty, he became charmed with his society and his character.

Hewes' parents had fled from the Indian massacres in Connecticut in 1728 to New Jersey. While crossing the Housatonic river his mother was wounded in the neck by an Indian. The family came to Kingston, N. J., where Joseph was born

in 1730. Though his home was not far from Princeton, he never attended college. However, he received such education as the schools in his vicinity offered. His family were Quakers, and at an early age he was sent to a counting-house in the Quaker city of Philadelphia. At manhood he entered the mercantile and commercial business. Most of his time was spent in Philadelphia, though he was often drawn to New York on business.

In 1763 he decided to move to Edenton, where he entered into partnership with Robert Smith, an attorney. This firm owned its own wharf and sent its ships down to the sea. It is very probable that his sister, Mrs. Allan, came with him. His nephew, Nathaniel Allan, was certainly with him. This young nephew Hewes treated as his own son and very probably made him his heir. This young man became the father of Senator Allan of Ohio and grandfather of Allen G. Thurman.

Edenton was a town of four hundred inhabitants probably when Joseph Hewes came to live there. It was a society scarcely surpassed in culture by any in America. In the vicinity lived Colonel Richard Buncombe, Sir Nat. Dukinfield, Colonel John Harvey, Samuel Johnston, Dr. Cathcart, Thomas Jones, Charles Johnston and Stephen Cabarrus. Hewes was at once admitted into this charming circle.

Hewes was possessed of those charms that attract gentle folks. He was very companionable and social. Very frequently in James Iredell's diary for 1772-1774 such entries are found as "chatted with Hewes and others on his piazza";

"found Hewes at Horniblow's tavern"; "Hewes and I spent the evening at Mrs. Blair's"; "Dr. Cathcart, Mr. Johnston and I dined with Hewes"; "went to Hewes' to call on Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Harnett on their return from the north," and "they played cards all the evening at Mr. Hewes'." These and similar records show that he was a delightful companion and was a center of social life.

His Quaker training Hewes threw aside easily. Some writers say that he quitted the Quakers only when they refused in 1776 to join heartily in the war for independence, and that his Quaker beliefs easily opened the door of prosperity and honor for him among the Quakers of the Albemarle section. This can hardly be true. In 1770 he was present at the services of the Church of England at Edenton and read the responses. He certainly attended that church long before the Revolution. Also in the same year he was "playing backgammon at Horniblow's tavern." These things were not done by good Quakers. Hewes' associates—social and political—were not Quakers. He belonged to those conservatives whose leaders were Samuel Johnston and Thomas Jones.

Hewes' popularity, wealth and influence caused him to be chosen to represent the town of Edenton in the General Assembly three years after his arrival. This position he held from 1766-1776 till he was called to a field of wider usefulness. In these Assemblies he was very active, and at one time. he was on ten committees at least. This was an interesting period in the history of the colony. It was during this

period that the Regulator troubles arose, the court controversy, the taxation problems, and the other difficulties that prepared North Carolina for the revolution that was to be very soon.

Before the meeting of the Provincial Congress to appoint delegates to the Continental Congress, Hewes was a member of the Committee of Correspondence. This was a wise choice. As a merchant his ships were known in other ports. This brought him into contact with the greatest commercial centers of the other colonies. In this way he was not unknown to the Adamses of Massachusetts. Hewes was chosen to attend the first Provincial Congress at New Bern, August, 1774. At this Congress he read many letters that his committee had received. Hewes, together with Richard Caswell and William Hooper, was appointed to attend the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. This North Carolina Congress pledged itself to abide by the acts of their representatives.

Merchants are not revolutionists. They want a government that will assure them the enjoyment of their labors. Hewes was a merchant, but he pledged his people to commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain, though this meant personal loss to the firm of Hewes & Smith. This measure was goring his own ox, but he gave it his loyal support. Says he, in a letter written at the close of the Congress, and before leaving Philadelphia: "Our friends are under apprehension that the administration will endeavor to lay hold of as many delegates as possible, and have them carried

to England and tried as rebels; this induced Congress to enter into a resolve in such case to make a reprisal. I have no fears on that head, but should it be my lot, no man on earth could be better spared. Were I to suffer in the cause of American liberty, should I not be translated immediately to heaven as Enoch of old was?"

Hewes' health was always poor. To go to Philadelphia was not a pleasant journey, save that it permitted him to see his aged mother, who lived probably at the old home in New Jersey. Says Hewes, in a letter: "I had a very disagreeable time of it till I arrived here, since which I have had but little health or spirits." Hewes, Caswell and Hooper were not the only Carolinians present in Philadelphia at this meeting, for Hewes says he dined with Caswell and other Carolinians.

In December Hewes returned to Edenton and the next April found him and James Iredell in their gigs on their way to attend the General Assembly at New Bern, and also that second Provincial Congress which was to meet at the same time and place. Both bodies thanked their delegates for the faithful discharge of their duties. The aged, yet spirited, Harvey delivered the brief address for the bodies. This Provincial Congress re-elected Hewes, Caswell and Hooper.

Hewes and Caswell together proceeded at once to Philadelphia, where the Congress met on May 10. On Sunday evening they arrived in Petersburg, where they learned of the collision "between the Bostonians and the King's troops." Their passage through Virginia was attended with much pomp and military parade, "such as was due to general offi-

cers." They stopped a day in Baltimore, where "Colonel Washington, accompanied by the rest of the delegates, reviewed the troops."

Hewes was in Philadelphia, where, he said, the enthusiasm was great. He was very anxious for North Carolina to take an active part in affairs. He expressed himself as uneasy about the slowness of North Carolina. Though Hewes was sick and hardly able to write, he joined in an address to the people of North Carolina and wrote letters to his friends describing in detail the military preparations of Congress. Hewes was not an eager war man. Said he, in a letter to Samuel Johnston on July 8, 1775: "I consider myself now over head and ears in what the ministry call rebellion. I feel no compunction for the part I have taken nor for the number of our enemies lately slain at the battle of Bunker's Hill. I wish to be in the camp before Boston, tho' I fear I shall not be able to get there 'till next campaign." He prevailed upon Philadelphia clergymen to write letters to the "Presbyterians, Lutherans and Calvinists" in North Carolina.

Hewes was a member of the committee to fit out vessels for the beginning of the American navy. On this committee there was no more valuable member. There were not many merchants in Congress. Hewes' mercantile knowledge served Congress well. This is Hewes' chief contribution to the war of independence. He could not speak like Adams and Lee, nor write like Jefferson, but he knew where were the sinews of war. When not in Congress he was employed by it to fit

out vessels. The firm of Hewes & Smith was its agent in North Carolina. Some vessels Hewes fitted out by advancing the money for the Congress.

Hewes was back in North Carolina in August, 1775, and represented Edenton at the third Provincial Congress at Hillsboro, where he was placed on the committee to secure arms for the State, to prepare an address for the inhabitants, and a form of government. Here he was again elected to the Continental Congress along with Caswell and Hooper.

He returned to Philadelphia at once and prevailed upon Congress to send two ministers to the western part of North Carolina. Though he was very sick, he urged the early increase of the army and its equipment. Hewes fully expected to go into the army; in him there was nothing of the Tory spirit. Said he, on February 11, 1776: "If we mean to defend our liberties, our dearest rights and privileges against the power of Britain to the last extremity, we ought to bring ourselves to such a temper of mind as to stand unmoved at the bursting of an earthquake. Although the storm thickens, I feel myself quite composed. I have furnished myself with a good musket and bayonet, and when I can no longer be useful in council I hope I shall be willing to take the field. I think I had rather fall than be carried off by a lingering illness. An obstinate ague and fever, or rather an intermittent fever, persecutes me continually. I have no way to remove it unless I retire from Congress and from public business; this I am determined not to do till North Carolina

sends another delegate, provided I am able to crawl to the Congress chamber."

Hewes was elected to represent Edenton in the fourth Provincial Congress at Halifax in April, 1776, but did not leave Philadelphia. It was more important that he should remain there. He wrote that he was anxious to know the kind of constitution they had adopted, but more anxious to know how they were preparing to defend their country. In the Continental Congress he was on the committee to prepare the articles of the confederation also.

Hewes spent the year 1776 in Philadelphia. He did not visit North Carolina at all. Hooper and Penn probably did. Hewes was alone at the time the great debate was in progress on the wisdom of declaring independence. Says he, in a letter dated Philadelphia, July 8, 1776: "What has become of my friend Hooper? I expected to have seen him ere now. My friend Penn came time enough to give his vote for independence. I send you the Declaration of Independence enclosed. I had the weight of North Carolina on my shoulders within a day or two of three months. The service was too severe. I have sat some days from six in the morning till five or sometimes six in the afternoon, without eating or drinking. Some of my friends thought I should not be able to keep soul and body together to this time. Duty, inclination and self-preservation call on me now to make a little excursion into the country to see my mother. This is a duty which I have not allowed myself time to perform during the almost nine months I have been here."

Here is a picture of devotion to duty not surpassed in the annals of any country.

The months during which he labored so dutifully, and alone bore the burden of North Carolina on his shoulders, were the days when the great question of independence was discussed. In this discussion there was no inspiration. There was gathered together a band of brave men trying prayerfully to do the right. Clouds and uncertainty were thick about them. The measure had been discussed for months, but the majorities were constantly against it. John Adams, in a letter written March 28, 1813, says Mr. Hewes determined the vote for independence. "For many days the majority depended on Mr. Hewes of North Carolina. While a member one day was speaking, and reading documents from all the colonies, to prove that public opinion, the general sense of all, was in favor of the measure, when he came to North Carolina and produced letters and public proceedings which demonstrated that the majority in that colony were in favor of it, Mr. Hewes, who had hitherto constantly voted against it, started suddenly upright, and lifting both hands to heaven as if he had been in a trance, cried out: 'It is done! and I will abide by it.' I would give more for a perfect painting of the terror and horror upon the face of the old majority at that critical moment than for the best piece of Raphael. The question, however, was eluded by an immediate motion for adjournment."

In the fall Hewes returned to North Carolina in time to attend the Provincial Congress at Halifax in November,

1776. His admiring friends in Edenton again chose him to represent them as they had been doing for ten years. Here he took part in the making of the State Constitution, being on the committee. However, he was doubtless more interested in the preparation to defend the independence for which he had just voted. Hewes was again active on the important committees. This Provincial Congress made and adopted the first Constitution for North Carolina. What Hewes thought of it is not known, but many of his friends in Edenton did not like it. Samuel Johnston was open in his disapproval.

After the close of the Provincial Congress at Halifax, Hewes returned to Edenton, with his health injured by overwork in the Continental Congress. He had expected to return to Philadelphia in February, but the rheumatism would not permit him. He was not idle. He was in the secret committee of Congress for purchasing equipment. He and Morris were the merchant members of Congress, and had much of this work to do. April found him at home but expecting at any time to start north.

The first General Assembly under the new State Constitution met at New Bern in April, 1777. Hewes, for the first time in ten years, was not chosen to represent Edenton. John Green was the member in his place. This new republican Assembly contained many new men. There had been a clash in the making of this new Constitution. Samuel Johnston had led the conservatives and been defeated, while Willie Jones had led the radicals to victory. There was bitter-

ness and strife. Johnston, and doubtless his followers, were partial to Hewes and Hooper, but they cared little for Penn. When the time came to elect representatives to the Continental Congress, Hooper, though no competitor appeared against him, lost a great many votes. He obtained seventy-six out of ninety. Hooper refused to accept. Hewes failed of election, securing only forty out of ninety. Samuel Johnston said: "Hewes was supplanted of his seat in Congress by the most insidious arts and glaring falsehoods." James Iredell said that the reason alleged for his defeat was that he had been at home so long and also that he was holding two offices under one government, being a member of Congress and also a member of its most important committee.

After Hooper's resignation, Hewes' friends felt that he could be elected unanimously, but thought also that it would be an indignity. Only Penn was returned and his majority was reduced. Whatever may have been the cause of this defeat, it looks like an example of a republic's ingratitude.

Nevertheless, this Assembly was willing to employ Hewes, and asked him to fit out two vessels—the "Pennsylvania Farmer" and "King Taminy," but he declined because he was already the agent of the Continental Congress.

During the remainder of 1778 he remained in Edenton, making at least one trip to Boston on business. In 1778 he was still interested in purchases for the conduct of the war. His health was in the meantime much improved. Hewes was probably returned to the Assembly by his old constitu-

ents of Edenton in 1778. Here he was, as usual, a member of many committees.

When this Assembly was called upon to elect delegates to the Continental Congress, Hewes was again chosen. James Iredell wrote his wife, who was an ardent admirer of Hewes, and looked upon him as a brother, since the death of her sister, Miss Johnston: "Hewes will be down soon * * * nothing now detains him but his goodness in settling accounts he has no business with, and which no other man is equal to."

On his return to Philadelphia in 1779 he worked hard, but his health was fast failing. He was never strong, and the trying times of 1776 had taxed his strength to the utmost. He sent his resignation to the General Assembly, which met in October at Halifax, but in November he died in Philadelphia at the post of duty, aged fifty. James Iredell wrote his wife: "The loss of such a man will long be severely felt, and his friends must ever remember him with the keenest sensibility." Hooper wrote to Iredell: "The death of Hewes still preys upon my feelings. I know and had probed the secret recesses of his soul and found it devoid of guilt and replete with benignity." His funeral was attended by Congress, the Pennsylvania Assembly, the Minister of France, and many citizens, while Congress resolved to wear crape for him.

Such was Joseph Hewes, the merchant member of Congress, an early Secretary of the Navy, a friend loved and trusted, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

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NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS IN SOUTH AMERICA.

"THE LOST BATTALION."

BY CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK.

North Carolina has always known how to make history. She has never troubled herself to write it. Hence much credit due her is unrecorded. There were certainly "brave men before Agamemnon." But we know not their names nor their deeds. They serve not to arouse the heart. For posterity they have in effect not lived, while Achilles, Hector, Nestor, Ulysses are alive to this day, more truly and more effectively alive, as regards their impress upon the age than most of the men whom we meet on the streets.

There are many forgotten chapters in North Carolina history which if recalled would brighten her fame. Among the many creditable incidents of her colonial history are the patriotism and enterprise shown in sending her troops on the successive expeditions to St. Augustine, to South America, and to join Braddock's march to the Ohio. We will in this paper be restricted to the South American expedition.

The only time prior to 1898 that troops from any part of the United States have ever served beyond the limits of this continent was in the expedition to Venezuela in 1740, known as the Cartagena expedition. North Carolina was represented there, and both by land and sea her troops did their duty.

NOTE.—This is substantially the same article that appeared in *The University Magazine*, 1894. A more complete account of the expedition, by the writer, will be found in *Harpers Magazine* for October, 1896. W. C.

She sent 400 men, a contribution as large in proportion to the population of the colony at that time as if the State were now to furnish 50,000 troops. We know that these men served, that they took an active part in the sea attack upon Boca Chico, and that they subsequently aided in the deadly assault by land upon the fort of San Lazaro, when half the storming column was left dead or wounded on the field. We know that not a fifth of the gallant 400 returned. But we know with certainty the names of only two officers, of these brave North Carolinians. Indeed the expedition itself is almost unknown to the North Carolinians of the present day. It may not be amiss therefore to recall the little that has been left us of this early display of patriotism by the province of North Carolina.

History records few instances of official incapacity and mismanagement so gross as the ill-fated expedition to South America back in 1740, in which perished to no purpose, over three thousand Americans from the colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, and nearly seven times that number of English. Historians have not loved to linger over its details. Hence it is hardly noted in our books; yet it was a stern sad reality in its day.

Six times have troops from what is now the United States visited in hostility the territory of our neighbour on the north, viz., in King William's war, 1690; in Queen Anne's war, 1710; at the taking of Louisburg, 1744; in the old French war of 1755-1763 (when Quebec fell, and Canada passed to the English) again during the Revolution, and in the war of 1812. In 1846 we invaded our Southern neighbor. The expedition against Cartagena is the only case in which our troops ever engaged an enemy on another continent.

The war of 1898 was upon the islands of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines.

In October, 1739, England declared war against Spain. The real object, all pretexts aside, was to open the ports of Spanish America to British vessels. These ports were hermetically closed to all except Spanish keels. The object was no small one from a mercantile standpoint, for Spanish America then reached from the Southern boundary of Georgia and the northern boundary of California down to Terra del Fuego and Cape Horn. From this vast territory there could be excepted on the mainland only the possessions of the Portuguese in Brazil, together with Jamaica and a few of the smaller Islands in the West Indies. The stake was a large one, and England could win only by destroying the colonial system of Spain.

It was a contest for the enrichment of the merchants and traders of England. Small interest had the North American colonies therein. But loving letters and proclamations were sent out calling on them for aid. Promptly on the outbreak of war Anson was sent to the Pacific coast, and Vernon to the Atlantic. Disaster at sea destroyed the hopes of conquest of the former, and turning his expedition into one for booty, and losing all his ships but one, he circumnavigated the globe, reaching home by way of the east, loaded with fame and enriched with spoils. Vernon, in November, 1739, with ease captured Porto Bello and Fort Chagres (near the present town of Aspinwall), both on the Isthmus of Panama, and became the hero of the hour. The following year Great Britain determined to send out a masterful expedition under the same victorious auspices.

In 1740, Great Britain, then at war with Spain, determin-

ed to strike a blow at the Spanish Colonial possessions. An expedition left Spithead, England, in October, 1740, for the West Indies, composed of 15,000 sailors commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, and 12,000 land troops under Lord Cathcart. There were thirty ships of the line and ninety other vessels. On arriving at the West Indies these were joined at Jamaica by 36 companies containing 3,600 men from the North American colonies.

By the royal instructions these companies consisted of a hundred men each, including 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, and 2 drummers, besides commissioned officers, consisting of one captain, two lieutenants, and an ensign. The British government, however, reserved the appointment of field and staff officers and one lieutenant and one sergeant in each company. The total was over 3,600 men. The provinces of New Hampshire, Delaware, South Carolina and Georgia sent no troops —the latter two probably because their forces were sent against St. Augustine (to which North Carolina also contributed men), and Delaware was probably counted in Pennsylvania, it being then known as "the three lower counties on Delaware." Why New Hampshire took no part is not explained.

It was ordered that the American troops should be embodied in four regiments or battalions, under the command of Sir Alexander Spotswood, to whom Colonel William Blakeney was to serve as adjutant-general. Spotswood had served under Marlborough at Blenheim, 1704; had been governor of Virginia, 1710 to 1723, and in 1714 had been the first white man to cross the Blue Ridge—a feat which procured him the honor of knighthood. He was an officer of rare talent, a scholar, and a man of high character. His career was unfor-

tunately cut short by his death at Annapolis, 7 June, 1740, while waiting for his troops to assemble. He was succeeded in the command by Sir William Gooch, then Governor of Virginia—a post which he filled from 1729 to 1749. Blakeney, the adjutant-general sent out from England, was born in County Limerick, Ireland, 1672, and was therefore in his sixty-ninth year. He lived over twenty years after this expedition, to hold Stirling Castle for the King "in the '45," to surrender Minorca (of which he was governor) to the French, after a gallant resistance, in 1756, and to be raised to the peerage as Lord Blakeney. He died in 1761.

The Massachusetts troops were commanded by Captains Daniel Goffe, John Prescott, Thomas Phillips, George Stewart and John Winslow. The first lieutenancies of these companies were presumably filled under the general order by appointments sent out from England and are not named.

Rhode Island sent two companies of 100 men each. The Newport company, equipped in the spring, was commanded by Captain Joseph Sheffield, and the Providence company by Captain William Hopkins. The names of the other officers are not given, but it is mentioned that the first lieutenants of each company were sent out from England.

Connecticut sent two companies, commanded it would seem, by Captains Winslow and Prescott; and in this province also, in the Fall of 1741 and February, 1742, a proclamation was issued to raise recruits under Captain Prescott, who had been sent home by General Wentworth for that purpose from Jamaica.

New York sent one company in September and four more on 10 October. These last were joined by those of the New Jersey troops which were to embark at Amboy (the West Jer-

sey troops were to go down the Delaware River to meet them). On 12 October the expedition sailed to join Colonel Gooch with the Maryland and Virginia troops. New York raised £2,500 for the service and Massachusetts voted £17,500, Connecticut gave £4,000 towards bounties (*premia* they styled it) and the expences of the two companies she sent. Application was made to New York also for recruits in 1741. New Jersey raised two companies, and voted £2,000 and recruits; for they were also duly called for there, as elsewhere, Captain Farmer being sent home for that purpose. Pennsylvania sent eight companies, but refused any appropriation. Of the Pennsylvania troops 300 were white bond-servants who were given their liberty on condition of enlistment, much to the dissatisfaction of the province. Maryland voted £500 and sent 3 companies. Virginia sent 400 and appropriated £5,000 for their support. The captain of one of her Companies was Lawrence Washington, the half brother of George Washington. Lawrence, who was then twenty years of age, distinguished himself in the capture of the fort at Boca Chica, and was also in the deadly assault on San Lazaro, when 600 men, half of the assaulting column were left on the ground. He was fourteen years older than his more distinguished brother.

North Carolina sent four companies. Gov. Johnson in his letter to the Duke of New Castle 5 Nov. 1840, states that three of these companies were raised in the Northern part of the province, i. e., in the Albemarle section. The other it seems was recruited in the Cape Fear section. There is some reason to believe that Col. James Innes of subsequent fame served as Captain of this company. All four companies embarked on transports in the Cape Fear, 5 Nov., 1740, and sailed directly for Jamaica where they joined Admiral Vernon's squadron.

The contribution of money by North Carolina to this expedition was as large in proportion as her levy of men. On 21 August, 1740, Gov. Johnston informed the Assembly of the King's desire that North Carolina should assist in the war. This the Assembly promptly assented to, and a tax was laid of 3 shillings on the poll, but owing to the scarcity of money it was provided that the tax could be paid either "in specie or by tobacco at ten shillings the hundred, rice at seven shillings and six pence the pound, dressed deer skins at two shillings and six pence the pound, tallow at four pence, pork at seven shillings the barrel, or current paper money at seven and a half for one." Warehouses for receiving the commodities were directed to be built in each county.

The forces were united in the harbor of Kingston, Jamaica, 9 January, 1741, under Admiral Vernon. Had he at once proceeded to Havana, as intended, it must have fallen, and Cuba would have passed under English rule and the treasures sent from New Spain would have been intercepted. But with strange incompetence Vernon lay idle till Havana was fortified and garrisoned and then he started east in search of the French fleet off Hispaniola. Finding that it had left for France, towards the end of February he sailed to attack Cartagena on the coast of Venezuela.

On the way he fell

in with the French fleet. France was still at peace with Great Britain though not very friendly. This fleet refused to show its colors. A fierce fight ensued in which many men were killed and wounded. The next morning the French fleet showed its colors, whereupon the Admirals gravely apologized to each other and each fleet took its course. This is a characteristic incident of those times. Smollett, the celebrated historian and novelist, was serving in the British fleet as assistant surgeon and has left us an accurate description, it is said, of this sea fight in the naval battle depicted by him in *Roderick Random*.

On 4 March, 1741 the fleet anchored off Cartagena, which had three hundred guns mounted. Instead of pressing the attack Admiral Vernon lay inactive until the 9th, giving opportunity for better fortification and re-enforcements to the enemy. He then landed troops on Terra-Bomba, near the mouth of the harbor known as Boca-Chica (or little mouth), and attacked the land batteries also with his ships. In this attack Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, commanding one of the ships was slain. In the land attack 200 American troops, led by Captain Lawrence Washington, were mentioned for their gallantry. The passage, however, was carried 25 March, and three days later the troops were landed within a mile of Cartagena, which lay at the other end of the spacious harbor, which is really a bay several miles in length. The town was protected by the formidable fort San Lazaro. The enemy abandoned Castillo Grande, the fort on the opposite side of the bay. Had there been proper concurrence between the attacks, made by the land forces and the fleet, San Lazaro would have been readily taken, but the worst of feeling prevailed between General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon, and

thus there were two poor commanders instead of one good one, as was so essential to success. The town was bombarded three days, terrifying the inhabitants and injuring church steeples and convents. After repeated demands by Admiral Vernon that a land attack should be made, sailing into the inner harbor Admiral Vernon disembarked the land forces.

Lord Cathcart having died, command of these forces had passed to Gen. Wentworth. The ill feeling and rivalry between Wentworth and Admiral Vernon thwarted every movement. An attack was made on Fort San Lazaro 9 April but it was not aided by the fleet and was repulsed, losing half of the twelve hundred men of the storming column on the field, among them its gallant leader Col. Grant.*

The whole expedition was shamefully mismanaged. The troops were brave but the leaders were incompetent. The heat

*179 killed, 459 wounded, 16 prisoners.

and disease of the climate slew more than the sword. The army finally withdrew but it numbered on reaching Jamaica only 3,000 of the original 15,000. Of these only 2,000 survived to return home. The loss among the sailors was also heavy. The number of North Carolina troops who returned home is not known but it is presumed that their ratio of loss equaled that of the rest of the army. Of the 500 men sent by Massachusetts only 50 returned. Such, in brief, is an outline of this ill-starred expedition. Admiral Vernon incidentally touches later American history by the fact that his name was bestowed by Lawrence Washington (who served under him) on his residence which afterwards took its place in history as Mount Vernon. It is the irony of fate which thus links his name with immortal fame, for few men so incompetent ever trod a quarter-deck as that same vice-admiral of the Blue, Edward Vernon. He was subsequently dismissed from the service—cashiered.

This ill-fated expedition added one word to the English language. According to the army and navy regulations of that day rum was served out twice a day to the 15,000 sailors and 12,000 soldiers. By Admiral Vernon's orders, it was, for the first time, diluted with water before being issued, to the intense disgust of the recipients. He wore a grogram overcoat and the men dubbed the thin potation old "grog." After many unflattering comments upon the leading, Smollett adds "Good brandy and good rum mixed with hot water, composing a most unpalatable drench, was the cause of failure." We, however, can see the cause in a far truer light.

Prior to 1760, the regimental rolls were not preserved in the British War Office, hence we know very little of the distinctive composition of the American contingent. We know

that there were eight regiments of British troops and four battalions of Americans. The latter were composed of thirty-six companies and contained 3,500 or 3,600 men. Of these, it appears from the letter of Col. William Blakeney to the Duke of New Castle of 23 October, 1840, there were four companies from Virginia, eight from Pennsylvania, three from Maryland. These were to go out under Col. Wm. Gooch, the Lieut. Gov. of Virginia. There preceded these five companies from Boston, two from Rhode Island, two from Connecticut, five from New York, three from New Jersey. The four companies from North Carolina arrived last of all. On arrival the Northern companies were to be commanded by Col. Gooch, and those from Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina were to be commanded by Col. Blakeney. On 14 December, 1740, Col. Blakeney wrote from Jamaica that Col. Gooch with the Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia troops had arrived and the North Carolina troops were daily expected.* They subsequently arrived but exactly when is not known. Lord Cathcart died at Jamaica, 20 December, 1840, and was succeeded by Gen. Wentworth. From a letter of Gov. Gooch to the Duke of New Castle it appears that the Colonial companies were placed in battalions without reference to the respective provinces from which they came and were distinguished as the "American Regiments." From an extract of a return of Col. Gooch we find that in the 2d Battalion was Lt. Col. Coletrain "with the remainder of his company, viz.: two Lieutenants, two Sergeants, two Corporals, one Drummer and forty Centinels from North Carolina." This is the only name of an officer except Captain Robert Holton which is distinctively given as being in command of

* 11 N. C. State Records, 42–45.

North Carolina troops. It is not certain that Coletrain was from the State, for in one of the published accounts of that day it is stated of these "American Regiments" that the "field officers were all men of long service, named by his Majesty, and sent from Britain. The companies were raised chiefly by the interest and at the charge of their respective captains; of whom some were members of the Assembly in the province where they resided; others lived upon their own plantations and had commands in the militia; and some few had been concerned in traffic." His Majesty, it is further stated, "sent out thirty cadets of family who were provided with positions as Lieutenants in American Companies." It was charged by a pamphleteer that "the greatest part of the private soldiers enlisted in North America were either Irish Papists or English who had been under a necessity of leaving their own country." This if true of any of the provinces, could not have been so as to the North Carolina companies. Gov. Johnston of North Carolina, in his letter to the Duke of New Castle, 5 Nov., 1840, says: "I have good reason to believe that we could have easily raised 200 more if it had been possible to negotiate the bills of exchange in this part of the continent, but as that was impracticable we were obliged to rest satisfied with four companies," which he further states, "are now embarked and just going to sea."

The most striking incident of the campaign—apart from its terrible mismanagement and loss of life—was the land attack upon the fortifications of Cartagena. General Wentworth, in a note to Admiral Vernon, 2 April, 1741, demanded that a detachment of 1,500 Americans should be landed, under the command of Col. Gooch, to assist him. On 6 April, he acknowledges the landing of the Americans, who took part

in the storming San Lazaro 9 April. This is thus described by Smollett: "Stung by the reproaches of the Admiral (Vernon), Gen. Wentworth called a council of his officers, and with their advice he attempted to carry Fort San Lazaro by storm. Twelve hundred men headed by Gen. Guise, and guided by some Spanish deserters or peasants, who were either ignorant, or which is more likely, in the pay of the Spanish Governor whom they pretended to have left, marched boldly up to the foot of the fort. But the guides led them to the very strongest part of the fortifications; and what was worse, when they came to try the scaling ladders with which they were provided, they found them too short. This occasioned a fatal delay, and presently the brilliant morning of the tropics broke with its glaring light upon what had been intended for a nocturnal attack. Under these circumstances, the wisest thing would have been an instant retreat; but the soldiers had come to take the fort, and with bull-dog resolution they seemed determined to take it at every disadvantage. They stood, under a terrible plunging fire, adjusting their ladders and fixing upon points where they might climb; and they did not yield an inch of ground, though every Spanish cannon and musket told upon and thinned their ranks." One party of grenadiers even attained a footing on the top of a rampart, when their brave leader, Col. Grant, was mortally wounded. The grenadiers were swept over the wall, but still the rest sustained the enemy's fire for several hours, and did not retreat till six hundred, or one-half of their original number, lay dead or wounded at the foot of those fatal walls. It is said that Vernon stood inactive on his quarter-deck all the while, and did not send in his boats full of men till the last moment when Wentworth was retreating. The heavy rains

now set in, and disease spread with such terrible rapidity that in less than two days one-half the troops, on shore were dead, dying, or unfit for service. The expedition was then given up, and the survivors re-embarked and sailed for Jamaica. They were later landed in Eastern Cuba, at a place christened Cumberland Harbor, probably Guantanamo, and strong appeals were made to the colonies for re-inforcements.

Three thousand recruits, part of them from the North American colonies, were sent Wentworth, and he also organized and drilled 1,000 Jamaica negroes with a design of attacking Santiago de Cuba, but this was abandoned. Thus ended probably the most formidable and thoroughly equipped expedition which up to that time Great Britain had sent out. Everything was expected of it. Under good leadership it might have taken Cuba, and have anticipated by more than a century and a half the end of the rule of the Spaniard in that island. Its failure is only comparable to that sustained by Nicias in Sicily, as narrated by Plutarch. Vernon's utter defeat overthrew the Walpole ministry.

It is certain that the North Carolinians were among the American troops taking part in the assault. It also appears from Admiral Vernon's reports that the American Colonies contributed several sloops to the fleet, but how many and by whom commanded is not stated. After his return to Jamaica, he writes to the Duke of Newcastle, 30 May, 1741, that "without the aid of some of the Americans we could not get our ships to sea." Yet he had the affrontery to write, suggesting that the survivors of the Americans should be colonized in Eastern Cuba, as "North America is already too thickly settled, and its people wish to establish manufactures which would injure those at home" (in Britain). In fact,

many Americans, probably sailors in the sloops, were drafted to the British ships going to England.

Thus early in her career, 164 years ago this fall, North Carolina came to the front. She responded to the King's call for aid, with men and means to the full of her ability. Her soldiers served, as they have always done since, faithfully,aye, brilliantly. Beneath the tropical sun, in the sea fight, at the carrying of the passage of Boca Chico, in the deadly assault upon San Lazaro, amid the more deadly pestilence that walketh by noonday, North Carolinians knew how to do their duty and to die. The merest handful returned home. But their State has preserved no memento of their deeds. The historian has barely mentioned them. Possibly the names of three of our soldiers have been preserved. The recollection of so much heroism should not be allowed to die. North Carolina should yet erect a cenotaph to these her sons, to the

> "Brave men who perished by their guns
> Though they conquered not—"

to the "unreturning brave" who sleep beneath the walls of St. Augustine, by the Cartagenian summer sea beneath the walls of San Lazaro, and amid the rolling hills where Braddock fell.

WALTER CLARK.

RALEIGH, N. C.,
10 October, 1904.

NORTH CAROLINA'S RECORD IN WAR.

TROOPS AND GENERALS.

BY CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK.

The following is a list of generals whom North Carolina has furnished and of the various wars through which she has passed.

BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

Before the Revolution, North Carolina, owing to the small number of troops she could furnish, had no generals except those of the militia. She had a severe Indian war at home, in 1711-13, which began with the massacre of 22 Sept. 1711, when two hundred men, women and children in a few hours fell beneath the scalping knife. North Carolina was materially aided in the war that followed by troops sent from South Carolina, her own small forces being commanded by Col. Mitchell and Col. MacKee. In 1715 she sent her first expedition beyond the State, being horse and foot soldiers under Col. Maurice Moore to aid South Carolina against the Yemassee Indians. In 1740 she sent four companies of 100 men each, in the only expedition soldiers from this country have ever made beyond the Continent, to Cartagena, South America. Robert Holton and possibly James Innes (afterwards Colonel in the French war), and Coletrain were three of the captains. In the same year, 1740, she sent troops in the expedition under Oglethorpe against St. Augustine, Fla., then held by the Spanish. Her troops in that expedition, were combined with the Virginia and South Carolina troops into a regiment commanded by Van Derdussen.

In the French war she sent in 1754, the year before Brad-

dock's defeat, a regiment to Winchester, Va., under command of Col. James Innes, who took the command outranking at the time, Colonel George Washington who then commanded the Virginia forces. In 1755 she sent 100 men under Capt. Edward Brice Dobbs (son of Gov. Dobbs) in the ill-fated Braddock expedition, but fortunately they were in the reserve under Col. Dunbar and did not share in the defeat. In 1756, she sent four companies under Major Edward Dobbs to New York in the French war. Two years later North Carolina sent three companies under Maj. Hugh Waddell in Gen. Forbes' expedition which took Fort Du Quesne, the North Carolinians being the first to enter the fort. In 1759 and 1761 she sent a large force under Col. Hugh Waddell against the Cherokees.

Her troops who fought the battle of Alamance against the Regulators 16 May, 1771, were detachments of militia commanded by their Colonels under Governor Tryon who was in chief command. Gen'l Hugh Waddell, who had seen service against the French and Indians in a lower rank, commanded some 300 militia across the Yadkin but did not reach the battle field.

IN THE REVOLUTION—1775-'83.

North Carolina had in the "Continental Line":

One Major General—Robert Howe.

Four Brigadier Generals—(1) James Moore, died in service Feb., 1777; (2) Francis Nash, killed at Germantown, 4 October, 1777; (3) Jethro Sumner; (4) James Hogun, died a prisoner of war at Charleston, S. C., 4 January, 1781.

Besides these, who were regular or Continental officers, the following Generals of Militia commanded troops in action:

General John Ashe, at Briar Creek, Ga., 3 March, 1779.

General Richard Caswell, at Camden, S. C., 16 August, 1780.

General Isaac Gregory, at Camden, S. C., 16 August, 1780, where he was wounded and the conduct of his men highly praised by the British.

General Griffith Rutherford, at Stono, 20 June, 1779, and at Camden, S. C., 16 August, 1780, where he was wounded and captured. He commanded also in the expeditions against the Scovelite Tories and the Overhill Indians.

General William Lee Davidson, killed at Cowan's Ford, 1 Feb., 1781. (He had been a Lieutenant Colonel in the Continental Line).

General John Butler, at Stono, 20 June, 1779, at Camden, 16 August, 1780, and at Guilford C. H. 15 March, 1781.

General Thomas Eaton, at Guilford C. H., 15 March, 1781.

North Carolina furnished ten regiments of Regulars to the Continental Line, one battery of artillery (Kingsbury's), and three companies of cavalry. Besides this her militia were frequently ordered out on "tours of duty". Alone and unaided they won the brilliant victory at Moore's Creek, Ramsour's Mill and King's Mountain, and helped the regulars lose the battles of Camden and Guilford C. H. Under Rutherford's leadership early in 1776, they so crushed the Scovillite tories in South Carolina and in July of that year the Overhill Indians in Tennessee, that neither gave further trouble during the entire war. In the later expedition 2,400 N. C. militia were engaged. They also shared in the battles of Stono, Briar Creek, Cowpens and the defense and surrender of Charleston. The North Carolina Continentals rendered

efficient service at Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, at the capture of Stony Point (where they had a conspicuous part), at Hobkirk's Hill, Eutaw, at both sieges of Charleston and Savannah and elsewhere, and formed a part of the garrison of West Point, when our Major General Howe succeeded Arnold in command there upon his treason.

IN THE WAR OF 1812-'15.

Brigadier General Joseph Graham was sent in command of the brigade of North Carolina and South Carolina troops, in 1814 to aid of General Andrew Jackson in the Creek War. General Graham had attained the rank of Major in the Revolutionary War and had been badly wounded at the capture of Charlotte, 26 Sept., 1780. A Brigade of Militia under General Jos. F. Dickinson was the same year marched to Norfolk, where they remained four months and were present when the British fleet was driven back at the battle off Craney Island.

Johnson Blakely, of Wilmington, in command of the "Wasp" rendered efficient service at sea. Capt. Otway Burns was most prominent among the privateersmen from this State. North Carolina Troops were also sent to Canada, where Captain Benjamin Forsythe was among the slain.

IN MEXICAN WAR, 1846-'7.

Colonel Robert Treat Paine, of the North Carolina Regiment and Colonel Louis D. Wilson, 12 U. S. Infantry, who died at Very Cruz, 13 August, 1847.

North Carolina had no General in that war. She furnished one regiment of volunteers—Paine's; and one company to the 12 U. S. in the regular service.

Two Lieutenant Generals, (1) T. H. Holmes, (2) D. H. Hill.

Seven Major Generals, (1) Robert Ransom; (2) W. D. Pender, died of wounds received at Gettysburg in July, 1863; (3) R. F. Hoke; (4) S. D. Ramseur, killed at Cedar Run, 1864; (5) W. H. C. Whiting, died of wounds received at Fort Fisher, 21 January, 1865; (6) Bryan Grimes; (7) Jeremy F. Gilmer, a distinguished Engineer Officer and Chief of Staff of the Army of the West.

Twenty-six Brigadier Generals: (1) Richard C. Gatling; (2) L. O'B. Branch, killed at Sharpsburg, 17 September, 1862; (3) J. Johnston Pettigrew, died of wounds received at Falling Waters, 14 July, 1863; (4) James G. Martin; (5) Thomas L. Clingman; (6) Geo. B. Anderson, died of wounds received at Sharpsburg 17 September, 1862; (7) Junius Daniel, died of wounds received at Wilderness, May, 1864; (8) John R. Cooke; (9) James H. Lane; (10) Robert B. Vance, since M. C.; (11) Matthew W. Ransom, since U. S. Senator; (12) Alfred M. Scales, since M. C., also Governor 1885-1889; (13) Lawrence S. Baker; (14) William W. Kirkland; (15) Robert D. Johnston; (16) Jas. B. Gordon, died of wounds received at Yellow Tavern, 14 May, 1864; (17) W. Gaston Lewis; (18) W. R. Cox, since M. C.; (19) Thomas F. Toon, since Superintendent of Publci Instruction; (20) Rufus Barringer; (21) A. C. Godwin, killed at Winchester 29 September, 1864; (22) William MacRae; (23) Collett Leventhorpe; (24) John D. Barry; (25) William P. Roberts, since State Auditor; (26) Gabriel J. Rains.

Gen. Iverson, for a while commanded a N. C. Brigade, but he was a Georgian. There were many natives of N. C.

not in the above list because appointed from other States, as Gen. Braxton Bragg, Lieut. Gen. Leonidas Polk; Major General C. M. Wilcox, Brigadier Generals Zollicoffer, McCullough, and many others. On the other hand Maj. Gen. Whiting, born in Mississippi, and Brig. Gen. Cooke, born in Missouri, are in the list because they threw in their fortunes with North Carolina during the war and were appointed from this State.

At sea, James I. Waddell in command of the Shenandoah illustrated the courage of his race and State on every sea and was the last to lower the Confederate flag in November, 1865. In the above lists the generals are named according to the dates of their respective commissions—except Generals Gilmer and Rains.

Notwithstanding the State furnished 127,000 troops to the Confederacy it had at the close of the war in service only one Lieutenant General, D. H. Hill, and three Major Generals, Robert Ransom, Robert F. Hoke and Bryan Grimes—Pender, Whiting and Ramseur having been killed in battle. Of her 26 Brigadier Generals six (Branch, Pettigrew, Anderson, Daniel, Gordon and Godwin) were killed; one was on the retired list, one in the State service as Adjutant General, and four prisoners of war—leaving nine in service and four at home wounded, several of our depleted brigades being commanded by colonels and majors and one even by a captain. At the Appomattox surrender (9 April, 1865) the parole list shows from North Carolina one Major General—Bryan Grimes, commanding division, and six Brigadier Generals were paroled in command of their respective brigades—John R. Cooke, James H. Lane, M. W. Ransom, W. G. Lewis, William R. Cox and W. P. Roberts. Another, General Rufus

Barringer, had been captured the week before during the retreat.

At Joseph E. Johnston's surrender, 26 April, 1865, North Carolina had one Lieutenant General, D. H. Hill; one Major General, Robert F. Hoke and one Brigadier, Kirkland; though Leventhorpe and Baker, with their commands, were also embraced in the terms.

To this war North Carolina sent "84 Regiments, 16 Battalions, and 13 unattached companies and individuals from this State serving in commands from other States, and 9 regiments of Home Guards and militia rendering short tours of duty." 4 N. C. Regimental Histories, page 224.

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THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA—A STUDY IN LOCATION.

BY W. J. PEELE.

PART I.

There is a belief among the present inhabitants of Roanoke Island that Amidas and Barlowe came into the sound through an inlet opposite to the island. They say little in support of that view, so visitors usually give it small consideration. A little cape running out from the island into Roanoke Sound, still called "Ballast Point," marks the place where the early colonial navigators cast overboard their ballast; and there, stones from many lands, especially from the West Indies, may still be found. That there was an inlet at the place where they claim and that it was used by the colonial navigators is not doubted, but this fact gives but small clue to determine the point in controversy.

The inlet through which Amidas and Barlowe appear to have sailed, about twenty miles north-east of Roanoke Island, was subsequently closed up and was probably very badly damaged at least as early as the great storm of 1696. Under the name of "Trinity Harbor" it is plainly laid down in both of DeBry's maps (1590), and under the name of "Worcester Inlet" it is plainly laid down in Captain John Smith's map, published in 1629.

This same storm (1696) appears to have deepened Ocracoke (called in Lawson's map "Ocacock") Inlet. This inlet, or one near it, was called "Wokokon" on DeBry's map of Lane's expedition, the name which the Indians gave to an "out island" (meaning the banks) adjoining the inlet.

The first point of land discovered by the expedition under Amidas and Barlowe (July 4, 1584) was probably what is now called Cape Hatteras—significantly named on Captain John Smith's map "Cape Amidas."

We learn from White's last voyage especially (1590), that the early navigators sailed up the Gulf-stream, in their voyages to Virginia, to gain the advantage of the northward current until they arrived off the coast upon which they expected to land, and that then, after taking a reckoning of their latitude, they changed their course and made toward the shore, still bearing northward, in the meanwhile, and sailing cautiously as the soundings showed that the sea was growing more and more shallow.

Under the "last and perfect directions * * * confirming the former directions and commandments" given by Sir Walter Raleigh himself to Amidas and Barlowe, it is easy to believe that they knew better than to land anywhere near the South Carolina coast, which had witnessed the frightful destruction of Admiral Coligny's colonists by the Spanish only a few years before. So we find the first expedition, on July 2d, in "shoal water" and near enough to the shore to smell "so sweet and strong a smell as if in some sweet and delicate garden * * * by which," Barlowe continues,

"we were assured the land could not be far distant," and it was near at hand, though they sailed two days more before they saw it. Sailing up from the south or south-east and "bearing but slack sail, the 4th of the month we arrived," continues Barlowe, "upon the coast * * * * and we sailed along the same one hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered." Sighting the land from a point, say twenty miles south of Cape Hatteras, they continued sailing along (but now for the first time in sight of) the coast and northward until they found an inlet—passing, probably *in the night,* the two they might have entered or tried to enter if the same had "appeared" to them—and finally entering one some twenty miles north-east of Roanoke Island. The distance as the crow flies is not over seventy miles, but as sailed was probably nearer a hundred, and easily estimated, by one unacquainted with the currents, at "a hundred and twenty." They were strangers feeling their way for a day and night, at least, along an unknown coast, straining their eyes and imaginations to divine the meaning of the long yellow ridge of sand-hills that stretched like a huge serpent before them. The record of Barlowe, and that of those who followed him in the subsequent expeditions (from 1585 to 1590), indicates mistakes more considerable than this, their first exaggeration. Another reason why the first point of land sighted off our coast should be Cape Hatteras rather than Cape Lookout, or any point in its vicinity, is that the very next expedition (that of

1585) and the others which followed found many inlets between the regions of Cape Lookout and Trinity Harbor and "made tryalls of many," and no reason can be seen why this expedition should not have done the same thing if it had struck our coast as low down as the subsequent expeditions did.

The inlets in that part of the coast between Cape Hatteras and Trinity Harbor were beaten through the banks by the prevalent storms from the north-east, the violence of which may well be imagined when, as we learn from Barlowe, the inlet through which the first explorers sailed was six miles from sea to sound, which was the width of the island through which it was driven; and as it may have been diagonal in its direction across the banks, this would easily have made it seven miles in length. This explains what Barlowe meant when he said: "This land [the banks on the south side of the inlet] lay stretching itself to the west—which after we found to be but an island twenty miles long." The indication is that he was not then considering the length of the island which he "after" saw, but the *breadth,* which he could then easily see straight down the inlet for six or seven miles, for he was standing on the sand-banks ("being but of mean height") adjoining it. It cannot be supposed that he could see through the woods for twenty miles down the banks, for they were then well wooded, and, even within the memory of men still living, nearly covered with live-oaks.

White appears to have entered at this same inlet in 1590, when he came to look for his lost colony; and it is well to

note here, also, that his reckoning placed it at *thirty-six degrees* and twenty minutes—only about ten miles too high for Trinity Harbor as measured by our more accurate instruments. He indicates its direction too, for he said the wind blew "at north-east and *direct* into the *harbor*"—the name by which this inlet was often called—"Trinity Harbor" being the full name given on DeBry's maps, but the *"Trinty"* part of the name is not mentioned in any other record. It is probable that White looked down this inlet south-west to Roanoke Island, for he says: "At our first coming to anchor on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Isle of Roanoke *near the place where I left the colony in* 1587." This was the north end of the island, where the remains of Fort Raleigh may still be found. It need not confuse the careful reader that White called this inlet, or the banks adjoining, "Hatorask," while DeBry, on both his maps, writes that same name near to an inlet opposite the *south end* of Roanoke Island. The Indians doubtless called the banks all along there, perhaps clean down to Cape Hatteras, by that name, while the English very naturally used it to designate the inlet or banks adjoining it, or they might logically, or perhaps negligently, have applied the name to two inlets piercing the banks known among the Indians by one name. It is of course possible that after using Trinity Harbor to make their first entry they found the lower inlet better suited for their purposes and adopted it, calling it "Hatorask." If this lower inlet, or the one six or seven miles north of it, afterwards called Roanoke, was,

or subsequently became, the best, Trinity Harbor would have been speedily abandoned with little ceremony and its very name forgotten.

The establishment of this view, however, only makes With's (or White's, as the English translation of Hackluyt expresses it) drawing, "The Arrival of the English in Virginia," all the more certainly a picture of the landing of Barlowe's expedition, as will presently appear, for the boat with the eight or nine men in it is *plainly sailing from Trinity Harbor south-west toward Roanoke Island and the Indian village at the north end of it,* while the record of the landing of Grenville and Lane sets forth with equal explicitness that *they* came through "Hatorask." But whatever apparent confusion there is as to names, the records plainly indicate that the early explorers from 1585 to 1590 all headed for an inlet or *harbor* "well known to our English," near Roanoke Island, called "Hatorask." The name Trinity Harbor, which only appears in DeBry's maps, may have been an after-thought with the pious Hariot, who aided in their preparation, or it may have been given by the expedition of 1584 to denote the religious purpose which our explorers, as well as others of that time, had, or thought they had, in taking possession of our shores. In the prow of the boat shown on the drawing entitled "The Arrival of the English in Virginia," stands a man holding out a cross toward the island and the village. This picture, as painted by John With (White), doubtless serves well the purpose of representing the arrival of either Amidas and Barlowe, or of Grenville and Lane in the year fol-

lowing, or both. They both came to the island through Hatorask Banks and may well have come through the same inlet. The explanation of this drawing was put into Latin by Hackluyt, and the books containing the drawing have come down to us with the explanations. The Latin (edition of 1590), as accurately translated, says: "* * * Entering, therefore, the inlet and purusing our navigation a little way, we observed a great river *making its way out of this region of the aforesaid islands* [the coastal islands constituting the banks already mentioned in the explanation], which, however, we could not ascend by reason of its narrowness and the heaps of sand which obstructed its mouth." The old English reads: "After wee had passed opp and sayled ther in for a short space wee discovered a myghtie riuer *falling downe into the Sounde* over against those ilands, which, nevertheless, wee could not sayle opp anything far by reason of the shallewnes, the mouth ther of beinge annoyed with sands driven in with the tyde." The Latin evidently described Currituck Sound, but the English also fits the Albemarle, as represented on DeBry's maps, *with a bar across its mouth.* While the illustration represents the first coming of the English to Roanoke, and perhaps as well also the second, the *explanations,* both in English and Latin, appear to be mainly descriptive of the second landing on the island which both White and Hariot saw with their own eyes, and the latter doubtless instructed Hackluyt abount Virginia as he did DeBry. Barlowe says that his expedition entered into the first inlet that appeared unto them, while Grenville experimented with inlets all the

way from the region of Cape Lookout to the Hatorask Harbor. If White only made the drawing and Hariot or Hackluyt was the author rather than the mere translator and editor of the descriptions, we can see why he added incidents which did not occur at the first landing. The painter appears to have been using the second landing, which he saw, to aid him in describing the first, which he did not see; for if he meant to represent the second "Coming of the English into Virginia," he would, it seems, have painted the banks and inlet at Wokokon, through which Lane entered Virginia several days before he came to Roanoke Island. Perhaps Hariot or Hackluyt, who may not have had Barlowe's account before him, thought the explanations fitted, or could be made to fit, both landings at Roanoke as well as the drawing. At any rate the old English (see the translation appended hereto) left out what the Latin contains: "At length we found a certain entrance *well known to our English.*" This sentence makes the Latin explanation more naturally, but not necessarily, refer to the second landing, the knowledge of the inlet having been gained through the first expedition. There are other incidents described alike in the English and the Latin which also make the *explanation* refer to the second landing, though, as above hinted, Hariot (or whoever edited the explanations of the drawings which were supposed to have been written by DeBry or the painter himself) may not have had Barlowe's account before him, and perhaps could not compare the details of his landing and the different receptions given by the Indians to the two expeditions.

However these things may be, a casual glance at the drawing itself shows that its perspective is altogether from the stand-point of ships anchored off an inlet about twenty miles north-east of Roanoke Island. From this inlet the explorations are shown to extend about the same distance in the three directions they covered—north, west and south—just about the territory explored by the expedition of 1584. (Lane's covered more than a hundred miles in every direction). Even Currituck Sound, which they could not ascend with the boat they were in, is shown almost in its entirety, and appears wider even than the Albemarle, only the west end of which is outlined, while of the Pamlico just enough appears to show the setting of the island.

The three towns given are Roanoac, Dasamonguepeuk, "four or five miles" west of it, and Pasquenoke, a little further to the west on the north shore of the Albemarle; while Pomeioc, about twenty miles south of Roanoke Island, is not shown at all, though it would have been the nearest town and the one logically they would have first entered if they had come in twenty miles south of the island. *The inlets shown are all opposite to or north of the island;* nothing appears clearer than that the artist did not regard Pamlico Sound as forming any essential part of his picture; and the picture is a travesty on what it represents, unless the coming in was from an inlet north of the island.

Barlowe's narrative, carefully considered, is hardly less conclusive. It says: "After they [the Indians] had been divers times on board the ships, myself with seven more went

about twenty miles into the river that runs towards Skicoak [a town represented on DeBry's map to be near one of the tributaries of the Chesapeake and not far from the upper Chowan], which river they call Occam; and the evening following we came to an island which they call Roanoke, distant from the harbor by which we entered seven leagues." The account of Drake's voyage speaks of proceeding to a "place they [Lane's colony] called their port," the "road" of which was "about six leagues" from Lane's "fort," in an "island which they call Roanoac." This fixes the distance of the inlet, supposing they both used the same, at six or seven leagues. Barlowe continues: "Beyond this island there is a mainland, and over against this island falls into this spacious water [the water in which the island was situated] the great river called Occam by the inhabitants, on which stands a town called Pomeioc, and six days' journey from the same is situated their greatest city, called Skicoak. * * * Into this river falls another great river called Cipo, in which there is found a great store of muscles in which there are pearls. Likewise there descendeth into this Occam another river called Nomopana [which is Occam extended toward Skicoak], on one side whereof stands a great town called *Chawanook*." The great river Occam is the Albemarle Sound; the Nomopana, on which was the town of Chawanook (afterwards ascertained to be a country containing eighteen towns), was what is now called the Chowan River; Cipo was the Roanoke River. The Albemarle falls into the "spacious water" in which, or at the head of which, Roanoke Island is situated, and upon which

the record doubtless intended to say Pomeioc was situated, for otherwise we would be forced to extend the river Occam twenty miles below Roanoke Island, unless the narrator confuses this name with the country (Weapomeioc) on the north shores of the Albemarle.

Another point that may be noted, is that the banks about twenty miles north of Roanoke Island are still about "six miles" wide.

To show that Cipo is the Roanoke, the "great river" (in the language of Barlowe) that falls into Occam, it may be noted that it pours about as much water into the Albemarle as all its other tributaries combined. Lane (in 1586) thus describes it: "* * * Directly from the west runs a most notable river called the Moratok [doubtless so-called from the "principal Indian town" of the same name on its north bank.] This river opens into the broad sound of Weapomeiok [the name by which Lane called the Albemarle Sound and the country north of it.] And whereas, the river of Chawanook, and all the other sounds and bays, salt and fresh, shew no current in the world in calm weather, but are moved altogether with the wind; this river of Moratoc has so violent a current from the west and south-west that it made me almost of opinion that with oars it would scarce be navigable; it passes with many creeks and turnings, and for the space of thirty miles' rowing and more it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Greenwich and the Isle of Dogs, in some places more, and in some less; the current runs as strong, being entered

so high into the river, as at London bridge upon a vale water."

Nomopana, the beautiful name of the Chowan, was lost to Lane's expedition, but the "Chawanoke" country on the upper Chowan was explored and duly located on DeBry's map; this substantiates the conclusion that the Occam of Barlowe's expedition was the Albemarle Sound, "the great river" into which Barlowe sailed twenty miles before he came to Roanoke Island. Cipo and Nomopana being fixed as its principal tributaries also identifies it with that sound. The sound once indentified, fixes the location of the inlet through which Amidas and Barlowe sailed, and so fixes the spot of ground on the sôuth side of that inlet upon which the expedition of 1584 landed and took possession of "in the right of the Queen's most Excellent Majesty as rightful Queen and Princess of the same." John With's (White's) picture, therefore, represents an event second in importance only to the discovery of America.

Barlowe's language is: "Beyond this island there is the mainland"—referring, doubtless, to Dasamonguepeuk, the land immediately west of the island across Croatan Sound—for if they had been coming up from the south they would have been sailing up along the continent for about twenty miles before they came to Roanoke Island, and the waters of the Albemarle Sound (instead of the "mainland") would have been "beyond" it.

Again: "Beyond this island called Roanoke are many main islands [those along the shores of the mainland] * * *

together with many towns and villages along the side of the continent." * * * DeBry's map of Lane's expedition gives seventy-six islands, ten of which are "out-islands" (the banks), and sixty-six of which are within the sounds—one in the Albemarle, one where the waters of the Albemarle and Currituck come together; the others, except those in Currituck Sound, are all in the Pamlico, unless we except the few small ones in Croatan Sound. Those in Currituck are not referred to because they are not "together with many towns and villages," for no towns and villages are mentioned in any of the maps or records as being on this sound; therefore those referred to must be "beyond" Roanoke Island *to discoverers coming in from the north-east.* In the Pamlico Sound were shown on DeBry's map numerous islands and many points and peninsulas which might have been readily mistaken for them.

Nor does the concluding portion of Barlowe's narrative conflict with the interpretation above given: "When we first had sight of this country some thought the first land we saw to be the continent, but after we entered into the haven we saw before us another mighty long sea [the water which expands through all its sounds fifty miles north and one hundred and fifty miles south of Trinity Harbor]; for there lieth along the coast a tract of island two hundred miles in length, adjoining to the ocean sea, and between the islands two or three entrances; when you are entered between them (these islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places six miles broad, in some places less, in few more) then

there appeared another great sea, containing in breadth, in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent, and in this enclosed sea there are above a hundred islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteen miles long [Roanoke Island], at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground." * *

DeBry's map shows eleven inlets or "entrances," so, as Barlowe expressly limits the number to "two or three," it shows that he had only examined those next to Roanoke Island—Trinity Harbor, Hatorask and one between them.

One purpose of this discussion is to show the value of White's drawing as an historic representation of the taking possession of this continent by the English in 1584—though it is hardly less valuable if it only represents the landing of 1585. It is passing strange that no reproduction of it on a great scale, such, for example, as the painting on the drop-curtain in the Music Hall of the Olivia Raney Library, has ever been made, either for the State, the nation or the English-speaking people, an event in which all are interested. The artist who will reproduce, on a scale proportioned to the event, in living colors, this drawing of John White, the painter selected by Queen Elizabeth herself, will discharge a duty to his country and his race; will represent the most interesting picture connected with American history, and will show that North Carolina contains the spot on which formal possession of the continent was taken by the English race.

Below is given a representation of the drawing, together with the *explanations* in old English and a recent transla-

tion of the original Latin; also the joint preface of DeBry and Hackluyt to the Hackluyt's translation in DeBry's "True Pictures, etc., of Virginia," and the title-page and an extract of Hariot's "Briefe Report"—all tending to throw light on the "discoveries of the new found land in Virginia"—North Carolina.

THE ARRIUAL OF THE ENGLISHEMEN IN VIRGINIA.

(From DeBry's "True Pictures, etc., of Virginia.")*

The sea coasts of Virginia arre full of Ilands, wher by the entrance into the mayne land is hard to finde. For although they bee separated with diuers and sundrie large Diuisions, which seeme to yeeld conuenient entrance, yet to our great perill we proued that they wear shallowe, and full of dangerous flatts, and could never perce opp into the mayne land, until wee made trialls in many places with or small pinness. At lengthe wee fownd an entrance vpon our mens diligent serche thereof. Affter that we had passed opp, and sayled ther in for a short space we discouered a mightye riuer fallinge downe into the sownde ouer against those Ilands, which neuertheless wee could not saile opp any thing far by Reason of the shallewnes, the mouth ther of beinge annoyed with sands driuen in with the tyde; therefore sayling further, wee came vnto a Good bigg yland, the Inhabitants thereof as soone as they saw vs began to make a great and horrible crye, as peopel which neuer befoer had seene men apparelled like vs,

*Hariot also made a translation from the Latin into English.

and came away makinge out crys like wild beasts or men out of their wyts. But beenge gentlye called back, we offered them of our wares, as glasses, kniues, babies (dolls), and other trifles, which wee thougt they deligted in. Soe they stood still, and perceuinge our Good will and courtesie, cam fawninge vpon vs and bade us welcome. Then they brougt vs to their village in the iland called Roanoac, and vnto their Weroans or Prince, which entertained vs with Reasonable curtesie, althoug they wear amased at the first sight of vs. Suche was our arriuall into the parte of the world which we call Virginia, the stature of bodye of wich people, theyr attire, and maneer of liuinge, their feasts, and banketts, I will particullerlye declare vnto yow.

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH TO VIRGINIA.

(From a recent translation of the Latin of DeBry's "True Pictures, etc., of Virginia.")

The coasts of Virginia abound (are fringed) with islands which afford quite a difficult approach (entrance) to that region, for although they are separated from one another by numerous and wide intervals (inlets) which seem to promise a convenient entrance, still to our great cost we found them to be shallow and infested with breakers, nor were we ever able to penetrate into the inner places (sounds) until we made trials in many different places with a smaller boat. At length we found an entrance in a certain place well known

to our English. Having therefore entered and continuing our voyage for a considerable distance, we encountered a large river emerging from the region of the aforesaid islands, which, however, it was not possible to enter on account of the narrowness (of its channel), as the sands filled its mouth (lt: a bar of sand filling its mouth). Therefore, continuing our voyage, we arrived at a large island, whose inhabitants upon the sight of us began to raise a great and awful outcry, because (forsooth) they had *never beheld men like unto us,* and taking headlong to flight, they filled all places with their yells after the manner of wild beasts or madmen. But being recalled by our friendly overtures, and our wares having been displayed, such as mirrors, small knives (dolls), and other trinkets which we thought would be pleasing to them, they halted, and, having observed our friendly disposition, they became amicable and showed pleasure at our arrival. Afterwards they conducted us to their town called Roanoac and to their Weroans, or chief, who received us very courteously, though (evidently) astonished at our appearance.

Such was our arrival in that part of the new world which we call Virginia.

I shall describe to you by illustrations (drawings and pictures) the figures of the inhabitants, their ornaments, manner of living, festivities and feasts.

TITLE-PAGE OF DEBRY'S "TRUE PICTURES, ETC., OF VIRGINIA."

THE TRVE PICTVRES

AND FASHIONS OF

THE PEOPLE IN THAT PAR-

TE OF AMERICA NOVV CAL-

LED VIRGINIA, DISCOWRED BY ENGLISMEN

sent thither in the years of our Lorde 1585. att the speciall charge and direction of the Honourable SIR WALTER RALEGH Knight Lord Warden of the stannaries in the duchies of Corenwal and Oxford who therein hath bynne fauored and auctorifed by her MAAIESTIE and her letters patents.

Translated out of Latin into English by
RICHARD HACKLVIT.

DILIGENTLYE COLLECTED AND DRAOW-ne by IHON WHITE *who was sent thiter speciallye and for the same pur-pose by the said* SIR WALTER RALEGH *the year aboue said 1585. and also the year 1588. now cutt in copper and first published by* THEODORE DE BRY *att his wone chardges.*

EXTRACT TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF DEBRY'S INTRODUCTION TO THE "TRUE PICTURES, ETC., OF VIRGINIA."

"I have determined to present in this book true representations of them [the Indians] which (with the assistance of Richard Hackluyt of Oxford, a servant of God's Word, who was in that region and was the adviser that this work should be published), I have copied from a prototype imparted to me by John With, an English painter who was sent into that same region of her Majesty, the Queen of England, for the express purpose of *making its topography* and representing, according to life, the form of its inhabitants, their dress, mode of life and customs—by means of the no small outlay of the noble Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, who has expended very much in examining and exploring that region from the year 1585 to the end of the year 1588. * * * I and my children have devoted ourselves diligently to engraving and rendering of the figures into copper whenever the matter is of sufficient importance."

TITLE-PAGE OF HARRIOT'S "VIRGINIA."

A BRIEFE AND TRUE RE-

PORT OF THE NEW FOUND LAND OF VIRGINIA: OF

the commodities there found and to be raysed, as well mar-
chantable, as others for victuall, building and other necessa-
rie uses for those that are and shalbe the planters there; and of the na-
ture and manners of the naturall inhabitants: Discouered by the
English Colony there seated by Sir Richard Greinvile *Knight in the*
yeere 1585. which remained vnder the gouernment of Rafe Lane Es-
quier, one of her Maiesties Equieres, during the space of twelue
monethes: at the special charge and direction of the Honourable
SIR WALTER RALEIGH Knight, Lord Warden of
the stanneries; who therein hath beene fauou-
red and authorised by her Maiestie and
her letters patents:

DIRECTED TO THE ADUENTURERS, FAUOURERS,

and Welwillers of the action, for the inhabi-
ting and planting there:

By *Thomas Hariot;* seruant to the abounamed
Sir Walter, a member of the Colony, and
there imployed in discouering.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON 1588.

EXTRACT FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO HARIOT'S "VIRGINIA."

TO THE ADUENTURERS, FAUORERS, AND WELWILLERS OF THE ENTERPRISE FOR THE INHABITING AND PLANTING IN VIRGINIA.

Since the first vndertaking by Sir Walter Raleigh to deale in the action of discouering of that Countrey which is now called and known by the name of Virginia; many voyages having bin thither made at sundrie times to his great charge; as first in the yeere 1584, and afterwards in the yeeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this last yeare of 1587: There haue bin diuers and variable reports with some slaunderous and shamefull speeches bruited abroade by many that returned from thence. Especially of that discouery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Greinuile in the yeare 1585, being of all the others the most principal and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey beeing a whole yeare, when as in the other voyage before they staied but sixe weeks; and the others after were onelie for supply and transportation, nothing more being discouered then had been before. * * * * * * * * * * * *

I have therefore thought it good beeing one that have beene in the discoveries and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially imploide, etc.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

The object of the BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITORS.

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RUTHERFORD'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS, 1776.

BY CAPT. S. A. ASHE.

The march of historical events has often been influenced by mountain ranges with their intervening valleys and their meandering streams; and it is convenient before entering on an account of Gen. Rutherford's expedition in September, 1776, to give some description of the territory which was the scene of operations.

While the three great mountain chains trending to the Southwest lie nearly parallel, towards the Virginia line the Smokies approach the Blue Ridge, but South of the French Broad they diverge leaving a wide plateau, high and mountainous, a region remarkable for its fertility and loveliness. Further west, between the Smokies and the Alleghanies, is an extensive valley, some sixty miles broad, running from Virginia to Alabama. It lies like a great trough in the mountain region. The Holston, the Clinch and the Powells rivers rising in Virginia flow down it, and being joined by the French Broad and the Little Tennessee form the Tennessee which continues in the same direction.

In this region was the home of the Cherokees,* whose chief

* The name Cherokee, it is said, seems to refer to "coming out of the ground". In many of the Indian languages the name by which this nation was known is said to have that signification. The old men of the tribe, as reported by Hewitt, (1778), held the tradition that they had lived from time immemorial in their mountain homes and had "originally sprung from the ground there". However, by their language they are now identified with the Iroquois tribes of the far North, and they are thought to have been the Rechahecrians, a tribe that came from the mountains to the falls of the James River and made war on the Virginians in 1656.

strongholds lay to the Southward, and who occupied some forty towns on the plateau from Pigeon River (near Waynesville) to the Hiwassee; many towns in the foothills of the Blue Ridge on the head waters of the Savannah river and a still greater number in the valley and beyond the Smoky Mountains called "the overhill towns." This numerous and powerful tribe had by treaty been awarded all the territory lying west of a line running from the White Oak Mountains (in Polk County) north to the waters of the Watauga, a branch of the Holston; beyond which white settlements were forbidden; and on the other hand, the Indians were not to cross that line without permission.

To the westward they claimed as their hunting ground the territory now embraced in Tennessee and Kentucky. To the Southward, they occupied the North-western portion of South Carolina. In Georgia and Alabama, were the Creeks and Choctaws; and to the Northward were the Shawnees, a tribe that originally inhabited lands on the Savannah, but was driven Northward, and at first located in Kentucky, but being expelled from that region by the Cherokees settled North of the Ohio, Kentucky becoming the debatable land of these war-like tribes and the scene of their constant warfare, and hence known as "the dark and bloody ground."

The Indians had long been used as allies by the Whites in their wars; the French occupying Canada and claiming the Mississippi territory had early engaged them in their warfare against the English Colonists, and in like manner the English had sought to enlist the friendly tribes for their own assistance.

For the purposes of trade and in order to control the Indians at the South, the British Government had for years

employed agents to reside among them, who reported to the general superintendent, Captain John Stuart, a distinguished British officer, who was intimately associated with the Cherokees from 1760 until 1777, when because of the disastrous result of the outbreak he inaugurated he returned to England where he died in 1779. He had great power over them as well as with the Creeks and Choctaws. His agent in the Uppertowns of the Cherokees was a Scotchman named Cameron, who had long resided among them and lived as an Indian, and exerted great influence over the Cherokee Nation. The lines between the colonies had not been established even to the Blue Ridge and all beyond was a wilderness—Indian country,—and the Cherokees living to the Northwest of Charleston traded there and had but little intercourse with North Carolina.

In the progress of settlement the lands of Western North Carolina were well occupied at the Southward beyond the Catawba and at the Northward along the Yadkin to the foot of the mountains; and in 1769 William Bean, a North Carolinian, crossed the mountains and built the first cabin occupied by a white man on the Watauga River, and shortly afterwards a stream of settlers from North Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania pressed down the Tennessee Valley and occupied the fertile lands of the Holston and on the Nollichunky (west of Mitchell county) following the Indian trail and the trading path from the Northward to the Cherokee towns. It is worthy of remark that this valley was a great open thoroughfare that nature had provided in the mountains and it was used as a war path and easy means of communication between the Northern and Southern Indians.

In our day commerce and traffic with its railroad line fol-

low the Indian trail of primeval times, and where the echoes of thundering trains are now heard the war whoops of the Delawares and of the Shawnees resounded in their forays against the Cherokees and the Choctaws and the Creeks. As the settlements on the Watauga and Holston and Nollichunky were within the territory accorded to the Cherokees, that Nation had become restless and in a measure hostile to the invading Colonists; and they naturally looked to the British Crown, with whom their treaties were made, as the only source of protection from the encroachments of the adventurous settlers.

In 1771 there had been in upper South Carolina an insurrection similar to that known as "the Regulation movement" in North Carolina. It was under the leadership of a man named Scovell, and although it was easily suppressed, discontent was felt by the Scovellites against the men who had defeated them and against the measures they proposed; and so when the troubles came on with the Mother Country many of the Scovellites threw themselves into the opposition, becoming active Tories. When the Revolutionary war had begun, in order to induce the Cherokees to entertain friendly sentiments towards the Colonists, following the usual custom a present consisting in part of ammunition was in the fall of 1775 sent to them; and as the pack-horses were passing through upper South Carolina, the Scovellites rose and embodied, and seized the powder, claiming that it was intended for the Indians to use in making war upon them. This led to a hasty movement on the part of South Carolina, in which the inhabitants of Rowan and Mecklenburg counties joined, to suppress the Scovellites and regain possession of those munitions of war.

Col. Alexander Martin, of Mecklenburg County, commanding two companies of Continentals, and Col. Rutherford, of Rowan, and Col. Tom Polk, of Mecklenburg, commanding detachments of militia, hastened into South Carolina and dispersed the malcontents, some of whom fled to the Cherokees and allied themselves with Cameron who was then stirring up the Indians against the Colonists. This expedition, undertaken in December, 1775, because of the heavy snow then on the ground, was known as the snow campaign.

Such was the situation when the British Government agreed to adopt the plan proposed by Gov. Martin, who had fled to Fort Johnston on the lower Cape Fear, for the subjugation of North Carolina and the Southern Colonies. This plan contemplated the use of a large British force on the Seaboard, the rising of the loyalists in the interior, and an extensive Indian warfare on the outlying district which it was expected would engage the attention of the inhabitants so thoroughly as to prevent any interference with the embodying of the loyalists and their juncture with the British troops on the Seaboard. Capt. John Stuart, the Indian Superintendent, who for several months in the Spring of 1776 was at Fort Johnston awaiting the arrival of Gen. Clinton's troops, said in his report of May 20th, that he had been cut off from any correspondence with his deputies, and that he had no instructions up to that time from Gen. Howe or Gen. Clinton to employ the Indians, yet he proposed to use his utmost endeavors to keep the Indians in temper and disposed to act when required to do so. In the meantime the Continental Congress had appointed agents to have a meeting with the Creeks and Cherokees and to engage them to remain neutral,

and Willie Jones was one of the Commissioners. They met with many of the Indians at Augusta and succeeded in obtaining their promise of neutrality; but still Capt Stuart reported that he did not despair of getting them to act for his Majesty's service when found necessary. Later however, the Continental Congress directed its Commissioners to form an alliance with the Indians and to engage their active aid, but before that had been done, the British arranged for the Cherokees and all the tribes from the Ohio to Alabama to begin hostilities against the Western borders. Towards the end of June, fifteen Shawnees were with the Creek Nation concerting measures in regard to the War, and the Cherokees received the war belt from the Shawnees, the Mingoes and the Delaware Nations. It was agreed that a force of five hundred Creeks, five hundred Choctaws, five hundred Chickasaws, and a body of troops from Pensacola together with all the Cherokee Nation, were immediately to fall on the frontiers of Virginia and the two Carolinas. Henry Stuart, a British agent, wrote to the settlers on the Watauga and Nollichunky recommending that whoever among them were willing to join his Majesty's forces should repair to the King's standard and find protection among the Cherokees; those who failed to declare their loyalty were to be cut off by the Indians.

At that period when the Provincial Congress of the State was not in session, the supreme direction of affairs, under some limitations, was committed to the Council of State composed of thirteen members. A messenger carrying the plans for the Indian rising to General Gage for his approval was captured, and information being received by the Council of

the proposed movement of the Indians, General Rutherford was directed to prepare to withstand them. It was at the end of June, just when the British made their assault on Fort Moultrie at Charleston, that the Indians began their murderous attack on upper South Carolina. President Rutledge on July 7th wrote to the North Carolina Council that on the 30th of June the Cherokees had made several prisoners, plundered houses and killed some of the settlers. He proposed a joint movement by which Major Williamson with about eleven hundred men should proceed from South Carolina against the Lower Cherokees, and a force from North Carolina should attack the middle towns, and being joined by Major Williamson should proceed against the settlements on Valley River and the Hiwassee, while a detachment from Virginia should come down the Holston and attack the Overhill towns. But in advance of his letter, North Carolina was aroused. The savages did not delay their operations, but struck quickly.

The Creeks had joined the Cherokees, and together they rushed up the valley of the Tennessee, intent on devastating the outlying districts. But from Echota, the Capital of the Nation, on the Little Tennessee, (some thirty miles west of Graham County), Nancy Ward hurriedly sent word of the intended invasion to the Whites on the Holston who fled to their forts for protection. This woman was a half-breed and a niece of Ata-kullakulla, (the Little Carpenter) one of the most noted of the Indian Chieftains of that period. In his younger days he had visited England, to confirm a treaty of peace with the King, and like Manteo, he had ever remained a faithful friend of the Whites. At the fearful massacre in

1758 at Fort Loudon,* he had saved the life of Captain John Stuart and had secretly carried him to Virginia and arranged for the ransom of the surviving captives; and at this period and later, he was a friend of the Colonists in their contest with the Mother Country. Echota, the capital, was "a peace town," "a city of refuge," and Nancy Ward, who bore the title of "beloved woman," was accorded the privilege of talking in the Councils of the Chiefs and of deciding on the fate of prisoners, and possessed much influence among the Indians; and upon several occasions she rendered the Whites great service. Because of her warning, the greater part of the settlers on the Holston and Watauga escaped from the irruption of the invading savages; but a Mrs. Bean, perhaps the wife of the first settler, and a boy, Moore, were taken alive. The boy was burnt at the stake and Mrs. Bean was also bound to the stake ready for the burning, when Nancy Ward interfered and saved her life.

In the Spring of 1776 the State had been laid off into

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* There were two Fort Loudons; one near Winchester, Va.; and the other on the Little Tennessee at the junction of Tellico River, near where Loudon's Station on the railroad now is, a few miles to the west of Echota. This fort was constructed by the South Carolina forces about 1756 for the purpose of holding the Cherokees in check, and was garrisoned by 200 soldiers. In 1758, after a long siege, it was taken by the Indians; and the siege and the massacre of the garrison and of the whites who had taken refuge there form the basis of a very interesting and meritorious novel, the title being "Old Fort Loudon." The author closely follows the historical account given by Hewitt in his history of South Carolina, written in 1770. It is particularly commended to the readers of the Booklet. It is in the Raney Library.

The writer of this article takes this opportunity to acknowledge his indebtedness to the 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, J. W. Powell, director, for much information.

military districts and Colonel Griffith Rutherford, of Salisbury, had been appointed Brigadier-General of the Western District. He was an Irishman, not well educated, but a man of courage, energy, and a born soldier. At the inception of the troubles, he was Colonel of Rowan County, and year by year he attained higher eminence and rendered more important services, until at the very last he drove the British garrison from Wilmington and freed the State from their presence. After the war he moved to Tennessee and died there.

In the first week of July, while the forts on the Holston were being attacked, bands of warriors crossed the mountains and fell upon the unarmed settlers on Crooked Creek (near Rutherfordton), and a large force established their headquarters on the Nollichunky, and came up the Toe, and, passing the Blue Ridge, invaded the frontier of Rowan, which then extended to the mountains.

The unexpected appearance of these murderous bands in the outlying settlements caused great consternation, and as the news spread the backwoodsmen were aroused to resolute action.

On the 12th of July, General Rutherford wrote to the Council that he had that day received an express that the week before there were forty Indians on Crooked Creek (in the vicinity of Rutherfordton) and that applications were made him daily for relief; and he plead for expedition. And on the next day, he again sent an express to the Council about the alarming condition of the country, stating that the Indians were making great progress in destroying and murdering on the frontier of Rowan County. "Thirty-seven persons," he said, "were killed last Wednesday and Thurs-

day on the Catawba River," and "I am also informed that Colonel McDowell and ten men more and one hundred and twenty women and children are besieged in some kind of a fort, and the Indians around them; no help to them before yesterday, and they were surrounded on Wednesday. I expect the next account to hear is that they are all destroyed. Pray, gentlemen, consider our distress, send us plenty of powder, and I hope, under God, we of Salisbury District are able to stand them; but if you allow us to go to the Nation, I expect you will order Hillsboro District to join Salisbury. Three of our Captains are killed and one wounded. This day I set out with what men I can raise for the relief of the district."

At that time there was a fort at "Old Fort," constructed twenty years earlier by the whites as a protection for the Catawbas against the Cherokees, these tribes being always at enmity. This fortification being on land owned by Colonel Davidson, was in 1776 known as Davidson's Fort; and in it the people of the vicinity found refuge. There was another on Turkey Cove; a third at Lenoir; a fourth at Warrior Ford on Upper Creek, north of Morganton, and several others in the exposed settlements of Burke County, and in these the inhabitants assembled.

The plan of operations suggested by President Rutledge was agreed on and it was arranged that General Rutherford should march to the Indian Country where he was to be joined on September 9th by Colonel Williamson, near Cowee on the Little Tennessee, and together they were to devastate the Indian towns. Colonel Williamson, who had with him some Catawba Indians, besides his force of 1,800 whites, moved with great promptness, and speedily penetrated to the

Lower Towns, about the head of the Savannah River, in the vicinity of Walhalla, which he destroyed, driving the Indians before him. But at the town of Seneca, Cameron and his Tories, the Scovellites who had joined him, and a large number of braves made a desperate stand, but were finally routed and dispersed; and Williamson found there and destroyed, besides other stores, more than six thousand bushels of corn. Having completed the destruction of the Lower Towns, he crossed through Rabun Gap* and hurried to the rendezvous. His route was north, down the Little Tennessee, through Macon County, but being delayed he did not make the juncture at the appointed place.

General Rutherford acted with that energy that ever distinguished him. On the 19th day of July, he had marched at the head of 2,500 men to protect the frontier of his County; for the men of Western Carolina had sprung to arms with zeal and avidity, and were animated by a great desire to inflict heavy punishment upon their murderous foe. The various North Carolina detachments under his command,

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* Rabun Gap, at the Southern line of Macon county, was a natural gateway to the interior of the Indian country from the southward.

It may be interesting to note that the first expedition into the Cherokee country was made by Col. Maurice Moore, who, just after the Tuscaroras had been subdued, led a force of white men from the Albemarle settlement to aid the people of South Carolina, then threatened with extermination by the Indians. He passed up the Savannah river and through Rabun Gap and down the Little Tennessee, and a part of his force went even beyond the Smokies to Echota. That was the route of communication from the south to the Tennessee Valley. Col. Montgomery, in 1758, going to the relief of Fort Loudon, followed the same route and fought a battle near Franklin and was defeated and driven back by the Indians. A few months later he distinguished himself with Wolfe, at Quebec, and in 1775, being a Major-General in the Continental army, was killed at Quebec.

having organized at different points, concentrated at Davidson's (Old Fort). Leaving the main body there, on the 29th of July, with a detachment of 500 men, Rutherford crossed the mountains to dislodge a force of some 200 braves who had established themselves on the Nollichunky, from where they had made their incursions on the frontier.

As it was not until the 9th of September that he was to unite with Williamson at a point only eighty miles distant, he spent the month of August in protecting the exposed settlements and in preparing for the expedition. He was reinforced by a regiment of militia from Surry under the command of Colonel Martin Armstrong, among whose Captains was Benjamin Cleveland, with whom was William Lenoir, afterwards the well-known General, and William Gray, as Lieutenants. They joined Rutherford at Catchey's Fort; while another regiment of three hundred men from Surry under Colonel Joe Williams, crossed the mountains further north and joined Colonel Christian and his Virginians at Big Island on the Holston.

General Rutherford was skilled in Indian warfare and knew the advantage of swift and sudden movement, and the disadavantages of allowing the Indian enemies an opportunity of harrassing his army in the coves of the mountains while on the march. His men were well armed and equipped, and every precaution was taken to proceed with dispatch, and secrecy, and not only to make the expedition successful but to put an end to all apprehensions of any future trouble from the Indians. On the 23rd of August, the Council of State being then in session at Wake Court House, President Samuel Ashe wrote to General Rutherford by General Person, making suggestions, and Person found the army ready

to move, and on the 1st of September it entered Swannanoa Gap and pressed forward. In the meantime a regiment from Orange County, under Colonel Joseph Taylor, was dispatched to reinforce Rutherford, but on reaching the mountains about the middle of August its assistance was found unnecessary, and it was disbanded and the men returned home.

When Rutherford moved, he proceeded with great rapidity and with such secrecy that he passed fifty miles into the wilderness without being discovered by the Indians. His route was said to have been across the Blue Ridge at Swannanoa Gap, then following the Swannanoa to its junction with the French Broad, across the latter river at Warrior Ford (below Asheville). His course was thence up Hominy Creek and across the ridge to Pigeon River; then to Richland Creek (crossing it just above Waynesville) and over the dividing ridge, between Haywood and Jackson Counties, to the head of Scott's Creek, which he followed to its junction with the Tuckaseegee.

All of this journey through the mountains was a very arduous and difficult .performance. Without a road and sometimes without even a trail, he led his army over mountains and across streams, a hard undertaking even under favorable circumstances, and he pursued his way in momentary danger of attack by his wily foe. But so sagacious was he that every obstacle was successfully overcome, and it was not until he had penetrated two-thirds of his way into the forest that his movement was discovered. His men were in fine spirits, and keenly enjoyed the excitement of their march through the solitude of the mountains and were eager to meet the enemy. At length he reached a point only thirty

miles distant from the Middle Settlements on the Tuckaseegee. Here a detachment of a thousand men was sent forward by a forced march to surprise the Indians in their towns and fall upon them like a thunderbolt. Pursuing their quiet but rapid journey, they came upon some thirty Indians who disputed their progress; but after a short encounter the enemy fled, having wounded only one man and killed none. But they carried information of the invasion to the settlement, and when Rutherford reached the towns they had all been evacuated. Without losing time he began the work of destruction and speedily devastated the fields and burnt every house. When this was accomplished he took another detachment of 900 men, with ten days' provisions, and hurried along the Little Tennessee, and then on to attack the settlements on Valley River and the Hiwassee, destroying every town as he reached it.

Williamson was to have met him with the South Carolina force at Cowee, but not arriving, Rutherford proceeded alone. Without an intelligent guide he found great difficulty in making his way through that unknown country and was much embarrassed in his march. But even this circumstance proved fortunate. He missed the usual trail, and crossed the Nantahala Mountains at an unaccustomed place. The usual route lay through Waya Gap, where the trail crosses from Cartoogoya Creek of the Little Tennessee to Laurel Creek of Nantahala River; and there five hundred braves lay in ambush expecting to destroy his army, as they had beat back Montgomery's twenty years before. For several days they had lain in position awaiting his coming, and ignorant of his movement they still waited, while he crossed further down and reached the headwaters of Valley River.

In a brief diary kept by Captain Charles Polk, who commanded a company in this expedition, he says: "On Thursday, the 12th of September, we marched down the river three miles to Cowee town and in camp. On this day there was a party of men sent down this river (Nuckessey*) ten miles, to cut down the corn; the Indians fired on them as they were cutting the corn and killed Hancock Polk, of Colonel Beekman's regiment." On Friday, the 13th, they remained in camp in Cowee Town. On Saturday, the 14th, "we marched to Nuckessey Town, six miles higher up the river, and encamped. On Sunday, the 15th, one of Captain Irwin's men was buried in Nuckessey Town. On Monday, the 16th, we marched five miles—this day with a detachment of 1,200 men, for the valley towns, and encamped on the waters of Tennessee River. Mr. Hall preached a sermon last Sunday; in time of the sermon the express we sent to the South army returned. On Tuesday, the 17th, we marched six miles and arrived at a town called Nowee, about 12 o'clock; three guns were fired at Robert Harris, of Mecklenburg, by the Indians, said Harris being the rear of the army. We marched one mile from Nowee and encamped on the side of a steep mountain without any fire. (C. L. Hunter's sketches of W. N. C., p. 189.)

His route seems to have been southward of the present town of Whittier, and down Cowee Creek to the waters of Little Tennessee in the present county of Macon, and then across to Valley River. Every town upon the Tuckaseegee and the upper part of Little Tennessee, thirty-six towns in all, were destroyed, the corn cut down or trampled under

* Doubtless "Tuckaseegee".

the hoofs of stock driven into the fields for that purpose, and the stock itself killed or carried off. His army ascended Cartoogaja Creek, west from the present town of Franklin, to the Nantahala Mountains; and from the Nantahala (about Jarrett Station) the route lay across the mountains into the present county of Cherokee to Valley River, and down the Valley River to the Hiwassee, at the site of the present town of Murphey. The Indian braves being away, the towns on Valley River were destroyed each in turn, and it was as if a besom of destruction had swept over those settlements, so sudden and rapid was Rutherford's movement and so destructive his action. Two days after Rutherford's army had escaped falling into the ambuscade prepared for them at Waya Gap, Colonel Williamson with the South Carolina troops hurrying on and crossing by the usual trail, notwithstanding he had Catawba Indians as scouts, fell into the trap and lost twelve killed and twenty wounded. The Indians, however, suffered still more heavily and were finally put to rout. In destroying the Valley towns General Rutherford killed twelve Indians and captured nine, and he also took seven white men, from whom he got four negroes, considerable stock and leather and about one hundred weight of gunpowder and a ton of lead which they were conveying to Mobile. His own loss was slight. On the whole expedition he lost but three men. (Vol. 10, Col. Records, p. 861.) He had the good fortune to avoid a pitched battle, and with great skill he moved with such celerity that he was attacked but once on the route, and then only by some thirty Indians.

It will be seen that his operations were entirely within the limits of the present State of North Carolina; still the Valley settlements were so distant that at that time it was a very

arduous undertaking for Rutherford to lead his expedition through the unbroken forests of the mountains to the banks of the Hiwassee.

It had been expected that the two armies would unite on the 9th of September on the Little Tennessee, but Williamson being delayed, Rutherford crossed the Nantahala Mountains, and it was not until the 26th that Colonel Williamson effected a junction with Rutherford's force on the Hiwassee. The work had then been done. All the towns, the corn and everything else that might be of service to the Indians of that region had been entirely destroyed, and the Valley settlement was obliterated.

A fortnight after General Rutherford had begun his march, the Council of State, which had adjourned from Wake Court House to Salisbury so as to be nearer the scene of operations, sent Colonel Avery, provided with an escort, to confer with the General and to carry directions that he should, after destroying the towns, erect some forts in the Indian Country and send a detachment to assist Colonel Christian in his operations against the Overhill towns, and on his return he should cut a road through the mountains for future use.

On the arrival of Colonel Williamson's force a conference of officers was held and the subject of assisting Colonel Christian was considered, but it was deemed utterly impracticable to cross the Smoky Mountains, for the gap through those mountains was found to be impassable for an army in case of opposition; and it was agreed that having expelled the Indians and accomplished all they could they should return home.

Their work indeed had been fully performed. As the

army advanced every house in every settlement had been burned, ninety houses in one town alone, and the fields were utterly devastated. The Indians were driven, homeless refugees without food or raiment, save what they wore, into the dark recesses of the Nantahala, or to more remote localities beyond the mountains. Some sought shelter at the Overhill towns, but the greater number turned to the southwest and found a temporary home on the Coosawatchee River with the Creeks, and others made their painful way to their British allies in Florida, where 500 of them were received and supplied with food during that winter. Indeed the effect upon the Cherokees of this invasion by more than 4,000 well armed men was appalling. Nearly all of their towns and possessions east of the Smokies were effaced; and desolate wanderers they were, fugitives and outcasts, like wild animals without shelter and dependent on acorns and chestnuts and wild game for subsistence. Satisfied with the result of their operations, which had been so well conducted that there had been but little loss of life, Williamson and Rutherford now turned their faces homeward. Rutherford on his return pursued the same route by which he had advanced, and the road he cut through the mountains has since been known as "Rutherford's Trace." The time occupied was rather more than a month, and he reached Salisbury early in October and attended the meeting of the Provincial Congress, which met on the 12th of November at Halifax, he being an important member of that body.

Further to the northward Colonel William Christian assembled his men on the Holston in August, there being among them the regiment from Surry County under Colonel Joseph Williams, Colonel Love and Major Winston. He pressed

cautiously along the great Indian war path to the crossing of the French Broad, and then advanced without opposition to the Little Tennessee, where early in November he was proceeding to destroy the towns one after the other. So swift and strong had been the action of the Colonists that the Indians, unable to resist, now sought terms of peace; and Colonel Christian was the more willing to be lenient as he hoped to draw their trade to Virginia and away from South Carolina. He sent out some runners, and several of the head men came into his camp and agreed to surrender all their prisoners and to cede to the whites all the disputed territory occupied in the Tennessee settlements. On their solemn promise that such a treaty should be made when the tribe could be assembled, Christian suspended hostilities and withdrew his force. An exception was made, however, as to two towns, especially the town of Tuskeegee, which had been concerned in the burning of the Moore boy who was captured along with Mrs. Bean, which was destroyed; but the peace town of Echota was not molested.

Colonel Williams was not pleased with Colonel Christian's action. From Citico town on the Little Tennessee under date of the 6th of November, 1776, he wrote to the President of the Congress as follows: "Agreeable to instructions from General Rutherford, I marched three hundred men from Surry County and joined the Virginians against the Overhill Cherokee Indians, the whole commanded by Colonel William Christian. We arrived in Tomotly (one of their towns) the 18th ultimo, and have been lying in their towns till this day; nothing done except burning five of their towns, and patched up a kind of peace (a copy of which you have en-

closed). I propose waiting on you myself as soon as I return to North Carolina, at which time will endeavor to give a more particular account. I have this day obtained leave to return with my battalion."

Another letter from him to the Congress from Surry County, dated the 22nd of November, says: "I sent a copy of the articles of peace; I now send you a copy of a letter from Colonel Christian to Colonel Russell; both of which are convincing proof to me that some of the Virginia gentlemen are desirous of having the Cherokees under their protection, which I humbly conceive is not their right, as almost the whole of the Cherokee Country lies in the limits of North Carolina and ought, I think, to be under their protection, and hope will be the opinion of every member belonging to this State. As our frontiers are inhabited far beyond where the Colony line is extended, in order to avoid further disputes, it would be well for commissioners to be appointed from each Colony and have the line extended, otherwise by all probability there will be great contentions in our frontiers."

By a treaty made in South Carolina, the following May, the Lower Cherokees surrendered all their remaining territory in South Carolina, except a narrow strip, and in July by treaty at the Long Island, as had been arranged by Colonel Christian, the Middle and Upper Cherokees ceded all their possessions east of the Blue Ridge, together with all the disputed territory on the Watauga, Nollichunky, Upper Holston and New River; and an agent was appointed to represent the whites and to reside at Echota and prevent any movements unfriendly to the American cause.

General Rutherford reached Salisbury early in October,

and to destroy some towns not in his route, and perhaps to aid Colonel Christian, then beyond the Smokies in the Tennessee Valley, he directed Captain William Moore to collect his company of Light Horse and to join Captain Harden of the Tryon Troops, and to return into the Indian Country. Captain Moore's account of this expedition has been preserved. (Vol. 10, Col. Records.) The entire force numbered about one hundred horsemen. They left Cathey's Fort on the 29th of October and pushed on down to the Tuckaseegee River, but on arriving at the Tuskaseegee and in the vicinity of the town of Too Cowee (which was situated over the Cowee Mountain on the exact ground recently occupied by the residence of Hon. W. H. Thomas, for many years the Senator from Jackson County and well known as the Chief of the Cherokee Tribe), Moore pressed on with great vigor, hoping to reach the town before night. But the distance proved greater than he expected, and he did not reach it until next morning. The enemy having become alarmed had all fled, and the town, consisting of twenty-five houses, was destroyed, together with the orchards and fields of the Indians. The location of this settlement is said to be just above the present railroad bridge of Whittier in Swain County. A detachment left the main body and pursued the fugitives northward on the other side of the river to Oconaluftee River and Soco Creek. This detachment was under Captain Moore, and after many experiences it finally crossed "a prodigious mountain where it felt a severe shock of an earthquake," and then steered a course east and south two days through "prodigious mountains which were almost impassable and struck the road in Richland Creek Mountains and returned to Pigeon River."

The murderous warfare of the savages begot a similar spirit of fierce revenge on the part of the hardy spirits who had to struggle with them in the distant mountains, and the life of an Indian was seldom spared unless for the purpose of converting him into a slave. The whites practiced the art of scalping with equal skill as the Red Man, and boasted of their prowess by exhibiting their bloody scalps. When Captain William Moore's horsemen were returning and arrived at Pigeon River, a dispute arose between him and the whole body of officers and men concerning the sale of the prisoners. He deemed it his duty to submit the question to the Congress whether they should be sold as slaves or not, but "the greater part swore bloodily that if they were not sold slaves upon the spot, they would kill and scalp them immediately," upon which the Captain was obliged to give way. In his report, he says: "The three prisoners were sold for 242 pounds, while the whole amount of plunder amounted to above eleven hundred pounds." "Our men," he adds, "were very spirited and eager for action, and were very desirous that your Honor would order them upon a second expedition."*

The following relative to General Rutherford may be of interest: The Rutherfords were originally Scotch, and for centuries they were classed among the most ancient and powerful families in Teviotdale, on the borders of England. One of the most distinguished of the name was Rev. Samuel Rutherford, who, in 1644, published his "Lex Rex," which gives him a prominent place among the early writers on Constitu-

* Moore's report is sometimes improperly quoted as giving an account of Rutherford's expedition. Moore's expedition was a subsequent foray into the Indian country.

tional Laws. On the Restoration this work was ordered to be burnt and he was charged with high treason, but died in 1661 before he was brought to trial. Later some members of his family removed from Scotland to Ireland, where John Rutherford married a Miss Griffith, a lady from Wales. Their son, Griffith Rutherford, sailed from Ireland to America in 1739, accompanied by his wife and their only son, Griffith, then about eight years of age. The parents died either on the voyage or soon after their arrival, and young Griffith Rutherford fell to the care of an old German couple. He came to Rowan county, North Carolina, probably about 1753, along with the early settlers, being then about 22 years of age.

In 1756 he purchased from James Lynn two tracts of land on the south fork of Grant's Creek, about seven miles southwest of the little settlement of Salisbury, and adjoining the land of James Graham, whose sister, Elizabeth, he married about that time. Their son, James Rutherford, killed at the Battle of Eutaw, was a Major in 1780 and was born probably in 1757. Although General Rutherford's education was not a finished one, it was not so deficient as to be a hindrance to him in public life. His association was with the best people of his section and his residence was in the center of the Locke settlement.

A man of strong character, resolute and determined and of unusual capacity and sterling worth, he early attained a position of prominence. He was a member of the Assembly as early as 1769, and about that time, perhaps earlier, he was Sheriff of Rowan County. He was in the Assembly of 1770 and 1771, and at that time was Captain of his militia company from his section of Rowan.

When in 1771 the Regulators of Rowan County questioned the legality of the fees taken by the officers of that county, Rutherford and Frohawk and Alexander Martin and other officers agreed to refer the matters in dispute to a committee of prominent citizens, some being chosen from among the leaders of the Regulation and others so respectable as to have the entire confidence of the people, such as Matthew Locke and Thomas Person. This agreement was entered into at Salisbury on March 7, 1771, and was entirely satisfactory to both officers and the people, and if it had not been interfered with, but had been carried into effect, it probably would have been the entire solution of the questions then agitating the people. But Governor Tryon disapproved of it as being unconstitutional and pressed forward his military movement that resulted in the Battle of Alamance. Rutherford, being Captain of the militia company, was active in enforcing law and order and restraining the excesses of the Regulators, and he led his company into General Waddell's camp, but it was by his advice that Waddell retired before the Regulation forces and avoided a battle with the people. Immediately after the Battle of Alamance he, along with Waddell's other troops joined Tryon's army and he continued on that service as long as necessary. Yet it is to be observed that if the course agreed upon by Rutherford in March had been adhered to and not disallowed by Governor Tryon, the Regulators would probably have been entirely satisfied and the country pacified, and there would have been no conflict and no necessity to resort to force in order to maintain law and the authority of government.

The people continued to elect Rutherford to represent them in the Assembly, and he was a member in the Legislature of

1773 and 1774, and he was elected a member of the Provincial Congress of 1775 and was appointed a member of the Committee of Safety for Rowan County, and Colonel of that county. He was in all the subsequent Provincial Congresses and assisted in forming the State Constitution. Indeed, for years he had been one of the prominent and strong men in the Legislature, active and always forward in important business. In April, 1776, he was appointed Brigadier General for the Western District, and was Senator from Rowan from 1777 to 1786, except when a prisoner of war in 1781 and 1782.

During the Revolution he was among the most active and enterprising military men in the State. He led the Rowan Regiment to South Carolina against the Scovellite Tories in the "Snow Campaign" in December, 1775, and conducted the expedition against the Indians in September, 1776. The following years quiet reigned in North Carolina, but in 1779 he carried his brigade to the Savannah to the aid of General Lincoln; and in June, 1780, he suppressed the Tories at Ramseur's Mills and threatened Lord Rawdon in South Carolina, and dispersed the Tories on the Yadkin. Indeed, he was ever a terror to the disaffected and maintained the authority of the State with great activity. He marched with Gates to Camden, where he fell badly wounded, and being taken prisoner was confined at St. Augustine. In the summer of 1781 he was exchanged, and at once calling his brigade together, he resolutely marched against Major Craig at Wilmington. On his way, he drove the Tories before him, and about the middle of November, approached the town; but Major Craig had then heard of the surrender of Cornwallis,

and he hurriedly evacuated Wilmington, retired from the Cape Fear and escaped.

In 1786 General Rutherford moved to Tennessee, where he settled in Sumner County, and in 1794, upon the organization of the territory south of the Ohio, President Washington appointed him a member of the Legislative Council for the Goverment of the "Territory of the United States South of the Ohio," and he was elected President of that body. Six years later, in 1800, he died at his home in Sumner County, much lamented in Tennessee. His son, John Rutherford, married a daughter of Matthew Locke, the founder of the Locke family of Rowan County, and Mrs. E. A. Long, of Memphis, Tenn., is one of his descendants.

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SOME CHANGES IN THE NORTH CAROLINA COAST SINCE 1585.*

BY COLLIER COBB, F. G. S. A.,

(Professor of Geology. University of North Carolina.)

From earliest times the coast of North Carolina has been the dread of mariners. All students of our history are familiar with the *fac similes* of DeBry's map of "The Arrival of the Englishmen in Virginia, 1584," from Hariot's "Account of Virginia," in which a wrecked vessel marks the entrance to every inlet. Wrecks are characteristic features of all the early maps of our coast, with only two exceptions; viz., that made by John White, artist to the Raleigh Colony, in 1585, now in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum; and DeBry's map of Lane's expedition. Hardly an August or a December passes that the papers do not tell us of stately ships and ocean steamers stranded on the Inner Diamond Shoals, or gone to the bottom of "Hell's Hole" in this "Graveyard of American Shipping." And numerous smaller sailing craft and fishing sloops go down within the bars that mark our outer coast-line.

Through which inlet the English adventurers of 1584 entered the sounds of North Carolina, has been the theme of much discussion from the days of our earliest historians. Among men who have studied the question solely from an historical point of view, the writings of George Bancroft, Francis L. Hawks, and John Wheeler Moore, are worthy of

*Names in italics indicate the spelling on old maps whenever that differs from present day usage.

consideration; as well as later communications to learned societies from, and magazine articles by, William L. Welch, of Boston, and the late John D. Davis, of Beaufort, who arrived at very different conclusions. Mr. Welch, however, is the only student of our history who has made a serious attempt to note any of the changes that have taken place in our coast line since 1584, his interest in these changes dating from a month of military service at Hatteras Inlet in 1864. In a communication to the Essex Institute, of Salem, Mass., in 1885, he brings forward the evidence that the present Hatteras Inlet was opened by the great gale of September, 1846, which was so severe on our southern coast.

The present writer has spent several seasons during the last two decades in a study of sand movements along our entire coast, and has reported his investigations and presented the results of his studies before the Geological Society of America and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He has gathered all the maps of our coast, in originals, photographs or tracings, from John White's map of 1585, which he copied in the British Museum, July 3d, 1895, to the Coast Survey charts of the present day, and has tramped the "Banks," as these sand-reefs are called, and sailed much in all the sounds. He has also examined ships' logs, and records of light houses, life saving stations, and Weather Bureau signal stations, and has conversed with the life-savers, captains and surfmen, and recorded conversations and kept correspondence with the more noteworthy citizens of this sandstrip. The data thus obtained have been compared with information in possession of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, beginning with the manuscript "Report

by William Latham on Survey of the Coast of North Carolina from Cape Hatteras to Cape Fear, 1806."

Having located a number of old inlets from their ancient channels in the sounds, and from the topographic outlines and structural features of the adjacent sand reefs, I turned to the Colonial Records seeking to correlate the geological and historical records. Leaving to the historians all questions of the inlet entered by the English, it is my purpose to point out such changes in our coast line as are recorded in our human documents or in the earth itself.

John White, as his water color sketches and map studies made in Virginia (Carolina) show, was an accurate observer and an artist of no mean ability. His map, drawn in 1585, shows a wide open inlet where Caffey's Inlet now is. He calls the strip of sand bank to the South of it *Croatamung* and the water between this Bank and the mainland *Teripano.* To the north of this two slight inlets are indicated; while to the south and just below the Kill Devil Hills opposite Colleton Island (which is unnamed) a small and shallow inlet is indicated. Just below this slight indication of an inlet is the word *Etacrewac,* which probably indicates the prominences about Nag's Head. Next to the south is a well marked wide-open inlet marked *Port Ferdinando,* due east of the southern extremity of Roanoke Island (called here *Roanoac*), and a picture of a ship is nearly opposite, sailing away from the inlet. Below this inlet comes *Hatorask,* evidently the name of the sandstrip to the north of the great elbow jutting out into the sea; and the sandstrip to the south as far as the present Ocracoke Inlet is called *Paquiac.* There is no break in the Banks from *Port Ferdinando* (near site of present Oregon Inlet) to *Onoaconan,* which I identify with

the present Ocracoke Inlet. *Wococon,* which by some writers has been identified with Ocracoke, was more probably Whalebone Inlet, which is now closed. Between this point and Cape Lookout three other inlets are indicated; but no inlet is marked on White's map between Cape Lookout and Shackleford Banks, though there is an inlet just to the north of the cape and opposite Harker's Island. A large ship sails seaward from what I identify with Cedar Inlet, closed since 1805.

DeBry's map, already mentioned, with its wrecks marking the entrance to every inlet, shows Trinity Harbor (Caffey's Inlet? closed in 1800), two inlets to the north of it, and two inlets opposite *Roanoac* Island, that opposite the southern extremity of the island being marked, *Hatorasck,* though the name may apply to the land to the south as in White's map, rather than to the inlet. *Fac similes* of this map may be readily consulted by any readers of the Booklet. It is worthy of note that the region of Kitty Hawk Bars and Colleton Island is mapped very much as it is to-day, with no inlet opposite the island.

The next map we have is found in "A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina," a pamphlet published in London, in 1666 for Robert Horne. It is entitled "Carolina Described, 1666." The Library of Congress has the anonymous pamphlet, but without the map. The map is reproduced in *fac simile* in Hawks II, 42. This map, which is clearly less accurate than either of the preceding, gives *Coratuck,* an inlet evidently near the present site of Currituck Light House; *Roanoak Inlet,* opposite the southern extremity of *Roanoak I*[sland]; *C. Hattorasch,* and six inlets between that point

Cape Lookout, here called *C. Hope,* the last being immediately north of Cape Lookout.

The map entitled "A New Description of Carolina by order of the Lords Proprietors [A. D. 1671.] James Maxon, scul.," gives *Caratuck Inlet* in essentially the same position as the foregoing, *Musketo Inlet* (Caffey's) *Roanoak Inlet* opposite Roanoke Island, three inlets between that point and Hatteras Island, and an inlet between *Cape Hatteras* and *Ocock (Ocracoke),* evidently much nearer to the Cape than the present Hatteras Inlet. Whalebone Inlet is indicated, but not named, and there are two others between this and *Cap Lookout.*

"Carte General de la Caroline Dresse sur les Memoires le plus nouveaux Par le Siena S*** A Amsterdam Chez Pierre Mortier, Libraire, Avec Privilege de Nos Seigneurs les Etats." [1671?], gives old *Caratock* Inlet, *Nouveau Passage* (Caffey's Inlet), and *Vieu Passage* opposite *Colleton* Island, at the mouth of *Albemarle River.* It shows *Passage de Hatteras* north of its present site, *Wosston* (Ocracoke), Whalebone Inlet, and an inlet just north of Cape Lookout.

The next "Map of the Inhabited Parts of N. Carolina, prepared by Ion Lawson, Surveyor General of N. C., 1709," shows *Currituc* Inlet, *Colleton I.* with no inlet opposite, *Roanoke* Inlet and the three Inlets to the South separating successively *Cow I., Body I.,* and *Dugs* from the large Island with its projection marked *Cape Hatteras. Hatteras Inlet* is indicated somewhat to the southwest of its present position containing an island of some size and *Ocacock* is a broad inlet with two important islands. *Drum Inlet,* opposite *Cedar Island,* connects *Corantug Sound* with *The Western Ocean,*

and no other inlets are indicated until *Topsail Inlet* is reached.

Wimble's map of 1738 gives *Currituck Inlet* on the line between Virginia and North Carolina with 6 feet of water; *Nag's Head Inlet* opposite Roanoke Island, with a depth of 24 feet, and *Hatteras Inlet* somewhat to the north of its present position. The charts of Mouzin 1775, Atlantic Neptune 1780, and Lewis 1795, are simply copies of Wimble's or some other older chart.

Dundibbin's chart made in 1764 has no inlet between Cape Hatteras and Ocracoke, and gives 4 fathoms of water on the bar at Ocracoke, and 9 ft. 6 in. shoalest water on the bar inside.

John Collett's Map, London, S. Hooper, 1770, shows three sand hills just below Caffey's Inlet, no inlet at Nag's Head or at Roanoke though the names are there, Gunt Inlet, *Chiconockominock* Inlet, and no inlet between there and *Occacock* Inlet.

It is not known when Nags Head Inlet was closed, or the Hatteras Inlet indicated on the earlier maps. In 1844 an effort was made in Congress to get an appropriation to reopen Nag's Head Inlet, and in 1855 a plan was perfected under the auspices of the State to cut a channel through on the site of this inlet from Roanoke Wharf to the ocean, but the plan was never carried out.

Cole and Price's chart, 1806, based upon actual surveys, shows no trace of Hatteras Inlet, nor does it occur on any of the charts of the State until 1855 when it appears farther to the South than is indicated on any previous maps. Major Cole and Mr. Jonathan Price were associated with William Tatham in a survey of the coast of North Carolina from

Is this Tatham's map

Cape Hatteras to Cape Fear, under Act of Congress of April 10th, 1806. Tatham's charts were lost in the wreck of the revenue cutter, *Governor Williams,* September 28th, 1806, the very day he completed his investigations and placed his baggage on board for transportation to New Bern. Tatham and his colleagues did not work together, and the charts of Cole and Price were not lost.

Mr. Tatham, however, made a report to Hon. Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in January 1807, dealing mainly with the difficulties and disaster of the undertaking. This report has never been published, but is preserved in the office of the Coast and Geodetic Survey at Washington. In this account he mentions incidentally places where inlets formerly existed, gives some attention to the effects produced by the Gulf-stream in counter currents, and makes some really valuable observations on the formation of shoals and islands, the movement and fixation of wind-blown sands, and the blocking up of inlets. Tatham's observation and conclusions remind one of the musings of the Pythagoreans, and examining his report with care is like delving in an ancient scroll of the fifteenth book of Ovid's Metamorphoses. I have had occasion, in another paper to compare some of these observations with the geological record as it exists to-day.

The map of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, compiled by F. Lewis in 1807, for the atlas accompanying Marshall's life of Washington, is merely a copy of the then existing maps, as is also Wayne's map of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, published in the same year. But the smaller copy of the same atlas, issued in a later edition, shows the "slew," or creek, on Ocracoke Island just above the site of the present light house, where it still exists in part. None

of these maps show any inlet between Cape Hatteras and *Ocracock.*

The map by Price and Strother, Philadelphia, 1808, gives Currituck Inlet much to the north of its present position, and marks the old inlet on the state line; shows Roanoke Inlet to the north of its later position and another inlet just below the southern end of Roanoke Island. No other inlet is met with on the coast as shown in this map until *Ocracock* is reached.

This map, much improved from later surveys—especially in the interior, was republished in 1820 by H. S. Tanner, of Philadelphia. Tanner's revision Currituck Inlet, Caffey's Inlet (unnamed), Roanoke Inlet (marked "filled up"), New Inlet, *Ocracock* Inlet, and Cedar Inlet, and indicates a series of reefs two to five miles within Hatteras Island (which includes *Chicomacomack* Banks to the north and Hatteras Banks to the south.

The map of North Carolina published by F. Lucas, Jr., Baltimore, 1822, shows Currituck Inlet just opposite the southern end of Knott's Island, but is not otherwise different from Tanner's revision of Strother.

S. A. Mitchell's map of 1832 shows an unbroken stretch of sand from Cape Henry to Oregon Inlet, thence to Ocracock Inlet, thence to Cedar Inlet.

The large map, 35x84 in., published by J. MacRae, Fayetteville, 1833, far surpassed in accuracy and in detail all previously published maps. Mr. MacRae was for many years postmaster at Fayetteville, and had excellent opportunities for compiling such a map. Much actual field work was done for the map by Robt. H. B. Brazier, who was an experienced engineer and excellent draftsman; and this was the mother-map of all later maps of North Carolina down

to 1880, though Cook and some others as late as 1857 copied the errors of earlier maps. Cook's map, however, shows the inner reefs of Hatteras cut down to low water. On the MacRae-Brazier map no inlets are shown north of New Inlet above *Chickonocomack Bank,* and none between there and *Ocracock* Inlet. Cedar Inlet is marked as closed, and the next inlet indicated is between Cape Lookout and *Shackleford's* Banks.

The present Hatteras Inlet was opened by the great storm of September, 1846, and was cut out sometime during the night of Sept. 7-8. Zachariah Burrus, still living at Hatteras in April, 1903, was the first man to cross the inlet, Sept. 8th, 1846. Redding R. Quidley piloted a vessel into Hatteras inlet in January, 1847, where he anchored for the night, leaving next morning and going into Ocracoke. Mr. Quidley was also pilot of the first vessel that passed through into Pamlico Sound, Feb. 5, 1847, schooner Asher C. Havens, Capt. David Barrett, Commander.

A former Hatteras Inlet, about six miles to the southwest of the present Hatteras inlet, was closed in 1839 by the stranding of an English vessel in the inlet, followed by the sanding up of the wreck, and the "making down" of the beach. These facts I have learned by conversation with and letters from Messrs. Redding Quidley, Homer W. Styron, Zachariah Burruss, A. W. Simpson, John Austin, J. W. Rollinson—and several others.

The last chart to show this inlet is Wimble's map, 1838. It is not on Dundibbin's chart of 1764, and no Hatteras Inlet appears again on the maps of the State until 1855.

The same storm that produced Hatteras Inlet opened Oregon Inlet on Sept. 8, 1846, eight miles south of the site of

Roanoke Inlet. It cut through the middle of the base line which J. C. Neilson had laid out in 1843. The inlet had 11 feet of water on the bar in 1882, but is reported to have shoaled greatly since that time. The inlet was named for the first ship that passed out through it, The Oregon, owned by John Fowle, Esq., of Washington, North Carolina.

The present writer has located the sites of the several old inlets on the coast by methods already mentioned. Old Currituck Inlet, New Currituck Inlet five miles to the southward, Caffey's Inlet and the old inlet opposite Colleton Island, at the mouth of Albemarle River, are all distinctly marked to-day by channels in the sounds approaching the Banks and are clearly shown by a low meadow strip across the sand and the arrested dunes. In the case of the Colleton Island inlet the Kill Devil Hills with the fresh ponds below them mark the site and the remnant of the ancient inlet. The sites of many former inlets are marked in this way all the way down to Beaufort Harbor, there being three distinct inlets indicated on Hatteras Island, one above and two below the cape, one on Ocracoke, three between Portsmouth and Cape Lookout and two just to the southwest of Cape Lookout. These were evidently all closed by the sands filling in around obstructions, and new inlets have from time to time been opened by storms. All of our inlets in the region under consideration in this paper are moving steadily southward by the action of the winds driving the dune sands. But this is not the place for the discussion of physiographic process on our coast. That has already been described in detail and fully illustrated by this writer elsewhere. His object here is to study these changes in the zone of early

exploration and settlement as they have influenced the history of the state.

In the Colonial Records, vol. i, Albemarle Sound is called the Carolina River in many of the deeds given by Sir William Berkeley in the second half of the 17th Century. These were all written in Virginia. The Indians had called this sound Chowan River, but the Lords Proprietors in their commission to Governor Berkeley, speak of it as "the river Chowan now named by us Albemarle river." Carlyle Island was granted to Sir Jno. Colleton, Sept. 8th, 1663, and it is described in the deed of grant as "the island hertofore called Carlyle Island now Colleton Island lying neare the mouth of Chowane now Albemarle river." Nag's Head Inlet is also described in a document of the same date. Grants still held on the Banks at various points mention inlets that have long since ceased to be.

The problem of the inlet entered may be impossible of solution. The notes here presented will reveal to the student of our history something of the nature of the problem. The influence of these shifting sands upon the development of our state is an interesting subject for the student of earth science in its relation to man. An acquaintance with the inhabitants of these ever changing sand reefs, fair women and brave men, who live and do for others, life-savers, heroes, will cause one to thank God and take courage for the future of the human race.

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THE HIGHLAND-SCOTCH SETTLEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA.

BY JUDGE JAMES C. MACRAE, OF CUMBERLAND.

The Scotch Highlanders were the people who occupied that portion of Scotland which lies north of the Tay on the one side and the Clyde on the other, and all the islands fringing the coasts of the great promontory from the Mull of Kintyre to the Orkneys and the Hebrides, and down the North Sea to the Firths of Tay and of Forth.

It is said, however, in official reports of the condition of these sections, made soon after the Battle of Culloden in 1746, that "the inhabitants of the lands adjoining to the mountains to the northward of those rivers, on the shores of Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff and Murray, where some sort of industry has prevailed and where the soil is tolerable, have for many years left off the Highland dress, and lost the Irish language, and have discontinued the use of weapons; the consequence whereof is that they can not be considered as dangerous to the public peace, and that the laws have their course amongst them." The foregoing is a memorandum of Lord President Forbes, written perhaps in 1746. The writer proceeds to give a sorry account of the inhabitants of the northern hills and islands, which we may not take without prejudice.*

* Scottish History from Contemporary Writers No. 111, "The Last Jacobite Uprising," by Sanford Terry, U. A., University Lecturer on History in the University of Aberdeen.

These Highlands are on three sides washed by the cold waters of the Northern Oceans, which beat upon the islands and pierce the mainlands, where for all time beautiful hills covered with heather and gorse afforded shelter in their fastnesses, and valleys embellished with exquisite lakes, gave pasture and drink to the flocks and herds of the pristine inhabitants. Language, in poetry and prose, has been exhausted in the description of the sublime scenery of this historic section.

The story of the first settlements of this land is lost in myth; but there are, here and there, to be found vestiges of an intelligent and, for its time, a cultured race, who lived and flourished here so long ago as in the prehistoric Age of Stone; and along the successive ages of man the Archaeologist traces the steps of these interesting people.

Though these western isles are mentioned by Greek writers long before the Christian Era, in connection with the commerce of Phoenicia and Carthage, we know nothing practical of them until from the time of Julius Cæsar's unsuccessful attempt to subdue the Island of Britain. *There* begins to loom up the history, or tradition, of the first known inhabitants, the Picts, and later the Scots, who brought their name from Ireland, which was the original Scotia. Their history is that of a perpetual struggle, and for ages a successful one, for freedom.

Cæsar never reached the confines of their dominions, and near a century later, the Roman armies were stopped, and Agricola failed to make a lodgment. According to Tacitus, the Caledonians, as they were then called, thirty thousand strong, under Galgacus, Scotland's first historic hero, were defeated by the Romans at Mons Granpius in A. D. 86. But

it was a barren victory, for, half a century later, Hadrian and Antoninus built walls to keep them out of the imperial provinces of Rome. The all-prevailing Anglo-Saxon spent centuries of endeavor, and his conquest at last was only perfected by their acceptance of the King of Scotland, James the Sixth, to be the first James of England.

Long years afterwards, when the Stuart Dynasty had had its day, a considerable portion of these Highlanders remained faithful to this House, and their lands afforded harbor and succor to the efforts of the Chevaliers and Pretenders to the throne of England, and there were many risings and abortive attempts to disturb the settled constitution of England and bring back to the throne the ancient Scottish Royal Family, until, at Culloden, in 1746, it was finally defeated, and the Highlands were harried and their people put to death, or scattered and banished to distant lands, and, with those who were permitted to remain, the traditional clans were destroyed, and their very language itself was almost obliterated.

These were the Highlanders, principally, from which the American Colonies were peopled; but we must not forget that they were greatly divided among themselves, even in the hills, and that Scotland itself was divided into the Highlands and the Lowlands, inhabited by distinctly different races, and bearing to each other marked antipathy.

The race of which we write lived the old patriarchial life inherited from the Aryan tribes on the high Steppes of Asia. The head of the family was the leader; the family by growth became the Sept; the Sept grew into the Clan, the chief of which was the lord, whose retainers were his kinsmen and were ready to follow him in the foray over the border, in the long crusade to the Holy Land, in the wars upon the Con-

tinent or in the fierce conflict with the growing power of England.

The Highlanders were a strong and exhuberant race. Their habitations were hives from which, at intervals, went out swarms to people the earth. The heads of the Clans were often educated in foreign lands and in the Universities in the Lowlands; while imbued with the fierce spirit of their race, they were endowed with the graces of birth and culture, and it was from their children that the Middle Class came to be formed in the course of time; the body of the people were bold, faithful and devoted. Among them there was less of religious division than in other sections.

The Christian religion had come to them in its earliest simplicity. Ninian preached to them about the year of our Lord four hundred, and about five hundred and sixty-five, Columba established the celebrated Seat of Religion on the Island of Iona, which developed into a great monastery, from which every part of the Highlands was reached by its missionaries. The records of these earlier days have all been lost, or destroyed of purpose, but there seems to have been not so much of the bitterness of strife among the Christians of the Highlands, nor the fearful religious persecutions there as among their southern neighbors.

After every rising in the North, notably in 1690, 1715 and 1746, a stream of emigration passed out into foreign lands, much of it compulsory.

Of the disturbed conditions of the Highlands for centuries, we have not the space to make more than mention. One of the most noted and fateful of the emigrations from Scotland, and this was not only from the Highlands but from the Lowlands also, was that which was called the Darien Scheme in

1695, which, like many another adventure over the unknown ocean, led only to disaster.

In 1733 a colony of these people came to Georgia under the auspices of Governor Oglethorpe, and fought the Spaniards; and years afterwards, at the outbreak of the Revolution, had become so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of liberty that they were generally the first to espouse the Cause of the Colonies against Great Britain, and many of their descendants are now prominent citizens of Georgia. About the same time a colony came to New York under the leadership of Lauchlan Campbell, who fought the Indians, and espoused the Royal Cause in the Revolution.

In 1773 a colony of four hundred Highlanders was settled on the Mohawk, led by three gentlemen named McDonnell, under the auspices of Mr. William Johnson.

There was an earlier settlement in Nova Scotia, which was the nucleus of streams of their countrymen, whose descendants at this day take large part in the Dominion of Canada.

But we have to do with those who came to the Cape Fear and up the river to what is known as the Highland settlements of North Carolina.

It was a beautiful country to which they began to come so early and continued to come until after the war of the Revolution had actually begun, and long after it was at an end.

It must have been a grateful change to these troubled people, who sought for peace if not for rest on the far away shores of the new world. There was comparatively little undergrowth; the tall pines, with their perennial green, upon the uplands, sang to them a peaceful welcome; the surface of the earth was covered with a luxuriant growth of wild pea vines, and the bottoms with rich cane brakes, affording

abundant preserve for innumerable small game, especially deer and turkeys; sand-hill streams were, and are to this day, an unfailing supply of drink, even in the dryest seasons; the climate was mild and favorable, all combined to offer an ideal land for the shepherd with his flocks and herds. The Indian had already sought other hunting grounds in and beyond the mountain range some hundred miles toward the setting sun.

Spreading out beyond the Cape Fear, as high up as the confluence of the Deep and Haw, and to the Pedee where the Yadkin and Uwharie come together, they planted their homes in what is now Cumberland, Harnett, Moore, Montgomery, Anson, Richmond and upper Robeson, and in the adjoining districts of South Carolina.

Here they seemed to have reached "the haven where they would be."

A religious people, simple, virtuous, honorable and full of courage, they lived for years in quiet and content. The settler here was like Norval's father on the Grampian Hills, "A frugal swain whose constant care was to incerease his store, and keep his 'SONS' at home."

The large village of Cross Creek, moved up a mile from the town of Campbellton on the banks of the river, with its merchant mill and trading store, was the seat of their most important town, at the head of navigation. A large and flourishing mill still occupies its site, in the center of the city of Fayetteville, owned and operated by an enterprising citizen who bears the name though not the lineage of some of the most distinguished of the pioneer leaders of that day.

The street in Fayetteville still called "Maiden Lane," and for a long time known as "Scotch Town," was the principal residence part of the town, although the place where the cele-

brated Flora McDonald lived is pointed out on the banks of the creek near where it is crossed by Green street. Many traditions have been handed down of the time when the old Scotch ladies sat before their doors in the gloaming and told the tales of the grandfathers, about the "Old Country" to listening youth and maiden gathered round.

In Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, it is said:

"The name of the village took its origin from the curious fact that the two small streams, Cross Creek and Blunts Creek, the one coming from the south and the other from the west, met and apparently separated, and, forming an island of some size, again united and flowed on to the river. It was said that the streams, when swelled by rains, would actually cross each other in their rapid course to form a junction. This belief arose from the circumstance that float-wood coming down the stream would sometimes shoot across the commingling waters in the direction of its previous course, and, floating round the island, would fall into the united current. The action of a mill dam prevents the recurrence."

This was written in 1846. Old citizens of Fayetteville will point out the place now to the curious inquirer.

The town is described in a book once loaned the writer by the late General Rufus Barringer, of Charlotte, which was published by a traveler who was studying the fauna and the flora of this section, a long time before the Revolution, as a flourishing town of fifteen hundred houses.

The writer of this sketch is greatly indebted to his old friend, Hamilton McMillan, Esq., for much valuable information and suggestion. He says that there is not the shadow of a doubt that the first Highland immigrants reached this region at an earlier date than 1729; and he further says:

"There is a tradition preserved in the McFarland family that members of that clan reached North Carolina as early as 1690. When the Quhele clan located in Cumberland it is now impossible to tell; but they probably came over about the time that the McFarlands settled in what is now Scotland County. It is a tradition that many Scotchmen located on the Cape Fear, after the disastrous rising in 1715."

We know, from contemporary history, that a great number of Highlanders were banished to the plantations in 1716.*

Professor J. P. McLean, of Cleveland, Ohio, in his very interesting "Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America," in which he has displayed much research, says that while the time when they first began to occupy this section is not definitely known; some were located there in 1729, at the time of the separation of the Province into North and South Carolina, and this information he gets from Foote and Caruthers.

In Colonel Saunders' Prefaratory Remarks to the fourth volume of the Colonial Records, it is said: "In September, 1739, Dugald McNeal, Colonel McAlister and several other Scotch gentlemen, arrived with three hundred and fifty Scotch people, doubtless in the Cape Fear Country. And in 1740, in the Upper House of the Legislature, resolutions were passed appropriating £1,000, to be paid out of the public money by His Excellency's Warrant, to be lodged with Duncan Campbell, Dugald McNeal and Daniel McNeal, Esqrs., to be by them distributed among the several families in said petition mentioned.

It was further resolved, that, as an encouragement for pro-

* Mitchell's History of the Highlands, page 578.

testants to remove from Europe into this province, provided they exceed forty persons in one body or company, they shall be exempted from payment of any public or county tax for the space of ten years next ensuing their arrival, and an address was sent to the Governor asking him to use his interest in the giving of encouragement to this immigration.

Governor Gabriel Johnson was himself a Scotchman, though a Lowlander, and was so warm in his encouragement of these measures that it was complained against him that he showed special favor to the Scotch rebels. In 1740 appear the first names of the Highlanders in the Commission of the Peace. On the 29th of February, 1740, "further consideration was shown to the new comers by the appointment by the Governor and Council of Duncan Campbell, Dugald McNeil, Col. McAlister and Neil McNeil, as Magistrates for the County of Bladen. According to Dr. Caruthers, the party which came over in 1739 found Hector McNeal with his colony already settled near "the Bluff" on the north side of the Cape Fear, about twelve miles above Fayetteville.

The late Rev. Dr. McNeill McKay, a distinguished Presbyterian divine, prepared and delivered a most interesting history of the Bluff Church, which, to the writer's surprise, is not to be found in the University Library, and which he has made an ineffectual effort to obtain for use in the preparation of this sketch. He has found there a late publication concerning the family of Colonel Alexander McAllister, himself a descendant of Fergas Mor, the Lord of the Isles. In this goodly company appear the names of almost every prominent citizen of Harnett and upper Cumberland.

Mr. McMillan continues his interesting letter:

"The greatest immigration followed the rising of 1745.

Neill McNeill, of Jura, was in America inspecting the lands in Pennsylvania and in North Carolina, while the troubles on account of Charles Edward, the Pretender, were occurring in 1745-46. Soon after Culloden and, if I am not mistaken, in 1747, McNeill led a large colony to the Cape Fear. Many, principally Lowlanders, settled near Governor Johnson's place in Bladen, while the greater number located in Cumberland and Harnett.

"Governor Johnson had built a great palace on the river, four miles above the present town of Elizabeth Town, and there he concealed for a number of years his brother, who had escaped British vengeance after Culloden. The Court House then stood a short distance south of the palace, and near the residence of the late Hon. T. D. McDowell. This building was destroyed by fire in 1765, and a new one built in after years, about four miles below. This building, so destroyed, was temporarily replaced by another on the old site; for in a diary kept by Governor Johnson's brother during these eventful times (and recently discovered by a great grandson in Georgia, among a mass of old papers) it is related that Francis Marion organized his famous band in the Court House in Bladen, and that said band was composed largely of Cape Fear Patriots.

"There are other accounts in South Carolina histories of the organization of Marion's men, but it is doubtless true that some portions of his famous band were here recruited and organized."

And the Highlanders *were* represented in Marion's band of patriots, for Sergeant McDonald, said to be near kin to the McDonalds who headed the loyalists rising, was one of the most celebrated soldiers of Marion's men.

"The early settlers in the Upper Cape Fear region tried to establish a town in what is now Harnett County, but this effort was a failure, and 'Chaffeningham' became a 'deserted village.'

"The settlement at Campbelton became permanent and gradually extended westward. John Elwell, a Revolutionary Patriot, told my father, the late William McMillan, that when he was a small boy there was one dwelling on Cross Creek, west of Campbelton. This, according to tradition, was the Branson dwelling, and, when demolished a few years ago, had the date of 1714 marked on the wall.

"The McLaurins came to America, and reached Campbelton in 1730. They had been under the protection of the McGregors up to that year, who kept them from being exterminated by hostile clans. They left Scotland, according to Sir Walter Scott, in August, 1730, and it is quite probable that they arrived at Campbelton in the fall of that year.

"There were occasional bands of immigrants who arrived in the years preceding the Revolution, but larger numbers arrived in the years 1804 and 1805.

"The destruction of the Court House in Bladen in 1765, together with its records, renders it difficult to find any written evidence corroborating existing traditions."

We may add that there seems to be nothing on record in the State Department at Raleigh, or in the Colonial Records, which shows earlier grants to the Scotch than 1729.

A fund of information concerning these people may be found in the life of Dr. Caldwell and the Revolutionary Incidents by Dr. Caruthers, and the Sketches of North Carolina by the Rev. William Henry Foote, which is a most interesting history of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina. Dr.

Caruthers pays high tribute to them as a whole, and attempts to account for so large a portion of them having taken sides with the King.

"The Scotch settlements extended from the Ocean up to the Cape Fear and Deep Rivers, and from these rivers to the Pedee. This space includes eight or ten of our present counties, and was settled almost exclusively by the Highlanders. In addition to their sacred regard for the obligation of an oath, they had been for many generations accustomed to a kingly government, and they seemed to think that no other was admissible. They seem to have always had the elements of republicanism, especially in matters of religion; for at all times, and under all circumstances, they held the right of worshipping God according to their own understanding of His Word, as one of vital importance. In all periods of their authentic history it seems they must have a king; but, as they believed that a royal government was the only one sanctioned in the Bible, he must be a man after their own hearts, and he must be bound by oath and covenant, like the Jewish kings of old, to serve the God of the Bible, while he maintained the true religion and ruled in moderation he was their rightful sovereign, and there never was or could be a more loyal and devoted people. He was the Lord's Anointed, and to rebel against him was the same thing as to rebel against the Lord Himself."

These were also a clannish people, and paid the utmost deference to their lairds or petty chieftains, whether in a civil, social or religious capacity; and such continued to be the fact, to a great extent, long after they came to America. But there was another and a large class of population in and around Campbelton, especially on the east side of the Cape Fear

River, who were infused with the spirit of resistance to tyrants by the patriots of the Lower Cape Fear, and who early declared for independence, although still hoping for reconciliation between Great Britain and America.*

Colonel Alexander McAllister was the colonel of the Cumberland Militia. He, with Farquhard Campbell and Alexander McKay, Thomas Rutherford and David Smith, was a delegate to the General Assembly of Deputies at New Bern in 1774.

The conclusion reached by Caruthers and Foote, while they dealt with those who remained loyal with the most abundant charity, was that those who had come to this region in the earlier immigrations were in sympathy with the patriots and many joined their ranks. But the body of those who came later, and some arrived almost in the beginning of the Revolution, in 1775, were, to a great extent, poor and unlettered, speaking only the Gaelic language, and entirely unacquainted with the matters in dispute and under the influence of their leaders who brought them here; and were led by them to follow the royal standard when it was raised by General McDonald, their natural leader; and it was principally those, who with the Regulators, met with defeat at Moore's Creek, as has been so graphically and intelligently detailed in the Booklet recently prepared by Professor Noble. The truth is that these people had come here for peace. They were not much concerned in the troubles in Boston, so far to the north of them. The better educated and the wealthier of those who had been here for some time gave countenance and sympathy to and

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* See the Resolves of the Association at Liberty Point, June 20th, 1775. Wheeler, page 125.

joined the patriots. Many of them were with Marion's men. In the later troubles, after the British had transferred their operations to North and South Carolina, for they seemed to have been fated to be in the center of disturbance, all that territory between the Cape Fear and the Pedee was overswept by marauding bands, and to those who desired to be neutral the danger was greater than it was to those who were bold enough to take sides. There were small battles, as to numbers engaged, but fearful as to cruelty and bloodshed, the worst character of civil war. The Highlanders who remained on the side of the King were a small part of the tories under Fanning, who came down from the higher country and ravaged and destroyed, and who, of course, were met in the same spirit by the wilder sort of those who were in sympathy with the whigs.

For a long time before hostilities broke out in North Carolina, there were great efforts made by both sides to secure the sympathy of the Highlanders who were everywhere acknowledged to be a people of conscientious convictions and high character.

Colonel McIntosh came among them from the Scotch who lived near Society Hill in South Carolina, himself an ardent Whig, and, no doubt influenced many to take the patriots' side.

When Fanning captured Governor Burke at Hillsboro and carried him to Wilmington the Tories stopped with him one night on Deep River at the house of the father of Colin MacRae, who was the progenitor of that branch of the MacRaes who afterwards lived, and now live in Wilmington, the wife of Mr. MacRae, who was herself a kinswoman of Governor Burke, made an ineffectual effort to help him to escape.

Captain McCranie commanded a company of Whigs in Cumberland and many of the Highlanders who had been in this country some time before the Revolution, joined the Whigs. Cornwallis was disappointed at the failure of the Highlanders to come to him as he passed Cross Creek on his way to Wilmington.

Mr. McMillan further writes:

"Among some old books I have read, I find it stated that one McAlister, who carried on a mercantile business in Campbelton, was a great friend of Benjamin Franklin. Boxes of goods from Philadelphia contained reading matter calculated to influence the people trading in Campbelton in favor of independence, and these books and pamphlets were distributed among the people in all the back country by Herman Husbands, a cousin of Franklin, who was sent to North Carolina to prepare the people for resistance to British tyranny."

It is a remarkable thing that by some means the first spark of freedom was quenched at Alamance by those who afterwards became the leaders of the patriots, and that those who first fought against oppression were turned by these untoward events to be the Tories in the war which soon ensued. It is no more singular, however, than was the fate of those gallant young Frenchmen with LaFayette at Yorktown, who got back to France in time to be guillotined as Aristocrats. Hon. W. H. Bailey, of Mecklenburg, now living in Texas, once told the writer that he had heard from some one that a letter was sent by a special messenger from some of these Highlanders to Dr. Witherspoon, the president of the College of New Jersey, to ask his advice as to which side they should take, and of course he wrote by the messenger strongly urging them to declare for independence; but the messenger was captured by

the Tories on his return journey, and a different letter substituted, advising them to stand for the King.

This, however, is too much like Peregrine Pickle's letter to his sweetheart, which was worn out in the messenger's shoe and another one substituted in its place.

But the work was done with these Highlanders, and especially with those who came just before the Revolution, by the dominant influence of the McDonalds and McLeods and McLeans, who came with them from Scotland, or later came from the British army at Boston, in which they were commissioned officers, and stirred the blood of their kinsmen to take up arms for the King.

In Foote's Sketches, on page 148, chapter XII., is the story of Flora McDonald, the aristocratic young Highland maiden who so romantically saved the life of Charles Edward, the Pretender, in the face of a reward of £30,000 for his head, although she had not been in sympathy with the rebellion in his favor; her arrest and imprisonment in the Tower of London; her finding favor with Prince Frederick, the heir apparent; her interview with King George the Second, and how, in reply to his inquiry, "How could you dare to succor the enemies of my crown and kingdom?" she said, with great simplicity, "It was no more than I would have done to your majesty, had you been in like situation"; her free release, and ride back to Scotland, accompanied by Malcom McLeod, who used afterwards to boast that he went to London to be hanged, but rode back in a chaise and four with Flora McDonald. The beautiful young girl had married Allan McDonald, of Kingsburgh, and by him had several sons, who in time became officers in the British army. She and her husband came with the Highlanders to Cumberland in 1775.

They were visited by the young officers, the McDonalds and McLeods, from Boston, who came to influence the immigrants to be true to the King. The influence of these high-born Scotch upon the more lowly ones, who had been accustomed to follow them all their lives; their utter ignorance of the matter in controversy; the extraordinary efforts of Governor Martin to confirm their faith in the King, and the fact that, at the beginning of the controversy, there was little or no bitterness between the Whigs and Royalists in that section goes far to account for their adherence to the crown.

Caruthers says:

"Even in November and December, 1775, the two parties in Cross Creek, now Fayetteville, mustered on opposite sides of the village, then returned to town and lived in great harmony. But this state of things could not continue."

As the strife came nearer home, the lines were more closely drawn, and, at last, when the royal standard was raised at Cross Creek by General McDonald, formerly an officer in the British army, and now commissioned with higher rank, when Governor Martin had sent commissions to the young and aspiring men among them, and every blandishment was used upon them, there was a blare of enthusiasm. The pibroch's strains were heard through the sand hills, and there was in this far-away land the last gathering of the clans, with the result of which we are so familiar. Most of the Highlanders in arms being captured at Moore's Creek, their officers carried away prisoners, and themselves paroled; this was the end of organized oposition on their part. How gladly they returned to their homes, and would have remained there until the strife was over if it were possible in a time like that to be neutral.

Many tried to stay at home and some met with cruel death, and all with the devastation and horrors of civil war.

But at last it all passed away; the victory was won, and, strange to say, it was these same Highlanders, or what was left of them, who became the leading citizens of their section.

In the list of the members of the General Assembly from Cumberland, beginning with Alexander McAlister and coming down and up the century to the present time, a large majority of the members were these Highlanders and their descendants. And, even at this writing, the Senator from Cumberland comes of a great clan, whose abode was in the most northern part of the mainland in Scotland; and one of the present members of the House from Cumberland is a native Highland Scotchman. For many years the Judges of the Superior Court of the present Seventh Judicial District have been Highland Scotchmen by descent, and so is the president of the Corporation Commission.

Among these people for half a century and much longer after the Revolution, for it is in the memory of the writer, the Gaelic tongue was as commonly spoken on the streets of Fayetteville and in the sand hills of Cumberland, and in parts of Richmond and Robeson, as the English. The older ones spoke little else; the younger understood and could speak it, and did speak it to their fathers and mothers. Even the negro slaves, who were treated with the greatest kindness, some of them spoke the Gaelic. We well remember when, at Galatia Church especially, the first sermon in the morning was preached in Gaelic by that Old Man of God, Rev. Colin McIver; and after his death, by the Rev. Mr. Sinclair, who was sent for to succeed him because he could speak the language most familiar to the congregation.

It would require a large book, rather than a booklet, to gather up the traditions of these people.

The writer, when a little boy, was accustomed to spend the summers at the farm of old Mr. and Mrs. Archie McGregor in the sand hills of Cumberland, now Harnett, and not very far from Cameron Hill, where Flora McDonald for a time resided. It was near Cypress Church where Rev. Evander McNair, of blessed memory, preached, and he preached sometimes in Gaelic, we think; we know that he could speak it, and not far away from Barbecue where the McDonalds once worshipped.

It was late in the gloaming of one summer evening when the night began to fall and some dark clouds in the west threatened a storm, and the family had all gathered in, when, far away in the distance, floating on the evening breeze, was heard the faint notes of the bagpipe sounding an old Highland tune. We wish you could imagine the electrical effect of those far off sounds upon that family; the anxiety on every face, the haste with which the old claybank horse, "General," was hitched up to the cart (it was before the days of buggies), and the young men started in quest of the old lost piper. He was a wanderer among the Scotch families in all that section; he was a welcome guest at every fireside so long as he chose to abide with them. He was very old; his breath was too thin to fill the bag for his pipe, and his step tottered as he walked, and he was almost blind. When he wandered off and got lost in the woods his custom was to sit down on a fallen tree and play the pipes as best he could. And of one thing he might be sure, that if there were any of his countrymen or women within the sound of his pipe he would soon find succor and a hospitable welcome. So, in an hour they found

him, sitting on a log in the "lochy place" and brought him in to a good supper and a comfortable bed. The old man was the last of his race in the sand hills of Cumberland. His name was Urquhart. He remained with the McGregors for several days, maybe weeks, and used to pipe as well as he could for them the old Scotch airs, to which they listened with a kind of awe. He spoke what little he did speak in Gaelic, and they talked to him in the same language, all of which has left us but the little Bible, and that is now in an unknown tongue. After a while the restless fit came upon him and he wandered away, followed by the kind words of all the McGregors. The writer never saw him again in the flesh, but he can see the little old man now, as he went down the road with his bagpipes under his arm. We know not whether he had any home or family of his own in the sand hills of Cumberland, but it could not have been long before he heard sweeter music than the notes of his own beloved pipes, for he must soon have found a hospitable resting place for his weary old soul in "the far away land of the blest."

The great characteristic of those people was their love of education. The good schools they had in the counties where they lived up to the last generation, before the war is the period by which we all measure everything, and I doubt not there are many of them yet, those schools, especially one we knew on Long Street in Cumberland, of which Archie Ray was the principal, were the best schools of their time, and there are no better in the new light of this day. They have sent many a man to take the honors of the University and of Davidson College, and some to Princeton; and they have prepared many another for the battle of life, and sent him out in the world.

The men of this section have gone by way of the universities and colleges, and some times by way direct from the country high schools, all over the South and West, to take honored places among the people; and the rolls of our higher institutions to-day of either sex will bear many a name which was a familiar one in old Cross Creek, and from the Cape Fear to the Pedee in earlier days.

However divided or however wrong they may have gone when they came across the waters to find peace, and found a sword, of one thing there is no question—that in later times of strife they all followed the light which was set before them, as they saw the light, and they all saw it alike this time.

This same Scotch settlement was a sadly broken one in 1865, when so many of the young men never returned, and when war, just as its leader called it, swept with Sherman's thousands through these quiet settlements.

Experience has amply taught that there is no place in all the world where the seeker after peace may be sure he has found it.

We have stood in the door of one of these desolated places, not far from Long street and Galatia, and counted over the names of a score of young men who lived in sight of where we stood, who were buried in Pennsylvania or Maryland or Virginia.

But, resurgam! These settlements are all flourishing now. New enterprises have taken the places of the old. New roads are crossing each other. New school houses are open, and new church spires point the old way in all that region. And men and women of this day, in whose veins course the same red blood which drove back the Roman legions from the hills of Scotland are still ready to say, as their general said, ac-

cording to Tacitus near two thousand years ago, "As therefore you advance to battle look back upon your ancestors; look forward to your posterity."

Let us hope that this race has at last found the desired peace, and that all their strivings may hereafter be for the betterment of themselves, and of all the people.

Note.—In the preparation of this sketch the writer has been greatly aided by his friends, ex-Senator Hamilton McMillan and Captain E. R. McKethan, ex-member of the North Carolina Legislature. He has had access to Mitchell's History of the Highlands; McLean's Highlanders in America; Caruther's Life of Dr. Caldwell and Revolutionary Incidents; Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, and, of course, to the Colonial Records.

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THE SCOTCH-IRISH OF NORTH CAROLINA

BY REV. A. J. McKELWAY

The ancient kingdom of Strathclyde, included, within the boundaries of Scotland, the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Dumfries, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright and Dumbarton, an area about as large as the State of Connecticut. The men of Scottish birth who have written their names high on the roll of fame have nearly all come from this district. It is the reputed birthplace of St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland; while here are to be found the most frequent traditions of the reign of King Arthur. It is only necessary to mention the names of William Wallace, Robert Bruce, John Knox and Robert Burns to show that the race that inhabited these western Lowlands was a virile race. Here arose the royal line of the Stuarts; the family of which William Ewart Gladstone was the most illustrious scion; and the ancestors of our own Washington. Here lived the Lollards, Reformers before the Reformation, and here were marshalled the leaders and armies of the Reformation itself. Here was the chief home of the Covenanters. Here has been built the great manufacturing city of the modern world, Glasgow, a model city in many respects. And from these seven counties flowed the main stream of immigrants into the province of Ulster, Ireland, from which they emigrated in turn to the American colonies to be known henceforth as the Scotch-Irish. How near akin the American strain is to the people who still occupy the Southwestern corner of Scotland is evident from the following description of Hugh Miller:

"The Scotch Lowlander is, as a rule, of fair height, long-legged, strongly built, and without any tendency to the obesity so common among his kinsmen of England. His eye is ordinarily brighter than that of the Englishman, and his features more regular; but his cheeks are more prominent and the leanness of the face helps to accentuate these features. Of all the men of Great Britain those of Southwestern Scotland are distinguished for their tall stature. The Lowlander is intelligent, of remarkable sagacity in business, and persevering when once he has determined upon accomplishing a task; but his prudence degenerates into distrust, his thrift into avarice. * * * The love of education for its own sake is far more widely spread in Scotland than in England."

In view of the part this race has played in the life of the world it is a matter of interest to inquire what were its original constituents.

The aboriginal Briton was probably not unlike the modern Esquimo, a short and slight people, though muscular. The Celts who invaded Briton from Gaul belonged to the later Bronze and the early Iron Age. They probably exterminated rather than absorbed the aborigines, the notable exception being in the very region which we are considering, the Novantæ and the Seglovæ being mentioned by Ptolemy, these coalescing later into the "fierce and warlike" tribe of the Attecotti, who constantly harassed the Romans, and afterwards were known as the "Galloway Picts." The Roman invasion and occupation embraced this district and the Romans left traces of their blood as well as their language with the conquered Celts. It is still a mooted question who were the Picts, Picti, "painted people," whom the Romans were

unable to conquer, who after the Romans withdrew waged fierce warfare against the Celts. It is believed that they were a Teutonic race. But we come to historic ground in the invasion of the Angles and Saxons, who gave the larger Teutonic element to the Lowland type. In the year 875 the Kingdom of Strathclyde was invaded by the Danes and a large number of the Britons left Strathclyde for Wales. The district was often the field of battle between the Picts or Caledonians and the Saxons. But not only the Danes, the Dubhgail, or black-haired strangers, but the Norsemen, the Finngaill, or fair-haired, made their inroads upon Galloway and the latter left a permanent settlement there. And from the year 875 the Danes and Norsemen contended for the mastery of all this part of Scotland, and in the reign of Macbeth, who was neither so guilty nor Duncan so innocent of blood as Shakespeare has made the world believe, the Norse influence was at its height in Scotland, Earl Thorfinn possessing Galloway, as one of his nine earldoms. Galloway included parts of Dumfries and Ayr as well as Kirkcudbright and Wigtown. Finally the Normans brought a fresh infusion of Teutonic blood with a Latin language to temper the Saxon speech.

It is only necessary to call attention to the fact that this was a fighting race of people that was thus formed by the mingling of Celtic and Roman and Teutonic blood. Scotland came into her own in the family of nations through such toil and moil and blood as has seldom been the lot of any people for so long a stretch of the centuries. The kingdom was united under Malcolm, son of Duncan, and the peaceful amalgamation of these warring races began. It would seem

that if there was rough work in the world to do, from the conquest of tyrant kings to the building of an empire in a new world, here was the race that was destined to do it.

It would be interesting to trace the history of this remarkable district of Scotland through the long wars between England and Scotland in the period between Malcolm and Mary, Queen of Scots. There was the strength of the Scottish Reformation. It was James the First of England and Sixth of Scotland, the "wisest fool in Christendom," who brought about the peopling of the North of Ireland by the men of the Seven Counties.

All through the reign of Elizabeth there had been trouble in North Ireland. The government of the country was in the hands of English military officers whose authority did not extend beyond their posts. The Northeast corner of Ireland had been conquered and held by the McDonnells, a Scotch clan from the Isle of Jura and from Cantyre on the Mainland of Scotland. A little later a wild Irishman by the name of Con McNeale McBryan Feartach O'Neill got into trouble with the King over the duty on wine. He was cast into prison. Hugh Montgomery, Laird of Braidstane, drove a hard bargain with him, agreeing to rescue him from prison in return for half his lands in county Down. In order to obtain the pardon of Con, James Hamilton, another canny Scot, was called in, who had great influence with the King, and Con lost another third of his patrimony, not long afterwards running through the remaining third by his habits of conviviality. Montgomery and Hamilton then proceeded to "plant" their lands thoroughly from the famous Seven Counties in Scotland.

Soon afterwards, the Irish chiefs of Ulster began a treasonable correspondence with Spain and their letters were intercepted by King James. O'Neill, of Tyrone, and O'Donnell, of Tyrconnell, left the country with a number of their adherents. O'Dogherty perished in the rebellion and his lands were confiscated to the crown. Other Irish chieftains fled the kingdom and so it happened that not less than 3,800,000 acres of land in Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Fermegan and Cavan, were placed at the disposal of the Crown, making with Down and Antrim, North Ireland, or Ulster. This region James determined to settle mainly with Scotch from the seven counties of the Southwest. The first settlers were those that left their country for their country's good. These were shortly followed by a great army of earnest, industrious colonists, building their rush-thatched huts first near the landlord's castle, and later gathering into villages. The best lands had been selected for the colonists, the poorest being reserved for the remnant of the Irish, between whom there existed and exists to this day an unconquerable race antipathy. There was almost no mixing of these two races, the name, Scotch-Irish, being a geographical rather than a racial descriptive. The natives were even driven to the woods, becoming known as wood-kernes, and they were severely punished for their crimes when caught. The new settlers had to war against the wolves also. But they drained the swamps, felled the forests, sowed wheat and flax, raised cattle and sheep, began the manufacturing of linen and woolen cloth, and not only made all their own goods, even the tools with which to work, but began the exportation of linen and woolen cloth to Eng-

land. And they were Presbyterian in faith, as has been intimated from the part the Seven Counties took in the Reformation. Scotch ministers went with their congregations to the new lands. Peter Heylin, the champion of the English Church of his day, writes: "They brought with them hither such a stock of Puritanism, such a contempt of bishops, such a neglect of the public liturgy, that there was nothing less to be found among them than the government and forms of worship established in the Church of England."

At the time of the accession of Charles the First to the English throne, in 1625, Ulster was receiving a steady stream of immigrants from the Lowlands, at the rate of four thousand a year. High rents in Scotland drove many of the people to accept the chances of life in Ireland. This immigration was checked and actually turned back upon Scotland by religious persecution. The Episcopal Church of Ireland was so evangelical that Presbyterians who had fled from Scotland for their faith had no hesitation in joining it. But with the rise of Archbishop Laud, the effort was made to secure uniformity of worship in Ireland. Against the protests of Archbishop Usher the Scottish ministers were deposed and several of them set sail for New England in 1636. Their vessel was driven back, however, to the Irish shore. In the same year the attempt was made to administer the "black oath," compelling all the people of Ulster, Catholics excepted, to swear obedience in advance to all the "royal commands" of the King. Thousands of Scots refused to take the oath and thousands returned to Scotland. In the midst of this confusion, the native Irish, under Sir Phelim O'Neill, who claimed to be acting under the King's commission, rose in

arms throughout Ulster and seized nearly all the castles. There followed a reign of terror in which ten thousand Ulsterites lost their lives, the blow falling less heavily upon the Scots because so many of them had returned to Scotland. It may be noted here that the distance across the Channel by one route is only twenty-one and a half miles, so that communication was easy.

In the meantime the Scots had raised an army to defend their religious freedom, the royal standard was raised and the Civil War had begun. The "Covenant" was administered to a large part of the Protestant population of Ireland, then estimated at seventy thousand, and the Ulsterites had their share of victories and defeats on the battlefield. It is worthy of note that the Irish Presbytery protested vehemently against the execution of Charles and brought down upon their heads the wrath of John Milton, in a scurrilous reply that ill beseemed the great poet. But Cromwell was now the real ruler of the realm and having pacified England and Scotland he proceeded to subdue Ireland, a feat that was never accomplished but this one time. The Irish Presbyterians were not molested though they were not in high favor. As a result of the vast confiscation of estates by Cromwell three-fourths of the country passed into the hands of the Protestants. Only in North Ireland, however, was this colonization effective, though settlers were now numbered at 100,000.

Religious persecution began again with the accession of Charles II, but it soon passed and that good-natured monarch granted some recognition to the Presbyterian Church. But during his reign two important acts were passed, the beginning of

the policy that drove the Ulsterites to America. The exportation of cattle from Ireland to England was forbidden and by the Navigation Act, ships from Ireland were treated as foreign vessels.

The Revolution of 1688 was peaceful except in Ireland, which was the last stronghold of James II. His lord deputy, Tyrconnel, had put arms into the hands of the Irish peasantry, who began a series of depredations upon their Scotch neighbors in which a million head of cattle changed owners. With the outbreak of the Revolution the Protestants fled to Enniskillen and Londonderry and the defence of these cities against overwhelming odds and under privations unspeakable is of the least glorious chapter in the history of the men of Ulster. Unfortunately for the brave people who had suffered so much for the new King, a certain clerical Munchausen, Rev. George Walker, so falsified the facts of the great siege of Londonderry as to put the Scotch in rather a bad light. At any rate Ulster began to learn something of the ingratitude of Kings and the Ulsterite became the hereditary enemy of the House of Hanover. It is computed that besides the natural increase in the Scotch population from early and prolific marriages there had been an addition of 50,000 Scotch immigrants between the Revolution of 1688 and the reign of Queen Anne. We have this interesting testimony from the pen of Lionel Jenkins, Secretary of State, in a letter written to the Duke of Ormond in 1679, who says that "those of the north of Ireland * * * are most Scots and Scotch breed and are the Northern Presbyterians and phanatiques, lustly, able-bodied, hardy and stout men, where one may see three or four hundred at every meeting-house on

Sunday, and all the North of Ireland is inhabited by these, which is the popular place of all Ireland by far. They are very numerous and greedy after land." It should be understood, however, that not all the Ulsterites were either Scotch or Presbyterian. There was a goodly element of English Episcopalians with a remnant of Catholic Irish. Some Latin blood was added to the Presbyterian element in an immigration of French Huguenots, whose names still exist among the Scotch-Irish emigrants to America.

In the reign of Queen Anne the whole people of Ireland, Catholics and Presbyterians as well, were under the ban of the High Church regime. Immigration from Scotland into Ireland had ceased. Emigration from the North of Ireland into America began. In 1704 an act was passed requiring that all public officers should take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church. The Catholics, in protesting, showed that this affected also the Presbyterians, "who had saved Ireland," but the protest fell upon deaf ears. Presbyterian magistrates and postmasters were deprived of power and support.

In the same year Presbyterians were excommunicated for the crime of being married by their own ministers. The meetings of Presbytery were declared illegal meetings. Presbyterians were compelled to pay tithes for the support of the Establishment. Every Presbyterian schoolmaster became liable to imprisonment for teaching, when these people were the strongest adherents of John Knox, who "first sent the schoolmaster into all corners, saying, 'Let the people be taught.' " Then the doors of the churches were nailed up. But the people were at last aroused and when there was dan-

ger of the succession of the Jacobite Pretender to the throne, it was quietly ascertained that there were fifty thousand Irish Presbyterians who were capable of bearing arms and willing to fight for the Protestant succession. After the accession of George I an act of toleration was passed, though the strongest friends of the crown in Ireland were still forbidden to bear arms.

During this period of religious persecution there were other repressive measures. For the "protection" of the English woolen trade from Irish competition, an act was passed forbidding the exportation of woolens from Ireland, later followed by acts forbidding the exportation to any country but England. Thus one of the great manufacturing enterprises of the Ulsterites was destroyed as had been their raising of cattle for the English markets. The people turned to linen manufacture as a last alternative and this grew and flourished.

It was only natural, therefore, that men of this breed should seek a freer land. They felt that they were pilgrims and strangers as their fathers were. The great fact of the eighteenth century relating to both England and America is the Scotch-Irish emigration. Between 1725 and 1768 the emigration increased from 3,000 to 6,000 a year, not less than 200,000 of the people having left Ireland for the American Colonies in that period. From 1771 to 1773 there were thirty thousand emigrants. The Protestant population of Ireland had in the meantime grown to 527,505, making allowances for the gradual increase a full third of the population had left for America. The raising of rents after a period of famine augmented this exodus from Ireland. Re-

calling that it began with an emigration of 20,000 in 1698 and allowing for the increase of the population in America, it has been computed that there were not less than 400,000 people of Scotch-Irish birth or descent in America at the beginning of the Revolution. A few went to New England, where they were duly persecuted by their Puritan brethren. Yet there was one congregation of 750 members, Londonderry, and they gave to the Revolution General Stark and his Green Mountain boys. They named "Bunker Hill" from a hill in Ireland overlooking Belfast. And from this New England settlement went Henry Knox, the first American Secretary of War, Matthew Thornton, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Horace Greely and Asa Gray.

The Scotch-Irish settled a good part of New York State. The first governor of the State, Clinton, was of this race. They settled New Jersey, and the chaplain of the First Brigade was the fighting parson, Rev. James Caldwell. But the chief port of entry was Philadelphia, which city was soon taken possession of and has been held to this day. From Philadelphia the waves of colonization spread westward until the best lands of western Pennsylvania were taken and then the stream poured Southward, down through the Valley of Virginia, into Piedmont North Carolina, across the line into South Carolina and into the hill country of Georgia. But another important port of entry was Charleston, and as the immigration sought the hill country the wave from Charleston met and mingled with the wave from Pennsylvania in the border counties of the Western Carolinas. The breed in North Carolina alone gave three Presidents to the Nation, Jackson, Polk and Johnson. And what shall I more say,

for the time would fail me to tell of Patrick Henry and John Witherspoon, of the twenty-one Scotch-Irish generals of the Revolutionary war, of the seven Presbyterian elders, Morgan and Pickens and Campbell and Shelby and Cleveland and Williams and Sevier, of Presidents Jefferson and Monroe and Jackson and the Harrisons, of Polk and Buchanan and Johnson and Grant and Hayes and Arthur and Cleveland and McKinley and Roosevelt; of the long line of Cabinet officers, Supreme Court Justices, Senators, Representatives and Governors, in whom ran the blood of this great people, fighting for life and liberty for a thousand years, and schieving it at last in America.

It has been deemed necessary that this long introduction should be written to the sketch of the Scotch-Irish in North Carolina, that our people may know that their roots reach far back into the historic past and that the branches of this tree in America have not borne unworthy fruit.

The first settlement of Scotch-Irish in North Carolina was made by Henry McCulloh in 1736, on a grant of land in Duplin County, the colonists forming the congregations of Goshen and the Grove. The Scotch-Irish are not to be confounded with the Scotch colonists on the Cape Fear. These were Highland Scots, of almost pure Celtic blood, while the Scotch-Irish are mainly Saxon, not having intermingled with the Irish Celts, so that there is a racial as well as a geographical difference between the Scottish Highlander and Lowlander, between the Cape Fear Scotch and the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina. Of course the largest settlements of the Scotch-Irish were in the counties of Guilford, Orange, Alamance, Caswell, Rowan, Iredell, Cabarrus, Mecklenburg,

Lincoln and Gaston, with the center of the immigration in Mecklenburg.

As many of the Scotch-Irish settlers had already had experience in Pennsylvania or Virginia they were able to secure the best lands, as the pioneers of the Piedmont region. The Indians were mostly friendly to the whites. The country alternated between forest and prarie and abounded in game, deer, buffalo, and bear, while panthers were not infrequently found. The pioneers came from the North in wagons in which they slept until they had built a house on land of their own selection. The house was built of hewn logs, the interstices stopped with clay, the roof covered with riven boards. One room, one door and one window, closed with a wooden shutter, was the characteristic style of architecture. The furniture of the house consisted of beds, a few stools, a table, on which were set pewter dippers and plates, and wooden trenches. A few plow irons and harrow teeth, a hoe and a mattock and an axe, a broad-axe, wedges, mauls and a chisel, would be the inventory of the tools on the farm. Cattle, sheep and geese, horses and hogs, were raised with great profit and from the wool the clothes of the family were spun, and from the goose an annual tax of feathers was secured for pillows and feather-beds. When the family began to put in a glass window and to buy cups and saucers of chinaware, they were considered wealthy.

They did have their wealth in their own capacity to manufacture what they needed. When the goods brought with them began to wear out, the blacksmith built his forge, the weaver set up his loom and the tailor brought out his goose. A tannery was built on the nearest stream and mills for

grinding the wheat and corn were erected on the swift water courses. Saw mills were set up and logs were turned into plank. The women not only made their own dresses but the material for them as well, spinning the wool and afterwards the cotton into lindsey and checks and dying it according to the individual taste. The beavers furnished elegant tiles for the gentry. The immigrants were recorded as weavers, joiners, coopers, wheelwrights, wagon-makers, tailors, teachers, blacksmiths, hatters, merchants, laborers, wine-makers, miners, rope-makers, fullers, surveyors, and gentlemen, the last being rather a rank than a vocation. In other words the people were an industrial as well as an industrious people. They were producers. And when a man has built a little home in an untrodden wilderness, felled the forest, furnished the home, and has begun to produce not only for his necessities but a comfortable surplus for his family he does not feel like paying tribute to a king or a parliament across the seas, who drove him across the seas by their stupid tyranny.

Nearly all the farms of any size had a distillery attached and a good deal of the corn was marketed in liquid form. One of the faults of the Scotch settlers was drunkenness, though the majority were temperate drinkers. A punch bowl and glasses were found among the effects of Rev. Alexander Craighead, founder of the earliest churches of the Mecklenburg region. Whiskey played a great part on funeral occasions, and especially at "vendues" where it was supposed to put the buyers in good humor and was charged to the estate disposed of. The tavern on the public road was a famous institution of these early days and the variety of the liquors sold reminds one of the English inn that Dickens

has portrayed. Among the amusements of the people were horse racing and shooting matches and the game of long bullets, played with an iron ball, the effort of each side being, as in foot ball, to keep the ball from passing the adversary's goal and putting it through one's own. But while gambling was permitted and drunkenness condoned, profane swearing was punished severely, the amount of the fine sometimes depending on the vigor and variety of the oaths used. The children received six months schooling and the number of college-bred men in a Scotch-Irish community was large. The warlike instincts of the people were kept alive by the military muster, which became the occasion for a gathering together of a county to the county-seat. The Scotch-Irish were noted for their skill with the rifle, and rifles were manufactured at High Shoals at an early date, a specimen, with its long barrel and wooden stock extending to the end of the barrel, having been presented to General Washington and being highly prized by him.

But the life of the Scotch-Irish, as in Scotland and in Ireland, centered around the church.

One of the earliest notes of the presence of Scotch-Irish in the West was made by Governor Dobbs, in 1755, who found that some "Irish Protestants had settled together, with families of eight or ten children each, and had a school teacher of their own." In the same year Rev. Hugh McAden made a missionary visit from the Hico to the Catawba and found Scotch-Irish settlements in Mecklenburg at Rocky River, Sugar Creek, and the Waxhaws. The seven Presbyterian churches of Mecklenburg created the social and religious, and we had almost said the political

life of the county, for the first fifty years of its history. Alexander Craighead, getting into difficulty with New Brunswick Presbytery in New Jersey on account of his extreme republican views, found a congenial home in this Scotch-Irish section. Hanna calls him "the foremost American of his day in advocating the prinicples of civil liberty under a Republican form of government." Besides him were Hugh McAden, who settled in Caswell, the "eloquent Patillo" of Granville and Orange, Caldwell of Guilford, celebrated for his connection with the battle of the Alamance and the later struggles of the Revolution; McCorkle of Rowan, Hall of Iredell, Balch, McCaule and Alexander. These men were conservative, as witness their reluctance to espouse the cause of the Regulation. But they were equally firm in advocating the real principles of liberty that came to the front at the beginning of the Revolution.

It is interesting to trace the grievances of the colonists as the day of the Revolution dawned and to see how they were the same from which the Ulsterites had suffered. There were religious exactions which were galling in the extreme, although it must be confessed that the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina managed to escape the operation of the laws that were intended to oppress them. Their ministers performed the marriage ceremony in spite of the efforts to make it illegal and the marriage void. Presbyterian elders had themselves duly elected vestrymen of St. George's Parish and thus were in a position to see to it that the Established Church was not established in Mecklenburg. There were the petty annoyances of the slave trade forced upon an unwilling people by the King, and the stamp tax, and then the

determination to tax the people of America without allowing them representation in Parliament. Finally, when the people had planned the erection of a great university, Queen's College, that it was hoped would rival Oxford and Cambridge, the charter was refused them by the King on the ground that he could not afford to promote Presbyterian education. By this time, the colony of North Carolina had been thoroughly organized with county committees, the Scotch-Irish counties having their people fully disciplined to the work that was cut out for them. One of those committees met, in connection with a military muster, which was really a turning out of the people, at Charlotte, on May 19th, 1775. While certain papers and resolutions, looking to county action in the present disordered state of the country were being earnestly discussed, the messenger arrived with the stirring news of the battle of Lexington. The watch-word of the Colony had long been, "The cause of Boston is the cause of us all." But with the story of a conflict with British troops, in which a military company had been fired upon by the red-coats, in which also the Americans, raw troops as they were, had won a notable victory, the feelings of the people surged forth. The reports that had been before the meeting were referred to a committee of three and after midnight of the day of assemblage, on May 20th, in fact, the Mecklenburg Declaration was read to the people, the moving cause of the proceedings being really stated in the second resolution:

"*Resolved,* That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us with the mother country, and absolve ourselves from all allegiance

to the British crown, abjuring all political connection with a nation that has wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of Americans at Lexington."

On the 31st of the same month the committee met according to adjournment to pass laws and regulations for the county, and, perhaps feeling that there was a better reason for the passage of such regulations than the battle of Lexington, made another declaration of independence on the ground that Parliament had declared the colonies in a state of rebellion and they were therefore forced to provide against anarchy. A member of Parliament had pointed out that any of the Colonies could plead this reason for independence, once the act was passed declaring that a rebellion existed in the Colony of Massachusetts. Any man who signed the Declaration of the Twentieth of May could have signed the Resolves of the 31st. And to the canny Scotch of Mecklenburg the latter were equally effective and a bit safer in case of the victory of King George.

The Scotch-Irish were conspicuous in the battle of Moore's Creek, which saved the colony to the cause of freedom. In that battle they met the Scotch as Lowlander and Highlander had often met before in Scotland. But the Scotch-Irish played a scurvy trick upon their brethren, the Scotch Royalists, by using the rifle against the broadsword and forcing the Highlanders to cross a narrow foot-bridge on which the rifle-fire was concentrated.

The battle of Ramsour's Mill in what was then Tryon County was one of the most successful of the entire war, 400 patriots under Colonel Locke having vanquished 1,100 To-

ries. Colonel Davidson with 250 men put to flight a larger body of Tories at Colson's Farm, at the confluence of Rocky River and the Pee Dee. The Scotch-Irish were conspicuous sufferers in the disaster of Hanging Rock. The Battle of Charlotte itself was no inconsiderable skirmish, in which three or four hundred mounted militiamen under Major Joseph Graham held a force of ten times their number in check and thrice repulsed them. The affair at McIntyre's farm doubtless helped to earn for Charlotte the soubriquet of the "Hornets' Nest." There, fourteen men, expert riflemen, fired upon a British foraging party of more than a hundred, killed eight at the first fire and wounded twelve of the enemy, and escaped without injury though they sent the foraging party in a hurry back to Charlotte. If these encounters of American and British soldiers had occurred in New England, they would have been immortalized in song and story. The Scotch-Irish have not been as particular about writing history as they have been busy making it.

But the battle of Kings Mountain was the most glorious witness of the valor of the Scotch-Irish during the Revolution and it was at the same time the victory that made Yorktown possible. The majority of the troops were North Carolinians while the Virginians were from Washington County in the Scotch-Irish section and the South Carolina troops had been recruited in Rowan County, North Carolina. These thirteen hundred and seventy men attacked Ferguson in his strong position, with over one thousand men to defend it, on King's Mountain, and killed or captured the entire force after a desperate fight. The victory put heart of hope into the failing Continental cause and was influential in de-

termining the subsequent movements of Cornwallis and his final surrender. The battle of Guilford Court House was really another British defeat, as Cornwallis lost 600 men in killed and wounded and some of his most valued officers, retreating to Wilmington instead of advancing into Virginia. The North Carolina militia from Guilford and the adjoining counties do not deserve the reproach that has been heaped upon them by careless military critics. They were ordered to fire twice by General Greene himself and then to retire. They waited until the enemy were 150 yards away, fired their first volley with great effect, loaded and fired again, some of them the third time, and only retreated when the bayonets clashed against their unloaded rifles. And these were troops who had never been under fire, meeting the flower of the British army. A conclusive testimony to their cool courage is given by Captain Dugald Stuart, who commanded the Scotch Highlanders, the Seventy-First Regiment. Writing nearly fifty years afterwards, he says: "In the advance we received a very deadly fire from the Irish line of the American army, composed of their marksmen lying on the ground behind a rail fence. One-half the Highlanders dropped on that spot."

From the close of the Revolution to the breaking out of the Civil War the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina were foremost in the peaceful upbuilding of the commonwealth, in government, in education, in commercial enterprise. Nor were they wanting when the country was at war again, whether with Great Britain a second time, with Mexico or in the clash of the great Civil conflict. Theirs has been a long line of Carolina statesmen. They have ornamented the bar and the pul-

pit. Than their soldiers there have been none braver. There was many a Stonewall Jackson in the ranks, claiming the same heroic blood, as they followed him. And on Virginia's battlefields, yea in Tennessee and Pennsylvania, there lie in unmarked graves thousands of the descendants of that ancient Scottish race, that fought at Londonderry and Enniskillen as their children fought at Gettysburg and Chicamauga.

To-day the most prosperous section of the Old North State is just that section which the Scotch-Irish settlers chose for their homes. It is a great race of people. They fear God and have no other fear. They stand for truth and right. Their fault is sometimes that thrift degenerates into penuriousness. They keep the Sabbath and all else that they can lay their hands upon. But they have had to fight so hard for so many centuries to establish for others the difference between *meum* and *tuum* that we should perhaps give them a little time to get over the realization of the *meum* at last. They speak the truth, and though they may want the uttermost farthing that is due them, they do not want, and they will not take, a farthing more. In Mecklenburg County for a hundred years of recorded history not a white native was indicted for larceny.

Theirs is the race of the hard head but the warm heart, of the stiff backbone but also of the achieving hand. They have done their share in working out the prinicples of civil and religious liberty and of erecting our institutons of government. They love order and law even though their fighting propensities may nowadays bloom in legal contentions of which there is no profit. But whether in peace or war, the

State and the Nation can count on this hardy and heroic strain for high and noble service. They are of those who swear to their own hurt and change not. It might be said of thousands, as was said of their great compatriot, John Knox, "they never feared the face of man." And the surprises and even the convulsions of the future will find them unafraid.

Authorities: The Scotch-Irish Families of America. Charles A. Hanna; Foote's Sketches of North Carolina; Colonial Records; Hawk's History of North Carolina; Martin's History of North Carolina; Wheeler's Sketches; David Schenck's, North Carolina in 1780-81; Tompkin's History of Mecklenburg County; General Joseph Graham and Revolutionary Papers; with special indebtedness to the first-named book for its valuable historical and statistical notes.

RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. D. H. HILL, WHO DIED ON DECEMBER 12, 1904.

WHEREAS, Since our last meeting it has pleased our All-wise and Heavenly Father to remove from us our honored Vice-~~President~~ Regent, whom we loved for her noble womanly qualities of head and heart, and in whom we found a genial, gentle and ever-willing associate, descended from a line of Christian heroes, prominent in time of war as well as in times of peace; therefore,

Resolved, That we mourn her loss to the Society and to the State, and blend our tears with those of her immediate family, to whom we extend our cordial and earnest sympathy in this sad bereavement, and while doing so, urge our members to emulate her noble Christian character, her patriotism and her generosity.

Resolved, That this resolution be spread upon the records of the Society, and a copy forwarded by the Secretary to the family of the deceased.

MRS. THOMAS K. BRUNER, *Regent.*
MRS. E. E. MOFFITT, *Secretary.*
MRS. ED. CHAMBERS SMITH,
MRS. MARY B. SHERWOOD,
MRS. PAUL HINTON LEE,
MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD,
MRS. IVAN PROCTOR,
MRS. JOHN CROSS,
MISS GRACE BATES,

Committee.

+ Isabella Morrison Hill.

TRIBUTE FROM A FRIEND.

In Memoriam Mrs. Isabella Morrison Hill, Widow of Gen. D. H. Hill.

"The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness and temperance."

This summary of the full fruition of a beautiful life was never more admirably illustrated than in the declining days of the lovely lady, who seems to have been spared to reach the ripe old age of nearly four score years to prove before the world the truth of God's Holy Word. Mrs. Isabella Morrison Hill survived most of her youthful friends and contemporaries, but she was comforted by being spared to see her children in the front rank of those who are faithful to God and useful to their fellow-men. She descended, through both father and mother, from men and women who feared God and served their State by showing their devotion to civil and religious liberty. Her father, Dr. Robert Hall Morrison, was a profound scholar, an able preacher and an exemplary Christian. He had the cultured manner of a Cavalier with the stern virtues of a Covenanter.

Dr. Morrison was the son of Neill Morrison, one of the Scotch-Irishmen who signed the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. Her mother was Mary Graham, the youngest daughter of the Revolutionary hero, General Joseph Graham, and his wife Isabella Davidson, who was a daughter of Major John Davidson and grand-daughter of Samuel Wilson, both of whom pledged their lives by signing the same noted instrument. Miss Isabella Davidson Morrison was born at

Fayetteville on the 28th day of January, 1825, while her father was serving the old church, whose history went back to the days of Cross Creek and Flora McDonald. She would have attained the age of eighty within a few weeks.

On the 2nd of November, 1848, she was happily married to Major D. H. Hill, who had gone to Mexico a Second Lieutenant, had won by gallantry the rank of Major, and was destined to win higher honors and render more important service in the struggle for the Lost Cause.

Mrs. Hill was the oldest of six sisters, two of whom, Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Brown, are living, and three of whom, Mrs. Irwin, Mrs. Rufus Barringer and Mrs. A. C. Avery, are dead. She leaves five children, Mrs. Eugenia Arnold, wife of Thomas Jackson Arnold, the nephew of General T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson; Miss Nannie Hill, a teacher of art, now residing in Florida; Dr. Randolph Hill, of Los Angeles, Cal.; D. H. Hill, author and professor of literature in the A. and M. College at Raleigh, and Chief Justice Joseph M. Hill, of Arkansas. Those who know her children, all leaders in their chosen life work, realize that she has not lived in vain.

Mrs. Hill's devotion to her husband and her faithful care of her children marked her as a model wife and mother. Patient in suffering, submissive to God's will, her face wore a serene smile during her last days that suggested the reflected light of the land upon whose border she was conscious she stood.

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12.—Battle of Cowan's Ford.
Major William A. Graham.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

The object of the BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITORS.

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SHORT SKETCH OF THE BATTLE OF GUILFORD COURT-HOUSE FROM THE VIEW-POINT OF RESULTS.

BY MAJOR JOSEPH M. MOREHEAD.

The name of Washington overshadows of course that of every other Revolutionary soldier, and yet the inquiry presents itself, did Washington assume graver responsibility, or evince truer courage in accepting the command of the American Army than that assumed and displayed by Greene in accepting the command of the Southern Department in December, 1780? I take it to be true that when England determined in the winter of '79-80 to transfer the seat of active hostilities to the Southern Department from Delaware to Virginia, inclusive, Greene was Washington's choice as commander for the same, as he was his favorite of all the officers under him. But the fearful lessons of the fall of Charleston in May '80 and of the disastrous defeat at Camden in August following, it seems were necessary before the appointment was allowed to be made and accepted. Upon his arrival at Charlotte, N. C., in December '80 Greene in the face of a hitherto victorious army of British Regulars was under the necessity of creating an army from militia who had borne the brunt of war for five weary years—around a nucleus of Regulars—a handful—too naked to appear on dress parade. After the battle of Cowpens, January 17th, 1781, Greene retreated rapidly as possible across North Carolina and effected

his escape from Cornwallis by crossing the Dan river below Danville, Va., on February 15th or 14th. Cornwallis arrived on the south bank the same day. With what courage, fortitude and skill Greene and his men pushed their forlorn hope to victory let the fathers tell. The reader is referred to the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution published by Congress in 1890.

Here we read, Volume 4, page 363, John Adams to Benjamin Franklin (Paris).

"Leyden,Holland, April 16, 1781—I think the Southern States will have the honor, after all, of putting this continent in the right way of finishing the business of the war. There has been more sheer fighting there in proprortion than anywhere."

Page 419, Adams to Franklin (Amsterdam).

"May 16, 1781—The news from the Southern States of America of continual fighting, in which our countrymen have done themselves great honor, has raised the spirit of Holland from that unmanly gloom and despondency into which they had been thrown by defeats by the English."

Page 802, Robert Livingstone, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Dana, in Europe.

"Philadelphia, October 22, 1781—I have the pleasure of communication to you the important account of two signal victories lately obtained over the enemy in these quarters: One by General Greene, which has been followed by the re-establishment of the governments of South Carolina and of Georgia. The other at Yorktown. You will not fail to make the best use of this intelligence which must fix our independ-

ence not only beyond all doubt, but even beyond controversy."

Page 817, Robert Morris to General Greene:

"Office of Finance, November 2, 1781—Your favor of the 17th of September last has been delivered to me. I hope it is unnecessary to make assurances of my disposition to render your situation both easy and respectable." * * I have neither forgotten nor neglected your department. I have done the utmost to provide clothing, arms, accoutrements, medicines, hospital stores, etc., and I flatter myself that you will receive through the different departments both benefit and relief from my exertions. * * * * * You have done so much with so little that my wishes to increase your activity have every possible stimulus."

Beyond doubt Guilford was the most important battle embraced within all this fighting. But the one fact that Cornwallis kept the field has wrongfully transferred victory there to the British instead of to the American Army. King's Mountain and Cowpens, glorious and complete victories as they were, by no means drove Cornwallis from his original purpose and plan of capturing South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia, though they conduced tremendously to that triumph achieved at the battle of Guilford Court House; just as the release of South Carolina and Georgia flowed from it.

Upon receipt of the news of the "victory" Fox said, that the results to Cornwallis of the "victory" were identical with those that would have been caused by defeat. In Tarleton's Campaigns, page 320, we read the following extract from a letter of General Greene to Philadelphia—the battle having been fought March 15th, when Greene had retired

northward "in good order," as Stedman affirms, to his fortified camp eighteen miles north of the battlefield.

Tarleton affirms that when urged to come out and again join battles Cornwallis replied that among the streams of South Carolina Greene might entangle and destroy his army.

"Greene's Headquarters, Ramsey's,
"Deep River, March 30, 1781.

"I wrote you the 23rd instant from Buffalo Creek (South Guilford) since which time we have been in pursuit of the enemy with the determination to bring them into action again. On the 27th we arrived at Rigden's Ford, 12 miles above this, and found the enemy then lay at Ramsey's. Our army was put in motion without loss of time, but we found the enemy had crossed some hours before our arrival and with such precipitation that they had left their dead unburied upon the ground."

Tarleton says, pages 279 and 280: "The British obtained information that General Greene's army had reached Buffalo Creek, southward of Guilford Court House. The day before the King's troops arrived at Ramsey's the Americans insulted the Yagers in their encampment. The Royalists remained a few days at Ramsey's for the benefit of the wounded and to complete a bridge over Deep River, when the light troops of the American again disturbed the pickets. The British crossed the river and the same day General Greene reached Ramsey's with the intention to attack them. The halt of the King's troops at that place nearly occasioned an action which would not probably have been advantageous to the royal forces

on account of the position and the disheartening circumstance of their being encumbered with so many wounded officers and men in the action at Guilford."

Having reached his ships at Wilmington Cornwallis was tendered the alternative of again fighting Greene or of seeing him unmolested destroy in detail the British troops, then garrisoning South Carolina and Georgia. He chose the former.

Stedman, perhaps the most trustworthy historian of the period, in his account of the Battle of Guilford Court House, gives us the most unique commentary, account or criticism upon or of any battle whatever, that I ever saw. It is a literary curiosity, as well as a curiosity historical. He says: "Thus we find that the battle of Guilford drew after it some, and it will afterwards appear that it was followed by all the consequences of something nearly allied to a defeat." So will the conscientious squirm when too hard pressed.

As soon as Greene had passed southward Cornwallis hastened to Virginia with no one to confront him—thus abandoning South Carolina and Georgia to their fate and the original plan and purpose of his campaign in hopes, I suppose, that something might turn up in Virginia. Vain hope! Confronted in Virginia by no force worthy of his steel he idled around effecting nothing till Washington, giving Clinton in New York the slip, bagged him at Yorktown.

I recall no battle of the Revolutionary War more extensive or more fortunate in its results to the American cause, than that of the battle of Guilford Court House.

My allotted space being occupied I add hurriedly and in conclusion that it is a matter of easy proof, that the plan and conduct of the battle of Guilford Court House was conceived in wisdom and courageously and effectively carried out, and that even Greene's retreat from the field was a matter of judgment and not of necessity. Greene had, as he had previously written Washington that he would do, so crippled Cornwallis and burdened him with wounded men and officers as to rid North Carolina of his presence, and he had, as he had affirmed he would do, preserved his regulars—the last he could hope to get, with whom as a nucleus he released two States and caused the surrender of Cornwallis at Yortkown. That was the end of the war.

THE GERMAN PALATINES IN NORTH CAROLINA.

BY JUDGE OLIVER H. ALLEN.

The barbarity of war has its only parallel in the cruelties of religious persecutions.

The remarkable people who are the subject of this paper suffered from both in a manner that appeals to the pathetic side of our nature above that of all the peoples that ever came to our land in early days excepting perhaps, the Lost Colony whom they excelled in long suffering.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) by Louis XIV, which in 1598 had insured religious freedom to protestants in that part of Europe embracing the country inhabited by these people began afresh the fires of persecution which drove the Huguenots and Dissenters from their homes. Many of them eventually settled in North and South Carolina and their protestant German neighbors soon followed them.

One of the most picturesque spots in all Europe on both sides of the Rhine around Heidelburg, its principal city, was the country known as "The Palatinate on the Rhine," whose inhabitants were Germans, a country no longer having a place in the geography of Europe—but the territory now mostly forming a part of Bavaria and Banden, and its population scattered abroad and known for a long time as "The Palatines." A large number of them were settled in New York and other in South Carolina. Dr. Benjamin Rush in his

essay on the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania says: "The aged Germans and the ancestors of those who are young migrated chiefly from the Palatinate," and from these latter come our thrifty German population in the central part of the State, who came to North Carolina because "Lands could not be obtained in Pennsylvania without much difficulty."

Close upon the causes which drove the Huguenots from their country came the "Spanish War of Succession." Long before this war the Palatines had been objects of hatred and persecution but they clung to their beautiful land.

Heidelburg from the time of the Reformation had been the stronghold of protestant learning and hence a mark of Romish rancour. In 1622 it had been reduced to ruins and its splendid library sent to Rome.

When the war over the Spanish throne arose, lasting thirteen years and involving a greater part of Europe, Louis XIV. seized upon the opportunity of carrying his arms into Germany, whose inhabitants were mostly protestants, and it is said "that wherever he sent his army among the Germans it carried fire and sword, desolation and ruin."

The rest of the story of their suffering is vividly told by Dr. Bernheim:

"The peaceful inhabitants of the Palatinate, plundered of all their earthy possessions, were driven in midwinter as exiles from their native lands to seek an asylum in some safe and friendly country. They beheld their comfortable cottages and once amply-filled barns and storehouses smouldering in the flames behind them, whilst they and their helpless wives and children, ruined in worldly prosperity, naked, feeble, and

in a starving condition, were wending their weary way over vast fields of snow and ice, leaving their bloody footprints in the frozen snow, seeking shelter and finding none.

"Numbers perished by the way, others dragged along their feeble bodies until at last they found safety in the Netherlands, and from thence they journeyed into England. This is no overdrawn picture. Says a distinguished writer: 'The ravages of Louis XIV. in the beautiful valleys of the Rhine, were more fierce and cruel than even Mahometans could have had the heart to perpetrate. Private dwellings were razed to the ground, fields laid waste, cities burnt, churches demolished, and the fruits of industry wantonly and ruthlessly destroyed. But three days of grace were allowed to the wretched inhabitants to flee their country, and in a short time, the historian tells us, 'the roads were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women and children, flying from their homes.'

"Many died of cold and hunger; but enough survived to fill the streets of all the cities of Europe with lean and squalid beggars, who had once been thriving farmers and shopkeepers.' "

About twelve thousand of them went to England, being invited there by the good Queen Ann (1708), who cared for them with a genuine Christian magnanimity. Four thousand of them were settled by her in New York and others elsewhere.

About this time Christopher DeGraffenried and Louis Mitchell were preparing to emigrate to America with a large Swiss population, their own countrymen. Negotiations were

entered into between them and the Queen's commissioners by which it was arranged for about six hundred of the Palatines to be settled in Carolina upon ten thousand acres of land located in one body on or between the Neuse and Cape Fear rivers. Accordingly these Palatine immigarnts started for America in January, 1710, (though another account says 1709), DeGraffenried says he selected them, young, laborious and of all kind of avocations and handicraft and provided for them well, but they were overtaken by terrible storms and were thirteen weeks crossing the Atlantic. More than half of them died on the sea. They arrived at the mouth of the James river and were there assailed and plundered by a French captain. After recruiting they started by land for Carolina, stopping with Thomas Pollock on the Chowan river, who put them across the sound *sed pro pecunia* and in September they arrived on a tongue of land between the Neuse and Trent rivers and were first settled on the southern side of Trent river on lands which it turned out belonged mostly to the Surveyor General and there they remained in a state of "sickness, want and desperation" till the arrival later of DeGraffenried with his Swiss colony, and here was started the city of New Bern, named after the capital city of Switzerland.

One would suppose that the trials and misfortunes of these unfortunate people were now at an end save the hardships incidental to the life of the early settlers, but not so.

As to their further experience let them speak for themselves through a document preserved in the *Colonial Records*

which is so interesting that no apology is necessary for copying it in full:

"To His Most Excellent Majesty King George the Second King of Great Britain, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.

"The Humble Petition of the Palatines in North America Humbly Shewith

"That your Petitioners being sent, six hundred in number, by Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Ann into America under the Care of Christopher Gravenreid Barronet Her Majesty, of her bountiful kindness, paid each man Twenty Shillings Sterling for to purchase Necessarys for their peopling and settling her Plantations in North America, And Gentlemen of England raised the like sum with six pair of hand mill-stones and two pair of water mill-stones for like purpose which said sums and mill-stones your petitioners put into the care of their Trustee aforesaid, who promised to pay them in North Carolina three pounds for one received from them in England.

"That your Petitioners, pursuant to Her Majesty's Proclamation sent to Germany in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and eight had their Lands laid out to them (to wit) to each Family two hundred and fifty acres; That your Petitioners Trustee Baron Grovenreid aforesaid entered into an agreement with them to find each Family 2 cows and 2 calves, 2 sows with their young, 2 ewe sheep and 2 lambs with a male of each kind, which said stock your petitioners were to have in possession for the space of seven years, and at the Expiration of such Term to deliver their said Trustee the said Principal and at Expiration of five years

of said Term to pay him the yearly rent of two pence per acre. That in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and nine your petitioner arrived in America and in the year 1711 Indians broke out against and destroyed several Familys in which enterprize our Trustee was taken by the Indians whilst he was yet amongst them. We expected him killed then came one Thomas Pollock who ruled both Goveneur and Country and acted in behalf as a General send to his Captain William Brice to take all the Dutch that were able to bear arms and meet him at an Indian Town which was about six Leagues from our Inhabitants accordingly we did but he never met but left us to sit two days and one night with the Indians soon after Grovenreid was brought in but did not stay long with us who carried off from out Settlements all that he could conveniently come at, promising to return with provisions and necessarys for the war but never returned nor made the least satisfaction for these Things received nor the money alowed us by her most Gracious Majesty or the Gentlemen of England with two hundred pounds, which we also put into interest at our departure from England.

"That as soon as our Trustee departed, the said Colonel Thomas Pollock came to our Settlements and took every thing even the mill stones and left us without any Assistance entirely naked to the mercy of the Indians.

"That at the expiration of four years the Indian War ended and then came the said Pollock and took our Lands from us that we had in Virtue of her Majesty's Proclamation laid out to us. We your distressed Petitioners being in an unknown part of the world and quite destitute of any assis-

tance was obliged to submit to him the said Pollock who under Colours of a relapsed pattent holds the land to this day. That in the year One Thousand seven hundred and forty seven, the fifth day of January the Heir of Colonel Thomas Pollock come to our Plantations to turn us off from our possessions by virtue of Authority in order to settle the Rebels the Scots in our possessions it being in the dead time of Winter not knowing which way to go with our Familys by which we were compelled to give him our Bonds for as much as he was pleased to ask.

"That your Petitioner most humbly prays that your most sacred Majesty will be pleased to award us your poor Petitioners who have undergone the Fatigues of so long and Tedious a War against the Barbarous Indians a Decree for our said Land and at any Term of rents under Your Most Gracious Majesty, as to your Majesty may seem meet.

"And your Distressed Petitioners as in Duty bound will eber pray

"Philip Feneyer, Henry Grest, Christian Esler, Jacob Miller, Herman Grum, Christian Walker, Peter Ender, Matthias Reasonover, Joseph Pugar, Dennis Moor, Adam Moor, John Granade, Abraham Busit, John Rimer, Henry Morris, Michael Gesibel, Jacob Eibach, Christian Bavar, Nicholas Rimer, Peter Reyet, John Kinsey, Michael Kiser, Andrew Wallis, Peter Lots, John Simons, Daniel Tetchey, Daniel Simons, Peter Pillman, George Sneidor, Abraham Baver, Frederick Market, Christian Ganter, Casper Risherd, Simon Kehler, Michael Shelfer, Jacob Huber, Jno Lekgan Miller,

Jno Bernard, Shone Woolf, George Renege, Christian Hubboch, John Kensey, Phillip Omend."

The Lords of Trade and Plantations (Pitt, Greenville and Duplin) thereupon reported that pursuant to the orders of the Privy Council of 13th June, 1747, they had taken into consideration the humble petition of the Palatines in North Carolina, who were a "laborious people employed in manufacturing pitch and tar and other commodities, that they had struggled with great hardships as alleged in their petition and dispossessed of their possessions."

They are further represented in this report as being a "sober, industrious people and had a great many near relations murdered in the Indian War and yet are in a worse position than any of His Majesty's subjects in that Province by reason of exorbitant quit rents and proclamation money which was an intolerable load."

Governor Gabriel Johnston was directed to investigate the matter and he reported that he had the heirs of Thomas Pollock and "these people" before him and the heirs of Pollock represented that DeGraffenried had been to considerable expense on account of the Palatines and had gotten in debt to their father between six and seven hundred pounds for which he gave a bill of exchange which was protested and thereupon he mortgaged all his estate in that Province both real and personal for the payment of the said debt. A decree in chancery was obtained for said estate and, upon DeGraffenried failing to pay, these lands were surveyed and patented in Pollock's name.

The Palatines were advised to apply to chancery for relief,

but the report says "as they were not well acquainted with the language and ignorant of the laws they were afraid to commence a suit."

The King directed and required that grants be forthwith made to the petitioners of so much land as should be equivalent to the lands they had been dispossessed of.

In 1749 about two years later David Shuts and George Kernegu of the surviving Palatines appeared before the council with a list of those entitled to the relief and Governor Gabriel Johnston requested the General Assembly to provide for surveying the lands, but that body requested a postponement because "they had been so long from their homes," and finally in 1750 Governor Johnston reported that he should put the order relative to the "poor Palatines" into immediate execution.

Thus forty years at least after their arrival in America those who survived commenced colonial life anew. That they were treated badly there is no doubt, but at this late day it is difficult to fix the blame with any degree of satisfaction. There has never been any suggestion of wrong conduct on the part of Mitchell. The heirs of Pollock justify their course on the ground that DeGraffenried mortgaged the property to their ancestor and he was given two years to redeem it after the decree was obtained, and there is no evidence that Thomas Pollock knew that DeGrafferied was trustee unless his position as Governor was such as to put him on notice. DeGraffenried was disappointed and in debt, and after his narrow escape from death at the hands of the Indians when Lawson was cruelly burned, he likely become desperate and deter-

mined to try some other venture. So he went to Virginia and undertook a mining scheme which proved a signal failure and being threatened with arrest for debt he advised with friends, made his way up to New York, and sailed for England where after having some trouble with his distressed miners who had followed he passed in disguise to the continent. Thus his condition with this German colony might rest but for one thing. He defames them without cause and does it in general terms without stating any facts.

It comes with bad grace in a paper written after he reached Switzerland to "justify himself" when he had passed through England and failed to make any report to the Queen with whose commissioners he had entered into a solemn contract to colonize these people. One of the provisions of the contract was that "these articles shall be taken and construed in the most favorable sense for the ease, comfort and advantage of the said poor Palatines intending to settle in the country or Province of North Carolina."

This and every subsequent act of the good Queen Ann and of the King afterwards shows that they were regarded tenderly by them, and Gabriel Johnston likewise shows a becoming anxiety for them.

There is nowhere in any record or history a line that speaks otherwise than favorable of them save in the *ex parte* account by the Baron of his various "mishaps." It smacks of calumny upon these people in order to furnish an excuse for his own failure and wrong, and he spares not his own Bernese people. On the contrary, their past history, their lives of persecution

and poverty and perseverence as well as a study of their descendants refutes every insinuation against them.

As to their religion they were likely of the Lutheran Church originally. DeGraffenried says that on the day before their departure he went with Mr. Cesan, a German minister of the Reformed Church of London, to cheer up these people and to wish them a happy voyage, but he afterwards arranged with the Bishop of London to accept him and his people into the English Church, and in the course of time their descendants became connected with the various Christian denominations in their section of the State.

After the second grant of lands to them they were mostly thrown out into the territory covered by the counties of Craven, Jones, Onslow, Duplin and contiguous sections where their descendants are now mostly to be found, and, mixing with the scattering Huguenots, the Scotch in the Cape Fear section and the descendants of the early Irish settlers of Puplin and Sampson, whose fathers like theirs had come over in search of religious and political freedom, they with their allies have become one of the most substantial class of people known to any country.

While no account has been kept of the Palatines it is easy to recognize many of the families from the few names we have recorded, allowing for the corruption of names which was very common in that day.

For instance: Croom (Grum), Isler (Esler), Moore (Mohr), Wallace (Wallis), Simmons (Simons), Gaunto (Gantor), Teachey (Tetchey), Kornegay (Kernegee—Renege), Martin Franch (Martin Franke), Miller (Muil-

ler), Morris, Walker, Kinsey and others. Wherever found they represent the best type of German industry, frugaltiy and integrity.

Rush says of the Germans of his State: "A German farm may be distinguished from the farms of other citizens of the State."

The Palatines are spoken of as "sober, moral and industrious," the others as "industrious, frugal, punctual and just." And so other resemblances might be easily shown by reference to individuals especially.

Little is known as to what became of the Swiss colony. They are represented by one historian as being fifteen hundred in number, but DeGraffenried says "a small colony from Bern." They departed from their own country and at a different time from the others and they were not embraced in the agreement with Her Majesty's Commissioners.

References: DeGraffenried's Manuscript, North Carolina Histories. Colonial Records—Vols. I, p. 905 and IV. Bernheim's German Settlements in the Carolinas. Rush's Essays.

Had DeGraffenried remained with them and carried out his contract their identity would likely have been as well preserved to this day as the German character is still in New York and Pennsylvania and in some counties in the central part of the State, for they are the same people.

Note some of the resemblances: DeGraffenried says of the Palatines: They were "healthy, laborious and of all kind of avocation and handicraft." Rush says of the Germans of

Pennsylvania: "They were farmers and many mechanics, weavers, tanners, shoemakers, smiths," etc. He also says that many of them lost valuable estates by being unacquainted with the common forms of law. The Lords of Plantations report that the Palatines by reason of their ignorance of the law would not go into chancery concerning the loss of their lands.

DeGraffenried says of their thrift, that within eighteen months they managed to build homes and made themselves so comfortable that they made more progress in that length of time than the English inhabitants did in several years.

(APPENDIX.)

CONTRACT WITH DEGRAFFENRIED.

(FROM WILLIAMSON'S HISTORY.)

"Articels of agreement, identified and made, published and agreed upon, this tenth day of October Anno Domini One thousand Seven hundred and nine, and in the eight year of the reign of our Sovereign lady Anne, by the Grace of God queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, between Christopher de Graffenrid of London Esq. and Lewis Mitchell of the same place Esq. of the one part, and Sir John Phillips Bart, Sir Alexander Cairnes Bart, Sir Theodore Janson Knt, White Kennet D.D., and dean of Peterborough, John Chamberlain, Esq., Frederick Slore, doctor of Physic, and Mr. Micajah Perry merchant, seven of the Com-

missioners and trustees nominated and appointed by her Majesty's late gracious letters patent, under the great seal of Great Britian, for the collecting, receiving and disposing of the money to be collected for the subsistence and settlement of the poor Palatines lately arrived in Great Britain, on the other part.

"Whereas the above named Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell have purchased to themselves and their heirs in fee, and are entitled to a large tract of land in that part of her Majesty's dominions in America called North Carolina, which now lies waste and uncultivated for want of inhabitants; and they the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell have applied themselves to the Commissioners appointed by the letters patent above mentioned for the subsistence and settlement of the poor distressed Palatines, that some number of the said poor Palatines may be disposed of and settled in the said tract of land in North Carolina aforesaid, as well for the benefit of the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell as for the relief and support of the said poor Palatines.

"And whereas, the said Commissioners have thought fit to dispose of for this purpose six hundred persons of the said Palatines, which may be ninety-two families more or less, and have laid out and disposed of to each of the said six hundred poor Palatines the sum of twenty shillings in clothes, and have likewise paid and secured to be paid to the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell the sum of five pounds ten shillings lawful money of Great Britain for each of the said six hundred persons, in consideration of and for their

transportation into North Carolina aforesaid, and for their comfortable settlement there.

"It is constituted, concluded and agreed, by and with the said parties to these presents in manner following:

"In primis, that the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell for the consideration aforesaid, at their own proper costs and charges shall, within the year ——— next after the date hereof embark or cause to be embarked on ships board, in and upon two several, ships, six hundred of such of the said poor Palatines as shall be directed by the said commissionres, which together may in all make up ninety-two families more or less, and cause the said persons to be directly transported to North Carolina aforesaid, providing them with food and other necessaries during their voyage thither.

"Item, that upon the arrival of the said six hundred poor Palatines in North Carolina aforesaid, the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell shall, within three months next after their said arrival there, survey and set out, or cause to be surveyed and set out, by metes and bounds, so much of the said tract of land above mentioned as shall amount to two hundred and fifty acres for each family of the said six hundred poor Palatines, be they ninety-two families more or less; and that the said several two hundred and fifty acres for each family be as contiguous as may be for the more mutual love and assistance of the said poor Palatines one to another, as well with respect to the exercise of their religion as the management of their temporal affairs.

"And for avoiding disputes and contentions among the said Palatines in the division of the said several two hundred and

fifty acres of land, It is agreed, that the said land, when set out by two hundred and fifty acres to a family, be divided to each family by lot.

"Item, that the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, their heirs executors or administrators, within three months next after the arrival of the said poor Palatines in North Carolina aforesaid, shall give and dispose of unto the said poor Palatines and to each family, by lot, two hundred and fifty acres of the tract of land above mentioned and by good assurances in law grant and convey the said several two hundred and fifty acres to the first and chief person or persons of each family their heirs and assigns forever: to be held the first five years thereafter without any acknowledgement for the same, and rendering and paying unto the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, their heirs executors and administrators, for every acre the sum of two pence lawful money of that country yearly and every year after the said term of five years.

"Item, that for and during one whole year after the arrival of the said poor Palatines in North Carolina aforesaid, the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell shall provide, or cause to be provided for, and deliver to the said poor Palatines sufficient quantities of grain and provision and other things for the comfortable support of life; but it is agreed, that the said poor Palatines respectively shall repay and satisfy the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, their heirs executors and administrators, for the full value of what they shall respectively receive on the amount at the end of the first year then next after.

"Item, that the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, at their own proper costs and charges within four months after their arrival there, shall provide for the said Palatines and give and deliver, or cause to be given or delivered to them, for their use and improvement, two cows and two calves, five sows with their several young, two ewe sheep and two lambs, with a male of each kind, who may be able to propagate, that at the expiration of seven years thereafter each family shall return to the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, their heirs or executors, the value of the said cattle to be delivered to them, with a moiety of the stock then remaining in their hands at the expiration of the said seven years.

"Item, that immediately after the division of the said two hundred and fifty acres among the families of the said Palatines, the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell shall give and dispose of gratis to each of the said Palatines a sufficient number of tools and implements for felling of wood and building of houses, etc.

"And lastly, it is covenanted, constituted and agreed, by and between all parties to these presents, that these articles shall be taken and construed in the most favorable sense for the ease, comfort and advantage of the said poor Palatines intending to settle in the country or province of North Carolina; that the said poor Palatines, doing and performing what is intended by these presents to be done on their parts, shall have and enjoy the benefits and advantages hereof without any further or other demand of and from the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, their heirs executors

or administrators or any of them; and that in case of difficulty it shall be referred to the Governor of the country or province of North Carolina, for the time being, whose order and directions, not contrary to the intentions of these presents, shall be binding upon the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, his heirs executors and administrators, as to the said poor Palatines.

"Witness whereof the said parties to these presents have interchangeably set their hands and seals the day above written.

"John Phillips (L. S.)
Alexander Cairnes (L. S.)
White Kennet (L. S.)
John Chamberlain (L. S.)
Frederick Slore (L. S.)
Micajah Perry (L. S.)

"Sealed and delivered by the within named Sir John Philips, Alexander Cairnes, White Kennet, John Chamberlain, Frederick Slore, Micajah Perry, having two six penny stamps.

"In presence of us.

William Taylor,
James De Pratt.

"We the within named Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, for ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, do hereby covenant and agree to and with the Commissioners and trustees within written, for and upon the like consideration mentioned, to take and receive fifty other persons in the families of the poor Palatines, to be disposed of

in like manner as the six hundred poor Palatines within specified, and to have and receive the like grants, privileges, benefits and advantages as the said six hundred Palatines have, may or ought to have, in every article and clause within written, and as if the said fifty Palatines had been comprised therein, or the said articles, clause and agreements had been here again particularly repeated and recited on to them.

"Witness our hands and seals this 21st day of Octobre, A. D. 1709.

"Christopher de Graffenrid,
Lewis Mitchell.

"Sealed and delivered this agreement in the presence of
"Wm. Taylor,
Jas. De Pratt."

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VOL. V. JULY, 1905 No. 1

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"CAROLINA! CAROLINA! HEAVEN'S BLESSINGS ATTEND HER!
WHILE WE LIVE WE WILL CHERISH, PROTECT AND DEFEND HER."

PUBLISHED BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

The object of the BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITORS.

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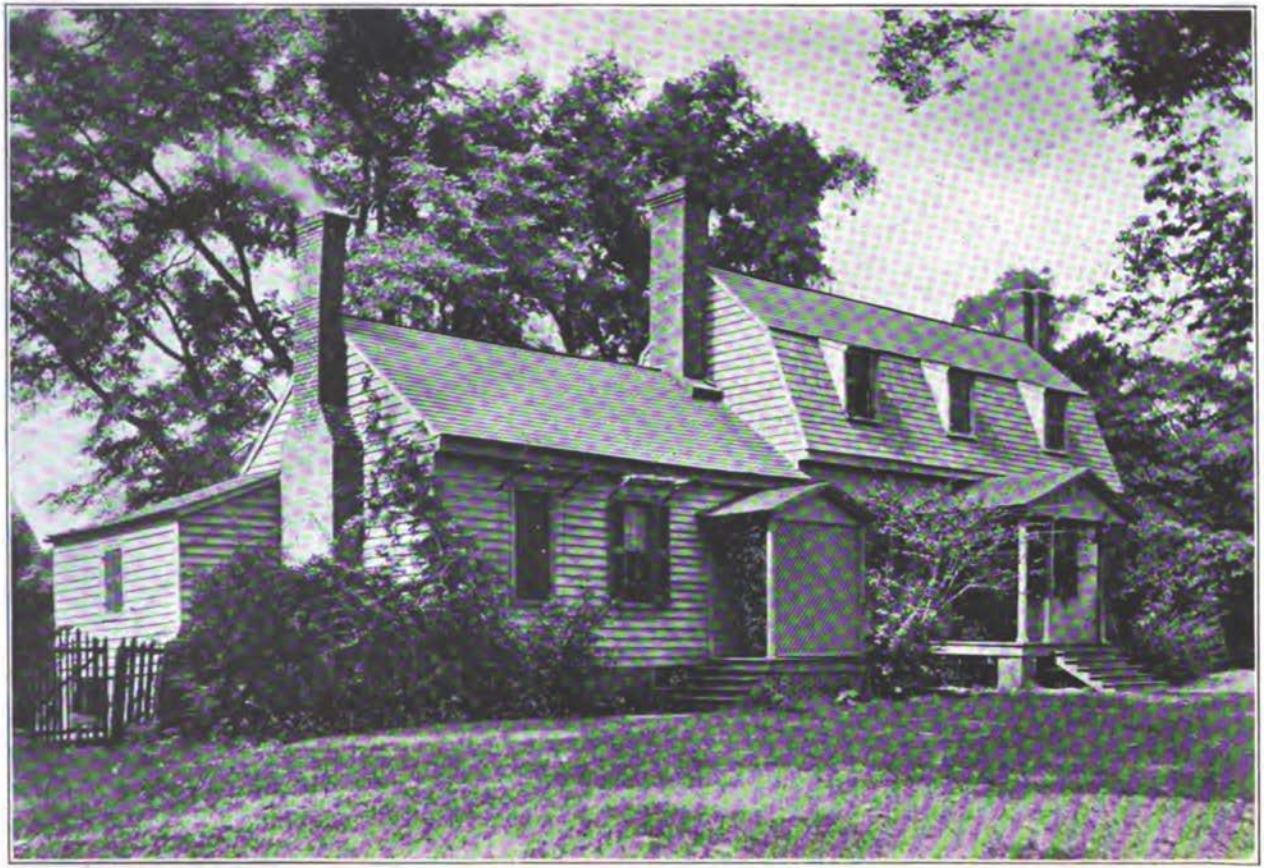

JOEL LANE HOUSE IN PRESENT CITY OF RALEIGH

MEETING PLACE OF NORTH CAROLINA REVOLUTIONARY ASSEMBLY IN JUNE 1781

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. V. JULY, 1905. No. 1.

THE GENESIS OF WAKE COUNTY.

BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD.

When the editors of THE BOOKLET requested me to prepare a sketch bearing in some way upon the history of Wake County, no particular period or epoch was assigned me. Thus having a space of more than one hundred and thirty years from which to choose my subject, I have decided that nothing more profitable can be selected than to start with *"In the beginning"*—and so I term this brief dissertation THE GENESIS OF WAKE COUNTY. I shall endeavor to tell something of the county's origin, of its colonial history, and of the part its people bore in the War of the Revolution, closing with the year 1783, when Great Britain acknowledged North Carolina (with her sister colonies) to be a "free, sovereign, and independent State." My narrative will close about ten years before the foundation of the City of Raleigh, which is the State capital of North Carolina and what our English ancestors would call the "shire-town" of Wake County.

Probably the first white man who ever set foot in the area which is now embraced in Wake county was John Lawson, the explorer and historian, who made his journey in 1700 and crossed Neuse River at the northern end of the present county of Wake, about five miles from where the village and college of Wake Forest now stand. Speaking of the falls of the river (which he called a creek), Lawson says: "We went about 10 Miles, and sat down at the Falls of a

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large Creek, where lay mighty Rocks, the Water making a strange Noise, as if a great many Water-Mills were going at once. I take this to be the Falls of *Neus*-Creek, called by the *Indians, Wee quo Whom.*" Another early reference to the land now lying in Wake county is found on a large map made by "Capt. John Collet, Governor of Fort Johnston," dedicated to King George the Third, and published by an Act which passed the British Parliament on May 1, 1770. This map gives Neuse River (spelling it Nuse), and also shows many of that river's tributaries which flow through Wake county, and are still known by the same names. Among these are the two streams on the north and south of the present city of Raleigh, viz.: Crabtree Creek, and Walnut Creek (which Collet calls "Walnut Tree Creek"); also Middle Creek further down, which is now partly in Johnston county. Then, on the eastern side of Neuse River, going up-stream, we find New Light Creek, Beaver Dam Creek, and the Ledge of Rocks. One error in Collet's map is representing Richland Creek as forming part of the headwaters of Crabtree, when, in fact, it is on the northern side of Neuse River, flowing into the river a few miles below the Falls, while Crabtree Creek is on the southern side of the river.

The county of Wake was brought into existence when England's reigning monarch was George the Third and when William Tryon was Royal Governor of the Colony of North Carolina. It is named in honor of Governor Tryon's wife whose maiden name was Margaret Wake. With the exception of Dare county, it is the only county in the State named for a woman. Though it was not fully organized till 1771, its origin was about the end of the year 1770 when a bill was introduced into the Lower House of the Legislature of the Colony at New Bern, on December 23d, providing for the creation of Wake county; and the Upper House, or Governor's Council, passed the bill on the 27th of the same

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month, thus making it a law—Chapter XXII of the Public Laws of 1770. This Act, a somewhat lengthy document of sixteen sections, sets forth as a reason for the creation of the new county that "the large extent of the said counties of Johnston, Cumberland, and Orange, renders it grievous and burthensome to many of the inhabitants thereof to attend the Courts, General Musters, and Public Meetings therein." The territory at first included in Wake county was taken from the three counties named in the above quoted extract. By the Act referred to, Joel Lane, Theophilus Hunter, Hardy Sanders, Joseph Lane, John Hinton, Thomas Hines, and Thomas Crawford were appointed commissioners to lay off land on which to erect a Court-House, Jail, Stocks, etc., and Joel Lane, James Martin, and Theophilus Hunter were authorized to contract with workmen for the erection of the said buildings and stocks. Joel Lane, John Smith, Theophilus Hunter, Farquard Campbell, and Walter Gibson were then directed to run the boundary as specified in the Act creating the county. This law will be found in the Revisal published by James Davis at New Bern in 1773. According to its own provisions, said Act was not to take effect till March 12, 1771.

During the year in which Wake county was taking shape as a territory separate and distinct from its mother counties of Johnston, Orange, and Cumberland, North Carolina was in the throes of a small civil war—what is known is history as the Insurrection of the Regulators. The chief seat of trouble was in Orange county; and in Wake (a part of what had been Orange) there was also some disaffection to the government, but no acts of violence and incendiarism by the Regulators occurred here, as was the case in Orange, Granville, and other counties. As early as 1768 Governor Tryon had gone with some colonial militia against the Regulators; but, on that expedition, there was no blood-shed, as the Regulators agreed to cease their lawlessness. In this

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expedition of 1768 one of the officers in the Governor's army was Major John Hinton who appeared at the head of a detachment from Johnston county. By the Act of 1770, creating Wake, Major Hinton's plantation was included in the new county. Thereupon Governor Tryon promoted him to the rank of Colonel and called for his services in a second expedition against the Regulators in the early Spring of 1771. The chief place of rendezvous for the colonial militia, which served under Tryon, was Wake Cross-roads, about where Raleigh now stands. The Governor's own headquarters were at a country-seat called Hunter's Lodge, owned by the elder Theophilus Hunter, on the present Fayetteville Road, two or three miles south of Raleigh. This place is now owned by Ransom Hinton, Esq., a descendant both of Colonel John Hinton and Theophilus Hunter. Hunter's Lodge is not the same as Spring Hill, a neighboring plantation later owned by Theopilus Hunter, junior. Near Wake Cross-roads Governor Tryon tarried with his troops from May 2d till May 8th, and then set out towards the scene of the disturbances. About a week later, on May 16, 1771, was fought the Battle of Alamance, where the insurgents were defeated and scattered by the Governor's little army of North Carolina militia—a force about half their own number. In this expedition the Wake county troops under Colonel Hinton acquitted themselves with honor, and received high commendation for the part they bore in the battle.

At the beginning of Tryon's march from Wake Cross-roads it was found necessary for his Corps of Engineers to cut a new road, as the old one—the "Granville Tobacco Path"—was too rough for artillery to pass over. The new thoroughfare was called Ramsgate Road. By the mellowing process of time, Ramsgate assumed a more sentimental form and became *Ramcat,* also giving its name to a section of our county where the more cultured classes write it Rham-

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katte. The latter locality, as everyone knows, is a great trade center which supplies Raleigh with light-wood, 'possums, and blackberries, and even begins to threaten the commercial supremacy of our sister county of Chatham in its chief source of support, the rabbit industry.

But my tribute to Rhamkatte has caused me to digress from the course of this narrative, which has to do with the history in general of Wake county. The Charter of the new county was signed by Governor Tryon, in the name of the King, on May 22, 1771, while he was on the Alamance expedition, and this important document was entrusted to the personal care of Colonel John Hinton, who presented it in open court after his return home.

In the early days of Wake county the chief legal tribunal of a county in North Carolina was called the "Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions." It was composed of all (or a quorum) of the Justices of the Peace meeting in joint session four times yearly. There were also Judicial Districts in the Colony. These districts were composed of several counties, over all of which the "Superior Court" had higher jurisdiction than the above county courts. The Superior Courts were the highest tribunals in the Colony, and their sessions were presided over by the Chief Justice of North Carolina and two "Assistant Judges." Wake county was in what was known as the Hillsborough District, and all of its business with the Superior Court had to be transacted at the town of Hillsborough. The lawyers of that day often came down from Hillsborough, and from other localities, even Virginia, to appear in the Wake Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. On its Docket between 1771 and 1783 we find the names of a number of practicing attorneys, among whom were Bromfield Ridley, John Kinchen, John Rand, James Forsyth, Joseph Taylor, David Gordon, D'Arcy Fowler, James Williams, John Bonton, John Penn, Henry Gifford, Henry Lightfoot, James Spiller, and Alex-

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ander Gray. Some of these gentlemen regularly resided in Wake county. Penn lived in Granville and was afterwards a signer of the National Declaration of Independence.

The first Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for the county of Wake met on June 4, 1771. There were present Theophilus Hunter, Presiding Justice, and the following Justices: Joel Lane, Joseph Lane, Benjamin Hardy, James Martin, Hardy Sanders, Abraham Hill, Thomas Wootten, James Jones, Thomas Crawford, and Tingnall Jones. Among other officers present were Michael Rogers, High Sheriff; John Rogers and James Alford, Deputy Sheriffs; John Rice, Clerk of the Court and Deputy Clerk for the Crown in the county of Wake; and Bromfield Ridley, King's Deputy Attorney. It is recorded that when another session of this Court met it was at "Bloomsberry, in the County of Wake." Bloomsberry, more properly Bloomsbury, was the name of a hamlet erected at Wake Cross-roads, the present site of the city of Raleigh. The hamlet of Bloomsbury was also known as Wake Court-House.

In days prior to the Revolution, and for some time after that war, it was the law that any person convicted of perjury should have both his ears cropped off by the common hangman and nailed to the pillory. One ear was so cropped for subornation of perjury. Hence any person who was "crop-eared" was always regarded with distrust. But occasionally a citizen was deprived of his ear without due process of law, in consequence of the cannibalistic propensity of some adversary with whom he was engaged in a rough and tumble fight—or "battle," as the old records would say. When such a misfortune befell a man, he generally went into court and had an entry made of the fact that his ear had been bitten off, and not cropped for perjury or subornation thereof. There are several entries of this class on the old records of Wake county. At September Term, 1771,

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we find the following: "Averington McKelroy came into court, and by the oath of Mr. Isaac Hunter proved that he unluckily lost a piece from the top of his right ear by Jacob Odem's biting it off in a battle." Nor was Mr. McKelroy the only belligerent who was wounded in battle by a sharp-toothed antagonist; for, by a formal entry made at September Term, 1772, of the above court, we are also informed: "James Murr came into court and produced John Patterson, a witness to prove how and in what manner he lost his ear, who made oath that after a battle between said Murr and one Wagstaff Cannady, he (the said Patterson) found a piece of his (Murr's) ear on the ground: to wit the right ear." Those "good old-fashioned customs" will never come again—and for this may the Lord make us thankful!

There is a homely old proverb, perhaps familiar to some of my readers, which says: "Never trust a nigger with a gun." Our forefathers in the Colonial Assembly, it would seem, went even further and were not even willing to trust a nigger with a club. In examining the proceedings of the court of Wake County, at September Term, 1774, we find the following order: "Whereas, it hath lately been a practice of sundry slaves in this county, especially upon Crab Tree and Walnut Creeks, to carry clubs loaded on the ends with lead or pewter, contrary to the Act of Assembly, to the annoyance of the inhabitants, which may be attended with dangerous and evil consequences, the court therefore appoints the chairman to cause to be put up advertisements at the court-house and other public places in this county, requiring the masters, mistresses, or overseers of slaves, to prohibit their slaves from carrying such unlawful weapons, certifying to them at the same time that, if they therein fail, the magistrates will strictly put in execution the law against such an evil and dangerous practice."

On October 6, 1772, Colonel John Hinton made a list of the officers of his regiment of Wake County troops, and this

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roster is here given; for so many of the officers therein, now have descendants living in Wake County and elsewhere that it will doubtless be of interest. The following is a copy in full:

Colonel—John Hinton.

Lieutenant-Colonel—Joel Lane.

Major—Theophilus Hunter.

Captains—Simon Turner, John Hinton, junior, James Moore, Samuel Pearson, Nathaniel Jones, Edward Mobley, Jeremiah Mobley, Michael Rogers, Sandy Sanders, William Simms, and William Anderson Fowler.

Lieutenants—John Myatt, Swann Thompson, Edward Mobley, junior, John Beddingfield, Tingnall Jones, Dempsey Powell, Jacob Utley, Isham Hendor, and Mosier Jones.

Ensigns—Andrew Collins, Reuben Rogers, Jacob Bledsoe, Joshua Sugg, Thomas Philips, Aaron Rogers, Etheldred Jones, Joel Simms, and Godfrey Fowler.

The gentlemen who held the office of High Sheriff of the county of Wake from the foundation of the county to the close of the Revolution, were the following: Michael Rogers, from the foundation of the county till June, 1773; Thomas Hines, from June, 1773, till June, 1777; Thomas Wootten, from June, 1777, till September, 1780; Hardy Sanders, from September, 1780, till September, 1782; and Britain Sanders, from September, 1782, till after American independence was acknowledged. During the days of our colonial existence the office of High Sheriff was one not only of importance but of the greatest honor as well, as has always been the case in Great Britain, where even now some of the principal peers hold the title as an hereditary honor—the Duke of Montrose being hereditary High Sheriff of Dumbartonshire, the Duke of Argyll hereditary High Sheriff of Argyllshire, with other noblemen of like rank who might be mentioned.

At the beginning of the War of the Revolution, field-officers for the troops of Wake County were appointed by

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the Provincial Congress of North Carolina at Hillsborough on the 9th of September, 1775, as follows: John Hinton, Colonel; Theophilus Hunter, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Hinton, junior, First Major; and Thomas Hines, Second Major. These officers were re-elected to the same ranks by the Provincial Congress of North Carolina at Halifax on the 22d of April, 1776. At a later period Thomas Wootten was also Colonel; and Michael Rogers, Lieutenant-Colonel, the latter being appointed in February, 1778. There may have been some other changes also.

About the beginning of January, 1776, there was a great uprising of the Tories of North Carolina, chiefly among the Highland Scotch of the Cape Fear section, with some of the old Regulators from further west; and Wake County was called upon to do her part in suppressing the out-break. Colonel Hinton then marched eastward with a detachment of his regiment, which became a part of Colonel Richard Caswell's command, numbering about eight hundred. These later united with the lesser command of Colonel Alexander Lillington, after which the joint forces (about a thousand men) gave battle to a vastly superior force of Loyalists at Moore's Creek Bridge, on the 27th of February, 1776. The scene of this fight was then in New Hanover County, but is now a part of the county of Pender. The result was one of the most crushing defeats which ever befell the King's troops in America. Colonel Caswell (later General and Governor), who commanded in this battle, afterwards spoke in high terms of the bravery there displayed by Colonel Hinton.

A good deal of recruiting was done in Wake County while the war was in progress. In the Summer of 1781, one of the French volunteer officers, Francis Marquis of Malmedy, mustered into his regiment a company of Wake Light Horse. Of this company Solomon Wood was Captain, Mark Myatt was Lieutenant, and Thomas Gray was Cornet.

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In connection with the last named rank (now no longer in use) it may be mentioned that a Cornet was a commissioned officer in a cavalry company whose duty it was to carry the colors of his troop.

While the above Whigs were striving for independence, the Tories were by no means inactive, though few could stay in Wake County. When a man refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new State government, he was ordered to move out of North Carolina. Alexander Munn and Sampson Strickland were driven out for so refusing, and there may have been others. Munn's property, with that of other Loyalists, was later confiscated by Chapter VI. of The Laws of 1781. He went to Nova Scotia in 1783.

There were some men who attempted to shirk the military duty which the law required of them during the Revolution. Of this class was one Timothy Duck, who failed to appear when summoned for military duty in April, 1781. At that time Colonel Thomas Wootten commanded the militia forces of Wake County. In accordance with a power which was given him by law, Colonel Wootten ordered the Sheriff to seize and sell Duck's plantation. With the proceeds of this sale, John Abernethie was hired as a substitute, and the unfortunate Duck had to hunt for another nest.

The most active and daring partisan in North Carolina on the Tory side during the Revolution was Colonel David Fanning, a native of what afterwards became the county of Wake, though that part of Wake was in Johnston at the time of his birth. The deeds of blood committed by him in his native State fill a volume which he prepared, entitled *Fanning's Narative*. After the war, when North Carolina passed an "Act of Pardon and Oblivion," giving a general amnesty to her late enemies, he was excepted by name from its provisions, and died an exile in Canada.

Wake county had a good share in establishing the independent government of North Carolina. To the Provincial

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Congress at New Bern in April, 1775, John Hinton, Michael Rogers, and Tingnall Jones were sent as its delegates. In another Provincial Congress, held at Hillsborough in August of the same year, the county's representatives were John Hinton, Joel Lane, Theophilus Hunter, Michael Rogers, Tingnall Jones, John Rand and Thomas Hines. On September 9th, while the last named Congress was in session, it appointed Committees of Safety for the several Districts into which the State was divided, and Joel Lane, Michael Rogers, and John Hinton, of Wake, were made members for the Hilsborough District, of which their county was a part. In the Provincial Congress at Halifax in April, 1776, the representatives from Wake were Tingnall Jones, John Rand, John Hinton, Joel Lane and William Hooper. The last named gentleman, Mr. Hooper, who is recorded as a delegate from Wake, was not a citizen of the county. Later he added to his already established fame by signing the National Declaration of Independence. Another Provincial Congress met at Halifax in November, 1776, and from Wake County to that body went Britain Fuller, James Jones, Tingnall Jones, John Rice and Michael Rogers. On April 19, 1776, during the session of the first Provincial Congress at Halifax, Theophilus Hunter and Thomas Hines, of Wake, were made members of a Committee to procure, by purchase or otherwise, fire-arms for use by the American troops.

In the State Senate of North Carolina during the Revolution, Wake County was represented by James Jones in 1777, by Michael Rogers from 1778 till 1781, and by Joel Lane from 1782 till after the end of the war. In the House of Commons of North Carolina during the war, appeared the following Wake County members: John Rand and Tingnall Jones in 1777; Lodwick Alford and Hardy Sanders in 1778; Thomas Hines and John Hinton, junior, in 1779; Nathaniel Jones and John Humphries in 1780; Burwell

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Pope and James Hinton in 1781 and 1782; and Theophilus Hunter and Hardy Sanders in 1783.

While the above delegates from Wake in the Provincial Congresses and General Assemblies were looking after the State's general welfare, the interests of the county were faithfully guarded at home by the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. Among the Justices who sat at different times in this tribunal during the Revolution were the following: John Abernethie, Lodwick Alford, Kedar Bryan, Richard Banks, Thomas Crawford, Joseph Davis, Abraham Hill, Thomas Hines, John Hinton, John Hinton, junior, James Hinton, Francis Hobson, Theophilus Hunter, Albridgton Jones, James Jones, Nathaniel Jones of White Plains,* Tingnall Jones, Joel Lane, Joseph Lane, James Martin, James Moore, Burwell Pope, Michael Rogers, Hardy Sanders, Joshua Sugg, William Walton, John Whitaker, and Thomas Wootten. Beginning with the early part of 1777, the court composed of these Justices cited various citizens of the county to take the oath of allegiance to the new State government as required by a recent enactment. When a person refused to take such oath, he was forthwith ordered to leave the county and State.

In 1781 one of the sessions of the General Assembly of North Carolina (there were two or more sessions that year) met at Bloomsbury, the county-seat of Wake. Colonel Joel Lane's residence (which is still standing in the city of Raleigh) was its place of meeting. At that time the State and Continental paper money had become so utterly worthless that the sum of *fifteen thousand pounds* was paid by the Assembly to Colonel Lane for the rent of this house for two weeks, with pasturage included. During this session several detachments of troops were ordered to Bloomsbury for the Assembly's protection.

The present city of Raleigh, as is well known, stands on

*Nathaniel Jones of White Plains lived near the present village of Cary. He died in 1815. His connection by marriage (though probably not of the same paternal line), Nathaniel Jones, Sr., of Crabtree, who died in 1810, was a brother of Robert Jones, Jr. ("Robin" Jones), Attorney General under Governors Dobbs and Tryon. See Jones Genealogy by Col. Cadwallader Jones. Nathaniel Jones, Jr., of Crabtree died in 1828, and was father of the late Kimbrough Jones, Sr.

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land purchased by North Carolina from Colonel Joel Lane for the purpose of erecting thereon the capital of the State. Lane's deed to the State is dated April 5, 1792, and the streets of the new town were laid out shortly thereafter.

In 1835 and again in 1841 the United States government published lists of soldiers of the Revolution who were pensioned for services in that war. At the risk of being tedious I give the Wake County lists in full. Persons desiring a statement of the war record of any veteran herein named can obtain the same free of charge by addressing a request therefor to the Commissioner of Pensions, at Washington City. Except when otherwise designated, persons mentioned were privates in the service of North Carolina. Some of the names are spelled differently on the two lists, and these variations I have indicated below. The list published in 1835 was as follows: Berthett Allen, James Adams, Philip Adams, James Ames, John Amos, Christopher Babb, James Brown, Jesse Bryant (Virginia), William Burton (or William H. Burton), Jacob Byrum, Benjamin Carpenter, James Christian 2nd, William Clifton, George Cole, Robert Dodd, Reuben Evans, John Green, Jesse Harris (or Horris), James Hughes (Virginia), Thomas Jinks (Corporal), Francis Jones, Vincent King, Joshua Lynch, David Mabry, Jesse Manuel, John Marr, Shadrach Medlin, Naaman Mills, James Nance, senior (Virginia), Jesse Osbourn, Drury Pittiford (Virginia), William Polk (Major), Elisha Pope (Virginia), Frederick Rigsby (or Rigsbee), James Rigsby (or Rigsbee), Thomas Ross, John Rhodes, Aaron Roberts, Robert Sneed (Virginia), Joseph Shaw (Pennsylvania), Isaac Smith, Samuel Standeford (Virginia), Samuel Scarborough, senior (Virginia), Jonathan Smith, senior (Captain), John Sherron, John Swenney, William Tate, Nathan Upchurch, William Wilder, Burrell (or Burwell) Whitehead, John Walker, John Williams, and Jesse Wall. In addition to the above, the list of 1841 gives the following names, without indicating rank, or State in which they

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served: James Harward, Thomas Holland, Richard Piper, William Sledd, Rufus Willie, and William Wood. Some of these veterans were dead before lists were published. Joel Terrell, whose name also appears on the pension roll of 1835, appears to have rendered his military service in the United States Army after the Revolution—possibly in the War of 1812.

When the county of Wake was first created, and up to the time of the Revolution, the Church of England was established by law, and each county contained one or more parishes. The one in Wake was called the Parish of St. Margaret, this probably being done to canonize, as it were, the same lady in whose honor the county was called—Mrs. Tryon, formerly Miss Margaret Wake, a zealous churchwoman and generous contributor to religious work in the colony. I have also seen it stated that the present townships of St. Mary's and St. Matthew's in Wake County take their names from either chapels or parishes of the old Established Church in the Colony.

By what I have already set forth herein, my story has been brought to a close. It was not at first intended to impose upon the patience of my readers further than to bring the history of Wake County down to a time when North Carolina's independence of Great Britain was acknowledged. But I cannot resist the temptation of adding a few more words about the men and customs of that day.

The old colonists were a sturdy and substantial race of men, not the mimic courtiers so finely pictured in the historical novels dealing with that time. They had their virtues and they had their vices, as men always have had and always will have. They were not devoid of ability as legislators, and possessed a practical knowledge of the needs of the colony. Personally they were bold, fearless, and independent, prompt to answer a call for their services in the field, and at times too forward in a personal quarrel. At the

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period of which I write, there were places in North Carolina, particularly in the extreme east, where could be found commodious houses, churches, schools, and private libraries, together with what were then considered the luxuries of life. But when some of the bolder spirits of that time pushed westward and set up new homes in what is now the center of the State, they had more serious problems to confront than those to which they had been accustomed. The early pioneers of Wake County knew more about blazing paths through the primeval forests by which they were surrounded than they knew about winding through the intricate mazes of a minuet. Great houses, servants, and fine apparel form no part of the equipment of a backwoodsman. Even so we find it in the Gospel of St. Luke that when the multitude sought St. John the Baptist, it was asked of them: "What went ye out into the wilderness for to see? * * * * A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in kings' courts." So might an old colonist in Wake County describe the locality where his lot was cast, not as a place of soft raiment and delicate living, but a land—

"Where thoughts, and tongues, and hands, are bold and free,
And friends will find a welcome, foes a grave;
And where none kneel, save when to heaven when they pray,
Nor even then, unless in their own way."

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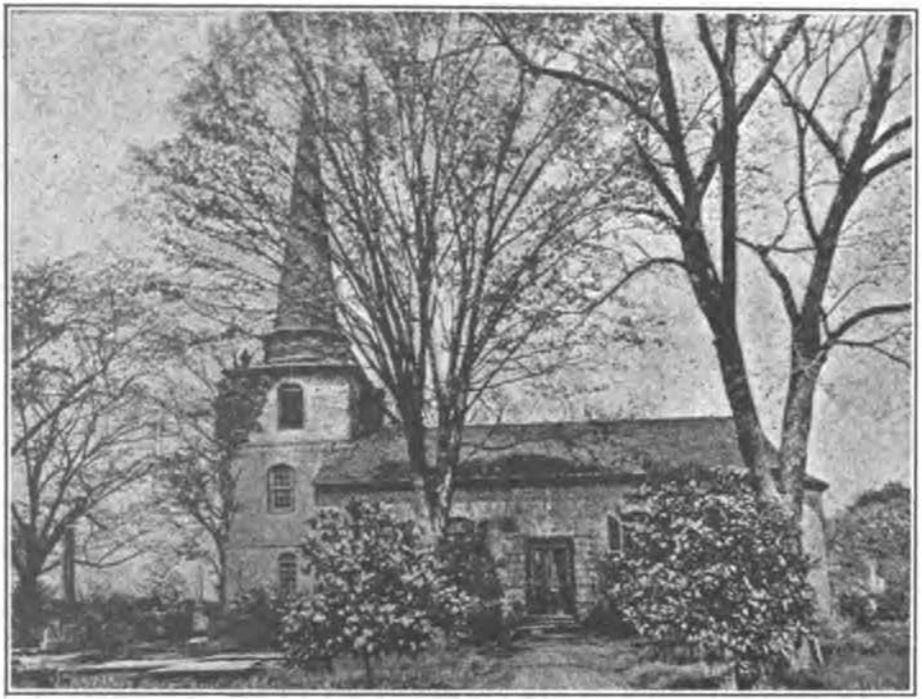

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, EDENTON, N. C., BUILT 1745.

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ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, EDENTON, N. C., AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

BY RICHARD DILLARD, M. D.

(Member of North Carolina Historical Commission,)

It is written that Selim, the son Soliman, was accustomed to eat every day a certain cereal which grew in Turkey, the effect of which was to erase from the mind every disagreeable circumstance, every painful emotion, unfortunately I have no such extravagant nepenthe, I bring no golden apples snatched from the Gardens of the Hesperides.

Edenton, and its environs, was the focal point of civilization for North Carolina, and the history of St. Paul's Parish is but the history of the early struggling colony. The exact date of the settlement of Edenton is not known, but as early as 1658 there was considerable development about this point, bearing the name of Chuwon Precinct. The beauty and fertility of the country, the mildness and equability of the climate, together with religious liberty, and the ease of access by land and water lured the adventurous settler; so that in 1710 it had grown so rapidly that it was a borough of considerable importance, the capital of the colony, and the home of the royal governors. It is sometimes alluded to as the "Towne in Queen Ann's Creek," the "Towne in Mattercomock Creek,"* and "Port of Roanoke." Upon the death of Governor Charles Eden in 1722, it was called Edenton in his honor.

In 1708 Lawson wrote of us: "The fame of this new discovered country spread through the colonies, and in a few years drew a considerable number of families thereto, who all found land enough to settle themselves, and that which was very good, and commodiously seated, both for profit and

*"Mattercomock" an Indian word meaning Temple of God. By way of parenthesis the name of the section of the country near Edenton called Rockyhock was derived from the word "Rakiock," meaning our common Cypress tree, by metathesis and corruption it has become Rockyhock the "land of Cypress trees."

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pleasure. They are kind and hospitable to all that visit them; and, as for the women, who do not expose themselves to the weather, they are often very fair, and have brisk and charming eyes, which sets them off to advantage. They marry very young, some at thirteen or fourteen, and she that stays till twenty is reckoned a very indifferent character. The young men are commonly of a bashful and sober behaviour. The easy way of living in this new and plentiful country fosters negligence. The women are the most industrious sex in the place, and by their good housewifery make a good deal of cloth of their coton, wool and flax, some of them keeping their families, though large, very decently appareled with linens and woolens, so that they have no occasion to run into the merchant's debt, or lay out their money in stores for clothing."

These copious extracts from our first historian will tend to give you some idea of the life in this new and undeveloped country then.

Our historic field is extensive and "rich with the spoils of time," but, of course, I can only give here a sort of coup d'oeil, or momentary glance like that obtained by passing on a train at lightning speed through some beautiful and ever-changing landscape.

Pursuant to an act of assembly, the vestry of St Paul's met at the house of Thomas Gilliam, December 15, 1701. The Hon. Henderson Walker, then governor, Colonel Wm. Wilkinson, and Captain Thomas Lewton, were appointed wardens for a year, and instructed "to agree with a workman for building a church twenty-five feet long, posts in the ground, and held to the collar beams." It was built upon an acre of land given by Edward Smithwick, and was finished in 1702. *This was the first church ever built upon North Carolina soil.* The vestries of those old days, when church and state were united, possesses considerable civil authority, and were about equal in power to our county commissioners. They were em-

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powered to collect tithes, provide standards of weights and measures, etc.

In 1704 Dr. John Blair presented himself to the vestry as a minister, and was received by them at a salary of thirty pounds per year.

The services had previously been conducted by readers employed at a small salary, whose only qualifications were that they should promise to live sober and exemplary lives during their periods of service. This temporary church lasted but a few years, for in 1709 the Rev. Mr. Adams, who came here under the auspices of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel" wrote: "They built a church some years ago, but it is small, and very sorrily put together, and therefore I prevailed with them to build another, which they went about when I came away." The dimensions of the new church were forty feet long, twenty-four feet wide, and fourteen feet high. In 1714, according to the records, this church was still unfinished, and it was either never finished at all, or soon fell into decay. It was not until 1729 that the initial step was taken toward building the present brick edifice. In April, 1729, Governor Everard wrote the following letter to the Bishop of London in regard to the church: "'Tis no small concern I send you this, to inform you that our church is not built now, nor is it like to be gone about; for those men that were appointed commissioners for the building it have six hundred pounds in their hands, and are now the only opposers of building one. I was, in order to laying the foundation, chose church-warden with one Mr. Mosely. We had several meetings to consult about building it, but could not agree, being always hindered by our secretary, one Mr. John Lovick, a man of no religion, fears not God or man, believes neither, seldom seen at any place of divine worship, his money is his God, ridicules all goodness. While such a man is in power no good can be expected." In 1736 a tax was laid for building this church, and in 1738 the work was

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actually begun; it was not, however, finished until 1745. About the latter part of that century the church fell into decay, and was restored to its present beauty largely through the munificence of Mr. Josiah Collins, and the stained-glass window of the apse memorializes this act of generosity.

That curious compound of learning, and good natured facetiousness Colonel William Byrd, of Virginia, who was here in 1729, on the commission to run the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia, wrote that Edenton contained then forty or fifty houses, most of them small and inexpensive, and that a man was called extravagant if he aspired to brick chimney for his house. "Justice itself," says he "is but indifferently lodged, the court-house having much the air of a common tobacco house, and that this in the only metropolis in the Christian or Mohammedan world where there is neither church, chapel, mosque, synagogue or any other place of worship, of any sect of religion whatsoever. This much, however, may be said of the inhabitants of Edenton, that not a soul has the least taint of hypocrisy or superstition."

Bishop Spangenburg, of the Moravian Church, wrote in his diary while in Edenton in 1752: "Edenton is one of the oldest towns in America, and yet it is hardly one-quarter as large as Germantown, although it has a beautiful situation. There are other cities mentioned in the Law Book, but there are no houses, they are only created cities by act of assembly."

In 1777 a young man named Watson, about nineteen years old, from Providence, R. I., made a tour through this section, and left a valuable account of his trip. He said that "Edenton contained then about one hundred and thirty-five dwellings, a brick court house, and was defended by two forts." There were few roads here then. An early minister of the S. P. G. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel), wrote to England: "I was obliged to buy a couple of horses,

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which cost me 14 pounds, one of which was for a guide, because there is no possibility for a stranger to find his road in that country, for if he once goes astray, it is a great hazard if he ever finds his road again." Edenton was at this time the court end of the Province, hither had gathered the wealth and refinement of the colony, who constituted for themselves a sort of social oligarchy.

Edenton, before the Revolution manufactured harness, hats, nails and rope. The incorporation of the town included four hundred and twenty acres. It had a good foreign trade. During one year there were forty-three arrivals of vessels from foreign ports, and about the same number of departures.

Those principally engaged in the foreign trade were John Campbell, Robert Armistead, Richard Brownrigg, Benjamin Russell, Alexander Miller, John Little and Messrs. Collins, Allen and Dickinson. The names of the largest vessels were the Sterling, Roanoke, Providence, Betsy, Liberty, Two Brothers, the Mary and the Mary Anna.

The first steamboat ever in our waters was the Albemarle. It was used as a ferry boat between Edenton and Plymouth and caried the Raleigh mail. The trial trip was made in two hours and five minutes. It was tendered President Monroe as a pleasure boat when he visited our town in 1819.

Bancroft, the father of American history, wrote: "Here was a colony of men from civilized life, scattered among the forests, resting on the bosom of nature. With absolute freedom of conscience, benevolent reason was the simple rule of their conduct. Are there any," says he, "who doubt man's capacity for self-government, let them study the early history of North Carolina."

I wish the reader to note, and history confirms the fact, that resistance to British authority existed here one hundred years before the Revolution, for the many early disturbances and frequent rebellions, such as those of Culpepper, Cary,

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and Eastchurch, wer nothing more than resistance to illegal and usurped authority, and a contest for political and religious freedom. There were the long shadows cast before the mighty Revolution. This little colony might, therefore, be styled the birthplace of American Independence.

In the history of all governments the oppressed are long tolerant of their oppressors, and a revolution is of progressive development. It took nearly five hundred years to free France of its despots. Brazil, I believe, presents a singular exception, when, as if by magic, the empire ceased to exist, and a virgin republic sprang full panoplied upon the scene.

Nine ministers officiated in this church up to the time of the Revolution, the last one being the Rev. Daniel Earle, D. D., familiar to tradition and history as "Parson Earle." He was a man of such strong points of character, and was so typical of the old fashioned parson of those days, that it is interesting to study his life and character. Oliver Wendell Holes has limned his prototype in that matchless poem the "Wonderful One-Horse Shay." We can see him now as he passes along the highway in his old stick gig, working his Sunday text, and "drawn by his rat-tail, ewe-necked bay." He was the much beloved parson of all this section, baptizing all the children and ministering at all the death beds and marriages, he thus became the welcome guest of every fireside. He was in striking contrast to some of our earlier ministers, who cared but little for their parishioners.

"Parson Earle" was born in the town of Bandon, province of Munster, Ireland, and was the younger son of an Irish nobleman. His family was one of prominence and distinction. One of his ancestors was General Earle, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland in the reign of Queen Anne. In early life he was an officer in the British army, but his marriage with the daughter of a church official changed

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the whole tenor of his life, and he soon resigned his commission to take holy orders. The exact date of his emigration to America is not known, but he was first sent by the Bishop of London to that part of Virginia now called Gloucester county.

In 1757 he came to the Albemarle section to act as curate for the venerable Clement Hall, rector of St. Paul's, then in very feeble health, and upon his death was made full rector. His charge not only included Edenton, but many mission stations scattered at great distances throughout the section now known as Chowan, Hertford and Gtaes counties. His wife, who had died before his departure for America, left him with two little daughters, these he committed to the care of relatives in England to be reared, and educated.

When he first came to this section he settled fifteen miles above here on Chowan River, and named his residence Bandon, after his native town. He was soon afterwards married to a Welch lady, a widow Charity Jones of Smithfield, Va., by whom he had no issue. As soon as he was well established in his new home he sent to England for his two daughters.

Parson Earle was full of energy, public spirit, and enterprise, and established at Bandon *the first classical school in North Carolina for boys,* in which he was assisted by his daughter, Nancy. He instructed in Latin, Greek and Mathematics, and numbered among his pulpils the children of the Baron de Poelnitz, placed there at the suggestion of James Iredell. The Baron, who was Grand Chamberlain at the Court of Frederick the Great, and his wife, who was Lady Anne Stuart, were spending some time in travel through America.

Parson Earle made improvements in the cultivation of flax, and taught the people of this section the proper method of preparing it for the loom, and the manner of weaving toweling, tablecloths, etc., a household industry still pursued in our rural districts.

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He was a sympathizer in the struggle of the colonies for independence, and was on that account debarred from preaching in his church at Edenton during the Revolution. Several attempts were made by the British to capture him. Upon one occasion he was informed by a messenger that some scouts were coming to take him prisoner. He immediately buried his silver and treasures in his cellar, and dispatched a servant to his plowmen in the fields to tell them to fly to the woods, and secrete the horses, but his servant was too late, and four of his best horses were captured, the parson himself barely escaping.

Some, following the beaten track of predecessors, have claimed that he was a Tory, because he received his stipend regularly during the Revolution from the S. P. G. This society, as its name indicates, was a religious organization, and not a political one. Organized about the beginning of that century through the untiring zeal of Dr. Thomas Bray for the dissemination of the Gospel in foreign lands, it took no cognizance of political differences; as a proof of this, when the infamous "Church Act" was passed in South Carolina through the chicanery of Sir Nathaniel Johnston, this society finding that it was for his political advantage, and not for the good of the church, held a special meeting in London, and resolved to send no more missionaries until it was repealed. And then, too, it is hardly rational to suppose that he would have espoused the British cause for the sake of the paltry stipend, when he owned such large interests here exposed to the revolutionists, and it is not probable either that he would have antagonized himself to his dear ones, his daughter and grandson, respectively, the wife and son of Charles Johnson, an ardent apostle of liberty, and Mr. Johnson would hardly have been so intimate with a family whose feelings were so inimical to his in a day when political lines were so closely, and so dangerously drawn.

Some stress must also be laid upon the tradition and local history concerning him. Parson Earle's memory is still

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held in great veneration through all this section, and but a few years have passed since there were old people living in this county, who bore testimony to his patriotism and virtues. The life of a Tory in this liberty-loving section could hardly have had such a glorious sunset. He was the exponent of the popular sentiment here then, and was selected to preside over a revolutionary meeting of the freeholders and other citizens of Chowan county in the court-house at Edenton, August 23rd, 1774, among whom were such patriots as Joseph Hewes, Samuel Johnston and Thomas Benbury, and who passed resolutions condemning the Boston Port Act and the unjust imposition of tax upon the colonies, no Tory could have presided over such a meeting.

He was also unjustly accused of being a Tory because he did not sever all connection with the Church of England, and establish an independent church, but he held that the church was a unit; that it was of Divine origin; that he was a simple priest, and that the Bishop of London, then the head of the church, alone had that power. He was a man of the highest educational attainments, verily a learned Theban in its broadest sense, he possessed great wit and humor, blended with the kindest of hearts.

Parson Earle was not only an able and faithful minister, but proved to be a successful farmer and fisherman. He was one of the pioneers in the shad and herring fishing in this country. About the time of the revolution his church at Edenton became somewhat dilapidated, and the worshippers few in number. One Sunday morning, when the parson arrived at Edenton to preach to the faithful, he was shocked and surprised to find that some village witling had placarded upon the church door the following quartrain:

"A half built church,
And a broken-down steeple,
A herring-catching parson
And a dam set of people."

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He was ever afterwards styled the Herring-catching Parson.

He died in 1790, and was buried near the site of his old home, but the modest slab, which once marked his resting place, has long since been covered by the drifting sands, and the tall pines which surround this lonely spot sigh out to every passing zephyr, in a weird melancholy monotone, their requiem for the repose of his soul:

"Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust."——

The original bell of this church was taken down in response to Beauregard's call to melt the church bells of the Confederacy, and cast them into cannon, which incident inspired that beautiful Southern war lyric "Melt the Bells," the beauty and pathos of this poem will excuse its interpolation here.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,
Still the tinkling on the plain,
And transmute the evening chimes
Into war's resounding rhymes,
That the invaders may be slain
By the bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,
That for years have called to prayer
And instead, the cannon's roar
Shall resound the valley o'er,
That the foe may catch despair
From the bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells
Though it cost a tear to part
With the music they have made,
Where the friends we love are laid,
With pale cheek and silent heart,
'Neath the bells.

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Melt the bells, melt the bells,
Into cannon, vast and grim,
And the foe shall feel the ire
From their heaving lungs of fire,
And we'll put our trust in Him
And the bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,
And when foes no more attack,
And the lightning cloud of war
Shall roll thunderless and far,
We will melt the cannon back
Into bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,
And they'll peal a sweeter chime,
And remind of all the brave
Who have sunk to glory's grave,
And will sleep thro' coming time
'Neath the bells.

(F. Y. Rockett in Memphis Appeal.)

This bell helped to form the "Edenton Bell Battery," which was organized in the winter of 1861-'62, by that cultured gentleman and gallant soldier, Captain William Badham,* of this town, whose unmarked grave lies in yonder silent churchyard, where twilight zephyrs fan the graceful Eulalias to sleep, and whose feathery aigrettes, in turn, like sacred aspergills sprinkle the morning dew like holy water over his grave.

The name of this gun was the St. Paul. It was in numerous actions, and did efficient service during the war, and was finally surrendered at Town Creek.

The Honorable John H. Small is making a praiseworthy effort to locate this war trophy, and have it returned to the parish.

*See Appendix.

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This venerable church is the admiration of the stranger; to us it is the sacred shrine of our religious liberty, the radiance from whose Shekinah shall pervade—shall live on through all the eons of eternity. Half clad in ivy, Time's green uniform, it stands a majestic, but not a voiceless sentinel of the Past, and as the sun in his eternal flight traces the shadow of its tall spire upon the sacred globe below, unerring as the Dial of Ahaz, which only the finger of God could turn backwards, its aereal gnomon points almost every hour of the day to the grave of some distinguished citizen. Its gilded cross, silhouetted in bold relief against the crimson evening sky, suggests the vision of the Emperor Constantine.

Live on thou mighty instrument of good! Live on thou granary of God's eternal harvest! Oblivion shall not blur, nor Time's remorseless hand can alter, one single page of thy history! "Thou art the Zion of the Holy One of Israel, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against *thee!*"

APPENDIX.

NOTES CONCERNING THE EARLY SECESSION MOVEMENT IN CHOWAN COUNTY.

On February 12th, 1861 a mass meeting was held at the Court-house in Edenton to consider the interest of North Carolina, and her relation to the National Government. John H. Leary was elected chairman, and T. J. Bland Secretary. A committee was at once appointed consisting of John C. Badham, John A. Benbury, Riddick Mansfield, John Thompson, and John H. Garrett to draft resolutions expressive of the sentiment of the people of the county. Three reports were submitted, a majority report by John A. Benbury, advising prudence, and caution, and discretion, believing that the Peace Congress then in session would find

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a solution of the trouble between the states; then a minority report was submitted by John C. Badham urging an immediate separation from the Union, and the necessity of adopting means of defense: A third report was offered by John H. Garrett counselling a strict adherence for the time to the Union, until the incoming administration should commit some overt act sufficient to cause a rupture with the National Government. The majority report was, however, adopted, the minority withdrew at once from the Convention, and nominated John C. Badham as the secession candidate to represent the County in the State Convention, which had been called to convene in Raleigh. William E. Bond was nominated as the Union candidate. At the election held on February 22nd the result was as follows, Bond, four hundred and twenty-seven; Badham, seventy-nine; Bond's majority, three hundred and forty-eight.

On the 4th of March Lincoln was inaugurated, but those who loved the Union, and hoped for so much perceived in his inaugural address not a straw to cling to, and he soon afterwards issued his celebrated proclamation calling upon North Carolina to furnish troops to invade her sister states, and to force them again into the Union; so on the 1st day of May a second convention was held in Edenton, and nominated Dr. Richard Dillard, senior, who was elected without opposition to the State Convention called by Gov. Ellis, which met in Raleigh on May 20th, the anniversary of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and severed our connection with the Union. This convention is considered the ablest body of men which ever assembled for any purpose within the borders of the State.

Warlike preparations at once began, the "Dixie Rebels," a six-month's volunteer company, was at once organized by Capt. James K. Marshall, he was afterwards promoted to the rank of Colonel. John C. Badham, a Lieutenant in

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this company, afterwards became a Major in the 5th N. C., and gave his life for his country at Williamsburg, Va., May 5th, 1862, at which time he held a commission of Lieut.-Colonel. Capt. T. L. Skinner also organized a company, he fell at Mechanicsville, and was succeeded by John A. Benbury, who soon shared the same fate. The few survivors of this famous company are Kader McClenny, R. S. Hedrick, Jerry Mitchell, and W. H. Pratt.

In November, 1861, the entire militia of Chowan county was ordered to Roanoke Island for its defense, it consisted of four companies, commanded by Captains Jno. C. Pearce, Thos. Wilson, Isaac Byrum and J. C. Johnston. These companies constituted the 5th Regiment of N. C. militia. The regimental officers were W. A. Moore, Col., R. G. Mitchell, Lt-Col., Wm. H. Bonner, Major, Wm. Badham, Quarter Master, Jos. G. Godfrey, Commissary, Dr. R. H. Winborne, Surgeon and Dr. L. P. Warren, Assistant Surgeon.

The Edenton Bell Battery was recruited by Capt. Wm. Badham in the winter '61-'62, and left Edenton soon after the fall of Roanoke Island, then went to Weldon, and on to Raleigh with sixty men, there they were joined by Lieut. Nelson McClees, of Tyrrell County, with twenty-two men, and by Lieut. Gaskins with about twenty men.

It was understood that Mr. McCleese in attaching himself to this battery would receive a commission as Lieut. Lieut. McCleese was to command one section and two guns, and Lieut. John M. Jones another section and two guns also. After drilling in Raleigh about two months, they were ordered to Camp Lee near Richmond for instruction. As gun metal was scarce, Capt. Badham sent Lieut. Jones to Edenton to secure the church bells, and any others that he might obtain, to be cast into cannon, in response to Gen. Beauregard's famous call. He readily secured all the bells except the Baptist (several members objecting), including the town and court-house bells, the Academy bell, and the

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shipyard bells; these were conveyed to Suffolk across the country in a wagon, and shipped to the Tredegar Iron Works at Richmond, where they were cast into four cannon, and named respectively, the "St. Paul," the "Fannie Roulhac," for a devout and patriotic lady, a staunch member of the Methodist Church, the "Columbia," and the "Edenton." As the complement of the artillery corps of Gen. Lee's army was then complete, an order was issued that all other artillery in camps should be transferred, for the time, to the infantry service; this produced great mortification, and disappointment in the company, and Capt. Badham at once dispatched Lieut. Jones to President Jefferson Davis with the following note: "Sir: The guns of my company were made of the bells of my town, and have tolled to their last resting place a great many of the parents and relatives of my command, and sooner than part with these guns they had rather be taken out and shot. But, if allowed to keep these guns they will stand by them till they die."

This spirited, and patriotic letter was handed to Colonel Dorcas then chief of ordinance, who conveyed it at once to President Davis. Lieut. Jones had not long to wait, the reply came at once that the company would be furnished as soon as possible with both artillery-horses, and harness. The Battery was then assigned to Moore's Third North Carolina Battalion. Horses were difficult to procure, in the meantime McClellan had assumed the offensive around Richmond, and the battery was ordered to Redoubt No. 7, until the horses arrived, when they were sent to Winchester to report to General Pendleton, after being there three months the battery was ordered to report for duty to General McLaw, but the order was soon rescinded. Then came a call from North Carolina ordering the battery to Wilmington, the guns were immediately shipped by rail to Wilmington, and Lieut. Jones with a special detachment carried the horses, and accoutrements through the country. When he

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arrived at Goldsboro, Gov. Vance, finding that the enemy were threatening, and near, ordered him to halt there, and the guns which had already arived in Wilmington were immediately ordered by telegraph back to Goldsboro. From Goldsboro they marched to Kinston, and reported to Gen. R. F. Hoke.—Capt. Badham, upon receipt of news that an engagement was in progress, sent Lieut. McCleese with section No. 2 to Whitehall bridge, Lieut. Jones was ordered down ten hours later, when he found that McCleese had lost two of his men. Jones was then sent six miles up the river, but as no demonstration was made there, he was ordered on to Goldsboro to protect that town. After about a week the battery was ordered to Wilmington, and guarded the railroad bridge at Northeast, from there they went to Bald Head Island, and did guard duty on the coast until the fall of Fort Fisher, when they fell back on Fort Anderson: after the flank movement of the enemy, and the evacuation of Fort Anderson, the battery was located at Town Creek, where they were attacked by the enemy with considerable force, Capt. Badham sent Sergeant B. F. Hunter with one gun, the "St. Paul," to prevent them from making a flank movement, while he was engaging them at Town Creek; Hunter was supported by a detachment of South Carolina infantry, who broke and ran, leaving him on the field with but a squad of men. Hunter stood his ground fearlessly, and when the enemy arived at the very muzzle of his gun, a Federal officer shouted to him, "If you fire that gun I will kill you:" the Confederate Sergeant, with that coolness, and intrepidity which always characterized him, replied, "Kill, and go to hell," and then ordered his gunner, William Hassell, to fire immediately. He was captured, and would have been cut down at once, but the Federal officer ordered his men to spare his life, saving, "He's too brave a man to be killed." About fifteen men were captured along with Sergeant Hunter and sent to prison at Point Lookout, among them Mr. A. T. Bush of this town. The remainder

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of the battery fell back to Wilmington, and were subsequently engaged at Cox's Bridge, finally surrendering to General Sherman at Greensboro.

The names, dimensions, and officers in command of the Edenton Bell Battery taken from the note-book of the late Capt. Wm. Badham.

The "St. Paul"—made from St. Paul's church bell in charge of Sergeant B. F. Hunter. Howitzer 1533, E. B. face 1862, left trunnion I. R. A. & Co., F. F. right trunnion 7760 breech.

The "Fannie Roulhac"—made from the Methodist Church bell, and in charge of Sergeant Harry Gregory. Howitzer —1532 face E. B. also 1862, left trunnion I. R. A. & Co., F. F. Right trunnion breech 770.

The "Columbia"—made from the bells of the two shipyards, owned by Col. T. L. Skinner, and Col. R. T. Paine. Gun in charge of Sergeant Ed. Davenport, 1534 face E. B. also—1862 left trunnion I. R. A. & Co., F. F. right trunnion, breech 860.

The "Edenton"—made from the Academy, Court House, and Hotel bells, and other bells presented by private individuals. Gun in charge of Sergeant George Parish. No. 1531 face E. B. 1862—left trunnion I. R. A. & Co., F. F. right trunnion 860 pounds breech.

The "St. Paul," and the "Edenton" were commanded by Lieut. John M. Jones, the "Fannie Roulhac," and "Columbia" were commanded by Lieut. Nelson McCleese. The guns did service at the following places, Winchester, Culpepper Court House, the Seven days fight around Richmond in redoubt No. 7, Goldsboro, Kinston, Whitehall Bridge, Bald Head, Smithfield, (now called Southport), Fort Anderson, Town Creek, the streets of Wilmington, Bentonsville, Cox's Bridge, and surrendered to General Sherman at Greensboro.

RICHARD DILLARD.
"BEVERLY HALL."
Edenton, N. C.

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William Hooper.

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LIFE OF

WILLIAM HOOPER

SIGNER OF

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

BY HIS NEPHEW

ARCHIBALD MACLAINE HOOPER.

First Printed in the Hillsboro Recorder of Nov. 13th, 20th, 27th, and December 4th, 1822.

Preface by his great-grand-daughter, Mrs. Spier Whitaker, of Raleigh, N. C., formerly Fannie De Berniere Hooper.

1905.

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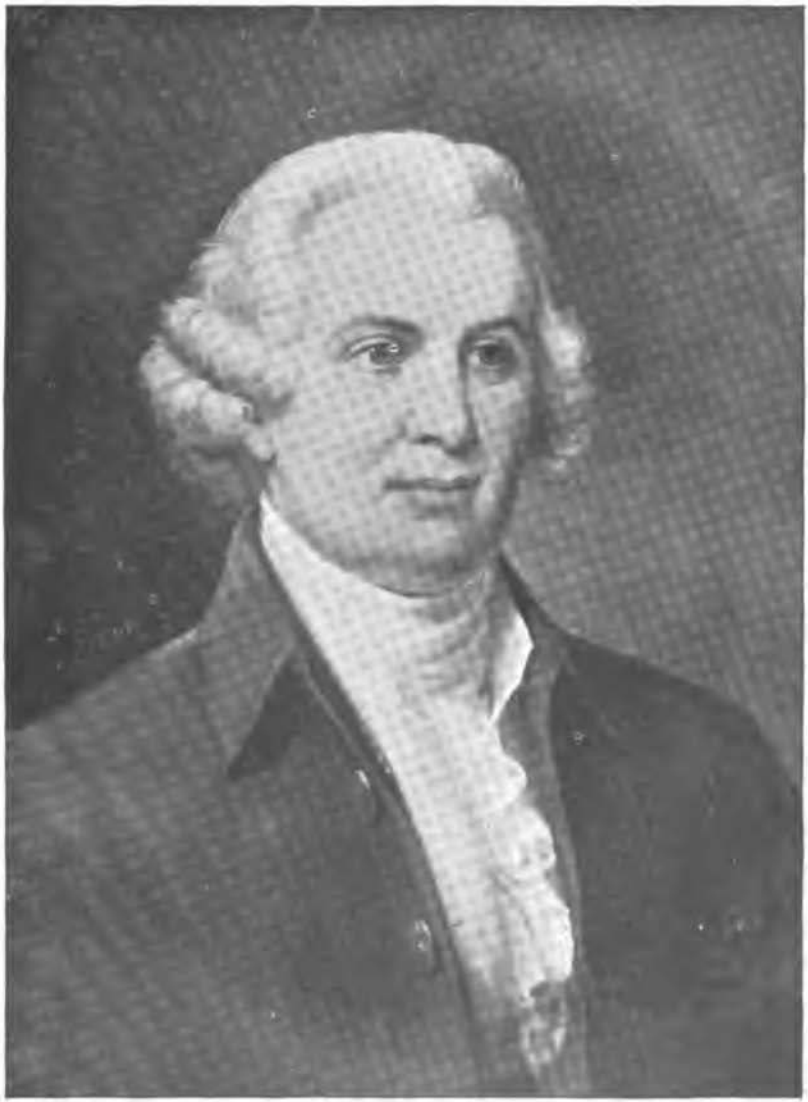

Will Hooper

OF NORTH CAROLINA

Signer of The Declaration of Independence

Son of Rev. Wm. Hooper, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and Mary (Dennie) Hooper.
Born at Boston the 17th day of June, 1742. Died and was buried at Hillsboro, N. C., October 1790
Removed to Guilford Battle Ground, April 25, 1894.

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PREFACE.

Being assigned the task of contributng to the Booklet a sketch of the life of William Hooper, one of the Signers from North Carolina, of the Declaration of Independence, I can not do better than to present that written in 1822, by his nephew Archibald Maclaine Hooper, over the signature Callisthenes, as it originally appeared in a series of articles entitled "Biographical Sketches," in the *Hillsboro Recorder* for November and December of that year. Mr. Griffith J. McRee, in his pamphlet, *Life and Character of Archibald Maclaine Hooper*, published in 1856, referring to this sketch, says: "About this time Mr. Hooper wrote a memor of William Hooper, to be seen in Wheeler's History and elsewhere, which is decidedly superior to any other of that great patriot as yet offered to the public." Wheeler, publishing in 1851, in expressing his obligations to Mr. Heartt, editor of the *Recorder*, for a copy of the memoir, characterizes it as "from the pen of one of the best writers of his day, whose connection with the distinguished subject of his biography *gave him facilities for procuring facts possessed by no other* person."* This sketch is, without doubt, the first—as Mr. McRee says that up to his time it was the best—of William Hooper ever written, and is the source from which his subsequent biographers have largely drawn their material, and to which, as far as regards him, the bibliography of the Lives of the Signers is most indebted.

The author of the Life of William Hooper, in Volume VII of the work entitled "*Sanderson's Biography*," published by R. W. Pomeroy—this seventh volume in 1827—with the addition of some subject matter, has incorporated into his essay the whole of A. M. Hooper's article published five years before, sometimes verbatim, sometimes with slight changes of phraseology, sometimes liberally paraphrasing, but fails to credit its author with the transcriptions so freely made, except in the case of one passage and then with a note of disparagement, without designating him by name, and as if this extract were his first or only draft on the sketch in question. Introducing therefrom, A. M. Hooper's description of the society of Wilmington, N. C., at that time, he comments: "A flattering picture of it has been drawn by one of his (William Hooper's) relatives, which if somewhat highly colored, may at least have the advantage of exciting or gratifying local recollections." Mr. McRee retorts upon the writer, that while quoting this account he intimates a suspicion that it is "too highly colored," and that, "unable to realize upon the distant Cape Fear, the existence of a society at that period less numerous but more refined than that of Boston or Philadelphia, with shallow arrogance he insinuates his doubt."

Incidental, internal evidence of the respective dates of publication of the articles above enumerated, may be seen in their different renderings of a single passage. A. M. Hooper, in his narrative in the *Hillsboro Recorder*, in 1822, says: "He (William Hooper) died October, 1790, in the forty-ninth year of his age, leaving a widow two sons and a daughter, all of whom, except Mrs. Elizabeth Watters, of Hillsboro, are deceased. There survive also, of his descend-

*Italics not in the original.

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ants, three grandsons, children of his eldest son, William, to wit.: William, pastor of the Episcopal Church and superintendent of the academy at Fayetteville; Thomas, a lawyer; and James, a merchant, all residents of the same place." The author of the life of Hooper in "*Sanderson's Biography*" copies this passage almost verbatim, until, reaching the name of the eldest grandson, Rev. William Hooper, of North Carolina, he mentions him, not as "pastor of the Episcopal Church and superintendent of the academy at Fayetteville," but as "*Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at the University of North Carolina**" he having occupied that position from 1825 to 1828—thus correctly bringing up the facts *to the date of his own writing.* Wheeler, though always loyal to the people of his State and University, while admittedly copying A. M. Hooper's sketch, of 1822, in this passage takes liberties with the text and commits anachronisms in endeavoring to make it conform to the time of his own publication, 1851, in its statements regarding Rev. William Hooper, of North Carolina, who, he says, "was distinguished as a literary writer, was *Professor of Languages at the University, a Baptist minister***" and resides in Raleigh." It was correct that he had been (1828-1837) Professor of Languages in the University, that he had become (1831) a Baptist minister, and that he resided for a few months of the year 1851 in Raleigh; but it is obvious that these statements could not have been contained in a paper written in 1822; and, in the meantime, the two brothers, Thomas and James, mentioned by Wheeler as still living had died, the former in 1828, the latter in 1841.

Rev. Charles A. Goodrich's sketch of William Hooper, in his *Lives of the Signers to the Declaration of American Independence*, published in 1829, Lossing's in *Biographical Sketches of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, and those of other writers or compilers bear evidence, with that in "Sanderson's Biography," of a common deviation from A. M. Hooper's sketch. These facts and the consideration that the file (probably the only one extant) of the *Hillsboro Recorder*, which is in the possession of the descendants of Mr. Dennis Heartt, for so long editor of that paper, is inaccessible to most persons and must eventually be disintegrated by time, and that Wheeler's History of North Carolina has long been out of print, furnish sufficient ground for the republication of the original article. It had been intended to publish, in connection with it, a number of documentary records relating to William Hooper and his family, but having been found too extended for the space usually occupied by a contribution to this periodical, they do not appear.

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*Italics not in Sanderson.

**Italics not in Wheeler.

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FROM THE HILLSBORO RECORDER.

(Wednesday, Nov. 13, 1822.)

"An obliging correspondent has furnished us with sketches of the life and character of William Hooper, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the introductory number of which we give to our readers in to-day's papers. It is now forty-six years since that memorable period, and the hands which affixed their imperishable names to the instrument which proclaimed to the world the birth of our independence, with three exceptions only, are now mouldered into dust. The actors in that proud period are fast fading from our view; and though a dazzling brightness is spread over that portion of our history, the names only of many once prominent individuals are all that remain to us of them; the evidences of their eloquence, of their zeal, of their prowess, of their patient endurance of suffering, and of their patriotism, are irrecoverably lost. While the oblivious hand of time is thus burying in the dark mists of revolving years the memory of the heroes of the revolution, the broken fragments and detached incidents of their lives will be seized upon as sacred relics and cherished in fond remembrance. It is therefore highly gratifying to us, and we are persuaded that it will be not less gratifying to our readers, that we are enabled to lay before them the following sketches of the life and character of one of those hardy patriots who fearlessly signed the instrument which declared us free and laid the foundation of civil liberty throughout the world." [Editor of the *Recorder*.]

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH NO 1.

To the Editor of the Hillsboro Recorder.

Sir—It is much to be regretted that the State of North Carolina has never possessed a good historian. Thence it has happened that her eminent patriots in the cabinet and in the field are unnoticed and unknown; and thence it is, that the most interesting incidents connected with their lives are irretrievably lost.

This State certainly had her full portion of men of talent, when she was a British colony, during her revolutionary contest, and even after that eventful period, forming an epoch from about 1737 to 1790. Many of these enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, but many were indebted for their stores of knowledge to the exertions of vigorous intellect availing itself of books, of experience in

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the transactions of business, and of extensive intercourse with enlightened society. The specimens of genius, which appeared in the prints and pamphlets of the epoch alluded to were lost, either in the ordinary casualties of peace or destroyed during the ravages of the revolutionary war. Yet, these, important as they might seem, are not to be compared with the eloquence of the bar and of the senate.

How much is it to be deplored, that means were not adopted to preserve memorials which would cast a splendor over the annals of the state, which would enable us to do justice to names that once adorned her literary and political circles, and above all, to those illustrious patriots who planned and achieved her independence!

The bold and animated discussions which occupied our provincial assemblies, which shook our popular meetings, our conventions and our state assemblies during the progress of the revolution, and the angry and obstinate debates which succeeded the ratification of the treaty of peace were consigned to oblivion. All the actors in these memorable and anxious scenes have sunk into the grave; and we have now nothing to assist us in forming an estimate of their moral worth and intellectual greatness but imperfect hints and broken outlines caught from the representations of those who have received them by transmission, and whose second-hand intelligence may be suspected of being embellished by partiality or distorted by prejudice.

I have, sir, been involuntarily led into this train of reflections, by the publication of the proposals for compiling the lives of the signers of the declaration of independence. It is natural that a native citizen of North Carolina should feel a solicitude that the delegation from his state, whose names are subscribed to that instrument, should be treated with a consideration due to their high political career and to their successful exertions in the cause of civil liberty. The merits of Penn and the worth of Hewes are entitled to historical notice, yet I am at a loss, after the lapse of so

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many years, where to seek for the incidents of their lives, which preceded that ever memorable act that has immortalized their names. Of William Hooper, who was the head or efficient member of that delegation, some traditionary accounts have come to my knowledge. These, I endeavored to preserve for the purpose of composing, at some convenient season, a volume of memoirs. The undertaking is, however, too much for my ability, and is certainly incompatible with my business and my numerous engagements.

The fame of this distinguished statesman has suffered more from the injuries of time and neglect, than that of any of his competitors. His political life comprehended a wider extent of the exigencies and emergencies of the times than that of any of them; and his various talents were kept continually in action. Instead, therefore, of attempting to write memoirs of his life, I have resolved to commence the humble task of furnishing sketches for the assistance of his biographer. These sketches written amid the bustle of business and under the weight of many cares, shall appear in a series of numbers in your journal. There seems to me, sir, to be a peculiar propriety in selecting the columns of your journal, for the occurrences of the life of William Hooper. The tomb of the patriot is the shrine where offerings should be made to his memory. The town of Hillsborough was his last and chosen residence. There he enjoyed years of the purest domestic felicity, and there his warmest friendships were cemented by social intercourse. There he poured forth the last fervours of his genius, and there he last awakened emotions of delight and admiration. Indeed, sir, this is ground which, even if it had not been the residence of the signer of independence, ought to be held sacred. It has been the scene where orators and statesmen have engaged in emulous debate, where patriotism has achieved her highest purposes and where eloquence has risen in her noblest flights.

CALLISTHENES.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH NO 2.

Wednesday, Nov. 20, 1822.

To the Editor of the Hillsborough Recorder.

Sir—In the narrative which I have undertaken to furnish for your columns, I entertain no fear of incurring the imputation of incorrectness in detailing ordinary facts; but I must at the same time apprise you that I am not equally confident of that accuracy which consists in the full relation of circumstances, or the precision which is desirable in recurring to dates. A careful biographer will no doubt have it in his power to rectify errors of the last mentioned kind, and to supply deficiencies by reference to the public offices and to the departments of state.

William Hooper, the subject of these sketches, was born 17th June, in Boston, Massachusetts. His father, the Rev. William Hooper, pastor of Trinity Church in that town, is mentioned briefly and imperfectly in Elliott's Biographical Dictionary. The addition of a few words would have prevented the suspicion that the account was penned in the spirit of prejudice. Certain it is, that no minister ever enjoyed more fully the affection and reverence of his congregation, and few have been so much admired for elegance of manners and a bold and impressive eloquence. Besides the learning and the sciences which are obtained at universities, he possessed accomplishments* such as are not considered, in any degree, essential in forming the erudite and well-bred divine. He married in Boston, the daughter of Mr. John Dennie, an eminent merchant. William was the eldest of five children by this marriage.

The plan of his education commenced in his infancy. At the age of seven he was removed in part from the pupilage of his father, and placed at a free grammar school in Boston, the master of which was John Lovel, almost as much

*In a letter from the late venerable Doctor Lloyd, of Boston, dated 24th September, 1796, to one of the sons of W. Hooper, pastor of Trinity Church, he says, "Your father's memory will ever be dear to me. He was the most accomplished gentleman, and one of the best friends I ever had."

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celebrated in America, in his day,* as was once the famous Doctor Busby in England. Here he was distinguished for his proficiency in the studies preparatory to his entering into College, and completed the regular course of seven years with commendation and praise.† At this early period he was remarked on for the weakness of his constitution. His nerves were so sensitive, that he became an object of incessant raillery to his group of little relatives and to his father's domestics. With increase of years his constitution grew firmer, but his nerves always retained much of their early delicacy. Aided by the instruction of his father, which was never remitted, he made literary acquirements uncommon for one of his age, and advanced himself in his scholastic studies beyond his cotemporaries. It was, no doubt, owing to this circumstance that he was admitted, contrary to established rules, into the sophomore class at Harvard College,‡ There he took rank among the most distinguished, and signalized himself in oratory. He graduated A. B. in 1760, and A. M. in 1763.

Such was the anxious attention which his father bestowed on him in order to form him as an orator, that his vacations were periods of more laborious study and exertion than the terms of his scholastic exercises. And here it is worthy of observation, that the genius of the father and son were diametrically opposite. That of the father was of a loftier cast, and was formed in the school of Demosthenes; that of the son was Ciceronian in its features. The characteristic of the father was vehemency; that of the son insinuation. Were it not a presumptuous comparison, I would say, the father was Chatham, the son was William Pitt.

It was the early intention and earnest wish of his father to devote this son to the ministry. To this, however, the son was disinclined, for reasons that were considered satisfactory by his father, who agreed to alter his destination. Find-

*1749. †1756. ‡1757.

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ing that he preferred the study of the law, he placed him with James Otis, Esq., who was then a lawyer of eminence.

At this period commenced the attempts of the English Parliament against the rights and privileges of the subjects in the provinces. Mr. Otis took an early and decided stand, by his writings and open declarations, against this assumed power of the British government. He was exceeded by none in zeal, and equalled by few in abilities. The high esteem and respect which the subject of these sketches entertained for Mr. Otis, naturally rendered him partial to his political principles; and there can be no doubt, had the effect of assisting to engraft those principles on his mind, and to establish them permanently there. Subsequent events ripened them into maturity, and rendered them active.

Mr. Hooper, having prepared himself for the practice of law, and finding the bar in his native State so overflowing that there was no encouragement for juvenile practitioners, determined, about 1763, to try the experiment of making his fortune in North Carolina. To this he was invited by the circumstance of his family's having very particular friends, influential characters in the province. Accordingly, in 1764, he embarked at Boston for Wilmington, on Cape Fear. He did not remain long in North Carolina at that visit, but returned to Boston in about a year. In 1765 he again visited North Carolina, and advanced in the practice of law. His health, however, sustained such severe shocks, that he resolved, conformably to the wishes of his father, to abandon it.

In 1767, the death of his father made it necessary that he should revisit his native place, and at the same time blasted the hope of his quitting North Carolina, which, on account of his health only, he wished to do. In the fall of 1767, having determined to fix his residence permanently in Wilmington, he married, in Boston, Miss Ann Clark, of the former place, daughter of Thos. Clark, Esq., deceased,

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and sister of Gen. Thos. Clark, afterwards of the United States Army. The choice was most fortunate, considered in reference to the qualifications of the lady to adorn and sweeten social life, and most fortunate, too, considered in reference to that firmness of mind, which enabled her to sustain, without repining, the grievous privations and distresses to which she became peculiarly exposed in consequence of the prominent station which Mr. Hooper held in the War of the Revolution.

CALLISTHENES.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH NO. 3.

Wednesday, Nov. 27, 1822.

To the Editor of the Hillsborough Recorder.

Sir—In relating the events and circumstances in the life of an individual who has acquired distinction by the exercise of superior faculties, it is proper to notice every particular which has an influence on the progress of the mind.

The fatigue of attending to the practice of the law is, in our days, considered excessive. When Mr. Hooper came to the bar, and for several years after, it was infinitely greater. Then the luxury of carriages for travelling, was not common. Mr. Hooper attended the county courts of Rowan, and other counties in the back country, at least one hundred and eighty miles distant from Wilmington, and he travelled always on horseback. Such fatigue was too great for a constitution naturally delicate.

The manners and customs of the people of Cape Fear, at that period, were not more favorable to a proficiency in legal science, than was the organization of the courts. Hospitality carried to an extreme, and an excessive fondness for conviviality, were the characteristics of those days. In fact, every class of society became infected by the example; and numbers of old families, now reduced to comparative

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poverty, have reason to rue the prodigal liberality of their ancestors. Hospitality is indeed a virtue, which travellers and geographists, who have attempted to describe North Carolina, very generally allow to her, however penurious their praise may be in other respects.

The British Governor Martin, on a visit to Wilmington, having occasion to reply to an address of the inhabitants, presented by Mr. Hooper, styled it "the region of politeness and hospitality." The commerce of Wilmington was then improving, and derived great advantage from a bounty on naval stores. Many of the families residing in it were possessed of fortunes, and all of them in respectable stations, obtained subsistence without painful exertion.

But the dissipation which arose out of an excess of hospitalty, exhibited a more animated picture in the surrounding country. Whole families, and frequently several families together, were in the practice of making visits; and, like the tents of the Arabs, seemed continually in motion. The number of visitants, the noise and bustle of arrivals and greetings, the cries of the poultry yard, and the bleating of the pasture, require some sounding polysyllable to convey an idea of the joyous uproar; some new-coined word to disinguish their caravan approaches from ordinary visits or formal visitations. Every visit was a sort of jubilee. Festive entertainments, balls, every species of amusement which song and dance could afford, was resorted to. The neighing courser and the echoing horn, the sports of the turf and the pleasure of the chase, were alternately the objects of eager pursuit. Everywhere, on the eastern and western branches of the River Cape Fear, were men of fortune, related by blood or connected by marriage, whose settlements extended almost as far as the then lowly hamlet of Cross Creek, since dignified by the name of Fayetteville, and now swollen into importance by a numerous population.

This general ease and prosperity was highly favorable to

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the cultivation of polite literature, and to the development of talents of a certain kind. The state of manners tended to awaken a spirit of improvement, which pervaded the whole community. Every family possessed a collection of the best English authors, besides which there was a public library, supported by a society of gentlemen, and styled "the Cape Fear Library." Wit and humor, music and poetry, were drawn into action in social and convivial intercourse. Conversation was cultivated to a high degree. Emanating from letters or science, or rising out of the busy scenes of life, it always teemed with instruction and imparted delight. The point of honor was understood and recognized, and the slightest approach to indignity resented. In this exercise of colloquial talent, the ladies participated and heightened the pleasures. Then they were not, as now, early instructed, or perhaps, were not instructed at all in the rudiments of knowledge; but they derived from reading, and imbibed from an association with eminent persons of the opposite sex, a tincture of taste and elegance, and they had softness, sentiment, grace, intelligence—every quality which in the female sex can inspire and exalt the enthusiasm of romantic passion.

In the hospitable conviviality of those times, allurements to dissipation were greater than social life usually presents. The actors were far above the cast of ordinary *bon vivants*. I once hoped to be able to present a biographical sketch of each of them, but my cares and avocations have compelled me to relinquish the task. Among these was Eustace,* the correspondent of Sterne, who united wit, and genius, and learning, and science; Harnett,† who could boast a genius for music, and a taste for letters; Lloyd,‡ gifted with talents and adorned with classical literature; Pennington,§ an elegant writer, admired for his wit and his highly

*Doctor John Eustace. †Cornelius Harnett, afterwards member of Congress. ‡Colonel Thomas Lloyd. §William Pennington, comptroller of the customs of the port of Wilmington, and afterwards Master of ceremonies at Bath.

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polished urbanity; Maclaine,* whose criticisms on Shakespeare† would, if they were published, give him fame and rank in the republic of letters; Boyd,‡ who, without pretentions to wit or humor, possessed the rare art of telling a story with spirit and grace, and whose elegiac numbers afforded a striking contrast to the vivid brilliancy of the scenes in which he figured; Moore,§ endowed with versatile talents, and possessed of extensive information—as a wit, always prompt in reply, as an orator, always "daring the mercy of chance;" Howe‖ whose imagination fascinated, whose repartee overpowered, and whose conversation was enlivened by strains of exquisite raillery. Wit and humor, and music and poetry, displayed all their charms among the festive deities, and heightened the glow of delight. Is it to be wondered at that the banquet was often carried to an injurious excess?

Mr. Hooper did not escape the contagion. He played his part among these distinguished wits, and shed a classic lustre over these refined revels. He kept, however, his professional pursuits in view, advanced himself, and was considered eminent in 1763.¶ The cause of The State *vs.* McGufford, tried in the Superior Court of New Hanover county, seemed first to establish his claims to eminence. It was a case of atrocious murder, committed by a master on his slave, tried before a Court of Oyer and Terminer. In that cause he was counsel for the defendant; and he displayed such extent of research, and such powers of argument, as excited universal admiration. Maurice Moore was also employed in the same cause, and displayed great dexterity. He thought, and he thought justly, that nature and feeling would resume their rights in time to defeat the force of eloquence. He, therefore, moved to set aside the commission of Oyer and Terminer, and succeeded.

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*Archibald Maclaine. †Now in possession of his descendents.
‡The Rev. Adam Boyd. §Judge Maurice Moore. ‖Gen. Robert Howe.
¶(Evidently a mistake; probably intended for 1768.—Copyist.)

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Mr. Hooper distinguished himself about the same time at Halifax Superior Court, as counsel for the heirs of Governor Dobbs, in a suit instituted for the recovery of a landed estate, against Abner Nash, who had married the widow of Governor Dobbs. In this suit he was opposed by several advocates, and among the rest, by the defendant, Abner Nash.

Such is the effect of impressions early received, that the name of Abner Nash always brings to my imagination the inflamed energy of Demosthenes, and produces some of that perturbation which is felt in reading his orations. The eloquence of Nash and that of Mr. Hooper, must, indeed, have exhibited a very fine contrast. Nash was vehemence and fire; Mr. Hooper was stately and diffusive elegance.

Having noted, in the commencement of this number, those particulars which influence the progress of the mind, let me here observe, that the adverse or the prosperous situation of communities depends very much on the state of manners. This observation will be illustrated by a hasty view of the comparative situation of North and South Carolina at this period.

South Carolina was destined to become a mine of wealth, in consequence of most laborious exertions in opening her swamp lands for the cultivation of rice. Economy preserved what industry acquired.

On the contrary, the planters of Cape Fear, many of them holders of great possessions in lands and slaves, scarcely regarded these lands, though superior undoubtedly, to those of South Carolina, and producing a grain larger, more solid, and more nutritious. Content to raise from naval stores a sufficiency to pay the interest on continually increasing debts, they indulged themselves in habits of ease and dissipation. The consequence is, that while the fruitful lands of South Carolina afford an inexhaustible source of riches, the fertile

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soil of Cape Fear is destined to remain uncultivated, and to furnish evidence of its superior fertility only in its baneful effects on the health of the inhabitants.

CALLISTHENES.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH NO. IV.

Wednesday, Dec. 4, 1822.

To the Editor of the Hillsborough Recorder.

Sir—At this distant day, it is impossible to enumerate the many public appointments which Mr. Hooper filled. It is proper, however, to mention, that he was active in behalf of the government against the insurgents denominated Regulators, who were defeated at Alamance in 1771.

Tryon, the provincial Governor, and Martin, his successor, and also Howard the Chief Justice, distinguished him by their regard, and showed a desire to conciliate his friendship. In 1773, Mr. Hooper represented the town of Wilmington in the General Assembly. In 1774 he represented the county of New Hanover in the same body. There he united himself with a band of patriots, in resisting the demand of the British government, to insert a clause into the bill for establishing a court system, favoring British subjects, on the article of process by attachment, to the prejudice of creditors on this side of the Atlantic.* This measure at once deprived the province of courts, and the gentlemen of the bar of their professional emoluments. On this occasion Mr. Hooper took the lead in legislative debate. He also addressed the people of North Carolina in a series of letters, under the signature of Hampden. These, it is said, were much admired. What effect they produced, in accomplishing the views of the writer, we cannot, at this time,

*Among the papers of the late Archibald Maclaine, of Wilmington, are some memoranda that seem to be intended as the groundwork of a defence of his (Maclaine's) political character, which had been attacked. In one item he refers to his conduct "at the time the ministerial instruction came to alter the attachment law."

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ascertain. The province remained without a judiciary until 1777, when it was revived under the new order of things; meanwhile the law practitioners sacrificed their dependency for subsistence, and the other classes suffered greatly.

In the provincial and State assemblies, Mr. Hooper, on various occasions, brought forward high-toned and energetic measures, and supported them with all the powers of his persuasive oratory. The patriots most conspicuous in opposition to the arbitrary acts of the British government, at that memorable era, were Ashe,* Iredell,† Johnston,‡ Moore,§ Harvey,‖ Harnett,¶ Caswell,** Mclaine,†† Nash,‡‡ Burke,§§ and Henderson.‖‖ These was all eminent men. Some of them were natives of the province, and entitled to great weight from their age, their fortune, and the extent and respectability of their connections. From this band Mr. Hoper, at an early age, with small estate, with but few connections, and those few without influence, was selected for the most important public appointments, and that too at conjunctures which called for first rate talents and undaunted firmness.

How he advanced himself so highly in the esteem and confidence of the people of North Carolina, we can at this time only conjecture. It was probably owing to the wider comprehension of his views, to the uncommon fervor of his zeal, to the fascinating splendor of his eloquence; and above all, to the extraordinary activity and perseverance of his exertions.

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*Samuel Ashe, afterwards Governor Ashe. †James Iredell, afterwards Judge Iredell. ‡Samuel Johnston, afterwards Governor Johnson. §Maurice Moore, Speaker of the House of Commons, one of the judges appointed by the crown. ‖John Harvey. ¶Cornelius Harnett, one of the members of the first Congress. **Richard Caswell, afterwards Governor Caswell. ††Archibald Maclaine. ‡‡Abner Nash, afterwards Governor Nash. §§Thomas Burke, afterwards Governor Burke. ‖‖Richard Henderson, for some time Judge Henderson.

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In 1775* Mr. Hooper was delegated by the Assembly to Congress, and continued in that capacity till 1777, at which time his private concerns compelled him to resign. The proceedings of the first Congress, having been from policy, conducted with great secrecy, the debates were not recorded. When Mr. Hooper first addressed that illustrious assemblage of compatriots, his speech occupied about half an hour; and it is said, upon authority which seems to be too respectable to be questioned, that he commanded the most profound silence, and was listened to with the most earnest attention. The encomium was, however, qualified with this observation, that the house was seized with astonishment at the display of such powers of elocution from North Carolina. He spoke, it is said, more than once on the floor of the House, and always inspired respect and admiration.

During the same period he was a prominent member and distinguished speaker in the Conventions which sat at Hillsborough and Halifax. At the Convention which sat at the former place, in April, 1776,** he reported an address to the inhabitants of the British Empire. This was, without doubt, the exclusive production of his pen, and it was, at the time, universally admired. Many other public documents emanated from the same source.

On the most trying occasions, the loftiness and elasticity of his spirit were strikingly manifest. Events which cast a gloom over the minds of others, had no effect in damping his ardor, or in depressing his hopes. The disastrous result of the battle of Germantown, which spread dismay among the whigs, seemed to give fresh courage to his zeal. When the report of the battle reached Wilmington, he was among a party of patriotic friends, who were overwhelmed with consternation. He instantly started from his chair, with unusual animation, and exclaimed, "We have been disap-

*(Evidently an inadvertence, intended for 1774.—Copyist.)

**Obviously intended for Aug. 1775 (Copyist.)

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pointed! No matter! Now we have become the assailants, there can be no doubt of the issue."

Johnston sometimes endeavored to restrain in him what he considered an excess of zeal. "I have," said that great patriot and statesman, "I have resolved to stake my life and my fortune in the contest for liberty, but I am not without painful apprehension of the result. I am indeed afraid that when independence shall have been achieved, talents and virtue may be thrown into the shade, and the mob may govern." In relating this anecdote to me, in May, 1802, Judge Johnston thought that his prediction was rapidly fulfilling.

In the early part of the Revolutionary War, Mr. Hooper's name was extremely obnoxious to the British officers. The captain of a sloop-of-war stationed in the River Cape Fear, meanly descended to fire a house which he had built about three miles below Wilmington.

On his return to private life, his family resided at his seat on Masonborough Sound, about eight miles from Wilmington. There he continued taking part as occasion required, in public measures, until January, 1781. At this time a force under Major Craig, arrived in Cape Fear River. Mr. Hooper found it necessary to remove his family; and having no place to resort to less dangerous, he removed them to Wilmington, preferring to trust them to the humanity of an open enemy, rather than suffer them to remain exposed in a predatory warfare* He sought for safety for himself by flight into the country. His family remained at Wilmington without any outrage until October,

*He had made arrangements for taking refuge in one of the French West India islands in the event of the success of the British arms. Mrs. Hooper understood him that an arrangement of this kind was projected by all the members of Congress, and that it was understood by the French minister. An exile such as this would have been less irksome to him than to many of his compatriots. His father, who was intimately acquainted with French, gave him a critical knowledge of that language, and it is probable that he would soon have acquired fluency in speaking it.

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1781, when they with others were ordered at a short notice to leave the town. Mr. Hooper and his family returned to it immediately after its evacuation by the enemy in November of the same year; and shortly afterwards removed to Hillsborough, in Orange county. After this and until about 1787, he continued to hold a distinguished rank in the councils of his country, and to maintain a very high station at the bar. Speaking of him, the late Judge Iredell observed that his latest exertions were equal to the most splendid of his meridian days.

Meeting with opposition in his elections Mr. Hooper became soured,* and seemed inclined to retire. He gradually relaxed his exertions and at length withdrew wholly from public life. His withdrawal excited much speculation. Some ascribed it to a solicitude for the interest of his family, which had suffered much by his devotion to the public weal, and others attributed it to disgust occasioned by some legislative measures of the State. It is probable, however, from circumstances, that a union of both causes influenced him. The few years which he lived after his retirement, were spent in domestic enjoyment, for which, indeed, he was better fitted by his temper and sensibilities, than for public life.

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*He was probably soured by finding himself in collision with some of his compatriots and best friends. Maclaine, who was one of these, became irritated by the difference of opinion between them. After the ratification of the treaty of peace, Maclaine was anxious to shield the disaffected from persecution, and in the pursuit of this object he exercised no address. Mr. Hooper, who no doubt coincided with him so far as respected the justice and humanity of this course, thought that great prudence and circumspection ought to be observed; and this prudence and circumspection was the more necessary on his part, from the circumstance of all his connections having espoused the royal cause. Aware that his station was such that he ought to be above suspicion, he suppressed, on this occasion, the best and warmest feelings of his heart. In a letter to a friend, dated 18th February, 1785, Maclaine adverts to Mr. Hooper's conduct in this respect, and in the asperity of his temper puts a construction on it which in his cooler moments he would have retracted. In this letter he speaks, in the style of complaint, of the superiority which Mr. Hooper's education gave him, of the deference paid to him by Iredell, and of the homage he received from Johnson, and adds, "I never pay him compliments, but, on the contrary, have opposed him."

On his return from the Assembly, which met for the purpose of carrying into effect the State Constitution, many inquiries were made by the crowds which collected around him, relative to the powers confided to the several departments of the government. Mr. Hooper having satisfied curiosity as to other particulars, one of the crowd asked, "And what powers, sir, have the Assembly given to the governor?" "Power, sir," replied Mr. Hooper, "to sign a receipt for his salary."

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He died October, 1790, in the forty-ninth year of his age, at Hillsborough, leaving a widow, two sons and a daughter, all of whom, except Mrs. Elizabeth Watters, of Hillsborough, are deceased. There survive also of his descendants, three grandsons, children of his eldest son William, to wit.: William, pastor of the Episcopal Church, and superintendent of the academy in Fayetteville; Thomas, a lawyer; and James, a merchant, all residents of the same place.

In person he was of the middle size, elegantly formed, delicate rather than robust. His countenance was pleasing and indicated intelligence. His manners were polite and engaging. With his intimates and friends, his conversation was frank and animated, enlivened by a vein of pleasing humor, and abounding with images of playful irony. It was sometimes tinctured with the severity of sarcasm, and sometimes marked by comprehensive brevity of expression. His father, himself a model of colloquial excellence, had cultivated this talent in his son with great assiduity.

From the same preceptor he learned the art, rarely attained, of reading with elegance. In this respect the grace and propriety which marked his manner, communicated, it is said, a pleasure even when he read cases from the law reporters, or the ordinary documents of a suit in court. In mixed society he was apt to be reserved. Sincerity was a striking feature in his character. He never practiced disguise. Hospitality he carried to excess.

In his domestic relations he was affectionate and indulgent. Failings he certainly had, but they were not such as affected the morality of his private or the integrity of his public conduct.

As a writer we cannot fairly graduate his pretensions. The letters of Hampden, which would have furnished the best criterion for this purpose, have perished with the prints which contained them.

As a letter writer he was, I think, deficient in ease and simplicity; but his epistolary compositions must have been

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unequalled. Major Craig intercepted one of these, which impressed him with such an exalted opinion of the writer, that afterwards, when Mr. Hooper, accompanied by Maclaine, visited Wilmington under the protection of a flag of truce, Craig scarcely noticed the latter, while to Mr. Hooper he paid the most marked and respectful attention.

On all important occasions he was called upon by the inhabitants of Wilmington and its vicinity to exercise his pen. A very flattering testimony to his talents, considering the number of eminent men who then resided in the same part of the country, some of whom had cultivated the art of composition with great success. Among these were Maclaine, Eustace, Lloyd, Pennington, and Moore.

In classical learning and in literary taste he had few superiors; yet he was never ostentatious in the display of these qualifications. He possessed a talent for elegant versification, which he exercised in his moments of recreation. His ode on the birthday of Washington, which circulated only among a few friends, was pronounced, by a competent judge, superior to any which had been published.* I have never been able to procure the manuscript.

Among his friends were some of opposite political principles, but it produced no change of regard towards them, nor did he in any instance depart from an inherent benevolence, by becoming the persecutor of any on account of his principles or prejudices.

In his private concerns his probity and honor were unimpeached. His estate was moderate, and he was not avaricious.

His religion was that of a sincere Christian, free from bigotry to any sect or denomination.

He appears to have been free from envy. In a letter to Maclaine he describes the death of Judge Henderson in a strain of enthusiastic admiration of the talents of that extraordinary man.

*In 1789.

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After John Haywood, now Judge Haywood, appeared at the bar, and before his faculties were developed, or perhaps even known to himself, he had to contend with men of great intellectual powers and profound legal science. Mr. Hooper sustained him in the unequal contest. This patronage of rising merit, if it arose from generous feeling, is worthy of mention; and it is not less worthy to be noted if it arose from a sentiment of friendship, for that revered personage* who has rendered the names of Haywood dear to the people of North Carolina, whose boundless benevolence pointed him out as the Atticus of his native State, until more recent events presented him in the sterner aspect of Aristides the Just.

His penetration into character was obvious in the choice of his friends. He always selected them from the most worthy; and he experienced in every instance, that warm reciprocal attachment which was due to the ardor and constancy of his friendship.

The champion of that illustrious band, which in North Carolina first opposed the encroachments of arbitrary power, no man ever entered into the public service on more correct principles, or with purer or more disinterested motives. When he engaged in revolutionary measures, he was fully aware of the dangers to which he exposed his person and estate; yet in spite of untoward events, his enthusiasm never abated, his firmness never forsook him. In times the most disastrous he never desponded, but sustained his situation with increased intrepidity.

CALLISTHENES.

It seems fitting to subjoin to the foregoing memoir some estimates of William Hooper by more recent writers and who are not related to him by ties of blood. Says Wheeler:

"The life and character of William Hooper, who was long a resident and representative of New Hanover county,

*John Haywood, Treasurer of the State.

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deserve our especial attention. It was most strangely aspersed by Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to John Adams, dated 9th July, 1819, in which he says, that 'we had not a greater Tory in Congress than Hooper.' This remark produced in 1834, Jones' 'defence of North Carolina.' That his prejudices had clouded Jefferson's judgment in regard to this, as well as to our Declaration of Independence at Charlotte, there can be no doubt. It is, however, a matter of no regret, since these very errors have stimulated the sons of North Carolina to examine the records and vindicate her character and the integrity of history. The character of William Hooper has been placed beyond all cavil, and the Declaration of Independence at Charlotte in May, 1775, now rests on as solid foundations for truth and reality, as the National Declaration at Philadelphia, on 4th July, 1776."

Mr. Griffith J. McRee, in his invaluable work, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell,* now like Wheeler's History out of print, noting the friendship between Iredell and Hooper, says:

"Mr. Hooper was nine years Mr. Iredell's senior and already a man of mark at the bar and in the Assembly. To estimate at its full value his deference to Iredell, these facts must be borne in mind. Mr. Hooper was a native of Boston, and a graduate of Cambridge, Mass. After studying law with James Otis, he removed to North Carolina in 1764.* He became a citizen of Wilmington. That town and its vicinity was noted for its unbounded hospitality and the elegance of its society. Men of rare talents, fortune and attainment, united to render it the home of politeness and ease and enjoyment. Though the footprint of the Indian had, as yet, scarcely been effaced, the higher civilization of the 'Old World' had been transplanted there and had taken vigorous root." Then, after enumerating the eminent patriots and *literati* among whom William Hooper figured

*Mr. Hooper did not settle permanently in Wilmington until 1767. See Memoir ante.—[Copyist.]

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in the Cape Fear region, he continues: "These were no ordinary men. They were of the remarkable class that seem ever to be the product of crises in human affairs. Though inferior to many of them in the influence that attends years, opulence and extensive connections, yet in scholarship and genius Mr. Hooper was pre-eminent. I use the word genius in contradistinction to talent. He had much nervous irritability, was imaginative and susceptible. With a well-disciplined mind and of studious habits, he shone with lustre whenever he pleased to exert himself. He had generous impulses, and his intercourse with his family and friends was marked by a caressing tenderness. In the course of the Revolution he never wavered, though he often desponded. If hope seemed sometimes about to desert him forever, and he felt in his heart the rustle of her wings as she prepared for flight, his deep-rooted principles were never shaken. He lived long enough to see the political edifice, to whose construction he had so largely contributed, completed, and its soaring dome to the nations of the earth 'a lamp unto *their* feet, and a light unto *their* path.' As his fame is national, I need not dwell longer upon his career." *Life of Iredell,* Vol. I., pp. 194, 195, 196.

"Was Jefferson jealous of Hooper?" asks McRee later on. "Was he impatient of what he did not himself possess —splendid elocution, as he was notoriously envious of military fame? Was there a feud between these two eminent men? An affirmative answer to these interrogatories will certainly throw much light upon the calumny of Jefferson, that 'there was no greater Tory in Congress than Hooper,' and explain Mr. Hooper's personal dislike to Jefferson and his followers, in the early days of the Republic. If Hooper's fame, so well defended by Jones, needed further vindiction, his letters to Iredell place upon impregnable ground his virtue and patriotism." Ibid. Note on p. 427.

Dr. Alderman, now President of the University of Vir-

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ginia, then Professor in the University of North Carolina, in his address on William Hooper delivered at Guilford Battle Ground, July 4, 1894, says: "In the first decades of this century our grandfathers were filled with indignation and astonishment at Mr. Jefferson's remarkable letter to John Adams in which he declared that 'there was no greater Tory in Congress than William Hooper.' Jo. Seawell Jones, choking with rage, rushed to the rescue in his celebrated Defence of North Carolina, and with an uncommon mingling of invective, passion, partizanship, critical power and insight, effectually disposed of his great antagonist. The charge on the face of it was absurd. * * * * It is a hard thing to say of so illustrious a man as Mr. Jefferson, that he had strange moments of liability to post-mortuary slander, but the poisonous scraps of the 'Anas' and the researches of two generations into his accusation against Hooper abundantly and mournfully attest its truth. Mr. Hooper's mental attitude toward the idea of independence is a matter of vital interest to our people, however, and his private and confidential correspondence reveals this attitude in a most complete and perfect way: 'Before April 19, 1775,' said Thomas Jefferson himself, 'I had never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from the mother country.' 'When I first took command of the army (July 3d, 1775) I abhorred the idea of independence,' said George Washington. Over one year before these words were uttered, April 26, 1774, Hooper wrote a letter to James Iredell in which occurred the following prophetic words: *'They* (the Colonies) *are striding fast to independence, and ere long will build an empire upon the ruins of Great Britain; will adopt its Constitution purged of its impurities, and from an experience of its defects, will guard against those evils which have wasted its vigor.'*" Says Mr. McRee: "Of this letter Jones remarks, 'I look upon this letter as not inferior to any event in the history of the country; and in the boldness and originality of its views,

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I say that it is a document without a rival at the period of its date. It takes precedence of the Mecklenburg Declaration as that does of the national Declaration of Independence.'" Dr. Alderman adds: "This is the most noteworthy personal letter of the Revolution. It antedates all known expressions on the subject of separation and confers upon William Hooper the proud title of the Prophet of American Independence.* Let me not conclude," says the same writer, "without speaking of Mr. Hooper, as a man. No more fascinating and courtly figure graces the life of our simple, earnest past. His slight, fragile form, his serene, beautiful face wherein is blended masculine strength and womanly sweetness, 'a face that painters love to limn and ladies to look upon' stands out, like some finely wrought cameo, against a background of chaos and revolution. In his letters we catch a glimpse of the ceremoniousness, the sleepless deference, the delicate punctilio of an unhurrying age; in his merry-makings we are able to reproduce the stately minuet, the vanished draperies, the personal royalty expressing itself in stately dignity, of a time forever gone. He was a tender, sensitive, loyal, happy gentleman, a fearless, forceful, vigorous-minded citizen, a great orator—a great lawyer; he loved his friends and was by them beloved. * * * * He loved the people of his state and was willing to spend himself in their service. * * He had that proud faith in family and breeding which taught him the sacredness of *noblesse oblige,* unfailing self-respect and freedom from sordidness or any sort of stain."

Another accomplished writer of to-day thus concludes an account of William Hooper: "Of Mr. Hooper it may be

*In this letter of April 26, 1774, Hooper pays a warm tribute to Iredell, as follows: "I am happy dear sir, that my conduct in public life has met your approbation. It is a suffrage which makes me vain, as it flows from a man who has wisdom to distinguish and too much virtue to flatter. * * * * While the scene of life in which I was engaged would have rendered any reserve on my part not only improper but even culpable, you were destined for a more retired but not less useful conduct; AND WHILST I WAS ACTIVE IN CONTEST YOU FORGED THE WEAPONS WHICH WERE TO GIVE SUCCESS TO THE CAUSE which I supported.

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truly said, that as brilliant as were Howe, Harnett, Iredell, Ashe and Moore, and all those renowned names that adorned North Carolina's annals during his time, taking a view of the entire galaxy, none surpassed him in shining talents and fine accomplishments, and none deserves more grateful appreciation by North Carolinians." Noting the historic friendship between Judge Iredell and Mr. Hooper, he quotes the former as writing to Mrs. Iredell: 'I wish to be like him,' adding: "Indeed, the admiration of Judge Iredell for him was unbounded."

Says Capt. S. A. Ashe, of Raleigh, N. C., in a letter under date of June 5, 1905: "Of late years I have come to still further appreciate the influence of Mr. Hooper in determining patriotic action on the Cape Fear. I think he was the leader in stirring up feeling in 1774, in response to Boston sentiment, his connection with Boston being close. And he certainly was the prime mover in calling together the meeting that issued the address requesting the voters in the different counties to elect delegates to the first Provincial Congress."

Still another able writer of the present time, refers to William Hooper, as "one of the greatest and best men of whom the annals of North Carolina can boast."*

SUPPLEMENT.

THE HOOPER FAMILY.

(BY MRS. FANNY DEBERNIERE (HOOPER) WHITAKER.)

As William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, like the other founders of this Republic, belongs in a sense to the nation, it was hoped that the addition to the reprint of the preceding sketch, of a number of miscellaneous and desultory records relating to himself and his family would not be deemed impertinent and that they would

*Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood, of Raleigh, N. C., in his LIFE OF GOVERNOR TRYON.

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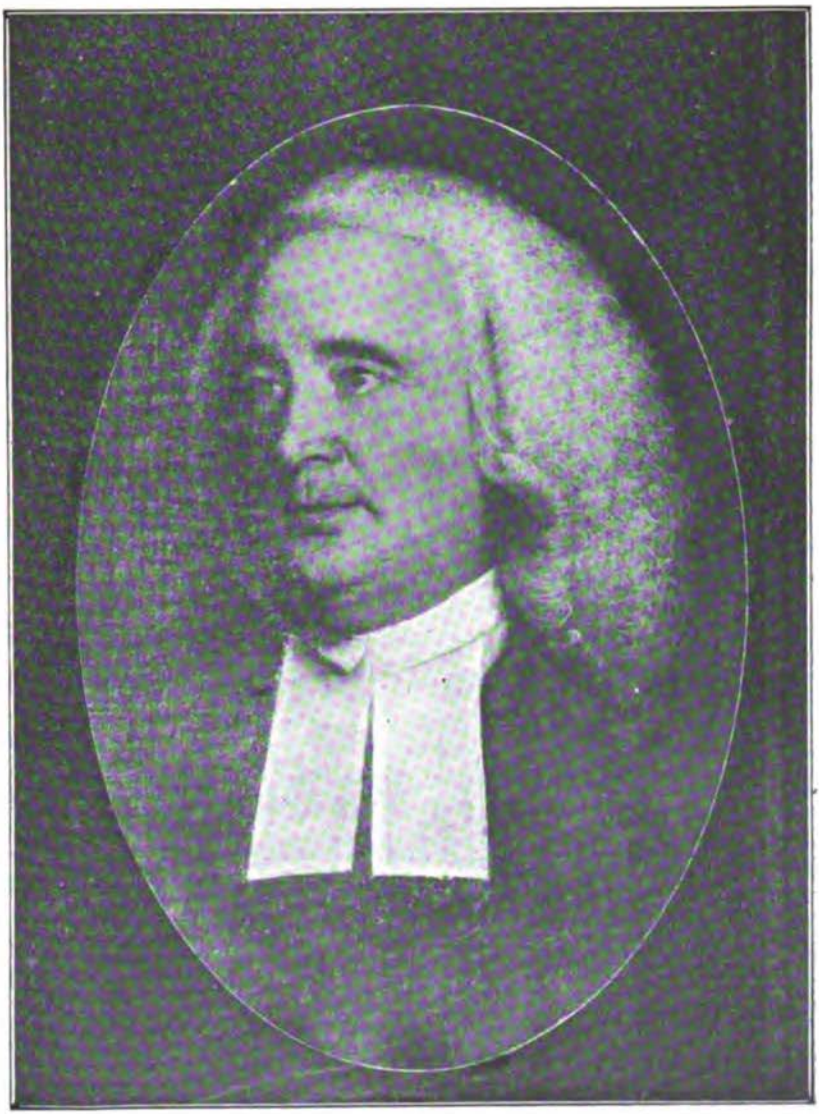

William Hooper

Rev. Wm. Hooper. (1704–1767) second Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, from 1747 to 1767; father of William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

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be found of interest to that public the foundations of whose existence and prosperity he aided in establishing. Furthermore, mistakes have been made by certain persons whose names are on the Lineage Books of the "Daughters of the *American* Revolution," in entering that Society through alleged descent from him, whose claims to this descent can not be other than apocryphal, as a careful perusal of the documents referred to would show.

Doubly descended from the Rev. William Hooper, of Boston, Mass., who was the founder of his family in this country and second Rector of Trinity Church in that city, from 1747 to his death in 1767—on my mother's side through his son, the Signer, and on my father's through his son George—and having made a study of the family history, I may be pardoned a double interest in its exposition *as the facts warrant.* In the pursuit of this object, by investigation and by the collection of all available data bearing upon the subject, no pains have been spared and much expense has been incurred, and it was intended, as above-intimated, to publish, in connection with the foregoing memoir, the documents obtained, but the plan has been found incompatible with the limits of this periodical, and the following outline of the family is submitted.

The name Hooper is widespread in America, only less so, perhaps, than those respectable and time-honored patronymics Smith and Jones, and embraces very many entirely unconnected families. That to which William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration, belongs, is restricted to well defined and demonstrably narrow limits. The frequent occurrence in this family of the names William and Thomas, renders somewhat difficult, without awkward circumlocution or repetition, a perfectly clear account of it, the Rev. William Hooper, of Boston, his son William, his grandson William and his great-grandson, Rev. William Hooper, of North Carolina, each having had sons by those names. It

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is convenient in this account to speak of the second William as the Signer. As stated in the memoir, he married on 1767, Anne Clark, of Wilmington, sister to Thomas Clark, Jr., Colonel and Brevet-Brigadier-General in the Revolutionary army, and his children were three in number, namely:

William,
Elizabeth,
Thomas.

Thomas died, unmarried, about 1806, probably in Brunswick county, where he owned considerable property and most likely resided.

Elizabeth married in 1790, Col. Henry Hyrn Watters,* and her only child, Henry H. Watters, Jr., died, unmarried, at Wilmington, Nov., 1809, aged eighteen years, while at home on vacation from the University.

William, the eldest, married, June 26, 1791, Helen Hogg, daughter of James Hogg, of Hillsboro, and died in Brunswick county, July 15, 1804, leaving, like his father, three children, as follows:

William (Rev.),
Thomas,
James.

Of these, James, born in Hillsboro in 1797, married Margaret Broadfoot, daughter of Andrew Broadfoot, of Fayetteville, N. C., and died, without issue, in Fayetteville, June 26, 1841.

Thomas, born in Hillsboro, 1794, married, May 25, 1825, Eliza Donaldson, daughter of Robert Donaldson, of Fayetteville, and he also died childless, Nov., 1828, at Chapel

*Col. Henry H. Watters is said to have commanded a regiment of Continental troops at the battle of Cowpens. He died at Wilmington, October 1809. Mrs. Watters died June 30, 1844, aged seventy-four years.

†Mrs. Helen Hogg Hooper married August 17, 1809, Rev. Joseph Caldwell, D. D., first President of University of North Carolina, and died October 30, 1846. There were no children by this marriage.

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Hill, his wife having died October, 1825, within five months of their marriage.

The line of descent was thus left in the eldest son, Rev. William Hooper, of North Carolina, who was born in Hillsboro, 1792, married in 1814, Frances Pollock Jones,* eldets daughter of Edward Jones for many years Solicitor General of North Carolina, and died at Chapel Hill August 19, 1876. He was father of seven children, namely: William, M. D., Edward, M. D.,† Mary,‡ Joseph,§ Elizabeth, Thomas‖ and Duponceau, M. D.,¶ all of whom, except Elizabeth and Duponceau, are represented by posterity, and concerning whom and their posterity, information may be had from the latter.

It is thus apparent that two (Elizabeth and Thomas) of the Signer's three children, and three (Henry H. Watters, Jr., and Thomas and James Hooper) of his four grandchildren, having died leaving no issue, the line of descent from him was left solely and exclusively in his grandson, Rev. William Hooper, of North Carolina, and that no one not descended from the latter has a right to claim descent from his grandfather, William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration. Which, as above said, may be demonstrated.

In this account we shall go no further back than the Rev. William Hooper, of Boston. His children were:

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*Mrs. Hooper died in Fayetteville, March 10, 1863.

†Dr. Edward Hooper's daughter, Theresa, is wife of ex-Governor Joseph F. Johnston, of Alabama.

‡Mary, my mother, who married her 4th cousin, John DeBerniere Hooper, son of Archibald Maclaine Hooper.

§Joseph, sole survivor of these—"84 years young"—now residing in Jacksonville, Florida.

‖Thomas spent his life in teaching. One of his sons, James S. Hooper, is in business in Wilmington, N. C.

¶Dr. DuPonceau Hooper, Assistant Surgeon 8th Fla. Reg., mortally wounded at the battle of Fredericksburg, died at Fayetteville, unmarried, April 4. 1863.

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William (the Signer),
John,
George,
Mary,
Thomas.

Mary married in 1768, John Russell Spence, of London, who died in Boston, Nov. 1771. John died about 1795. Administration on his estate, granted in Boston in that year, does not mention widow or children. George and Thomas, like their eldest brother William, whose history is recounted in the foregoing pages, came to North Carolina, and both prospered in merchandising. Thomas married, Dec., 1778, Mary Heron, daughter of Capt. Benj. Heron, of Bertie county, North Carolina, removed to South Carolina and died without issue, Aug. 1, 1798, in the 48th year of his age, being survived by his widow twenty-two years.

George, though a loyalist from conviction, was a man of unimpeachable integrity, and charming personality, and possessed the esteem and confidence of his acquaintances. He was considered by competent judges to be the equal of either of his brothers in ability and literary taste. He married Catharine Maclaine, only daughter of Archibald Maclaine, an ardent Revolutionary patriot of North Carolina, and died in 1820 or 1821, leaving two children, Archibald Maclaine Hooper, and Mary; Spence, an intermediate child, having died in infancy.

Archibald Maclaine Hooper, lawyer and journalist, "a ripe scholar and one of the most graceful and accomplished writers of his day," was born in Wilmington, North Carolina, December 7, 1775, married, June 8, 1806, Charlotte DeBerniere, daughter of Lieut. Col. John A. DeBerniere,* of the 60th Regiment of the British Army, and died Sept. 25, 1853, aged 78 years. Of his children may be mentioned

*Lieut.-Col. John A. DeBerniere, emigrated to America in 1799, grandson and namesake of the Huguenot refugee, Jean Antoine DeBerniere, who fled from France about the time of the Revocation, and settled in Ireland.

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Yours very truly
W. Hooper

William Hooper, D. D., LL. D., for many years Professor of the University of North Carolina and other institutions of learning; President Wake Forest College, N. C., 1846 to 1849; an instructor of youth for sixty-five years. He was eldest son of William and Helen (Hogg) Hooper, and grandson of William Hooper, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Anne (Clark) Hooper. Born Aug. 31, 1792, died at Chapel Hill, Aug 19, 1876.

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George D., (1809-1892), who was a member of the bar of Columbus, Ga., for a time chancellor of the east division of Alabama, and one of the best known supreme court and chancery lawyers of the state; John DeBerniere, (1811-1886) for many years Professor of Languages in the University of North Carolina, said by Mr. McRee to be, in his opinion, "the most accurate Greek and Latin scholar of his age and day;" Johnson J., (1815-1862) author of *Simon Suggs* and other humorous works, and Secretary of the Confederate Provisional Congress; Louisa and Mary, remarkable for their personal beauty and loveliness of character, of whom Mary died at Pittsboro, Aug. 1837, aged about eighteen years; Louisa married first, Rev. Daniel Cobia, of South Carolina, "but to smooth his path to the grave;" second, Sept. 20, 1842, Rev. John J. Roberts,* and died June 16, 1846, in the 30th year of her age, leaving two children, John DeBerniere Roberts, and Mary Charlotte Roberts. The latter is now the widow of Thomas McCrady, whose home was Charleston, S. C., and resides with her children at Cambridge, Mass.; the former married Miss Lapham and died young, leaving an only child, John Lapham Roberts.

Mary, daughter of George (brother of the Signer) and Catharine (Maclaine) Hooper, married, first, Mr. Shaw,† a daughter, Catharine, being the only child of the marriage; second, June 6, 1806, James Fleming,‡ a merchant of Wilmington. The children of the second marriage were Mary, who married Col. Haynes Waddell, Elizabeth, wife of Rev. Thos. F. Davis, afterwards Bishop of South Carolina from 1853 to 1871; Charlotte, wife of Rt. Rev. Wm. M. Green, of North Carolina, Bishop of Mississippi from 1850 to 1887; and James, who died young, unmarried. There are numerous descendants of these three sisters, prom-

---

*Rev. John J. Roberts, D. D., now living, and resides alternately in New York City and Sandwich, Mass.

†The Shaw line is now extinct.

‡Mr. Fleming was killed by a horse, about 1811. Mrs. Fleming died of a lingering malady, in 1861.

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inent among whom are Rev. DeBerniere Waddell, Mr. Thos. F. Davis, of Yazoo City, Miss., Rev. Stephen H. Green and many others.

Most of the children of George D. Hooper, of Alabama, died in infancy. Of those who survived to maturity, the following may with propriety be mentioned. George W. and Charles M. joined volunteer companies of the Confederate Army at the beginning of the War for Southern Independence. George went into the battle of Seven Pines, as Captain in the 6th Alabama Regiment, was shot in the side, had the bones of both legs broken and lost the use of his right hand. He was highly complimented by Gen. Rhodes for his courage and ability and received promotion as Lieutenant Colonel for that day's fight. He was then about twenty years old and this was his only battle, but he afterwards performed for the Confederate States Army, several commissions such as were possible to a cripple. After the war he was Prosecuting Attorney for Russell county, Alabama, was a successful lawyer and died in 1883, leaving a widow and children. His brother, Charles, was promoted from Second Lieutenant to Lieutenant Colonel on the battle field of second Manassas, for distinguished gallantry in the face of the enemy, was afterwards awarded a medal of honor authorized by the Confederate Congress, and made Colonel on the recommendation of General Lee himself. John DeBerniere, the youngest son, was the first Inspector of Mines in Alabama and is a Civil and Mining Engineer in that State.

Johnson J. Hooper, author of *Simon Suggs* and Secretary of the Confederate Provisional Congress, who died in Richmond, Va., in June, 1862, left two children, William and Adolphus, both of whom met tragic deaths. William was in the Confederate Army, and after the war studied and practiced law at Aberdeen, Mississippi. He was a young man of the highest character and brilliant promise. He was shot down in the court-house at Aberdeen in 1875, and was

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survived by a widow, two sons and a daughter. Adolphus was too young to enter the army. He also was a man of talent and lovable qualities, was successful in business and always had the confidence of those who knew him. He was killed in New Orleans about 1895, by a railroad train. There were several side tracks at the place where he was standing, two trains were passing at the same time, and in stepping back to avoid one he was struck by the other. He was unmarried.

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VOL. V. OCTOBER, 1905 NO. 2

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GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

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THE FIRST CAPITOL OF NORTH CAROLINA DESTROYED BY FIRE JUNE 21st, 1831.
(From an Old Engraving.)

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Vol. V. OCTOBER, 1905. No. 2.

HISTORY OF THE CAPITOL.

BY CHARLES EARL JOHNSON.

The history of the Capitol cannot be written without some account of the city of Raleigh. Raleigh is one of the few cities in this country, or in any country for that matter, which sprang into full-fledged existence without having been the enlargement of a previously existing town. In this it is unique, and to this it owes much of its beauty, since in the beginning there was only a wide expanse of farming land and forest, thus allowing streets and lots to be laid out with mathematical precision under the direction of skilled engineers.

The first General Assembly, of which we have much information, met at the house of Captain Richard Sanderson, on Little River, in the County of Perquimans, in the year 1715. In 1720 the Legislative body met at the general court-house at Queen Anne's Creek, in Chowan precinct. In 1723 it met at Edenton. After that it drifted about, at various times sitting at Edenton, Wilmington, New Bern, Kinston, Halifax, Smithfield, Wake Court-House, Hillsboro, Salem and Tarborough. In 1787 at Tarborough the General Assembly resolved that it: "Be recommended to the people of the State to authorize and direct their representatives in the Convention called to consider the Federal Constitution to fix on the place of an unalterable seat of government."

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This Convention was held at Hillsboro in July and August, 1788, and I give below extracts from the journal of that body, which explain more fully than any description I might give just why the seat of government came to be located where it now is.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL:

"Thursday, July 31st, 1788: On motion made by Mr. Rutherford, and seconded by Mr. Steele, *Resolved,* that the Convention will to-morrow at four o'clock in the afternoon, proceed to fix on a proper place for the seat of government of this State."

"Mr. John G. Blount obtained leave for himself and others to enter a protest on the journal against the above resolution.

"Friday, August 1st, 1788: Ordered that Mr. Iredell, Mr. Maclaine and Mr. Jones be a committee to prepare and bring in an ordinance to establish the seat of government at the place hereafter to be fixed on by this Convention.

"On a motion made by Mr. Joseph McDowell and seconded by Mr. Benj. Smith, *Resolved,* that the Convention will ballot for the place at which the seat of government shall be fixed.

"The yeas and nays were demanded on this resolution, and it prevailed by a vote of 134 to 117.

"Saturday, August 2nd, 1788: On motion of Mr. Willie Jones, seconded, by Mr. Thomas Alderson, it was decided to allow the Legislature to fix the exact place of the seat of government, only it must be within ten miles of the place designated by the Convention.

"*Resolved,* that the several places hereafter named be in nomination for the seat of government of this State, to-wit: Smithfield, nominated by Mr. James Payne; Tarborough, nominated by Mr. Robert W. Williams; Fayetteville, nominated by Mr. Wm. Barry Grove; Mr. Isaac Hunter's, in

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Wake County, nominated by Mr. James Iredell; Newbern, nominated by the Hon. Mr. Spencer; Hillsborough, nominated by Mr. Alexander Mebane; the Fork of Haw and Deep Rivers, nominated by Mr. Thomas Person. And that Mr. Elijah Mitchell, Mr. Benjamin Williams, Mr. Nathaniel Jones and Mr. John Caines be appointed Commissioners to superintend and conduct the balloting.

"Adjourned until ten o'clock.

"Met according to adjournment. The Commissioners reported no choice, and a second ballot was ordered.

"Adjourned until four o'clock.

"Met according to adjournment. The Commissioners reported a majority of votes in favor of Mr. Isaac Hunter's in Wake County.

"Mr. Iredell, from the Committee heretofore appointed, brought in a bill to establish the seat of government, etc., which was read, passed and ordered to be ratified.

"Ordered, that all who desired to do so should have leave to enter their protest on the journal.

"Monday, August 4th, 1788: Mr. William Barry Grove presented a protest signed by over one hundred members."

Not until 1791 did the General Assembly, which met at New Bern, carry into effect the ordinance passed at Hillsborough in 1788. The act passed by the General Assembly provided that nine persons should be appointed to lay off and locate the city within ten miles of Isaac Hunter's; and five persons "To cause to be built and erected a State House sufficiently large to accommodate, with convenience, both the houses of the General Assembly, at an expense not to exceed ten thousand pounds." The nine persons chosen as Commissioners were: Joseph McDowell, the elder, James Martin. Thomas Person, Thomas Blount, William Johnston Dawson, Frederick Hargett, Henry William Harrington, James Bloodworth and Willie Jones. The Building Committee selected were: Richard Bennehan, John Mcaon, Robert Goodloe, Nathan Bryan and Theophilus Hunter.

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It has been supposed that on April the 4th, 1792, there assembled at the house of Isaac Hunter five of the nine Commissioners, and that they then proceeded to determine the site for the city, but I have before me an autograph letter of Joel Lane to General Harrington, which I give in full:

"WAKE COURT-HOUSE, 13th MARCH, 1792.

DEAR SIR:—On the 20th instant the Commissioners for fixing on the place for the seat of government are to meet, and as I am not certain you have been notified of it. I take the liberty to request your attendance, having reason to believe that unless you are present the Eastern interest will fix it on the north side of Neuse River.

"I am Dr. sir Yours,

"Respectfully, JOEL LANE."

However, General Harrington did not attend, for some time between the 20th and 22nd of March a majority of the Commission, six in number, to-wit: Frederick Hargett, Willie Jones, Joseph McDowell, Thomas Blount, William Johnston Dawson and James Martin arrived on the scene. They proceeded to ride over and investigate the different tracts of land offered, and also, according to tradition, had a good old time generally. They seem to have kept this up for about a week, for on the 29th of March, 1792, the Commissioners, according to their report, chose as their Chairman Frederick Hargett, and proceeded to ballot, with the result that there were cast for John Hinton's three votes, for Joel Lane's two votes, and for Henry Lane's one vote. Another ballot was taken and resulted in three votes for John Hinton's, two for Joel Lane's, and one for Nathaniel Jones'. Mr. Nathaniel Jones lived where Cary now is. The Commissioners then adjourned, and when they met at nine o'clock next morning Joel Lane's tract got five votes, and John Hinton's offer received only one vote, which goes to prove that

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Joel Lane was a good politician, and would have graced Raleigh's present Aldermanic Board had he lived in this, our day and generation. It is worthy of remark that one of the items in the Commissioner's report reads as follows: "Joel Lane was allowed for entertaining the Commissioners fourteen days, forty-four pounds, sixteen shillings." One might reasonably ask, why the sixteen shillings?

On the 5th of April, 1792, the deed for one thousand acres was executed by Joel Lane, and as this deed has never before been published, I give it here in full. It is more than probable that this deed would have been lost but for the care and energy of our present Secretary of State, Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, who rescued it a short while back from some discarded rubbish:

"This indenture, made the fifth day of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, between Joel Lane, Esquire, of Wake County, of the one part, and Alexander Martin, Esquire, Governor of the State of North Carolina, of the other part, Witnesseth: that the said Joel Lane, for the sum of one thousand three hundred and seventy-eight pounds, current money of North Carolina, to him paid by Frederick Hargett, Esquire, Chairman of the Board of Commissioners appointed, by act of Assembly passed in Decr., in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, to determine on the place for holding the future meetings of the General Assembly, and for the residence of the Chief Officers of the State of North Carolina, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged: Hath granted, bargained and sold, aliened, enfeoffed, released and confirmed, and by these presents doth grant, bargain and sell, alien, enfeoff, release and confirm to the said Alexander Martin, Esquire, and his successors in office for the time being, a certain tract or parcel of land in Wake County, to the Eastward of and near to Wake Court-House, containing one thousand acres, more or less, and bound as follows: Beginning at four

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sasafras, two white oaks, two persimmons and an elm on Rocky Branch, thence North ten degrees East three hundred and thirty-four poles to a stake in the run of a spring branch; then East three hundred and twenty-seven poles to a small hickory and red oak, near a craggy rock; then North forty poles to a stake near a red oak; then East one hundred and fifty-eight poles to a stake in the center of a red oak a hickory and two post oaks; then South two hundred and eighty-one poles to a white oak in Joshua Suggs' line; then South fifty-seven degrees West two hundred and fifty-six poles to a young hickory; then North eighty-four degrees West one hundred and thirty poles to a post oak; then West one hundred and forty-eight poles to a white oak on the Rocky Branch; then up the branch, the various courses thereof, to the beginning; and all woods, timber trees, ways, waters, springs, emoluments and advantages to said tract of land belonging: To have and to hold the said tract of land, with the appurtenances, to the said Alexander Martin, Esquire, and his successors in office, for the time being, for the sole use and benefit of the State of North Carolina, forever. And the said Joel Lane, for himself and his heirs; doth covenant, bargain and agree to and with the said Alexander Martin, Esquire, and his successors in office, that he, the said Joel Lane and his heirs, shall and will warrant and defend the premises, with the appurtenances, to the said Alexander Martin and his successors in office, for the time being, for the benefit of the State as aforesaid, against himself and his heirs, and against the lawful claim of all persons forever.

"In witness whereof, the said Joel Lane hath hereto put his hand and seal, the day and year first above-mentioned.

"Ackd. JOEL LANE," (Seal.)

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of

WM. CHRISTMAS,
WILLIE JONES,
April 5th, 1792. JOSEPH BROWN.

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"Received of Frederick Hargett, Esquire, Chairman of the Board of Commissioners, authorized to purchase lands for the permanent seat of government, a warrant on the Treasurer for the sum of one thousand three hundred and seventy-eight pounds currency, in full, of the consideration money above-mentioned.

"Ackd. JOEL LANE.
"Witness: THOS. BLOUNT.

"Wake County, June Term, 1792.

"Then was the above deed duly acknowledged in open Court, by Joel Lane, Esq., and ordered to be registered.

"H. LANE, C. C.

"Enrolled in the Register's Office of Wake County, in Book L, and page (illegible) this 6th day of June, 1792.

"JAS. HINTON, Register.

"Examined by Sol. Goodrick."

Upon receiving this deed the Commissioners proceeded to lay off the plan of a city containing four hundred acres, arranged in five squares of four acres each, and 276 lots of one acre each. One of the squares was named Caswell Square, in honor of Governor Caswell. This is now the site of the Institution for the Blind. The Northeastern Square was named after Thomas Burke, also Governor, and here now is located the Governor's Mansion, though formerly the site of the old Raleigh Academy. Nash Square was in the southwestern portion of the city, and is now a beautiful resting place just opposite the Union Depot. Moore Square was in the southeastern section of the city, and is still kept open as a pleasant breathing place for the inhabitants of that portion of the city. The central square was named Union Square, and on it now stands our beautiful Capitol building, formerly called the State House.

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The first Gubernatorial Mansion was a plain two-story frame building painted white, and stood on lot number 131 of the original plan of the city. An office for the Governor was erected in the corner of this lot just where the present Raleigh Banking and Trust Company stands. In 1813 the General Assembly appointed a committee composed of Henry Porter, Henry Seawell, William Hinton, Nathaniel Jones, of Crabtree, Theophilus Hunter and William Peace to erect a new and more commodious dwelling for the Governor at a cost not to exceed five thousand pounds. The site selected for the new Governatorial residence, which was called the Governor's Palace, was at the foot of Fayetteville street, directly south of and fronting the Capitol, just where the Centennial Graded School now stands. The edifice was completed during Governor Miller's administration, and he was its first occupant.

In 1792, with appropriate ceremonies, was laid the corner stone of the first State House, as it was then called. The term Capitol was not adopted until 1832. The architect was Rody Adkins. The brick were made in brick yards located at lots numbers 138 and 154, and the maximum cost of the building is said to have been fixed by the committee at twenty thousand dollars. The building was of brick, of a dingy, reddish color. The General Assembly met for the first time in the completed State House in the fall of 1794. Richard Dobbs Speight, the elder, was then the Governor. Eight years afterwards he was killed in a duel by John Stanly. Although the exterior of the building was exceedingly plain, and the building itself much smaller than the present structure, the interior arrangement was somewhat similar, having broad passages running the entire length of the building from north to south, and from east to west. There was a dome, and there was a rotunda at the intersection of the passages. In this rotunda was placed the famous statue of Washington by the great sculptor Canova. This statue did

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not survive the destruction of the building by fire on the 21st of June, 1831. An attempt, however, was made to restore it, and three thousand dollars was appropriated for that purpose. At the suggestion of Judge Gaston, a sculptor named Hughes was employed to restore it. Hughes asked for an advance of $500 for preliminary expenses, and it is said that his signing the receipt for this money was the first, last and only act done by him in performance of the work. The remains of the statue are now in the Hall of History.

The State House was literally the house of the people, and the State House bell was for many years the only bell in Raleigh. This bell was used for all public purposes. The State House itself, and the grounds about it, were often used for all conceivable purposes. There not being either church or theatre yet built in the young city, the people assembled in its halls on Sunday to worship God, and on week days, as occasion offered, to witness theatrical and slight-of-hand performances, and to listen to lectures and orations. Balls and receptions were of frequent occurrence, while patriotic observance of the 4th of July was always a feature. I can not refrain from quoting a contemporaneous account of the thirty-third celebration of the 4th of July:

"The thirty-third anniversary of American Independence was celebrated in this city in the usual manner on the 4th inst. At 12 o'clock a procession of citizens and strangers with Capt. Willie Jones' troop of cavalry at the head, formed at the court-house—agreeably to previous arrangements, and directed by Capt. Scott, proceeded up Fayetteville street to the State House, during the ringing of the State House, court-house, Academy and town bells, and firing of cannon. Being seated in the Common's Chamber, an ode in honor of the day, composed for the occasion, was sung by a choir of about 70 voices, conducted by Mr. Seward, accompanied by a band of instrumental music.

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"The Rev. Mr. Turner then rose and delivered an oration of the merits of which we shall at present forbear to speak, as we intend to solicit a copy for publication.

"At 3 o'clock the company sat down to an excellent dinner, prepared by Mr. Casso at the State House, at which Col. Polk and Judge Potter presided.

"The Supreme Court of the State being in session, the celebration was honored with the presence of the judges, gentlemen of the bar, and many other characters of respectability from almost every part of the State.

"In the evening a ball was given to the ladies."

Where are now the brave fellows who proudly marched up Fayetteville street to the glad strains of martial music on that 4th of July, nearly one hundred years ago? Where are now the smart young beaux and the smiling belles, who thread the happy mazes of the reel and bowed through the stately minuet at that gay ball in those halls? Gone is the old State House, gone are they. Where will we be a hundred years hence?

About 1819 the Governor was authorized to improve the State House under the direction of the State Architect. East and west porticoes were added, additional elevation was given to the walls, and the whole was covered with stucco in the imitation of stone. This work was done under the supervision of Wm. Nichols, who had recently been appointed State Architect, and the work was completed early in the summer of 1822.

On the morning of the 21st of June, 1831, the citizens of Raleigh were startled by the cry of fire, and smoke was seen to be issuing from the eaves of the Capitol. It was impossible to stay the flames, or to remove the statue of Washington. In a short while the building was a complete wreck. Most of the public documents were saved, as the fire worked downward from the roof.

As a description of this fire will doubtless prove interest-

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ing, I give the account which appeared in the Raleigh Register of Thursday, June 23d, 1831:

"Awful conflagration! It is our painful and melancholy duty again to announce to the public another appalling instance of loss by fire, which will be deeply felt and lamented by every individual in our State. It is nothing less than the total destruction of the Capitol of the State, located in this city. Of that noble edifice, with its splendid decorations, nothing now remains but the blackened walls and smouldering ruins. The State Library is also entirely consumed, and the Statue of Washington, that proud monument of national gratitude, which was our pride and glory, is so mutilated and defaced that none can behold it but with mournful feelings, and the conviction involuntarily forces itself upon their minds, that the loss is one which can not be repaired. The most active exertions were made to rescue this *chef d'ouvre* of Canova from the ravishes of the devouring elements, nor were they desisted from until the danger became imminent.

"The alarm was given about seven o'clock on Tuesday morning, and it was presently evident that all attempts to extinguish the fire would prove perfectly fruitless. The efforts of the bystanders were then directed towards the protection of the public offices on the Square, and the adjacent private buildings, and to the preservation of the official archives. We are happy to add that none of the former were injured, and that the latter, including the Legislative records, were all saved. The beautiful grove of oaks, of which the Capitol was the center ornament, did more towards staying the progress of the flames than any human effort, and inculcates most forcibly the propriety of cultivating shade trees in cities, on the score of security from fire alone, to say nothing of other considerations. Seldom has the eye witnessed so awful a spectacle as this vast building in one concentrated blaze, streaming from every window, and a vast column from the roof, forming altogether a scene not adequately to be described.

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"The origin of the fire is not certainly known, but we believe the general impression is, that it was the result of most culpable carelessness on the part of a man who had been employed to assist in soldering the new zinc roof, as he was seen that morning carrying up a coal of fire between two shingles considerably ignited, a spark from which, in all probability, fell amongst some combustible matter between the roof and ceiling, which took fire while the hands were at breakfast.

"Considering the rapidity with which the fire progressed it is an alleviating circumstance that the public papers were all secured. Besides the papers of the Clerks of the two houses of the Legislature, and those of the Comptroller and of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, the fine copy of Stewart's painting of the Father of our Country, and some articles of furniture of the Legislative chambers, were preserved from the flames.

"It will be seen from the accompanying resolutions, that the congregation and pew-holders of the Presbyterian church, with laudable public spirit, have tendered to the Governor the use of their buildings for the temporary accommodation of the Legislature.

"RALEIGH, JUNE 21st, 1831.

"At a meeting of the congregation and pew-holders of the Presbyterian church of this city, the Reverend William McPheeters was called to the chair, and H. M. Miller, Esq., was requested to act as secretary.

"The meeting, taking into consideration the very distressing calamity with which the city of Raleigh and the State generally has this day been visited, in the destruction by fire, of that noble edifice, the State House, which was the pride and ornament of the State, adopted unanimously the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That they do hereby respectfully offer to His Excellency, the Governor of the State of North Carolina, and

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through him to the General Assembly of the State, this church with the Session House thereunto attached, as a temporary accommodation for holding the sessions of that honorable body until a more convenient and permanent building shall be provided.

"*Resolved,* That should any alteration in said church be deemed advisable for the better accommodation of the members of the Assembly, that they do hereby allow and authorized said alterations to be made.

"*Resolved,* That a copy of the foregoing resolutions, signed by the Chairman and counter-signed by the Secretary, be handed to His Excellency the Governor.

"WILLIAM McPHEETERS,
Chairman.

"H. M. MILLER,
Secretary.

"We learn also that the use of the Session House of the Presbyterian church has been politely offered to the judges and bar of the Supreme Court, at present in session, and the offer has been thankfully accepted."

This building had previously narrowly escaped destruction by fire. During the administration of Governor Ashe, and covering the period of 1796, 1797 and 1798, it was discovered that numerous frauds had been perpetrated in the office of the Secretary of State. James Glasgow, who had enjoyed a high reputation, and had the confidence of the public, was then the Secretary of State. It was found that with the assistance of confederates he had been issuing fraudulent grants of land in Tennessee and Western North Carolina. Certain documents incriminating Glasgow and his confederates were in a trunk or trunks in the Secretary of State's office, and Governor Ashe received a confidential message from Nashville warning him of a conspiracy to burn the State

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House in order to destroy these papers. After this information was received a guard was kept about the Capitol for the next two months, but one night when a ball was being given at Casso's Hotel to the bridal party shortly after the second marriage of the public Treasurer, the festivities were interrupted by the hasty entrance of a messenger with the information that some one was forcing his way into the window of the office where the trunks containing the records in question were deposited. The man was caught, was ascertained to be the slave of one of the persons charged with fraud, was convicted of burglary and executed.

After the destruction of the State House, rivalry as to the seat of government again broke out. Politicians all over the State commenced to manœuvre with the dual object of obtaining the Capitol for their own community, and at the same time advancing their political fortunes. To Judge Henry Seawell, Senator from Wake, has generally been given the credit of saving the day for Raleigh. It is a matter of tradition that the town of Haywood at the junction of the Haw and Deep Rivers failed to secure the Capitol by only one vote, but this is not borne out by the records, as the vote shows that the bill appropriating $50,000 for re-building on the old site passed in the House by 73 to 60, and in the Senate by 35 to 28.

The Commissioners selected to have in charge this important work were Henry Seawell, Romulus M. Saunders, Duncan Cameron, William S. Mhoon and William Boylan. All were Raleigh men except William S. Mhoon, who was from Bertie, but was at that time residing in Raleigh, as State Treasurer. These Commissioners did the very wise thing of spending the whole of the small appropriation on the foundations. The subsequent General Assemblies had to make additional appropriations from time to time, until in 1840, which year marked the completion of the Capitol, the cost had amounted to the not inconsiderable sum of $530,-684.15.

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THE PRESENT CAPITOL AT RALEIGH, BUILT BETWEEN 1831 AND 1840.

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The original Commissioners re-signed in 1836, and were succeeded by Samuel F. Patterson, Beverley Daniel, Charles Manly, Alfred Jones and Charles L. Hinton. Beverly Daniel acted as Chairman of the Commission.

The work at first was under the supervision of the State Architect, William Nichols and I. Town, of New York, but David Paton was the draughtsman and may be considered the real architect of the noble structure. Stone cutters and masons were brought from Scotland to work upon the building, and some of Raleigh's most substantial and highly esteemed citizens of to-day are descendants of those who came from over the waters for that purpose. The stone was taken from a granite quarry southeast of the Capitol, and about one mile distant. The stone was conveyed from the quarry to the workmen engaged in the erection of the building by means of a railroad with horse power. This, the first experimental railroad ever operated in North Carolina, and said to have suggested the building of the North Carolina Railroad, according to tradition, was first proposed by Mrs. Polk, the wife of Colonel Polk.

The following is a full and particular description of the present Capitol, written by the architect David Paton:

"The State Capitol is 160 feet in length from north to south, by 140 feet from east to west. The whole height is 97 1-2 feet in the centre. The apex of pediment is 64 feet in height. The stylobate is 18 feet in height. The columns of the east and west porticoes are 5 feet 2 1-2 inches in diameter. An entablature, including blocking course, is continued around the building, 12 feet high.

"The columns and entablature are Grecian Doric, and copied from the Temple of Minerva, commonly called the Parthenon, which was erected in Athens about 500 years before Christ. An octagon tower surrounds the rotunda, which is ornamented with Grecian cornice, etc., and its dome is decorated at top with a similar ornament to that of the

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Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, commonly called the Lanthorn of Demosthenes.

"The interior of the Capitol is divided into three stories:

"First, the lower story, consisting of ten rooms, eight of which are appropriated as offices to the Governor, Secretary, Treasurer and Comptroller, each having two rooms of the same size—the one containing an area of 649 square feet, the other 528 square feet—the two Committee rooms, each containing 200 square feet, and four closets; also the rotunda, corridors, vestibules and piazzas, contain an area of 4,370 square feet. The vestibules are decorated with columns and antæ, similar to that of the Ionic Temple on the Ilissus, near the Acropolis of Athens. The remainder is groined with stone and brick, springing from columns and pilasters of the Roman Doric.

"The second story consists of Senatorial and Representatives' chambers, the former containing an area of 2,545 and the latter 2,849 square feet. Four apartments enter from Senate chamber, two of which contain each an area of 169 square feet, and the other two contain each an area of 154 square feet; also two rooms enter from Representatives' chamber, each containing an area of 170 square feet; of two Committee rooms, each containing an area of 231 feet; of four presses and the passages, stairs, lobbies and colonades, containing an area of 3,204 square feet.

"The lobbies and hall of Representatives have their columns and antae of the Octagon Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, and the plan of the hall is of the formation of the Greek theatre, and the columns and antae in the Senatorial chamber and rotunda are of the Temple of Erectheus, Minerva Polias and Pandrosus, in the Acropolis of Athens, near the above-named Parthenon.

"Third, or attic story, consists of rooms appropriated to the Supreme Court and Library, each containing an area of 693 square feet. Galleries of both houses have an area of

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1,300 square feet; also two apartments entering from Senate gallery, each 169 square feet, of four presses and the lobbies' stairs, 988 square feet. These lobbies, as well as rotunda, are lit with cupolas, and it is proposed to finish the Court and Library in the florid Gothic style."

These halls have heard in debate the great men who have figured in North Carolina history for nearly a century—Badger, Iredell, Morehead, Graham, Vance—but why call the roll of the mighty host! Their voices are hushed forever to our earthly ears, but as we stand where they once stood we can not but feel a vibrant inspiration from the atmosphere which once sounded their words of counsel and resounded with the people's applause. This building is hallowed by memories of our illustrious dead—the very stones are sacred. It stands a beautiful monument of the past and the present, linking one generation with another. Leave us our Capitol as it is! Let no vandal hand touch it! The additional room needed for State offices can be supplied by acquiring property facing upon the square, and erecting permanent buildings thereon of a character in harmony with the Capitol itself. Let the Executive, Treasury, and other offices be arranged in these buildings, which could be made fire-proof as well as comfortable, and leave for the Legislature and its committees the grand old structure in its solid majesty, and with its historic memories unmarred by change. We would indeed then have a Capitol and State buildings of which every North Carolinian might be proud.

Raleigh, N. C., August 15th, 1905.

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SOME NOTES ON COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA 1700-1750.

By J. BRYAN GRIMES.

In writing of Colonial North Carolina I can not do a better service than to present bare facts with sources of information rather than give an expression of my views and conclusions as to social conditions in our province before 1750. Before the middle of the eighteenth century we had no press and the world heard of us only from the print of the outsider who, from jealousy, ignorance or prejudice, did not do us justice. Having no historian of our own in Colonial times, our writers have relied as an authority upon Chalmers, whose every chapter was a continued vituperation or misrepresentation of our State. George Chalmers was born in Scotland, in 1742, and "emigrated to Maryland where he practiced law for ten years, till the troubles of the Revolution began, and then he returned to England." He was a bitter loyalist who had no patience with the spirit of American independence. The first of his historical works was published in 1781 during the Revolutionary War.

Of our history Col. Saunders says: "The first search made in London for information in regard to North Carolina affairs was doubtless that made by the historian George Chalmers, who, in 1780, published his Political Annals of the Present United Colonies, the fruit of his labors in the British Record Office to which the official position he held gave him access. This volume has been the standard authority with all later Carolina historians. Its general accuracy as to matters of fact is by no means perfect, and Mr.

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Chalmers' bitter prejudices as a loyalist render his conclusions utterly unreliable.

At a later date the historian Williamson, who desired copies of certain papers in London relating to Carolina, hoped that Mr. Chalmers would furnish him therewith or assist him in obtaining them. Mr. Chalmers would do neither and threatened to interfere if application should be made to the head of the proper department."

Let us glance at some of the writings of this "Standard authority with all later North Carolina historians" and compare them with the pages of Bancroft.

Of this colony just before the Culpeper rebellion Chalmers says:

"Originally a sprout from Virginia, the unprosperous plantation of North Carolina naturally produced the same unpleasant fruits, during that boisterous season. Alteration of system, no less than change of governors had long prevented the revolt of a colony, which, in 1675, contained only four thousand inhabitants, who derived, unhappily, no benefit from the coercion of laws or the influences of religion." *a*

Of this same period Bancroft says:

"The government had for about a year been left in what Royalists called 'Ill order and worse hands.' That is, it had been a government of the people themselves, favoring popular liberty, even to the protection of the friends of Colonial Independence." *b*

Chalmers writes again:

"North Carolina enjoyed unusual quiet for some time after the expulsion of Sothell, because continued anarchy often prompts a desire for fixed repose. * * * The most inconsiderable community of North Carolina has never relinquished the flattering gratifications of self-rule, even when they were inconvenient. Having refused to join in

a Chal., p. 166.
b Ban., Vol. 2, p. 157.

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legislation with their Southern neighbors, the inhabitants were delivered over to their discontents; having denied submission to the Deputy-Governor sent them from Charleston, the proprietaries seem in despair to have relinquished them to their own management, in 1695, without inquiring for seven years after, whether they prospered or declined." *a*

In contrast to the above Bancroft writes:

"Here was a double grief to the proprietaries; the rapacity of Sothell was a breach of trust; the judgment of the Assembly an ominous usurpation. * * * The planters of North Carolina recovered tranquility so soon as they escaped the misrule from abroad, and sure of amnesty, esteemed themselves the happiest people on earth. They loved the pure air and clear skies of their 'summer land.'" * * *

"The planters of Albemarle were men who had been led to the choice of their residence from a hatred of restraint, and had lost themselves among the woods in search of independence. Are there any who doubt man's capacity for self-government, let them study the history of North Carolina; its inhabitants were restless and turbulent in their imperfect submission to a government imposed on them from abroad; the administration of the colony was firm, humane and tranquil when they were left to take care of themselves. Any government, but one of their own institution, was oppressive. * * * North Carolina was settled by the freest of the free; by men to whom the restraints of other colonies were too severe. But the settlers were gentle in their tempers, of serene minds, enemies to violence and blood-shed. * * * Freedom, entire freedom, was enjoyed without anxiety as without guarantees; the charities of life were scattered at their feet, like the flowers in their meadows; and the spirit of humanity maintained its influence in the Ar-

a Chalmers, pp. 264, 399.

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cadia, as Royalist writers will have it, of 'rogues and rebels' in the paradise of Quakers." *a*

After a half page of sneers at North Carolina to cover a period of her history, he, Chalmers, ends a chapter thus:

"And this wretched province was continually branded as the general receptacle of the fugitive, the smuggler and the pirate; as a community, destitute of religion to meliorate the heart, or of laws to direct the purpose of the will. * * * In North Carolina disorder is said to have continued its natural progress from the epoch of its settlement to the accession of George the Second. Destitute of the kindly influences of religion and of law, the planters acquired peculiar habits from acting a singular part amidst perpetual tumult. * * * Owing to his usual inattention, the Duke of Newcastle sent Burrington, a man still more weak and corrupt, and intemperate than his predecessor to rule such a people during such a season. * * * In April, 1733, Johnston, a domestic of Lord Wilmington, was appointed his successor, a man of sufficient knowledge and prudence, but whose experience degenerated a little into cunning. * * * And during the year 1749 North Carolina was found to 'be a little better than an asylum for fugitives since it was destitute of any regular government.' Such are the unpleasant incidents which occupy the story of an inconsiderable settlement, that gradually filled with people as the law offered protection to the vagabond, as every one lived without control, and all enjoyed in security what a trivial labor had gained." *b*

While the North Carolina patriots were blazing the way for American independence, and a year or two before their armed resistance to Great Britain, this man Chalmers, who for a century was accepted as authority on our Colonial history, dismisses us from history in these words:

"The story of this tumultous settlement is from this period filled with nothing but the play of parties, the wailings of imbecility and the complaint of recrimination." *c*

a Ban., Vol. 2, pp. 158, 164, 165.
b Chalmers, Vol. 2, pp. 81, 163, 164, 165 and 197.
c Chal., Vol. 2, p. 361.

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In the earliest time of our colonization, because we gave protection to the defeated patriot followers of Bacon, Gov. Berkeley in his murderous wrath slandered and maligned us.

In the settlement of our northern boundary line, because we could not be outwitted or cajoled, Col. Byrd ridiculed us, and the people who were esteemed as Virginians, when they were found to reside on the south of the boundary line, were aspersed as North Carolinians. *

When North Carolina spent her blood and treasure in the defence of other colonies especially Virginia, in the war against the French and Indians on the Ohio, Sparks, writing of the Commander-in-Chief, James Innes, and his Carolinians, gravely and seriously remarks: "But, aside from the incompetency of this officer, he was an inhabitant of North Carolina, and, as such, unacceptable to the Virginia troops" *a*

* * * * * * * * *

"Ill fares it with a State whose history is written by others than her own sons!"

For a century and a half no native Carolinian attempted to tell the story of his people—we had neither pen nor type to speak for us. Printing was introduced into North Carolina by James Davis in 1749. Previous to that time our printing was done in London, in Virginia and at Charleston.

The first newspaper we had was in 1764—The North Carolina Magazine and Universal Intelligencer, published by James Davis, "on a demi-sheet in quarto pages, but it was

a The Writings of Washington, Vol. 2, p. 262 note.

* NOTE.—Col. Byrd, in spite of his ridicule of our people, seemed to think well of our soil and climate, as he wrote Gov. Burrington in 1731: "It must be owned North Carolina is a very happy country where people may live with the least labor that they can in any part of the world." C. R., Vol. 3, p. 194.

In 1733 he secured twenty thousand acres of land in North Carolina on the Virginia line of which he writes as "the Land of Eden." Gen. Jas. D. Glenn and Hon. R. B. Glenn now own three thousand acres of this same tract—Gov. Glenn informs me that a beech tree, one of the original corners of the Byrd survey is still standing with the initials of Col. Byrd cut thereon. This tree is one of the corners of the Glenn estate, and is now fenced and carefully protected from depredations.

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filled with long extracts from the works of theological writers, or selections from British magazines." *a* *

Our first newspaper controversy of which I find record was in 1732, when Gov. George Burrington published a proclamation in Timothy's Southern Gazette in regard to our southern boundary line, and Gov. Johnston replied with a counter proclamation, setting forth South Carolina's claim in the same issue." *b*

"The second newspaper in North Carolina was called the North Carolina Gazette and Weekly Post Boy. It was printed at Wilmington, by Andrew Stewart, a Scotchman, and contained intelligence of current events. The first number was published in September, 1764. The Cape Fear Mercury was established by Adam Boyd in October, 1767. Boyd was a zealous patriot, and was an active member of the Committee of Safety of Wilmington." *c*

In the space of an article of this nature it will be impossible to attempt a portrayal of conditions in North Carolina in the colonial period, so I will give some notes on North Carolina before the middle of the eighteenth century, when, with the fall of the fortunes of the house of Stuart, that great immigration set in that brought many thousands of Scotland's best people to us. This immigration made North Carolina second in growth and development to no province

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a Lossing.
b Saunders, P. N., Vol. 5, 36; C. R., Vol. 5, 373.
c Lossing.

* NOTE.—The first newspaper in America was at Boston in 1704 called the Boston News-Letter, a weekly gazette by Bartholomew Green; Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1, p. 490, and until 1719 this was the only paper printed in the British North American Colonies. Printing was first introduced into Virginia by William Parks in 1726. Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1, p. 539. The first paper published in Virginia was issued "at Williamsburg in 1736, a sheet about twelve inches by six in size. It was printed weekly by William Parks, at fifteen shillings per annum. No other paper was published in Virginia until the Stamp Act excitement in 1765-6." Lossing. A printing house was opened in Charleston by Eleazer Phillips, in 1730, who died the following year. Thomas Whitemarsh arrived soon after with a press and began the publication of a newspaper, the first printed in the Carolinas. Holmes' Annals.

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in America. It is unfortunate that we had no contemporary chronicler to draw a true picture of the social and industrial conditions of those times—the home-life of our people.

The absence of cities, which are usually the literary centers, and want of known depositories where records could be collected and preserved, has permitted the destruction of most of the literature, papers and personal correspondence of our early colonial times. This absence is accounted for by an historian as follows:

"Nor are the towns of any considerable note. This last circumstance is owing to the vast commodiousness of water carriage, which everywhere presents itself to the plantations of private planters, and scarcity of handicraft." *a*

Such papers and records as have been preserved throw more light upon the public and political questions of the day than upon the personal, social and industrial life of the early Carolinian. Probably the richest sources from which to gather information of the social life of that day are the wills and inventories filed in the office of the Secretary of State. This is a field of exploration that will yet bring out much truth and make a fair presentation of our social conditions of which we will not be ashamed. North Carolina authors have relied for the picture of the home-life of our people largely upon the writers in other colonies, who have denied us justice, and in some cases seemed to feel it necessary to bolster the glories of their own colonies by disparaging North Carolina and making comparison therewith.

I do not intend to exaggerate the virtues and excellencies of our colonists, but will try to give a brief view of our province, relying on the cotemporary records, and wherever possible, quote the words of the writers which paint her just as she was, "warts and all."

It is admitted that the physical conditions of a country largely determine the character, industry and habits of its

a Holmes' Annals, Vol. 2, p. 117.

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people. Under the second charter of Charles II, Carolina embraced over a million square miles. It included all the land on the American Continent between 29 and 36 degrees 30 minutes North latitude. The northern boundary line became the line of the famous Missouri Compromise. After the separation of North Carolina and South Carolina, the northern colony was confined to the territory between 34 degrees and 36.30 N. latitude. This is the choicest belt of the temperate zone. The greatest nations of the earth have been the product of this latitude. In this paper we will have reference only to that part of North Carolina lying on the seaboard and watered by the Chowan, Roanoke, Neuse and Cape Fear rivers, being the only part that was settled during the period under consideration. The coastal plain region of North Carolina lies in "the same parallel of latitude as the central Mediterranean basin, that climatically most favored region of the globe."*a*

Dr. Emmons says "middle and Eastern North Carolina correspond to middle and Southern France, and Western North Carolina to Northern France and Belgium—all the climates of Italy from Palermo to Milan and Venice are represented."

The soil of Eastern North Carolina in variety and fertility is unsurpassed, ranging from the black or sandy loam to the most retentive clays—our rich swamp soils show "a greater capacity for endurance than the prairie soils of Illinois." *b*

For agricultural and stock-raising advantages, the climatic and soil conditions in tide-water North Carolina are unequalled. With a mean temperature of 61 degrees Fahrenheit, and a precipitation of 55 inches, everything can be raised that can be grown in the North temperate zone. So varied are her agricultural products that North Carolina is the only State that fills every divisional column of the cen-

a North Carolina and its Resources.
b Dr. Emmons.

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sus reports. One viewing the State with a critic's eye must exclaim with Hon. W. D. Kelly, of Pennsylvania, "North Carolina is the fairest portion of God's earth on which my feet have ever rested." *a*

In Barlowe's account of his first voyage to North Carolina he says: "The soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful and wholesome of all the world."

Robert Horne, writing in 1664 of the Cape Fear Country, says: *b*

"Is there therefore any younger brother who is born of gentle blood and whose spirit is elevated above the common sort, and yet the hard usage of our country hath not allowed a suitable fortune? He will not surely be afraid to leave his native soil to advance his fortunes equal to his blood and spirit, and so he will avoid those unlawful ways too many of our young gentlemen take to maintain themselves according to their high education, having but small estates; here, with a few servants and a small stock, a great estate may be raised, although his birth has not entitled him to any of the land of his ancestors, yet his industry may supply him so as to make him the head of as famous a family. Such as are here tormented with much care how to gain a comfortable livelihood, or that with their labor can hardly get a suitable subsistence, shall do well to go to this place, where any man whatever, that is but willing to take moderate pains, may be assured of a most comfortable subsistence, and be in a way to raise his fortunes far beyond what he could ever hope for in England. Let no man be troubled at the thought of being a servant four or five years, for I can assure you that many men give money with their children to serve seven years, to take more pains and fare nothing so well as the servants on this plantation will do. Then it is to be considered that so soon as he is out of his time he has land and

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a North Carolina and its Resources.
b Hawks, Vol. 2, p. 41.

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tools, and clothes given him, and is in a way of advancement. Therefore all artificers—as carpenters, wheelwrights, joiners, coopers, bricklayers, smiths, or diligent husbandmen and laborers, that are willing to advance their fortunes, and live in a most pleasant, healthful and fruitful country, where artificers are of high esteem, and used with all civility and courtesy imaginable may take notice."

Lawson tells us that in 1700 an extensive traveller assured him that Carolina was the best country he could go to.

In writing of North Carolina Lawson says:

"A second Settlement of this Country was made about fifty Years ago, in that part we now call Albemarl-Country, and chiefly in Chuwon Precinct, by several substantial Planters from Virginia and other Plantations; Who, finding mild Winters and fertile Soil beyond Expectation, producing everything that was planted to a prodigious Increase; their Cattle, Horses, Sheep and Swine, breeding very fast, and passing the Winters without any Assistance from the Planter; so that everything seemed to come by Nature, the Husbandman living almost void of Care, and free from those fatigues which are absolutely requisite in Winter-Countries. * * * Nevertheless, I say, the Fame of this new-discovered summer country spread thro' the neighboring Colonies, and, in a few Years, drew a considerable Number of Families thereto, who all found Land enough to settle themselves in (had there been many Thousand more), and that which was very good and commodiously seated, both for Profit and Pleasure. And, indeed, most of the Plantations in Carolina, naturally enjoy a noble Prospect of large and spacious Rivers, pleasant Savannas and fine meadows." * * *

"The Planters possessing all these Blessings and the Produce of great Quantities of Wheat and Indian Corn, in which this Country is very fruitful as likewise in Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins and Furs; For these Commodities the New-England-Men and Bermudians visited Carolina in their

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Barks and Sloops, and carry'd out what they made, bringing them in Exchange Rum, Sugar, Salt, Molasses and some wearing Apparel, tho' the last at very extravagant prices." * * * "The inhabitants of Carolina, thro' the richness of the Soil live an easy and pleasant life. * * * The country in general affords pleasant Seats, the Land (except in some few places) being dry and high banks, parcell'd out into most convenient Necks (by the Creeks), easy to be fenced in for securing their Stocks to more strict Boundaries whereby, with a small trouble of fencing, almost every Man may enjoy, to himself, an entire Plantation, or rather Park." * * * "As the land is very fruitful, so are the Planters hospitable to all that come to visit them; there being very few housekeepers but what live very nobly and give away more Provisions to Coasters and Guests who come to see them, than they expend among their own Families." *a*

"Carolina was settled under the auspices of the wealthiest and most influential nobility, and its fundamental laws were framed with forethought by the most sagacious politician and the most profound philosopher of England." Later, "the colonists repudiated the Constitutions of Carolina," adopting only those parts most suited to their needs. *b*

The early settlers of North Carolina were English, from Virginia, New England and Old England and Barbadoes; French Huguenots and German Palatines. The English settled in Albemarle and Bath counties; the French on Pamlico, Neuse and Trent Rivers in Bath, and the Germans on Neuse and Trent. The Barbadians who first settled at Cape Fear did not follow Yeamans to South Carolina. They went up to the Albemarle settlement and to Nansemond County, in Virginia, in part, and in part to Boston. In this fact is to be found an easy explanation of the increase at this time in Albemarle both from New England and from Barbadoes. *c*

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a Lawson, pp. 63, 64.
b Bancroft, Vol. 2, p. 128.
c S. P. N., Vol. 1, p. 10.

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Those in New England kept up their relations with their kinsmen in North Carolina. The New England skipper and trader practically controlled the commerce of this province by exchanging their manufactures for our produce. There was increasing immigration from New England to North Carolina which continued until the Civil War of 1861.

In 1700 there were only about five thousand people in the province—at the beginning of the Tuscarora War there were ten or eleven thousand inhabitants. Bath County was the seat of this war. This county embraced Pampticough, Wickham and Archdale precincts, and extended into the wilderness on the South and West. Pampticough and Wickham precincts covered the territory between the Roanoke and Pamlico Rivers. Archdale precinct claimed the land between Pamlico and Neuse rivers, and also the Neuse settlements on both sides Neuse River. *a* These precincts are now Beaufort, Hyde and Craven Counties.

At the time of the Tuscarora war the white settlers were fringed along the coast and the Indians occupied all other lands. Chocowinity was the frontier, and tradition says that on the morning of the Indian massacre John Porter's house at Chocowinity was the first to be fired. On the Roanoke were the forts of the Cheeweo and Resootska. On the Tar near the present town of Washington, was Nakay—there was also a fort just about two miles above Bear Creek, on what is still known as Indian Fort branch on Grimesland plantation. *

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a C. R. Vol. 1, p. 629.

* NOTE.—A field of about ten acres cleared by the Indians on Indian Fort Branch in the west corner of a seventy-five-acre field (Pridgen cut) is still in cultivation.

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Further up the Tar about two or three miles below the present town of Greenville was King Blount's town, Ucohnerunt. On the Contentnea were Conneghta, Tahunta and Hookerooka Forts and Hancock's town. *a*. To the South and West was the unknown wilderness and the Indian towns of Keeouwee (old town) Totero Fort, Uharee, Acconeechy, etc. *

After the war most of the Tuscaroras went to their kindred in New York. King Blount and his people were given a reservation between Tar and Neuse River, but were soon moved at his own request to lands on Roanoke River where fifty-three thousand (53,000) acres were given them in Bertie County, and a fort was built for their defence from enemy Indians. *b* Here they lived under their Kings, Tom Blount and his son, James Blount, many years. They were afterwards joined by the Supponees and the Chowans. *c*

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a See map Eman. Bowen.
b C. R., Vol. 2, pp. 283, 484, 496.
c C. R., Vol. 3, p. 538.

* NOTE.—In the preliminary articles of peace signed November 25th, 1712, between Major General Thomas Pollock for the colonists and Tom Blount, Saroonha Hounthanohnoh, Chaunthorunthoo, Newoonttootsery and Herunttocken for a number of Indian towns, it was agreed among other things: "Imprimis, The afsd great men Doe hereby Covenant & agree to & with ye said presidt & Councill that they shall and will, with ye utmost expedition & Dilligence, make Warr agt. all ye Indyans belonging to ye Townes or Nations of Catechny, Cores, Nuse & Bare River and pamptico, and that they shall not nor will not give any Quarter to any male Indyan of those Towns or Nations above ye Age of fourteen yeares, and also that they shall & will sell off & dispose of all ye males under that age. And that further, after they shall have destroy'd those townes or soe soone as this Governm't shall think proper to require it the said great men doe hereby promise to Join ye English with Soe menny Men as may be thought proper to destroy & cutt off all ye Matchepungo Indyans. * * *

4thly.—It is hereby farther Agreed by ye Great Men af-sd that these Severall Townes of Tostehant, Rauroota, Tarhuntah, Keutah, Toherooka, Juninits & Caunookehee, nor any of ye Indyans belonging to them or either of them, shall not nor will not Hunt nor rainge among ye English plantations nor Stocks without leave, nor then above ye number of three at one tyme, neither shall they Claime any property in ye lands on ye South Side of Nuse called Chatookae River, nor below Catachney Creek on Nuse, nor below Bare Creek ate not-sha-hun-han-rough on ye Noth (south) side of pamptico river." See original treaty framed in State Hall of History.

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These Indians also removed to New York, but they held their lands on the Roanoke and collected rents for them well on into the nineteenth century.

The Indians remaining in the province about 1730, through their Chiefs, King Tom Blount, of the Tuscaroras; King Hoyter, of the Chowans, and King Durant, of the Yawpims, paid a yearly tribute to the Governor. *b*

The Tuscarora war and the hardships following caused many people to leave the province, but this war was a blessing in disguise. As soon as the Indian troubles were finally disposed of, settlers sought the desirable lands higher up on the Roanoke, Tar and Neuse Rivers and their tributaries. In a few years settlements were begun on the Cape Fear. In the war we were aided by South Carolina and some of her leading citizens were so favorably impressed with our country that many of them and their friends soon moved here.

From a population of eleven thousand two hundred (seven thousand five hundred white, three thousand seven hundred negro) in 1715 *c* just after the Indian war the province of North Carolina had grown to thirty-six thousand, in 1730 at the end of the Proprietary period. From that time until the Revolution probably no province in America grew faster in wealth and population. In 1752 our population was ninety thousand *d*, seventy thousand white, twenty thousand negro, having been tripled in twenty years.

The Indian captives, more than six hundred, taken by Cols. Barnwell and Moore and their soldiers and ally Indians, were sent to South Carolina as slaves. Those taken by our people were sold into slavery in the West Indies or kept in bondage here. An Indian slave was valued at about £10, and was generally sold away from home. Negroes

b C. R., Vol. 4, pp. 34, 446.
c Chalmers.
d S. P. N., Vol. 4, 22.

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commanded higher prices as they were more docile and capable of greater labor.

In the Indian war our ally Indians were offered "a reward of six blankets for the head of each man of the said Indians killed by the (friendly) Tuscaroras, and the usual price of slaves for each woman and child delivered captives." *a* The white people after capturing Indians sometimes indulged in barbarities, as DeGraffenreid gives us an account of the roasting of an Indian King in 1711. *b*

Even as late as 1760 a law was passed making Indian captives slaves and "the absolute right and property of who shall be the captor of such Indian," and ten pounds was given for an Indan scalp taken by a citizen, and five pounds was given for a scalp captured by a solider. To some of our people it seemed profitable for the Indians to raise disturbances, but this province was never directly charged with inciting them to war for sinister purposes. Of one of our neighbors an historian says: "This province long continued 'that barbarous practice' which was then introduced (1680) of promoting Indian hostility that they might gain by the traffic of Indian slaves." *c*

"The moving causes of immigration to Albemarle were its delightful climate, magnificent bottom lands and bountiful products." *d*

Land-holding gave dignity and importance. The large land-holders, then as now, wielded great influence in their communities. They were the aristocracy of the country and the governing classes; their sons inheriting prestige and leadership with their estates.

Many of the early settlers came from other colonies for the rich lands along our river bottoms, which were found to be cheap, fertile and abundant. These "river plantations"

a C. R., Vol. 1, p. 15.
b C. R., Vol. 1, p. 946.
c Chalmers, Vol. 2, p. 172.
d Saunders.

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of North Carolina and the South were to become famous all over the world. Land could be easily secured. A planter starting life with modest beginnings would, by the productiveness of this soil and the natural fruitfulness of his slaves, horses, cattle and hogs, die rich in old age.

Brickell, who for awhile lived at Edenton, writing about 1735 says the Albemarle Country was settled by "Persons from Virginia and other Northern Colonies who, finding the Soil so very good and fertile, settled here, and are become very Numerous and Rich; for the lands here produce everything Planted in them in great abundance, Horses, Cows, Sheep and Swine breeding in vast numbers, the winter being very short, and that so mild that the Planters are at little or no Labour or Expense in providing Fodder for their Stock to what other Northerly Countries are." *a*

Among the planters were gentry who lived as much like their relations in England and Scotland as conditions in a sparsely settled country would admit. Some of the early planters came here in official positions as deputies of the Lords Proprietors, bringing with them their friends, retainers and tenants. With the various governors came their kinsmen, supporters and adherents. An examination of the wills in the office of the Secretary of State will show from the signatures with seals bearing imprinted theron crests and coats of arms of signers, that many of the leading men of Carolina belonged to the gentry of England and Scotland. Many of them were highly educated and classical scholars of great learning. The drafts of old laws, state papers, wills and letters of that day will, in phraseology and elegance of diction, compare most favorably with the productions of the best scholars of to-day.

At the close of the Proprietary period, it may not be far wrong to suggest that the per cent of highly educated and leading men in the colony in proportion to population (which

a Brickell, p. 9.

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was thirty-five thousand) was as great as it is in North Carolina to-day, but the masses for many years had little opportunity for education.

Of the great families of the province at that time, during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, may be mentioned the Swanns, Porters, Gales, Moseleys, Moores, Pollocks, Vails, Blounts, Bryans, Maules, Ashes, Johnstons, Herritages and others. It is safe to say that in honor, character, virtue and accomplishments, they were not excelled by any families on the American continent. They were people of education, refinement, culture and abundance. Without great wealth they lived in comfort and plenty. With lands, slaves, books, plate, horses and carriages they were leaders in a social life that rivaled the best in the adjoining colonies.

The early settlers took up the choicest lands on the rivers to such an extent that laws were passed to prevent the entering of too much land on the rivers to the exclusion of other settlers. In laying out the lands the enterer was at first allowed to take up 640 acres or a square mile in one tract on the river, *a,* but the act further provided that the surveyor should not "lay out two several tracts of land for any one person within two miles at least of each other, unless by particular warrant from the Lords Proprietors for that purpose." It must have been easy to obtain this "particular warrant from the Lords Proprietors for that purpose," or the law was not strictly observed, as we find many men in the province owning large bodies of land before North Carolina became a Royal Province. Of the large landed proprietors, some of them owning as much as fifty thousand acres, may be mentioned George Burrington, Frederick Jones, Roger Moore, Edward Moseley, Maurice Moore, John Lovick, William Maule, Dr. Patrick Maule, Seth Sothell, Robert Forster, Martin Franks,

a Chap. 33, Sec. 4, Laws 1715.

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Christopher Gale, John Porter, Thomas Pollock, Cullen Pollock, William Stephenson, John Baptista Ashe and others. *

To prevent non-residents entering land for speculation, one was required to have resided in the province for two years before they could sell their rights and lands. *a* All persons entering land were required to pay on the 29th of September one shilling for every fifty acres as quit rents, and were to be allowed three years to seat and plant, and the patentee was required to build a habitable house and to clear and fence and plant at least one (1) acre of land within the time limited. *b* In the Council Journal March 31, 1726, we read: "For saving of lands for the future, every house shall be fifteen foot long, ten Broad, Made tight and habitable of Clapboards or Loggs squared, with a roof and chimney-place and a Door-place. The whole acre cleared well, the major part of it broke up and planted with either fruite, trees or grain." *c* The large land-owners probably built one or two log houses on each tract of land, and placed thereon an overseer with several slaves. The overseers were frequently indentured servants in bond or those who had served their term and were in the employment of their former masters. They were sometimes hired for wages, but often for a part of the produce of the land. The customary wages being "for which Service he is allowed every seventh Calfe, seventh Fole and half of all young hogs that are bred during his stewardship,

a Laws 1715, C. 2.
b Laws 1715, Ch. 26.
c C. R., Vol. 2, p. 607.

* NOTE.—Bernheim, Vann and other writers say Martin Franks came to North Carolina in 1732. This is an error. He was treasurer of Craven precinct before that time (Page manuscript laws, in Everard's time) and was one of the signers of a petition in 1711-12. (Hawks.) In Grant records, Book 2, page 254, is recorded, Apr. 14, 1730, a grant in Craven Precinct, Bath County, to Martin Franks for Ten thousand one hundred and seventy-five (10,175) acres. The grant recites that "All of which land was granted to the sd Martin Frank by a warrant dated June 15th, 1711."

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and likewise the seventh part of all sorts of grain and tobacco that is produced on the said plantation."*a*

* The slaves also made tar and turpentine in the spring and summer season, clearing land in the fall and winter; the women and children worked the corn raising sufficient for the men and animals.

During the wars between England and France, the Swedish merchants, who controlled the naval stores trade of the world, put the price of tar to such an extortionate figure that England gave bounties to her colonists to produce it. ** About 1704, North Carolina commenced its production, and for two hundred years it has been one of the chief products of the State. In the year 1753 North Carolina exported 61,528 barrels of tar; 12,052 do. of pitch; 10,429 do. turpentine, 762,000 staves; 61,580 bus. corn, 100 (?) hhds. tobacco, and about 30,000 deer skins, besides lumber and other commodities. In 1708 the exports from all America was 6,089 barrels of pitch and tar to England. *b*

a Brickell, p. 269.

b Chalmers.

* NOTE.—In Carroll's Historical Collections of South Carolina, Vol. 2, p. 261, we are told that overseers, when hired for wages, were paid fifteen to forty pounds per annum, and laborers from one shilling and three pence to two shillings a day "with Lodging and Diet."

* * *

** The following is taken from the English Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, 1699-1713.

"Chap. X. 1704—

** The following is taken from the English Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, Majesty's plantations in America.

* * * any of the naval stores hereafter mentioned, shall have and enjoy, as a Reward or Praemium for such Importation, after and according to the several rates for such Naval Stores as follows, viz:

II. For good and merchantable Tar per Tun, containing eight Barrels, and each Barrel to gage thirty-one Gallons and an half, Four Pounds.

For good and merchantable Pitch per Tun, each Tun containing twenty Gross hundreds (Net Pitch) to be brought in eight barrels, four Pounds.

For good and merchantable Rozin or Turpentine per Tun, each Tun containing twenty Gross hundred (Net Rozin or Turpentine) to be brought in eight Barrels, three Pounds.

For Hemp, Water rotted, bright and clean, per Tun, each Tun containing twenty Gross, hundreds, six Pounds.

For all Masts, Yards and Bowsprits, per Tun, allowing forty Foot to each Tun, Girt measure, according to the customary way of measuring round bodies, one Pound.

* * *

This Act was later repealed.)

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Every planter of ordinary thrift soon became independent. In the most primitive period of our history the first houses of the planters were built of logs. The house was of notched logs and was probably such as is seen in many sections of the State to-day. Between the logs were fastened split poles which were chinked with mud. The chimneys were mostly wooden, the base, body and brast of chimney being logged up to the funnel, after which a square pen or stack of sticks was made and daubed inside and out with clay to cement together and to protect from burning. The inside of the fire-place was covered with mud in the same way. Lumber was scarce and expensive, and such as they had was sawed by hand in saw-pits or imported from Boston. *a* It was probably about 1730, before saw mills made their appearance in North Carolina. *b* Just before 1750 these mills sawed about 150,000 feet a year.

Col. Byrd, in his "History of the Dividing Line," *c* says: "Most of the houses in this part of the Country are log houses, covered with Pine or Cypress shingles three feet long and one broad. They are hung upon laths with Peggs, and their doors too turn upon Wooden Hinges, and have Wooden Locks to secure them, so that the Building is finisht without nails or other iron work."

It may be interesting to note what was regarded as a habitable house as shown by the size of houses required to be built in the various towns within eighteen months or two years after purchasing lots. Pollock in 1720 required that the houses built on lots in New Bern (which town he owned) should be "not less than Fifteen Foot square." *d* As late as 1756, eighteen months' time was given for building on lots taken up, and a habitable house of sixteen

a Thomas Pollock's Will.
b C. R., Vol. 3, pp. 427, 432, (1732); C. R., Vol. 4. pp. 52, 61, (1735).
c Vol. 1, p. 59.
d C. R., Vol. 2, p. 386.

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feet by twenty-four feet required. *a* In Edenton *b* houses were required to be "not of less Dimensions than Twenty Feet long, Fifteen Feet in width and Eight Feet in Height between the first floor and the joists, etc." No wooden chimneys were allowed to be built there after the first day of May, 1741. *c* At Brunswick houses were to be 20 feetx16 feet. *d* When the town of Johnston, in Onslow, which was afterwards destroyed by a wind storm in September, 1752, *e* was incorporated *f* the inhabitants buying lots were required to build within two years a "good, substantial habitable frame-house not of less dimensions than Twenty Four feet in length and Sixteen feet wide, besides sheds and Leantos." When Capt. Richard Sanderson attempted to build a town on Roanoke Island *g* it was required that the houses should be 20 feetx15 feet. In the establishment of Newtown (which afterwards became Wilmnigton), it was made a town, *"Provided,* the Inhabitants thereof do, within the space of two years from the date hereof build and erect six Brick Houses in the principal streets, of forty feet long and thirty feet deep." *h* When the village of Newton was changed into the town of Wilmington *i* it was required that before one was allowed to vote for a representative for the said town in the General Assembly he must be "a Tenant of a Brick, Stone or framed habitable House, of the Length of Twenty Feet, and Sixteen Feet Broad; or an inhabitant of a Brick House of the Length of Thirty Feet, and Sixteen Feet Broad, between the Bounds of said Town, upwards, and Smith's Creek, and within One Hundred and Twenty Poles to the Cape Fear River." This

a Laws 1756, Ch. 12.
b Laws, 1740, Ch. 1, Sec. 2.
c Sec. 13.
d Laws 1745, Ch. 12, Sec. 8.
e Martin, Vol. 2, p. 61.
f Laws 1741, Ch. 12, Sec. 6.
g Laws 1715, Ch. 59.
h C. R., Vol. 4, p. 43.
i Laws 1739, Ch. 4, Secs. 4 and 5, and Laws 1740, Ch. 4, Secs. 7 and 8.

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was probably intended to include several of the prominent men who lived near to town.

The planters lived upon their estates with residences generally more pretentious than the town houses. A few of these houses were of brick, but they were commonly frame houses. Some of them were of considerable dimensions even early in the eighteenth century. There were few brick houses in North Carolina. Even after the planters became wealthy they did not affect them. In a humid climate brick houses were probably damp and unhealthy. In New Bern there were only two brick dwelling houses as late as 1792. *a*

There are to-day standing houses of well-to-do planters that were built prior to 1750. Some of them brick, but mostly of wood. These houses are about forty feet long and twenty feet wide, to which are added shed rooms or "leantos." The basements or cellars are about 7 or 8 feet pitch, the walls to the cellar being massive masonry of rock, the rock having come from the West Indies as ballast for vessels. In the cellar is generally a large room about 19x19 feet at one end, and the other end divided into small rooms which are used for storage. The walls of the cellar rise several feet above the ground. In the large cellar room there is a fire-place several feet deep, about eight feet wide and four feet high.

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a Morse Geog., Mrs. Powell's "New Bern."

NOTE.—All the earlier brick buildings are said to have been built with "brick brought from England." This probably means of "English Brick" except a few press brick for tiles and ornamental purposes. In Harriot's Narrative (1586) we read: "The planters may be well supplied with brick, for the making whereof in divers places of the country there is clay both excellent, good and plenty, and also by lime made of oyster shells and others burnt, etc."

When Bacon burned Jamestown in 1675 there were a number of brick houses in the town. Drummond, the former Governor of North Carolina owning one which in an excess of patriotism he fired with his own hands. An old grant in Virginia in 1637 for lands at Jamestown calls for the "Brick Mill"; Lawson says in 1700 that there were "Large Brick Buildings" in Charleston at that time; he further says "Good Brick and Tiles" were made in North Carolina. Brickell also informs us that "Brick and Tile" were made here in his time. The light tonnage of the vessels averaging probably not more than 100 tons burden coming into these waters after a month's sail from England, would have made the importing of brick quite expensive.

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There were receptables or ovens built in the sides of the fire-place. Across the chimney, inside, ran a heavy iron rod on which were the cranes for hanging pots. These cranes were made in two pieces and so adjusted that pots could be raised or lowered at will. In the cellar rooms were small windows. Resting on the cellar walls were the sills of the house, generally 10x12 inches or 12x12 inches, hewn out of heart pine running the full length and breadth of the house; on these were the sleepers, six inches by eight inches or eight inches by ten inches, hewn out of heart pine, joined at the ends, mortised, tenoned and truncheoned with lightwood truncheons about one and a half or two inches in diameter. The sills were sometimes tarred with hot tar and wrapped in tarred canvas as a further protection against moisture. On the first floor is a large square room 19x19 feet. For several feet from the floor around the room, coming up to the base of the windows is panelling. The fire-place is four or five feet wide, and above it about six feet tall is the old wooden mantel of best workmanship. Adjoining the big room is a narrow passage with stairs ascending to the second floor and garret; across the passage are two small rooms.

The second floor is a duplicate of the first and the garret is divided into small rooms with small windows at end of house. These houses frequently had brick ends as is so often seen in tidewater Virginia. All the timbers are of unbled pine and the nails used are hand-wrought.

NOTE.—There are three of these houses still standing in Beaufort County: The Cotanche or Marsh House at Bath, the Maule House at Maule's Point and the old house at the Grimes Plantation on Tranters Creek. The old Cotanche House at Bath has closets in its massive chimney in which valuables could be placed to secure from fire. The chimney closets have small windows in the chimney. It was not uncommon to have an excavation bricked up on each side of the chimney opening inside by the hearth in which valuables could be placed. In some old chimneys under fire-places have been discovered a box or barrel with covers neatly fixed in the chimney foundation, so that by raking away the ashes and taking up part of the hearth these little vaults could be reached. These deposit places were safe from discovery and secure from fire.

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The planter's home residence was called the Manor or Manor House, The House, The Great House, etc. The family servants were settled near at hnad, while the overseer's house and quarters were some distance away. The estates were generally named, sometimes after the family or family estates in England, and often after the place in England from whence the planter came. The large planters prided themselves upon being "gentlemen"—the owner of lands with laborers to work for them. He was truly lord of all he surveyed, governed his own household and was law-giver to his poor neighbors. He arbitrated their disputes and settled their differences—he doctored them in sickness and helped them in time of need. The title of head or master of an estate carried with it position and hereditary dignity and power little less than an inherited title carried with it in the mother country.

Labor was in the greatest demand. In January, 1733, Gov. Burrington, in writing to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, says: "Land is not wanting for men in Carolina, but men for land." * * * "I compute the white men, women and children in North Carolina to be fully thirty thousand, and the negroes about six thousand. The Indians, men, women and children, less than eight hundred. * * * Great is the loss this country has sustained in not being supply'd by vessels from Guinea with negroes; in any part of the province the people are able to pay for a ships load; but as none come directly from Africa, we are under a necessity to buy the refuse, refractory and distempered negroes, brought from other governments; it is hoped some merchants in England will speedily furnish this colony with negroes to increase the produce and its trade to England." *a*

The planter's wealth was generally estimated by the number of his slaves. All planters of any pretentions owned

a C. R., Vol. 3, pp. 430, 431. See also Vol. 4, p. 172.

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slaves—negroes, Indians, mulatoes and mustees. The gold and silver that came into the hands of planters from sale of produce was saved to purchase slaves with, as the traders required specie payments. Female slaves under 20 years of age were especially desired.

In 1733 the value of products exported to Virginia for which our people received cash was about £50,000 a year. *a* Quit rents, dues, taxes and all other debts, public and private, were paid to the government or creditors in commodities which were rated in 1715 as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
"Tobacco, per cwt.		10	0
Indian corn per bushel		1	8
Wheat per bushel		3	6
Tallow tryped, per ℔			5
Leather tanned and uncured, per ℔			8
Beaver and other skins per ℔		2	6
Wild cat skins per piece		1	0
Butter per ℔			6
Cheese per ℔			4
Buck and doe skins (raw) per ℔			9
Buck and doe skins (drest) per ℔		1	4
Feathers per ℔		1	4
Pitch (full gauged) per barl	1	0	0
Whale oil " "	1	10	0
Porke " "	2	5	0
Beef " "	1	10	0"

Rates were later somewhat changed. Flax and hemp were also added. *b*

There was little currency in the province even at a much later period. In writing of North Carolina just before the Revolution a traveler says: "There is but little specie in

b C. R., Vol. 3, p. 622.
c C. R., Vol. 4, pp. 469, 920.

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circulation; indeed, there is no great occasion for it; for a planter raises his own meats, beef and bacon, his own corn and bread, his drink, cyder and brandy, his fruit, apples, peaches, etc., and a great part of his clothing which is cotton." *a* Almost all wealth was in land, slaves and stock. There was not much loaning of money; the legal rate of interest was 6 per cent, and the penalty for usury was forfeiture of twice the amount of the principal. *b* There was a considerable amount of Mexican, Peruvian and Spanish coin in circulation in the province, the value of which was fixed by proclamation of Queen Anne.

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a Smyth's Tour in America, p. 99.

b Laws 1741, Ch. 11.

NOTE.—"An act for ascertaining the rates of foreign coins in Her Majesty's Plantations in America.

WHEREAS, for remedying the inconveniences which had arisen from the different rates at which the same species of Foreign Silver coins did pass in Her Majesty's several Colonies and Plantations in America, Her Most Excellent Majesty has thought fit by her Royal Proclamation bearing date the eighteenth day of June one thousand seven hundred and four, and in the third year of her Reign, to settle and ascertain the currency of foreign coins in her said Colonies and Plantations in the manner and words following:

We having had under our Consideration the different rates at which the same Species of Foreign Coins do pass in our several Colonies and Plantations in America, and the inconveniences thereof by the indirect practice of drawing the money from one Plantation to another to the great Prejudice of the Trade of our Subjects; and being sensible that the same cannot be otherwise remedied than by reducing all foreign coins to the same current Rate within all our Dominions in America; and the principal officers of our Mint having laid before us a table of the value of the several Foreign Coins which usually pass in Payments in our said Plantations according to their Weight and Assays made of them in our Mint, thereby shewing the just proportion which each coin ought to have to the other which is as followeth: * * *

II. And whereas, notwithstanding the said Proclamation the same indirect practices as are therein mentioned are still carried on within some of the said Colonies or Plantations and the money thereby drawn from one Plantation to another, in Prejudice of the Trade of Her Majesty's subjects; Wherefore for the better enforcing the due Execution of her Majesty's said Proclamation throughout all the said Colonies and Plantations, and for the more effectual remedying the said Inconveniencies, thereby intended to be remedied, Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same * * * ." Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, 1699-1715. Cap. 30, p. 324, 1707.

The penalty for the violation of this law was six months' imprisonment and a fine of Ten pounds for each offence.

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Slaves were generally bought in Virginia or South Carolina at high prices, and after the most select ones had been chosen by the planters of those States. With the opening of the Cape Fear, the planters had an opportunity to buy slaves at first hands. Some of the planters who first settled on the Cape Fear took with them a considerable number of slaves from their plantations in Chowan and Pamlico. Among these may be mentioned:

Edward Moseley	with	62 slaves.
Roger Moore	with	100 slaves.
John Porter	with	62 slaves.
John Lovick	with	34 slaves. *a*

They moved that many in 1732 and were allowed headrights of fifty acres for each member of their families. Roger Moore at the time of his death in 1751 owned 250 negroes.

Slavery was the greatest eleemosynary and educational institution for a weak and inferior race that the world has ever known. Some of the planters freed their slaves, but this does not seem to have met the approval of the colonists as freed slaves were required to leave the province or to be sold again into slavery. *b*

In disposing of slaves care was taken not to separate the men and their wives and children; an instance of this kind is shown in the will of Cullen Pollock, 1749. Occasionally negro slaves could read and write even in the earliest period, and negroes were allowed to raise "side crops" of tobacco, to gather herbs, etc., and the money derived from these was theirs individually and to do as they pleased with. *c*

When it became necessary to execute a slave the owner was repaid his value, which was assessed by the Justices and allowed by the Assembly. *d*

a C. R., Vol. 3, p. 426, etc.
b Laws 1741, Ch. 24, Sec. 56.
c Brickell, p. 275.
d 1741, Ch. 24, Sec. 46.

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All slaves were tythable at the age of 12 years. *a* Every master was allowed to permit one slave on every plantation to carry a gun for the protection of stock and for hunting game for the table. *b* All slaves away from their masters' plantations were required to have "certificate of leave in writing for so doing, from his or her master or overseer (negroes wearing liveries always excepted)." *c* It seemed to please the fancy of the planters to name their slaves after the great characters in mythology and history, or to give them some whimsical name. Every large plantation had its Cæsar, Hannibal, Scipio, Jupiter, Moses, Aaron, Pompey, Mars, Venus, Dido, Diana, Africa, Mustapha, etc.

Indentured white servants were not as numerous in this country as in Virginia and Maryland. These unfortunates represented many classes and conditions. "Some of the convicts sold as indentured servants were persons of family and education." *d* Convicts were sent to the colonies and sold into bondage. Others were sent into servitude for political offences. Many of the supporters of the Duke of Monmouth were deported to the American colonies and sentenced to ten years' servitude. Some indentured themselves to pay their passage money, which was about £5 in cash, and were sold upon arrival here by the sailing master. Christian servants above 16 years old imported into this government without indenture, were required to serve five years. All under 16 years of age were to serve till they were 22 years old. *e* All Christians were to be allowed by their master or mistress at the expiration of their service three barrels of Indian corn, two new suits of apparel valued at £5 at best, or in lieu of a suit of "apparell" "a good well-fixed gun if he be a man servant"; they were also enttiled to fifty acres of land which they seldom took up.

a 1741, Ch. 24.
b Laws 1741, Ch. 24, Sec. 41.
c 1741, Ch. 24, Sec. 53.
d Bancroft, Vol. 2, p. 251.
e Laws 1715, Ch. 46, Sec. 6.

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Many people, especially women and children, were kidnapped in London and other cities and brought to America to be sold as bond servants. The Colony passed an act *a* whereby the person kidnapped, if a Christian or a subject of a friendly power, might recover from the Importer or Seller double the amount for which he was sold, and the defendant was required to give bond to transport the person back to the land from whence he came within one year.

Writing to the Lords of Trade and Plantations Gov. Burrington says: *b* "It is by breeding Horses, Hoggs. and Cattle that people without slaves gain substance here at first, not by their labor." The abundance of grass, reeds and rich vegetation caused the horses, cattle and hogs to multiply in vast numbers; the stock were branded or marked and turned loose in the woods, being penned and fed enough to keep them from going entirely wild. Lawson says (1707) he had seen as many as one thousand cattle belonging to one owner, and Brickell says he had seen one hundred calves in one pen belonging to one person. The calves were confined to insure the return of the cows each evening, a custom that prevails with cattle raisers in Eastern Carolina to this day.

About 1728 there was a disease that destroyed half the cattle in the Province; *c* again about 1760 another cattle distemper was brought in the Province from South Carolina by which near 7-8 of the stock was lost. *d* The importance of the cattle industry seems to have declined from that time.

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a Laws 1741, Ch. 25, Sec. 23.
b C. R., Vol. 3, p. 148.
c C. R., Vol. 3, p. 28.
d C. R., Vol. 6, p. 1,029.

NOTE.—We are told that in South Carolina the writer Peter Purry in 1731 had known "one Planter to mark two hundred calves last spring"; Again, another writer states that in South Carolina "Black Cattle are extremely plentiful, many gentlemen owning from five hundred to fifteen hundred head. Carr. Coll., Vol. 2, pp. 123, 482.

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Horses were raised in considerable numbers. They were turned out to range, it being necessary to feed them only in the winter time. In almost every locality in the early settled sections of North Carolina there are to-day places where tradition tells us were "horse pens." Many localities have such names as the "Horse neck pocoson," "Horse Pen branch," etc. These horses are described as smaller than the average horses now in use but of great endurance. Many of them are said to have gone wild.

Hogs were raised in vast numbers, the woods abounding in berries, fruits, acorns and mast of all kinds. The Coastal Plain was heavily set in oaks of all kinds and the acorns furnished abundant food for hogs. Hogs were kept until grown, and it became a custom on account of their uniform size to count the pieces, hams, shoulders, sides, etc., instead of weighing. This custom prevailed until the middle of the past century. Planters now living tell me that they have sold dried meats that way which were transported in flat boats down the rivers to be loaded in vessels for the West Indies. Beef and pork barrelled dry, and in pickle, were of the rated commodities, and for many years were two of the chief exports of the colony.

Gov. Burrington reported in 1736 that there were fifty thousand hogs and ten thousand fat oxen driven into Virginia yearly. *a* The want of salt made this necessary. These came from Pamlico and Albemarle, and were in addition to the amount of barrelled meat shipped.

Horses were branded and Cattle and Hogs were marked in the ears, a custom that still prevails.

For altering or defacing brands or the mismarking of stock there was a penalty of ten pounds proclamation money over and above the value of the animal, and "forty lashes on

a C. R., Vol. 4, p. 172.

(NOTE.—The writer's mark now in use "a crop slit and under bit both ears," has been the family stock mark for more than a century.)

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his bare back well laid on, and for the second offence, he shall pay the price above-mentioned, stand in the Pillory Two Hours and be branded in the left hand with a red hot iron the letter T." * * * "Such slave or slaves shall, for first offence, suffer both his ears to be cut off, and be publicly whipt, at the Discretion of the Justices and Freeholders before whom he shall be tried; and for the second offence shall suffer death." *a*

The discovery of the rich Cape Fear bottoms where the rice lands are as fertile as any in the world, attracted attention near the close of the Proprietary period, and quite a colony of the leading men from Albemarle and Bath counties went there; among them the Porters, Ashes, Moores, Lillingtons, Moseleys, etc. Of these the Hon. Geo. Davis says: "They were no needy adventurers, driven by necessity, no unlettered boors, ill at ease in the haunts of civilization, and seeking their proper sphere amidst the barbarism of the savages. They were gentlemen of birth and education, bred in the refinements of polished society, and bringing with them ample fortunes, gentle manners, and cultivated minds—most of them united by ties of blood, and all by those of friendship, they came as one household, sufficient to themselves, and reared their family altars in love and peace."

It was not an uncommon thing for a wealthy planter to own twenty or thirty thousand acres of land. *b*

Provoked by a charge that some of them owned more than one hundred thousand acres each, John Porter, Edward Hyrne, Jno. Swann, Sam Swann, J. Davis, M. Moore, Thos. Jones, Nathaniel Moore and Jno. Davis signed a memorial, saying they together did not own more than seventy-five thousand acres, and had "not more than twelve hundred persons in their families." *c*

a Laws 1741, Ch. 8.
b C. R., Vol. 4, p. 426.
c C. R., Vol. 4, p. 315.

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The planters lived on the streams, and every family had its periauger, canoe, sloop or brigantine.

The water-ways were the chief mode of transportation. To the planters' doors came the ships of the old world, and especially the sloops of the New England and West India trader.

Many of the more substantial planters owned vessels that traded with New England, the Barbadoes and occasionally made trips to Europe. The periaugers would carry eight or ten tons or fifty or sixty barrels of pork or tar, and were well adapted to the shallow creeks and landings that they oftenest frequented. The usual vessels in our waters were not of more than fifty or seventy-five tons, mainly the New England sloops. At an early period an effort was made to encourage North Carolina ship owners, and in an act of 1715, *a* vessels entering the government were required to pay one pound of powder, four pounds swan shot and twelve flints for every three tons' measure, and for want thereof ten shillings for every three tons—this was not to apply to vessels built in this country or owned in whole or in part here, nor to those vessels loaded wtih salt to unload here.

The absence of deep water shipping ports was the greatest handicap under which this province labored. For many years its importations were through the Virginia capes. Most of its commodities were brought from New England where they were imported and re-shipped to us.

Tobacco promised at one time to be our chief money crop, but there was an over production. The first Carolina law of which we have any record was "An Act prohibiting the sowing, setting, planting or in any way tending any tobacco" from Feby. 1st., 1667, to Feby. 1st., 1668. *b* A similar effort was made by Virginia and Maryland

a 1715, Ch. 35.
b S. P. N., Vol 1, p. 34.

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at the same time. The next blow to our tobacco interests came about 1679 in "An act against importing tobacco from Carolina, and other ports without the Capes of Virginia." it was enacted: "That such importation from henceforth be, and by virtue of this, remain prohibited and forbidden; and that if any tobacco hereafter, in anywise whatsoever, shall be imported from Carolina or other ports without the Capes, into this colony and dominion in order to be laid here on shore, sold or shipped, the same shall be thereby forfeited and lost." *a*

Another act similar to the above was passed by Virginia against North Carolina in 1726. Against this the inhabitants of Albemarle protested, setting forth "That the Inlets to that part of North Carolina are not capable of receiving vessels of Burthen fitt for the transportating of Tobacco from thence to Great Brittain." This effectually prohibited shipping, and thereby destroyed our market for tobacco. The planters could raise tobacco sufficient to pay quit rents, etc,, which the government accepted at the rated price, but they could not sell it profitably and were forced to leave off planting in quantity for profit. "Endeavoring to cloathe themselves with their own manufactures" would compete with British manufacturers, so the British Board of Trade repealed these acts July 29, 1731. *b*

According to Lawson Roanoke Inlet was ten feet over the bar, but the sands were shifting and uncertain after coming within. Hatteras had four or five fathom on bar, but after getting into the sound not more than six feet of water was to be found. At Ocracoke, in Lawson's time, there was thirteen feet at low water and eighteen feet at high water, and after crossing the bar safe anchorage was found in seven or eight fathom water. Wimble (1738) says there was 17 feet on bar; in Teach's hole 4 fathoms of water, and in the sound an eight to nine feet channel was to be found.

a C. R., Vol. 1, p. 628.
b C. R., Vol. 3, p. 211.

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At Beaufort, on Topsail Inlet, was two fathoms of water, according to Lawson, and five or six fathoms in the harbor. Wimble says there was seventeen feet on the bar. Prof. Bache, Superintendent of Coast Survey in 1851, gives seventeen feet at low water. In report to Congress Prof. Bache states that "a ship drawing twenty feet of water can leave at any state of tide, with almost any wind and discharge her pilot at sea in from thirty to forty-five minutes after weighing anchor."

Roanoke Inlet was early abandoned because it was shifting, shallow and dangerous, and Ocracoke became the customary entrance as about nine feet of water could be secured from Ocracoke to Bath, Newberne and Edenton. From Bath town to Ocracoke was reckoned seventy miles. *a*

Bath promised at one time to be the commercial metropolis of Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, and was an important port of entry. When it was determined to have a permanent capital the General Assembly voted to make Bath the seat of government, but "by management" Gov. Johnston secured the selection of Newberne. *b*

Burrington, who had considerable wisdom, wished to make Ocracoke the port of entry, abolishing collection districts of Roanoke (Edenton), Currituck and Bath town. At Ocracoke we could have a direct trade with Europe, receiving the larger sea-going vessels there and distributing the produce to the various parts of our colony in smaller vessels and have direct importation of negroes. He did not, however, have sufficient influence at Court for that purpose, and for years our neighbors to the north and south of us received the great

a C. R., Vol. 3, p. 170.
b C. R., Vol. 4, p. 833.

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ships and re-shipped to our waters in smaller vessels, receiving the profits and benefits that should have been ours. *

Gov. Burrington in 1731 writes:

"The pilots I have appointed assure me that at Ocracoke they bring in vessels that draw sixteen or eighteen feet water, at Port Beaufort that draw twenty, and at Cape Fear near two and twenty—this account the Pilots offered to swear too. Currituck Inlet is shut up, and Roanoke is so dangerous that few people care to use it, but go round to Ocracoke." *a*

Port Beaufort had but a very small quantity of land belonging to its district and was very inconvenient to traders on Neuse River, and the traders in that section were "forced to ride forty miles to enter and clear at Beaufort thro' a low, watery and uninhabited country, which after great rains is not passable in many days." *b*

At Cape Fear Lawson found "seven fathom on barr with fine harbor" and this was, and is, probably the best natural port south of New York. Tryon said in 1764: "The entrance over this bar is esteemed equal to that of Charleston." *c*

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a C. R., Vol. 3, p. 210.
b C. R., Vol. 4, p. 169.
c C. R., Vol. 6, p. 1,059.

* NOTE.—Burrington says, C. R., Vol. 3, p. 336, "At the south end of an island called Ocracock there is sufficient depth of water for any merchantman to come in and a secure harbor, this Island is separated from the main land by a Sound about fourteen leagues over that cannot be passed by a Vessell that draws tenn foot water, it has communications with many large rivers that water so great a part of this country as contain four parts in five of all the Inhabitants within the Province. On this Island there is a hill whereon if a small fort was Erected Cannon would from thence Command the Barr, Channell and Harbour, there is no one thing that would cause the trade of this Province to flourish like setting a Custom House on this Place, this would procure a trade from England, in a little time put an end to the Pedling carried on by the Virginians and People of New England."

NOTE.—A letter from Capt. Winslow of the U. S. Corps of Engineers gives the distance from Ocracoke Inlet to Washington, N. C., 75 miles; (about 12 miles above Bath). Ocracoke Inlet to New Berne, N. C., 70 miles; Ocracoke Inlet to Edenton, N. C., 130 miles."

Regarding Roanoke Inlet he gives the following data:

"It was open in 1585; depth not known. It was navigable for (9) nine feet in 1708; for eight (8) feet in 1738 and 1775; it was open in 1795; depth not known, and was closed in 1875. The time of the closure not being definitely known."

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"The distance from Charleston bar to that of Cape Fear is sixty leagues, and has been frequently run in twenty hours."

In a letter to the Lords of the Board of Trade, Dec. 12, 1734, Gab Johnson says the Cape Fear was "the best navigation of any betwixt Chesapeak Bay and Cape Florida, and that the past year forty-two ships went loaded from this river." He said that the first settlement there was about eight years before.

When direct trade commenced at Wilmington the Cape Fear country soon became one of the most important commercial sections in America.

The leading men of the province were well educated, though little provision was made for the laboring classes. Gentlemen's sons were sent to Williamsburg, Charleston, New England and Old England; some had tutors at home. The daughters were taught by their own mothers or placed with ladies who undertook to educate them.

The ministers and lay readers were generally also teachers, and educated indentured servants were sometimes used for that purpose. Charles Griffin about 1705 was probably the first professional teacher in the Province, and others followed. Brickell *a* says: "The want of the Protestant clergy is generally supplied by some School-Masters, who read the Liturgy. These are most numerous and are dispersed through the whole Province." A free school for the education of Indian and negro children was established by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Bath about 1720. *b*

The law required *c* "That all orphans shall be Educated and provided for according to their Rank and degree" out of the "Income or Interest of their Estate and Stock, if the same will be sufficient, otherwise such

a Page 35.
b See Rainsford's letter.
c Ch. 49, Laws 1715. Sec. 4.

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orphan shall be bound apprentice to some Handycraft Trade (the Master or Mistress of such Orphan not being of the Profession of the People called Quakers) till they shall come of age."

Religion was established by law, but the people were allowed to worship God in their own way and no one was required to conform to the faith and forms of The Church unless they wished to. The Established Church was supposed to be supported by taxes, but the inhabitants do not seem to have been liberal or prompt in their settlements:

"With absolute freedom of sonscience, benevolent reason was the simple rule of their conduct." *a*

All Protestant Dissenters were allowed to have their meetings for the exercise of their religion without molestation, but no Quaker was qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal causes or to serve on any jury, or bear any office or place of profit or trust in the government. *b*

The early settlers were governed by the laws of England and such additional laws as were not repugnant thereto.

In the revision of 1715 the first of the "Six Confirmed Laws" was "An Act concerning Marriages." After reciting the absence of ministers in the Province to join "in wedlock according to the Rites and Customs of our natural Country the Kingdom of England: that none may be hindered from so necessary a work for the preservation of Mankind and settlement of this country." Sec. 2 reads. "It is enacted and be it enacted by the Palatin and Lords Proprietors, of Carolina, by and with the consent and Advice of the present Grand Assembly and the authority thereof, that any two persons desirous to be joined together in the Holy Estate of Matrimony, taking three or four neighbours along with them and repairing to the Governor or any one of the Council, before him declaring that they do join together in the Holy

a Bancroft, Vol. 2. p. 154.
b 1715, Ch. 9, Secs. 2, 6. Re-enacted in 1749....

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Estate of Wedlock and do accept one the other for Man and Wife, and the said Governor or Councellor before whom such Act is performed, giving certificate thereof, and the said certificate being registered in the Secretary's office, or by the Register of the Precinct or in such office as shall hereafter be appointed for that use. It shall be deemed a Lawful Marriage, & the persons violating that marriage shall be punished as they had been married according to the Rites and Customs of England."

Later magistrates were allowed to perform the marriage ceremony. *a* Registration of marriages, births and deaths were required, *b* and "every Planter, Owner, Attorney or Overseer of every settled plantation in this Government, or that hereafter shall be settled shall set apart a Burial place, and fence the same for the interring of all such Christian persons whether bond or free that shall die on their plantations." *

In this day of temperance agitation the following law may be worth mentioning, and the idea of requiring a bond of liquor dealers for the faithful observance of the law may be worth reviving: *c* "An act concerning Ordinary keepers and Tippling houses." The keepers of Taverns or Ordinaries were required to have license to sell liquor and to give bond for the due observance of the law; it further

a 1741, Ch. 1, Sec. 9.
b Ch. 47, 1715.
c 1715, Ch. 53.

* NOTE.—It seems to have been a custom at burylngs to feed the people attending. The following bill pasted in "Minute Docket 1695–1712" may not be uninteresting.
lett: (1703.)

	£.	s.	d.
My trouble in ye sickness		10	
coffin		10	
sheat		8	
digging grave, etc		5	6
funeral dinner	1	10	
By looking after hogs, etc	1	5	

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provided that "nothing in this act shall be adjudged to hinder any Man from selling Cyder or other liquors, the produce of his own plantation, at any time hereafter by full and Lawful measures (the same not being drunk in the cellar house or plantation.)" The rate of charges for "Drink, Dyet, Lodging, Fodder, Provender, Corn or Pasturage" was fixed by the Justices of the County Court. *a* There were very few poor in the province as there was great demand for labor, and every one who would exert himself had an abundance of "hog and hominy." The fines collected for Sabbath breaking and swearing, profaneness, etc., were paid by the Justices to the Church Warden for the use of the poor of the parish. *b* If any person was wounded, maimed or hurt in his country's service "and not of ability to maintain himself or pay for his cure, he or they shall be cured at the Publick charge, and have one good negro man-slave allowed and purchased for him for his maintenance, and in the same case if any one shall be killed, the Publick shall make the same provision for his wife and family."

To vote for a member of the Assembly one was required to be 21 years of age and to have been an inhabitant of the government six months, and a free-holder with fifty acres. *c* This property qualification was not hard to attain, as every resident was entitled to fifty acres for himself and the same for each member of his family, if he chose to enter it. To be a member of the Assembly it was necessary to have been a resident of the Province for one full year and to be 21 years of age and own 100 acres of land.

There were a number of good roads in the province before 1750—that from Edenton to Williamsburg, a distance of

a 1741, Ch. 20, Sec. 4.
b Laws 1715, Ch. 25, Sec. 8.
c 1743, Ch. 1, Sec. 5.

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100 miles, being very good and a great highway of travel. The road from "Edenton to Virginia, being made broad and convenient for all sorts of carriages, such as Coaches, Chaises, Waggons and Carts, and especially for Horsemen." *a* There was a road from Edenton to Bath, from Bath to New Berne, and from New Berne to Brunswick—distance, two hundred miles.

The road system was not much inferior to that in many counties in North Carolina to-day. Every male person, white or black, from sixteen years of age to sixty, was required to work the roads. *b*

An effort to secure the carrying of letters was made early in our history. All letters superscribed for his Majesty's service directed to or subsigned by the Governor or other "Publick Officer" or by some Field Officer in the Militia at such time when the government is actually engaged in war against the "Indyan Enemie" shall be "Immediately conveyed from Plantation to the place and persons to whom they are directed under the Penalty of Five pounds for each default—one halfe to the Government and the other half to him or them which shall sue for the same." *c* It was further enacted that "where any person in the family the said letter comes to can write such person is hereby required to endorse the day and houre of the Receipt of it that the neglect or Contempt of any person therein may be the better discovered and punishment inflicted accordingly." The bill, costs and charges of carriages was adjudged by the Court of each Precinct and paid by the General Assembly. *d* Burrington said in 1731 "this law never answered the end, and is now entirely useless." *e*

a Brickell, page 262.
b 1745, Ch. 3; C. R., Vol. 3, p. 435.
c 1715, Ch. 15, Sec. 56.
d Laws 1715, Ch. 56.
e Burrington, 1731; C. R., Vol. 3, p. 188.

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A general post-office was established in New York in 1710 for the Continent, with several branches, including Charleston in Carolina. Act Parliament 1710, Queen Anne. *

In 1755 Gov. Dobbs in a message to the General Assembly called attention to the necessity of an "Established Post thro' this Province" and the necessity of correspondence with the neighboring Colonies, whereon James Davis, Printer, was employed for the sum of one hundred pounds, six shillings and eight pence Proclamation money for one year, "to convey all Publick Letters, Expresses and Dispatches relating to this Province to any part thereof, and every fifteen days send a messenger to Suffolk, in Virginia, and to Wilmington." *a*

In a message to the General Assembly in 1764 Gov. Dobbs states that a "Packet Boat" has been established from England to Charleston. He urges the establishment of a post "once a Fortnight to carry letters from Suffolk, in Virginia, thro' this Province at least to our Sounthern Boundary."

a C. R., Vol. 5, p. 516.

* NOTE.—"An Act for establishing a General Post Office for all Her Majesty's Dominions and for settling a weekly Sum out of the Revenues thereof, for the Service of the War, and other Her Majesty's occasions." Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, 1699-1713. (A. D., 1710), page 434.

* * *

"All letters and packets from London to New York in North America, and thence to London: Single, one shilling, Double (letters) two shillings, treble (letters) three shillings, Ounce four Shillings.

All letters and Packets from any Part of the West Indies, to New York aforesaid: Single four pence; Double eight pence, Treble one shilling, Ounce one shilling and four pence.

All letters and Packets from New York to any place within Sixty English Miles thereof, and thence back to New York: Single, four Pence, Double eight pence, treble one shilling. Ounce, one shilling and four Pence.

All letters and Packets from New York aforesaid, to Charlestown, the Chief town in North and South Carolina, and from Charlestown aforesaid to New York: Single, one shilling six Pence; Double, three Shillings; Treble four shillings six Pence; Ounce six shillings.

All letters and Packets from Charlestown aforesaid to any Place not exceeding one hundred English Miles, and thence back again: Single, six pence; Double, one shilling; Treble, one Shilling, six pence. Ounce two shillings."

Mail carriers were allowed immediate and free ferriage over the rivers and for delaying more than half an hour or charging, the ferryman was to forfeit and pay for every offence the sum of £5.

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The General Assembly appropriated £133 6s. 8d. to be paid to the Postmaster if he establish this post. *a*

The distribution of mails was made from Williamsburg and Charleston. In a letter from Governor Tryon, Dec. 8, 1764, to Lord Hyde, Postmaster-General, he states that the Assembly voted £133 1-2 to establish a post from Williamsburg to Charleston "charging the customary postage on letters," by the following route:

From Williamsburg to Edenton.....	100 miles
From Edenton to Brunswick.....	200 miles
From Brunswick to Charleston.....	180 miles
	480 miles

(This included the towns of Bath, Newbern and Wilmington.)

The post had just been established from New York to Williamsburg. He also petitioned that his Majesty's packet be ordered to touch at Cape Fear River at Fort Johnston. He stated that dispatches sometimes laid six weeks at Charleston and occasionally months in Virginia before they were received. *b* Later Tryon recommended the following route to avoid the "broad ferries of Neuse River, Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds" from Suffolk. *c*

Route from Suffolk, in Virginia, to the Boundary House of North and South Carolina on the sea coast.

	Miles.
From Suffolk to Cotton's Ferry on Chowan River....	40
Appletree Ferry on the Roanoke.....	30
*Salters on Tar or Pamlico River.....	35
Kemps' Ferry on Neuse.....	28
Newbern	10
Trentbridge	13

a C. R., Vol. 6, pp. 1,291, 1,300.
b C. R., Vol. 6, p. 1,058.
c C. R., Vol. 7, p. 149.

***Note.—Salters was afterwards Watkins' Ferry and is now Boyd's Ferry on Grimesland Plantation.**

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Mrs. Warburtons	13
Sneads on New River ferry	26
Sage's	13
Collins'	14
Wilmington	15
Brunswick	15
The Ferry	2
To Bells'	20
The Boundary House	23
Total miles	297

Gov. Tryon used special messengers for carrying his dispatches.

It seems that the first post route actually established thro' North Carolina was in January, 1769, though it was carried but once a month. *a*

In 1770 the General Assembly passed "an Act to encourage and support the establishment of a Post-office within this Province." Of this act Martin says: "Davis says that this act was repealed by proclamation. I have no certificate of that; However, it was only to be in force for two years, and from thence to the end of the next session of Assembly." *

One of the first acts of the Continental Congress was to establish a post-office with post routes from Falmouth, Me., to Savannah, Ga.

The large plantations were miniature republics, raising their own beef, pork, horses, corn, grain, tobacco, wool, cotton, tallow, myrtle-wax, ** beeswax, etc., and catching fish in the nearby streams.

a C. R., Vol. 8, pp. 3, 4.

* NOTE.—I cannot find the manuscript law among the records in the Secretary of State's office. G.

** NOTE.—The myrtle-wax was mixed with tallow and used for making candles and is said to have emitted a delightful and fragrant perfume while burning.

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Each planter had his own saw pit, carpenter and cooper and blacksmith shop, tannery, etc. He raised wool and cotton enough to clothe his people, carded, spun and wove his own cloth and made his own shoes.

In 1735 Brickell says "The Cloathings used by the Men are English Cloaths, Druggets, Durois, Green Linnen, etc. The women have their silks, Calicoes, Stamp-Linnen, Calimanchoes and all kind of Stuffs, some whereof are manufactured in the Province." *a*

In a few years after this "negro cloth" was made in considerable quantities and old inventories show us that almost every family had their spinning wheel, linen wheel, flax brake, hackles, looms, etc. Little cotton was exported. Only seven bags of two hundred and twenty-five pounds each being exported from Charleston in 1747, and none from any other province. *b*

In 1784 fifteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-five pounds (seventy-one bags two hundred and twenty-five pounds each), were shipped to England and seized on the ground that the United States could not produce so much.

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a Page 38.
b Carr. Coll., Vol. 2, p. 234.

NOTE.—When Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1794 cotton growing was greatly enrouraged. He was paid $90,000 by the cotton-growing States (N. C. paying thirty thousand dollars, South Carolina fifty thousand dollars, and Georgia ten thousand dollars) that their planters could have the privilege of using his invention. The "Saw-Gin" was a circular saw revolving between iron ribs, tearing the lint from the seeds. One of these of ten saws can be now seen in the State Museum. A tax was laid by the State of 2s. 6d. per annum for each saw used.

In 1810 North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia and Virginia manufactured more than all of New England.

North Carolina manufactured	7,376,154 yards of cloth.
Virginia manufactured	3,007,255 yards of cloth.
South Carolina manufactured	3,083,188 yards of cloth.
Georgia manufactured	3,688,534 yards of cloth.

In 1810, at a military review in North Carolina where 1,500 persons were present, all but forty wore homespun.
J. L. Watkins, Dept. Ag. Year Book 1903.

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Considerable linen cloth was made and the French colonists had introduced silk culture as well as wine-making.

From 1731 to 1755 there were 40756 lbs. of raw and "Wrought Silk" exported from North and South Carolina into Great Britain, and 38621 lbs. of mixed "Silken Stuffs" imported into North Carolina and South Carolina from Great Britain. *a* *

The gentry for themselves and wives generally imported their clothing and dressed in a similar style to people of their station in England. England discouraged manufacturing in the colonies in every way possible, and up to the Revolution the gentry and better classes imported their clothing, but when we separated from England we began to make everything we needed.

Nails were made in blacksmith shops on plantations; and all ironware, pewter, etc., were imported. By an act of Parliament, *a*

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a Carr. Coll., 272.

a Holmes' Annals, Vol. 2, p. 42.

* NOTE.—In connection with silk it may be interesting to quote a few lines from Coxe in his Caralana, p. 92. "Besides we have a grass, as they call Silk grass, which makes very pretty stuffs, such as come from the East Indies, which they call Herba Stuffs, whereof a garment was made for Queen Elizabeth, whose ingredient came from Sir Walter Raleigh's colony, by him called Virginia, now North Carolina, a part of this Province, which, to encourage colonies and plantations, she was pleased to wear for divers weeks."

Holmes' Annals, Vol. 1, p. 486.

Master Ralph Lane writing to Mr. Richard Hakluyt from the "new fort in Virginia" Sept. 3, 1585, mentions "several kinds of flax and one kind like silk, the same gathered as a grass as common there as grass here."

Hawks 1, p. 106.

Thomas Harriot in his narrative writes of "silk of grass or grass-silk. There is a kind of grass in the country upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silk in form of a thin glittering skin to be stript off."

Hawks 1, p. 154.

The Rev. Dr. Curtis, the Botanist, says the plants mentioned by Lane and Harriot are evidently the same thing. "We have a plant (chrysopsis graminifolia) in the pine woods, almost "as common as grass" and now known as silk weed, which answers well to the accounts of these writers, and which I have no doubt is the one intended by them."

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the "Erection of any mill or other machine for slitting or rolling iron or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer or any furnace for making steel" in any of the colonies was forbidden. *

The poorer planters at first used stone hand-mortars for pounding their grain tho' the better classes had hand-mills. These mills were of stones with about twenty inches or two feet face, and at first brought from England, though it was soon found that the calcareous rock on Neuse River *b* made admirable ones. This rock when first quarried was soft and easily shaped, but when exposed became hard and durable. These hand mills were worth five or six pounds. *c*

In 1710 DeGraffenreid said there was only one water mill in the province. As late as 1730 there were only two or three water mills in the province and no wind mills. *d* The Assembly of 1715 *a* to encourage mills passed an act permitting the condemnation by the Precinct Court of two acres for a water mill, and one-half acre for wind mill by any one engaging to erect a mill thereon within two years. If the owner of the land would obligate to build such mill himself, then the motion of the applicant for mill was denied.

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b Brickell, 263.
c See Inventories.
d Brickell.
a Ch. 37.

*NOTE.—In 1731 Gov. Burrington states that there was an abundance of iron ore in North Carolina.

NOTE.—In 1775 at Hillsboro, the Provincial Congress made an effort to encourage manufactures. "Premiums were voted for the manufacture of saltpetre, gunpowder, cotton and woolen cards, pins, needles, linen and woolen cloth, and for the erection of rolling and slitting mills, furnaces for the manufacture of steel and iron, paper mills, salt works, and for refining sulphur." Lossing, Vol. 2, p. 582; see also C. R., Vol. 9, p. 1,185 and Vol. 10, pp. 216-219. Immediately manufactures sprung into existence.

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In 1722 there were nine precincts in North Carolina, and an act of that year provided for the erection of court-houses at the following places:

For the Precinct of Chowan at Edenton;

For the Precinct of Perquimans at Jonathan Phelps Point at the Mouth of the Narrows;

For the Precinct of Currituck on the land of Mr. William Peyner next to the land of Mr. William Parker; or at Mr. Parker's, "as the justices shall appoint";

For the Precincts of Beaufort and Hyde at Bath town;

For the Precinct of Craven at New Bern;

For the Precinct of Carteret at Beaufort town;

For the Precinct of Bertie, now by this Assembly laid out at some convenient place at Ahotsky where the Justices shall appoint.

For the Precinct of Pasquotank at such place as the Justices shall appoint.

Hyde was afterwards separated from Beaufort *a* and biult a court-house of its own. In the next few years the following additional counties were erected. On the site of old Clarendon New Hanover (1728) was established. From New Hanover were formed Onslow (1734) and Bladen (1734) and Duplin (1749). From the territory of old Bath County was erected Edgecombe (1733) Johnston (1746) and Granville (1746). Beaufort, Hyde and Craven having been previously made therefrom. From Albemarle the Precincts of Pasquotank, Currituck, Perquimans, Chowan, Bertie and Tyrrell had been taken, and from it Northampton was also erected in 1741. All court-houses built in the various precincts were required by law to be at least 24 feet long and 16 feet wide. *b*

The "Precincts" were changed to "Counties" in 1738.

a 1729, Ch. 3.
b L. 1722, Ch. 8, Sec. 5.

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In 1749 realizing that the colony was becoming too important to continue to have a migratory capital an act was passed fixing the seat of government at New Berne and appointing John Starkey, Edward Griffith and Jeremiah Vail Commissioners to erect necessary public buildings. At this time circuit courts were established; a commission appointed to revise and print the laws; the militia better regulated; a list of taxables arranged for; and £6000 appropriated for public schools. Direct trade had recently been opened from the Cape Fear to Europe, every ship brought high class immigrants, and a new era had dawned for the colony. All the roads and trails to North Carolina from South Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania were filled with the wagons of the home-seeker. The growth of North Carolina from this time forward for the next half-century was probably the most remarkable in the history of American Colonization.

The following extracts from a table in Holmes' Annals, Vol. 2, page 543, of exports to Great Britain and imports from Great Britain is most interesting:

Carolinas.

Exports to G. B.	£.	s.	d.	Imports from G. B. £.	s.	d.
1701.	16973	6	3	13908	8	3¾
1710.	20793	9	0	19613	18	11¾
1720.	62736	6	8	18290	12	11
1730.	151739	17	6	64785	11	5
1740.	266560	4	5	181821	14	11
1750.	191607	6	3	133037	0	9
1773.	456513	8	4	344859	9	1

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New England.

Exports to G. B.	£.	s.	d.	Imports from G. B. £.	s.	d.
1701.	32656	7	2	86322	13	11¼
1710.	31112	17	7½	106338	6	4
1720.	49206	12	6	128767	2	11
1730.	54701	5	10	208196	5	5
1740.	72389	16	2	171081	2	5
1750.	48455	9	0	343659	6	8
1773.	124624	19	6	527055	15	10

In 1773 the exports from the Carolinas greatly exceeded the exports of Georgia, New York, New England and Pennsylvania. Virginia and Maryland alone exceeded us, and probably more than half the North Carolina exports were shipped from Virginia waters and classed as Virginia products.

Exports to G. B. 1773.	£.	s.	d.	Imports from G. B. £.	s.	d.
Carolina,	456.513	8	4	344.859	9	1
Georgia,	85.391	1	8	62.932	19	8
New England,	124.624	19	6	527.055	15	10
New York,	76.246	12	0	289.214	19	7
Pennsylvania	36.652	8	9	426.448	17	3
Va. and Md.,	589.803	14	5	328.904	15	8
	1369.232	4	8	1979.416	17	1

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APPENDIX.

As illustrative of conditions in the Colonial period the following extracts from wills will prove interesting:

WILLS.

LIONEL READING, Bath County, July 12, 1708, probated February, 1725. Item. I give and bequeath to my well beloved Son Nathaniel Reading the said plantation after his mother's decease * * * and one feather Bed with Furniture, with a hand Mill. * * * The Same not to be paid out of his own Cattle wch are of a different mark from mine which by record appears. Item I give & bequeath to my Daughter Sarah * * * the youngest of my horses now running in the Woods * * * *."

THOMAS POLLOCK of Chowan County, 1721. Plantations aggregating about 55,000 acres of land. The names of some of them as follows: "Five hundred and sixty acres in the fork of Raquis called Springfield; * * * Five hundred acres of land lying on the South Side of Moratock River called Canecarora; * * * six hundred and forty acres of land * * * on Bridges Creek at Weekacanaan A tract of land containing Two thousand eight hundred acres Lyíng on Cassayah called Rose-field: * * * Nine hundred Acres of Land on Neuse River fork Called New-Bern. * * * Where Wilson lived at Weekacoon Creek: and where John Mainard lived at Pettishore also two thousand four hundred acres called Crany Island; * * * Seven Hundred and Ten acres Lying on the North side of Trent River Called Ye Halfe-Way House. * * * also six hundred and Forty acres on Nuse River Called Wilkeson's Point."

About eighty slaves were bequeathed the names of some of which are as follows: Scipio, Abraham, Diego, Mingo, Venus, Cæsar, Caramante Will, Sharper, London, Diana, Tomboy, Pompey.

Land on Salmon Creek is given to son Thomas "Reserving free liberty to my son George to make what Pitch and Tar he sees fitting on the same with his hands for the space of three or four years after My Death." Also, "as to ye crop on ye Ground and what Pitch and Tar ye hands in ye woods makes until ye first of Aprill Next shall be Equally divided, etc."

As to importations from and business dealings with New England: "I give and bequeath to my son Cullen one hundred pound to be paid in Boston and also five thousand foot of plank which I have sent for from Boston. * * * I give and bequeath unto my son George sixty pound to be paid in Boston."

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"Also I give and bequeath unto my Son Thomas one Third Part of all the vessels clearances whether it be in money, bills to New England or elsewhere

also I give and Bequeath to my Son Cullen six Pound to be paid him in the first goods from New England at first cost I owing him so much

also I give and bequeath to my Son George twenty pound to be paid him in the first goods I have come in from Boston I oweing him so much." "New England plank" is mentioned two or three times in the will.

Codicil provides for building houses for sons of testator: "And whereas * * * I have Expended and Laid out for a house at Black Rock (when mr West the Carpentare is paid what is due to him for his worke ther) for my son Thomas Twoe hundred Pound and also Ten Pound more for New England plank. * * * And whereas also I have been out and expended upon a house for my son Cullen on the South Shore (when mr West the Carpentare is paid for what worke he hath done ther (to wit) the covering of the house doeing the Dormant Windoes and makeing upe the Gavell end of the Sd House and when Cullen hath what Glass is in the House that will answer his purposes and what nailes he shall have occasion for said House * * * In my accounting above in this codicill concerning Cullens House standing in Three Hundred Pound I made a mistake in not mentioning that mr Coke the Bricklayer wages for making Laying the Bricks in the chimneys Sellar Underpining and doeing all the other worke agreed for is part of the Three hundred Pound and is to be paid out of my personall estate. Also he is to have what lands are necessary for him for burning the Bricks or what other worke he hath occasion for to finish the worke he hath agreed for wherefore my will is that the Bricklayer aforesd be paid out of my personall estate befor Shared."

JOHN HECLEFIELD'S INVENTORY.
1721

* * * One Silver Tankard Weighing 1:lb, 1:Z 15:pw 16:gr Eight Good Spoons·Two Dram Cups one little Spoon One do broke One do large melted a Seal 9Z 3pw Total of the weight 1 lb 10Z 18p w16gr One Silver Hilted Sword one pair of Buckles not weighed four Diamond Rings two plain do. * * *

FREDERICK JONES 1722.

Chowan Precinct. * * * "I Give devise and bequeath unto my Eldest daughter Jane My Indian Girle named Nanny My Negro Woman named Dinah, together with her three Children and all the increase that shall be borne of any of them Her Mothers Diamond wedding ring and large pair of Diamond ear rings, Gold Watch with the Chain, Seal & other things fixed thereto; her Mothers Wearing

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Apparell such as is already made up & such things as was designed for her but not made up, All her Mothers Child bede Linnen with white silk Damask Gown, All the China Ware and Tea furniture with the Dressing table and furniture, Also a Dozen of my finest Damask Napkins and Table Clothe a Dozen of fine Diaper Napkins & Table Clothe, One pair of my finest Holland sheets with Pillow Cases; and one other pair of Holland Sheets with Pillow Cases. Item I give devise and bequeath unto my Daughter Martha Four young negroes, two male and two female, not under ten years of age to be set apart from the rest of my Estate for the use of my said daughter together with the increase thereof; Also the smaller pair of Diamond Ear-rings, One Diamond Ring, her Mothers Gold Shoe Buckles thimble & Bodkin one Dozen of my finest damask Napkins and table clothe, one Dozen of fine Diaper Napkins & Table Clothe One pair of my finest holland Sheets & pillow Cases and one other pair of holland sheets with Pillow cases; Also the Sum of one hundred and fifty pounds Boston Money. Item I give devise and bequeath unto my daughter Rebeckah four young negroes two male & two female, not under ten years of Age to be set apart from the rest of my estate for the use of my said daughter together with the increase thereof, One Diamond Ring, One Dozen fine Damask Napkins and Table Clothe, One Dozen fine Diaper Napkins and Table Clothe, Two pair of fine holland Sheets and pillow cases. Also the Sum of Two hundred pounds Boston Money. * * * Item I give devise and bequeath unto my Eldest Son William Harding Jones, all my land on the South side of Moratoke River being part of a large tract of nine Thousand one hundred acres by me taken up. Also all my lands in Hyde precinct. * * * Item I Give devise and bequeath unto my Son Frederick Jones all my Lands in Craven precinct. * * * Item I Give Devise and bequeath unto my Son Thomas Jones all my Lands at or near Meherrin Creek in Chowan precinct, Also those Lands belonging to me on the North Side Moratoke River. * * * Item I give unto each of my Sons one Diamond Ring; Item I Give unto my three Sons to be equally divided among them all my Library of Books; Eycept those books commonly used by my wife, which I have ordered to be put into her closets which books I give unto my Daughter Jane. * * * Lands lying in King William County in Virginia commonly called Horns Quarter, * * * Item I Give unto my Loveing brother Ten pounds Sterling to buy a Suit of Mourning. * * * A Codicil to be annexed to the Will of Frederick Jones Esqr. I Give and bequeath unto my daughter Jane, My Wifes Side Saddle and furniture thereto belonging with the horse called Blaze. To my daughter Martha a Sett of Silver tea spoons double gilded. To my daughter Rebeckah two pair of filigreen gold Shift buckles and all the gold rings and Ear-rings. * * * To my good friend and Neighbour

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Edward Moseley of Chowan precinct my pair of pistolls mounted with Silver caps etc. * * * with bridle Locks and stocked with English Walnut."

EMANUEL LOW. 1726 Pasquotank precinct. "* * * 3ly I give and bequeath unto my Grandson George Low Son of my beloved Son Nevil Low Dd and now in the kingdom of Great Britain the Plantation where my Cousin Robinson now Lives & the Plantation called New ABBey with four Hundred Acres of land adjoining to it to * * * also my Seal Scutcheon of arms. * * * Lands commonly called the Town point Lying on the mouth of the North West side of Newbegun Creek & now in the possession of Jno Conner. It is my Will that my daughter Anna Letitia her heirs or assigns shall keep in possession all ye before mentioned Legacies wth Lands &c &c &c &c."

WILLIAM HARDING JONES 1730.

"of ye eastern Parish of Chowan * * * do give * * * Ann Jones my wife * * * One certain piece or parcel of Land containing four thousand Acres on Ronoak river in Bertie Precinct it being that Trackt of Land out of wch I have sold three hundred to Ellis Hodges of the same precinct I also give to her during her natural Life the house and plantation whereon I now live with all & singular the rights, hereditaments appertenances & appendants whatsoever to the said piece or parcel of Land in anywise appertaining with all Cattle, hogs, horses, sheep belonging to the said plantation with one third part of the negroes I now possess, and also all my household goods belonging to the sd house Excepting the family pictures and Court of Arms. * * * likewise all my books in ye sd. house I give to my brothers Freddick and Thomas Jones * * * ."

JOHN BAPTISTA ASHE 1731.

"of Bath County in the province of North Carolina Gent. * * * Item. I give devise and bequeath unto my Son Samuel and unto my daughter Mary my Lands up the north west branch of Cape Fear River called Ashwood which are situate lying and being on the South side of said river between the lands of John Porter of Virginia Mercht, and the Plantation whereon Daniel Donahoe lately deceased dwelt, Together with my other lands on the north Side of the River directly opposite to those aforementioned to be equally * * * Item, I give, devise and bequeath * * * land on Stumpy Sound called Turkey Point * * * other tract called Stump Island. Four hundred acres of land * * * on the Main Branch of Old town creek. Item I will that my slaves be kept to work on my lands that my Estate may be managed to the best advantage so as my sons may have as liberal an education as the

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profits thereof will afford; and in their Education I pray my Exors to observe this method. Let them be taught to read and write and be introduced into the practical part of Arithmetick not too hastily hurrying them into Latin or Grammar but after they are pretty well versed in these let them be taught Latin & Greek. I propose this may be done in Virginia; After which let them learn French; perhaps some Frenchman at Santee wile undertake this; when they are arrived to years of discretion Let them study the Mathematicks. To my Sons when they arrive at age I recommend the pursuit & Study of Some profession or business (I wish one to ye Law, the other to Merchandize) In which let them follow their own inclinations. Item I will that my daughter be taught to write and read & some feminine accomplishments which may render her agreeable; And that she be not kept ignorant as to what appertains to a good house wife in the management of household affairs. Item I give to each of my Exors a Gold Ring a token of the respect which In my life I bore them Item I will that a Brick Vault may be built at Groveley and my Dear Wifes body taken up out of the Earth & brought and laid therein; and if it should be my fortune to die in Carolina so as my Corpse may be Conveyed thither I desire that one large Coffin may be made and both our body's laid together therein and lodged in the said Vault."

THOMAS POLLOCK 1732.

"of Bertie Precinct." Plantations called Black Rock, Great Quarter, Manuels or Crickits, Springfield, and lands lying on Salmon Creek & Chowan River, Trent River, Unaroye Meadows, "nigh of Tuskarora Indian Town," Moratuck River. Fishing Creek. Forty six negroes are bequeathed. "Item I will & Order & give by this will to all Such persons who are Setled on my lands at Trenton Condition of a Certain writng I give to Jacob Miller that those already settled there, have leases on ye same terms I promised them."

JOSHUA PORTER 1733.

Bath County. Plantations on Derhams Creek one known as Sand Hills. Negroes, Mustees and Indians are given to wife, and mourning rings to friends. "It is my further will and desire that my Son and Daughter may be Carefully learnt to read & write & Cypher & yt they be duly Educated * * * ."

RICHARD SANDERSON. 1733.

Perquimans precinct. "Ye island of Ocreecock," land on the Sandy Bank "by the name of Point Lookout"; "Mannor Plantation." One hundred and forty seven acres of land in Perquimans; lots in Roanoak Town devised to son Richard. The brigantine "Sea

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Flower" and sloop "Swallow" are given to son and son in law. Thirteen negro and one Indian slave bequeathed.

FRANCIS PUGH. 1733

Bertie precinct. Provides for "bringing up my children at School Plantation at Emperor's Fields bought of Christian Hitteburch. "Whereas, * * * I have begun to build a brigantine which is now in the Stocks in Bertie precinct * * * finish and Compleat the said Brigantine with Anchors Masts Cables Sails &c."

"Item it is my will and pleasure that after the said Vessel is finished my executors & my Trustees herein named do * * * purchase a Loading of Tobacco black Wallnut or other merchandise fitt for the British market and that they do send the said Vessel to great Britain from thence to return to No. Carolina, * * * ."

"Item It is my will and pleasure that after my Sloop Carolina returns from New England that my Executors & Trustee do * * * purchase a cargo and send the said Sloop to the West Indies * * * ."

"Item It is my will that my dear wife & Execrs do receive from Captn Grainger the Cargo brought in a Schooner into this province which belongs to Mr. Coleman provided the said Grainger allows to my Execrs twelve pounds pr Barrel for good & well pickled pork vizt for so much as is produced from my own stock * * * ."

THOMAS SWANN 1733

Pasquotank precinct. Two plantations are conveyed to sons Samuel and William with the provision that if either shall sell or convey his part "out of the name of ye Swanns" the other shall enter and take possession. Provision is made for "ye Christian education of my Children." Horse, bridle and saddle is given to each of two sons.

EDWARD SALTER. 1734.

Bath County. Plantation on Pamplico river "called in the patent Mount Calvert; six hundred and forty acres of land on Bear creek. About twenty negro slaves bequeathed. To daughter Sarah is bequeathed forty three cattle and horses, one hundred pounds "of the said Province bills or their value"; Madam Sarah Porter is mentioned as having care and tuition of daughter. To three children is given "my largest periauger with anchors and sails." "Item I bequeath unto my son in law John Harvey Ten pounds in order to purchase him a good Beaver Hat and a pair of gloves. * * * Item I bequeath unto my beloved son Edward Salter my best Saddle and bridle and one pair of Silver Spurs and Richard Bloom's history of the Holy Bible together with all the books that I shall own at my Death (be they Divinity, History or Mathematical) * * * also my large China Punch Bowl. * * * My will is that my

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Brigantine now on the stocks at John Smiths be got finished and made fit for the Sea as soon as may be * * * be loaden with tar * * * (for Boston). * * * My will further is that my Executors may write two or three ways * * * to Collo. Jacob Windall and Company to Insure the sum of Twelve Hundred pounds (Boston Money) upon the said Brigantine * * * ." Money arising from the sale of the brigantine to be "remitted in youngeable slaves (none to exceed the age of twenty years)." Provision is made for education of children and for Edward "a thorough education to make him a compleat merchant."

EDWARD BRYAN. 1745.

To sons John, Edward & William is given land purchased of Martin Frank called "New Germany"; lots (3) in Newbern town with a store house on one of them; plantation on the west side of Swifts Creek called Paradice. Sixteen negro slaves bequeathed. Large number of cattle and horses bequeathed—five riding horses. Provision is made for Seven years schooling for children the schooling to be given them at some time between the ages of seven and seventeen years.

EDWARD MOSELEY. 1745.

New Hanover County. Plantation at Rockey Point containing 3500 acres; Plantation in Chowan County containing 2000 acres; plantation on the North East branch of Cape Fear River containing 3500 acres lying between Holly Shelter Creek and the "bald white Sand hills"; plantation opposite Rockey Point plantation containing 1650 acres; 1280 acres at Rockfish Creek; 600 acres on the East Side of the North West branch of Cape Fear River; lot and houses in Brunswick; plantation below Brunswick called Macknights; lot & house in Wilmington; 600 acres of land opposite Cabbage Inlet; 500 acres in Tyrrell called Coopers; 450 acres in Tyrrell called Whitemarsh; lands on East side Cape Fear River; plantation at the Sound where "there is a large vineyard Planted; 3200 acres in Edgecombe called Alden of the hill; 1650 acres on West side of Neuse River "about twenty four miles above New Bern town; 10,000 acres in Edgecombe County called Clur; aggregating about 35,000 acres. 88 slaves bequeathed. "Item I give and bequeath to my Loving wife Anne my New Chaise Harness and the Pair of Bay horses Smoker and Toby. * * * I also give unto her out of my stocks ten cows & ten calves ten steers of Different ages & Twenty sheep and the horse Spark.

* * * It is my will that the slaves usually kept about the house shall be kept in the same employment for my Wifes easier life and care of my children untill she marries. * * * Item. I give unto my six children all my Stock of horses Mares neat cattle sheep and swine to run & increase for ther benefit and I will that

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proper slaves be appointed for managing thereof of which increase & profit made thereby of such as are necessary to be sold or killed at proper seasons Accot to be rendered to the County Court for my children advantage without charges deducting first thereout what may be necessary for such kind of provision for housekeeping for my said wife and children. Item It is my will that the profits arising from the labour of my two sons slaves & their part of the profits arising by the stocks be laid out in purchasing young female slaves to be added to their stocks of slaves. * * * Item. When it shall be necessary to give all or any of my sons other Education than is to be had from the Common Masters in this Province for I would have my children well educated it is then my will &c &c &c.

Item. I recommend it to my dear and loving wife that one of my sons as shall be Thought best qualified for it be bred to the Law it being highly necessary in so large a Family and to him I give all my Law books being upwards of 200 Volumes. * * * Item. I give to my dear wife Blomes History of the Bible in folio, three volumes in folio of Archbishop Tillotsons works, four Volumes in Octavo of Dr. Stanhopes on the Epistles & Gospels and all the books of Physick. Item I give to my daughter Ann Humfries 3 volumes in folio on the Old & New Testament and I will that my Exors buy for her the work of the author of the Whole Duty of Man I give to the eldest of my sons that shall not study the law Chambers Dictionary two Volumes in folio Locks Works three volumes in folio Millers Dictionary two volumes in folio and LeBlond on Gardening in Quarto: and the rest of my books about 150 volumes. * * * Item I give * * * my large Silver Tea Kettle, Lamp & Server for it to stand on weighing in all about 170 ounces * * * my Large Silver Coffee Pot * * * my Large Silver Tea Pot * * * my Large Silver Tankard * * * a pair of large Square Silver Servers, my cases of knifes, forks, spoons, Salts, Casters & Other my Plate to be * * *

CULLEN POLLOCK. 1749.

Tyrrell County Gen. Plantation at Matchapungo River in Hide County, lott of land in Bath town; 710 acres of land on a branch of Trent River called "the halfe way House"; 1280 acres lying on Coneto Creek in Tyrrell County called the "deaded Woods"; 640 acres in Bertie County on "ye Roonaroy Meadows"; 4700 acres in Bertie County; aggregating about 8000 acres. 78 negroes. "Item It is my will and desire that my three daughters have as good Education as can be had in this Province & that my two sons when they have got what learning they can have in this province that they be sent to Boston for further education * * * ."

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ROGER MOORE 1750.

New Hanover County, Parish of St. Phillips, 1750. Plantations called Kendall, Maultby's Point, Mount Misery; Orton Lands lying on Island opposite Black River. 2500 acres where Mill stands, 640 acres at Rockey Point, 55.000 acres in the Neck known as Mount Misery, 3025 acres in Saxpahaw Old Fields, 5000 acres near Eno Old Fields, and 20,000 acres mentioned in latter part of will, aggregating about 100,000 acres; 250 slaves mentioned. To each of daughters is bequeathed eighteen hundred pounds. Testator mentions saw mill "I entend to build on Brice's Creek."

"It is my will that each of my daughters Mary and Anne doe at their marriage take each their choyce of any One of the House slaves, except the Negro wench Bess who I leave to her liberty to make choyce of any one of my children for her Master or Mistress."

GABRIEL JOHNSTON 1751.

Plantations called Possum Quarter, Conahoe; 1000 acres on Cypress Creek, 980 acres on South side of Trent, 400 acres on the head of Trent and New Rivers, 7000 acres on Deep River in Bladen Co., "all the small islands lying in Roanoke River and in the neighbourhood of Mount Gallard, land on Salmon Creek in Bertie County." * * * my said Wife shall have the use of all my said Daughters plantations and for her Encouragement to Cultivate & Improve these Plantations especially in Raising Silk. * * * And I earnestly request my Dearest wife to be a kind tender mother to my Dear little girl and to bring her up in the Fear of God and under a deep sense of her being always in his presence, and in Sobriety and moderation Confining her Desires to things plain and neat and Elegant and not aspiring after the Gayety Splendor and Extravagances and especially to take Care to keep within the bounds of her income and by no Means to Run in Debt. * * * It I give and bequeath to Henry Johnston now at school in Newhaven in the Colony of Connecticut. * * * My Books I leave to William Cathcart Esqr. after my Wife and Brother have choose out them any Number not Exceeding forty each. It To my sister Elizabeth Smear of the County of Fife North Britain my large Repeating Gold Watch after it has been put in order at the Expence of my estate."

JOHN BLOUNT 1753.

Chowan County. One plantation. " * * * I give and bequeath * * * Three negroes, viz; Sharper, Finn & Tom, with all my brewing kettles, tubs and Fxts and all my brewing works and my writing Desk * * * My desire is that my Chaise, Boat, Blacksmith's tools, watch and other tools or anything else that is likely to perish be sold * * * Item. I give and bequeath to my brother Charles Blount my best Broad Cloth Suit of Clothes my

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best Beaver Hatt & Wigg. My will is that none of the timber should be cut or Sold excepting for the use of the plantation and that no Stranger shall be admitted to live on any part of the Back Land to destroy the Timber, and that no Person shall on any consideration whatsoever be admitted to live on any part of my Land Excepting an Overseer. * * * that no other negroes shall be permitted to work on my plantation excepting they are the property of my wife and children.

And my will is that all the money that shall arise out of my Estate * * * should be laid out to purchase likely young negroes at the Discretion of my Executors for the use and Benefit of my children." Provision is made for the education of the children in "a Christian like manner."

SAMUEL SWANN 1753.

Perquimans County. 450 acres of land "where I now dwell" and "Allegator land." "I give to my Daughter Mary Claton my pickle case and Bottles. Item I do hereby give to my brother John Vail my Silver Seal and Stock Buckle."

JAMES INNES. 1754.

"In the name of God, Amen. I James Innes of Cape Fear in North Carolina in America Coll of the Regiment of sd. Province Raised for His Majesty's immediate service and Commander in Chief of this Expedition to the Ohio against the French & there Indians whoe have most unjustly Invaided & fortified themselves on His Majesty's lands—Being now readdey to Enter upon Action * * * I recomend the paying of all my Just and Lawfull Debts instantly, or when demanded. I direct a remittance may be made to Edinburgh, Sufficient to pay for a Church Bell for the Parish Church of Cannesby, in Caithness agreeable to my Letter to mr. Jams Broadee Minister there.

I also appoint and direct that there may be a furder remittance made of One hundred Pounds Sterll: for the use of the Poor of said Parish of Cannesby & the said Summ of One hundred Pounds to be put at interest for the use of the poor of Said Parish as formerly directed by me.

I also give and bequeath att the Death of my Loving Wife Jean Innes my Plantation called Point Pleasant & the Opposite Mash Land over the River for which there is a Separate Patent, Two negro young Women, One Negroe Young man and there Increase all the Stock of Cattle and Hogs, halfe the Stock of Horses belonging att the time to that Plantation With all my Books & One hundred Pounds Sterling or the Equivalent thereunto in the currency of the Country For the use of a Free School for the Benefite of the Youth

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of North Carolina. And to see that this part of my will is dewly executed att the time, I appoint the Colonell of the New Hanover Regiment, the Parson of Willmington Church & the Vestrey for the time being, or the majority of them as they Shall from time to time be Choised or Appointed."

SARAH ALLEN, 1761.

Legacies: Wedding ring to Niece ("as a particular mark of my affection and a memento of my Conjugal happiness, not doubting hers is equal and may it be as lasting." Gold watch, gold chain mourning ring, Silver chased tea kettle, cream pot, lamp. "Walnut tree fineered Tea chest containing three pieces of plate chased as the tea kettle"; Silver waiters, dozen tea spoons and strainer in black Shagreen case; Silver Sauce pan, mahogany dressing table, gilt smelling bottle; "books of modern taste."

ELIZABETH SCOLLAY 1766.

Bertie County. " * * * I Give and Devise unto my son Culeln Pollock all my Books, also a mouning ring." Several negroes are bequeathed to different relatives. " * * * I give and devise * * * my still with the appurtenances * * * ."

WILLIAM HERRITAGE. 1769.

Craven County. Plantations called Springfield, Jemmys Neck, Harrow, Atkins Banks, Fort Barnwell; lands in Johnson County, lots Nos. 21, 22, 191 and 84 in the town of Newbern. About seventy five negro slaves bequeathed the names of some of which are as follows: Pompey, Venus, Phillis, Balaam, Cæsar, London, Big Rose, Big Bess, Mercury, Tortola, Cado, Tamer, Judy, Jupiter, Sabina, Peter ("a cooper").

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NORTH CAROLINA POETS: BONER, STOCKARD, AND McNEILL.

BY HIGHT C. MOORE.

"The Poetical Literature of North Carolina" is the theme of a somewhat extended study by Mr. Moore, embodying a general introduction, a review of the work by the half dozen foremost native poets (Fuller, Hill and Mrs. Clarke being the earlier), a briefer critical mention of others who have wrought worthily, an estimate of North State verse in the mass, a collection of about twenty-five of the best Carolina carols, and the fullest available bibliography including more than sixty volumes. The BOOKLET is permitted herewith to publish the paragraphs relating to the three most distinguished of our later native poets: Boner, not long deceased; Stockard now in the midst of his usefulness and at the height of his fame; and McNeill who (let us hope) is just at the threshold of a brilliant career.

JOHN HENRY BONER.

The work of Mr. Boner, more than that of any other native poet, breathes the air of the old North State. "Whispering Pines" he named his first volume and it is pervaded by the odor of Carolina fields and woodland. The Yadkin river is in one poem "golden," in another "gentle," and it inspires "The Lone Cool Nook." "Saddle Bags of Gold" are safe under the roof of the pious mountaineer. "The Light'ood Fire" is "old Carolina's own." The scene of his one long poem, "The Recluse of Appalachia," is laid among our western peaks. "Hatteras" and "The Cliff" (Pilot Mountain) are themes of worthy verse. From the busy crowded city he comes back to his Salem birthplace and weeps over its desolation. The Graveyard there "where thick dark cedars grow" he sings as "the most restful spot I know." And in "City Bells" the inspiration and climax are found in the poet's native town:

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One simple spire points to the skies
Above the leafy trees. I hear
The old Moravian bell ring clear,
But see no more—tears fill my eyes.

Strong local attachment and fervent patriotism were so evidently the marks of the poet that even when kindling his first fire in Cricket Lodge, his Staten Island home, he reverts to old scenes:

Rather had I hewn my beam
By old Yadkin's gentle stream—
Rather there on wintry days
Felt the cheery lightwood blaze,
Heard the cawing of the crow
And the wild geese honking go—
Rather there the summer long
Melon, fig, and scuppernong
Seen and tasted—rather there
Felt the ever balmy air;
But not thus the stern fates would.
Be it so—and God is good.

The reverence and resignation of the poet are notable characteristics shining in his verse.

No being knows
What life would be without consuming pains
But He who shapes the beauty of the rose
And sheds its leaves, is Wisdom—and He reigns.

In "Lodge or Mansion" he disclaims "heaven-offending pride" and says:

I earn my bread, nor feel the labor sore;
Have little but no spite for who has more.

In "Unrest" he tells of

the perfect rest
Of energy subservient to God's will.

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That this conception and attainment were not marks of a passive nature but of one chastened and disciplined is manifest; for while in earlier days he could say "I brood not on my pangs" he adds:

> Yet have done so—O have arrayed
> Hot curses 'gainst the ruling stars,
> Then compassed, foiled, and forced, have frayed
> My very life against the bars.

In "Our American God, Hustle" (a title, by the way, which does not strike one as being quite worthy of its elevated lines) the poet after saying "the crime of haste is man's" goes on to voice a personal yearning after the Infinite:

> God of our nobler fathers, I adore Thee!
> Too late I live to dedicate my ways
> To Thee divinely, and I can restore Thee
> Only a starving soul, but that with praise
> That I have set no other god before Thee
> And have despised the Moloch of my days.

In "Immortality" and "The Way of Blessedness" we have probably his best distinctively religious pieces. The theology of his poetry admits the feeling that departed loved ones are near us and conscious of our acts; the craving of human benediction after death has done its work; and almost the belief in animal immortality, as in the sonnet on his dog "Jack" whom he called "the little Scot, dear as a child." He pictures "the pitiful agony" of the inebriate who knows "the anguish of desire bereft of will," and anathematizes "the treacherous imp that lurks in alcohol." And "a simple faith in Jesus Christ" he proclaims as

> a faith which hath sufficed
> Men mourning in a land of woe.

Some of the saddest notes in Carolina verse were struck by Mr. Boner, but they are interfused with the spirit of

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faith and hope. "We Walked Among the Whispering Pines" is one of the most touching memorials of a dead love. The sweet romances of early life are unforgotten, but bygone loves do not reappear:

> We parted like the sparkling streams
> That from the forest laughing spring
>
> And never, never meet again,
> And nevermore flow clear and free,
> And leave at last the tranquil plain
> To mingle with the unpeaceful sea.

The verses on "A Dead Poet" close with the melancholy lines:

> His was the saddest fate—to love and lose;
> And then, most pitiful, to strive for fame
> And die with finger-tips against the wreath.

Out of an aching heart came "Broken and Desolate"—a poem marking the decay of the poet's birthplace:

> All sadly altered—home no more.

Who has not had the feeling so beautifully expressed in the opening stanzas of "A Prayerful Trust?"

> The thought will sometimes come to me—
> Where will I die, and in what way,
> In gloom of night or light of day,
> When will the solemn moment be?
>
> Will any one a vigil keep,
> Will I from the ordeal shrink
> Or calmly in the dark sea sink;
> Will any grieve—will any weep?

When, broken in health, the poet was driven to retirement he sought the shrine of Solitude in his pathetic "Song at Evening":

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> And slowly he comes that went springing,
> And dolefully he that went singing,
> No laurel leaf holding, and bringing
> No hope but to die.

In the removal of the poet's remains from Washington City where he died to the old Graveyard at Salem was fulfilled the wish expressed years before:

> Where'er it be my fate to die,
> Beneath those trees in whose dark shade
> The first loved of my life are laid
> I want to lie.

But Mr. Boner wrote also in lighter vein. See the sunshine of youth in "Hunting Muscadines"; glimpse the lovesick in "Sweet Little Fool"; mark "the romping game of life bucolic" in "A Boy in the Piney Woods"; note the rollicking glee which pervades "The Wanderer Back Home"; and hear the swinging lines in "Crismus Times is Come," which Mr. Stockard declares to be "the whole negro race at a touch."

The wealth of imagination marking Mr. Boner's work may be illustrated by some random phrases. Broadway he calls "Niagara of streets"; the snow-covered earth he styles "a marble world"; home is described as "mothernook"; he addresses the ocean as "Thou visible eternity, O Sea"! He has seen "magnolia's creamy bloom," "the sun-fed roses," "moon-silvered leaves," "the pine trees weep great drops of dew," and "the land enmeshed and ablaze with vines." He has felt "the pain of pleasure," and "the sweet strength of a tear"; has kept "sharp curses in unspoken sheath." By his swift keel "dancing Zephyr strews foam-flowers upon the waters." Above him "the morning star like a torch-light glowed," and around him "the meadow grasses fed the air," and "the field flowers wake from their swoon." And delicious to him was

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the music shower
That fell from orient pipes in luminous rain
Upon our spirits.

In a few of Mr. Boner's poems there is a deficiency of climax. For instance, the closing line of the otherwise beautiful sonnet on "The Return of the Crickets" is

But pshaw! I'd never learn to play your fiddle.

And the capital verses on "Solitude" close with the prosy exhortation:

When for true loneliness your soul entreats
Come to New York and walk these crowded streets.

The couplet concluding "Winter Breakfast by Candlelight" is hardly more inspiring:

And who would find his Java appetizing
Let him the aroma get by candlelight.

And yet that Homer was in these lines simply nodding is shown in the fine climax to "America," synonym of liberty—"that name which, rising with a luminous flush, gleamed rocket-like

Rifting the night with white and crimson bars,
And, poising heavenward, blossomed into stars.

To Mr. Boner we are indebted for many charming bits of description. Take the opening lines of "An Evening in Early Spring":

A settled rain is making in from sea;
A slate-blue drifting mist has blurred the white
Of apple blossoms and the dogwood's light,
And mezzotinted every greening tree.

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Something of a similar scene re-appears in "Easter Lilies":

Winter is gone, and yet in sunless places
Snow-wraiths of Christmas lurked till yesterday—
Pale stragglers from that pageant far away.
Down cloudy ways one wind another chases,
Whistling mad ditties in averted faces.
Blue lakes of sky to beaches pearly gray
Run brightly, dimpling, where flotillas gay
With silken sails leave foam in flying traces.

Vivid is the vision of the "Moonrise in the Pines":

far through the trees I see
The rim of a globe of fire
That rolls through the darkness to me.

It is in the "Time of Drought" that

The tender flowers, like pious hearts,
When tortured by scorn's ireful darts,
Fold their mute leaves, accept the doom,
And die in their own sweet perfume.

And "The Moon-Loved Land" is

in the South
Where the clear moon kisses with large cool mouth
The land she loves.

"There's a Lone Cool Nook" which is sung in notes of soothing melody and charm:

At night when the sky is full of stars
When shadowy birds flit down the shore,
And the water-snake glides to the sandy bars,
You may touch the waves with a noiseless oar
Till you float far out in the shining stream,
Where winds from the corn-land freshly blow,
And there you may gently drift and dream
With stars above you and stars below—
Drifting, drifting, may dream and rest
On the peaceful river's cool, sweet breast.

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Passing elegant passages from such poems as "Sparrows in the Snow," "Christmas Eve in the Country," and "Song of the Old Mill Wheel" we may quote in full the less known but exquisite martial sonnet of nature, entitled "The Old Guard":

Summer is routed from her rosy plains.
  The splendid queen with colors flying fled
  Far to the south, leaving her legions dead
Upon the fields all in the dismal rains.
The minstrels of her camp most plaintive strains
  Piped as they flew; then vandal armies spread
  About the hills their tattered tents of red
And gold and purple, and their gaudy trains
Usurped the valleys, firing as they went,
  Till halted by a cordon of grim pines
    That would not yield or furl their banners green.
Wounded they fought and moaned, though well-nigh spent.
  With blood-drops trickling down their chevron vines
    They fought and stood—the Old Guard of their queen.

With Mr. Boner's masterpiece our review of his verse may culminate and close. The poet himself regarded "Poe's Cottage at Fordham" as his best piece of work—an opinion in which his critics generally concur, Mr. Stockard, for example, referring to its "matchless stanzas." In it are happily combined insight, melody, finish and force. It is a poem worthy of the theme and one that will live. Read it, and you see Mr. Boner at his best:

Here lived the soul enchanted
  By melody of song;
Here dwelt the spirit haunted
  By a demoniac throng;
Here sang the lips elated;
Here grief and death were sated;
Here loved and here unmated
  Was he, so frail, so strong.

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Here wintry winds and cheerless
  The dying firelight blew
While he whose song was peerless
  Dreamed the drear midnight through,
And from dull embers chilling
Crept shadows darkly filling
The silent place, and thrilling
  His fancy as they grew.

Here, with brow bared to heaven,
  In starry night he stood,
With the lost star of seven
  Feeling sad brotherhood.
Here in the sobbing showers
Of dark autumnal hours
He heard suspected powers
  Shriek through the stormy wood.

From visions of Apollo
  And of Astarte's bliss,
He gazed into the hollow
  And hopeless vale of Dis;
And though earth were surrounded
By heaven, it still was mounded
With graves. His soul had sounded
  The dolorous abyss.

Proud, mad, but not defiant,
  He touched at heaven and hell.
Fate found a rare soul pliant
  And rung her changes well.
Alternately his lyre,
Stranded with strings of fire,
Led earth's most happy choir
  Or flashed with Israfel.

No singer of old story
  Luting accustomed lays,
No harper for new glory,
  No mendicant for praise,
He struck high chords and splendid,
Wherein were fiercely blended
Tones that unfinished ended
  With his unfinished days.

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Here through this lowly portal,
Made sacred by his name,
Unheralded immortal
The mortal went and came.
And fate that then denied him,
And envy that decried him,
And malice that belied him,
Have cenotaphed his fame.

HENRY JEROME STOCKARD.

For years our most distinguished native resident poet Mr. Stockard has really been the uncrowned laureate of North Carolina. He has been frequently called upon for Christmas, Independence Day, Thanksgiving, Easter and other special verse. The centennial celebration at the State University was adorned by an excellent sonnet which he recited to three thousand people. "Sir Walter Raleigh" was written for and read before the State Literary and Historical Association. Composed for the occasion, "The Man With the Hoe" was presented at the laying of the corner stone of the Agricultural Building of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. At the unveiling of the Appomattox monument (April, 1905), marking the spot on which was fired by North Carolina troops the last volley of the war, the poem of the day was given by Mr. Stockard and, in keeping with his other work, it was in every way worthy of the great occasion.

A loyal son of the old North State Mr. Stockard has occasionally attuned his lyre to patriotic song. His descriptive work has quite distinctly a Carolina setting and two of his themes are "On Hatteras Bar" and "In the Light House at Point Lookout." "The Spirit of Vance" commemorates the illustrious commoner whose statue adorns the Capitol Square. In "Sir Walter Raleigh" he sings of

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This splendid land to sunward laid,
With opulent fields and many a winding stream
And virgin wood; with stores of gems and veins
Of richest ore; with mills and thronging marts,
The domain of the freest of the free.

And in the same poem he continues:

What though no sage may read the riddle dark
Of Croatan, diffused through marsh and waste
And solitude? Their valor did not die,
But is incorporate in our civic life.
They were of those who fought at Bannockburn;
Their vital spirits spake at Mecklenburg;
They rose at Alamance, at Bethel led,
And steered at Cardenas straight through blinding shells.

Sincere and merited are the lines "To a One-Armed Confederate" closing with the tribute:

A more unfading chaplet thou should'st wear
Than e'er the bravest Gaul or Spartan wore.

Similar patriotic sentiment abounds in "The Pines," "Washington," "The Southern Dead," and "Over their Graves," but the acme of Mr. Stockard's poetry in this field is reached in the stirring and immortal lyric "The Last Charge at Appomattox":

Scarred on a hundred fields before,
Naked and starved and travel-sore,
Each man a tiger, hunted,
They stood at bay as brave as Huns,
Last of the Old South's splendid sons,
Flanked by ten thousand shotted guns,
And by ten thousand fronted.

Scorched by the cannon's molten breath,
They'd climbed the trembling walls of death
And set their standards tattered—
Had charged at the bugle's stirring blare
Through bolted gloom and godless glare
From the dead's reddened gulches, where
The searching shrapnel shattered.

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They formed—that Carolina band—
With Grimes, the Spartan, in command,
And, at the word of Gordon,
Through splintered fire and stifling smoke—
They struck with lightning's scathing stroke
Those doomed and desperate men—and broke
Across that iron cordon.

They turned in sullen, slow retreat—
Ah, there are laurels of defeat!—
Turned for the Chief had spoken;
With one last shot hurled back the foe,
And prayed the trump of doom to blow,
Now that the Southern stars were low,
The Southern bars were broken.

Sometime the calm, impatrial years
Will tell what made them dead to tears
Of loved ones left to languish;—
What nerved them for the lonely guard,
For cleaving blade and mangling shard,—
What gave them strength in tent and ward
To drain the dregs of anguish.

But the far ages will propound
What never Sphinx had lore to sound,—
Why, in such fires of rancor,
The God of Love should find it meet
For Him, with Grant as sledge, to beat
On Lee, the anvil, at such heat,
Our Nation's great sheet-anchor.

The voices of Nature have smitten upon no more sympathetic ear than that of Mr. Stockard.

"Knee deep! Knee deep!" I am a child again.

and every reader is transported with the poet to the bright never-to-be-forgotten days of rosy youth. "The Song of the Whippoorwill"—what hearer of it does not join in the sentiment:

It wakens in my soul such memories tender
Of childhood's far-receding land of dreams!
Down lilied meads I stray in the evening's splendor
By willowed, wimpling streams.

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And as we pass up and down the poet's pages we find these vivid Nature etchings recurring again and again. We see "night-hawks fall from lambent skies," "the owl flit forth on fluffy wings," "the bastioned clouds adown the westering day," "the sunset's ember," "the scabbard of the dark," the "starry archipelagoes," and "space's sea." He paints for us "the purling stream," the "fabled amaranthine vales," "the ermined pine-trees" of winter, "the pool's wind-chiseled grooves," "the chinquapins that blink jet-black from the burs." Through him we hear "the killdee's plaintive cry," the "clear flutings" of "the herald whippoorwills"; also "the frogs wake many a rolling drum," and "the ocean pounds with sledges fell." One afternoon "across the sky the loitering Wind drives his cloud-flocks to the west"; at twilight, "the firefly strikes its spectral spark"; and at evening

> The full moon wavers on the hills
> And, loosening, swims into the deep!

Among Mr. Stockard's poems there are several voicing the deeper spiritual needs and heart-longings; and we find them as chaste and charming as they are refined and spiritual. "The Prayer of Life" may be cited as one of the finest poems of its kind to be found anywhere:

> Lead me, O God; in life's brave early day,
> While skies are clear and all the world is gay;
> So many hurtful blooms my vision greet!
> So many paths diverge to lure my feet
> Far from Thy peaceful, sinless road astray!
>
> And when the morning can no longer stay,
> And songs are mute, and noontide's fervent ray
> Upon the weary track must fiercely beat,
> Lead me, O God!
>
> Nor leave me when the eventide shall lay
> Upon life's happy fields its vapors gray:—
> Clasp then my hand in thine more close and sweet
> Than thou hast ever held it; and, while fleet
> The night is falling, down the unknown way
> Lead me, O God!

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Verses elegiac are rare in Mr. Stockard's work thus far. Sweet and tender are the lines entitled "Baby Margaret," as evinced in the following stanza:

> For, though word was never thine
> Little Margaret,
> Still with syllables divine
> Out of great eternity
> You are calling, calling me,
> Baby Margaret.

The great author of "Crossing the Bar" was perhaps memorialized in no finer tribute than that by Mr. Stockard on "The Dead Laureate." Recall the last of its three stanzas:

> Nor cried the Wind, nor made the Sea its moan
> Upon the harbor bar,
> As out he drifted to the great Unknown,
> So far away—so far!

To some and at first reading Mr. Stockard's work appears to have a melancholy tone. A more thorough study, however, will probably reveal the fact that it is serious without being dolorous. Thus in one sonnet which contains the lines:

> When bloom and song and life seem far away,—
> Lost in some sweet, sad unreturning May

the poet is passing on to the brighter side when

> these somber hills and fields inane
> Resume the radiance of an earlier day;
> And mirth revives as when at morning's gray
> The waking bird takes up its silenced strain!

In another sonnet we have a lament upon the dearth of summer's foliage and it strikes a vibrant chord in most natures:

> Although beyond this gloom and dearth, you say
> The spring will come with flower and bird and bee,
> And all these scenes forlorn again be glad,
> My soul keeps sighing this dark autumn day,
> The summer too must follow, and ah me!
> Once more the fall with empty fields and sad!

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Yet compare with this "An Autumn Song" which is as merry in sentiment as it is melodious in expression. The spirit and sparkle of it may be caught in two stanzas:

> But hail to the fall, and hail!
> To her hills of flame and gold,
> Her starlit nights, her frost that whites
> At morning mead and wold!
>
> No threne for the vanished spring
> And the summer's faded blee,
> But a song of praise for the autumn days,
> And a harvest-home for me!

In "A Winter Song" the lilt of joy abounds though sometimes saddening storms are rife:

> I love the rattling hail
> And the snowflakes tempest-sown,
> The woods in mail that creak in the gale,
> And the night wind's baritone.

The fact is, Mr. Stockard's poetry is cheerful and upward-looking. In "The Unattained" there is comfort for every aspirant. "The Past" is not a lament but an assurance:

> O ye that pine for the vanished years, as pined
> Odysseus for one glimpse of Hellas more;
> That toward them lean, as toward their fading shore
> Poor exiles unto earth's far ends consigned—
> Lean to reclaim some echo which, confined,
> Bird-like shall sing in memory's mournful door,—
> Know this: life's earlier land lies on before—
> Not over widening seasons far behind!
> And we shall find it in the great To-be.
> It lapses not away, as to our eyes
> Doth seem, but swiftly and forever nears!
> As brave Magellan who sailed the uncharted sea,
> Full circling earth, saw his home shores arise,
> So shall we come again on our lost, happy years!

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No less inspiring than insistent is the message of the sonnet on "The Soul":

> Uplift thine earth-bent eyes, O man, and learn
> The lore writ by the stars that whiten space;
> There onward and forever lies thy race.
> Orion and old Arcturus blaze for thee;
> For thee heaven's deepest sunken sun doth burn—
> Behold thy mansions built from all eternity!

The reach of Mr. Stockard's imagination may be illustrated in "The Closing Century" where he declares that a century "is but a vanished hour tolled on the deep" and that time itself "is but a swing of the vast pendulum of eternity." And "Imagination" with all its power and achievement will never explore

> The date of Him before whose veiled face
> The Universe with its eternity
> Is but a mote a moment poised in space!

The range and richness of the poet's culture appear in such poems as "My Library," "Some Verses Carol," and "After Reading a Treasury of Sonnets." A ripe acquaintance with the ancient scenes and sages is manifest; as in the climax and closing line of the sonnet on "Homer" there lies before the seer

> The unveiled shore of old sea-cinctured Greece.

As to the best individual piece of Mr. Stockard's writings there will be difference of opinion, but certainly in his superb lines on "The Eagle" he takes a flight poetic far into the upper air—we wonder not that Mr. Boner almost tumbled out of his sick-bed in admiration of it:

> Brooded on crags, his down the rocks,
> He holds the skies for his domain;
> Serene, he preens where thunder shocks,
> And rides the hurricane.

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The scream of shells is in his shriek;
As swords, his wings whiz down the air;
His claws, as bayonets, gride; his beak,
As shrapnel-shards, doth tear.

Where Shasta shapes its mighty cone,
Where Mitchell heaves into the skies,
Silent he glares, austere, alone,
With sun-outstaring eyes.

In volume Mr. Stockard's work is not extensive; he does not write every day nor on everything nor at great length. In fact, he apparently writes only a few poems a year; his themes are never trivial; and the longest of his poems barely covers three pages, the bulk of his work, piece by piece, appearing on one with ample margins. In all his published poems there is not a humorous line nor a scrap of dialect; all is elevated and serious. His thoughts are clothed in a variety of poetic forms, the sonnet in particular being handled with unusual skill. His vocabulary is remarkably rich; the reader is all the while coming upon felicitous phrases and picturesque, unfamiliar words. As a whole his work is marked by freshness and vigor of thought, by finish, strength, and symmetry. A genuine poet he is worthy of the tribute embodied in a recent sonnet to him:

Pure as a maiden's heart thy word, thy thought.
Serene amid the clash of traffic's wars
Thou standest with face upturned toward the gleaming stars.
Poet we name thee.

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JOHN CHARLES McNEILL.

Mr. McNeill, more than any other of our poets, writes dialect fluently and frequently. He thoroughly understands the negro, presents him in vivid sketches, and quite truly interprets his customs and character. For example, "A Tar Heel" sings:

> Oh I gits my strength fum white side meat,
> I sops all the sorghum a nigger kin eat.

And another rejoices in "Supp'n Strength'nin' ":

> Good buttermilk hung in de spring whar hit's cool
> Is de stuff fer de nigger wut follers a mule.
> He kin feel hit er creepin' along es whole len'th
> Er he'pin es spirrits en givin' 'im stren'th,
> T'well he make de dirt fly fum de turnin' plow whing,
> When he's full er cool buttermilk jis fum de spring.

"A Protest" pictures the sentiment of the colored agriculturalist pessimistically inclined:

> De cawn is drapped en civered
> Fer de crow to grabble out
> De shoat gits in de tater bed
> Befo' dey 'gins to sprout.
>
> De hen hatch out her chickens
> Whiles de hawk bees lookin' on
> En fo' de cherries ripens good
> De birds is gut 'em gone.

The pickaninnies, the inevitable dogs, and the long winter-neglected bath are sketched in the four lines on "Spring":

> Leave yo' clothes at home, chillen,
> Call ol' Tige and Rover.
> We'se gwine to de swimmin' hole
> To wash ourse'ves all over!

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The prettiest, purest, and most polished of Mr. McNeill's love songs is "Oh Ask Me Not." It is lofty throughout and its closing stanza touches the warmest heart-chords struck by a Carolinian. The author considers it his best production thus far. The poem in full is as follows:

Love, should I set my heart upon a crown,
  Squander my years and gain it,
What recompense of pleasure could I own
  For youth's red drops that stain it?

Much have I thought on what our life may mean,
  And what its best endeavour;
Seeing we may not come again to glean,
  But, losing, lose forever.

Seeing how zealots, making choice of pain,
  From home and country parted,
Have thought it life to leave their fellows slain,
  Their women broken-hearted;

How teasing truth a thousand faces claims.
  As in a broken mirror,
And what a father died for in the flames
  His own son scorns as error;

How even they whose hearts were sweet with song
  Must quaff oblivion's portion,
And soon or late their sails be lost along
  The all-surrounding ocean.

Oh, ask me not the haven of our ships,
  Nor what flag floats above you!
I hold you close, I kiss your sweet, sweet lips,
  And love you, love you, love you!

The more serious side of life is sketched here and there. Take the opening lines of "Oblivion":

Green moss will creep
Upon the shady graves where we shall sleep.

Each year will bring
Another brood of birds to nest and sing.

At dawn will go
New ploughmen to the fields we used to know.

Dusk will call home
The hunter from the hills we loved to roam.

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In the realm of the tragic and the pathetic Mr. McNeill has done some excellent work. "The Drudge" is a fine illustration of his power in this direction, but we should say it does not surpass two of the stanzas "To Melvin Gardner: Suicide":

To have seen the sun come back, to have seen
  Children again at play,
To have heard the thrush where the woods are green
  Welcome the new-born day,
To have felt the soft grass cool to the feet,
To have smelt earth's incense, heavenly sweet,
To have shared the laughter along the street,
  And, then, to have died in May!

A thousand roses will blossom red,
  A thousand hearts be gay,
For the summer lingers just ahead
  And June is on her way;
The bee must bestir him to fill his cells,
The moon and the stars will weave new spells
Of love and the music of marriage bells—
  And, oh, to be dead in May!

In "Away Down Home" the aroma of devotion makes fragrant every line. For example:

When dogwood blossoms mingle
  With the maple's modest red,
And sweet arbutus wakes at last
  From out her fragrant bed,
'Twould not seem strange at all to meet
  A dryad or a gnome
A Pan or Psyche in the woods
  Away down home.

"September" and "October" afford choice glimpses of Nature, but no finer lines have come from Mr. McNeill's pen than the two brief stanzas entitled "Sundown." They show most strikingly how the sublime stirs a sympathetic and reverential spirit; and we believe they will take their place among the future treasures of our English tongue:

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Hills, wrapped in gray, standing along the west;
Clouds, dimly lighted, gathering slowly;
The star of peace at watch above the crest—
Oh, holy, holy, holy!

We know, O Lord, so little what is best;
Wingless we move so lowly;
But in thy calm all-knowledge let us rest—
Oh, holy, holy, holy!

Lightness of touch, smoothness and melody, occasional classic flavor, themes of human interest, freshness and sweetness of sentiment, are among the leading traits of his work. A young man not far in his twenties, Mr. McNeill has already won a high place among our poets and with further maturity of thought, breadth of experience, and continued poetical practice and polish, he gives promise of being one of the great verse-writers of our time and country.

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"HILTON," THE HOME OF CORNELIUS HARNETT.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. V. JANUARY, 1906. No. 3.

CORNELIUS HARNETT: THE PRIDE OF THE CAPE FEAR.

BY R. D. W. CONNOR,
Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission

The life and character of Cornelius Harnett have been the subject of eulogy from the pen of every student of his career. Bancroft praises his "disinterested zeal" in the public cause. Richard Frothingham says: "Harnett was the foremost actor in the movement for independence." McRee mentions him as "the representative man of the Cape Fear." Archibald Maclaine Hooper, whose name betrays his parentage, says that Harnett was "the favorite of the Cape Fear and the idol of the town of Wilmington." "He was incomparably the first man of the Cape Fear country," writes another, "and second to none in the state." Mr. George Davis calls him "the pride of the Cape Fear * * * the life-breathing spirit among the people." Governor Swain wrote that "no true North Carolinian will read his public letters without increased respect and affection for the state and without very high admiration of the courage which sustained the writer in the darkest days of the revolution, and the lofty and disinterested patriotism exhibited throughout the whole course of his legislative career."

These expressions of eulogy are justified not only by his public and private services to the state, but also by the confidence and admiration in which he was held by his friends, and the fear and hatred expressed for him by the enemies of

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his country. The former manifested their confidence and regard in every possible way. They elected him to almost every post of honor they had to bestow; they followed him in the perilous path of civil war and revolution; they accepted his guidance in the overthrow of one form of government and the establishment of another; and never once did they waver in their support. Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Massachusetts, at a time when that colony was dominated by the genius of Samuel Adams, wrote in his diary that Harnett was "the Samuel Adams of North Carolina." Nor were the enemies of American independence unmindful of his worth and influence. Governor Martin marked him down as one of the four men in the colony who "by their unremitting labours to promote sedition and rebellion" placed themselves "foremost among the patrons of revolt and anarchy." Sir Henry Clinton, too, sought to destroy him by excepting Cornelius Harnett, together with Robert Howe, from his proclamation of pardon in May, 1776.

Cornelius Harnett was born April 20, 1723. The place of his birth is in doubt. There seems to be no evidence in support of McRee's statement that he was born "in the land of Sydney and Hampden." His father, a Cornelius Harnett also, had been living in Chowan county, North Carolina, at least a year before the birth of his son. His mother, Mary Holt, was a North Carolina woman. It seems clear therefore that he was born in this province, and probably in Chowan county, where his father resided at the time of the birth of his son. In June, 1726, the elder Harnett bought from Colonel Maurice Moore two lots within the town of Brunswick. One of the conditions of the sale was that he should build on them "good habitable houses" within eight months. The conditions were fulfilled and Harnett became a resident of Brunswick. The younger Harnett therefore had the good fortune of growing up with the Cape Fear settlement, becoming early in life identified with the interests of its people.

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The original settlement of the Cape Fear was made at Brunswick, but shortly after the Harnetts became residents of the town, a new town was begun farther up the river at a more favorable location. From that time the growth of Wilmington was accompanied by the decline of Brunswick. Cornelius Harnett early became identified with the interests of the former. The earliest mention we have of him is a record of the purchase of 300 acres of land in New Hanover county, May 21, 1741. I think this probably marks the date of his removal to Wilmington, but of this there is no certainty. But he was certainly living in Wilmington in 1750. On April 7 of that year he was appointed by Governor Johnston to his first public office—justice of the peace for New Hanover county. A few months later, August 14, he was elected a commissioner for the town, and during the period from 1750 to 1771 he served in that capacity eleven years, though not continuously. The duties of a commissioner in a frontier village, containing at the most only a few hundred inhabitants, appear to be insignificant, if not trifling; yet this was no mean training school for the greater duties that awaited Harnett in the broad fields to which he was shortly to be called. It was in the faithful discharge of these minor duties that he displayed his capacity for the greater ones, and won his way into the hearts of his people.

Harnett's first call to this larger work came in 1754. In the spring of 1753, Lewis Henry DeRosset, member of the colonial assembly from Wilmington, resigned his seat to become a member of the governor's council. Harnett was elected to succeed him, and took his seat February 19, 1754, at a special session held in Wilmington. Twelve other assemblies were elected in North Carolina under the authority of the royal governor, in every one of which Cornelius Harnett was the member from Wilmington. His legislative career covered a period of twenty-seven years, embracing service in the colonial assembly, in the provincial congresses, and in the continental congress.

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nial assembly, in the provincial congresses, and in the continental congress.

His career in the assembly historically falls into two parts. The first covers the period between the years 1754 and 1765; the second that between the years 1765 and 1775. One embraced the administration of Governor Dobbs and the war with France for the possession of the continent, closing with the coming of William Tryon and the stamp act. The other was ushered in by the stamp act and witnessed the gathering of the storm which broke into revolution in 1775.

The first of these periods may be dismissed with a few words. The work in which Harnett and his associates were engaged, while not without interest and value, was of secondary importance to that which followed. It consisted largely in efforts to curb the governor's demands for money within such limits as the wealth of the colony justified. The province was willing to contribute her full quota to the general cause, and greatly burdened herself in doing so; but there was no limit beyond which the governor was unwilling to go. There were a few sharp encounters between the assembly and the council, the former resenting the attempts of the latter to amend appropriation bills; the latter indignant that the house should treat it with such scant respect. There was a long and unprofitable fight, too, over the court law; the assembly insisting upon keeping the courts independent of the crown; the governor resenting the efforts as encroachments upon the prerogative of the king. The assembly and the governor also found a subject of dispute in the king's instruction to the latter to consider fifteen members of the former a quorum; the assembly refusing, greatly to the indignation of his excellency, to recognize less than a majority of their number. An affair which brought on a three-cornered fight in which the governor, the council, and the assembly all took different grounds, was the appointment of a colonial agent to represent the interests of the province before the various boards in

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England. The governor objected to any agent at all; the council insisted upon its right to a voice in his appointment; the assembly was determined both to have an agent and to exercise the sole right of electing him. Aside from these disputes and bickerings the work of the assembly was concerned largely with matters relating to internal improvements, matters in which Cornelius Harnett actively interested himself. To write an account of his services during these years would be to write the history of the assembly for that decade. There were few committees of any importance on which he did not serve; few debates in which he did not take a leading part. He was one of the leaders of the leaders.

But the chief value of this work lay in its being preparatory to the more strenuous work that the next two decades were to bring. Harnett received during these years valuable training in the art of debate, in the tactics and strategy of parliamentary warfare, in the theories and principles underlying the British constitution.

Of no less importance to Harnett than this training, was the broadening of his circle of associates and friends through his services in the legislature. Here he came in contact with the master-spirits of the province; and here he learned to appreciate and estimate the characters and abilities of those with whom he was to fight the battles of the future. When he entered the assembly he found it dominated by such leaders as Samuel Swann, John Starkey, and John Campbell. Among those who were to be his associates in the coming struggles there were John Ashe, the splendid cavalier of the Cape Fear; Richard Caswell probably the most versatile man in the province; John Harvey, the sturdy and uncompromising leader of the popular party; the soldierly Robert Howe, who was to share with Harnett the honor of being excepted from the general amnesty of May 1776; Samuel Johnston, learned in the law and leader of the anti-republican forces in the province; Edenton's accomplished merchant-statesman,

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Joseph Hewes, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Alexander Lillington, who was to dispute with Caswell the glory of Moore's Creek Bridge; William Hooper, distinguished in the continental congress for his eloquence. It was in their preliminary fights for self-government during the decade from 1754 to 1765 that these men learned to know and to trust each other.

On Thursday, March 28, 1765, Governor Dobbs died. He was succeeded by William Tryon. Tryon's first asembly met at New Bern, May 3, 1765. The session was a short one. After the adjournment Saturday afternoon, May 18, Governor Tryon asked Speaker Ashe what course the assembly would pursue in regard to the stamp act. Promptly came the bold reply: "We will fight it to the death." Tryon prudently prorogued the session.

But the people did not wait for the assembly to act. The attempt to enforce the stamp act on the banks of the Cape Fear produced a resistance that Tryon was unable to cope with. Lord Bute was burned in effigy; the stamp agent, William Houston, was forced to resign; Andrew Stewart, editor of the Cape Fear Gazette, was compelled to print his paper without affixing the stamp; the people of Wilmington refused to supply the king's ships with provisions because Captain Lobb of his majesty's cruiser Viper seized two vessels which came into port without stamps on their clearance papers; they threw into jail the sailors sent ashore from the Viper to purchase supplies, and kept them there until Captain Lobb came to terms.

When he seized the two vessels, Dobbs and Patience, Captain Lobb referred the matter to William Dry, collector of the port of Brunswick, demanding that he prosecute their captains. Dry consulted the attorney-general, asking if the seizures were legal; if judgment ought to be given against the defendants in spite of the fact that they could not obtain stamps at the ports from which they sailed; and if the case

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should be tried in the admiralty court in Halifax, N. S., instead of at Brunswick. To all of these questions the attorney-general replied in the affirmative. This was a signal for another explosion. During Saturday afternoon of February, 1766, a letter signed by Cornelius Harnett and a number of other prominent citizens of Wilmington, was handed to Dry warning him that the people would not permit the Dobbs and Patience to be carried out of the Cape Fear river without their papers properly signed. Dry thereupon consulted the governor who advised him to place the papers on board the Viper. This he neglected to do, and three days later his desk was broken open and the papers taken out.

In the forenoon of February 19, George Moore and Cornelius Harnett delivered to the governor a letter warning him that a mob was about to march to Brunswick to obtain redress of grievances. The mob had gathered at Wilmington and practically compelled Harnett and one or two others to lead them. These leaders thereupon offered the governor a guard to protect him from insult. Of course he refused it. About 300 armed men then proceeded to Brunswick to enforce their demands.

Among the objects which this crowd had in view, was to force the resignation of Mr. Pennington, the king's comptroller, and an active supporter of the stamp act. Pennington sought refuge in Tryon's house. But this did not deter the mob. With their number now swelled to about 500 men, they surrounded the house and sent a delegation of sixty men, led by Harnett, to bring Pennington out. Harnett alone entered the governor's house. Tryon was determined to protect the comptroller, but much to his disgust Pennington became frightened and offered his resignation. Harnett then returned to his friends acompanied by the ex-comptroller. The mob took him to the town where they compelled, not only Pennington, but also William Dry, and the clerks of the court, and all other public officers to take an oath not to sell

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any stamps in North Carolina. They then dispersed without doing any damage to property or person. The most remarkable features of these events were the absolute openness of the resistance, and the orderliness of the crowd. The work was done by men on terms of familiar intercourse with the governor, under his very nose, and in the broad open day-light, without disguising themselves as Indians, or otherwise. They carried their point on every issue, but offered neither insult nor injury to anybody.

While these things were happening the commissioners of Wilmington manifested their approval of Harnett's course by unanimously electing him to represent the town in the next assembly. But the assembly was not to meet any time soon. The wily politician who held the reigns of government was too wise to convene the assembly while the people were in such a rebellious mood. He wished to prevent the election of delegates to the stamp act congress, which was to meet in New York some time in October. It was not until November, therefore, after the repeal of the obnoxious act and after the meeting of the congress, that Tryon ventured to face the representatives of the people. He opened the session with a conciliatory message. But the members were not in the best of tempers. They were angry at the governor's delay in calling them together, and wished to let him know it. Harnett was a member of the committee to reply to his message. Tryon was severely taken to task for his action, but he could afford to smile at the assembly's wrath, for in his first contest with the people, he had broken even with them.

Among the governors of North Carolina there have been few abler ones than William Tryon. Courtly, versatile, politic, clear-minded, full of resources, he knew the secret of winning the favor of men. Within less than two years after the stamp act riots he had so ingratiated himself with the men of Eastern Carolina that he received their almost undivided support when he marched against the Regulators.

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Even Cornelius Harnett was not only in hearty sympathy with Tryon's course, but accompanied him on his Alamance campaign and contributed largely from his private means to the support of the provincial troops. When the first assembly met after the battle of Alamance, the house entered this record upon its journal: "This house taking into considera- that the account of Mr. Cornelius Harnett in the late expedition against the insurgents and fully convinced of the great service rendered his country by his zeal and activity therein.

"Resolved, That he be allowed one hundred pounds to defray the extraordinary expenses he was at in that service."

When this resolution was sent to the council for concurrence, that house replied as follows: "This house has observed with pleasure the attention which you have shown to the merit and good service of Mr. Harnett on the late expedition against the insurgents." The request was then made that for similar service, a similar allowance be made to Samuel Cornell, member of the council. To this the assembly replied: "This house cannot agree to the allowance proposed to be made to Hon. Samuel Cornell, Esq., though thoroughly convinced of his merit and activity in the late expedition. The allowance to Mr. Harnett was made, not only because his services entitle him to the notice of this house, but in consideration of his not having been in any office or employment from which he could possibly derive any compensation for the great expense he was at in that expedition."

Soon after his victory at Alamance Governor Tryon left North Carolina. He was succeeded by Josiah Martin who arrived in the province in August, 1771. Martin was a common-place man, servilely obsequious to those in authority; tyrannically over-bearing to those under authority. No worse selection could have been made by the king at this time; the people of North Carolina were in no mood to brook the petty tyranny of a provincial governor. It is not strange there-

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fore that the poor old province was in a continual turmoil from the time that Josiah Martin took the oath of office until an outraged people took the law into their own hands and drove him forever from their shores.

Martin's failure, however, was not due altogether to his own fault. As Colonel Saunders says: "Governor Martin was unfortunate in the time at which he assumed office in North Carolina; indeed it may be said, that his administration was a sort of general legatee of the ill consequences of all the bad blood and bad government of his predecessors' administrations. And then, too, the harvest of a century and more of seed time was about ripe." Among the legacies left him by his immediate predecessor there were three that were especially difficult to handle. They were: the debt left by the Regulator troubles; the boundary line dispute with South Carolina; and the court-law difficulties. The first of these was settled without much dispute; the second was disposed of by the assembly's absolutely refusing to obey the king's commands; the third was a source of trouble for years to come and was never settled until there were no more royal governors and kings to interfere.

The dispute over the court-law arose over the attachment clause. British merchants carried on business in North Carolina through agents, never once setting foot here themselves. In course of time many of them came to be large land owners here. In order to secure debts owed by these merchants to North Carolinians, the assembly in the Tryon court-law, inserted a clause impowering the colonial courts to attach this property to secure those debts. The British merchants objected to this, but the act was not repealed by the king because he expected, when a new law was enacted to have this clause omitted without interfering with the sessions of the courts. Accordingly he instructed Martin not to pass any act including the attachment clause. The dispute began in the assembly of 1773. The committee to prepare the superior

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court bill was composed of Caswell of Dobbs, Starkey of Onslow, Hooper of Campellton, MacKnight of Currituck, Montford of Halifax, Martin of Guilford, Harnett of Wilmington, Howe of Brunswick, and Lane of Wake. Cornelius Harnett was chairman of the committee to prepare the inferior court bill. Some of the other members of this committee were Howe, Ashe, Hooper, Thomas Person and Allen Jones. The committees at first reported two separate bills, but as it appeared likely the inferior court bill would be rejected by the council because it extended the jurisdiction of that court, another committee was appointed to join the two into one bill that they might stand or fall together. This committee was composed of Robert Howe, William Hooper, Alexander Martin, Samuel Johnston and Cornelius Harnett. The final bill as reported by them contained in full the attachment clause. The governor informed the assembly that he would not consent to it. A motion was then made to continue the Tryon court law. But this, too, contained the objectionable clause. The governor would not agree to break through his instruction; the assembly was stubborn and would not recede from its position.

Both sides maintained their positions with ability. The governor, bound by his instruction, urged the assembly to leave out the clause and look to the British statute for protection by attachment proceedings. To this the assembly replied that in England proceeding by attachment existed by municipal custom and not by any act of parliament. To leave the remedy out of their law and look to parliamentary statutes for it, was to lose the security altogether. "To secure a privilege so important," said this interesting document, "the mode of obtaining it should be grounded in certainty, the law positive and express and nothing left for the exercise of doubt or discretion." But it was all useless; they were compelled to fall back on their original bill, and to this the governor consented only when the assembly added a

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clause suspending its operation until the king's pleasure could be learned. The assembly then spread upon the journal a resolution declaring the justice of their demand and instructing the colonial agent in London to use his full powers in getting the king's consent. He was instructed to say to the king that so important did the people regard this point they would rather be without courts altogether than to lose this protection. But the king refused; the fight continued through several sessions; neither side would yield and several sessions of the assembly went to wreck on this reef. It was useless, however, for the governor to dissolve the assembly and appeal to the people; it was but an appeal from the teachers to the taught. To send the former back to their constituents was but to send them to gather fresh endorsements and to receive renewed support in the fight they were waging. In every stage of the contest the people upheld their representatives, and North Carolina was without courts as long as she remained under royal rule. The governor attempted to create courts by the exercise of the king's prerogative, but the people refused to honor their decrees and the assmbly declined to vote funds for their maintenance. The governor was thoroughly beaten because the people made anarchy tolerable.

The condition of the province and the growing breach between the governor and the assembly, made it imperative that the leaders should not rest in idleness during the recesses between the sessions. They had much information to gather, much to dispense; many lessons to learn, many to teach; numerous plans to conceive, numerous ones to execute. By this time Harnett had become before all other men the leader of the Cape Fear; to him the people looked for guidance in political affairs. It had now become apparent to all thoughtful men that the time had come when it was necessary to devise some scheme for united action among the various colonies. A common oppression had driven them to a common resist-

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ance. We are prepared therefore to find foresighted men laying plans to meet this necessity. In March of 1773 Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Massachusetts, visited the Cape Fear section. He left an interesting account of this visit. The night of March 30, he spent at the home of Cornelius Harnett, whom he calls the Samuel Adams of North Carolina, "except in point of fortune." Robert Howe was also present. They spent the evening in discussing the plan of continental correspondence promulgated by Virginia and Massachusetts. Quincy says that the plan was "highly relished, much wished for, and resolved upon as proper to be pursued."

The next session of the assembly began December 4, at New Bern. Soon after the opening of the session Mr. Speaker Harvey laid before the house a number of letters and resolutions received from the assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Virginia, Connecticut and Delaware. These were resolutions passed by those assemblies in response to the suggestion made by Virginia, that each province appoint a committee of correspondence to keep in communication with similar committees in other provinces concerning matters of general interest. The proposition met with cordial approval in the North Carolina assembly. A committee composed of Samuel Johnston, Robert Howe and Cornelius Harnett, was appointed to draw up a reply. After adopting this committee's report the house resolved that a committee of nine persons be appointed to act as a committee of correspondence for North Carolina. The resolution named the committee as follows: John Harvey, Robert Howe, Cornelius Harnett, William Hooper, Richard Caswell, Edward Vail, John Ashe, Joseph Hewes and Samuel Johnston.

It is difficult for us at this day to appreciate the significance of this act. It was the first step toward that union of the colonies which resulted in July 4, 1776. The only political bond that had held the colonies together heretofore was the fact that they owed allegiance to the same

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throne. Otherwise they were absolutely separate and distinct political units. Not only did they not desire union, but even looked upon such a proposition with fear and aversion. But the stupid policy of the king had given them a bond of union stronger than any political bond yet devised by the ingenuity of man—that of a common oppression. They were driven into it in spite of themselves; and the committees of correspondence were its germs. Of this system, Mr. Fiske says: "It was nothing less than the beginning of the American union. * * * It only remained for the various intercolonial committees to assemble together, and then there would be a congress speaking in the name of the continent."

It is not to be expected that Martin looked with approval on these proceedings in the North Carolina assembly. Seeing whither their policy tended he told them they were consuming time and incurring expense to no purpose and had better go home to consult their constituents. Accordingly he prorogued the session on December 21, 1773.

Shortly after this Martin learned of the proposition to hold a continental congress at Philadelphia in September. He knew that the plan contemplated the election of the delegates by the various provincial assemblies, and he determined to follow Tryon's example to prevent North Carolina's being represented. But Martin lacked a good deal of having the shrewdness of his predecessor; and the men in control of the assembly were not the kind to be caught twice in the same trap. Martin's purpose not to call another assembly until too late to choose delegates, was communicated to John Harvey by the governor's private secretary. "Then the people," exclaimed Harvey in an outburst of wrath, "will convene one themselves." He determined to issue over his own signature, a call for a provincial congress. This scheme was laid before Samuel Johnston and Colonel Edward Buncombe. Both approved it, and Johnston at once consulted William Hooper, John Ashe and Cornelius Harnett. It was just the

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kind of proposition that suited Harnett's genius. He at once threw himself into the movement. On July 21, a meeting of the inhabitants of the Wilmington district was held at Wilmington to discuss the plan. A circular letter was issued inviting the people of the province to send delegates to a provincial congress at Johnston court-house August 20. The place was afterwards changed to New Bern and the time to August 25.

Governor Martin issued a proclamation forbiding the convention. The people laughed at him and the delegates met on the day appointed. We are surprised to find that Cornelius Harnett was not a member of this convention, Wilmington being represented by Francis Clayton. The business of the session consisted in drawing up a series of resolutions denouncing the recent acts of parliament in respect to America and setting forth the principles that should guide the actions of the delegates and those of their constituents. It was resolved that a continental congress ought to be held at Philadelphia, and William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and Richard Caswell were elected delegates from North Carolina. The convention closed by authorizing John Harvey, the moderator, to call another convention whenever he should deem it necessary.

Among the most important actions of the convention was the resolution authorizing each county and certain of the larger towns to organize committees of safety. It will, of course, be remembered that there were no courts in the province, and the convention properly felt that something ought to be done to relieve the situation. Besides this it was necessary to have some executive authority to enforce the resolves of the provincial convention and of the continental congress. But the time was not yet ripe for the formation of a permanent organization. The committees were therefore temporary expedients. The system finally developed so as to cover the whole province, one committee in each of the

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towns, one in each of the counties, one in each of the military districts, and one for the province at large. The committees were admirably organized, and worked so successfully that their powers were gradually enlarged and increased until they assumed a jurisdiction that would not have been tolerated in the royal government.

In all the history of our people there has been nothing else like these committees. It would be difficult to find another example of government which touched the lives of the people so closely as they did. Born of necessity, originating in the political and economic conditions of the time, they make one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in our history. Of them Colonel Saunders says: "Usurping some new authority every day, executive, judicial or legislative, as the case might be, their powers soon became practically unlimited." Governor Martin properly characterized them as "extraordinary tribunals." In every respect they were extraordinary, insurrectionary, revolutionary. Illegally constituted, they demanded and executed such authority as the royal government had never dreamed of, and received such obedience as it had not dared aspire to. Yet not only did they not abuse their power, but voluntarily resigned it when the public welfare no longer needed their services. They were the offsprings of misrule and rose and fell with their parent.

The Wilmington and New Hanover committees were the most perfectly organized, the most active and the most readily obeyed of any in the province. It is impossible to give even the faintest idea of their work within the limits of this sketch. There was the work of enforcing the resolves of the continental congress and of the provincial convention, some of them most exacting and most burdensome in their operations. There was the duty of inquiring into the conduct and actions of individuals, for these committees not only determined "what acts and opinions constituted a man an enemy

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of his country, but passed upon his guilt or innocence and fixed his punishment." There was the necessity of raising money by subscriptions and fines—for gunpowder, arms, and all the implements of war had to be purchased. The militia had to be enlisted, organized, armed and drilled. Correspondence with other committees had to be kept up. In short, a revolution had to be inaugurated, and it fell to these committees to do it. The success of that revolution bears witness to the ability with which their work was done. Of these committees, Cornelius Harnett was the master-spirit, the genius, the soul. Their work was his work. Throughout their existence he dominated their actions and the great work which they did in the cause of freedom is his monument. When the Wilmington committee was organized he was unanimously elected its first chairman. When the New Hanover committee was organized a few months later he was at once unanimously elected chairman of the joint committee. His work here won for him later still, after the provincial committee was established, not only a place on that committee but the chairmanship of it, a place that made him the chief executive of the new born state.

When Governor Martin saw the way the current was setting and learned that he was foiled in his effort to prevent the election of delegates to the continental congress, he determined to make the best of a bad situation and so called an assembly to meet at New Bern April 4, 1775. John Harvey at once issued circulars calling for a convention to meet at the same place April 3. It was intended, and so carried out, that the members of the assembly should also be members of the convention. Cornelius Harnett again came forward as the representative in both bodies from Wilmington. Governor Martin was furious and denounced the action of Harvey in a thunderous proclamation. The members replied by re-electing Harvey moderator of the convention and speaker of the assembly. Never was such an anomalous situa-

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tion seen before or since, I believe, in the history of the world. One set of men forming two bodies—one legal, sitting by the authority of the royal governor and in obedience to his writ; the other illegal, sitting in defiance of his authority and in direct disobedience of his proclamation. The curious spectacle is presented of the governor calling on the former body to join him in denouncing and dispersing the latter, composed of the same men whose aid he solicited. The two bodies met in the same room and were presided over by the same man. "When the governor's private secretary was announced at the door," writes Colonel Saunders, "in an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, Mr. Moderator Harvey would become Mr. Speaker Harvey * * * and gravely receive his excellency's message." The convention lasted five days. On April 7, a resolution was passed renewing Harvey's authority to call another convention whenever he deemed it necessary, and giving the same power to Samuel Johnston in the event of Harvey's death. The assembly's life was not prolonged any longer than the life of the convention. Having passed some resolutions endorsing the course of North Carolina's delegates in the continental congress, it was dissolved by the angry governor, April 8, 1775. This was the last time a royal governor was to dissolved a North Carolina assembly.

April of 1775 was a stirring month in North Carolina. It witnessed the convocation and adjournment of the most revolutionary body ever held in the state. It saw the convening and the dissolution of the last assembly ever held here under the authority of the British crown. It saw the governor of the province openly defied in his palace at the capital, closely watched by armed men, and virtually beseiged in his own house. It saw the guns he had set up for his own protection seized and carried off by the men he had been sent to rule. It closed upon the flight of the terrified governor from the capital to the protection of the guns of Fort Johnston at the mouth of the Cape Fear river.

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The atmosphere was charged with the revolutionary spirit. Men breathed it in with the very air they sucked into their lungs and then showed it forth to the world by their actions. Events crowded one upon another in rapid succession. The committees of safety were everywhere active in the discharge of their various duties, legislating, judging, executing, combining in themselves all the functions of government. The news of the battle of Lexington spread like wild fire through the province, arousing the forward, stirring the backward, and putting an end everywhere to all hope of a peaceful conclusion of the difficulties. The news was sped on its way by the committees and in no other instance did they give better evidence of their usefulness. Governor Martin complained that the rebel leaders knew about the battle at least two months before he did, and that he did not learn of it in time to counteract the influence which the "infamous and false reports of that transactions" had on the people. The news reached Cornelius Harnett on the Cape Fear in the afternoon of May 8, and he at once hurried it on to the Brunswick committee with the admonition, "For God's sake send the man on without the least delay and write to Mr. Marion to forward it by night and day." The proceedings of the second continental congress, which met amid all this excitement, were followed with the closest attention. John Harvey, after a life devoted to the interest and liberty of his country, died at his home in Perquimans county, leaving a gap in the ranks of the patriots impossible to be filled. Scarcely had this sad news reached the Cape Fear before Cornelius Harnett was joined by Robert Howe and John Ashe in a letter to Samuel Johnston urging him to call a provincial convention without delay. The suggestion met with favor, was endorsed by the committees of several counties, and approved by Johnston. He issued his call July 10. Six days later Governor Martin wrote to Lord Dartmouth: "Hearing of a proclamation of the king, proscribing

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John Hancock and Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts Bay, and seeing clearly that further proscriptions will be necessary before government can be settled again upon sure foundations in America, I hold it my indispensable duty to mention to your lordship Cornelius Harnett, John Ashe, Robert Howe, and Abner Nash, as persons who have marked themselves out as proper persons for such distinction in this colony by their unremitting labours to promote sedition and rebellion here from the beginnings of the discontents in America to this time, that they stand foremost among the patrons of revolt and anarchy." Within less than a week after this letter was written 500 men, wearied of Governor Martin's abusive proclamations, placed themselves under the leadership of John Ashe and Cornelius Harnett, marched to Fort Johnston, and burned the hated structure to the ground. "Mr. John Ashe and Mr. Cornelius Harnett," wrote the frightened governor, "were the ring-leaders of this savage and audacious mob." Thirty days later, at the time and place appointed, a third provincial congress met in open session in defiance of the rewards offered by the impotent ruler for the arrest of the leaders.

The congress met at Hillsborough, August 20. One hundred and eighty-four delegates were present. Cornelius Harnett was there from Wilmington, associated, however, with another distinguished and able Cape Fear leader, Archibald Maclaine. Harnett's share in the work of the convention was of the greatest importance, but lack of space forbids an account of it here. The one thing that can be noticed was the reorganization of the committee system. At the head of the new system and acting as executive head of the new government, was placed a provincial committee, called the provincial council. Its membership was composed of thirteen persons, one from the province at large and two from each of the six military districts into which the province had been organized. Serving under this council were to be committees in the several districts.

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Extensive powers were given to the provincial council; it was, as I have said, the executive head of the government, subject to no authority except that of the general congress. The success of this new scheme depended entirely upon the character and ability of the men who were to put it into operation. They were chosen as follows: Samuel Johnston, for the province at large; Cornelius Harnett and Samuel Ashe, for the Wilmington district; Thomas Jones and Whitmill Hill, for the Edenton district; Abner Nash and James Cook, for the New Bern district; Thomas Person and John Kinchen, for the Hillsborough district; Willie Jones and Thomas Eaton for the Halifax district; Samuel Spencer and Waightstill Avery, for the Salisbury district. We can estimate the importance of this organization from the fact that Governor Martin denounced it in unmeasured terms.

The first meeting was held October 18, at Johnston courthouse. Of this meeting Bancroft writes: "Among its members were Samuel Johnston, Samuel Ashe, a man whose integrity even his enemies never questioned, whose name a mountain county and the fairest town in the western part of the commonwealth keep in memory; Abner Nash, an eminent lawyer, described by Martin as 'the oracle of the committee of Newbern and a principal supporter of sedition'; but on none of these three did the choice of president fall; that office of peril and power was bestowed unanimously on Cornelius Harnett, of New Hanover, whose disinterested zeal had made him honored as the Samuel Adams of North Carolina." By virtue of this office Harnett became the chief executive of the new government. The establishment of this central committee with adequate powers and authority immediately bore good fruit. Governor Martin wrote that the authority, the edicts and the ordinances of the congresses and conventions and committees had become supreme and omnipotent and that "lawful government" was completely annihilated. There can be no better comment upon the effectiveness of the ad-

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ministration of Harnett and his colleagues. Everywhere the spirits and activity of the patriots took on new life, and everywhere, according to Martin himself, the spirits of the loyalists drooped and declined daily. So effective was the work and so necessary did the council prove itself to be to the welfare of the province, the next convention passed a resolution requiring it to sit continuously instead of only once every three months. The council, now called the council of safety, continued at the head of the government until the adoption of the state constitution; and Cornelius Harnett remained at the head of the council until elected a delegate to the continental congress.

It was under the direction of this council that the North Carolina troops marched to Moore's Creek Bridge and on the 27 of February, won the initial victory of the revolution. General Moore's report of his victory was made to President Harnett. This battle entirely changed the aspect of affairs in North Carolina. Heretofore the people had not considered seriously the question of independence; but now no other proposition met with such nearly universal acceptance. Day by day the conviction steadily grew upon them that there was no hope of coming to terms with the royal government, except upon humiliating conditions, and rather than submit to these the people preferred to risk all in a cast for independence. The convention, which met at Halifax April 4, 1776, was expected to take some definite steps to give official expression to the prevailing desire. The day after the assembling of the convention Samuel Johnston wrote to James Iredell: "All our people here are up for independence." Accordingly on April 8, a committee was appointed, composed of Cornelius Harnett, Allen Jones, Thomas Burke, Abner Nash, John Kinchen, Thomas Person and Thomas Jones, "to take into consideration the usurpations and violences attempted by the king and parliament of Great Britain against America, and the further

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measures to be taken for frustrating the same, and for the better defence of this province." Cornelius Harnett was elected chairman, and it was he who prepared and read the report which the committee submitted April 12. On that day he arose in the convention and in a clear ringing voice read the following bold and epoch-making report:

"It appears to your committee, that pursuant to the plan concerted by the British ministry for subjugating America, the king and parliament of Great Britain have usurped a power over the persons and properties of the people, unlimited and uncontrolled and disregarding their humble petitions for peace, liberty and safety, have made divers legislative acts, denouncing war, famine and every species of calamity, against the continent in general. The British fleets and armies have been, and still are, daily employed in destroying the people, and committing the most horrid devastations on the country. That governors in different colonies have declared protection to slaves, who should imbrue their hands in the blood of their masters. That ships belonging to America are declared prizes of war, and many of them have been violently seized and confiscated. In consequence of all which multitudes of the people have been destroyed, or from easy circumstances reduced to the most lamentable distress.

"And whereas, the moderation hitherto manifested by the united colonies and their sincere desire to be reconciled to the mother country on constitutional principles, have procured no mitigation of the aforesaid wrongs and usurpations, and no hopes remain of obtaining redress by those means alone which have hitherto been tried, your committee are of opinion that the house should enter into the following resolve, to-wit:

"Resolved, That the delegates for this colony in the continental congress be impowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independency, and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this colony the sole and

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exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for this colony, and of appointing delegates from time to time (under the direction of the general representation thereof), to meet the delegates of the other colonies for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out."

The convention unanimously adopted the report. Comment is unnecessary. The actors, the place, the occasion, the time, the action itself, tell their own story far beyond the power of the pen to add to it or detract from it. Discussing the growth of the sentiment for independence in America, Mr. Bancroft says:

"The American congress needed an impulse from the resolute spirit of some colonial convention, and the example of a government springing wholly from the people." Following an account of how South Carolina let slip the honor of giving this impulse, Mr. Bancroft continues: "The word which South Carolina hesitated to pronounce was given by North Carolina. That colony, proud of its victory over domestic enemies, and roused to defiance by the presence of Clinton, the British general, in one of their river, * * * unanimously" voted for independence. "North Carolina was the first colony to vote explicit sanction to independence."

Immediately after the adoption of this report the convention took up the consideration of a constitution for the state.

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Harnett was a member of the committee to prepare the document. But this was a matter too important for slight consideration, and the committee recommended that it be postponed until the next session of the convention. At the same time the powers and authority of the council of safety were extended and the council was ordered to sit continuously instead of quarterly.

A few days before the adjournment of the convention the enemy again paid their compliments to Harnett's zeal and influence. This time they came from Sir Henry Clinton. Sir Henry had reached the Cape Fear too late to co-operate with the Highlanders in their disastrous attempts to subdue the colony, so there was nothing left for him to do but to issue a proclamation, and sail away again. Accordingly, just before sailing, he proclaimed from the deck of his majesty's man-of-war, Pallisser, that a horrid rebellion existed in North Carolina, but that in the name of his sacred majesty, he now offered a free pardon to all who would acknowledge the error of their way, lay down their arms, and return to their duty to the king, "excepting only from the benefits of such pardon Cornelius Harnett and Robert Howes."

To this proclamation the council of safety replied by unanimously re-electing Cornelius Harnett president. This occurred at their Wilmington session in June. In July they adjourned to meet at Halifax. On the 22 of the month the council received news of the action of the continental congress on July 4.

Five days later they resolved that August 1, be the day for proclaiming the declaration at Halifax. Thursday, August 1, 1776, becomes therefore, a marked day in the annals of the state. The sun rose clear on this first day of the new month, symbolic of the new state just rising out of a night of oppression and wrong. With the rising of the sun came the vanguard of the large crowd that was to assemble that day from the surrounding country to hear the official announce-

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ment of North Carolina's new-born independence. By noon the village was alive with the eager throng. The ceremony was simple but none the less impressive. The provincial troops and militia companies, proudly bedecked in such uniforms as they could boast, were present in full battle array. With drums beating and flags unfurled to catch the first breath of freedom, this martial escort conducted the president of the council to the front of the court-house. As the August sun reached its mid-course in the heavens, Cornelius Harnett, bare-headed, bearing in his hand the document which bore the words so full of meaning for all future generations, cheered by the enthusiastic throng, solemnly ascended the platform and faced the people. Even as he unrolled the scroll the enthusiam of the crowd gave vent in one prolonged cheer, and then a solemn hush fell on the audience. Every ear was strained to catch the words that fell from the lips of the popular speaker. As he closed with those solemn words pledging the lives, the fortunes and the sacred honor of the people to the declaration, the tumultuous shouts of joy, the waving of flags, and the booming of cannon, proclaimed that North Carolina was prepared to uphold her part. As Harnett came down from the platform the soldiers dashed at him, seized him, and bore him aloft on their shoulders through the crowded street, cheering him as their champion and swearing allegiance to the new nation. It must have been a proud moment in his life and one that compensated somewhat for the sacrifices he was yet to make for his people.*

Soon after this the fifth and last provincial convention assembled at Halifax. Harnett sat for Brunswick county. This convention adopted the first constitution of the state of North Carolina. Harnett was a member of the committee which drafted it and exercised a large influence in its preparation. His influence and efforts caused the insertion of that imperishable clause which forbids the establishment of a state church in North Carolina, and secures forever to every per-

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son in the state the right to worship God "according to the dictates of his own conscience." If Thomas Jefferson rightly considered the authorship of a similar clause in the Virginia constitution, one of the three really great events of his life, surely the authorship of this clause in the North Carolina constitution was none the less one of the great events of Cornelius Harnett's useful career. But he did not blazon it to the world by having it recorded on his tomb.

This convention elected the first officers of the new state. Richard Caswell was elected governor. Harnett was chosen first councillor of state. By the election of Caswell as governor the chairmanship of the convention became vacant, and Harnett was elected to fill the vacancy. The journal of the last one of those remarkable conventions that separated North Carolina from the British empire is signed by "Cornelius Harnett, President."

Harnett was re-elected to the council by the first legislature which met under the constitution. He did not serve long, however, as he was soon afterward selected a delegate to the continental congress and resigned his seat in the council. He took this action reluctantly. It meant loss of comfort and ease, sacrifice of both money and health, but he did not feel justified in declining, for purely personal reasons, the service the state desired of him. He, therefore, entered upon his duties in June, 1777, and served three years in congress. A detailed account of his services there is impossible in this sketch. They were faithful and able. The field was narrow, however; the situation disagreeable; his health poor; and the expense of living great. He wrote to his friend Burke that living in Philadelphia cost him £6,000 more than his salary, but he adds: "Do not mention this complaint to any person. I am content to sit down with this loss and much more if my country requires it." He missed the comforts of home, wearied of the quarrels and bickerings of congress, suffered with the gout, until he was thoroughly worn out.

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Harnett's letters are among the most valuable in the correspondence of the revolution, throwing such a flood of light on that interesting period as few other letters do. It has already been seen the estimate that Governor Swain put upon them. Any one who reads them carefully in the light of the events they describe will readily concur in that estimate.

In February, 1780, Harnett made his last journey from Philadelphia to Wilmington, "the most fatiguing and most disagreeable journey any old fellow ever took." He had not long to rest under the shade of his vine and fig tree as he had hoped to do. Only one year of life remained to him, a year of gloom, hardship and suffering. The summer of 1780 was the gloomiest time of the war for the Americans. Charleston fell; Colonel Bufort's Virginia regiment was annihilated at Waxhaws; Gates exchanged his northern laurels for southern willows at Camden; Ninety-Six was captured, and Cornwallis marched into North Carolina. Here came relief. On the top of King's Mountain came the first break in the clouds; and soon after this Tarleton's renowned corps was cut to pieces at Cowpens.

Scarcely had this good news revived the drooping spirits of the patriots when a great disaster befell the Cape Fear country. On January 29, 1781, Major James H. Craige, one of the most energetic officers of the British army, sailed into the Cape Fear river with a fleet of eighteen vessels and four hundred and fifty men. Wilmington was occupied without opposition. Major Craige had come with express orders to capture Cornelius Harnett, and one of his first expeditions from Wilmington was sent out for this purpose. Harnett was warned in time and attempted to escape; but he had gone only about thirty miles when he was seized by a paroxysm of the gout and was compelled to take to his bed at the home of his friend, Colonel Spicer, in Onslow county. The enemy overtook him here, and regardless of his age and condition, in a manner unusually brutal, carried him to Wilmington.

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Here he was confined for three days in a block-house. His condition had now become so precarious that Craige was induced to release him on parole.

He had not long to enjoy his freedom, and none realized it better than he. Yet he politely declined the services of the physicians, though grateful for their attention. On April 28, he wrote with his own hand his will, bequeathing "to my beloved wife, Mary, all my estate, real, personal, and mixed, of what nature or kind soever, to her, her heirs and assigns, forever." He then breathed his last.

Harnett's grave is in the northeast corner of St. James church-yard in the city of Wilmington. He contributed liberally to the erection of the first St. James church, was for a long time a member of the vestry, and always retained a pew in the church. In spite of this, and of a great deal of other evidence to the contrary, a tradition has been handed down, repeated by Hooper, and after him by others, that Harnett was an infidel. The train of evidence is too long to be followed here and I must content myself with merely observing that in my opinion the statement is an erroneous one. Much has been made of the epitaph on his tomb-stone, selected by himself.

"CORNELIUS HARNETT,
Died April 20, 1781.
Age 58.
" 'Slave to no sect, he took no private road,
But looked through Nature up to Nature's God.' "

It should be noted here that the date on the stone must be incorrect, as his will is in his own hand-writing and is dated April 28.

Mr. Harnett lived just outside of Wilmington. His house, surrounded by a grove of magnificent live-oaks, stood on an

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eminence on the east bank of the Cape Fear, commanding a fine view of the river. Here Harnett lived at ease, for he was a man of wealth, entertaining upon such a scale as to win a reputation for his hospitality, even in the hospitable Cape Fear country.

"His stature," says Hooper, "was about five feet nine inches. In his person he was rather slender than stout. His hair was of a light-brown, and his eyes hazel. The contour of his face was not striking; nor were his features, which were small, remarkable for symmetry; but his countenance was pleasing, and his figure, though not commanding, was neither inelegant nor ungraceful.

"In his private transactions he was guided by a spirit of probity, honor and liberality; and in his political career he was animated by an ardent and enlightened and disinterested zeal for liberty, in whose cause he exposed his life and endangered his fortune. He had no tinge of the visionary or of the fanatic in the complexion of his politics. 'He read the volume of human nature and understood it.' He studied closely that complicated machine, man, and he managed it to the greatest advantage for the cause of liberty, and for the good of his country. That he sometimes adopted artifice, when it seemed necessary for the attainment of his purpose, may be admitted with little imputation on his morals and without disparagement to his understanding. His general course of action in public life was marked by boldness and decision.

"He practiced all the duties of a kind and charitable and elegant hospitality; and yet with all this liberality he was an exact and minute economist.

"Easy in his manner, affable, courteous, with a fine taste for letters and a genius for music, he was always an interesting, sometimes a fascinating companion.

"He had read extensively, for one engaged so much in the bustle of the world, and he had read with a critical eye and

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inquisitive mind. * * In conversation he was never voluble. The tongue, an unruly member in most men, was in him nicely regulated by a sound and discriminating judgment. He paid,nevertheless, his full quota into the common stock, for what was wanting in continuity or fullness of expression, was supplied by a glance of his eye, the movement of his hand and the impressiveness of his pause. Occasionally, too, he imparted animation to his discourse by a characteristic smile of such peculiar sweetness and benignity, as enlivened every mind and cheered every bosom, within the sphere of its radiance.

"Although affable in address, he was reserved in opinion. He could be wary and circumspect, or decided and daring as exigency dictated or emergency required. At one moment abandoned to the gratifications of sense, in the next he could recover his self-possession and resume his dignity. Addicted to pleasure, he was always ready to devote himself to business, and always prompt in execution. An inflexible republican, he was beloved and honored by the adherents of monarchy amid the fury of a civil war. * * * Such was Cornelius Harnett. Once the favorite of the Cape Fear and the idol of the town of Wilmington; his applauses filled the ears as his character filled the eyes of the public."

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EDWARD MOSELEY: CHARACTER SKETCH.

By D. H. HILL.

"Of all the men who watched and guided the tottering footsteps of our infant State, there was not one who in intellectual ability, in solid and polite learning, in scholarly cultivation and refinement, in courage and endurance, in high Christian morality, in generous consideration for the welfare of others, in all true merit in fine, which makes a man among men, who could equal Edward Moseley.

HON. GEORGE DAVIS.

Fortunately for men of action the judgment of their contemporaries is often modified or reversed by the clearer judgment of posterity. Of Wycliffe, the first translator of the Bible into our "modir tonge" and one of the stoutest opponents of ecclesiastical tyranny, a contemporary, Lewis, says, in his "Life of Wycliffe:"

"On the feast of the passion of Saint Thomas, of Canterbury, John Wycliffe, the organ of the devil, the enemy of the church, the idol of heretics, the image of hypocrites, the restorer of schism, the storehouse of lies, the sink of flattery, being struck by the horrible judgment of God, was seized with the palsy throughout his whole body, and that mouth, which was to have spoken huge things against God and his saints, and Holy church, was miserably drawn aside, and afforded a frightful spectacle to beholders; his tongue was speechless and his head shook, showing plainly that the curse which God had thundered forth against Cain was also inflicted on him."

Of this same Wycliffe Dr. Patterson Smyth says, in the tempered judgment of 1899:

"In him England lost one of her best and greatest sons, a patriot sternly resenting all dishonor to his country, a reformer who ventured his life for the purity of the church and the freedom of the Bible—an earnest, faithful 'parsoun of

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a toune' standing out conspicuously among the clergy of the time.

> 'For christes lore and his apostles twelve
> He taughte—and first he folwede it himselve.'"

In like manner if we should credit the official contemporaries of Edward Moseley, he was "of all men most base." Gov. Hyde and his followers in the Legislature of 1711 joined in a petition to "The Palatin and Lord Proprietors" to "remove those three restless Incendiaries Col. Carey, Mr. Porter and Mr. Moseley from having any share in the government." Gov. Pollock, smooth and suave, complains that "he was the chief contriver and carry-er on of Col. Carey's rebellion." Gov. Burrington, passing rich in the vocabulary of expletive, brands him as "the great land-jobber of this country," and further declares to the Legislature that Moseley is "a person of sufficient ability" to be "Publick Treasurer," but wishes that his "integrity was equal to his ability." Gov. Johnston writes the Board of Trade that "the only remains of faction in this colony is kept up by Mr. Moseley and the Moors."

The remarkable continuity of this courteous attention from crown officers, extending as it does over a good many years, reveals the dynamics inherent in the man. Even if we had no record of Moseley's life other than this continuous gubernational vituperation, we should still be inclined to say, "Official lions found no hind in him; here was a man."

Hence it is no surprise to find modern writers, who have tried to roll the mists away, saying, as Weeks does: "He (Moseley) was the broadest-minded man who lived in North Carolina during the first half of the 18th century. He was a patriot rather than a partisan and as such espoused the cause of religious fredom against the bigotry and narrowness of his age and country;"

Or to find Shinn saying: "It can not be doubted that he was hot tempered and was perhaps often too hasty and liable

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to cultivate strong antipathies; yet he was a patriot in his day and did more than any other early character to make the unlettered Carolinians feel that by royal charter 'it is granted that the inhabitants of this province shall have, possess and enjoy all libertys, franchises and privileges as are held, possessed and enjoyed in the Kingdom of England.' In every contest he was on the side of the people."

That Moseley was always "on the side of the people" and that in spite of royal governors he retained their confidence is abundantly shown by such facts as these. One year after Gov. Hyde's assembly petitioned for Moseley's 'removal from having any part in the government,' the people elected him a member of the Assembly. In 1715, in the face of Pollock's charge and just two years after it was made, that he was the backbone of the Cary trouble, the representatives of the people elected him their Speaker. Gov. Burrington's epithet of "land grabber," and doubt as to his having integrity enough to be Treasurer did not deter the Assembly of 1731 from electing Moseley Speaker nor from saying with some heat: "The Members of the House declare that they are very well satisfied as well with his integrity as his ability, his accounts always appearing just and true."

Of the early life of the man thus so differently judged, we have few records; his later life is almost literally a history of the province, so large is his part in its doings. He held almost every office then open to a citizen. Indeed for robust persistence in office-holding Moseley is without a peer in Carolina history. The first year that he appears in our records he was a member of the Cary Council: he dies still a Council member, although his service was not continuous. The office of magistrate, then a very honorable and responsible one, he held nearly all his life. From perhaps 1708 until near his death he was Treasurer of the Colony, and also part of the time precinct treasurer. For many years he was Surveyor-General. He was a Commissioner for running the boundary

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line between North Carolina and Virginia and also between North Carolina and South Carolina. He was judge of the Court of Admiralty, five or six times Speaker of the House, President of the Council and thus Acting-Governor, Commissioner on Wages, and for Revisal of laws, chief baron of the Exchequer, and finally Chief Justice of the Colony. This perpetuity and variety of office-holding seem too to have come, not because he was a chronic seeker of office, but solely because he was the fittest man to fill the office.

What were the characteristics of the man who was thus honored by his people?

In the first place it was not necessary for him "to usurp a patriot's all-atoning name," for he seems to have sincerely loved his adopted colony, and to have served it with the steadfast purpose of making it a home fit for free men. Although himself a member of the established church of England, a contributor equal in generosity to the Governor towards its support, and a propagandist of its faith to the extent of sending to England for Prayer Books for distribution, yet there seems no doubt that he set his face like flint against an alliance of church and State in America. Although frequently on terms of such intimacy with crown officers that it would have been to his interest to wink at their usurpations of authority, he steadily resisted all such encroachments on the rights of the people. He was Speaker of the House that in 1715 dared to pass the memorable resolution "that the impressing of the inhabitants, or their property, under pretense of its being for public service, without authority from the General Assembly is unwarrantable, a great infringement of the liberty of the subject, and very much weakens the government by causing many to leave it."

Col. Saunders says of this resolution: "The man who, at that early day, in the wild woods of America, could formulate that resolution, and the people whose assembly could fling it in the face of the government, were worthy of each other."

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While holding a royal commission as member of the Council, Moseley refused to pay his quit rents to the royal Receiver at a rate different from what he thought the laws of the colony prescribed, and encouraged others to take the same position.

In the second place he had the boldness of thought and of action that people admire in their leaders. When but a comparative stranger in the province, he did not hesitate to join with Cary in actions which though in themselves illegal redounded to public good. When he believed that Gov. Eden's relations to the pirate Thache or Teach were suspiciously criminal, he with the aid of his brother-in-law, Maurice Moore, made bold to forcibly enter the office of the Governor's secretary and seize official papers apparently for the purpose of disclosing criminality on the part of the officers of the province. On his arrest for this attempt "to bring the good government, diligent and just administration of him the said Charles Eden as Governor to detract, asperse and contempt and to move and stir up debates, strifes and differences, sedition and discord and dissention in this province," as the warrant charged, he could not forbear saying that the governor, chief justice and others with him could procure armed men to come and arrest him but could not raise them to destroy the pirate. He incurred the hostility of Gov. Burrington and was committed to the common jail for interposing in behalf of a poor man without legal counsel, whom the Governor was prosecuting with acrimonious speed. It is not hard to imagine that it was his influence as Speaker that led the Assembly of 1733 to protest against Gov. Burrington's "long disuse of assemblies," and to declare that "the Affairs of the Province in our humble Opinion required the Meeting of an Assembly before this time, not only for an Application to his Majesty toward the Good and happy settlement of this province, but also for the suppressing the many Oppressions, which so loudly have been complained of through the whole

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province, which could in no other way so properly be represented as in an Assembly."

In the third place Moseley had the common sense and self-poise on which people rely in troublous times. There was no sham, no affectation, no sounding hollow in his make-up. This is nowhere shown more conspicuously than in the reply that he, Christopher Gale, John Lovick and William Little sent to the Virginia Commissioners who had written them as North Carolina's Commissioners to settle the disputed boundary line between the two States. With lordly pomp the Virginia Commissioners had written: "We think it very proper to acquaint you in what manner we intend to come provided, that so you, being appointed in the same station, may, if you please, do the same honor to your country. We shall bring with us about twenty men, furnished with provisions for thirty days: we shall have with us a tent and marquees for the convenience of ourselves and our servants. We bring as much wine and rum as will enable us and our men to drink every night to do the good success of the following day; and because we understand that there are gentiles on the frontiers, who never had an opportunity to be baptized, we shall have a chaplain with us to make them Christians."

Men of less common sense than the Carolina Commissioners would have been at a loss to know what reply to make to this startling announcement. But the sturdy sense of Moseley and his associates did not desert them.

"We are at a loss, gentlemen," wrote these downright men, "whether to thank you for the particulars you give us of your tent stores, and the manner you design to meet us. Had you been silent about it, we had not wanted an excuse for not meeting you in the same manner; but now you force us to expose the nakedness of our country, and to tell you we cannot possibly meet you in the manner our great respect for you would make us glad to do; whom we are not emulous of outdoing, unless in care and diligence in the affair we come to meet you about."

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"That keen thrust under the guard," comments Mr. Davis, "delivered too with all the glowing courtesy of knighthood, is exquisite. My lord Chesterfield could not have improved it. If the Virginians were as familiar with sweet Will as they undoubtedly were with the value of tent stores, they must have had an uncomfortable remembrance of Sir Andrew Aguecheek—'An I thought he had been so cunning in fence, I'd have seen him damned ere I'd have challenged him."

But there is another side to the man's character that is pleasant to recall. Active man of affairs as he was, accumulating a fortune as he did, he was withal, in the best sense of the words, a man of letters. His private library, including books on law, on theology, and on general literature, was perhaps the most extensive in the province. A part of his library was left by him as a foundation for a public library in the town of Edenton.

A devoted lover of North Carolina and a diligent student of its history pays this hearty tribute to Col. Moseley's worth:

"The great debt of gratitude that North Carolina will ever owe him is due to his undying love of free government, and his indomitable maintenance of the rights of his people. Doubtless no man ever more fully realized than he 'that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty,' nor was there ever upon any watch tower a more faithful sentinel than he. And to him, above all others, should North Carolina erect her first statute, for to him, above all others, is she indebted for stimulating that love of liberty regulated by law, and that hatred of arbitrary government that has ever characterized her people."

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CELEBRATION

OF THE

ANNIVERSARY OF MAY 20, 1775

WITH AN ADDRESS BY

GEN. JOSEPH GRAHAM

Giving Reminiscences of the Day and Other Mecklenburg Revolutionary Events

AT

CHARLOTTE, N. C., MAY 20, 1735

W. A. GRAHAM
Lincoln County, North Carolina

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CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF MAY 20, 1775.

BY W. A. GRAHAM.

The first celebration of the anniversary of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, Charlotte, May 20, 1835.

The attendance was estimated to be at least five thousand, ceremonies were held in the "church grove" now First Presbyterian church. The Governor of the State (Swain) was present and reviewed the troops.

James W. Osborne (afterwards judge) father of Judge Frank I. Osborne, after a brief and eloquent preface read the Mecklenburg Declaration.

Franklin Smith was "orator of the day." He gave a succint account of the aggressions of England which led up to the Declaration; sketched the character of the convention and commemorated the virtues of its members.

At the dinner U. S. Senator Willie P. Mangum, Governor Swain and others spoke at length upon the political questions, probably upon General Jackson vs. the United States Bank.

In response to the toast "Our guest, General Joseph Graham, the living witness of the scene we have met to commemorate and the bold and intrepid defender of its principles," General Graham spoke as follows:

Fellow Citizens:—On this day three-score years ago, I was in this place, and heard the discussion of those venerable fathers, and finally their unanimous vote on the adoption of those resolutions, and in a short time after when proclamation was made, the people assembled and they were read at the Court-House door, where they were highly approved by all. Perhaps upwards of half the men in Mecklenburg and now Cabarrus counties were present. This and some previous

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meetings had a tendency to give tone to public sentiment, that was manifest throughout the Revolutionary War, and for many years after. I had the honor to be personally acquainted with each of the fathers who signed those resolutions; they were men of sound common sense, actuated by pure patriotism, appeared to be governed by no motive but their country's welfare, perhaps a majority of them too old to do military duty, but always ready with their counsel to their families and neighbors, to assist the common cause. It yet may be remembered that before the fall of Charleston, a magazine of gun powder was moved from Camden to this place for greater safety and was guarded sometime by the students of the Academy at this place—that an alarm of the vailed, and several of the old fathers, signers of those Resolu- enemy's advancing here, some weeks before they came, pre- tions, with others, came to Charlotte on a certain day with bags in which they filled the gunpowder, and carried it off in different directions—they appeared like so many boys who had been to mill. It was concealed in separate places—afterwards it afforded us a seasonable supply—not much of it got damaged and the enemy got none. *

At that time we had no parties among us, we were but one party and that for our country. Then and for a dozen years afterwards, a man who was popular, and had the public confidence, was called on to face the greatest dangers, and to make large sacrifices of his time and property in the common cause. What nominal pay he received was in a depreciated currency—it was evident that money was not the motive by which he was governed, but to drive the enemy from our country and to establish the Independence which they had declared,—the fact is there were no loaves and fishes to divide, as in modern times, to scuffle about, for it now appears the

* General Davidson to General Sumner, October 10, 1780, at Rocky River, reports receipt of 29 "caigs" of this powder from within four miles of Charlotte, of which he knew nothing until a day or two before.—Col. Records, Vol. XIV, p. 688.

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plentier they are the greater the risque that the public tranquility may be disturbed, and finally may produce more evil than at present anticipated.

It would be tedious to recount all the effect produced by the discussion and Resolutions passed in this place sixty years past, how faithfully those men, their neighbors and their offspring, acted up to the professions they then made—how they regularly furnished their quota of men while the war was at a distance, but after the fall of Charleston and Buford's defeat, they were called out *en masse,* when Mecklenburg became a frontier against a powerful enemy,—need I mention that several of her brave sons fell in the battle at Ramsour's Mill,—that in the well-fought battle of Hanging Rock, she lost the lamented Capt. David Reid, and six privates and had eleven wounded—had her proportion of men and suffering in the disastrous defeat of General Gates on the 16th of August, 1780, or the affair at Wahab's, under Col. Davie in September in the same year, when a party superior in numbers was surprised and beat in the vicinity of the main British army or when the British army of 5,000 Regulars marched into this village in all the pomp of War, on the 26th of Sept., 1780, was opposed by Col. Davie in a kind of Parthian fight with 350, chiefly of this County, and our well-tried friends of Rowan,—or that during the 12 days they stayed, their sentries were shot down, their piquets harassed, and a foraging party of 400 driven back from McIntyre's farm about 7 miles North of this place, with some loss, by only a few men of your native sons—that waggons with stores from Camden were captured and destroyed, two or three miles to the South of this place. These circumstances induced Col. Tarleton in conversation with a lady in the neighborhood, to compliment this place with the name of "The Hornets' Nest."

When General Green took command of the Southern Army, on the 3rd of December, 1780, this County having

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been the seat of war so long, supplies of provisions and forage being nearly exhausted, he detached General Morgan over Broad River, and moved with his Army down near Cheraw. As an evidence of the estimate in which you were held, he relied upon the inhabitants between the Catawba and Yadkin Rivers as a central Army, otherwise his dispositions would have been inconsistent with the general rules of war in such cases. Need I mention that after Tarleton's defeat at the Cowpens, when the enemy advanced in full force on the banks of the Catawba, on the memorable 1st of February, 1781, in that cloudy and drisly morning when they passed at Cowan's Ford, were opposed by about 350 men, a majority of your native sons, endeavoring to defend their domicils under command of the brave and lamented General Davidson, who there fell, and two of your citizens who may be well remembered by several of those present, Robert Beatty and James Scott—that the atmosphere was so dense the sound of the artillery and platoons were distinctly heard by all the mothers, wives and sisters of those engaged, who lived here and to the North of this place. That our friends of Rowan and some other counties who had retreated from Beattie's Ford, were defeated at Torrence's Tavern on the same day by Col. Tarleton—that afterwards the British passed on to Salisbury—about 700 men were collected in their rear composed of the citizens between the Yadkin and Catawba, and having none but field officers, they could not agree among themselves who should take the command, and finally they selected Gen. Andrew Pickens, (of S. C.,) who with six or eight South Carolina refugees, had been at the defeat at Torrence's Tavern, where he was without command. After his appointment and the Brigade organized, it moved on after the enemy; when arrived near Hillsboro, he sent a detachment of men of this county, who at Hart's Mill within 1 1-2 miles of Hillsboro, the enemy's headquarters, killed and captured a piquet of 25 Regulars and some Tories'—that at Pile's defeat,—at the battle of Whitesell's Mill, and other

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places of minor importance they acted a conspicuous part, that at the battle of Alamance, at Clap's Mill on the 2d of March, 1781, when about 500 on each side were engaged, you sustained more loss in proportion to numbers than any corps engaged,—John Ford (a carpenter) who built some of the houses now standing in this village, and David Johnston, were killed—Robert Morris, Esq (of Mill Grove), Samuel Martin, Clerk of your Court, and John Barnett were wounded, Joseph Mitchell (of Stoney Creek) and John Stinson, who I believe is yet living, were taken prisoners. But why need I refer to all the occurrences of this eventful campaign. The historians, Doctor Ramsey and Judge Johnston, (both of South Carolina), atrributed those actions to the militia of South Carolina because the officer, who had the command was from that State; great injustice is likewise done by said historians to the affair of Hanging Rock and other movements. While General Sumpter commanded, the milita of this county frequently were his greatest force, and after he was appointed to raise a Brigade of State Troops, it may be remembered that the Regiments of Hampton, Polk and Hill were chiefly raised between the Yadkin and the Catawba, and the many brilliant actions they performed are placed to the credit of South Carolina because the Generals from that State happened to have the command. As well might the salvation of the South be placed to the credit of the State of Rhode Island, because General Green was commander.

At the time those Resolutions were adopted, there were 13 militia companies in Mecklenburg and Cabarrus Counties, the practice was at company muster, each company elected two of their number as committee men, usually those for whom they had the most confidence in for intelligence. As well as I can remember, it was first practiced in the autumn of the year 1774, and had several meetings in the Winter and Spring previous to the meeting of May, 1775. The Committee were continued for 15 years after. What time they ceased is unknown to me. In the year 1789 and 1790, when

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I had the honor to represent this County, they usually met after the election and formed instructions to their Representatives in the General Assembly. You have several public laws on your Statute Book, that originated in those committees, that have never been repealed or amended in 45 years.

On taking a retrospective view for 60 years back, the difficulties, embarrassments and dangers, that were before us, and comparing it with the present flourishing and happy condition the country is now in—what great cause of gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. How many blessings we are and have been favored with, that in the common course of human events can not be attributed to any other cause.

Having merely glanced at the reminiscences of the Revolutionary War, all but the expedition to Wilmington in the fall of the year 1781, under the command of General Rutherford where a detachment of cavalry of 100, mostly from this County, and Rowan, at the Raft Swamp, charged and defeated upwards of 400 Tories, and at the Brick House opposite Wilmington, defeated a superior number to our own, a few days before the British evacuated Wilmington. This campaign was the last in which your militia was engaged in the Revolutionary War, and I think fully redeemed the pledge made by those fathers in their behalf on the 20th of May, 1775. The occurences of note which took place since that time, perhaps most of you who are advanced in life, remember.

The account of the celebration is given in full in General Joseph Graham and his Revolutionary Papers—it is from the Miners and Farmers Journal, Charlotte, N. C., May 22nd, 1835. The address is from the Western Carolinian, Salisbury, N. C., June 20th, 1835. I regret that I did not obtain it in time to put in the book.

W. A. GRAHAM.

Machpelah, N. C., Nov. 1st, 1905.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. V APRIL, 1906 No. 4

GOVERNOR THOMAS POLLOK.

BY MRS. JOHN W. HINSDALE.

The crest of a Stricken Boar, with the motto: "Strong and Stout," were conferred by James IV. of Scotland upon Pollok of Balgra, who saved the life of his sovereign, when he was attacked while hunting, by a furious wild boar. These arms have been honorably borne by his descendants since that time.

Thomas Pollok was born on the 6th day of March, 1864. He was the son of Thomas Pollok of Balgra, near Glasco, in County Renfrew, Scotland. His grandfather was Thomas, his great-grandfather was David Pollok, of Balgra, who married Margaret, a daughter of the Rev. Zachery Boyd, an eminent Scotch divine, who was born before 1590 and died in 1653, one year before the birth of his great-grandson.

Zachery Boyd was a professor in the University of Saumur, in France, until the persecutions of the Protestants in that country in 1621 forced him to return to Scotland. He was the author of many religious works, and in his will he bequeathed the sum of 20,000 pounds Scots to the University of Glasco, on the condition that his rhymical version of the Old Testament should be published by the faculty. The bequest was accepted and one volume of the work was printed. This book is now preserved in a glass case in the university, his stone bust surmounts the court gateway, while his portrait is in the Divinity Hall of this seat of learning.

The following is an example of the rude versification employed by Dr. Boyd:

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Pharaoh was a great rascal,
Because he would not let
The children of Israel
With their flocks and herds,
Wives and little ones,
Go three days' journey
Into the wilderness,
To keep the Paschal.

The writer is obliged to use modern spelling, as this couplet has been handed down by word of mouth, and was never seen in print.

Of the childhood of Thomas Pollok we know nothing, and but little of his early life. His elder brother James died when past middle age. His sister Margaret married her kinsman George Pollok, minister of Erskin, and his sister Helen married the Rev. David Robe, minister at Ballantree, who, after the accession of King William, moved with his family to Ireland.

Thomas Pollok landed in North Carolina on June 27, 1683. He came in the capacity of Deputy to Lord Carteret, one of the seven Lords Proprietors, to whom was granted by Charles II. on May 23, 1663, "all territory extending from the north of Luke Island, which lieth in the southern Virginian seas, southward as far as the river to St. Matthias, which bordereth upon the coast of Florida." (Col. Rec., vol. 1, p. 21.)

At this time the colony contained about five thousand inhabitants and was composed of a few settlements fringing the shores of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, and extending for a short distance on each side of the streams, which empty into these bodies of water.

At this time the fisheries were undeveloped, and with the exception of one grist mill, the inhabitants were without mechanical appliances. Many of the settlers pounded their grain in stone mortars, others were the happy possessors of hand-mills, which were so highly prized as to be bequeathed

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along with other personal property. Many of the houses were built of hewn logs and roofed with slabs, and as hardware was almost unattainable they were put together with wooden pins and the doors were hung on hinges of the same material; the chimneys were built of rough stone, which was brought as ballast in the ships from Barbadoes.

We know neither the size of Mr.. Pollok's house, nor the material of which it was made, but from his letters we find that he was surrounded with many of the comforts of life and by some of its elegancies; a silver ladle which belonged to him, and a great arm chair, made of walnut wood, in which he used to sit, are now the property of Mrs. John Devereux, of Raleigh.

About this time Boston plank was first imported, and the first brick were burned. In his will, Mr. Pollok left directions in regard to a house with brick chimneys and cellar, which was then in process of building for his son Cullen.

Great droves of hogs and cattle, which constituted the chief source of the wealth of the planters, roamed through the forests on the higher ground or "second lands," where they found abundant food in the wild fruits and mast, and in the natural herbage, which were produced in such quantities that no further supplies were needed. The winters were then, as now, so mild that no shelter was needed. The only care necessary was that they should be marked by cutting the ears. This was done at stated intervals, each planter having his own device; that adopted by Mr. Pollok was a "swallow fork and keel" (a notch and a crescent), and this mark was used by his descendants until after the Civil War. To change or to deface these marks was an offense severely punished by law. The soil was wonderfully productive, great crops of corn being raised in the river bottoms, or "low grounds."

As transportation with wheeled vehicles was impossible, each plantation had its water front, with wharves and landings, and each planter was the owner of many canoes, besides

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one or more vessels; some of these were small and only used locally, while others were of sufficient size to make the voyage to Boston and to the West Indies, and even sometimes to cross the ocean.

As there were no towns of sufficient size to serve as depots for the products of the colony, the mercantile transactions were principally in the hands of New England traders, who would visit the plantations, bringing their cargoes almost to the doors of the planters. As coin was scarce, they had recourse to a system of barter, exchanging their imported wares for skins, salt beef and pork, tallow, staves and tar, the Assembly having fixed a money value upon each of these rated commodities. These New Englanders also sold both negro and Indian slaves, Mr. Pollok's heirs owning many descendants of Narraganset Indians bought from these traders.

Many of the colonists were men of refinement and culture, as is shown by the chirography and diction of their letters, wills, etc. Some of them had left their homes for political reasons, and others were younger sons whom a spirit of adventure had prompted to seek their fortunes in a new land. As the plantations embraced great bodies of land, communication between their owners was often difficult, yet a pleasant social intercourse was kept up. Many were the gatherings beneath the hospitable roofs, and around the cheerful firesides, where the gentlemen enjoyed their "bumbo," or rum punch, and the ladies sipped their milder cups of tea and chocolate. Into this charmed circle Mr. Pollok was welcomed, and soon became prominent, both socially and in the government of the colony.

Being a strong churchman, he was one of the organizers of St. Paul's Parish, Edenton (then called Queen Anne's Creek). The first vestry met at the house of Mr. Thomas Gilliam, December 12, 1701, when Mr. Pollok was made a vestryman, and steps were at once taken to build the first

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church ever erected in North Carolina. It was a wooden building, "twenty-five feet long, posts in the ground and held to the cellar beams." (Col. Rec., vol. 1, p. 543.) It stood upon an acre of land given by Mr. Edward Smithwick, near the present site of Hays, once the historic home of the Johnston family. The first service was held in this church in January, 1703, yet the building was not completed until 1705. The delay was caused by the difficulty in procuring competent workmen, and also by the want of hinges, nails, screws, etc., needed for the interior finishing, which articles had to be brought from England. Mr. Pollok was also made church warden, but declined the position, preferring to pay the tax imposed for so doing, rather than perform the duties of the office.

"At a vestry meet of 29th day of September, 1705," Mr. Henry Gerrard was chosen minister to Chowan district, the church wardens agreeing to pay him 30 pounds sterling per annum besides voluntary contributions. The following amounts were given:

	L.	S.	D.
Col. Thomas Pollok	5	0	0
Wm. Duckingfield, Esq	4	0	0
John Arden, Esq	3	0	0
Mr. Edward Mosley	5	0	0
Capt. Thomas Luten	1	0	0
Mr. Nicholas Crisp	1	5	0
Mr. Edward Smithwick	1	0	0
Mr. John Blount	1	0	0
Mr. William Banbery	0	8	0
Mr. Matt. Chevin	1	0	0
John Wheatley	0	10	0
Richard Rose	0	10	0
John Linnington	0	15	0
Capt. David Henderson	0	20	0
Henry Bonner	0	10	0

As Mr. Gerrard proved unworthy to fill this sacred office, he was removed, to be succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Gordon. Mr. Pollok wrote to the Lords Proprietors thanking them

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for the appointment of this good man to be minister to the colony.

Before 1690, when Mr. Pollok returned to Scotland for a brief period, he had acquired great bodies of land lying along the Roanoke, Chowan and Trent Rivers. He resided sometimes on his plantation Balgra, near Queen Anne's Creek, and sometimes on another plantation called Salmon Creek. This year he was married to Mistress Martha West, widow of Robert West, Esq., and "daughter of Thomas Cullen, Esq., at Dover." She was the mother of his four children and died in 1701. Late in life he married Mistress Esther Wilkinson, whom he survived; there were no children by this marriage. He was a tender and a judicious father, sending his children to England that they might be educated as became their birth and station, thus fitting them for the high positions which they were to fill in after life. His eldest son, Thomas, succeeded his father as deputy to two of the Lords Proprietors. He was also surveyor-general to the colony and afterwards its Chief Justice. His second son, Cullen, entered the English army and served in the Low Countries under the Duke of Cumberland, holding the rank of Major at the battle of Fontenoy. Late in life he returned to Carolina and married, but left no sons.

George, the third son, married Sarah Swann. They left no children.

His daughter Martha married the Rev. Thomas Bray, who was sent to the colony as a missionary by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. Dr. Bray was a man of much learning and was the first to found a public library in North Carolina. He is also entitled to the honor of having originated the first systematic movement of the Church of England in the work of missions. (Hawks Hist. of N. C., vol. 2, page 339.)

Mrs. Bray died in 1719 without children.

After Culpepper's rebellion, Seth Stothel was appointed

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Governor of North Carolina. On the voyage from England his ship was taken by pirates and he was held a prisoner for some months. Pehaps it was from his Algerian captors that he acquired a thorough contempt for justice and virtue, for during the six years in which he misruled North Carolina his character showed not a single redeeming trait; no one was safe from his rapacity and cruelty. He unjustly imprisoned Mr. Pollok without permitting him to see the cause of his "mittimus." For this and for still more heinous crimes he was severely reprimanded by the Lords Proprietors, yet was allowed to remain in office. Finally the patience of the people was exhausted and they seized upon him in order to send him to England, but he prayed that he might be tried by the next Assembly. This was accordingly done, and his judges decreed that he should immediately resign his government and depart the country in twelve months. (Williamson's Hist. of N. C., vol. 1, page 141.)

He was succeeded by Sir Philip Ludwell, who held office for four years. At the end of this time, 1694, Thomas Harvey was appointed Governor, and he at once made Mr. Pollok one of his council. For the next thirty years Mr. Pollok held office in the colony, both civil and military, being for a long period Major-General of its forces. It is true these were but a handful of men, ununiformed, undisciplined, and often unpaid, yet under the valiant leadership of their commander they saved the colony from destruction.

The period from 1708 to 1711, known as the "Cary Rebellion," was a time of chaos in North Carolina. The trouble arose from the negligence on Cary's part to render an account to the Lords Proprietors of the quit-rents accruing while he held the office of collector, as well as that of governor; he was superseded by William Glover, to whose authority he at first submitted, but soon after listened to bad advice and attempted to resume the government with an armed force. The citizens in general not caring to commit themselves to either

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party, "for two years and upwards there was no law, no justice, assembly or judicature, so that people did and said as they list." (Prefatory notes to C. R., vol. 1, page 28.) Mr. Pollok strongly opposed the Cary faction, but as he was unable to resist its power, he sought refuge in Virginia for the six months in which it held sway, returning to North Carolina upon the arrival of Governor Hyde in August, 1711.

Both sides now resorted to arms, and Cary attacked Queen Anne's Creek in hopes of carrying off the Governor in his brigantine, then lying in the Sound, but was repulsed without loss of life, and Governor Spottswood sending troops from Virginia, the rebels soon dispersed.

Mr. Pollok administered the oath of office to Governor Hyde "Friday ye ninth day of May, Ano. Di. 1712," being the same day confirmed in his office as deputy to John, Lord Carteret, son to Sir George Carteret, one of the original Lords Proprietors (C. R., vol. 1, p. 811).

On the ninth of September of the same year, Governor Hyde died of yellow fever, and on the twelfth Maj.-Gen. Pollok was unanimously chosen Governor pro tem. The position of Governor had already been tendered to him several times. An extract from a letter to the Lords Proprietors, dated September 20, 1712, says: "The real desire to serve her majesty, your lordships, and the poor people here, with the importunity of the council, has forced me to accept of the administration at this time when the country seems to labor under insuperable difficulties when in more peaceable times I have refused it. And I assure your lordships that I will faithfully and truly serve you to the uttermost of my power and knowledge until you are pleased to appoint some other. In the meantime, I think it is my duty, as briefly as I can, to lay before you the true state of the country." (Pollok's letter book, Hawks' Hist. of N. C., vol. 2, p. 407.)

At this time the condition of the colony was most precarious; not only was it torn by internal dissensions, distressed

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by a succession of bad crops, and crippled by an insufficient currency, but it was constantly threatened by a repetition of the Indian invasion, which had begun the previous year on the 11th of September with the massacre of all the white settlers south of Albemarle Sound. This day was long observed, by order of the Assembly, as a day of fasting and prayer.

Through the courage, firmness and moderation of Governor Pollok, the distressed colony was safely steered through these perils; with a cool head and a steady hand he put down the machinations of the Quakers, who refused to bear arms for the general defense, yet sedulously stirred up strife among their neighbors, thus adding to the already troubled state of affairs. Governor Pollok wrote to Lord Carteret on September 20th, 1712: "Governor Hyde has labored under great difficulties by the divisions and differences amongst the inhabitance, and by the Indian War, all of which, I believe, I may truly declare hath been directly occasioned by . . . and some few evil-disposed persons, with the whole body of Quakers, who joined them, and were their instruments to stir up Col. Cary to act as he did; and albeit these Quakers were very active in persuading and assisting the people to rise for Col. Cary, against Governor Hyde, yet now in this Indian war wherein Neuse and Pamlico are in great danger to be greatly deserted, yet they will neither assist themselves nor suffer others and will not so much as send their arms to those who are willing to go, and, as I am credibly informed, hide them for fear of their being pressed. So that now we labor under these difficulties following . . . chiefly by these Quakers, and some few evil-disposed persons, who have been a plague to this government these four or five years past and who may be easily known by Governor Hyde's reiterated complaints against them to your lordships." (Pollok Mss. Hawks' Hist. of N. C., vol. 2, p. 411.)

Every resource was now called into action, and the Quakers were temporarily frightened into a state of quiescence, while

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the manhood of the colony gathered around their intrepid leader. Assisted by an armed force from South Carolina under Colonel Barnwell, the Carolinians defeated the Indians in battle and captured their forts, thus rendering them comparatively harmless.

On November 25, 1712, a treaty of peace was signed between Governor Pollok, on the one side, and Tom Blount, Chief of the Tuscaroras, and five of his braves, on the other, by which the whites bound themselves to allow certain privileges to this tribe, to protect them from the inroads of the Cores and Mattamuskeets, their enemies; and also that their chief should henceforth be called "King Blount." While the red men promised to abstain from all acts of hostility, to give warning of any threatened invasion, to remain on their own lands and never to cross Contechney Creek, without blowing a horn, to attract the attention of the near settlers, and so obtain their permission to cross this boundary. This agreement was honorably respected by both parties, and thus was the colony saved from years of bloodshed and disaster. The original of this treaty with the signature of Governor Pollok and the tokens and marks of the Indians is now owned by Mrs. John Devereux, and can be seen in the Hall of History, Raleigh, N. C.

Soon after this an Indian belonging to the Five Nations was captured along with a hunting party from another tribe, who were strongly suspected of being on the war-path. Under the law which then existed the captive became the slave of the captor. As the evil intentions of this band could not be proved, and as the colony was at this time at peace with the Five Nations, Governor Pollok purchased the Indian at his private expense and sent him by sea, with a letter to Governor Schuyler of New York, asking that he be restored to his people.

During the winter of 1712-'13, when the forces under Colonel Barnwell wintered in North Carolina, so great was

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the scarcity of food in parts of the settlement, and so poor were the means of transportation, that it was impossible to collect at any one point a sufficient amount of provisions with which to feed the troops, and they were therefore divided into small parties, which were quartered in different localities wherever supplies were most abundant. To such straits was the colony reduced, before it readjusted itself under the leadership of this executive man.

In 1710, Christopher Baron DeGraffenreid, assisted by Colonel Mitchell, a Swiss gentleman, brought into the colony a number of Swiss and Palatins, six hundred souls all told, whom he settled near New Bern, promising to give to each family 250 acres of land, to furnish their farming implements, and for two years to supply them with necessary food and clothing. These immigrants were a simple and an industrious people, who, had they prospered, would have made for themselves comfortable and happy homes on the rich lands of Carolina, where the forests were full of game, the swamps and water-courses teemed with wild fowl and fish, and where a grain of corn dropped into the earth returned an hundred fold. No doubt De Graffenreid and his associate were honest in their intentions towards these unfortunate people, but disaster had marked them for her own. Internal dissensions, sickness, poverty and attacks from blood-thirsty Indians proved their ruin, and although large sums of money were advanced by Governor Pollok from his private purse and other material aid given by him, the settlement was broken up, and its members scattered amongst neighboring plantations. Many of the names of these people can still be found in Craven and the adjacent counties. Among the Pollok papers are many notes of hand and renewals, bearing the signature of Christopher De Graffenreid. An account of these transactions will be found in the Pollok letter book (C. R., vol. 2, p. 166).

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Charles Eden was appointed Governor, on May 4, 1714, on which day Governor Pollok retired from office, and for the ensuing eight years lived on his plantations, devoting himself to his private interests, to those of the Lords Carteret and Beaufort, to whom he held the part of deputy for forty years, and in assisting the administration in every way in his power.

Upon the death of Governor Eden in 1722, the Assembly for the second time called upon Mr. Pollok to fill the executive chair. He was the first governor to hold two terms of office.

At this time he was sixty-eight years of age, not an old man, but no doubt enfeebled by the harassing cares and anxieties of his arduous life, yet he did not shrink from this renewed responsibility and entered at once upon the duties of his position. Six months later he was attacked by fever, which is said to have been aggravated by fresh annoyance from the Quakers, who had never ceased to cause him trouble. He died in office on August 30, 1722, having given the best years of his life to his adopted country. He was buried by the side of Martha, his wife, on his plantation Balgra, near the Roanoke River. Here they rested until about 1891, when the river had changed its course to such an extent as to undermine its banks and thus endanger the graves; the remains were therefore removed to St. Paul's churchyard, Edenton, as that was thought to be the fittest resting place for one of its founders.

Mr. Pollok's will shows that he bequeathed to his three sons, Thomas, Cullen and George, fifty-five thousand acres of land, including that on which the city of New Bern now stands, besides a large amount of personal property.

The eldest son, Thomas, married Elizabeth Sanderson, daughter of Col. Richard Sanderson, of Pasquotank, at whose house the first Colonial Assembly was held.

Cullen married, but left no sons.

George married Sarah Swan, and died childless.

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Thomas Pollok and Elizabeth Sanderson left three sons—Thomas, Cullen and George. The last-named died an infant. Cullen married Anne Boothe, of Bath, England; there were many children by this marriage, all of whom died in infancy.

Thomas married Eunice Edwards, daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, of Connecticut. They had four children —Elizabeth, Thomas, Frances, and George.

Elizabeth married and died childless.

Thomas died in Italy in 1803. He was never married.

George will be hereafter mentioned.

Frances married John Devereux, Esq. They had three children, the Hon. Thomas Pollok Devereux, who was the father of the late Maj. John Devereux, Frances who married the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, and George Devereux, Esq., who married Miss Johnson of Connecticutt.

George Pollok, son of Eunice Edwards and Thomas Pollok, and great-grandson of Governor Pollok, was killed by a fall from his horse in June, 1836. He was the last descendant to bear the name of Pollok.

This genealogy is taken from the family Bible, and also from an affidavit of Mrs. Eunice Pollok, made in 1820, in a suit involving the title to a tract of land which was decided in her favor.

The writer, who is in the seventh generation from Governor Pollok, has retained the original spelling of the name as found in the family Bible and in the private papers and letter-book of Governor Pollok.

Thanks are due to Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood for valuable references.

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THE BATTLE OF COWAN'S FORD—THE PASSAGE OF THE CATAWBA RIVER BY LORD CORNWALLIS, FEBRUARY 1, 1781.

BY MAJOR WILLIAM A. GRAHAM.

When General Greene succeeded General Gates in the command of the Southern Army at Charlotte, December, 1780, he, with the main portion of the army, took position near Cheraw, S. C., to antagonize any movement of the enemy from Charleston or from Winnsboro into North Carolina. General Morgan, with whom was Colonel Washington and some of the North Carolina militia under Maj. Joseph McDowell, of Burke County, was placed between Cornwallis and the "loyalist" settlements of Tryon County and contiguous Tory territory in South Carolina. It was expected that McDowell, if necessity required, could be reinforced by other "over-the-mountain men." These men seem to have been almost unanimously true to the American cause, and promptly responded to all calls for service. When they left home there were none left behind to annoy their families or pillage their property.. Morgan was about equidistant from Cornwallis at Winnsboro and the British post at Ninety-Six (so called from its distance from Charleston), and could move to annoy either as occasion required. For a central army connecting with these two wings, General Greene relied upon the militia of Rowan and Mecklenburg, reinforced by that portion of Tryon County men who were true to the cause of liberty. These men, although not as numerous as could have been desired, were as patriotic as any in the colonies, and answered every call to service, notwithstanding that in doing so they left their property and families exposed to the depredations of their Tory neighbors.

The militia of these counties were divided into "details" or assignments; one of which was called into service as occasion

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demanded, for generally terms of three months and not to serve again until each of the other assignments had served a term. But when the enemy appeared in the adjacent territory the militia was called out "en masse" and they generally responded without claiming exemptions due for other service either as militia or in the "Line."

History of the Revolution does not show any people equal to the inhabitants of these counties in service in the struggle for independence—they were in fact soldiers cantonned upon their own families, ready to immediately respond to a call to service and to provide their own findings; in clothes, arms and ammunition. When notice was received, while the horse "ate a bite" the man cleaned his gun, "ran" some bullets and greased his patching; while the wife or mother cooked some rations, which no doubt included a few pies—a ration very popular with the citizens of that time and still much enjoyed by their descendants of the third and fourth generations. They would not remain in camp unless a fight was immediately on hand, but returned home, with or without leave, as soon as the enemy disappeared from the front or a battle had been fought. The reinforcements going to Ramsaur's Mill met participants in the fight returning home within an hour after the close of the action, two miles from the scene. Colonel Davie could never keep over a third of his numbers available unless he could assure them that there would be a fight in a day or two.

General Greene immediately ordered General Davidson to call a detail of the militia into service for three months. General Davidson commanded the militia of the district (Salisbury), and assumed direct command of the detachments in service. General Davie had heretofore recruited and commanded the cavalry deemed necessary to act with the militia; he had accepted the position of Commissary-General; the term of service of his last command had expired in November.

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General Davidson, in January, when it became evident that Cornwallis was about to begin his campaign, proposed to Adjutant Joseph Graham to raise the necessary cavalry command; promising him such rank as commanding officer as the number of men recruited would justify. In a short time he had enlisted from among the young men, most of whom had served one or more terms of service, fifty-six; only five of whom were married. These men were to furnish their own horses, arms and accoutrements, and upon serving six weeks were to be credited with a three-months' tour. The swords and scabbards were made principally by the smiths and shoemakers of the vicinity in which the men lived. They no doubt when formed in line presented an appearance similar to that of some of their descendants in the commencement of hostilities in 1861. Most of them had rifles, and they were prepared for action either mounted or on foot. The first move of Cornwallis was to destroy Morgan's force, or to push it before him out of South Carolina so as to prevent him, if further reinforced by the "over-the-mountain men," from capturing the post of Ninety-Six and subduing the Tories in that section. For this purpose he dispatched Colonel Tarleton.

In the battle of Cowpens, January 17th, Morgan defeated Tarleton, killing ten officers and ninety men and capturing twenty-three officers and five hundred men—the casualties being about two-thirds of Tarleton's force. In his "Campaigns," Tarleton attributes his defeat to Lord Cornwallis not moving his army up Broad River, as he had requested and expected him to do, so as to be in supporting distance. The place was called Cowpens, being a point where "the range" cattle were annually gathered that the calves might be marked with the ear-mark of the owner of the mother. Cornwallis, being nearer the fords of the Catawba than Morgan, now endeavored to anticipate him in reaching that

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river—but being uncertain as to the route Morgan would pursue, delayed by swollen streams, and thinking he would pursue one of the most direct routes, moved so as to change his course as information he might receive would require. He reached Ramsaur's Mill (Lincolnton) on the afternoon of the 24th and, having about abandoned the idea of overtaking Morgan, remained there, collecting a supply of breadstuffs and grain, three days. Before leaving this point he reduced his wagon train to the lowest amount that could accommodate his army, and destroyed all surplus baggage and wagons. The loss of the six hundred men at Cowpens, which was equal to at least a sixth of his available force,—aided in the reduction of transportation necessary for his command.

Tarleton gives this account of the transaction: "Earl Cornwallis reduced the size and quantity of his own baggage and his laudable example was followed by general and other officers under his command." The surplus baggage and wagons were burned. After the battle of Cowpens, Morgan, perhaps to avoid delays which might be incurred on account of swollen streams, passed around the mountains that divide the headwaters of the South Fork from those of the main Catawba, and through the present site of Morganton and arrived at the present location of Maiden, only ten miles from Cornwallis, on the 25th. After this he was not over twenty miles distant from him until he crossed the Catawba. Upon learning of Cornwallis' position he committed the prisoners to Colonel Washington and the militia, who turned to the left, and crossed the Catawba at Island Ford.

Morgan, with his immediate command, taking the Sherrill's Ford road, which placed him between Washington and Cornwallis, crossed the Catawba at Sherrill's Ford on the afternoon of the 30th of January. After crossing the river Washington turned down the stream and united with Morgan's forces. The militia with the prisoners passed on, by way of Statesville and probably to Salem by Shallow Ford, and

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thence to Virginia. I have never seen a statement as to the route pursued. Morgan and Washington's troops followed the Sherrill's Ford road to Salisbury. Cornwallis reached the Catawba at Beattie's Ford on the afternoon of the 28th, and says he found the river too swollen to cross and retired about four miles to the plantation of Jacob Forney, a wealthy farmer and prominent Whig, (the place is now owned by Mrs. Sallie Hall—near it stands the rock, about six feet long, three wide and two high, which Cornwallis used as a table, and which has since been known as "Cornwallis' table"), where he had been directed by a Tory (Deck) of the vicinity as a place that provisions could be had. When Cornwallis left the country, Forney sought for Deck and informed him that he would kill him, but upon Deck's entreaty and promise to leave the State, he permitted him to emigrate. As to the swollen condition of the river, General Graham says: "It was not more flush than usual at this season and that it was fordable from a week before until two days after this; that General Davidson's cavalry frequently crossed it during these days." Some historians have Cornwallis pursuing Morgan and arriving at Sherrill's Ford a very short time (a few hours) after Morgan had crossed, and finding the river had suddenly risen and enabled him to escape. The Yadkin on account of the rain on the 1st rose on the 2d and 3d of February so that, although Morgan's forces and some other troops had crossed that day, General O'Hara found some militia unable to cross, with whom there was an engagement that afternoon. It is confusion of these two points that causes error as to the condition of the Catawba.

Beattie's Ford, while the best Ford on the river, has always had a deep current near each bank, which a very slight rise causes to be too deep for wagons to cross without getting their contents wet. The road at this time went above the island

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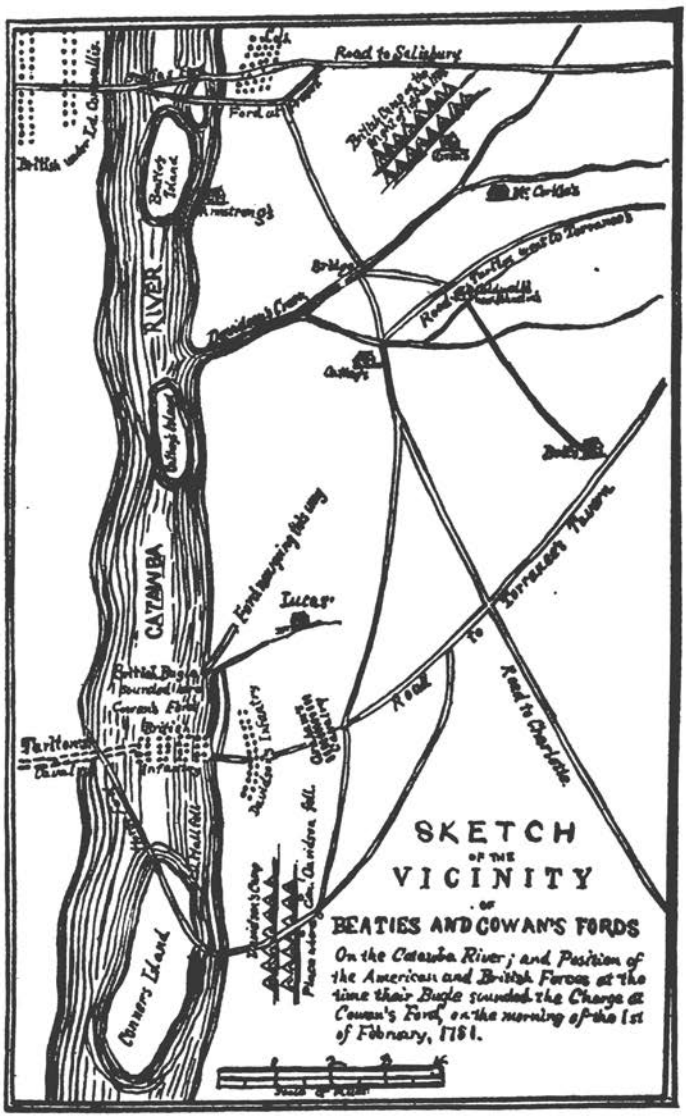

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and was probably deeper than now at the east bank (see map). Cornwallis' train had a large quantity of flour which had just been procured at Ramsaur's Mill; it was probably in order to preserve this that he delayed his crossing, or perhaps finding the public fords guarded, delayed to find passage by a private one. Cornwallis informed Tarleton before the campaign opened that he would cross "at some public ford above Tuckasegee." Toole's was the only one between Tuckasegee and Beattie's, and when Cornwallis learned that Morgan had escaped, he naturally turned to Beattie's for the passage of his artillery and provision train. It was the most suitable for this purpose. General Davidson, upon the approach of Cornwallis, made disposition of his forces to oppose his crossing. He placed at Tuckasegee two hundred militia under Col. John Williams, of Surrey County; at Toole's seventy men under Captain Potts, of Mecklenburg; at Cowan's, twenty-five under Lieut. Thomas Davidson, of Mecklenburg. Trees were felled and fortifications erected at Toole's and Tuckasegee. At Beattie's he assembled the Mecklenburg infantry under Col. William Polk; the Orange militia under Colonel Farmer; and the Rowan militia, also Graham's company of cavalry. Orange County seems to have been the only troops from a distance who had promptly responded; the others under Butler and Eaton not joining General Greene until a day or two before the battle of Guilford Court-house. Graham's cavalry crossed at Beattie's Ford on January 30th, and ascertained that the enemy were at Forney's. Their cavalry was at Colonel Black's, within two miles of the ford.

General Greene, learning of the movements of Cornwallis, ordered the forces at Cheraw to immediately proceed to Beattie's Ford. He went in advance, directing General Davidson to notify General Morgan and Colonel Washington that he wished to meet them at Beattie's Ford on the afternoon of January 31st, perhaps naming the hour. They arrived at

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the appointed place at two o'clock, and in ten minutes General Greene and his aide, Major Pierce, rode up. These, with General Davidson, retired out of camp, took a seat on a log, and after twenty minutes' conference, Morgan and Washington departed by a route that led to their command under General Howard. General Greene went direct to Salisbury. Why General Greene did not order these troops to Beattie's Ford I have never seen suggested by any one. The five hundred men under Howard and Washington were a more efficient force than all Davidson's command. He writes at Beattie's Ford a most earnest appeal to Col. Francis Locke to assemble the Rowan militia en masse; chides the militia for slow response to General Davidson's call, and tells him that the "Continental army is marching with all possible dispatch from the Pee Dee (Cheraw) to this place." Then why not bring Morgan and Washington, one or both, as reinforcements? Colonel Locke did not get his men organized in time to meet Cornwallis at Beattie's Ford, but we find him in his front when he leaves Salisbury on February 4th. There was no more meritorious officer than Francis Locke in the war. The cause of the slow response was probably the aversion of the men to camp life and the uncertainty as to when there would be an engagement. Wheeler states that Morgan was dissatisfied with the route General Greene insisted he should take on his retreat, and when the forces were all united at Guilford Court-house Morgan retired from service before the battle and went to his farm in Virginia. He either wished to join the prisoners via Salem or to come to Beattie's Ford, as he followed the only remaining route via Salisbury; to connect with which Howard was moving when he came to meet Greene. While the American officers were in consultation, a detachment of some four or five hundred British appeared on the hills on the west side of the river, and the officers

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seemed to be viewing the American position through spy-glasses. This was thought to be Cornwallis and his staff. Shortly after General Greene left, General Davidson ordered the Mecklenburg militia, under Colonel Polk, and Graham's cavalry to move to Cowan's Ford, leaving Colonel Farmer in command of the forces at Beattie's Ford. General Greene told General Davidson that he thought that "the enemy intended to cross the river; that the cavalry would probably be passed by some private ford that night, and in the morning when the infantry attempted a passage, would attack the forces at the point in the rear." He ordered that patrols of those best acquainted with the country should be maintained all night between Beattie's and Tuckasegee fords, and any discovery of the enemy be reported immediately to headquarters. The troops arrived at Cowan's Ford after dark and too late to examine positions.

"The river here is supposed to be about four hundred yards wide, of different depths and rocky bottom. That called the wagon ford went directly across and was at that time generally used for the passage of vehicles. At the eastern shore the road turns down the river and winds up the point of the ridge in order to graduate the ascent. Above the coming out place a flat piece of ground not much higher than the water; overgrown with haw and persimmon bushes and bambo briars; five or six yards wide extends up the river about thirty-one poles to the mouth of a small branch and a deep ravine. Outside of this the bank rises thirty or forty feet at an angle of thirty degrees of elevation; then the ascent is more gradual."

The "horse ford" (which is now more generally used, in fact almost universally for both horses and vehicles) "comes in on the west at the same place as the 'wagon'; goes obliquely to the right down the river about two thirds of the way across, to the upper point of a large island, thence through the island and across the other third of the river to the end of a rocky

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hill. This way is longer but much shallower and smoother, and reaches the bank about a fourth of a mile below the wagon route." General Davidson thought that if the enemy attempted to cross here it would be by way of the horse ford, and placed Colonel Polk with the Mecklenburg militia and Graham's cavalry upon the hill which overlooks it. Lieutenant Davidson, with his picket, remained at his station about forty steps above the wagon ford. Cornwallis, by patrols finding that all the principal fords were occupied by Americans, used Tory guides and spies to ascertain the condition of the private fords; and determined to cross his first force at Cowan's (McCowan's, he and Tarleton call it) while making a demonstration with his other force at Beattie's. It will be recollected that up to dark of the night before only Lieutenant Davidson and twenty-five men were here and they were at the wagon ford. This was probably the last information he received before reaching the river. He says: "I approached the river by short marches so as to give the enemy equal apprehension for several fords, and after having procured the best information in my power, I resolved to attempt the passage at a private ford then slightly guarded near McCowan's Ford."

This would indicate that his intention was to have crossed by the wagon ford where there was no opposing force at his last report; not having learned of the moving of General Davidson with the Mecklenburg troops from Beattie's to Cowan's Ford, as they did not reach position until after dark. Upon reaching the river he says: "It was evident from the number of fires on the other side that there would be greater opposition than I had expected." He probably, as the fires upon the hill at the horse ford were so much more numerous than at the wagon, concluded at once to travel the latter route, and did not do so, as Steadman says, because the "guide fled in the middle of the stream," and he determined to go directly

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across. This would have landed him about half way between the out-go of the fords and where there was no road up the bank of the river. The fords separated as soon as the river was entered and the guide took him by the wagon ford from bank to bank (see map).

Having ordered Colonel Webster to move with his command and the wagon train, so as to be at Beattie's Ford, six miles above Cowan's, by daylight, and "to make every possible demonstration" of intention to force a passage, as soon as he heard firing at Cowan's, Cornwallis, at 1 o'clock a. m., February 1st, took up line of march for Cowan's with following force, viz., brigade of guards, regiment of Bose, 23d Regiment, two hundred cavalry under Tarleton, and two three-pounders. Part of the way a new road was cut, and on account of darkness one cannon was overturned and part of the troops losing the line of march were delayed. The head of the column reached the river as "day began to break." Cornwallis determined to move on immediately without waiting for arrival of the delayed troops. He committed the immediate command to General O'Hara. This has caused the error of General Graham and others that Cornwallis personally did not cross here, but at Beattie's. Orders were not to fire until they gained the opposite bank. Fred Hager, a Tory who lived in the neighborhood, was guide. General O'Hara formed his command in column of fours, muskets with fixed bayonets carried upon the left shoulder and cartridge boxes upon the same shoulder; each footman had a staff about eight feet long, which he used when necessary to support himself against the rapidity of the current, the water being waist deep and sometimes deeper. The infantry was in front, the Brigade Guards leading and Tarleton's cavalry bringing up the rear. On account of the fog Lieutenant Davidson's picket did not perceive the enemy until they were one hundred yards in the water. The picket immediately

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opened fire. General Davidson formed at the horse ford and ordered Graham to move rapidly to reinforce Lieutenant Davidson; by the time they reached the point, tied their horses and went into action the enemy were within fifty yards of the bank. The effect of their fire was visible and the front ranks looked thin. They halted; Colonel Hall, the first man to appear mounted, was about one hundred yards from the bank and came pressing forward, giving orders. The column again moved forward. Thomas Barnett, one of Graham's men, by a well-aimed shot, unhorsed Colonel Hall and at the same time a shot from some one else threw his horse; several soldiers went to his aid and brought him to land. Notwithstanding the fire was steadily continued the enemy pressed on. As each section reached the shore the men dropped their poles and brought their muskets and cartridge boxes to proper position; faced to the left and moved up the narrow strip of low ground, so that the others as they landed could form on their right. They immediately began to load and fire up the bank. The Americans gave back, and upon loading would advance to the summit of the hill, thirty steps from the enemy and fire. General Davidson, arriving upon the scene and finding Graham's Cavalry in the position he wished the infantry to occupy, also impressed with General Greene's opinion that the enemy's cavalry would attack him in the rear, ordered Graham to retire, mount his men and form on the ridge two hundred yards in his rear, in order to meet any attack in that quarter.

As the cavalry moved off the infantry took their places, and the fire became brisk upon both sides. The enemy moved steadily forward, their fire increasing until their left reached the mouth of the branch; thirty poles from the ford. The ravine was too steep to be passed. The rear of their infantry and front of their cavalry was about the middle of the river; when the bugle sounded on their left, their fire slackened and

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nearly ceased; they were loading their pieces. In about a minute it sounded again, when their whole line from the ford to the branch advanced up the bank with their arms at a trail. The hill was so steep in many places that they had to pull up by the bushes. General Davidson, finding them advancing with loaded arms, ordered a retreat down the river for one hundred yards—the fire being so severe he continued his retreat fifty yards further, and ordered his men to renew the battle taking position behind the trees—the enemy was advancing slowly and firing scatteringly when General Davidson was pierced by a ball and fell dead from his horse..

The militia immediately broke and fled through the thickets to avoid the enemy's cavalry: Graham's cavalry retired in good order and preserved their formation. General Davidson was shot by a small rifle ball, and supposed to be by the Tory guide Fred Hager, as he owned a gun of that description, and the British had none of this kind. Cornwallis' horse was shot and fell dead as he emerged from the river. On February 2nd Cornwallis, in general orders returns his thanks to the "Brigade of Guards for their cool and determined bravery in the passage of the Catawba while rushing through that long and difficult ford under a galling fire." The American loss beside General Davidson was Robert Beatty, of Graham's Cavalry, James Scott, of Lieutenant Davidson's picket, and one of the militia. The British admit a loss of Colonel Hall and three privates killed and thirty-six privates wounded. General Graham says an official statement in the Charleston Gazette two months afterwards, states the killed to have been Colonel Hall and another officer and twenty-nine privates, total, thirty-one; and thirty-five wounded. The number of dead in this account may be too large, and it is hardly probable that any officer beside Colonel Hall was killed, as he was buried by himself, unless he was among several dead who were found on fish traps just below

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the ford and on rocks and brush along the banks, and whom Cornwallis may not have counted. The dead of both armies were buried on the hill, near the field of battle, except General Davidson whose body was not discovered by the enemy. Upon effecting his crossing Cornwallis directed Tarleton to go immediately to Webster's assistance by attacking Farmer in the rear—but learning that the Americans had retired from Beattie's Ford he dispatched him to gain information of their movements.

A tree marking the place where General Davidson fell is still shown. He was buried that night by torchlight at Hopewell Church. For many years the grave of Colonel Hall was marked by the rocks at the head and feet, but the river has covered it with sand in its overflows and the knowledge of the exact location has been lost.

The changing of position of Graham's Cavalry before the infantry had occupied their position and become actively engaged seems to be the mistake of the action and the advantage thus gained by the enemy could not be overcome. It would also seem that if the approach of the enemy could have been discerned in time to have placed the militia at the wagon ford, they would have been seriously crippled if not defeated, but Cornwallis did not change the route he intended to cross and of which Davidson had been apprised, until he discerned by the fires that the horse ford was well protected.

Webster was on time at Beattie's Ford, and as soon as he heard firing at Cowan's opened with his artillery and sent a company into the river who fired several rounds. The Americans suffered no loss as they were masked by the point of the hill—the ford then coming out on the eastern bank some distance above present place. (See map.) The firing of the cannon and platoons of musketry at Beattie's Ford reverberated down the river and across the country—it could be heard for a distance of twenty-five miles by the families and

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friends of the Americans in the engagement. Colonel Farmer being notified by an aide of General Davidson that the enemy had crossed, retired toward Salisbury. The pickets at other points on the river were notified and retired to Jno. McKitt Alexander's that afternoon, eight miles from Charlotte, and by noon on the 2d of February all who still remained for service were collected at Harris' Mill on Rocky River.

Cornwallis thus without serious loss had overcome one of the most formidable obstacles in his route. That night he united his forces at Given's farm, two miles from Beattie's Ford, and again assumed command. He had been in pursuit of Morgan since the battle of Cowpens—but never struck his trail until February 3rd, about sixteen miles from Salisbury, where the road from Sherrill's intersects that from Beattie's Ford.

I deem it unnecessary to refer in this connection to the "Henry pamphlet" concerning this battle. Reference is made to it in Gen. Jos. Graham and his Revolutionary Papers, the quotations in this paper from the British commanders corroborate General Graham's statements even more fully.

Authorities:

Gen. Joseph Graham and his Revolutionary Papers.

Tarleton's Campaign, 1780 and 1781, in the Southern Provinces of North America.

Hunter's Sketches of Western North Carolina.

Wheeler's History of North Carolina.

Colonial Records.

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FIRST SETTLERS IN NORTH CAROLINA NOT RELIGIOUS REFUGEES.

A STUDY IN ORIGINS.

BY RT. REV. JOSEPH BLOUNT CHESHIRE, D.D.
(Bishop of North Carolina.)

All the local histories of North Carolina, and such of the general histories of the United States as have treated particularly of our affairs, agree in the statement that the first settlers on the north side of Albemarle Sound were Quakers and other religious refugees, fleeing from the intolerance of Churchmen in Virginia and of the Puritans in New England. Williamson, Martin, Wheeler, Hawks, Moore, are at one with Bancroft thus far, that the first settlers sought in North Carolina a haven of rest from religious persecution. It is not hard to understand how such a theory originated, and obtained popular acceptance, in times long subsequent to the settlement. It is not easy, however, to understand how such an account should have been accepted, and solemnly repeated from mouth to mouth, by men who have professed to give us history from the original documents and authorities.

It fell to the lot of the present writer, in a brief pamphlet published early in 1886, to challenge this accepted theory, and to point out how contemporary witnesses and records show it to be utterly false. Convinced by this slight performance, the late Col. Wm. L. Saunders, in his prefatory note to the first volume of the North Carolina Colonial Records, rejected the tradition of our former historians, and gave the first true and rational account of the inducements which led the first immigrants to Albemarle.[1] A few years later Mr. Stephen B.

[1] I had it from Col. Saunders himself that my pamphlet of 1886 had convinced him. "You have not only proved, you have demonstrated your case," were his words.

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Weeks published a more extended study on the same subject, which however was little more than an elaboration of the argument of the pamphlet of 1886, illustrated by more copious citations of the authorities referred to. The importance of the subject and the very limited circulation of the publications referred to, seem to justify this attempt to set forth the truth as to this question: whether our first settlers were religious refugees.

In the absence of explicit accounts of the religious opinions of the settlers along the Albemarle Sound in the latter half of the seventeenth century, our historians have indulged their imagination in helping them to conclusions. Because Drummond was a Scotchman, Bancroft, without the least shadow of evidence, assumes that he was a Presbyterian; and George Durant must needs be a Puritan, because in 1649 (when, as we now know, George Durant was a lad of seventeen), Governor Berkley had banished from Virginia one Mr. Durand, "the elder of a Puritan very orthodox congregation." Leaving such discreditable guess-work, let us examine the scanty records of those days, and follow whither they lead.

In the spring of 1672, ten years after Durant's settlement and nine years after the first charter and the appointment of Drummond as Governor, William Edmundson, a Quaker preacher and a companion of George Fox, left Fox in Maryland and came by way of Virginia into the settlements on the north side of the Albemarle. Two of his brethren accompanied him, and after a painful and dangerous journey through the woods and swamps, they arrived on a Sunday morning at the house of Henry Phillips on Perquimans River. This man and his wife had been converted to Quakerism in New England, and had removed to Carolina in 1665; "and not having seen a Friend" [i. e. a Quaker] "in seven years before, they wept for joy to see us," writes Edmundson in his journal. Though wearied and wet to the skin from traveling

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all night in the rain, Edmundson desired that notice should be sent through the neighborhood for a meeting at midday, and in the meantime he lay down to rest. "About the time appointed," he writes, "many people came, but they had little or no religion, for they came and sat down in the meeting smoking their pipes. In a short time the Lord's testimony arose in the authority of His power, and their hearts being reached by it, several of them were tendered and received the testimony. After meeting they desired me to stay with them, and let them have more meetings.

"One Tems, a justice of the peace, and his wife, were at the meeting, who received the truth with gladness, and desired to have the next meeting at their house, about three miles off on the other side of the water; so we had a meeting there the next day, and a blessed time it was, for several were tendered with a sense of the power of God, and received the truth, and abode in it." The next morning Edmundson left them and journeyed back to Virginia.

It is plain from the foregoing narrative that Henry Phillips and his family were the only Quakers in that part of the settlement. It is not an unfair inference that they were the only Quakers then in Albemarle. Having taken so long and painful a journey into Carolina to visit this family, who do not seem to have been personally known to him before, it is not probable that Edmundson would have departed without visiting any others who might have been in the Albemarle country; it being a comparatively easy journey by water to almost any part of the settlements.

In November of this same year 1772,[2] George Fox made his first visit to Carolina. He gives in his journal very few names of places, and those which he gives do not correspond

[2] Dr. Hawks says that this visit of Fox was in September. Fox says "the ninth month." At that time the year began with "Lady Day"—March 25th—so that November was the ninth month, hence its name.

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with any other writing of that day, or with any known map of the regions he traversed. But the physical features of the country enable us to follow his steps fairly well. He came from Nansemond in Virginia, and having traveled several days through woods and swamps, he spent a night at "Summertown." This place is well known, and from this point his journal proceeds:

"Next day, the twenty-first of the ninth month, having travelled hard through the woods, and over many bogs and swamps, we reached Bonner's Creek[3]; there we lay that night by the fire side, the woman lending us a mat to lie on.

"This was the first house we came to in Carolina; here we left our horses, over-wearied with travel. From hence we went down the creek in a canoe to Macocomocock river, and came to Hugh Smith's, where people of other professions came to see us (no Friends inhabiting that part of the country), and many of them received us gladly. Amongst others came Nathaniel Batts, who had been governor of Roan-oak. He went by the name of Captain Batts, and had been a rude, desperate man. He asked me about a woman in Cumberland, who, he said, he was told, had been healed by our prayers and laying on of hands, after she had been long sick and given over by the physicians: he desired to know the certainty of it. I told him we did not glory in such things, but many such things had been done by the power of Christ.

"Not far from hence we had a meeting among the people, and they were taken with the truth; blessed be the Lord! Then passing down the river Maratic in a canoe, we went down the bay Connie-oak, to a captain's, who was loving unto us, and lent us his boat, for we were much wetted in the canoe, the water flashing in on us. With this boat we went

[3] This is plainly meant for "Bennett's Creek," by a mistake either of Fox or his printer. It is a mistake very readily made by those not familiar with the peculiarities of *manuscript* of that date.

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to the governor's, but the water in some places was so shallow that the boat being loaded, could not swim; so that we put off our shoes and stockings, and waded through the water a pretty way. The governor and his wife received us lovingly; but a doctor there would needs dispute with us. And truly his opposing us was of good service, giving occasion for the opening of many things to the people concerning the Light and Spirit of God, which he denied to be in every one; and affirmed it was not in the Indians. Whereupon I called an Indian to us, and asked him, 'Whether or no, when he did lie, or do wrong to any one, there was not something in him that did reprove him for it.' He said 'There was such a thing in him that did so reprove him; and he was ashamed when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong.' So we shamed the doctor before the governor and people, insomuch that the poor man ran out so far, that at length he would not own the Scriptures. We tarried at the governor's that night; and next morning he very courteously walked with us himself about two miles through the woods, to a place whither he had sent our boat about to meet us. Taking leave of him we entered our boat and went about thirty miles to Joseph Scot's, one of the representatives of the country. There we had a sound, precious meeting; the people were tender, and much desired after meetings. Wherefore at a house about four miles further, we had another meeting; to which the governor's secretary came, who was the chief secretary of the province, and had been formerly convinced.

"I went from this place among the Indians, and spoke to them by an interpreter, showing them, 'That God made all things in six days, and made but one woman for one man; and that God did drown the old world because of their wickedness. Afterwards I spoke to them concerning Christ, showing them that he died for all men, for their sins, as well as for others,' and had enlightened them as well as others, and

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that if they did that which was evil he would burn them, but if they did well they should not be burned.' There was among them their young king and others of their chief men, who seemed to receive kindly what I said to them.

"Having visited the north part of Carolina, and made a little entrance for truth among the people there, we began to return again towards Virginia, having several meetings on our way, wherein we had good service for the Lord, the people being generally tender and open; blessed be the Lord! We lay one night at the secretary's, to which we had much ado to get; for the water being shallow, we could not bring our boat to shore. But the secretary's wife, seeing our strait, came herself in a canoe, her husband being from home, and brought us to land. By next morning our boat was sunk and full of water, but we got her up and mended her, and went in her that day about twenty-four miles, the water being rough and the winds high; but the great power of God was seen, in carrying us safe in that rotten boat. In our return we had a very precious meeting at Hugh Smith's; praised be the Lord forever! There was at this meeting an Indian Captain, who was very loving, and acknowledged it to be the truth that was spoken. There was also one of the Indian priests, whom they call a Pauwaw, who sat soberly among the people. The ninth of the tenth month we got back to Bonner's-Creek, having spent about eighteen days in North Carolina."

Fox seems to have been accompanied by a number of his brethren, whose names he does not give. William Edmundson was not one of them, as Dr. Hawks asserts, for Edmundson's Journal shows that before this time he had left Fox and had sailed for Ireland.

Notwithstanding the singularity of some of Fox's names, one point settles the route by which he entered Carolina. He

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spent a night at Somerton, and the next day's journey brought him to "Bonner's Creek," where he says, "was the first house we came to in Carolina."

Now whether the conjecture that "Bonner's" is Fox's or his printer's mistake for "Bennett's" be correct or not, one thing is plain—that this creek was within one day's ride, on jaded horses, of Somerton, and that it was just within the Carolina border. The creek, therefore, whatever its name, was an affluent of the Chowan river, which Fox calls by the strange name of "Macocomocock." A glance at a map of this region makes this quite evident. Dr. Hawk's contention that this "Macocomocock" river was the Roanoke is not only baseless, it is impossible. Fox's route, as detailed by him, cannot be made to bring him at this point to any river, but the Chowan. And at Hugh Smith's on this river he says that "people of other professions came to see us (no friends inhabiting that part of the country)." "Then passing down the river Maratic in a canoe we went down the bay Connie-oak." Thence he goes to "the governor's," and then the next day thirty miles in his boat brings him apparently into contact with those who had heard Edmundson's preaching, and been "formerly convinced." Plainly then Fox came in by way of Chowan river, and the bay called by him "Connie-oak," must have been Edenton bay. The waters between the mouth of the river and this bay he calls "Maratic"—probably from Moratoc—the Indian name of the river Roanoke. From "Connie-oak" to the residence of the governor, and then thirty miles eastward, as he traversed the waterways of the colony, probably brought him to the eastern limits of the settlements. Thus he practically covered the whole colony in his visit of eighteen days. He tells us expressly that no Friends inhabited the country along the Chowan, from the Virginia line down toward Edenton, and his narrative distinctly reveals the fact that there were none in the other sections which he

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visited, except one or two scattered individuals. At the same time it is apparent that his influence was felt by the people, and that he had some effect in introducing his peculiar form of religion into the colony. He may have done more in the way of organizing congregations than his narrative discloses; but certainly his journal and Edmundson's prove beyond question that the country had not been settled by their co-religionists. They nowhere speak of meeting any number of their brethren, or of any evidence that their peculiar form of worship was known to the people. Fox's words when, having reached the eastern limits of his journey, he turns back towards Virginia, are a sufficient proof that no considerable number of his followers had preceded him into these regions: "Having visited the north parts of Carolina and made a little entrance for the truth among the people there, we began to return again towards Virginia."

Edmundson and Fox were the first Quaker preachers who visited Albemarle and they give us the first accounts we have of the religious condition of the country. From them it seems dear that there had been up to that time no public religious worship regularly established or used, and that the people had no special sectarian prejudices but were ready to accept any simple form of Christian teaching and worship which might be presented to them. Edmundson's services, if they may be so called, were the first exercises of public worship ever held in the colony, so far as we know. If there had been any number of Quakers scattered among the people, is it possible to believe that, with their strong religious feelings and their simple methods of worship, requiring no minister, and expressing itself in no sacrament or formal ordinance, they would not have gathered themselves into "meetings," and made their unconventional mode of worship familiar to the people, as they began to do immediately after these visits of Fox and Edmundson? The direct testimony of

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these first preachers is really not necessary, though it is on record, to show that the first settlers were not Quakers.

It is also to be noted that in the first act of the Assembly of Albemarle which has come down to us, ratified by the Proprietors in January, 1670, and certainly adopted by the Assembly before there had been the least interference on the part of the Proprietors in the matter of religion, no provision is made for recognizing the form of marriage practised among the "Friends," which would have been quite as valid upon the principles of the Common Law as the marriage by a magistrate; and if the Quaker influence had at that time prevailed in the Colony there seems to be no good reason why they might not have made provision for validating their peculiar form of marriage. As early as 1667 Fox had delivered himself on this subject for the guidance of his followers: "I was moved to open the state of our marriages, declaring 'How the people of God took one another in the assembly of the elders; and that it was God who joined man and woman together before the fall. And though men had taken upon them to join in the fall, yet in the restoration it is God's joining that is right and honorable marriage; but never any priest did marry any, that we read of in the Scriptures, from Genesis to Revelations.'" This was a point on which the Quakers laid great stress, and which they consistently carried out in practice, even when it must have been at the risk of great scandal and inconvenience. Here in Albemarle where there were no ministers, and therefore none of those religious rites to which they objected; and where the Assembly framed the law for their peculiar local necessities, they would surely have provided for legalizing their own customs had they formed any influential element in the population. So far from this act concerning marriages showing any trace of Quaker influence, there is a distinct note of feeling in the way in which it mentions "the rites and customs of our native country, the

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Kingdom of England;" the rites and customs here alluded to being those that were consistently repudiated and reviled by the Quakers.

It should further be remembered that at this very time the Proprietors were careful, both in their Fundamental Constitutions and in their instructions to Governor Stevens, to respect the principles and feelings of the Quakers both in regard to this very matter of marriage and in regard to the taking of oaths. So we have the curious spectacle of the Lords Proprietors showing more solicitude to avoid wounding the sensibilities of the Quakers than is exhibited by the Assembly of Albemarle. This can only mean that the former were aware of the trouble already arising in England and in some of her colonies from the peculiar customs of this new sect, while in the remote settlements of Carolina Quakers were too few to have attracted any public attention.

Edmundson made a second visit to Albemarle in 1675 or 1676, probably the latter year. He says little about it in his journal, and he remained only a few days, but the seed before planted seem to have been bearing fruit. After mentioning "several precious meetings" he thus concludes: "People were tender and loving, and there was no room for the priests, for Friends were finely settled, and I left things well among them."

But may not these first settlers have been Presbyterians or Congregationalists fleeing from the rigor of the religious establishment in Virginia, or Baptists, driven out of the same colony, or escaping from the still more rigid Calvinistic establishments in New England? This question has in effect been answered already. If these settlers had been men fleeing from religious persecution, or even from religious intolerance, they would have been of distinct religious convictions and of fixed religious habits. The careless and indifferent do not go out into the wilderness to escape religious persecution.

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Laws of religious conformity require only such outward acts of compliance with established institutions as create no special grievance, and work no intolerable hardship, to him who is equally unconcerned about all religion. It is not claimed that the mere burden of the tax for the support of the religious establishment in Virginia, or in New England, made men exchange the comforts of civilization for the hardships of the wilderness. It is only the man of real religious feeling and of firm religious convictions, to whom an insincere compliance even in the most trifling act is intolerable, who refuses to conform. It was not the tithe in England to which the Quakers objected, as a matter of pecuniary loss; it was to the principle which they imagined to be involved in the payment of it. And so it will be found that religious refugees and persistent non-conformists have ever been men of distinct and positive convictions and of rigid religious habits. The Covenanters upon the mountains of Scotland, and the Non-jurors in the back alleys of Edinburgh and of Aberdeen,—such men were unwilling to conform to the established religion because they had the most intense religious feelings and convictions, which forbade them to conform. And strong religious feelings and convictions, shared by considerable numbers of people in the same community, always find expression, in face of every danger and difficulty, in common religious worship. In Albemarle when the first Quaker preachers visited the country there seems to have been among the people no custom of public religious worship. Dr. Hawks and Mr. Bancroft may see, under the rude guise of Edmundson's gaping congregations, natural reverence and unconventional piety; and the smoke of their pipes may seem to those amiable historians a sort of extemporized incense; but the honest Quaker saw in their conduct the expression of simple ignorance and indifference.

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That there were no zealous Presbyterians or Baptists among the colonists at this period is further indicated by the absence of any opposition to these Quaker preachers. Fox's journal shows that these were not less earnest than Churchmen in resisting the Quaker doctrine. The only note of opposition which we hear is from the doctor at the house of Governor Stevens, and he seems to have been a free-thinker, since he denied the authority of the Scriptures.

The truth seems to be that like most pioneers in new settlements, the first white inhabitants of Carolina were restless and enterprising spirits, pushing out from the older settlements of Virginia, to find new homes, and to secure rich lands, in the unoccupied regions beyond the bounds of civilization, with no thoughts of religion, so far as this movement is concerned, and, from the circumstances of their new situation, apt to forget such religious habits as they had before formed. In a letter to Sir John Colleton, one of the Proprietors, of date June 2nd, 1665, Thos. Woodward, the "Surveyor General of Albemarle," writes:

"But for the present to think that any men will remove from Virginia upon harder condition than they can live there, will prove (I fear) a vain imagination, it being land only that they come for." He therefore urges the Proprietors to make their terms easier. Neither he nor any other contemporary authority gives the least intimation of a religious element entering into the problem of immigration. The references in the Charters, the Fundamental Constitutions, and the several "Proposals," etc., of the Proprietors, to the religious liberty allowed in the Colony, are the only allusions to be found to the subject.

This movement onward from civilization to the wilderness has been, and is, one of the marked characteristics of our race in America. After the first stage of exploration and discovery in Albemarle, a few Quakers may have been

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brought thither by the prospect of religious freedom, but no such movement can be observed. On the contrary, at this very time when Fox found we may say almost none of his brethren in Albemarle, there were a considerable number of Quakers in Virginia, with several organized and flourishing "Meetings" among them.

Along with the vanishing myth of the "Religious Refugee" settler, disappears also all necessity for the ingenious and wholly unfounded guesses of Bancroft and Hawks as to the religious opinions of Governor Drummond and of George Durant. These conjectures arose wholly from the supposed necessity of adapting their characters to suit their supposed positions as the Governor and the pioneer of a colony of religious refugees. It must indeed have been felt to be a dire necessity which enabled any man to believe that Governor Berkley would have appointed a Presbyterian as his deputy. Drummond, like most Scotch politicians of that time, probably professed to be a churchman—and the same may be said of George Durant. There never was the least ground for supposing that Durant was a Quaker. During Culpepper's Rebellion he acted as Attorney-General when Miller was indicted and prosecuted *for speaking disrespectfully of the King, the Cavaliers and the doctrines of the Church!* This is hardly a sufficient guarantee of Durant's piety, but it certainly puts him out of the role of a Quaker.*

In support of the foregoing conclusions as to the religious character of the original settlers of Albemarle, drawn wholly from contemporary evidence, some later witnesses may not improperly be examined. Henderson Walker was, during the closing years of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth, one of the most prominent and thor-

* Geo. Durant's immediate descendants are found associated and identified with the Church in the Province of North Carolina, and the certificate of his marriage by a clergyman in Virginia has lately been found.

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oughly admirable characters in the Colony. He filled a number of the most important offices, having been for years a member of the Council, and at the time of his death acting as Governor. He had also been Attorney-General. As early as 1679 he was Clerk of the Council, and had enjoyed every opportunity of becoming fully acquainted with the affairs of the Colony from the very first. As a member of the Council sitting as a Court of Equity in 1697 he had assisted in the trial of a cause involving the title of George Durant, and the right of his heirs, to the land bought by Durant from the Indian "King of Yeopim" in 1662. Among the witnesses examined were several who spoke from personal knowledge of the circumstances of Durant's settlement. One had signed as a witness Durant's deed from the Indian. The deposition of this particular witness appears to have been taken before Walker himself. We can hardly imagine any witness better qualified than Walker to speak of the character and condition of the people of Albemarle from 1662 down to his own day. In a letter to Bishop Compton, of London, dated October 21st, 1703, he says that for twenty-one years (he seems to mean for twenty-one years before 1700) he can testify of his own knowledge that they had been without priest or altar, and from all that he could learn it had been much worse before that. This may refer to the rise of the Quaker worship, for he adds: "George Fox, some years ago, came into these parts, and by strange infatuations did infuse the Quakers' principles into some small number of the people; which did and hath continued to grow ever since very numerous, by reason of their yearly sending in men to encourage and exhort them to their wicked principles." Here we have a plain, direct statement, by a man in a position to know the truth, and with no motive whatever for perverting it, that Quakerism in Albemarle had been the result of Fox's missionary labors. And this statement is in exact accord with

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Fox's own account, and the testimony of every contemporary authority.

The Rev. William Gordon, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and minister in Chowan in 1708, in a report to the Society dated May 13, 1709, says: "There are few or no Dissenters in the government but Quakers." In the same report he says: "And now, sir, I shall examine a little the Quakers' pretences, who plead that they were the first settlers in that country; but this (according to the best accounts I could get) seems false in fact that religion being scarce heard of there till some years after the settlement; it is true some of the most ancient inhabitants, after George Fox went over, did turn Quakers."

Here we have another testimony from a man in a position to have learned the truth, and it corresponds accurately with that of other witnesses. In this connection it is interesting to observe that in an address signed by a number of Quakers in 1679, intended as a vindication of themselves and other Quakers, inhabitants of Albemarle, against charges of being implicated in the disorders and seditions of the preceding years, the subscribers state that most of them had been inhabitants of Carolina since 1663 or 1664. Now we have seen that Fox and Edmundson found no Quakers to speak of in 1672. The above document therefore affords incidental proof of the correctness of Mr. Gordon's statement that "some of the most ancient inhabitants, after George Fox went over, did turn Quakers."

Quakerism was the only organized form of religion in the Colony, with no rival worship among the people, for the rest of the seventeenth century, having been thus introduced and nurtured. It drew to itself a number of the intelligent and well-disposed inhabitants, especially of Perquimans and Pasquotank, though it seems not to have made any progress in the other precincts or counties. Those zealous and self-sacrificing

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men deserve to be held in honorable memory, who at the expense of so much time, labor and bodily suffering, cultivated the spiritual harvest in that distant and unattractive field. Quakerism did not begin the work of settlement, and of re-claiming the wilderness for civilization, but it has the greater honor of having first brought some organized form of Christianity to the infant colony, and of having cared for those wandering sheep whom others neglected.

Ergo omnibus debita; quibus honor, honorem.

NOTE.

That our historians, both general and local, have examined the evidence on this subject carelessly, and that they have *read into* the simple narratives of Edmundson and Fox their own preconceptions, is manifest.

Martin says that when Edmundson made his visit in the spring of 1672 to the family of Henry Phillips (whom he calls *Phelps*), "they were greatly rejoiced at their interview, not having seen any leader of this society for years." Whereas Edmundson says nothing about any "leader of this society." He says plainly that they had not seen "a Friend," i. e., a Quaker, *in seven years.* This was in 1672. The Phillips family had come to Carolina from New England in 1665, as we learn from Bowden's history of the Quakers. Edmundson therefore, in effect, says that they had not seen a Quaker since they had come into Carolina!

Martin further says of this same visit of Edmundson that before leaving Albemarle "meetings were held in other parts of the precinct of Berkley and in that of Carteret, and a quarterly meeting of discipline was established in Berkley," whereas Edmundson's journal records a visit of less than two full days, and two meetings in the same neighborhood. The morning of the third day he set out on his return to Virginia.

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Dr. Hawks makes Fox go from Nansemond, in Virginia, to the settlements on the Albemarle *by way of Roanoke river;* and makes him accomplish the journey from Somerton to some imaginary creek emptying into the Roanoke in one day: the first absurd; the second impossible! And all this wonderful detour for the sole purpose of getting rid of Fox's plain statement that in the region which he traversed there were no Quakers. Both Martin and Hawks have it so solidly fixed in their minds that the settlers were Quakers, that when Fox and Edmundson assert the contrary, their testimony must be corrected, and their plainest statements misquoted and perverted in order that they may not contradict the groundless opinions of later times.

Bancroft, in the thirteenth chapter of his History of the United States, speaking of this same visit of Fox, says that, "Carolina had ever been the refuge of Quakers and renegades from ecclesiastical oppression," and cites as his authority for this statement Lord Culpepper in Chalmers, 356. At the place referred to Chalmers gives a letter from Lord Culpepper dated in 1681, in which he says that Carolina was "the refuge of our renegades," but not a word about "ecclesiastical oppression," that being Mr. Bancroft's own addition for which there is no pretence of contemporary authority.

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THE FOREWORD.

The sources of information regarding our Indians are both meagre and unsatisfactory, history lends but little aid, tradition is silent, you must seek elsewhere than in books. There is a way we may study—even see them if we will—let me tell you the secret; I came upon it one evening just after sunset when I was hunting wild forget-me-nots along an idle brook away off in Pleasant Valley. If you wander alone through the deep everglade of a southern dismal you will sometimes stop suddenly to examine what you know is the faded footprint of a moccasined foot, or, if the hour is propitious, you will listen and listen again as you catch the sound of a warwhoop echoing and re-echoing through the deepening twilight of the forest. Or it may be that you will find an arrowhead or a broken tomahawk in a ramble through a summer field.

One night when the moon was full, and I sat under a tree by the deep mirror of a certain silver stream, the air grew suddenly heavy with the drowsy sweetness of the lotus in blossom, there was a troubling of the waters as by the angel's touch upon the Pool of Bethesda, the leaves clapped fitfully together like elfin cymbals at a fairy dance, a few, twisting from their stems, came fluttering down upon the river, and went sailing off like a phantom squadron; the sedges rustled violently at the water's hem—it was an enchanted spot, and I saw as in a dream two painted warriors drag a bound victim hurriedly into a canoe, and push off into the stream, but as I turned to observe them closely they blended into the dreamland of the other shore—the trick then lies in the imagination—in the embroidered fantacy of a midsummer-night's dream.

HE INDIAN TRIBES OF EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA.

BY RICHARD DILLARD, M.D.

"Ye whose hearts are fresh and simple,
Who have faith in God and nature,
Who believe that in all ages
Every human heart is human.
That in even savage bosoms
There are longings, yearnings, strivings
For the good they comprehend not,
That the feeble hands and helpless,
Groping blindly in the darkness,
Touch God's right hand in that darkness
And are lifted up and strengthened;
Listen to this simple story."

The first Indian tableau upon which the curtain of our history rises is the royal reception of Amidas and Barlow by Granganameo "in the delicate garden abounding in all kinds of odoriferous flowers" on the Island of Wocokon. The last is when, chagrined by the defeat and failure of the Tuscarora War, they are driven forever from the shores of the Albemarle. The scenes between are interspersed with acts of kindness and of cruelty, bloody massacres and the torch, with long interludes, in which the curtain is so closely hauled down that not a ray of light reaches us, so that the pathfinders of history can scarcely discern a single blazed tree to guide them through that untrodden solitude.

The mural frescoes by Alexander in the Congressional Library most beautifully tell the story of the evolution of learning in five allegorical paintings; the first is a picture of a cairn built by a prehistoric man to commemorate some important event; the second is oral tradition, an ancient storyteller surrounded by a group of attentive listeners; the third

is represented by hieroglyphics carved upon an Egyptian obelisk; the fourth is the primitive American Indian painting upon his buffalo skin the crude story of the chase, the conflict, or the war-dance, while the last is the beautiful consummation of them all—the printing press. Our own alphabet, through a long series of elaboration covering many centuries, originally came from picture-writing. All knowledge began with units, and the compounding of those units in different ways like the grouping of atoms to form various chemical substances produced classified knowledge, or science in all of its labyrinthine detail. The language of the Indian is metaphorical, and essentially picture-writing, not only picture-words representing material objects, but sound-pictures, that is the formation of words in imitation of the sounds they are intended to represent. He speaks mostly with his eyes, using gestures, grimmaces and grunts where his language is inadequate, and emphasis is required. The Iroquois, which were composed partly of Eastern North Carolina Indians after the Tuscarora War, are especially metaphorical, and of course in studying their language we study the language of the different tribes which compose them. When the weather is very cold they say "it is a nose-cutting morning." They use the hemlock boughs to protect them from the snow, and when one says "I have hemlock boughs" he means that he has warm and comfortable quarters. It is said that twelve letters answer for all Iroquois sounds, viz.: A E F H I K N O R S T W. The Algonquins, the Iroquois and the Mobilians are considered the three primitive stocks, and the dialects now spoken throughout the country are traced by ethnologists directly to them.

Thoreau says in his Walden that the Puri Indians had but one word for the present, the past, and the future, expressing its variations of meaning by pointing backward for yesterday—forward for tomorrow—and overhead for to-day.

The beautiful euphoneous Indian names are so intermingled with our own names and history that time cannot erase them. Let us analyze a few of their words and our application of them. I suggest the following derivation of the word *Roanoke* as applied to both Roanoke river and Roanoke Island. Wampum, the Indian money, their current medium of exchange and equivalent of gold, was of two kinds—*Wampum Peak,* and *Wampum Roanoke:* It was made of a species of conch-shell (Buccinum Undatum), and shaped like beads, the darker colors being the most valuable. This was usually strung and worn around the waist as a belt, and served the double purpose of ornament and money. These belts were passed from one nation to another in making treaties and in other important transactions, e. g., "By my wampum belt I pledge thee." Now when Menotoscon, king of the Chowanokes, found that the English were principally in quest of gold, he beguiled them with all kinds of rococo stories about a great river, evidently our Roanoke, which rose in a western country, and abounded in mussels filled with pearls, and that the sands of this river were of gold, hence the English named it Roanoke, and as Roanoke meant money or gold, by metonomy Roanoke river means river of gold, a name not inappropriate at this day, considering the wealth of its fields and the richness and vastness of the forests which girt its shores. By the same fanciful analysis Roanoke Island may mean island of money or gold, from the great quantity of wampum shells abounding in that vicinity. The suffix *peak* appears in the words Chesapeake, Dessamonpeak, Corapeak and others, and also gives them a significance of profusion or wealth. Mattercomock or Machicomock Creek, to the west of Edenton, means Temple of God, doubtless from the exquisite beauty of the stream and the tall cypress trees along its banks, which stand like huge elaborately carved Corinthian columns supporting the dome of the sky.

The name of the section of country along the Chowan above Edenton now called Rockyhock was derived from the Indian word *Rakiock,* meaning cypress tree, which by metathesis and the corruptions of successive generations is now spelled Rockyhock, meaning literally the Land of Cypress Trees. Chowan means paint or color—hence the county is the land of rich colors, from the variety and magnificence of its flora, and the myriad hues of its emerald forests, or it might have been that the Indians obtained their dyes and paints there. To the beautiful reflection of trees and sky upon a placid stream they gave the name of glimmerglass, shimmering mirror. The proximity of the Chowanokes to the Tuscaroras brought them into frequent communication, and there was in consequence some similarity of dialect, a great many of their words had in common the suffix *ock*, e. g., Uppowock, Mattercomock, Rakiock, Moriatock and Ohanock. The original spelling of Currituck was Coratuc, Tar River was Tau, meaning river of health, and Hatteras was Hattorask. Little River was Kototine, Perquimans River was Ona, Albemarle Sound was called Weapomeiock, Yeopim was originally Jaupin. Durant's Neck was Wecocomicke. The Chowan River was called Nomopana. Captain John Smith, in his map of Virginia made in 1606, changes the vowels and spells Chowan *Chawon,* and gives to that tribe a large portion of the territory southeast of the Powhattan River, now the James. Theodore de Bry's map, 1590, gives the Chowans the vast territory along the upper Albemarle and Chowan River. Pasquotank at one time was spelled Passo-Tank, and was derived from the Indian *Passaquenoke,* meaning the woman's town.

Resting upon the very bosom of nature, amid the most picturesque and beautiful surroundings they possessed neither music nor poetry. Grave, imperturbable and mute, their souls did not burn with the glowing tints of the autumn forest, or thrill at the echo from the hills, or at the grandeur

and mystery of the great solitudes, fresh with the virginity of nature, or the long light upon the rivers. They hearkened not the song of the summer bird whose flight of ecstasy drew bars of golden music across the sky, nor the soft reed notes of Dio Pan's flute, nor the arpeggios swept from Apollo's lyre—the star-embroidered peace of the midnight heavens they heeded not, but without any of the embellishments of civilization they had a picturesqueness and beauty of costume entirely in harmony with the wild state of nature.

We are well assured that the early Indians had a good idea of botany, knew the uses of the different plants, and gave them names descriptive of their qualities and physical appearances, though they knew nothing of classification. A great deal of the flora which existed here then is now entirely extinct, the law of the survival of the fittest applying more strongly to the vegetable kingdom than to any other; during my own observation one species of ground-pine in this country has entirely disappeared. Many of the wild flowers we know and see every day are really adventives from Europe, or plants which have escaped from cultivation in gardens, and are literally tramping it over the country. The botanical characteristics of our forests reveal the fact that some parts of them were in cultivation very many years ago, for pine is the original growth, and in successive rotation come gum, oak, etc: Nature does not falter, she has her own ways—her own days for doing her work, man can meddle, but cannot hinder her. Remove the earth from a piece of land, deep enough to destroy all remains of the previously existing vegetation, and when the soil reforms upon it again she will persistently repeat the law by first producing pine, and then on in regular rotation again. Now the occurrence of oak thickets in most unexpected places argues strongly that the Indians had small clearings or assarts where they grew their tobacco and maize.

It is difficult to believe that they did not love and enjoy the wild flowers which grew so profusely about them. Did they not pause in the chase to exult in the fragrance of the pine and the myrtle, or linger to inhale the delicate perfume of the wild grape in blossom, or to be lifted up by the redolence of the jessamine? Was there no "impulse from the vernal woods," no swelling of the heart in the springtime—

> "When daisies pied and violets blue,
> And lady-smocks all silver-white,
> And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue
> Do paint the meadows with delight?"

Thanks to the fertile pen and sharp-eyed observation of Harriot we know something of their plants and their uses. He says they dyed their hair and persons with the roots of Chappacor, of which I cannot conjecture the English equivalent unless it be the Sanguinaria or Bloodroot, still flourishing in our forests, but the secret is hidden down deep in the chalice of its corolla, its beautiful white petals are silent, and cannot be invoked. Kaishackpenauk was a root eaten as food, and resembled very much our Irish potato, while Openauk was nothing more than the Apios Tuberosa, growing in our lowlands, it also served them as food. Coscushaw may be the Tuckahoe or Arrowhead, of which hogs are fond, and grows in muddy pools and bogs. Ascapo was the Myrtle, and the Sassafras they called Winauk. The Prince's Pine was Pipsissewa, and Habascon was the horse-radish. One of our beautiful wild trailers wears gracefully the name of Cherokee Rose, but I condemn the sentiment which named Lobelia, a very poisonous plant, Indian Tobacco, and the Indian Turnip is also most inappropriately named. The Squaw Vine still paints its berries red in autumn to honor the Indian maiden. They knew different poisons and did not hesitate to use them stealthily and without scruple upon their personal enemies. Prominent among their list of poisons was a white

root which grew in fresh marshes, and may have been Cicely, or Fool's Parsley, belonging to the poisonous hemlock family. In Hyde County was the Mattermuskeet or Maramikeet of the Machapungo Indians, Lake Mattermuskeet was called by them Paquinip, or Paquipe. Upon the shores of this lake grows and flourishes as nowhere else an apple called the Mattermuskeet, maturing late but succulent and full of excellence. The tradition is that an early settler and hunter killed a wild goose upon the lake and upon opening its craw found an apple seed which he carefully preserved and planted, and which grew rapidly, and bore luscious fruit.

The North Carolina grape called Scuppernong was originally found on Scuppernong River, a tributary of Albemarle Sound, by an exploring party sent out by Amidas and Barlow. One small vine, with roots, was transplanted to Roanoke Island in 1584, where it is still growing and bearing grapes every year. In 1855 it covered nearly one and one-half acres. Some contend that the proper spelling should be *Noscuppernong,* but the late Rev. Wm. S. Pettigrew, who was deeply versed in Indian legend and lore always held that it should be *Escappernong.* Messrs. Garrett & Co. have named one of their excellent wines made from these grapes Escappernong. An old writer of North Carolina history says "there are no less than five varieties of grapes found about the Albemarle Sound, all of which are called Scuppernongs, to-wit, black, green, purple, red and white." The darker varieties are generally conceded to be seedlings, as the original grape can at present be reproduced only by layering or by grafting upon the wild grape. The cause of the change in color of this grape is beautifully woven by Mrs. Cotten into the Legend of the White Doe or the Fate of Virginia Dare. The transposition into prose has been so graphically made that I give it verbatim. "Okisko, a brave warrior of the tribe that had given shelter to the unfortunate Lost Col-

VIRGINIA DARE.
From a fanciful sketch by Porte Crayon in 1857.

ony of Sir Walter Raleigh, fell in love with the governor's granddaughter, Virginia Dare, the first white child born on American soil. The jealous rage of Chico, the great magician, changed her into a white doe which baffled all the hunters' attempts to capture it, for it had a charmed life and nothing but a silver arrow or an arrow dipped in the magic fountain of Roanoke could slay the beautiful creature. Now Wanchese, the great hunter of Pomouik, has crossed the waters, and there had received as a present a silver arrow. Armed with this he lay in wait for the white doe. Near him also was Virginia Dare's faithful lover, Okisko, armed with an arrow that had been dipped in the magic fountain. The magician Wenaudon, rival of Chico, had explained to Okisko that only by piercing to the heart the white doe with this magic arrow could the fair Virginia be liberated and restored to him, thus unknown to each other the two warriors awaited the coming of the white doe, one armed with the silver arrow that meant death, the other armed with the magic arrow that meant restored life the Okisko's love. Suddenly out in the clearing jumped the startled doe; twang went the bowstrings, both arrows fled straight to the mark. To the wonder of Wanchese he saw a beautiful white girl laying where he had seen the doe fall. To the horror of Okisko he saw the arrow piercing his loved one's heart. As if shocked by the awful tragedy the magic spring died away. In its place Okisko saw growing a tiny grapevine, it seemed a message from his lost love, he watched it grow and blossom and bear fruit. Lo! the grapes were red; he crushed one and lo! the juice was red—red as his dear Virginia's blood. Lovingly he watched and tended the vine, and as he drank the pure red juice of the grape he knew that at last he was united to his love—that her spirit was entering into his—that he was daily growing more like her, the being he loved and worshipped—the joy he had lost, but now had found again in the magic seedling." It is

a fact that a species of white deer is still seen in the country around Pungo and Scuppernong Lakes, but the penetrating ball of the Winchester possesses a counter charm to the magical spell of the Indian magician Chico, and the white doe often falls a victim before its unerring aim.

The mother Scuppernong vine implanted upon the Island of Roanoke, as ancient as our civilization, has sent its branches like the English speaking race over our broad land, the excellence of its amber clusters dropping the honey-dew of knowledge and delight—spreading like a banyan, its broad arbor is a sacred aegis of Minerva, which will shield and hide for aye the mysterious secret of the Lost Colony.

Who gave us Indian Corn the Agatowr, that beautiful tasseled staff of life whose waving fields are a symbol of our country's bounty and wealth—this maker of brawn and muscle and of the gray stroma of the brain? I answer each red ear blushed with the red man's skin. It was cultivated and eaten here before the granaries of the Pharaohs were overflowing from the wheat fields of Egypt, or the Libyan threshing-floors were groaning under the fatness of the harvest. The Indian method of preparing it for food was by hollowing out the end of a large stump and pounding the grain by means of a log suspended to an overhanging bough.

Who gave us Uppowock, the divine tobacco? That companion of solitude and life of company! The fabled Assidos of the middle ages, which drives away all evil spirits! The nerve stimulant destined to supplant hashisch, opium, betel, kava-kava, and all others! Emissaries from China and Japan are buying American tobacco with the purpose of substituting it for the injurious opium habit of those countries. This is the herb which that rare old cynic philosopher so beautifully praises and censures by antithesis in his wonderful Anatomy of Melancholy, the book Doctor Johnson missed his tea to read, as "divine, rare, superexcellent tobacco, which goes far

beyond all the panaceas, potable gold and philosophers' stones—a sovereign remedy to all diseases, a virtuous herb if it be well qualified, opportunely taken and medicinally used, but as it is commonly abused by most men 'tis a plague, a mischief, a violent purger of goods, lands and health—devilish and damned tobacco, the ruin and overthrow of body and soul."

The Indians held Uppowock their tobacco in high esteem, attributed to it magical powers. It was the gift of the gods; they often burnt it upon their sacred fires, and cast it upon the waters to allay the storm, they scattered it among their weirs to increase the catch of fish, and after an escape from great danger they would throw it high into the air as if to requite the gods themselves.

Eastern North Carolina is rich in literature based upon the history, the legends, the traditions of its Indians. The White Doe or Fate of Virginia Dare is as musical as Hiawatha, and tells the story of the change of Virginia Dare into the shape of a white doe to which I have alluded elsewhere.

That erudite scholar, Col. R. B. Creecy, in his chef *d'oeuvre*, the Legend of Jesse Batz, tells delightfully the story of Jesse Batz, a hunter and trapper who dwelt upon an island in the Albemarle Sound, opposite the mouth of Yeopim River, now called Batz's Grave (the U. S. Geog. Soc. gives the spelling Batts), but then called Kalola from the number of sea gulls congregating there. Hunting, trapping, and frequently engaging in the chase with the Indians Batz became intimately associated with the Princess Kickawana, the beautiful daughter of Kilkanoo, the king of the Chowanokes. Batz loved her at first sight, and she in turn loved the white man.

When Pamunkey made war upon Kilkanoo Batz fought with the Chowanokes, and in a hand-to-hand encounter took Pamunkey prisoner and helped to drive the hostile tribe back

into Virginia. For this act of bravery he was adopted into the Chowanoke tribe with the name of Secotan or Great White Eagle. The current of love between him and Kickawana ran along smoothly, and with an immunity from sorrow beyond the usual lot of mortals until one night when the Indian maiden was paddling in her canoe across from the mainland to the island, as she frequently did to visit her lover, a thunderstorm swept the Albemarle like the besom of destruction:

> "The wind was high, and the clouds were dark,
> And the boat returned no more."

Batz never more left his island home, and to this day it is called Batz's Grave. Its azure outline in dim perspective upon the glistening page of the Albemarle seems the far-off island of some half-forgotten dream. At one time it belonged to George Durant, Jr., and contained many acres; the erosion of the tides has been so continuous and rapid that scarcely an acre now remains. This constant sloughing of its banks causes the magnificent timber to fall into the water in great windrows, like broad swaths of grain beneath the sturdy stroke of some giant reaper, but the ceaseless murmur of each receding wave upon its lonely beach will sigh out forave, in a throbbing tumultuous undertone, the story of those unfortunate lovers. One of the few landmarks left by the Chowan Indians is a part of the soundside road leading to Drummond's Point, which curves and re-curves upon itself at least a dozen times in a distance of two miles. The tradition is that the road was made by the early settlers along the course of the old Indian trail; over this road doubtless passed and repassed Kickawana on her visits to the island home of Jesse Batz, and it takes but a touch of fancy for the benighted traveler along this lonely road to see the lithe form of Kickawana just receding around the next bend.

One of the most interesting chapters in our history is the account given by Dr. John Brickell, of Edenton, in his history of North Carolina of a trip among the Indians. He was appointed by Gov. Burrington to make an exploration into the interior, with a view of securing the friendship of the Cherokee Indians. He left Edenton in 1730 with ten men and two Indians, and traveled fifteen days without having seen a human being. At the foot of the mountains they met the Indians, who received them kindly and conducted them to their camp where they spent two days with the chief, who reluctantly permitted them to return. They built large fires and cooked the game which the two Indians killed and served it upon pine-bark dishes, at night they tethered their horses and slept upon the gray Spanish moss (Tillandsia Usneoides), which hung from the trees. They lived in truly Robin Hood style, and the tour seems to have been more for romance and adventure than for scientific search. It is a counterpart in our history of the adventures of the Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe to the Blue Ridge of Virginia under Gov. Spotswood. Dr. Brickell had a brother who settled in Hertford County in 1739, the Rev. Matthias Brickell, from whom is descended some of the best families of that county.

The Indian Gallows, a poem by William H. Rhodes, published in 1846, deserves the highest place among the Indian classic literature of North Carolina.

The Indian Gallows was located in the Indian woods of Bertie County, a tract of land formerly owned and occupied by the Tuscaroras. It was a remarkable freak of nature in that the branch of one oak grew so entirely and completely into another oak some twenty feet asunder that it was impossible to discern from which tree the cross-branch grew. The cross-branch also had large limbs growing upward from it. This natural curiosity stood until 1880, when a severe

storm uprooted one of the oaks, the other soon commenced to decay and was cut down in 1892 and made into relics.

The story of it runneth thus: A band of pilgrims exiled by religious persecution from England were hurled tempest-tossed upon the shores of North Carolina, they made their way under all sorts of difficulties and contentions with adverse fates up the Albemarle Sound to the settlement now called Edenton. The parents of the heroine Elnora, invited by the friendly chief of the Tuscaroras, decided to make their homes in the wilds across the sound. Roanoke, the son of the old Tuscarora king, soon fell in love with Elnora, and at the planning of the Indian Massacree in 1711, set out on foot to warn his white friends of their danger, but arrived just in time to see their cabin in flames and a band of Tuscaroras cut down Elnora's aged parents. Elnora herself by a superhuman effort eluded the grasp of the murderous chief Cashie and hid in the Indian Woods, where she was afterwards found by the faithful Roanoke. Enduring all sorts of hardships they eventually found a boat, and steering safely down the Moriatock River, reached the sound. On and on they paddled through the darkness of the night under the midnight sky, not knowing whither they were going, each angry wave greedy to swallow up their little canoe. Elnora exhausted, and with hands all blistered, often despaired, and would have thrown herself into the dark waters had she not been sustained and comforted by Roanoke. Just at the crucial moment of their despair Aurora with her dew-drop touch threw open the rosy chambers of the East, and the streaks of dawn went ploughing golden furrows in the wake of the morning star. Dawn is the hour of resignation and peace, they were comforted and cheered as they sighted the headland at the entrance of Edenton Bay, they soon reached the shore where they told the story of their misfortunes to a crowd of eager listeners, among whom was Henry, Elnora's lover, just

North Carolina State Library
Raleigh

arrived on a ship from England. The Tuscaroras, when they found out that Roanoke had fled to Edenton with Elnora, infuriated by his action and the escape of the white maiden, set out at once with a flotilla of canoes to take the fort at Edenton[1] and massacre the inhabitants, but they were driven hopelessly back by the well-prepared settlers, Henry and Roanoke fighting gallantly side by side. After the rout of the Indians Roanoke lingered sadly at Edenton. Elnora showed him every kindness and consideration, but her heart belonged unreservedly to Henry.

"As time fled on Roanoke forgot to smile,
And lonely walks his saddened weeks beguile:
A secret grief sits gnawing at his soul,
Deep are the sorrows that his mind engage,
Kindness can soothe not—friends cannot assuage."

Desperate and dejected at his disappointment in love he returned to his tribe in Bertie and met with resignation his fate. At the council of the chiefs he was condemned to be burned at the stake the next morning at dawn, when the sentence was pronounced the tragic Cashie exclaimed—

"No—not the stake!
He loves the paleface; let him die
The white man's death! Come let us bend a tree
And swing the traitor, as the Red-men see
The palefaced villian hang. Give not the stake
To him would the Red man's freedom take,
Who from our fathers and our God would roam,
And strives to rob us of our lands and home.
* * * * * * *
They seize him now and drag him to the spot
Where death awaits, and pangs are all forgot."

[1] Opposite the old Hathaway lot, on Water Street, could be seen a few years ago the foundation of what is supposed to have been the old fort built to defend the town against the attacks of the Indians, and this might have been the one in which Elnora and Roanoke took refuge. Watson, in his Journey to Edenton in 1777, says that it was then defended by two forts.

There is a striking analogy between the motif of the Indian Gallows and Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming. Roanoke and Outalisse, the Mohawk chief, were very similar characters.

One of the largest and most remarkable Indian mounds in Eastern North Carolina is located at Bandon on the Chowan, evidently the site of the ancient town of the Chowanokes which Grenville's party visited in 1585, and was called Mavaton.[2] The map of James Wimble, made in 1729, also locates it at about this point. The mound extends along the river bank five or six hundred yards, is sixty yards wide and five feet deep, covered with about one foot of sand and soil. It is composed almost exclusively of mussel shells taken from the river, pieces of pottery, ashes, arrow heads and human bones, this may have been the dumping ground of the village. The finding of human bones beneath the mound might suggest that it is the monument of their distinguished chiefs, just as the ancient Egyptians built pyramids above their illustrious Pharaohs. Pottery and arrow heads are found in many places throughout this county, especially on hillsides, near streams, and indicate that they were left there by temporary hunting or fishing parties. Even the Indians of the present day are averse to carrying baggage of any kind, and the frail manner in which some of their pottery was made shows that it was for temporary purposes only. Certain decorations on their pottery occur sufficiently often among the Indian tribes of the different sections to be almost characteristic of them.

A sort of corn-cob impression is found on a great deal of the Chowan pottery and also in Bertie, there is however considerable variation in different localities, the corn-cob impression in some specimens being much coarser. There are also pieces with parallel striations, oblique patterns, small

[2]The station on the Suffolk and Carolina Railroad was named by the author for this town.

diamond patterns formed by transverse lines, evidently made by a sharp stick. Some are decorated with horizontal lines, while a few are perfectly plain. In the deposits on the Chowan River, at the site of the ancient Chowanoke town of Mavaton, the decorations on the pottery are both varied and artistic, and I am inclined to believe that each clan or family had its own distinctive and individual pattern of decoration—it was their coat of arms. On this same mound I found the wild columbine growing, stragglers from Menotoscon's flower-garden, and at a nearby spring flourished the spear-mint, whose ancestors two hundred years ago doubtless seasoned Okisko's venison stew. I have never seen so many distinct patterns occurring in the same mound as at Avoca, left there by the Tuscaroras. The ancient Tuscarora town of Metackwem was located in Bertie County just above Black Walnut Point, and most probably at Avoca, from the extensive deposits there. The Tuscaroras showed a more advanced civilization than any of the Eastern tribes, they were jealous and revengeful, had more numerical strength, more prowess and were more belligerent, and influenced the weaker tribes near them. They were originally descended from the Monacans, a powerful nation whose territory extended from the domains of Powhattan down into Carolina, and who were well known to many of the early discoverers, they are believed by some to have been the aborigines of Eastern North Carolina. Although amalgamated with the Iroquois Confederation the Tuscaroras have even to this day preserved, in a great measure, their individuality. The Chowanokes evidently worshipped the maize, and decorated their pottery freely with the corn-cob. We do not know the exact shape of their cooking utensils, but judging from the fragments of pottery they must have been shaped very much like the modern flower pot. Calculating the diameter and capacity of the vessels from the segments found there was great

uniformity both of size and shape. The Indians knew the principle of the wedge, and applied its shape to their axes and tomahawks. There is a great similarity in them to the English axe, that implement and coat-of-arms of our civilization, this similarity of implements argue strongly the universal brotherhood of mankind.

In the great dismal surrounding Lake Scuppernong is a chain of small islands surrounded by pitfalls, which are believed to have been dug by the Indians to entrap large game, along the shores of the lake a vessel of soapstone, almost intact, was exhumed some time ago, and at the spot where the best perch abound.

To the east of Centre Hill, which forms the divide between Chowan and Perquimans Rivers, lies a vast tract of land called Bear Swamp, depressed fifteen or twenty feet below the surrounding country, and a number of years ago some parties in making an excavation just east of Centre Hill, where the land falls off into this great basin, discovered a boat of considerable dimensions, fairly well preserved, six or more feet below the surface: it is supposed to be of Indian origin, as there is an ancient tradition that it was centuries ago a great lake.[3]

The numerical strength of the Indians of Eastern North Carolina in 1710 was as follows: The Tuscaroras had fifteen towns; Haruta, Waqui, Contahnah, Anna-Ooka, Conauh-Kare, Harooka, Una-Nauhan, Kentanuska, Chunaneets, Kenta, Eno, Naurheghne, Oonossoora, Tosneoc, Nonawharitse, Nuhsoorooka and twelve hundred warriors; the Wacons two towns, Yupwarereman and Tooptatmere, one hundred

[3] In the branch of Pollock Swamp, which drains the southern extension of Bear Swamp, is a most remarkable natural formation in the shape of a salt deposit in the bottom of the swamp. It was first discovered by cattle going there to lick during long drouths when the bottom of the swamp was dry. During the Civil War, when salt was gold, some parties dug a well there, collected the water, and evaporated it in pans, making a very good quality of salt. When I visited this well several years ago, though the bottom of the swamp was entirely dry, the well was full of a sea-green water, which I examined and found strongly impregnated with salt.

and twenty warriors; the Machapungas one town, Maramiskeet, thirty warriors; the Bear River Indians one town, Rau dau-quaquank, fifty warriors; the Meherrins one town on Meherrin River, fifty warriors; the Chowans one town, Bennet's Creek, fifteen warriors; the Paspatanks one town on Paspatank River, ten warriors; the Poesketones one town on North River, thirty warriors; the Nottaways one town, Winoak Creek, thirty warriors; Hatteras Indians one town, Sand Banks, sixteen warriors; Connamox Indians two towns, Coranine and Raruta, twenty-five warriors; the Jaupins (probably Yeopims), only six people; and the Pamtigough Indians one town, an island, fifteen warriors. Upon a basis that three-fifths were old men, women and children there must have been at that time at least ten thousand Indians in Eastern North Carolina.

September 22, 1711, marks the day of the bloody Indian massacre in Eastern North Carolina, when 112 settlers and 80 infants were brutally murdered, and that day was kept with prayer and fasting throughout the colony for many years. With tomahawk and torch they swept like fiends incarnate over Eastern North Carolina, their bloody trail extending even to the northeastern shores of Albemarle Sound and Chowan River. The desperate war which followed was finally brought to a successful close by a series of victories through Col. James Moore and his allied Indians; Capt. Barnwell also contributed largely to the success of the war, killing more than five hundred Indians. The last of June, 1713, the Tuscaroras, who were occupying Fort Carunche, evacuated it and joined the rest of their nation on the Roanoke, soon to abandon North Carolina forever.

They migrated to the southeastern end of Lake Oneida, New York, where they joined the Iroquois Confederation, which was composed of five nations, viz.: the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas and the Senecas; the Tusca-

roras with their allies, the Chowans, the Saponas and some others, formed the Sixth Nation of this Confederation: a part of the Canadian Indians are descended from the Iroquois. King Tom Blount[4] and a few of his faithful warriors remained in Bertie for awhile, but just before the Revolution the few Tuscaroras who were left in that county then migrated to the North, and joined their brethren of the Six Nations. Before leaving they sold all their vast domain (53,000 acres) except a tract in Bertie County about twelve miles square, called Indian Woods, which they were compelled to lease for a long term of one hundred and thirty-seven years.

Succarusa, an old chief of this tribe, visited Bertie about 1830 to collect the rents due his people on that long lease, and while there he went to take a look at the Indian Gallows, this was the last footprint of the Indian upon the shores of the Albemarle.

A part of the Tuscarora tribe still reside in Western New York where they maintain a tribal government, divided into clans called Otter, Beaver, Wolf, Bear, etc. The title of Sachem Chief is still given to their governor. Thomas Williams (Takeryerter), belonging to the Beaver Clan and rather a young man, was Chief Sachem in 1890, and Elias Johnson (Towernakee), was then the historian of the tribe. In 1901 there were three hundred and seventy-one Tuscaroras, all wearing citizen's clothes, entirely civilized, the majority of them could read and write, and about five-sixths of them could speak English.

In 1768 they numbered	200
In 1779 they numbered	200
In 1822 they numbered (Then residing at Lewiston, on Lake Ontario.)	314
In 1825 they numbered	253
In 1867 they numbered	360

[4]The late King Kalakaua was a lineal descendant of King Tom Blount, one of his descendants having married into the royal family of the Sandwich Islands.

In 1775 three departments of Indian Affairs were created by Congress, and Willie Jones was one of the commissioners of the Southern Department. The Tuscarora reservation in New York in 1771 (from an old map made by order of Gov. Tryon, the erstwhile notorious Governor of North Carolina), comprised 6249 acres. After their removal to New York they were loyal to us in the Revolution and in the War of 1812; during the Civil War they furnished volunteers to the United States government. They are now peaceable and orderly, with very few laws, and fewer disturbances of the public peace; their income is small and they are poor, though there are very few paupers. The Tuscaroras have substantial churches with Sunday schools fairly well attended, the most of them are Baptists and Presbyterians, while some are still pagans. They farm, raise stock, make maple-sugar, also baskets and bead-work; hunt, trap and fish. The sewing machine has been introduced among the women. A part of the original Six Nations are also living in Wisconsin and Indian Territory. As with other people without a history the Six Nations rely greatly upon their myths, their legends, and their traditions. They account for the presence of the Seven-Stars or Pleiades in the heavens by a most remarkable story. Many years ago seven little boys wanted to give a feast by themselves, which was denied them by their parents, in defiance they secretly secured and cooked a little white dog, and while dancing around him in great glee some unseen spirit translated them to the heavens, and changed them into a constellation; and now when they watch the twinkling of the Seven Stars at night in the blue grotto of the skies they say it is the seven little boys dancing around the little white dog.

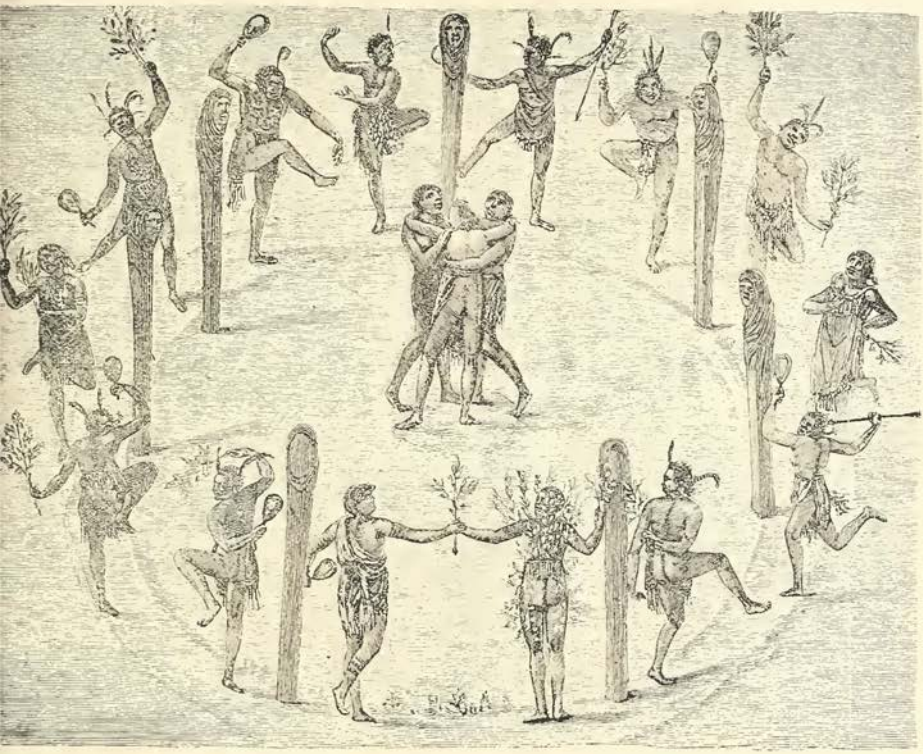
The Yeopims were never very strong and were settled along the shores of Perquimans and Little Rivers. They granted to George Durant two tracts of land, one deed dated

March 1, 1661, conveying a tract called Wecocomicke, now Durant's Neck, signed by Kilcocanen or Kistotanew, King of Yeopim, and recites "for a valuable consideration of satisfaction received with ye consent of my people"...."adjoining the land I formerly sold to Samuel Pricklove." Another deed dated August 4, 1661, and signed by Cuscutenew as King of Yeopim. These deeds were both registered October 24, 1716, and are now in Book "A," Register of Deeds office of Perquimans County.

An exploring party sent out by Sir Richard Grenville in 1586 sailed up the Chowan as high as the confluence of the Meherrin and Nottoway Rivers, just below which they found an Indian town called Opanock (not very far from the present town of Winton). These Indians were very numerous then and had seven hundred warriors in the field: they were the Meherrins.

Col. Byrd in his History of the Dividing Line, 1729, describes in his own unique, original fashion his visit to the town of the Nottoway Indians near the line, then about about 200 strong, "The young men had painted themselves in a Hideous Manner, not so much for Ornament as terror. In that frightful Equipage they entertained us with Sundry War Dances, wherein they endeavoured to look as formidable as possible. The Instrument they danced to was an Indian drum, that is a large Gourd with a skin bract tort over the Mouth of it. The Dancers all Sang to this Musick, keeping exact Time with their feet, while their Heads and Arms were screwed into a thousand Menacing Postures. Upon this occasion the Ladies had arrayed themselves in all their finery. They were Wrapt in their Red and Blue Match-Coats thrown so Negligently about them that their Mehogany Skin appeared in Several Parts like the Lacedaemonian Damsels of Old."

There is a body of distinct people, mostly white, now living in Robeson County, North Carolina, who are recognized by



THE DANCE OF THE CAROLINA INDIANS AS REPRESENTED BY JOHN WHITE IN 1585.

(Original in the British Museum.)

The Roanoke Indians at their festivals and councils drank the *Cassine*, which served them as a sort of stimulant: it was a decoction made from the dried leaves of Ilex Yupon, now drank under the name of Yupon Tea.

The reader is referred to Mr. Edward Eggleston's able discussion of the DeBry pictures in the Nation and Century magazines.

the State as the Croatans and given separate schools, and who by their own traditions trace their genealogy directly from the Croatans associated with the lost Raleigh Colony. Prof. Alexander Brown, of the Royal Historical Society of England, has discovered some old maps dating back to 1608-1610 clearly confirming, it is stated, the traditions of these people in regard to their lineage, and the reader is respectfully referred to those able pamphlets upon that subject by Mr. Hamilton McMillan and Dr. Stephen B. Weeks.

After the Tuscarora War was over the Chowanokes, who had remained all the while the faithful friends of the whites and were residing at their ancient town on the Chowan, called Mavaton, were allotted about four thousand acres of land between Sarum[5] and Bennet's Creek, mostly poquosin, and ordered to move there. Of this once populous tribe only about fifteen warriors then remained. They had originally two good towns, Muscamunge and Chowanock—Muscamunge was not very far from the present town of Edenton; they had also at one time more than seven hundred warriors in the field. King Hoyter was the last of the Chowanoke Kings in this section. But restless and dissatisfied they finally requested permission to cast their lot with the Saponas, who migrated North to the Tuscaroras and helped to form the complement of the Sixth Nation. In their intermarriage with various tribes, their divisions, their numerous migrations and amalgamations, they have become scattered all over the North and West, and it is impossible to trace them.

So passed the pure blood of the Chowanokes, and has been lost and blended with the various tribes of our frontier—that fantastic caravan which is marching sadly to its own funeral

[5] An old map of this section shows a chapel just south of Bennet's Creek, which must have been the Sarum Chapel of the early ministers of the S. P. G. A school, the first in North Carolina, was at one time located at Sarum for the religious and educational training of these indians. Lawson says that in 1714 they were still residing on Bennet's Creek.

pyre across the golden West, but when the dreamy Indian summer spreads its blue hazy gauze over the landscape like a veiled prophet, and the autumn leaves are painted upon the easel of the first frost, and the grand amphitheater of the forest is carpeted with the richest patterns of Axminster, and the whole world is a wonderland spread upon a gigantic canvass of earth, and sky, and water—when the glittering belt of Mazzaroth spans the heavens, and the jewels sparkle brightest in the dagger of Orion, it is then that the grim phantom of the red man returns to his old hunting ground, as erst he did: All feathered and with leather buskins, and bow put crosswise on his breast, in his periagua he crosses the Great Divide of the Spirit Land, and from under the black zone of the shore-shadows he glides into the moonlight—out upon the dimpled, polished mirror of the river—Hark! you can hear each stroke of his paddle, if the wind down the river is fair.

GLIMPSES OF HISTORY IN THE NAMES OF OUR COUNTIES.

BY KEMP P. BATTLE, LL.D.

No people can have a proper self-respect who are not familiar with the deeds of their ancestors. We North Carolinians have been deficient in this regard. Men will tell you more of Bunker Hill and Brandywine than of the more important, more decisive battles of King's Mountain and Guilford Court-House. They know fairly well the incidents of past times in other countries, often very minutely—that Caesar was bald and was subject to epileptic fits, that Cleopatra did not have the color and thick lips of a negro, that Queen Elizabeth was red-haired and Queen Anne was fat and had seventeen children, all of whom died young—but when you ask them about the great men of North Carolina whose valor gained our independence, whose statesmanship shaped our political destinies and whose teachings moulded our minds and morals, their answers are vague and unsatisfactory.

The names of the counties of our State are especially instructive. Associations with every epoch of our history are wrapped up in or suggested by them. Only one seems to be what is called a "fancy name," and even that, Transylvania, in its sonorous beauty, recalls the fact of our kinship to the great conquering, law-giving race inhabiting the imperial city of the Old World on the banks of the Tiber, from whom we derived much of our blood and more of our speech through the Norman-Roman-Celtic people, who followed William the Conqueror into England. We find it first in the ambitious but futile enterprise of Judge Richard Henderson and his associates, the Transylvania colony.

Counties are created for the convenience of the people who

reside in them. In a State gradually filled up by immigration the times of their formation indicate quite accurately the flow of such immigration. The names given to them by the legislatures were as a rule intended to compliment persons or things then held in peculiar honor. As the statutes do not, except in two instances, mention those intended to be commemorated, we are forced to study the history of the times, to look thro' the eyes of our ancestors and thus gather their intention. Combining the dates of formation with the names of the counties we gather many interesting and important facts connected with the past.

I premise that the Spaniards once claimed our territory to be Florida. Queen Elizabeth in the Raleigh charter named it with other territory, Virginia. Charles I. (or Carolus), in the Heath charter named it Carolina, so when Charles II. in the grant to the Lords Proprietors retained the name Carolina, of course our State name comes from his father. It was not called from Charles IX., of France, as Bancroft and others say.

North Carolina has, by the creation of the county of Columbus, to the extent of her power, repaired the wrong done the learned and daring Genoese in allowing the name of Americus Vespucius to be affixed to the New World.

Our easternmost county, along which rolls the majestic ocean, which has within its limits stormy Hatteras and the lovely island of Roanoke, its county seat named after the good Indian Manteo, records only an infant's wail, a dark mystery—a memory of pathos and of wonder.

What was the fate of Virginia Dare, the first infant born to the impetuous, daring, energetic race, in a few short years to replace the forests of her day with all the grand works of eighty millions of civilized people! Did the tomahawk crash into her brain? Did she become the squaw of an Indian war-

rior, and did the governor's granddaughter end her days in the wigwam of a savage? Recent writers, Hamilton McMillan and Stephen B. Weeks, have brought many plausible arguments to prove that the lost colony wandered to the swamps of Robeson, and the white man's desperate energy and the red man's treacherous guile created the cunning, cruel, ferocious, bloody Henry Berry Lowery and his gang.

North Carolina was the victim of a gigantic monopoly. After restoration of Charles II., in the first flush of his gratitude, to eight of his great lords he granted of his royal prerogative a tract of land stretching across this continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the parallel which divides North Carolina from Virginia to that which passes through Florida by Cedar Keys. No claim, however, was ever made west of the Mississippi river, and part of that east of it was given up.

The names of these favored lords were: Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, William, Lord Craven, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, Sir John Colleton. You find those names, besides in Albemarle Sound, in the counties of Craven and Carteret. The county of Colleton is in South Carolina.

Only one of these ever resided in America, Sir Wm. Berkeley, a member of a noble family which in the most dismal days of Charles I. and his son, were staunch adherents to the crown, suffering banishment and confiscation for its sake. He was the Governor Berkeley of Virginia who suppressed Bacon's rebellion in so bloody a way that Charles II. said: "That old fool has taken more lives without offence in that naked country than I in all England for the murder of my father," and who thanked his God that "there were no free schools or printing press here, and I hope I shall have none of them these hundred years."

Among them you will notice conspicuous lights in English History. There was the Lord Chancellor, Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, the eminent historian, whose daughter, wife of James II., was the mother of two queens, Mary and Anne. There was Anthony Ashley Cooper, the brilliant and wicked Earl of Shaftesbury, who, notwithstanding his wickedness, was one of the chief authors of that monument of liberty, the Habeas Corpus Act. And there was General Monk, the Cromwellian general, by whose skill and prudence Charles II. was restored to the throne without bloodshed. His title you will recognize not only in our eastern sound but in the county seat of Stanly. Two of Shaftesbury's names may be seen in the two rivers, Ashley and Cooper, which surround Charleston, while a kinsman of Earl Clarendon became Governor Hyde, of North Carolina, and his name was given to an eastern county.

The Lords Proprietors contemplated a county called Clarendon, after Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon, who took his title from a royal hunting seat in Wiltshire, England, but the settlers moved away and the county fell still-born.

The first successful municipal corporation in the State was Albemarle, comprising all of the area around the Albemarle Sound. The plan was to have very large counties, composed of "Precincts." Two only were created—Albemarle, composd of Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Chowan, Tyrrell and Bertie, and Bath, composed of Beaufort, Hyde, Craven, Carteret, New Hanover, Tyrrell, Edgecombe, Bladen, Onslow. These minor divisions were called Precincts.

Albemarle perpetuates the ducal title of General Monk. In France it took the form of Aumale, and was the title of a famous duke of recent years, a member of the Orleans family. Until 1696 Albemarle was the only large political organization in our limits. In that year Bath County was created out of territory bordering on Pamlico Sound and as far South

as Cape Fear River. It was named in honor of John Granville, Earl of Bath, whose daughter Grace married Sir George Carteret, grandson of the Lord Proprietor of the same name. Sir George dying in 1695, the Earl of Bath represented his infant grandson, Sir John Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville.

In 1738 the great counties of Albemarle and Bath, with their Marshals and Deputy Marshals and separate courts were abolished and the Precincts became counties. For convenience sake I will call these latter counties from the beginning.

In 1672 there were four, some say, others three, precincts, the eastern being Carteret, the western Shaftesbury, the middle Berkeley (pronounced Barclay), and the other unknown. Twelve years afterwards the names were changed to Currituck, Chowan, Pasquotank and Perquimans, the former name of Pasquotank being lost, if it ever existed.

In 1729 the representatives of seven of the great lords finding in their possessions neither honor nor profit but only continual torment, sold their rights to the crown for only $12,500 each, it being a wonderful illustration of the rapid growth of the country, that about 170 years ago lands through the heart of the continent were sold at the rate of 18,000 acres for $1.00.

My father was a practicing lawyer at the time of this great sale, when the lands of North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas and California were disposed of at the rate of 100 acres for one cent.

Sixty-six years, as in other sublunary matters, make great changes in property and titles. Families die out, estates are sold, men pass away and others stand in their shoes, and so it came to pass that the Lords Proprietors of 1729, in the time of George II., were different men from the Lords Proprietors of 1663, in the reign of Charles II.

We find the names of some of these new owners affixed to counties in our State. There are Granville and Beaufort, county and town, from Henry, Duke of Beaufort, Bertie county from James and John Bertie, Tyrrell from Sir John Tyrrell.

From 1729 the State was a colony under the government of England until the war of the Revolution.

It was fashionable to compliment members of the royalty or nobility or statesmen, connected officially with the colonies, by giving their names to municipal organizations of the new country. Hence we have Orange, after a collateral descendant of the great King who banished the Stuarts, New Hanover and Brunswick in compliment to the Georges, Cumberland after the great duke who defeated Charles Edward at Culloden, Johnston after good old Governor Gabriel Johnston, Martin after Governor Josiah Martin. We had once Dobbs and Tryon, after provincial governors. We have Onslow after Arthur Onslow, Edgecombe from Baron Richard Edgecombe, Bladen, after Martin Bladen, Duplin, after Lord Duplin, Baron Hay, Hertford, Halifax, Wilmington, Hillsboro, Bute, Richmond, Northampton after the father of the Earl of Wilmington, after noblemen of those names, all of whom held places of trust in the mother country. I will tell particularly of others.

Of all the statesmen of England the most brilliant was the first Wm. Pitt, fondly named by the people the Great Commoner. He was eminent for fiery and impetuous eloquence. In a venal age the purity of his morals were unquestioned. He made Great Britain the first nation of the world. He wrested Canada from the French. He founded the British Empire in India. As Lamartine says, "He was a public man in all the greatness of the phrase—the soul of a nation personified in an individual—the inspiration of a people in the heart of a patrician."

In 1760, in the plentitude of his fame, the year after Wolfe fell victorious on the heights of Quebec, by the influence of the Royal Governor Dobbs, a new county formed from Craven was called after the great English minister.

Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville, refused to part with his one-eighth share, and to him in 1744 was allotted a territory 3,000 miles long and about 70 miles broad, between the parallel near the centre of North Carolina, 35 degrees 34 minutes, and that which forms the Virginia line. The counties created while his land office was open for purchasers derived their rectangular shape from being made conformable to his boundaries, just as the counties of our new States are not defined by running streams and mountain ridges and the curved limits of swamps, but by the surveyor's chain and the theodolite. The straight line north of Moore, Montgomery, Stanly, Cabarrus, Mecklenburg, and south of Chatham, Randolph, Davidson, Rowan and Iredell shows on the map the southern limit of Granville's great property.

In the beginning of this century there occurred at Raleigh a battle of giants. The scene of the conflict was the Circuit Court of the United States. The arbiter of the fray was Judge Henry Potter. On the side of the plaintiffs the leader was William Gaston. On the side of the defendant the most eminent was Duncan Cameron. It was the heirs of Earl Granville struggling to get back from the people of North Carolina the magnificent estate which they had won by the sword. When the fight was ended all that remained to the heirs of the noble Earl was the honor of naming one of our counties Granville. They carried their futile quest to the Supreme Court of the United States, but the war of 1812 was coming on and the plaintiff retired from the pursuit, somewhat placated by a large indemnity from the British Treasury.

Lord Carteret took possession of his North Carolina territory in 1744. He sent forth his agents, Childs, Frohock and others, and opened his land offices and made his sales. His practice was to require reservations of quit-rents to be paid yearly. The settlers had the double burden of paying rents on their lands to Granville and poll taxes to the royal governor at Newbern.

The money raised from these exactions was carried to England or to Newbern, and no expenditure was made of appreciable benefit to taxpayers. A few officials about Hillsboro gathered large fees, and grew fat, and a grand Governor's Palace was built in a far-off town. So rage grew fierce and tempers waxed fiery hot, and the old flint and steel rifles were rubbed up and oiled and bullets were moulded, and rusty scythe blades were sharpened for swords, and from the hills of Granville to the secluded gorges of the Brushy Mountains the Regulators banded together, and the struggle against oppression had its beginning.

It was a duty that we the inheritors of the liberty won in part by their valor, should show our appreciation of their efforts, by giving to one of the most thriving counties in the State the name of Alamance, from the name of the battle which crushed them.

Let us proceed with our story. There were four counties created by Governor Tryon a year before the battle of Alamance, in 1770, Guilford, Surry, Chatham and Wake. Whence these names?

It is difficult for the present generation to understand the feelings of our ancestors towards Lord North, afterwards Earl of Guilford. He was not a bad nor a cruel man. He was in England personally wonderfully popular. He combined, like our Vance, genius and power with multiform wit and unfading good humor. But he was in favor of taxing America, and we hated him.

Previous to 1770 the county of Rowan covered nearly all Granville's territory west of the Yadkin, and much east of that river. Orange, then of extensive area, joined it on the east. To prevent combination among the Regulators, Governor Tryon procured the incorporation of four new counties, and wishing to please all parties he called one after the Earldom of Guilford, of which Lord North was heir apparent, another Surry, in honor of Lord Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, a follower of Chatham; a third Chatham, after the great opponent of Lord North, with its county-seat at Pittsborough, and the fourth after the maiden name of his wife.

The difference between the new and the old country grew and became more angry and wide. Again was the sound of cannon heard among our hills. With consummate generalship Greene baffled the trained soldiers of Cornwallis, and at Guilford Court House, though not technically a victor, prepared the way for Yorktown.

The obstinate King and his minister were forced to yield and a new ministry, headed by one of the warmest friends of the colonies, Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham, paved the way for the acknowledgement of our independence. And, as if with a grim irony, our ancestors carved from the territory of Guilford, as a punishment for its namesake's misconduct, its northern half, and gave to it and its county-seat the names of his conquering rival. To the great General who had snatched victory from defeat, and rescued from British thraldom the Southern province, they expressed their gratitude not only by a gift of 25,000 acres of land, but kept his memory ever honored and his name ever green, by assigning it to a rich county and county seat in the east, and to the county seat of Guilford, destined to become a prosperous inland city.

The gratitude of our ancestors for the services of those abroad and at home, in legislative halls and in the conflicts of

war, who had fought for our liberties, did not end here. By the neighbor of old Guilford on the south they commemorated the labors and virtues of the first President of the Continental Congress, Peyton Randolph, whose kinsmen, Edmund Randolph and John Randolph, of Roanoke, afterwards became so conspicuous.

Different sections of old Surry bear the names of John Wilkes, the champion of liberty, the victorious foe of arbitrary arrests, an ardent supporter of the Marquis of Rockingham, and John Stokes, covered with honorable scars of battle, the first Judge of the District Court of North Carolina. And dotted over the State are many other evidences of the gratitude of our people for the sufferings and success of the old heroes, not in brass and marble, but in the more enduring forms of counties and town of fairest lands and noblest men and women—such as Washington and Montgomery, Warren and Gates, Lincoln and Wayne, Franklin and Madison, from other States, and from our own limits, Ashe, Lenoir and Harnett, Buncombe and Caswell, Cleveland and McDowell, Davidson and Davie, Nash and Person, Robeson and Sampson, Rutherford and Stokes, Alexander and Iredell, Jones, Moore and Burke. Their friends in England, the leaders of the peace party which, after a long struggle, forced the obstinate King to grant independence to the colonies, not only the Marquis of Rockingham and John Wilkes and Lord Surrey, whom I have named, but Chief Justice Camden and the Duke of Richmond were honored in this land so far from the scene of their labors.

Governor Gabriel Johnston, the able Scotchman, who was by far the best Governor our State had prior to the Revolution, died in 1752, a year memorable for the change of Old Style into New Style Calendar. Shortly before his death the county of Anson was created, including all the western

part of the State and Tennessee south of Granville's line. After the death of Johnston, for a short while Nathaniel Rice, and on his death Matthew Rowan, an estimable man, as President of the Council, acted as Governor until superseded by the Scotch-Irishman, Governor Dobbs.

It was found best to erect a new county, comprising all the lands of Lord Granville west of Orange. The new county was called Rowan, in honor of the acting Governor. Nine years afterwards, in 1762, Mecklenburg was cut off from Anson and its county seat was called Charlotte.

In 1761, the Admiral George, Lord Anson, with all the pomp and splendor which the British navy could supply, was bringing from Germany a blooming bride to the young King George III. Her name was Charlotte. She was a princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

Few men stand out in English history more distinguished for romantic daring as a navigator, for the strong, sturdy qualities of English sailors, descendants of the old Northmen who issued from their frozen fiords in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, like an irresistible torrent to conquer the nations, than George Lord Anson. He led a squadron around Cape Horn in the perils of winter, and after many captures of Spanish ships and towns, circumnavigated the globe. He was the pioneer of the great victories of the English navy.

George Lord Anson was the teacher of Nelson. He it was who gave the daring order which has led to so many victories over overwhelming odds, by English over French and Spaniards: "Close with the enemy, gun to gun, hand to hand, cutlass to cutlass, no matter what odds against you." In early life he purchased lands on the waters of the Peedee, but his dreams of forest happiness were broken by the alarm of war. In 1749, when at the zenith of his popularity, his name was given to the vast country which extended from the limits of Bladen to the far waters of the mighty Mississippi.

George the Third began his reign in 1760, for a few short years, one of the most popular kings who ever sat on a throne, both at home and in the colonies. When his bride, the homely but sensible and pious Charlotte, came from the north of Germany to England, she was the favorite of the day. It was the fashion to admire everything Prussian from the stern Frederick, then striking some of the most terrific blows of the seven-year war, to the blooming maiden, whether princess or ganzemadchen. The bride was received in London with enthusiastic ovations. Her manner, conversation and dress were heralded as if she were a goddess. Her manners were pronounced by no less a judge than Horace Walpole as "decidedly genteel." Her dress was of white satin, brocaded with gold, distended by enormous hoops. She had a stomacher of diamonds. On her head was a cap of finest lace, stiffened so as to resemble a butterfly, fastened to the front of the head by jewels. I quote one of her speeches. When she arrived in front of St. James' Palace, where she was to meet the groom, the bride turned pale. The Duchess of Hamilton rallied her. The princess replied: "Yes, my dear Duchess, you may laugh, you are not going to be married, but it is no joke to me." It was a tremendously exciting time.

Horace Walpole writes, "Royal marriages, coronations and victories come tumbling over one another from distant parts of the globe like the words of a lady romance writer—I don't know where I am—I had scarce found Mecklenburg-Strelitz with a magnifying glass on the map before I was whisked to Pondicherry. Then thunder go the Tower guns; behold the French are totally defeated by Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, at the battle of Minden." The joy of this period and the satisfaction over this marriage extended to the wilds of North Carolina, and the good queen's name, Charlotte of Mecklenburg, was affixed, as soon as the news

came, to a county and its capital. She was a model of domestic virtue, and the court, through her influence, was pure in the midst of a corrupt society. And when our ancestors, in the angry passions of war in 1779, expunged from the map the hated name of Tryon, when the inhabitants of this section were the fiercest fighters against her husband, their swords as sharp as hornet stings, they allowed the name of the good queen to remain as a perpetual tribute to all womanly virtues.

Note the coincidence, that just as Admiral Anson introduced Charlotte of Mecklenburg into England as its queen, so in the distant colony the county of Anson in North Carolina political history, went before and was usher to the county of Mecklenburg.

It should be a warning lesson to all rulers that only 13 years after this ebullition of loyal affection the most defiant resolutions and the most spirited action against England's king came from those enlightened men whose county and town bore the name of England's queen. The chords of sentimental devotion snapped when strained by hard and real assaults on inherited liberties. With many a sigh over the sweet past, now turned into bitterness, our ancestors addressed themselves to the stern task before them.

Some of our counties bear the names of Indian tribes which once roamed over these hills and dales. There are Cherokee and Currituck, Catawba and Chowan, Watauga and Pasquotank, Alleghany and Perquimans, Yadkin* and Pamlico. A miserable remnant of the Cherokees still live under the shadow of the Smokies. As these people passed away toward the setting sun they left here and there their musical names, well nigh the sole relic of their language, their sepulchral mounds and mouldering skeletons and tawdy

*It is contended by some that Yadkin is a corrupt pronunciation of Adkin, the name of an old settler on this river.

ornaments within, almost the sole reminders of their stalwart warriors and graceful maidens; their arrows and tomahawk heads, the harmless mementos of their once dreaded weapons of war.

CORNWALLIS VS. MORGAN AND GREENE.

Two of the Piedmont counties, Catawba and Yadkin, have rivers flowing by and through them, bearing their names, which bring to mind most thrilling incidents of the Revolutionary war. The gallant Morgan, fighting in defiance of the prudential maxims of war, had humbled Tarleton at Cowpens and captured many prisoners, guns and ammunition. Cornwallis, only 25 miles distant, with his trained army of veterans, hastened to avenge the disgrace. It was in the dead of winter. The roads were softened by continued rains. For twelve days the pursuit continued. Nearer and nearer rushed on the pursuing foe. Success seemed almost in Cornwallis' grasp. From the summit of every hill could be seen only a few miles off the retreating columns, foot-store and weary, in front the luckless prisoners, in the rear the dauntless rear-guards. Softly and pleasantly flowed the river over the pebbles of its Island Ford. Swiftly and easily through the waters the flying column passed. Up the steep hills they toiled and then rested for the night, while the vengeful British, only two hours behind, waited until the morning light should direct their steps to sure and easy victory.

MAN PROPOSES, GOD DISPOSES.

The race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong. As the Red Sea waves saved the trembling Israelites from boasting Pharaoh's hordes, as Old Father Tiber drove back Lars Porsena of Clusium from the gates of Rome, where Horatius kept the bridge, so the mighty Catawba roused himself in his fury to thwart the exulting Briton. From the

slopes of the Brushy, and South and Linville and the distant Blue Ridge Mountains poured the angry torrents, and when the gray light of morning broke a yellow flood, swift and deep and strong, raged in his front. The Greeks or the Romans would have deified the protecting river, and in a lofty temple, with splendid architectural adornments, would have been a noble statue carved with wonderful art dedicated to Catawba Salvator, the protecting river god.

After a short rest, Cornwallis, who was an active and able officer, in later years distinguished as Viceroy of Ireland and Governor-General of India, burnt the superfluous baggage of his troops and hurried to overtake and destroy Greene's army, then being gathered out of the fragments of the forces of Gates scattered at Camden. Small bodies of militia guarded the fords of the Catawba, now become passable. At Cowan's ford was a young officer, who had gained promotion under the eye of the great Washington at Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. He was in the place of Rutherford, captured at Camden, Brigadier-General of the militia of the section. He was an active and able commander who had infused his fiery energy and pluck into the people. Making a pretended attack at Beattie's ford, Cornwallis directed all the force of his army at Cowan's ford. A spirited resistance was made against the overwhelming odds and the young general was left dead on the bloody field. The Continental Congress, in grateful recognition of his services, voted that a monument be erected to his memory, but a hundred years have not witnessed the inception of this worthy undertaking.

North Carolina has erected a far more enduring cenotaph by giving the name of William Davidson to one of her most prosperous counties.

Forward in rapid retreat push the thin columns of Greene, forward press the strong forces of Cornwallis. The fortunes

of the entire Southern country tremble in the balance. If Greene's army shall be saved, he will rally around him the scattered patriots and soon confront his adversary, ready on more equal terms to contend for the mastery. If it shall be overtaken nothing can save it from destruction, and from the James river to the Chattahooche the standard of King George will be raised over a conquered people. The eyes of all friends of liberty are turned with alarmed anxiety toward the unequal contest.

Again does the god of battle interpose to thwart the well-laid scheme. Again do the descending floods dash their angry waters against the baffled Britons. Again does the flushed and furious foe stand powerless. The noble Yadkin emulates her sister, Catawba, and interposes her swollen stream, fierce and deep, between him and the object of his vengeance.

DAVIE AND THE UNIVERSITY.

Davie was the Father of the University. Joseph Caldwell was its first President, cared for it in its early years, while Swain carried on his work. Alfred Moore, and John Haywood, an able Attorney-General and Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, assisted as Trustees in selecting its site, while Mitchell lost his life in her service. After all these were counties named. One of the most active co-fighters with Davidson in checking the enemy and gaining time for gathering strength to meet him in the field was William Richardson Davie, at first a cavalry officer and then in the more arduous but more useful position of Commissary General. He was a strong staff on which General Greene had leaned. He was conspicuous in civil pursuits; an able lawyer, an orator of wide influence. He was afterwards Governor of the State; one of the Envoys of the United States to the Court of France, who averted a threatened war. I

find him styled in the Journal of the University in 1810, "the Father of the University," and he well deserves the title. We have his portrait at the University. His face shows his character, elegant, refined, noble, intellectual, firm. It was most fitting that Davidson and Davie should be side-by-side on the banks of the rivers which witnessed their patriotism, and in the country whose liberties they gained.

The county of Wayne brings to our minds the great soldier, the military genius of whom electrified the well-nigh despairing colonists by the brilliant capture of Stony Point.

James Glasgow was one of the most trusted men of the Revolution. In conjunction with Alexander Gaston, the father of Judge Gaston, and Richard Cogdell, grandfather of George E. Badger, he was one of the Committee of Safety of Newbern District. He was Major of the Regiment of the county of Dobbs.

When North Carolina, on the 18th of December, 1776, adopted its constitution and took its place among the free States of the earth, Richard Caswell was its first Governor and James Glasgow its first Secretary of State. A grateful Legislature gave to a county formed out of old Orange, mother of counties of great men, the appellation of Caswell. And when it expunged from our map the odious remembrance of Dobbs, no name was found more worthy to designate one of the counties carved out of its territory than Glasgow.

Behold the reward of dishonesty and crime: The name of Greene has supplanted on the map that of the obliterated Glasgow, and on the records of the Free and Accepted Masons the black, dismal lines of disgrace are drawn around the signature of the poor wretch, who was weighed in the balance and found wanting.

Among the heroic men who poured out their life-blood on distant battlefields—on the far-away hills of Canada—there

was none more gallant than Benjamin Forsyth, whose name survives in one of the most flourishing counties in our State.

The war of 1812 does not seem to have stirred the hearts of our people to great extent, as I find no county names from its heroes except Forsyth. I feel sure that Jackson was honored for his Presidential and Creek Indian services as much as for the victory of New Orleans and Clay for his popularity with his party, long after his service as War Speaker of the House of Representatives.

EASTERN AND WESTERN CONTROVERSY.

The constitution of 1776 was formed at a time when hatred and fear of executive power and of kingly government were at the utmost. Hence resulted an instrument under which nearly all the powers were in the hands of the General Assembly. This body appointed the Governor, and chief State officers, the Attorney-General and Solicitors, the Judges and all the militia officers, and likewise controlled their salaries. Then, as now, it elected the Justices of the Peace, and these officers elected the Sheriffs and other county officers. The Assembly thus controlled the executive and judicial branches. It had unlimited power of taxation and could incur unlimited public debt. It could, and did, tax one kind of property, and exempt others.

The powers of the Legislature of 1776 being so great it was important that the different sections of the State should have in the elections of the members equivalent voice. But this was very far from being the case. The Senate consisted of one member from each county. The House of two from each county and six, afterwards seven, Borough members. In 1776 there were 25 Eastern and 8 Western counties. In both branches the West was outnumbered 3 to 1.

The wonderful invention which is effecting greater changes in behalf of mankind than all the inventions the world ever

saw before, the railroad, inflamed to fever heat, the hostility of the Western people to the old constitution, which had been quickened a dozen years before when canal digging everywhere had been inaugurated by the finishing of the Erie Canal, of New York. An agitation ensued which shook the State from the Smoky Mountains to Chickamicomico—the West demanding in thunder tones the correction of the abominable inequality and injustice of representation by counties.

One of the most prominent leaders in this movement so important to the West was Wm. Julius Alexander, in 1828 Speaker of the House of Commons, afterwards Solicitor of the Western District, in his prime one of the most popular and able men of this section. He was, young people will be interested in learning, likewise distinguished for having won the hand of a most beautiful and admired belle, Catharine Wilson, whose charms attracted visitors from distant regions.

Some of the other prominent actors in this struggle, such as Cabarrus, Macon, Gaston, Yancey, Stanly, Swain, Henderson, Graham, are represented in your list of counties.

The deep valleys which separate the hills of Devonshire in England are called "coombes," or as we spell it, "combes." On the margin of the Tamar, which with the Plym, forms the noble harbour of Plymouth, rises a hill noted for its picturesque loveliness. It is called Mount Edgecombe (the edge or margin of the valley). It is the territorial title of an English Earl. In 1733 Sir Richard, Baron Edgecombe, was a lord of the Treasury, and it was in his honor that the new-born county in North Carolina was called. The eminent Admiral, George, Earl of Edgecombe, was his son.

The name Wilson brings to our minds one of the best types of North Carolina statesmen. He was long the trusted representative in the State Senate of a people who required of their public men, prudence, economy, and strictest integrity.

It was when he might have been seeking the repose of an honorable old age that Louis D. Wilson offered his services as a volunteer in the war with Mexico. It was a grateful act on the part of the General Assembly, on the motion of the people who loved him and whom he loved, and to whose poor he bequeathed the bulk of his fortune, to name the county cut off mostly from his native Edgecombe in his perpetual honor.

The county of Nash is, like Wilson, the daughter of Edgecombe. In one of the darkest hours of the Revolution, after famine and freezing cold had reduced our troops almost to despair, fell General Francis Nash, brother of Governor Abner Nash, at Germantown. The General Assembly in the year of the battle created this county as his monument. All who knew his nephew, the late Chief Justice Frederick Nash, so distinguished for Christian virtues and the natural courtesy of the perfect gentleman, could trace in him the features of the chivalric military hero. It was reserved for a large-hearted citizen of Pennsylvania, Mr. John F. Watson, with the aid of his townsmen of Germantown, to erect a marble shaft over his dust at Kulpsville, where his shattered body was interred in the presence of Washington and his gallant army in 1777, amid the falling of the October leaves.

In a distant part of the State, among the peaks and ravines of the Blue Ridge, is the memorial county, as is stated in the charter, of another Revolutionary hero, who was wounded when Nash was killed, who fought also at Brandywine, Camden, Guilford Court House and Eutaw, and was a leading citizen for half a century after the achievement of our independence, Lieutenant-Colonel William Polk, one of our earliest and wisest friends of higher education.

Another epoch in our history I will mention and my paper will be finished. It is the great Civil War, in which North Carolina struggled for the victory with all the con-

sciousness of rectitude, with all the devotion of patriotism and the desperate energy of a high-spirited race unused to defeat and fighting for what they thought their rights. She threw without grudging the sacrifice into the tremendous vortex the most valued of her treasures and the noblest of her sons. Although defeated and for a season crushed, she could not forget those who at her bidding served so faithfully and strove so manfully, albeit vainly, with muscle and brain to carry out her orders. She bows obediently to the decision of the God of Battles, yet in her great warm heart she cherishes the fame and the sufferings of her sons, and hence we find on the map of the State the name of one of Lee's best generals, the gallant Pender, whose blood stained the heights of Gettysburg, and of him who after a short, faithful service at the front, became the best War Governor of the South, who in the direst needs of the Confederacy fed and clothed our North Carolina soldiers and re-animated their drooping spirits with fervid eloquence, our beloved Senator, Zebulon Baird Vance. Illustrating this and other periods in legislative halls is, in the front rank of our statesmen, William A. Graham.

It is most fitting that the extraordinary advancement in industrial enterprise, first inaugurated in the town of Durham, should be recognized by our law-making power in the creation of the county of the same name. May it be an incitement to and prognostication of the development of our resources and the increase of wealth in our borders. The name is all the more fitting because to the Lords Proprietors were given the almost royal powers of the Bishop of Durham.

In conclusion, the county last created transfers to our map the name of the land so full of associations of beauty and of grandeur, from which, partly by direct immigration, partly by way of North Ireland, so many of our ablest and best people came—Scotland.

And now let us point the moral of these glimpses of past history. When you hear the names of our counties, do not stand with vacant eyes. Let them bring to mind the teachings associated with their names, the various epochs of our history, Indian traditions, hereditary aristocracy, colonial systems, the horrors of war, the upward march toward constitutional liberty, the triumphs of industry, the advance of civilization and of Christianty. In remembering the leaders do not forget the humble followers, "the unnamed demigods of history," as Kossuth calls them, who gained so much for their descendants and for mankind generally, and lie in forgotten graves.

From the exterminated Indians learn a great political lesson. If their warring tribes could have united and opposed their combined strength against the European invaders, they might for many years have held their homes, and in the end amalgamated with their conquerors. Let us all discard past differences and cherish the union of the States, for in that Union, the States "distinct as the billows, yet one as the sea," in the words of the poet, or in the language of the Supreme Court, an "indissoluble union of indestructible States," lies our strength. Let the hatreds of our great Civil War be buried forever. The God of Battles has decided against the idea of secession. On the walls of the Atheneum in Boston are two swords crossed, their deadly mission ended. Under them is an inscription showing that they belonged to the ancestors of the historian, Prescott, who fought on opposite sides on Bunker Hill. The old warfare of Whigs and Tories has long since ceased, and in like manner let the descendants of those who followed the Stars and Stripes, shoulder to shoulder with those above whom waved the Stars and Bars, strive to gain all moral excellence and all material prosperity for the great Republic of the World.

ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS FRANKLAND.

A COLONIAL ADMIRAL OF THE CAPE FEAR.

BY JAMES SPRUNT, BRITISH VICE-CONSUL AT WILMINGTON, N. C.

The Colonial plantations on the lower Cape Fear River have long yielded to the patient and persevering student of local literature a generous contribution of interesting history pertaining to the eventful years which marked the destiny of a brave and generous people. Throughout the Colonial period these important estates were held by men of eminence and of action, and from that time to the present day their owners have been gentlemen to the manner born, fitted by birth and education for the highest social and civic stations. Read, for example, the line of "Orton" proprietors who have lived upon this land for nearly two hundred years.

Originally obtained by patent from the Lords Proprietors under Charles II. in 1725, to Col. Maurice Moore, then "King" Roger Moore, William Moore 2nd, Governor Arthur Dobbs, Governor Wm. Tryon, Richard Quince 1st, Richard Quince 2nd, Richard Quince 3rd, Governor Benjamin Smith, Dr. Fred J. Hill, Richard Currer Roundell (a nephew of Lord Selbourne, Lord Chancellor of England), and, lastly, to the late Col. K. M. Murchison.

The lordly residence of the Chief Justice Eleazer Allen, upon the adjacent plantation of Lilliput, which was distinguished in his day by a large and liberal hospitality, has long since disappeared, but the grand old oaks which lifted their majestic branches to the soft south breezes in Colonial times, still sing their murmured requiem above a "boundless contiguity of shade."

Here, upon the banks of our historic river, which stretches two miles to the eastern shore, is heard the booming of the broad Atlantic as it sweeps in its might and majesty

from Greenland to the Gulf. Along the shining beach, from Fisher to Fort Caswell, its foaming breakers run and roar, the racing steeds of Neptune, with their white crested manes, charging and reforming for the never ending fray.

The adjacent larger plantation of Kendal, originally owned by "King" Roger Moore, from whom it passed to others of his descendants, was later the property of James Smith, a brother of Governor Benjamin Smith's, and it was here, near the banks of Orton creek, which divides this estate from the splendid domain of Orton, with its 10,000 acres, that the quarrel between the Smith brothers ended by the departure of James to South Carolina, where he assumed his mother's name, Rhett, leaving his intolerant and choleric brother Benjamin to a succession of misfortunes, disappointments and distresses, which brought him at last to a pauper's grave. Aide de camp to Washington, a General of the State Militia, a Governor of the State, a benefactor of the University, a melancholy example of public ingratitude.

Behind Kendal is McKenzie's Mill Dam, the scene of a battle between the British troops and the minute men from Brunswick and from Wilmington.

We linger at Orton, the most attractive of all the old English estates on the Cape Fear. For a hundred and eighty-one years it has survived the vicissitudes of war, pestilence and famine, and until the recent death of its last proprietor has maintained its reputation of Colonial days for a refined and generous hospitality. Here in the exhilaration of the hunter, the restful seclusion of the angler, the quiet quest of the naturalist, the peaceful contemplation of the student, is found surcease from the vanities and vexations of urban life. For nearly two centuries it has been a haven of rest and recreation to its favoured guests. The house, or Hall, built by "King" Roger Moore in 1725, with its stately white pillars

gleaming in the sunshine through the surrounding forest, is a most pleasing vista to the passing mariner. The river view stretches for ten miles southward and eastward, including "Big Sugar Loaf," Fort Anderson, Fort Buchanan and Fort Fisher.

We love its traditions and its memories, for no sorrow came to us there. The primeval forest with its dense undergrowth of dogwood blossoms which shine with the brightness of the falling snow; the thickets of Cherokee roses, which surpass the most beautiful of other regions; the brilliant carpet of wild azaleas, the golden splendour of the yellow jessamine, the modest drosera, the marvellous dionea mucipula, and the trumpet saracenias; the river drive to the white beach, from which are seen the distant breakers; the secluded spot in the wilderness commanding a wide view of an exquisite landscape where, safe from intrusion, we sat upon a sheltered seat beneath the giant pines and heard the faint "yo ho" of the sailor, outward bound; a place apart for holy contemplation when the day is far spent, where the overhanging branches cast the shadow of a cross and where later, through the interlacing foliage, the star of hope is shining; the joyful reception at the big house, the spacious hall with its ample hearth and blazing oak logs; around it, after the bountiful evening meal, the old songs were sung and the old tales were told, and fun and frolic kept dull care beyond the threshold.

Through the quiet lanes of Orton to the ruins of the Provincial Governor Tryon's palace, is half a mile. Here is the cradle of American independence, for upon this spot, now hidden by a dense undergrowth of timber, occurred, between six and seven o'clock on the evening of the 19th of February, 1766, the first open resistance to the British Stamp Act in the American colonies, by 150 armed men, who surrounded the palace and demanded the surrender of the custodians of the obnoxious symbols of the King's authority.

Ten minutes walk farther down brings us to the ruins of the Colonial Parish Church of St. Philip, the scene of many notable incidents and the resting place of the early pioneers. It was built by the citizens of Brunswick and principally by the landed gentry about the year 1740. In the year 1751, Mr. Lewis Henry deRosset, a member of Governor Gabriel Johnston's council, and subsequently an expatriated Royalist, introduced a bill appropriating to the Church of St. Philip at Brunswick and to St. James' Church at Wilmington, equally, a fund that was realized by the capture and destruction of a pirate vessel, which, in a squadron of Spanish buccaneers, had entered the river and plundered the plantations. A picture, "Ecce Homo," captured from this pirate, is still preserved in the vestry room of St. James' Church in Wilmington. The walls of St. Phillip's Church are nearly three feet thick, and are solid and almost intact still; the roof and floor have disappeared. It must have possessed much architectural beauty and massive grandeur with its high-pitched roof, its lofty doors and beautiful chancel windows.

A little to the west, surrounded by a forest of pines, lies Liberty Pond, a beautiful lake of clear spring water, once stained with the blood of friend and foe in a deadly conflict, hence its traditional name. It is now a most restful, tranquil spot—the profound stillness, the beach of snow-white sand, the unbroken surface of the lake, which reflects the foliage and the changing sky line.

Turning to the southeast, we leave the woodland and reach a bluff upon the river bank, still known as Howe's Point, where the Revolutionary patriot and soldier, General Robert Howe, was born and reared. His residence, long since a ruin, was a large frame building on a stone or brick foundation, still remembered as such by several aged citizens of Brunswick.

A short distance from the Howe place, the writer found some years ago, in the woods and upon a commanding site near the river, under many layers of pine straw, the clearly defined ruins of an ancient fort, which was undoubtedly of Colonial origin. Mr. Reynolds, who lives at his place nearby, says that his great-grandfather informed him forty years ago that this fort was erected long before the war of the Revolution by the Colonial Government for the protection of the colonists against buccaneers and pirates, and that he remembers having heard of an engagement in 1776 between the Americans who occupied this fort and the British troops who landed from their ships in the river, in which battle the British drove the Americans from the fort to McKenzie's Mill Dam.

Hence to the staid old county seat is a journey of an hour; it was originally known as Fort Johnston, a fortification named for the Colonial Governor, Gabriel Johnston. It was established about the year 1745 for the protection of the colony against pirates which infested the Cape Fear River. The name was subsequently changed to Smithville in honour of Benjamin Smith, to whom reference has been made, who had behaved with conspicuous gallantry under Moultrie when he drove the British from Port Royal; he was subsequently elected fifteen times to the Senate and became Governor of the Commonwealth in 1810. By recent authority of the State Legislature the name was again changed to Southport. In the old Court-house, which is its principal building, may be seen the evidence that on the death of Mr. Allen, 17th January, 1749, aged 57 years, at Lilliput, where he was buried, this plantation became the property (and it is said the residence for a brief period) of the great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell, Sir Thomas Frankland, Admiral of the *White* in the British navy, a position of great distinction, which he attained at the early age of 28 years, and of his

wife, who was Sarah Rhett, the daughter of Colonel Rhett, of South Carolina, and a niece of Chief Justice Allen.

It appears also from the Colonial Records, in a letter from Rev. John McDowell, who served the twin parishes of St. Philip's at Brunswick and St. James' at Wilmington, addressed to the Secretary of the Honourable Society which supported him, in London, and written from Brunswick April 16, 1761, and also by subsequent letters with particular reference to the long delayed completion of the Parish Church of St. Philips, that Admiral Frankland and Lady Frankland contributed substantial sums of money for its support.

The records of these two interesting personages in the early history of our settlement are too obscure for a connected narrative. All of my endeavors to obtain sufficient material for a sketch of this Colonial Cape Fear Admiral, in Charleston, in Boston, in the National Library at Washington and in London, were in vain until I obtained an introduction to the present head of the house, the great-grandson of Admiral Frankland, Sir Ralph Payne Gallway, of Thirkleby Park, Thirsk, Yorkshire, one of the most beautiful county seats in England, who has been good enough to compile for me the following notes with reference to Sir Charles Frankland, the Colonial Collector of the port of Boston, and his romantic marriage with Agnes Surriage, and, to his successor, Sir Thomas Frankland, the youthful Admiral and rover of the seas, of whose life upon the Carolina station and in Charleston and on the Cape Fear River at Lilliput, there is unfortunately but fragmentary and unsatisfying evidence.

Sir Charles Frankland was born in 1716 in Bengal, India; he died at Bath in 1768. He was the eldest son of Henry Frankland, Governor of Bengal, who died in 1728, who was a brother of Sir Thomas Frankland, third Baronet of Thirk-

leby, the latter being a descendant of Cromwell and also of Charles I. Sir Charles was on a visit to Lisbon during the great earthquake of 1755. He returned to Lisbon as Consul General of Portugal in 1757. In 1763 Sir Charles returned to Boston, where he resumed his duties as "Collector of the Customs of the Port," though he at the same time held his office as Consul General of Portugal till 1767, in which year he returned to Thirkleby and died the following one.

Sir Charles Frankland's romantic marriage with Agnes Surriage at Lisbon, where she rescued him from the ruins of the earthquake, has been the subject of several books and romances, even plays, as well as the beautiful ballad of "Agnes,' by Oliver Wendell Holmes." The history of Sir Charles and Agnes Surriage, or "Boston in Colonial Times," is to be found in a book by the Rev. Elias Mason. A more recent work on the same subject is called "Agnes Surriage." It is by Edwin Lasetter Bynner, 1886. Agnes Surriage was the daughter of a poor fisherman at Marblehead, near Boston. Sir Charles was buried for several hours in the remains of a church that was thrown down. Agnes Surriage searched for him until she heard the sound of his voice, and then, by large offers of money, and all the jewelry she wore at the time, she persuaded some terrified people near, who chanced to be uninjured, to excavate her lover. On his recovery from his wounds Sir Charles at once married his rescuer as a proof of gratitude. The person who was buried alive with Sir Charles at Lisbon, under the fallen stones of the church, in her madness and pain tore a piece out of his coat with her teeth. This coat, with the rent in it, was preserved at Thirkleby as a memento of an awful experience 'till it, at length, fell to pieces from age.

In 1751 Sir Charles built a good house and purchased a fair estate at Hopkinston, near Boston. This house was destroyed by fire January 23d, 1758, but on the same site a

new house was ere long erected, which was built to resemble the old one. In 1747 Sir Charles succeeded his uncle, the third Baronet, but, owing to a disputed will, did not for some years inherit the estates at Thirkleby and elsewhere.

His uncle, whom he succeeded in the title, was M.P for Thirsk, 1711-1747, and a Lord of the Admirality; he died in 1747. He, *Sir Thomas Frankland, third Baronet,* made three wills. In the first, dated 1741, he left Thirkleby and his other estates to his nephew, afterwards Sir Charles. In 1744, he altered all this and left Thirkleby to his widow for her life. In his last and third will he left Thirkleby and all his estates to his widow absolutely. It was contended by Sir Charles, his successor, that the last will was made when Sir Thomas was of unsound mind, and under undue influence. A lawsuit was, therefore, entered on by Sir Charles to set aside Sir Thomas's last will, and in this he was successful, and hence gained Thirkleby and the other family estates.

Sir Charles died in 1768 at Bath, and in Weston Church, in the suburbs of Bath, there is a long inscription to him. He was twice in residence at Lisbon as Consul General of Portugal.

Lady Frankland (Agnes Surriage) returned to Hopkinton, near Boston, after her husband's death, near where she was born, and lived until Sir Charles took her away. She resided at Hopkinton 'till the declaration of war, and for a short time after. She witnessed from her house the battle of Bunker's Hill, a bullet breaking the glass of the window she was looking through.

Being a Loyalist, she returned to England, and paid a long visit to Thirkleby. She then moved, in 1782, to Chichester, where she married Mr. John Drew, a banker. She died the following year and is buried at Chichester; aged 57 years.

Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland succeeded, as fifth Baronet, his elder brother, Sir Charles, in the family estates and title. He was born in 1718, and died at Bath, 1784, aged 66. Member of Parliament for the Borough of Thirsk 1747-1784. Successively Admiral of the *Red* and then of the *White* in the King's navy. Buried at Thirkleby. Married Sarah, the daughter of Colonel William Rhett, of South Carolina, May, 1743; she died April, 1808, aged 84. Sir Thomas, the Admiral, was the great grandson of Oliver Cromwell and the great grandfather of the writer of these notes. The inscription to the Admiral in Thirkleby Church is as follows:

"Sir Thomas Frankland, second son of Henry Frankland, Governor of Fort William in Bengal. Admiral of the *White*, who represented the Borough of Thirsk in six Parliaments. He died at Bath on the 21st of November, 1784, aged 66. He married Sarah, daughter of William Rhett, Esq., of South Carolina, by whom he left *seven* sons and *three* daughters."

When in Boston, in 1742, Captain Thomas Frankland, as he then was, paid a visit to his elder brother, Sir Charles, whom he eventually succeeded in title and Thirkleby estates. Whilst at Charlestown he fell in love with Sarah Rhett, and on his subsequent visit there he married her. He was at that time Captain of H. M. Frigate *Rose*, though only 25 years of age. Some very effusively complimentary verses were printed in the *Boston Evening Post* on the occasion of Captain Frankland's visit to Boston in 1742. A few of these lines I quote, but the poem is too long to give in full here:

"From peaceful solitude and calm retreat
I now and then look out upon the great.
Praise where 'tis due I'll give, no servile tool
Of honorable knave, or reverend fool;
Surplice or red-coat, both alike to me,
Let him that wears them great and worthy be."

"We see thee Frankland dreadful o'er the main
Not terrible to children, but to Spain.
Then let me lisp thy name; thy praise rehearse
Though in weak numbers and in feeble verse.
Though faint the whisper when the thunder roars,
And speak thee great through all Hispanios shores!"

I have had a photograph purposely done of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland's picture here to accompany these notes. I have also had one done at the same time of his ship preserved in model form in the hall here. Though this model is six feet long and most minutely made, and also, no doubt, most faithfully copied from the original vessel at great expense; yet we do not know her name. My brother, lately a Post Captain in the navy, did all he could to ascertain from the Admiralty, and from other sources her name, but without success. I should be very glad if the name could be discovered. On the sides of the model G. R. (George Rex) is painted in several parts. That the model is an exact copy of the original there can be do doubt, and it could not be built now at less than £300, at least so an expert in marine model building assures me. From the figure-head of the model she should be "Ajax," "Achilles," "Centurion," "Warrior," and the most likely of all, "Perseus," as on the shield borne by the figure on the prow is carved the head of "Medusa." None of the foregoing names belonged, as far as I can discover, to any ship which Admiral Frankland was connected with. Family tradition declares that the model is of the ship which Admiral Frankland was aboard when he captured a Spanish galleon. The galleon is said to have had so much treasure on board that from his share of the prize-money the Admiral settled five thousand pounds on each of his *eight* daughters, though only three of these survived him. However, I consider the very rich Spanish (so-called) ship that Frankland captured is the one described in the following extract from "A New Naval History, by John Entick, M.A., 1757":

"The *Rose,* man of war, 20 guns, commanded by Captain Frankland, being cruising on the Carolina station on January 12th, 1744, fell in with the *Conception,* a French ship with a Spanish register of 400 tons, 20 guns and 326 men, bound from Carthagena to Havana. After a smart engagement of eleven glasses, in which the *Conception* had 110 men killed, the *Rose,* with the loss of only 5 men, took the prize into Charleston, in South Carolina, where she proved a very valuable acquisition. Her cargo consisted of 800 serons of cocoa, in each of which was deposited a bar of gold, of the total value of 310,000 pieces of eight; wrought plate of equivalent value; a complete set of church plate; a large quantity of pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, and gold buckles and snuff boxes; a curious silver chaise, the wheels, axles and other parts of it being all of silver. There was, besides, 600 pounds weight of gold, the whole of which was worth £200,000."

From this account it will be seen that the *Rose,* of only 20 guns, cannot be the three-decker, the model of which is now at Thirkleby. The model is of a man of war that has as many as 74 guns in three tiers, including deck guns, and she must have been a large line of battleship such as an Admiral might hoist his pennant on when in command of a fleet. Perhaps from the photograph of the figure-head of the model some information may be obtained regarding its name, which I have always been so anxious to obtain. There is no doubt that—

1. The model is a copy of a ship commanded by Captain (or Admiral) Frankland at one time of his naval career.

2. Or, that the model is a copy of a ship captured from the enemy by Captain (or Admiral) Frankland, and afterwards converted into a British man of war.

We know that the model has been here at Thirkleby for some 150 years.

You desire to know about Sir Thomas Frankland's residence at Lilliput Plantation on the Cape Fear River in North Carolina, and particularly in regard to his life in North Carolina, and his estates on the Cape Fear River.

It occurs to me that the Admiral was too busy chasing French and Spanish ships of the enemy to have retired to an estate in Carolina, and to have had a house on a plantation there, especially as he was so active and constant in his services in the King's Navy. The only suggestion I can find that the Admiral (at that time Captain) did retire from active service for a short time is hinted in the first two lines of the poem I have quoted, and which run—

> "From peaceful solitude and calm retreat,
> I now and then look out upon the great."

The old early Elizabethan Hall at Thirkleby was pulled down in 1793, when the present house was completed. The old house, of which we have a picture, was the home of Admiral Frankland. Many flowers of the old gardens still force their heads above the soil every summer. As a boy of about twelve years of age I very well recollect an old family game-keeper who lived at Thirkleby, who at that time of my life was just 90 years of age. His name was W. Hudson. He often pointed out to me the walnut tree in the park here, up which, when he was a boy of ten or twelve, the Admiral used to order him to climb to gather the walnuts; and which the Admiral used to throw his big crook-handled stick up among its boughs to try and knock the walnuts down himself. As Hudson was born in 1770 and the Admiral died in 1784, the reminiscences of the old keeper were no doubt correct, and enables me to say that I knew a man who knew Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, who was born in 1718, and it is quite probable that the Admiral knew a man, who, as a child, saw Charles the First's head cut off at Whitehall.

On the subject of reminiscences, though rather out of place here, as it has nothing to do with the Frankland family, I may relate that an old friend of mine, now alive and well and but 72 years of age, perfectly recollects his grandfather, who lived to a great age. The grandfather in question took a purse of gold concealed in a basket of strawberries to Prince Charlie (the Young Pretender) when he was keeping court at Hobgood Palace in 1745. The messenger with the strawberries was, of course, a child at the time, and was, as such, selected, by partisans of the Stewarts, to allay suspicion as to the real object of his visit to Hobgood, which was to aid the Prince with money to establish his rights to his throne in Scotland. This incident, (with many others of a similar kind, I found here in the muniment room among the papers of my great uncle, Lord Lavington, who was Governor of some of the West Indies Islands and was buried there), I had printed and sent to the late Queen Victoria of blessed memory. Her Majesty was greatly interested in the book I compiled and sent her, the only thing she took exception to was my allusion to Prince Charlie as "A Pretender." The young pretender was tall and handsome, and the beau ideal of a gallant cavalier, but he died, alas, at Florence, as a dissipated and drunken wreck, morally and physically.

On the following page I have attached a photograph I have had specially taken to illustrate these notes.

(N. B.—The gentleman who for many years has conducted in the most able manner, at very moderate cost, in British Museum, a great deal of research for me, historical, documentary and otherwise, and who is also a most excellent copyist of old illustrations, is William Woodrow, Esq. The Reading Room, British Museum, Bloomsbury, London.)

THE BADGE OF ULSTER.

Given to Sir William Frankland, first Baronet of Thirkleby, by Charles II. in 1660 as a credential of his title. The only Ulster badge in existence, excepting one that is supposed to be a copy of it. It was worn as a proof of his rank and person by Sir Thomas Frankland, third Baronet, when on a mission abroad at the service of his King.

(Illustration is full size. The Red Hand, or Bloody Hand, is on white porcelain oval set round with stones. The date of confer and name of Baronet and his creation on reverse side.) The tradition is that the King of Ulster and another disputed the ownership of an estate. They agreed to race to it from a certain distance, and the one who first touched the land with his hand was to possess it. Ulster, finding himself a few yards behind at the finish, cut off his left hand and threw it in front of him over the boundary fence, and thus won the estate.

A characteristic letter from Admiral Frankland, in which he refers to the death of a gardener who has been inadvertently stifled in his master's hot-house.

"Bond Street (where the Admiral owned a house) 1760.
A. P. G.

"Mr. Nugent, they say, spoke an hour against opening the distillery, and when they divided, voted for it, so the joke goes that he acted in the character of his country. Surely money never was so scarce, we can hardly get enough to carry on common house expenses. We shall have no peace this year its believed, and I think another year makes us stop payment, as our enemies have done, and what must we do who have our all in the stocks.

"Have you read Tristam Shandy? The ladies say (my wife and daughters read it not) its very clever; now pray is it indelicate or not fit? Upon my word I am abused and called a Prude for saying its scandalous for a Clergyman to write such (I was going to say Bawdy), a rapsody of hard words.

"I hear you are in low spirits about the death of your gardener. Good God, what wretches we sailors must be. I order 40 men aloft and ye mast goes and they are drowned. Their deaths are not at my door. I order the ship to be smoked to prevent sickness, and some fools stay below in the smoke and dye; Sir, am I to charge myself with their deaths?

"We have expeditions fitting out now, where bound a secret.

(Signed) THOS. FRANKLAND.

(1) There is a long article on Admiral Frankland, his life and adventures, to be found in Charnock's Biographic Vavalis, Vol. V—1797—page 19.

(2) Also see Schomberg's Naval Chronology, Vol. I, page 220—1745. In this latter book the following curious incident is related:

"Another fortunate circumstance was the discovery caused thro' a little French boy that Capt. Frankland had taken into his service. This boy made a complaint against one of the sailors for having taken from him a stick in appearance of no value. Captain Frankland recovered it for the boy, and on returning it to him gave him a playful tap on the shoulder. The head of the stick fell off then and diamonds were found inside it worth 20,000 pistoles. When the enemy surrendered, the Captain gave the stick to the boy in the hopes of saving it, not imagining that such a trifle would ever be noticed."

In Charnocks Chronicles a graphic account is given of Captain Frankland's fight with (1742) three of the enemies ships, all of which he captured and took into Carolina. One of these ships tried very hard to escape, the reason being that its captain was the notorious "Fandino," who some years before had cut off the ears of Jenkins, an English Captain. Frankland sent this man at once to Hyland to be tried for his life.

I see Captain Frankland married Miss Rhett (1743), daughter of Chief Justice of Carolina, by whom he had six sons and eight daughters. (He had nineteen children in all; several died infants.)

June, 1756, made Rear Admiral of the Blue; retained the command of the *Rose* 'till October, 1746, when he was promoted to the *Dragon*. In 1755 appointed Commodore on the Antigua Station and hoisted his broad pennant on board the Winchester, 50 guns, at Spithead, 10th August, and sailed very soon after for the West Indies. On his arrival there he at once quarrelled with the retiring Commodore, Pye, because this sailor had condemned his ship, the *Advice*. Admiral Frankland reported Commodore Pye for doing so, and to prove he was wrong, actually fitted up the *Advice* for himself and started on a cruise in her to show she was seaworthy, with the result that Admiral Frankland and ship nearly went to the bottom of the sea together. This quarrel and Admiral Frankland's career is to be found in a story that appeared in the London Magazine of 1774-1775, under the title of "Edward & Maria," by Capt. Ed. Thompson, R. N. In this story Admiral Freeland is "Frankland," and Commodore Pye is "Sir Richard Spry," as he afterwards became.

BRITISH MUSEUM, Add. MS. 32, 935, p. 447.

SIR:—The Barons of the Exchequer, having ordered me immediately to Lay before the Hon'ble and Rev'd. Mr. Cholmondeley, Auditor General of his Maj'ts Revenues in America, the Amount of the French Ships and Cargoes detained by me at the Leeward Islands before the Declaration of War.

The Charge attending the Dieting the Crews of those being refused to be allowed me in those Accounts, and as it cannot be imagined that I can bear those Expenses, Lett me entreat your assistance to get a Dispensing Order to the Sick and Hurt Office that the Account there may be paid me. As they

require Vouchers By their Establishment which the Nature of Those Captures could not produce.

The Governors of the Three Islands absolutely refused to give any Receipts for the French men Landed, or written Orders for their Discharges.

Their Constant Answers were they never had received the least Orders about their Detention.

No Cartel was settled or Commissarys appointed. Therefore how could I produce Vouchers from the Latter.

The account for the subsistance of those men, which I have now Laying before the Sick and Hurt Office is such, as I am ready to make any affirmation to. It has passed thro the Navy Office, in regard to the names, and Entrys and Discharges of the Particular Crews.

The Men sent into Hallifax and Jamacia have been paid By the Publick. But as where I commanded there was neither Hospital of the Kings to send them to, or Contract subsisting for me to have ordered them Agents to have victualled them or had I ships sufficient to have keep them on board and victualled them afloat, I had no other method to follow.

As this is the only obstacle that hinders my finally closing these Accounts let me again beg your aid, and I am, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

Old Bond Street THOS. FRANKLAND.

18th March, 1762.

(Endorsed) AD'L. FRANKLAND.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE—FRANKLAND LETTERS.

(Adm. Sec. M. Letters.)

There are two series letters—one covering the period when stationed at the Bahamas as Captain of the *Rose* (about 40).

Another series when stationed at the Leeward Islands as Admiral, (about 80 to 100) (1755-'59), Pye incident. These letters are of varying interest and would suggest a selection of which specimen given re-taking the *Conception.*

(Ad. Sec. M. Letters, No. 1782.)

Captain Thomas Frankland to Secretary of the Admiralty:

His Majesty's Ship "Rose," Cooper River,
South Carolina, Jan. ye 23rd, 1744-5.

My last was dated Nov. 14th acquainting you of my delivering the letters as I was directed by Sir Chaloner Ogle. I proceeded afterwards off St. Jago de Cuba, and so between the south side of Cuba and the N. side of Jamaica down to the Grand Comanon, where I watered, wooded and heel'd, for I was hurryed out of Jamaica without time to get or do either there. I then intended to go and cruize between the Rogues Cape Florida and the Pan of Matanzas (on the N. side of Cuba), but on my way on (about 35 leagues to the w'ward of the Havanna) the first day of December just before daylight I found myself almost on board a large ship. We were to windward and astern withall; I kept my wind until the day broke, then finding she had but one tier of guns but full of men by her working, for before I showed my colors, she run her courses up, bunted her mainsails, and I observed everything ready to engage and her decks crowded with people. About seven in the morning we began our engagement, which lasted until half after noon; we had a fresh gale and a great sea, and yet we were alongside of one another three or four times, for he would, as I observed, fought till night at a distance; he at last struck, for he had near a hundred men killed outright and four of his guns on one side disabled. The ship is called the *Conception* of St. Malo, Mons. Adrien Mercan, Master from Cartagena bound to Cadiz, but was to touch at the Havannah in order to land upwards of two hundred seamen besides officers that belonged to Don Blase de Leso's squadron that were destroyed at Cartagena; they were commanded by Sig'r. Don Pedro Lisagrale, a Captain of a Frigate and Major of the Galleys. We killed an officer, which will be a great loss to the Spaniards, being the best pilot they had for the West Indies; he was made a Captain de Fregattes by Admiral Tovas' request for the services he did him that way; his name is Don Pedro Manuell Long.

I had only five men killed, about ten or a dozen danger-

ously wounded, including the master, and several slightly. The cargo was hides and cocoa, with several chests of gold and silver, containing about three hundred and ten pieces of eight. She had several passengers on board, from which we got about five thousand ounces of gold in doublins, pistoles, bars, etc. When (we) gott all the prisoners on board the *Rose* and had manned the prize with my best people, for she was torn all to pieces, and began to count our numbers, I was very ..... (some words are covered in binding), but one hundred seventy and seven men, officers and boys at first, the prize manned 20 so wounded could ..... no duty and people to attend them that we had two Spaniards to one of us and in sight of their own shore running down by the Havanna and Matanzas and certain three or four of their men of war at sea, a prize astern without a ..... mast and all her other masts wounded, as was my main mast and fore yard that I immediately resolved within myself by all means to land them. Fortune favored us with moderate weather and a wind to fetch Key Sall (it ly..... E. N E 15 leagues from the Bay of Matanzas were ..... and put all the Spaniards ashore, giving them the prize's shallop and my cutter, in either of which, taking fair weather, they may go to the Havanna in 20 hours; with provisions, tents and all other conveniences of life. We stayed at that key till we put the prize to rights and so proceeded down the gulf to South Carolina; I arrived the 17th day of December. I am a getting a new mast and repairing, for I received some damage from the enemy, and shall put for the sea with all speed to proceed to the Bahamas tho' I am in great hopes the Alborough is coming out to relieve me, for I have represented to their Lordships the necessity these twelve months past.

I am sorry to acquaint you that the Swallow sloop was lost on the above keys. Captain Jelfe writes by this opportunity and has sent his Lieut. home, who I suppose will wait directly on their Lordships.

I am, sirs, your most humble servant,

(Signed) Thos. Frankland.

Rec'd. and read 20 Mar.

To Thos. Corbett, Esq.

Dr. John Campbell in "The Present State of Europe," 1761, thus tabulates the relative naval strength of the Powers:

"If the shipping of Europe be divided into twenty parts, then—

Great Britain, etc., hath	6
The United Provinces	6
The subjects of the Northern Crowns	2
The trading cities and seaports of Germany and Austrian Netherlands	1
France	2
Spain and Portugal	2
Italy and rest of Europe	1

LIST OF PLANS, MAPS, ETC., IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

K. 122 (62)	Wilmington. A drawn plan of the town of Wilmington, in New Hanover County, North Carolina, surveyed and drawn in December, 1769, by C. I. Sauther.
2 Tab. 122-51	A complete map of North Carolina, from an actual survey by Captain Collet, 1770. Two sheets.
71965 (1)	Carolina. A general map of C. describing its sea coast and rivers. Printed for R. Blome Loud 1672. This map belongs to Blome's "Description of the Island of Jamaica" Loud 1672.
71965 (6)	A new map of C. by P. Lea Loud 1700.
S. 100 (18)	A new map of C. by J. Thornton & W. Fisher (a large draught of Ashley and Cooper's rivers) Loud 1704.
71965 (2)	A map of North and South Carolina by J. Lawson Loud 1704. This map belongs to Lawson's "New voyage to Carolina" Loud 1709.
71965 (7)	A map of the province of C. divided into its parishes, etc., by H. Wall Loud 1710.
71965 (3)	A new map of the country of C. by J. Gascoigne, Loud 1710.
C. 13 A. 10 (3)	Carolina. Several maps—Carolina described in "A Brief Description of the Province of C." Loud 1666.

NAVAL & MILITARY MEMOIRS OF GRT. BRITAIN FROM 1727 TO 1783, BY ROBERT BEATSON, ESQ., L.L.D. VOL. 1, P. 281-283. LOUD 1804.

The *Rose,* Captain Frankland, took, after a long and obstinate engagement, the *La Conception,* of four hundred tons, twenty guns, and three hundred and twenty-six men, from Cartagena for the Havanna. The *Rose* had only one hundred and seventy-five men on board when the action began. The enemy had one hundred and sixteen men killed, and thirteen wounded. The prize was carried into Charleston, South Carolina, and proved of great value, having on board 800 serons of cocoa, sixty-eight chests of silver, gold and silver coin, and plate to a great amount, a curious two-wheeled chaise, the wheels and axletree all of silver; some diamonds, pearls, and precious stones. On board the prize was the Viceroy's Secretary, and other persons of distinction. To form a proper idea of the immense value of the prize, we shall quote the words of a very respectable author, viz., Peter Henry Bruce, Esq., who was at Charleston when the *Conception* arrived:

"Captain Thomas Frankland brought in here a very rich French prize, whose principal lading consisted in pistoles, a few chests of dollars, and a great deal of wrought gold and silver. The quantity was so great that the shares were delivered by weight, to save the trouble of counting it, so that the pistoles were now seen in greater plenty than the dollars had been in Providence; which could not be very mortifying to Governor Tinker, who was thereby deprived of the profits accruing from her condemnation, considering Captain Frankland was stationed there. But he met with this mortification in general, as no privateer would we enter with their prizes into the harbor of Providence, after the treatment that Gibball and Dowall had met with. After all, when the cargo was taken out of this prize, and the vessel was to be put up for sale, the French Captain told Captain Frankland, that if he would engage to reward him handsomely, he would discover a hidden treasure to him, which no one ever knew of but himself. Captain Frankland engaged to reward him very generously, and he did discover thirty thousand pistoles in a place where no one would have thought of finding them.

The French Captain afterwards told Governor Glenn, that Captain Frankland's generosity consisted only in one thousand pistoles, a poor reward, he said, for so great a discovery. Captain Frankland made another very accidental discovery; he had taken into his service a brisk little French boy, who had belonged to the French Captain, who, having a walking stick of no value, one of the sailors had taken it from him. The boy lamented this loss so much that Captain Frankland ordered search to be made for it, to return it to the boy. The stick was brought to the Captain, who, seeing it was of no value, asked the boy how he could make so much ado about such a trifle. The boy replied briskly, he could not walk like a gentleman and show his airs, without a stick in his hand. Upon the Captain's going to return him the stick, he gave him a tap on the shoulder with it, and finding something rattling inside of it, withdrew to a room by himself, and taking off the head of it, he found jewels (according to the French Captain's report) worth 20,000 pistoles. The Captain had given the stick to the boy when he surrendered, in hopes of saving it, imagining no person would take notice of such a trifle in the hands of a boy."

MEMOIRS OF THE PROLECTOVAL—HOUSE OF CROMWELL, BY MARK NOBLE, F. A. S. OF L. & E., VOL. 2, PP. 434-5, BIRMINGHAM, 1787.

Sir Thomas Frankland, the late Baronet, was born in July, 1718, and brought up to the Naval Department. He became a Captain in July, 1740, and in December, 1744, he was so fortunate as to take a French ship of great value, off the Havannah, with a Spanish register, homeward bound, after an engagement of several hours. Upon the death of his brother he succeeded to the title of Baronet. He rose afterwards to be Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of his Majesty's fleet, and, as such, was one of the supporters of the canopy at his royal highness the Duke of York's funeral; and was afterwards an Admiral of the *White*. He represented the borough of Thirsk in five successive parliaments. His lady was Miss Sarah Rhett, granddaughter of the Chief-Justice of South Carolina, in North America, whom he mar-

ried in that province, in May, 1743. Sir Thomas died at Bath Nov. 21, 1784; he had five sons and eight daughters—

(1) Henry Frankland, who died an infant.

(2) Sir Thomas Frankland, the present baronet, of whom below.

(3) Hugh Frankland, who died an infant.

(4) Will Frankland, fellow of All-Souls, in Oxford, and a member of the Society of Gray's Inn.

(5) Roger Frankland, B.A., a student at Christchurch College, Oxford, and designed for the church.

(6) Mary, married to Sir Boyle Roche, bart.; there is no issue of this marriage.

(7) Sarah, died young.

(8) Harriet, unmarried.

(9) Ann, married March 24, 1778, to John Lewis, of Harpton Court, in Radnorshire, by whom she has Thomas Frankland Lewis, born May 14, 1779, and Louisa, born July 8, 1783.

(10) Dinah, married to Will Bowles, of Heale, Wilts, Esq., by whom she had one son, William, and three daughters Ann, Lucy, and Charlotte.

(11) Catherine, married to Thomas Whingates, Esq., an officer in India; their issue is two sons, Thomas and Manners, and also several daughters.

(12) Charlotte, married to Rob. Nichols, of Ashton-Kearns, Wilts, Esq. They have two sons and one daughter, Edw. Rob. and Charlotte.

(13) Grace, who is unmarried.

Sir Thomas Frankland, the present and sixth Baronet, was born in September, 1750, and was educated at Eaton, and Merton College in Oxford; he married Dorothy, the daughter of Sir Will Smelt, and niece of Leonard Smelt, Esq., Sub-Governor to George, Prince of Wales; their issue is four children, Henry, Rob., Amelia and Marian.

The history of the family of Frankland is taken from the baronetages, various other writers, and corrected and enlarged by information which I had the honor to receive from the late Lord Grantham, the late Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart., and the present baronet of that name, the Rev. De-Greenhill, the Rev. Sam Pegge, and Sam Pegge, Esq. It

may be necessary to correct a passage in the history of the life of the first Sir Thomas Frankland in the Baronetages: They say that the Earl of Fauconberg was descended from Mary, daughter of the Protector, Oliver; but his Lordship married that lady instead of being descended from her, as is sufficiently proved in these Memoirs.

BIOGRAPHIA NAVALIS, BY JOHN CHARNOCK, VOL. 5, PP. 18-21, LOUD, 1797.

Frankland, Sir Thomas, was a nephew of a baronet of the same name, who was for many years one of the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral. He was on the 15th of July, 1740, promoted to the command of the *Rose* frigate; and at the conclusion of the year was ordered out to the Bahama Islands, to convey thither Mr. Tinker, who had been appointed Governor two years before. After he had landed his passenger he continued on the same station, being instructed to remain there and cruise for the protection of those islands and the adjacent coast from the depredations of the guarda-costas. In the month of June, 1742, he distinguished himself by his activity in capturing a Spanish vessel of that description, together with three vessels which she herself had made prizes of a short time before.

The guarda-costa, which carried ten carriage and as many swivel guns, supported by two of the prizes, which were armed vessels, engaged the *Rose* for nearly three hours, but finding her too powerful and too well conducted to afford them any hope of ultimate success, the two prizes stood away, one keeping to windward, the other large, with all the sail they could crowd. The guarda-costa maintained a running fight for an hour longer through the desperation of her captain, and even at last, the crew, in opposition to him, hauled down the colors and called for quarter.

Captain Frankland shifted the prisoners with all possible expedition, and having put some of his own men, under proper officers, on board the prize, dispatched her after the vessel which had hauled her wind, he himself following the other two. So successful was his activity on this occasion that the three vessels were all, without difficulty, captured

and carried safely into Carolina. The cause of the obstinate defence made by the Spanish vessel was, on enquiry, discovered to be owing to her Captain being Fandino, the fellow who some years before had cut off the ears of Captain Jenkins, and thereby caused so great, so just and general an indignation through the whole British nation. Captain Frankland, judging a monster of so cruel a description, who had manifested a conduct that would have disgraced a pirate, might be released as a prisoner on parole, or even exchanged, sent him home to be treated as administration should think proper.

Captain Frankland continued in the same command, and remained on the same station some years, but is not again particularly mentioned until the year 1744, when he signalized himself remarkably in an action with a very large, and, as it afterwards proved, valuable Spanish ship, the particulars we shall insert at length from the account officially given of this very spirited encounter.

Being on his passage to his station as a cruiser between the Boques, Cape Florida, and the Pan of Matanzas, on the North side of Cuba, about thirty-five leagues to the Westward of Havannah, on December 21st, just before daylight he found himself almost on board a large ship, of which he was to windward and astern withall. Captain Frankland, who had kept his wind until day-light, then found his antagonist had but one tier of guns, but was by her working, full of men, for before the Captain showed his colors she had run her courses up, bunted her mainsail, and had everything ready to engage, her decks being crowded with people. About seven in the morning they began an engagement which lasted until half an hour past twelve. There was a fresh gale and a great sea, notwithstanding which, they were alongside each other three or four times before the enemy struck. She had near 100 men killed outright, and four of her guns on one side disabled. She is called the *Conception,* of St. Malo, Adrian Mercan, Master, bound from Cartagena to Cadiz, but was to touch at Havana to land upwards of 200 seamen, besides officers. The *Rose* had only five men killed and about ten or twelve dangerously wounded, including the

master and several slightly. The cargo of the prize consisted of hides and cocoa, with seventy chests of gold and silver, containing about three hundred and ten thousand pieces of eight. She had several passengers on board, from whom they got about 5,000 ounces of gold in dollars, pistoles, bars, etc. The crew of the *Rose* of no more than one hundred and seventy-seven men, officers and boys included. The prize was safely carried into South Carolina.

Captain Frankland retained the command of the *Rose* till the month of October, 1746, and was then promoted to the Dragon, of sixty guns, in which ship he continued until the conclusion of the war, being, in 1748, on the West India Station with Mr. Pocock. We do not find any subsequent mention made of him till the month of July, 1755, when he was appointed Commodore on the Antigua Station. He hoisted his broad pennant on board the Winchester, of fifty guns, at Spithead, on the 10th day of August, and sailed very soon afterwards for the West Indies. On his arrival there his first operation was to quarrel with Commodore Pye, whom he was sent out to succeed. The first pretence was frivolous in the extreme, consisting merely in an exception, or affront Mr. Frankland thought proper to take, because the former had not struck his broad pennant on the instant he was informed of the latter's arrival.

A second, and, as it proved afterwards, equally futile, and indeed unjust cause, was a more serious charge of misconduct against his predecessor, in having condemned the *Advice,* his own ship. Mr. Frankland asserted this measure to have been improper and made a regular representation against it to the Board of Admiralty. In further proof of the propriety of his opinon, as if he supposed his own hardiness sufficient to establish it, he ordered the *Advice* to be fitted for himself, and absolutely went so far as to make a short cruise in her. The final event, however, did not reflect any great honor on Mr. Frankland's judgment; the ship on its return to England, proved so very defective and unfit to keep the sea, that it was with the utmost difficulty the crew could, by frapping her around with hausers and every other precaution, prevent her from almost literally falling to pieces during her passage.

Mr. Frankland, after his return to England, appears no more in the character of a Naval Commodore. In the month of June, 1756, he was advanced to be rear-admiral of the *Blue,* as he was progressively afterwards, through the different gradations and ranks of flag-officers, till he at last arrived at that of Admiral of the White, the highest in the service, the Admiral of the fleet, or senior admiral on the list excepted. On the death of his brother, Sir Charles Frankland, at Bath, in the year 1768, he succeeded to the title, and continued during his life totally abstracted from all public business, further than his occasional attendance in the House of Commons, as representative for the borough of Thirsk, in Yorkshire, for which place he had been member ever since the year 1749. Sir Thomas died at Bath on the 21st November, 1784.

INTRODUCTION TO BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND OTHER CO-INCIDENT MATTERS.

It is the object of the publishers of the North Carolina Booklet to enter on its pages short sketches of the lives and times of those men and women of the State who have contributed to its columns, from its inception to the present. To the memory of those writers who have passed from earthly existence and to those who are living, the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution owe a debt of gratitude. And in no way can they better show their appreciation than by recording their names among those other historians of the State who have helped to preserve its history, for in these individual records may be found available material, bearing on important periods, which may aid the future historian.

MAJOR GRAHAM DAVES, A.B.

BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

Major Graham Daves was the first to contribute an article for the North Carolina Booklet, which first number appeared in May, 1901.

He chose for his subject "Virginia Dare," she being the first English child born in America—a fitting subject for a magazine issued under the auspices of the North Carolina Society "Daughters of the Revolution," edited by women, and the proceeds to memoralize the heroism of women. It is also a noteworthy fact that the first expeditions for discovery and exploration were sent out under the orders of the Virgin Queen, that the new-found country was called Virginia in her honor, and that these first colonists having landed upon the Island of Roanoke were *first* greeted by the wife of Granganimeo, the Indian king, with all hospitality, and "entertaining them with all love and kindness." All of this no one can gainsay that women helped to form the preface to our history, and to which facts Major Daves has made special mention.

Graham Daves was born in New Bern, N. C., July 16, 1836. He was the third son of John Pugh Daves and Elizabeth Batchelor Graham, his wife, and grandson of Captain John Daves, who served in the Third Regiment of the North Carolina Continental Infantry. His father died when he was about two years old. He attended school at the New Bern Academy; and at the age of fifteen he was placed as a cadet of the Maryland Military Academy, where he remained for two years. In 1853 he entered Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., from which he graduated in July, 1857.

After his graduation he read law with Judge Richmond M. Pearson, afterwards Chief Justice of North Carolina.

On January 1, 1859, was appointed Private Secretary to Hon. John W. Ellis, Governor of North Carolina, his brother-in-law. He held this position until the outbreak of the War between the States. He joined the Confederate army, serving faithfully as Lieutenant, Adjutant, Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain, Major, and Aide-de-Camp, filling all of these positions with honor to himself and fidelity to his country. The field of his activity extended from Virginia to Mississippi during the whole war. He was paroled April 26, 1865, at Greensboro, N. C.

Returning to his home in New Bern, N. C., he was occupied at different times in mercantile and other active pursuits. Major Daves married on November 27, 1862, Alice Lord DeRosset, of Wilmington, N. C., daughter of Dr. Armand DeRosset—Mrs. Daves died on September 2, 1897; their only child, a boy, died in infancy.

Major Graham Daves retired from active business in 1891 and devoted himself to the study of North Carolina history, bringing into exercise those talents with which he was so richly endowed. He worked diligently to reorganize the dormant North Carolina branch of the Society of the Cincinnati, and on April 4, 1896, he realized the consummation of his hopes; in grateful recognition of this service he was elected honorary member of the order, and remained its faithful devotee to the day of his death. He was also a member of the North Carolina Society of Sons of the Revolution, and Association of United Confederate Veterans. To other patriotic organizations he was equally devoted. As President of the "Roanoke Colony Memorial Association" no one could have accomplished more than he. This Association was instituted to commemorate the first English settlement in America—and to this day the outlines of Fort Raleigh are distinctly visible and the angles are now permanently marked by granite pillars.

On the site of the old fort stands a monument erected by this Association, the base of which is North Carolina granite and the tablet of Virginia granite. The tablet bears the following inscription: "On this site, in August, 1585, the colonists sent from England by Sir Walter Raleigh built the fort called the New Fort in Virginia."

The monument was dedicated with appropriate religious exercises on 28th of November, 1901, and an address was delivered by Major Daves, embodying the following facts: that these colonists were the first settlers of the English race in America; they returned to England in 1586 with Sir Francis Drake; here was born on the 18th of August, 1587, Virgia Dare, the first child of English parents born in America, the daughter of Ananias Dare and Eleanor White, his wife, members of another body of colonists sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1587. Two days after her birth she was baptized. Manteo, a friendly chief of the Hatteras Indians, had been baptized a few days before. These baptisms were the first celebrations of the Christian sacrament in the territory of the thirteen original United States.

Major Daves was a recognized type of the Southern gentleman of the old regime, and those who knew him can never forget his patrician military bearing and courtly manners.

He contributed many articles of historical value to the columns of various periodicals. He died in Asheville (where he had gone seeking restored health) on October 27, 1902. Mourned by a large circle of admiring friends, well deserving of honor is the memory of this pure-minded scholar and writer, whose name will go down to posterity as a master spirit in the revival of interest in the history of his native State.

(The above facts are chiefly condensed from a sketch of Major Daves in the Minutes of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati for 1903.)

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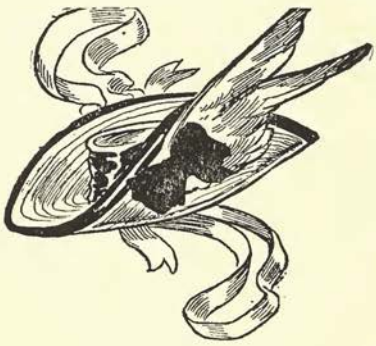

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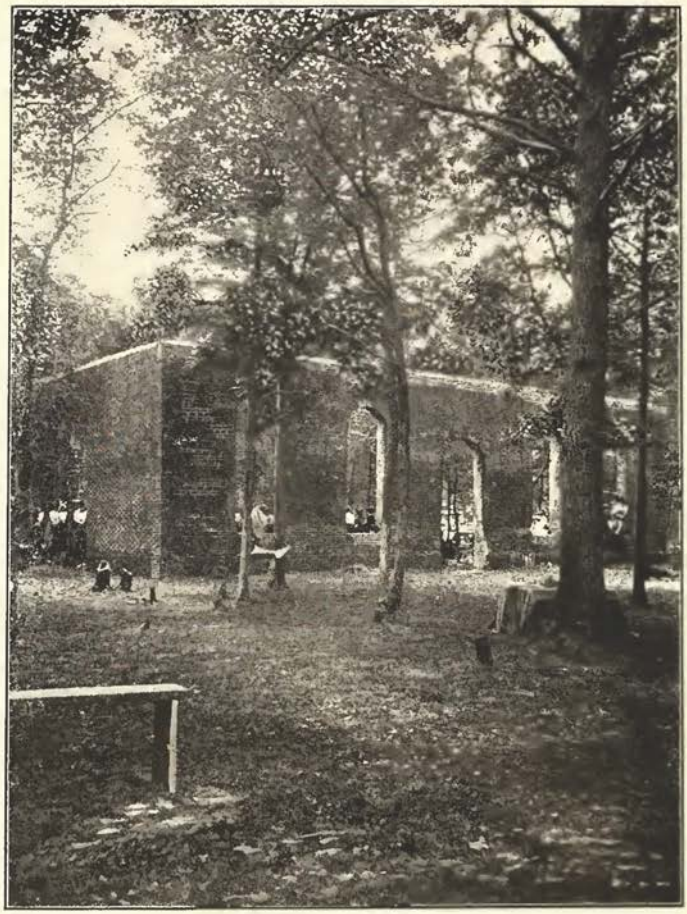

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THE BOROUGH TOWNS OF NORTH CAROLINA

BY FRANCIS NASH.

Human progress—human life, indeed—is so much the resultant of the impact of external forces upon peoples or individuals, that freedom of action, to say nothing of freedom of thought, is rather ideal than real, and can be attained only approximately, never absolutely. We inherit our temperament, our tastes, and our aptitudes; so much so that quite frequently the habits of our ancestors become instincts to us. We are also, to some degree, creatures of our training and environment, and as members of society we are subject to the will of that society, whether expressed in its legislation or in its unwritten law—public opinion. But man and nations struggle to attain this ideal freedom, and the result of this struggle, on the whole, is progress. In this struggle are two opposing forces—radicalism and conservatism—and these are but the outward expression of two instincts that are common to all humanity—the desire for the new, and the love of the old. In the action and interaction of these forces is found safety; for radicalism unchecked by conservatism is destructive, while conservatism uninspired by radicalism is stagnant.

The erection of little hamlets into boroughs, or franchised towns, in our early colonial history, is an instance of conservatism which had become stagnant. As, regardless of beauty, privacy and utility, the colonists located their residences on the street lines of these towns, because their ancestors had done the same in crowded England or Scotland, so

these little communities of twenty or thirty families must be franchised because the greater towns of England had been. Thus the influence of inherited tastes, aptitudes and manners proved stronger than common sense.

It is my purpose in this article to deal with these towns as political entities. I could by no possibility compress within the limits of a BOOKLET article any satisfactory account of their social, industrial and educational life and progress.

In England, before representative government was established, the term "borough" bore the signification of a pledge; that is, when a number of men congregated in a community, thus forming a village or a town, that town or village became responsible for the acts of its inhabitants—became, in other words, a borough or pledge for their good conduct.

Later, as the merchants increased in wealth, and through that wealth acquired power, the monarch conferred the franchise upon these towns, both as a reward for services rendered and that there might be some check upon the overweening arrogance of the landed gentry.

It is well known that the first successful struggle for liberty in England was that of the lords and barons against the arbitrary power of the King; the second was that of the commercial classes against the tyranny of the aristocracy. In the latter struggle the King was on the side of commerce; and so trade, through these franchised towns, was represented in Parliament. The system itself thus forms part of the great scheme of checks and balances upon which the English Constitution is builded. In England it was a necessary safeguard against the encroachments of a landed aristocracy, and so constitutes one of the landmarks in man's progress towards civil liberty. In the Province of North Carolina, however, while in a sense there was a landed aristocracy, in no sense was there any appreciable commerce.

The Board of Trade, September 8, 1721 (2 C. R., 419), writes thus to the Secretary:

"There are great tracts of good land in this province, and it is a very healthy country, but the situation renders it forever incapable" (it must be remembered that this was before the day of railroads and river and harbor bills) "of being a place of considerable trade, by reason of a great sound, near sixty miles over, that lies between this coast and the sea, barred by a vast chain of sand-banks so very shallow and shifting that sloops drawing only five-foot water run great risk of crossing them. The little commerce, therefore, driven to this colony is carried on by very small sloops, chiefly from New England, who bring them clothing and ironware in exchange for their pork and corn, but of late they have made small quantities of pitch and tar, which are first exported to New England and thence to Great Britain."

Besides, in North Carolina the few merchants were almost without exception also land owners. If they resided in these towns their slaves, under the direction of an overseer, cultivated their plantations near by. Indeed, the merchants were as much a part of the aristocracy of the province as the land owners or the lawyers. In addition to this, the representation of these boroughs was quite frequently in the hands of lawyers and others whose interest in trade was only secondary.

The right to confer the franchise upon a town was part of the King's prerogative. At first, however, it was not asserted; New Bern, Bath, Edenton, Wilmington and Brunswick being created boroughs by act of the Assembly (23 S. R., pages 79, 133, 251 and 398). Section 31 of the Act of 1715 reads thus: "For the further encouragement of this town of Bath, and all other towns now or hereafter built within this government, it shall and may be lawful for the freeholders of said town of Bath, and of all other towns now or hereafter built or to be built within this government, at all times hereafter,

when representatives or burgesses are to be chosen for the precinct wherein the town lies, to elect one burgess to represent the same in all succeeding Assemblies: Provided, that this election for members of Assembly to serve for the town of Bath, or any other town whatsoever, shall not begin nor commence till such town shall have at least sixty families." In the next section, however, New Bern is allowed to send a representative, regardless of the sixty-family provision. In the time of Governor Dobbs, 1754, the King's prerogative to confer this privilege was asserted and established. (5 C. R., pages 406-7; see also 6 C. R., page 752, and 23 S. R., page 251.)

There were some variations in the qualifications of voters in these towns. Stated generally, they must have been householder or freeholder residents for some definite period—in some instances three and others six months. (23 S. R., pages 133 and 140.) To be eligible as a burgess, one must have been a freeholder, but not necessarily a resident.

It was only at the beginning of their existence that any of them could have been considered pocket boroughs, in the sense that a single man or family could dispose of an election to the Assembly from them. Later, indeed, the elections in many instances were hotly contested and the majorities were very small.

Bath.—Though New Bern was the first town to be represented in the General Asembly, Bath was the oldest town in the province. It was laid off in 1705, but was not represented until after 1715. Of the borough towns, therefore, Bath shall be considered first. Rev. William Gordon, an intelligent missionary, gives us this account of Bath County and town in 1709 (1 C. R., page 715):

"Bath County contains most of that land which lies to the southward of Albemarle Sound to Pamlico River and thirty or forty miles more southerly to the Neuse River, which

(being but lately peopled by a few French who left Virginia) is not laid down on the draft. They have divided the whole county into three precincts or parishes, though the inhabitants of all are but equal in number to any one of the other, most of which are seated on Pamlico River or its branches. Here is no church, though they have begun to build a town called Bath. It consists of about twelve houses and is the only town in the whole province. They have a small collection of books for a library, which were carried over by Rev. Dr. Bray, and some land is laid out for a glebe, but no minister would ever stay long in the place, though several have come hither from the West Indies and other plantations in America; and yet I must own it is not the unpleasantest part of the country—nay, in all probability it will be the center of a trade, as having the advantage of a better inlet for shipping, and surrounded with the most pleasant of savannahs, very useful for stocks of cattle." In 1711 that picturesque misfit of a parson, John Urmston, styled it the most obscure, inconsiderable place in the country. He wanted Dr. Bray's library, though, and was provoked at its location at Bath. (1 C. R., page 772.) During the Indian outbreak of 1711 that town was in very serious danger, but it was protected by a stockaded fort and a small garrison, so its inhabitants were not massacred, though in much alarm. (1 C. R., 826.) In 1714, Mr. Urmston again writes: "We expect to hear that famous city of Bath, consisting of nine houses, or rather cottages, once styled the metropolis and seat of this government, will be totally deserted; and yet I cannot find means to secure that admirable collection of books sent in by the Rev. Dr. Bray for the use of the ministers of this province, but it will in all probability serve for a bonfire to the Indians. (2 C. R., 144.)

Dr. Bray had been a missionary to the province and had married Martha, daughter of Thomas Pollock, the elder. He

is said to have been learned and to have originated the first systematic movement in the Church of England for missions to the dependencies of Great Britain. When he returned home in 1699 he sent a few of his own books to the colony, and the following year, 1700, was instrumental in having others sent over. (1 C. R., 572.) The Assembly, in 1715, enacted an elaborate law to secure this library. (23 S. R., 76 *et seq.*) It, however, shared the fate of all such enterprises in communities where there are few readers and no book lovers. Commenting on this act in 1731, Governor Burrington said: "This, though a long act, only concerns a town where little improvements have been made, and for securing a small library that was too much embezzled before the act was made." (3 C. R., 187.)

At its foundation there were some anticipations of a future greatness which have never been realized. In 1716 the Proprietors made it a seaport town, with the privileges of the same. It was the county-seat of Bath County, and many of the prominent officials of the province lived in its neighborhood, including Tobias Knight and Teach, the pirate. It was badly located, however (on sixty acres of land lying on Old Town Creek, a short tributary on the north side of Pamlico River), and was crowded to the wall first by New Bern and then by Beaufort and Washington. For these reasons, it, in its best estate, grew slowly, and never at any time became an important point. It has long since ceased to be more than a memory. It was disfranchised by the Constitution of 1776. The following is a list of its representatives, so far as they can now be ascertained, to the adoption of the State Constitution:

Roger Kennion, John Lahey, Roger Kennion, Robert Turner, Richard Rigby, Robert Turner, Michael Coutanche, Wyriot Ormond, Michael Coutanche, Robert Palmer, Wyriot Ormond, Patrick Gordon, John Maule, Wyriot Ormond and

William Brown. The latter also represented Bath in each of the four Provincial Congresses or Conventions.

New Bern.—New Bern was, from DeGraffenreid's own narration, the child of his sorrow. Hunger and starvation, disease and death preyed upon the Palatines after their arrival in the province in 1710, and when he came later in the same year with his Bernese he found them in despair. "I cannot," said he (1 C. R., 910), "enough insist on the wretched and sorrowful state in which I found these poor people on my arrival—nearly all sick and at the last gasp, and the few who had kept their health despairing entirely." Mrs. Kennedy thus beautifully describes the tongue of land on which they had been located: "A long point of land, bounded north and south by a strip of shining river; and on this land a virgin forest, draped in long, gray moss; here and there a tangle of vines, a rainbow blending of parti-colored blossoms, with brilliant grosbeaks and red-winged blackbirds darting like living flowers through the golden sunshine, leaving a trail of song behind, or whip-poor-wills and chuck-will-widows calling wistfully to each other through the lonesome darkness. And out beyond the apex of the tongue of land the two rivers, blended into one wide current, flowing ceaselessly to the distant waiting sea." Over this beautiful scene hovered the Angel of Death. Many of these recent comers from the purer atmosphere of the Upper Rhine and the mountains of Switzerland were prostrated by the fever that lurked in the low-grounds and swamps which surrounded them. The coming of DeGraffenreid with his Switzers, however, inspired the dejected colonists with new life, and they entered more heartily into the improvement of their surroundings. The town of New Bern was founded and many settlements were cleared about it. They were beginning, as their crops were maturing the following year, 1711, to look with hope to the future, when the Indians in overwhelming force burst upon them,

massacred eighty of them and carried twenty or more off into captivity. During the rest of that war they were little troubled by their savage foes. DeGraffenreid, himself escaping death and imprisonment, had made a treaty with them, by which his colonists would be exempt from attack so long as they remained neutral in the war, which in a desultory way continued four years longer. Financial and other troubles coming thick upon DeGraffenreid, he, after making over all his property to Thomas Pollock, left his colonists and the country, and they (the Palatines and Swiss) being scattered about the section, lost their distinctive organization. In 1715 the town was franchised, and in 1723 it was incorporated and its limits extended to include 250 acres. A curious provision of this law was contained in section 7: "If any person or persons shall die possessed of any of said lots without leaving heir or without making a will of the said lot, then and in such case the absolute fee to the same shall come and revert to said Cullen Pollock, his heirs and assigns, forever."

The Assembly for the first time met in New Bern in 1738. The seat of government was fixed there in 1746. (23 S. R., 252.) This, however, did not mean that the Governor was to reside there, nor that he could not call the Assembly together at another place. It will appear later that it met at other places after this period. Indeed, until Tryon came, New Bern seems not to have been a favorite of any of the Governors. Johnston was evidently partial to the new town, Wilmington on the Cape Fear, while Dobbs, living at Brunswick, did all he could to make that an important place. New Bern, despite of this, continued to grow in population and to thrive commercially, and when the Tryon Palace was completed in 1770 it became the political metropolis of the province. The following were its burgesses to the adoption of the Constitution: Walter Lane, Samuel Powell, Walter Lane,

George Bould, William Wilson, John Caruthers, Jeremiah Vail, Solomon Rew, James Davis, Joseph Leech, Alexander Emsley, Richard Caswell, Christopher Neale, and in the first Convention Abner Nash and Isaac Edwards; second *idem*, Abner Nash, James Davis, William Tisdale and Richard Ellis; third *idem*, Abner Nash; fourth *idem*, Abner Nash.

EDENTON.—The Towne on Queen Anne's Creek was established by an act of the Assembly in 1712. There a courthouse was to be built and a house to hold the Assembly in. In 1722 it was incorporated as the town of Edenton. It was located in what was then the best settled and the most prosperous section of the province. And thus it continued for many years, but, the center of population moving further west and south, it was found too much out of the way to remain a political capital. So much culture, wealth and ability were grouped about it, however, that no community had so great an influence upon affairs in the province, and later, in the founding of the State, as Edenton. Men like Samuel Johnston, Thomas Jones, Joseph Hewes, James Iredell and others could scarcely be found elsewhere in North Carolina, or, if found, had not formed themselves into a compact and efficient coterie. From 1720 to 1738 the Assembly met in Edenton. In 1738 and 1739 it met in New Bern. It resumed its sittings in Edenton in 1740, but in 1743 was the last of its meetings in that place. The following were its burgesses to 1777:

Thomas Parris, Robert Lloyd, William Williams, Charles Westbeer, William Badham, James Craven, Samuel Stillwell, Thomas Barker, Joseph Hewes, Samuel Johnston, Joseph Hewes, Samuel Johnston, Joseph Hewes, and Joseph Hewes, in all of the Provincial Congresses, with Jasper Charlton with him in the second Congress.

WILMINGTON.—If there was any section of North Carolina that vied with Edenton in culture and wealth, it was the Cape Fear section. Governor Johnston, writing of the in-

habitants of this section, December 24, 1734, says: "They are a very sober and industrious set of people and have made amazing progress in their improvement since their first settlement, which was about eight years ago. As proof of this I find by the Collector's books forty-two ships went loaded from this river within these twelve months last past. There are now several of them planting mulberries for raising of raw silks, and cultivating vines for producing wine, in which they seem very expert. Some few are likewise making attempts for oil from the olive and from divers sorts of nuts and seeds which grow almost spontaneously here, for all which both climate and soil seem wonderfully adapted."

The little hamlet of Newton existed as early as 1732, and Governor Johnston opened a land office there on the 13th of May, 1735. It was incorporated in March of that year (4 C. R., page 43). Governor Johnston became the patron of this little town, very much as Governor Dobbs afterwards became the patron of Brunswick and Governor Tryon of Hillsboro. He owned lands adjoining it on the northeast, and in 1739 had it incorporated as a town under the name of Wilmington, and made a borough (23 S. R., page 133). It was found necessary to include in the borough those who resided out of the limits of the town "between the bounds of said town upwards and Smith's Creek, and within 120 poles of the northeast branch of the Cape Fear River," and who should be the inhabitant of a brick house of the length of thirty feet and width of sixteen feet. It was through Governor Johnston's influence that one session of the Assembly was held at Wilmington in 1741 and one session in 1746. During his long administration, with these exceptions and also a session at Bath in 1752, the Assembly met at New Bern. Wilmington was granted a royal charter, March 5, 1763 (23 S. R., 654.) The following were the Burgesses from Wilmington from 1740 to 1777: William Farris, Thomas Clark, Lewis DeRosset, Cor-

nelius Harnett; to the first Convention, Francis Clayton; to the second, Cornelius Harnett and A. Maclaine; to the third, Cornelius Harnett; to the fourth, William Hooper.

Brunswick.—The Moores, Maurice and Roger, were the founders of Brunswick. It was begun in 1725, but Governor Johnston threw his influence in favor of its rival, Newton, and it was not incorporated until 1745, and was franchised by special act of the Assembly in 1754, though it did not contain more than twenty families. (5 C. R., 158 and 151.) There was for years great rivalry between Brunswick and Wilmington, but the open roadstead of the former, together with the better location of the latter, soon settled the fate of both towns. The site of Brunswick is known now only from the ruins of St. Philip's Church, while Wilmington is a thriving city of 30,000 inhabitants. The Burgesses of Brunswick to its disfranchisement by the Constitution of 1776, were as follows: Maurice Moore, William Dry, Maurice Moore, and in the first Convention unrepresented, in the second, Maurice Moore, in the third, the same, in the fourth, Parker Quince.

Halifax.—This town was incorporated in 1757. The Assembly applying the old Bath town 60 family law of 1715, admitted Stephen Dewey as Burgess from Halifax in April, 1760, and again in 1761, Alexander Emsley, but this was disapproved in England (6 C. R., 752). In 1764, however, a charter was granted to the town by Governor Dobbs, and thence forward until 1835 it continued to send Burgesses to the General Assembly. It is well known that in and about Halifax from 1770 until the Civil War, there continued to be many well-to-do and cultured planters and merchants. During the Revolutionary War it, too, became an important political point, the third and fourth Provincial Conventions meeting there. There the first instructions for independence were adopted, April, 1776, and there, too, was the birth of the State in December of the same year. A session of the

Legislature of 1780 was also held in Halifax in 1781. The Burgesses of the town from 1764 to the adoption of the Constitution were: Abner Nash, Joseph Montfort; in the first Convention, John Geddy; in the second, Willie Jones and Francis Nash; in the third and fourth, Willie Jones.

Salisbury.—Salisbury was laid off by William Churton, that founder of towns in the middle section of the Province, in 1753, although it appears not to have been regularly incorporated until 1770. Governor Tryon, no doubt influenced by the inequality of representation between the East and the West, created it a borough by charter in 1765 or 1766. The Burgesses from it to the adoption of the Constitution of 1776 were: John Mitchell, John Dunn and Hugh Montgomery; to the first Convention, William Kennon; to the second, Hugh Montgomery and Robert Rowan; to the third and fourth, David Nesbit.

Hillsboro.—In 1754 William Churton laid off a town on the north bank of the Eno River, where the great Indian trail crossed it. This town was in 1759 incorporated under the name of Childsburg. In 1766 its name was changed to Hillsboro. Governor Tryon seemed to be much interested in this flourishing settlement in the back country, and, July 9, 1770, made it a market town and borough by charter. He has been criticised for this, it being said that he franchised a little hamlet that his friend, Edmund Fanning, who had been defeated by Herman Husband in the county, might have a pocket borough to represent in the Assembly. I suppose that the desire to have Fanning in the Assembly did influence the Governor in thus exercising the royal prerogative, but in doing so, he at no point strained the law. Bath, Edenton and New Bern were the only boroughs in the province that had been franchised by the Assembly. It was attempted in the case of Wilmington, Brunswick and Halifax, but in each case the act of the Assembly was repealed in England, and

these boroughs were re-franchised by charter. The old Bath 60-family act, 1715, had been construed as allowing a town with due proof that it contained 60 families to apply to the governor for a charter, and thus construed it did not limit the King's prerogative, but it did not and could not prevent the King or his viceroy, the Governor, from chartering a town, though it might have contained less than 60 families. This was done in the case of Salisbury in 1766, a smaller town than Hillsboro. It is very probable, too, that the latter place, counting free blacks as well as whites, had the full complement of 60 families in 1770. The following were the Burgesses from Hillsboro to the adoption of the Constitution: Edmund Fanning, Francis Nash; unrepresented in the first Convention; in the second, William Armstrong and Nathaniel Rochester; in the third and fourth, William Johnston.

Campbelton.—Campbelton was incorporated as a town in 1762. Being at the head of the navigation of the Cape Fear River, and having dependent upon it for a market an extensive and fertile back country, then rapidly filling up with settlers, it was thought that it was one of the most eligible localities in the Province for a town. It soon had a rival, however, in the near-by village of Cross Creek, the latter seeming to absorb the lion's share of the trade. The Legislature of 1778, first session, included Cross Creek in Campbelton, and so that village ceased to have a legal existence independent of the latter place. Campbelton was made a borough by charter in 1773, Martin being Governor. In April, 1783, the Legislature, reciting that the said town from its convenience to the western settlements and the easy transportation of goods down the Cape Fear River, must necessarily become a great mart for the produce of the interior country, changed its name to Fayetteville. Campbelton was disfranchised by the Constitution of 1776, but Fayetteville was franchised by an ordinance of the Convention of 1789,

which had met at that place to consider, and, in fact, adopt the Federal Constitution. The Burgesses from Campbelton to its disfranchisement were: William Hooper, Robert Rowan; in the first Convention it was unrepresented; in the second, James Hepburn; in the third, Arthur Council; in the fourth, Thomas Hadley.

Disfranchisement.—Bath, Brunswick and Campbelton were disfranchised by the Constitution of 1776, leaving New Bern, Wilmington, Edenton, Halifax, Hillsboro and Salisbury still boroughs, and as above stated, Fayetteville again became a borough town in 1789. The Convention of 1835 did away entirely with all borough representation. The Act of January 5, 1835, (the Convention Act,) gave the Convention a discretion to abolish borough representation in whole or in part. The act itself, thus committing their fate to the Convention, was enacted by the aid of the borough members. The debate in the Convention arose on a resolution of Dr. James S. Smith, a representative from Orange and for forty years a resident of Hillsboro, in these words: "It is expedient to abolish borough representation entirely." Judge Gaston opposed this, because, first, the towns had certain definite and distinct interests of their own, which could be adequately protected only by their own representatives. In them property was in a more concentrated form, and they paid a large proportion of the taxes of the county in which they were located; second, agriculture was represented through the counties—trade and commerce should be represented through the towns; third, boroughs were more apt than the counties to send their best men to the Legislature. Later in the same day, June 10, 1835, he elaborated the second point thus: "It is vain to deny that commercial communities have peculiar interests of their own. These they must endeavor to protect and advance through some agent or other. If we deny them a constitutional agent, they will be driven to get agents of another

kind. If they are to have no member in the hall of legislation, they may be compelled to send you lobby members. Heard in the Legislature, they can do no harm. So few in number, their voice can be effectual only when it is the voice of truth and justice. But when members of the Assembly shall be approached through the other agents, means of persuasion may be used of a different character. The intelligent may indeed be addressed by reason, and the just by fair statements—but the uninformed may be misled by falsehood, and those whose consciences are in their pockets, may be convinced by arguments directed to the seat of their sensibility."

These arguments were met by the suggestions, first, representation in the House of Commons was to be based upon Federal population. If these small, though compact and populous communities, were to be allowed a special representative this principle would have to be disregarded, and as a consequence there would be an unequal representation, the very evil that the Convention had been called to remedy.

Second, if there had ever been anything in the doctrine that trade and commerce were entitled to special representation, the Federal Constitution had removed this by placing interstate and foreign commerce under the care of the Federal Government. On this point Mr. Jesse Wilson, of Perquimans, trenchantly asked: "If it be true that this right of representation is essential to the protection of their interests, why has not the fostering care of the Legislature, for more than fifty years, been able to prevent them from sinking into ruin? Halifax, sir, is gone; Edenton is gone, and New Bern is not far behind." And again: "But, sir, it is said that there are mysteries about this trade and commerce that only mercantile gentlemen can understand. Why then, sir, do they not send merchants, instead of lawyers or doctors?"

Third, though it was true that the majority of borough representatives were men of intelligence and character, the counties may still avail themselves of the services of such men, so the State will in reality lose little in this regard. But what seemed to have most weight with the members of the Convention was the debauchery and corruption and violence that accompanied nearly all these borough elections. In 1825, in a contest between that brilliant, but thoroughly unprincipled, firebrand, Robert Potter, and Jesse A. Bynum in Halifax, the election became first a free fight and then a riot in which one man was killed and a number injured. Dr. Smith said in the Convention: "Has the moral condition of the borough towns been improved by the privilege which they possess of sending members to the Legislature? On the contrary, the annual elections, it is notorious, in most of the towns are productive of feuds, quarrels and bloodshed. Mechanics and others are excited by the parties interested in such elections, business is neglected, and the morals of the people are corrupted." This of Hillsboro. Mr. Charles Fisher, of Salisbury, said: "Who has not witnessed the excitement caused by these borough elections? Who has not seen the worst passions of our nature brought into active exercise by them? Who has not heard that corruption of the basest kind is frequently practised to carry a doubtful contest. He knew these things and how the whole system worked. Every man is known, as are his calling and necessities. His weak side is sought out, that he may be successfully approached. Sir," (to the Chair, Judge Daniel, of Halifax), "you know all these things. Have you not witnessed at the elections in your borough scenes of the most violent character, which not unfrequently terminated in bloodshed? Have you not seen men pressed for their debts, in order to drive them to pursue a course in direct opposition to their convictions of right? Have you not, sir, like myself, seen the elective franchise

abused in every variety of form? * * * I have seen in these contests family arrayed against family—carried to the extremes of bitterness. I have seen neighbors separated and estranged, and social intercourse destroyed. Yes, sir, even has this pestiferous influence penetrated the church, and disturbed its harmony and brotherhood." And then Mr. Holmes, of Wilmington: "But, sir, great as are the evils which he (Mr. Fisher) portrayed, they are infinitely magnified in our commercial towns. Our population is of a more abandoned cast. We have more dependent and more pliable materials to work upon. He alluded to seamen and others who went to their employers to know how they should vote. Nothing was more common than a day or two before the election to house the voters as they housed their cattle. This was no extravagance; he had participated in these contests and knew the fact."

Certainly there could not have been a more forcible arraignment of the whole system than this, and it proved effective, notwithstanding it was opposed by such able men as Gaston, Swain, Daniel and Toomer. These sought to save from the general wreck of the borough towns, Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington and Fayetteville, but could not. After debating the question for two days, it was, on June 11, 1835, referred to a committee of 26, at whose head was Governor Swain. That committee reported on June 23 in favor of the franchise for Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington and Fayetteville. The report, after discussion on the 25th, was disagreed to by a vote of 50 yeas to 73 nays, and so, though other votes were taken with the same result, all these towns were disfranchised.

Mr. Wilson, of Perquimans, said irreverently in the debate: "The monkey is not the only imitative animal. Men are equally so. Our forefathers scarcely touched this soil before they began to exercise this imitative faculty. You have seen, sir, little misses dressing their dolls, and boys switching their

stick horses. Like them in the exercise of imitative powers, our fathers, to ape Great Britain with her Manchester, her Birmingham, and her Liverpool, gave the right of representation to Halifax, to Edenton, and to Hillsboro." However defective Mr. Wilson's knowledge of history may have been, it must be admitted that there is some truth in his assertion. The fact that neither Birmingham nor Manchester was a franchised town until after the Reform Bill became a law in 1832, may impeach his accuracy, but it detracts little from the force of his remarks.

From the Lords Proprietors' day to the beginning of the Civil War, those in authority in North Carolina continued to deplore the lack of an adequate seaport. Among the earliest of the Proprietors' instructions was one requiring the establishment of three towns in the Colony. In addition to what has already been said of the physical difficulties in the way of such a project, was this, which has been suggested by Capt. S. A. Ashe: In the early days the small vessels plying to colonial ports could readily approach the private wharves of the rich planters, thus rendering the concentration and regulation of trade difficult. On this account the attempt to establish central marts was a failure. This of course applies only to the towns on navigable waters. As to the interior towns other reasons prevailed. The inhabitants of the country districts had few interests in common with those of the towns. Says Prof. C. L. Raper: "Town life never became very attractive to many of the colonists of North Carolina, and what few towns there were became much more important as centers of political activity than they did of commercial, industrial or social life. They were centers of local government, and often of political conflicts. They were places where a few products were bought and sold—not places of their making. The surplus products of the farms for miles about them were taken there and exchanged for

a few simple articles, salt being a very important one, and now and then converted into currency. At times they were the centers of religious devotion and of intellectual life. There churches were erected, but during the last fifty years of the province more places for religious worship were to be found in the country than in the towns. Here, too, were a few schools and libraries, but there were more in the rural districts."

Of course the making of certain of these towns boroughs was, throughout their whole history, intended as a stimulus to their growth, but it may well be doubted whether the possession of the franchise added anything to their commercial or industrial development. The Convention of 1776, still impressed with the view that commerce, being a special interest, was entitled to special representation in the Legislature, determined to continue the tide-water towns as boroughs. Selecting these—New Bern, Wilmington and Edenton—there immediately arose a political necessity, in order to placate the western interest, to continue an equal number of the western towns as boroughs. The continuing of the franchise to Salisbury, Hillsboro and Halifax was probably based wholly on such a compromise as this. By 1835, however, the people had thoroughly tested the system, and no doubt they were wholly right in doing away with it forever.

There is a debt of gratitude that the State owes these towns, to which I must refer before I close. They had been recipients of special favors from the royal government, and might perhaps have been excused for some degree of lukewarmness in the controversy between that government and its colonies. But they were not lukewarm. Instead, the history of the times, properly interpreted, shows that the revolutionary movement had its origin in these towns and spread from them to the country districts, where, finding excellent food

to feed upon, it grew so great as to cover the whole province. Wilmington, New Bern and Edenton were the head and front of this "sedition and treason," and following immediately after them were Halifax, Hillsboro and Salisbury. The story of the Revolution in North Carolina would be very tame, very fragmentary, very inconclusive, if the part that the great men who lived in or about these towns took was eliminated from it. They were the men whom Providence raised up for the emergency, and without them North Carolina would probably have remained a hot-bed of Toryism. So we who live to-day may well acknowledge our indebtedness to them.

GOVERNOR THOMAS BURKE.

BY
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Among those who accompanied William of Normandy on his victorious expedition to England in 1066 were two brothers, sons of Eustice de Burgo, Serlo and John *de Burgo,* or, as it soon became, *Burke.* For their services the Conqueror rewarded them with the grant of several manors in York, where Serlo built the castle of Knaresborough. Dying without issue, he was succeeded by his brother John, now called Monoculus, on account of the loss of one of his eyes. The latter married a Norman lady of large fortune, Beatrice de Vessey by name, and from this union were born two sons, James of Knaresborough and Richard the Red. Richard had one son, Walter, who in turn was the father of three distinguished sons, Haburt, Earl of Kent and Chief Justice of England; Jeffrey, Bishop of Ely; and William, surnamed de Adelmel, who was sent to Ireland by Henry II and was given a grant comprising the greater part of the Province of Connaught. The line of descent of the branch of the family remaining in England must have been lost, as a letter from Edanus Burke to Thomas Burke, dated December 2, 1769, states that all trace of the family in England had disappeared. Of the Irish branches the same writer states that from the similarity of arms[1] until 1627 he judged that all were related. One of these branches was known as the Burkes of

[1] The arms were as follows:
The field. Or. Cross-Gules, in the dexter canton, a Lion Rampant, Sable.
Crest: A wreath, a cat and mountain. Proper.
Motto: Un Proy, Une foy, Une Loy.

Tyaquin, after the family estate which had descended lineally since Henry II, and from this branch was born the subject of this sketch.

Thomas Burke, the son of Ulick Burke and Letitia Ould, was born in Galway, Ireland, about 1747. Almost nothing is known of his early life, except that he spent some time at a university, probably Dublin. Before he reached manhood he became involved in some family quarrel, the particulars of which are unknown, and about 1764 he came to Accomac County, Virginia, and commenced the study and practice of medicine. He tells in a letter to an old acquaintance in Ireland, a Mrs. Jones, that his proficiency was equal, if not superior, to that of most physicians in the colonies, and that his success was very great. But the pecuniary rewards were small, and he soon found that law would be more profitable and of far less responsibility. After pursuing his studies for a few months with great earnestness, he was licensed at his first examination, and, as he said, "with great applause." At some time during this period he removed to Norfolk, where, in 1770, he married Mary Freeman.

Soon after this, probably about 1771, he moved to North Carolina and settled in Orange County, about two miles north of Hillsboro, on a place which he named Tyaquin, after the family place in Ireland. He had already gone to Halifax with a view to settling there, but decided in favor of Hillsboro. There he was licensed to practice before the Superior Court in March, 1772. In his new home he soon won distinction in his profession and made many friends.

When the relations between the colonies and the mother country became strained in consequence of the Stamp Act and other measures which the colonies thought oppressive, Burke was a strong advocate of American rights. While living in Virginia he had written against the Stamp Act. Concerning his position he wrote his uncle: "I am and ever

shall be avowedly a passionate lover of Liberty and Hater of Tyranny. The essentials of the former I take to, being governed by Laws made with Constitutional consent of the community, ultimately Judged by that Community, and enjoying and disposing of their property only agreeable to Will, and the latter is undeniably anything Subversive of those Privileges. How far the Stamp Act was so, sufficiently appears upon the very face of it."

Dr. Burke's first official public service was as a member from Orange to the Provincial Congress which met in New Bern in 1775. He was again a member of the Congress which met in Hillsboro August 20, 1775. In the first day's session he was placed upon two important committees—the first, to prepare a test to be signed by all the members of the Congress; the other, to confer with such of the inhabitants of the province as might entertain religious or political scruples in regard to taking part in the American cause, with a view of inducing them to unite in the common defence of the rights of the province. The test, as prepared and signed, declared that the Parliament of Great Britain had no right to impose taxes upon the colonies, and that any attempt to do so ought to be resisted by the people; that the people were bound by the acts of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, because they were representative of them; and, finally, the members bound themselves to support all such acts to the utmost of their power. A few days later Burke was placed upon the committee to prepare an address to the inhabitants of the province. He was also a member of the Ways and Means Committee, of which Richard Caswell was chairman.

Dr. Burke was also a member of the Congress which met in Halifax April 4, 1776. In this body he was on the following committees: Privileges and Elections; Claims; to take into consideration the usurpations and violences attempted by the King and Parliament of Britain against America, and

the further measure to be taken for frustrating the same; and for the better defence of the province; Ways and Means; to prepare a temporary civil Constitution; to supply the province with arms and ammunition; a standing committee to form a temporary form of government; and ways and means to prevent the desertion of slaves. He was chairman of the Committee of Secrecy, Intelligence and Observation, and was also on nine minor special committees. On April 12th the Committee on Usurpations reported a resolution empowering the delegates of the colony to the Constinental Congress to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independence, reserving for the colony the sole right of forming a Constitution and laws for the colony, and of appointing from time to time delegates to meet those from the other colonies in regard to matters of common welfare. This was passed unanimously. Before the Congress adjourned Burke was elected paymaster of militia for the Hillsboro district.

Before he went to Halifax the people of Orange had caused Burke to sign certain instructions which, it is said, he wrote himself, in regard to the form of the proposed new government. In brief, they were as follows:

1. Political power of two kinds, principal and supreme, derived and inferior.
2. Principal possessed only by the people at large. Derived by their servants.
3. Whatever persons chosen by people can possess only derived power.
4. Whatever constituted by principal power can be altered only by people.
5. Rules for derived power's exercise made by principal.
6. No power but principal shall exist.
7. Derived power never to subvert principal.
8. Constitution to be submitted to the people.
9. No established religion.
10. Three branches of government, Executive, Legislative, and Judicial, all distinct.
11. Two houses in Assembly.
12. All elections by ballot.
13. Executive elected every year.

The election of delegates to the Congress held at Halifax in November of the same year was accompanied by great tumult, and in consequence a petition was sent up against those elected, with a request for a new election. The Congress at first refused to unseat the sitting members, but later rescinded their action and ordered a new election. This was probably due in large part to Burke's influence, as he was present at the sessions of the body. It is very likely that the leaders in the body wished for his presence. When the new election was held he was among those elected, and took his seat on December 16th. Here, besides being placed on a number of minor committees, he was a member of a committee appointed to consider, prepare and report on the business necessary to be transacted by the Congress. The Bill of Rights and Constitution adopted at this session is said to have been largely the work of Thomas Jones, Thomas Burke, and Richard Caswell.

On December 20th, Burke, with William Hooper and Joseph Hewes, was elected a delegate to the Congress of the United States. For their services each was allowed the sum of $2,000 per annum. Dr. Burke now resigned his position as paymaster of militia, but remained at Halifax until the close of the session, December 23, 1776.

In the Congress Burke seems to have taken quite a prominent part in the debates, particularly when he thought the rights of the individual States were threatened. His letters express great fear lest an attempt should be made to give Congress more power than was compatible with the rights of the States. In fact, he was opposed to any forms of government, not absolutely necessary, being set up until entire independence should be secured.

During the first part of his attendance upon the sessions of Congress, Burke wrote regular and full accounts of the proceedings to Governor Caswell, but this did not continue.

In April, 1777, he was re-elected. At the same session of the General Assembly a new county was erected from a part of Rowan and was named in his honor.[1]

In the autumn of that year Burke left the sessions of Congress for a few days and took part as a volunteer in the battle of Brandywine. This adventure of his was the indirect cause of a serious quarrel later. He became convinced that the American defeat there was largely due to the inefficiency of Gen. John Sullivan, and preferred charges against him in Congress. General Sullivan wrote a letter to Congress containing reflections on Burke, though he was not mentioned by name. A correspondence between the two followed, resulting in a challenge from Burke, and seconds were named. No meeting was ever brought about, probably on account of the distance separating them.

In October Dr. Burke returned to North Carolina, and on December 1st took his seat as a member of the House of Commons, to fill the unexpired term of Nathaniel Rochester, who had shortly before resigned to become Clerk of the Court of Orange. As usual, Burke seems to have served upon most of the important committees.

It is not known when Burke returned to Philadelphia, but he was there by the middle of February, 1778. The preceding summer he had recommended the appointment of Hand, of Pennsylvania, as an additional brigadier for North Carolina, and this excited great feeling among the North Carolina troops and in the State. Probably this was the reason why he was not re-elected to Congress in April, 1778.

[1] There has been some discussion as to whether or not Burke county was named for Governor Burke or Edmund Burke. Wheeler says it was for the latter, and his statement has usually been accepted. But the following extract from a letter of Abner Nash seems final authority on the subject: "Our Assembly have paid a compliment to our worthy delegate Dr. Burke, which no private man has experienced before. A new county taken from Surry (*sic*) is called for him."

He was, however, very anxious to get home, and this may have had something to do with it, though it is scarcely probable. But for an incident which occurred in April, 1778, his political career might have closed here.

The report of a committee of Congress appointed to reply to a letter of General Washington contained certain expressions which seemed to reflect upon Washington. A prolonged and bitter debate followed, in which Burke took an active part in opposition to the reply of the committee. The opposition was so strong as to secure an amendment to the reply. The final vote on the amended reply came late at night. It was then discovered that there was no quorum, nine votes being necessary, and Dr. Burke, who was worn out by the long session, having gone to his lodgings and to bed. A messenger was sent for him, and returned with a most violent message of refusal to comply with the demand of Congress. It turned out that the messenger had not made himself clearly understood to Dr. Burke, who thought that he was hearing a message from Colonel Duer, of New York. He repeatedly expressed his regret for his language, but when Congress was not inclined to accept his explanation, but debated the matter for fifteen days and actually served a rule upon him as for contempt, Burke, while acknowledging that he had been wrong in absenting himself without the consent of Congress, which had a right to compel the attendance of its members, said:

"An unreasonable exercise of any power is tyranny and to keep a member at such unreasonable hours, and under such circumstances is, in my opinion, tyranical, and I will not submit to it but by force upon my person. I consider every freeman as having a right to judge for himself when the exercise of any power is unreasonable, and if I err in my judgment, the power of punishment lies within the State which I I represent."

He further stated that he would regard any attempt of Congress to act in the matter as an infringement upon the

rights of his State, and that to North Carolina alone would he be responsible. Congress then appealed to the General Assembly of North Carolina, which referred the matter to a committee headed by William Hooper. Before the committee could report, the Assembly elected Dr. Burke and Whitmel Hill as additional delegates to Congress, thus showing where the sympathies of the members were. The committee reported, August 14th, exonerating him from all blame and agreeing with him that Congress had no power in the matter. This naturally closed the incident.

Burke was again elected in 1779 and 1780. In October, 1779, he and Whitmel Hill were invited to the State Senate and formally thanked by the Speaker for their long and faithful service in Congress. The Speaker of the House of Commons also expressed the thanks of that body. In May of the same year Burke had been elected by the Legislature a trustee of Granville Hall, an institution of learning in Granville County.

By this time Burke had become heartily tired of Philadelphia, and in April, 1780, he wrote Cornelius Harnett that his health was declining, and, said he: "I am satisfied that another year's close application in Congress would make a perpetual citizen in Philadelphia and give me a right to the soil from whence nothing short of the final Judgment of the World could evict me."

In the summer of 1780 Burke returned to Hillsboro. His presence at the time was most fortunate, for the conditions in the section around Hillsboro were most distressing and alarming. General Gates, with the army, was there on his way south, and no provision having been made for feeding the troops, they subsisted for the most part by foraging and impressment. Not only was food taken, but there was wanton destruction of property. Horses and wagons were seized, horses were turned into fields of standing grain, and numerous other outrages were committed, which excited the anger

of the most loyal and roused the slumbering disaffection of those already inclined to Toryism. This was increased by the insolence and haughtiness of the officials who had charge of the matter of procuring supplies. Burke declared that he would resist any such injustice with force, and, his neighbors appealing to him for advice and assistance, he at once entered into correspondence with General Gates and the President of Congress, stating that he would see that supplies were furnished if the people were fairly treated. To him, largely, belongs the credit of settling what threatened to be a most serious matter.

On June 25, 1781, the General Asembly which met at Wake Court House elected Dr. Burke Governor to succeed Abner Nash, and he entered upon the duties of his office the next day. The Speaker of the Senate, Alexander Martin, in his announcement speech, said, among other things:

"It gives me a particular pleasure to have at the head of the Executive, a Gentleman on whose Integrity, Firmness, and Abilities, we can rely with confidence at a Time this State is invaded by a cruel Enemy, and threatened with all the Horrors of War, which to oppose and avert call for the most spirited Exertions of this Country, that Independence and Peace be secured to it on a lasting Basis."

Governor Burke, in expressing his thanks and appreciation for the honor conferred upon him, said:

"At any period less difficult, dangerous and critical than the present, I should beg leave to decline an office so much above my abilities and so illy suiting my private Inclinations and Circumstances. But no considerations of private convenience or of difficulty or danger shall deter me from any duty to which my Country may call me while her affairs labor under unfavorable Appearances. I therefore consent to take upon me the Office and Dignity to which the Honorable the General Assembly have been pleased to elect me, and shall entirely devote myself to the Establishing of Internal Peace, Order, and Economy and Security from External Enemies."

For the next three months Burke devoted all his energies to the task of properly arming and equipping the North Carolina troops. He became involved in a disagreement in regard

to executive power with the Board of War, but notified them that he had the alternative of obeying the Constitution or the laws, and preferred the former, and that if he could not exercise the powers given him under the Constitution, he would immediately resign. This ended the discussion.

He spent most of the summer in Halifax, but early in September came to Hillsboro. When he reached there he heard that McNeill and Fanning were advancing with a large force against General Butler, who was on Haw River. Burke warned Butler, and the Tories were disappointed in the main object of their expedition. But they at once turned to Hillsboro, and, before daylight on September 12, 1781, captured the town. Burke was then residing on Queen street, at what is now the residence of Mrs. Edwin Heartt. The house was besieged, and Burke, believing that all would be massacred if they surrendered, decided to hold out as long as possible. After some hot firing, a British officer, brought up by Captain Reid, Burke's aid-de-camp, assured him of proper treatment and received his surrender. The jail was then opened and the town sacked. The party then set out for Wilmington. At Cane Creek they were attacked by the Whigs, who, if properly led, would have won a decisive victory. As it was, a drawn battle was the result. Colonel McNeill was killed and Fanning was wounded. A bit of contemporary doggerel on the subject is interesting:

"The Governor and Council in Hillsborough sought
To establish some new laws the Tories to stop.
They thought themselves safe and so went on with their show,
But the face of bold Fanning proved their overthrow.
We took Governor Burke with a sudden surprise,
As he sat on horseback and just ready to ride.
We took all their cannon and colors in town,
And formed our brave boys and marched out of town.
But the rebels waylaid us and gave us a broadside
That caused our brave Colonel to lie dead on his side.
The flower of our company was wounded full sore
'Twas Captain McNeill and two or three more."

Governor Burke was taken to Wilmington and kept as a prisoner of State for some time. From there, in October, he wrote to Willie Jones, giving a rather humorous account of his uncomfortable surroundings. He described his room as a grotto in winter and a hot-house in summer, and said it had, at first, utterly lacked furniture, but that later he had been given a bed and some other furniture by a Mr. William Campbell. He stated that, although he was not shut up in a seraglio, yet he was as difficult of access as his Majesty of Constantinople. The following extracts from his letter seem worthy of quotation:

"My pride if I have any, has this consolation that my most trifling movements are considered as dangerous to a Prince who is lord of so many brave battalions and so invincible a navy and such inexhaustible resources as his Majesty of Great Britain. And this perhaps it is, that has restored my good humor. I knew before that I was upon the axle-tree of the chariot but never thought that I made much of the surrounding dust. You will no doubt perceive I sometimes smile while I am writing, but I beg you not to conclude from thence that I am upon a bed of roses and that I may well stay there sometime longer. You know, Sir, that tho' I have some firmness, I have also much sensibility of spirit, that tho' the one enables me to bear, the other obliges me to feel my situation, and with peculiar poignancy, that restraint which prevents me from employing such talents as nature has given me, be they what they may, for the bringing to a complete and happy Issue the cause in which our country is engaged. You know me well enough to believe that I cannot lose sight of what I was, nor cease to compare it what I now am and what I have the prospect of being if this absurd and vexatious question [1] should be drawn to any length.

* * * * * * * * *

"I will not injure you by thinking it necessary to urge you to hasten my exchange. I will only add that the opinion my enemies entertain of my power of injuring them ought to have some weight with my country since I must be capable of serving her in proportion, but do not take this as a promise. I will be assured always to do my best, but the Enemy think me capable of more than I ever thought myself, altho' I am no pretender to humility, but enough in all conscience on such a subject."

[1] Governor Burke was here referring to the difficulties which were being put in the way of his exchange, and the question as to whether he was a prisoner of State or merely a prisoner of war.

From Wilmington Governor Burke was removed to Sullivan's Island, where he was closely confined. Burke at once wrote Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour, the commandant at Charleston, demanding an explanation of the difference between his treatment and that of the other prisoners. Colonel Balfour answered that he could make no decision, but offered to parole him to James Island. On November 6th Burke accepted the parole and went to James Island, where he was treated with consideration and respect. After he had been there for some time a number of refugees were sent there. They were of the lowest type, and outrage and crime at once became frequent. Many of them were from North Carolina, and Burke was to them an object of venomous hatred. He was often threatened, but at first made no complaint, hoping that he would soon be exchanged.

Finally a group at his quarters was fired on, and a man standing on one side of him was killed and one on the other wounded. Further violence was only prevented by a British officer who interfered. The next morning Burke wrote General Leslie, explaining the danger of his situation and requesting a parole within the American lines. No answer was made to the letter, nor was anything done for his safety. For sixteen days he waited, exposed always to great danger and finding it necessary to change his sleeping place constantly and secretly. Finally he was notified that General Leslie was prevented from keeping his promise of paroling him to North Carolina by Major Craig's making it a point that the governor should be kept as a subject of retaliation for the Tories in North Carolina, particularly Fanning. Governor Burke had seen a letter from Major Craig to Abner Nash, in which he said he would not hesitate to deliver to those who were in arms for the King such prisoners as would most gratify them in their sentiments of revenge. After thinking over the treatment he had received, and remember-

ing how James Island was regarded with horror in Charleston, even by the British, he decided that he had been exposed intentionally to the dangers of the place. Nor can the impartial student of the facts in the case fail to arrive at a similar conclusion.

After long reflection, he decided that as a parole was given in exchange for protection, failure to protect a prisoner would have the effect of releasing him from his parole. He then decided to make his escape, and wrote a letter to North Carolina, asking that the laws might be executed against the Tories, regardless of him. Finally, on January 16, 1782, he made good his escape and at once went to General Greene's headquarters. From there, at the advice of General Greene, he wrote to General Leslie, informing him of his escape. He said at the close:

"But though I carried this resolution to escape into effect, I do not thereby intend to deprive you of the advantages which my capture, by the rights of war, entitle you to. I purpose returning to my Government, and there to expect an answer from you to the following proposition:

"I will endeavor to procure for you a just and reasonable equivalent in exchange for me, or if this cannot be effected, I will return within your lines on parole, provided you will pledge your honor that I shall not be treated in any manner different from the officers of the Continental Army when prisoners of War."

No answer was returned, and Governor Burke, who had gone to Halifax, North Carolina, where his wife had been during his captivity, notified General Greene that he would wait no longer than April 1st before assuming the reins of government. This was his most fatal mistake, but there were many reasons to cause him to make it. When he left Greene's headquarters it was with the avowed intention of having nothing to do with political affairs. He expected to find the General Assembly in session at Salem and to resign to them his office. But it did not meet, and Governor Burke decided to go to some other State in order not to embarrass the acting

Governor. But Alexander Martin, the Speaker of the Senate, reminded him that the office of Speaker would expire at the next general election, and that the State would be left without an executive head. So Burke, fearing that confusion and injury to the affairs of the State would result, decided to undertake again, and at once, the duties of his office, comforting himself by coming to the conclusion that it was not unjustifiable unless his escape was equally so, which he declined to concede.

In the meantime General Leslie had written to General Greene that the reasons Burke had advanced were so chimerical that he could not give them the smallest credit, and expressing the belief that General Greene would at once direct Burke to deliver himself up to the commissary of prisoners at Charleston, where he would be assured of every protection. General Greene replied that while he could not justify the breaking of a parole, he could not agree with him in regard to Governor Burke's reason for doing so, stating that Colonel Washington had said that he would prefer a dungeon to going on parole to James Island. He desired to know in what light Governor Burke was regarded—whether as a prisoner of war or of state.

As might be expected, criticism was at once aroused by Burke's action. Col. William R. Davie wrote him in February from Salisbury that Colonel Williams, who had lately come from Greene's headquarters, had stated that Greene and his officers believed that his conduct was reprehensible and dishonorable to the State, and that the enemy still had a claim on him. He advised Burke to take some measures for his justification, at the same time offering his services in the matter. Governor Burke at once wrote General Greene, stating what had been said and thanking him for his efforts to procure an exchange. At the same time he informed him that he would not feel bound to consent to any arrangement

which provided for his return, as he had decided that if General Leslie did not answer him he was done with him, and that if he (General Leslie) asked anything unreasonable he would not feel bound to accede.

On March 18th, on learning that Burke had resumed the duties of his office, Greene wrote him, expressing his regret that he had done so, and informing him that all attempts at exchange had proved futile. On April 8th he again wrote him, denying that Colonel Williams had any authority to make the statements concerning Burke. In his letter he shows that he thought Burke's escape justifiable, though he said on another occasion that his idea of the sacredness of a parole was such that he would sooner have abided the consequences than left the enemy's lines. Burke had already written to Colonel Williams, accusing him of misrepresentation. His letter shows traces of the bitterness which was already rising within him at the general misunderstanding and disapproval of his course. April 12th he wrote Greene that the enemy placed a higher value upon him than his own country did, but that he was fast preparing to take a final leave of all public business. Greene replied, expressing sympathy for his hard case, and closing the personal part of his letter with these words of advice:

"If the people intend to treat you with ingratitude, I am sorry for it. Much is due to your zeal and ability and as far as I am acquainted with the people of your State, they think your captivity a very great misfortune. I beg you will not copy the example of many other great men who have gone before you, refuse your services because the people appear at the time to be insensible of their importance. We all have our dark days. No man has been under greater censure and reproach than myself; but I was always determined to persevere to the end in the persuasion that the public would be just at last."

The General Assembly met on April 16, 1782. Governor Burke, in his message, gave the members a full account of the circumstances of his capture and escape. On April 23d,

when the election of Governor came up, he was placed in nomination. He at once wrote the Assembly, in part, as follows:

"This afternoon is appointed for the Election of a Governor, and I am in nomination. Permit me to say it was my wish that the several Intimations I have given the General Assembly might have prevented any Gentleman from naming me as a candidate for an office which I sincerely wish to be filled by a much abler man, or by any man rather than myself. When the General Assembly did me the honor to make choice of me for their Chief magistrate, tho' nothing could be more injurious to me or repugnant to my inclinations, I accepted the trust because I was apprehensive that declining it would be construed into a doubt of our success, which at a time when our prospects were overcast, might have had bad Consequences. Happily that reason no longer exists, and I do not now feel the necessity of sacrificing my time and Industry which are absolutely necessary to retrieve my private affairs from the ruin in which my being constantly employed in public Service for several years has very nearly involved them. My misfortunes during this year have been heavy and complicated and have involved me in debts and in private distresses which it would be painful to particularize. I hope it may be sufficient to say that it will require the best exertions of my Industry to Extricate me from them."

The General Assembly at once passed a resolution of thanks to Burke for his services as Governor, and elected Alexander Martin to succeed him.

Burke was notified on October 25th of his exchange. The following extract from General Greene's letter is interesting, particularly when Burke's States' Rights views are remembered:

"That you can retire from public life with honor I never had a doubt, but I am by no means satisfied that you should. Your State, and indeed all the Southern States, require many singularities and improvements to render civil government perfect. Few men have the necessary abilities and still fewer a proper degree of industry to effect it. Many improvements are also wanting in the plan of Confederation and national government. Those characters who have long been in Congress and have had their views and ideas enlarged and their minds unfettered from local attachments and directed to National policy are the only men fit for this undertaking. Unless our governments are rendered more per-

fect and our Union more complete I fear we shall feel but in a negative way the blessings we expected from Independence. Think not therefore of retiring too soon. Private interest has its advantages and domestic ease its charms; but the glory of establishing a great empire is a noble object and worthy of great sacrifices, and that you may think on the matter with perfect freedom and independence, I have the pleasure to inform you of your exchange."

Burke seems to have been approached in regard to removing to Georgia, but the plan did not suit him and he declined to consider it. There was much criticism of his conduct in the State, and, while he still had the confidence and friendship of men like Davie, Johnston, Hooper, Iredell and McClaine, the reproach of others, which he felt to be undeserved and ungrateful, rankled. With his capacity for making warm friends, he had its usual accompaniment—the capacity for making bitter enemies, and these were very active. Burke's was a most sensitive nature, and the accusations which affected his honor were more than he could bear. He seems to have given himself over to dissipation, and died, December 2, 1783, at Tyaquin. His body rests in a grave, unmarked save for a heap of stones, in a grove on his old plantation.

He had only one child, a daughter, named Mary, who, after teaching for many years in Hillsboro, moved to Alabama, and died there, unmarried, after the close of the Civil War. His wife, a few years after his death, married a Major Dogherty. Of this marriage there are numerous descendants.

Taking into consideration all the known facts of his history, Burke is one of the most interesting and certainly the most pitiful figure in North Carolina history. That he made a mistake in violating his parole and then assuming the reins of government is undeniable, but it cannot be believed that his conscience was otherwise than free of guilt in the matter. Further than this, it must be believed that he was actuated by the motives of purest patriotism.

Burke's personality seems to have been particularly attractive. In person he was of middle stature, well formed, with his face much marked with smallpox, which had caused the loss of his left eye. In spite of this, it is said that his face was not without charm. His remaining eye was blue and very expressive. He was very convivial, a capital *raconteur,* sang a good song, and, without effort, wrote verses, of which many are preserved, that, while possibly as good as the generality, even a partial critic could not adjudge of much merit. Most of them are addressed by him to some fair Chloe or Phyllis, for he was inclined to be very gallant. But the following is of a different kind. Two passages—one to Pitt and the other to the ladies—are quoted:

"Triumph America! Thy patriot voice
Has made the greatest of mankind rejoice,
Immortal Pitt, an everglorious name!
Far, far unequalled in the Rolls of Fame,
What Breast (for Virtue is by all approved
And Freedom even by Asia's slaves beloved)
What Breast but glows with Gratitude to Thee,
Boast of Mankind, great Prop of Liberty."

* * * * * * * * *

"And you, ye fair, on whom our hopes depend
Our future Fame and Empire to Extend,
Whose Fruitful Beds shall dauntless Myriads yield
To Fight for Freedom in some Future Field
Resign each dear.
To-day let gladness beam in every face,
Soften each Smile and Brighten every Grace,
While the glad roof with lofty notes resound,
With Grace Harmonious move the Mazy Round;
Make our Hearts feel the long forgetted Fire,
Wake into Flame each spark of soft Desire;
Too long Indignant Tumults and Alarms
Have made us heedless of your lovely Charms;
With Freedom blest, our care will be to please,
Each day the genial pleasure to improve
And add new Sweetness to Connubial Love."

These qualities, as may be imagined, coupled with a genial and frank manner and great cordiality, won for him numerous friends. He was of an ardent temperament and was frequently betrayed into rash acts. Ready to resent any fancied insult, he was equally ready to atone for any wrong he might commit. He was probably the most versatile of the men of his time in North Carolina.

Mention has already been made of his quarrel with General Sullivan. He also became involved in a difficulty with Richard Henry Lee, which would probably have resulted in a duel but for the intervention of General Wayne, who settled the difficulty, which was one of misunderstanding.

Burke was a Roman Catholic, but there seems to have been no question of his right to hold office. His case was quoted in the Convention of 1835 as proof that there was no intent to bar Roman Catholics from office.

He was a man of good education, as is shown by his letters. The following catalogue of his library, an unusually good one for the time, is somewhat indicative of his tastes:

Piere Williams' Reports, Atkyns' Reports, Burrows' Reports, Brown's Abridgment, Raymond's Reports, Carthew's Reports, Gilbert's Reports, Finch's Reports, Nay's Reports, Salmon's Abridgment of State Trials, Shower's Cases in Parliament, Treatise on Equity, Dalton's Justice, Dawson's Origin of Law, Abridgment of Cases in Equity, Lillie's Entries, Coke's Institutes, Laws of North Carolina (two volumes), Jacobs' Dictionary, Cases in Chancery, Blackstone's Commentaries, Sidney on Government, Abbe DuBois' Critical Reflections, Ferguson on Civil Society, Attorneys' Practice in Civil Pleas, Law of Devises, etc., Moley's Maritime Law, Law of Evidence, B. G., Gilbert's History and Practice of Civil Actions, Collection of Statutes, Foster's Law of Trade, Bacon's Law Tracts, Law of Errors, Lutwyche's Reports (Abridged), Law of Trespass, Foster's Crown Law, Lord Francis' Principles of Equity, Wilson's Reports, Hub-

bart's (*sic*) Reports, Hale's Pleas of the Crown, Shower's Cases in Parliament, Cases in Chancery, Coke's Reports, Robertson's Lexicon, Boyer's French and English Dictionary, Dormat's Civil Law, Lord Littleton's Works, Political Disquisitions, Smellger's Midwifery, Gibson's Surveying; 2d, 3d and 5th volumes of Pope's Iliad; 1st and 5th of the Odyssey, Pope's Essays, Euclid's Elements, Locke's Human Understanding, Orrery's Pliny, Littleton's Henry II, Beattie's Essay on Truth, Robertson's History of Charles V, Vergil, Horace, Terence, Juvenal, Cicero's Orations, and Cæsar's Commentaries.

As to his ability, it was undoubtedly equal to that of any of his contemporaries. His whole course as a public man would indicate that, without the testimony of men well qualified to judge. Samuel Strudwick said he was "the ablest advocate and completest orator our country affords." Abner Nash, his predecessor as Governor, said he was "a gentleman of activity, experience and ability and public spirit." Richard Henderson wrote Judge John Williams in 1778 regarding Dr. Burke's conduct of the case of the Transylvania Company before the Virginia Assembly: "It is universally given up on all hands that Mr. Burke did Justice to the Cause, and, for my own part, think we could not have been better served on or off the Continent."

Taking him as he was, with all his faults and mistakes, and they were comparatively few, he deserves honor and grateful remembrance from North Carolinians.

Authorities: State Records, X–XVII, Encyclopædia of American Biography, The University Magazine, Carruthers, *Old North State in 1776*, McRee, *Life and Letters of James Iredell*, and certain unpublished records of Orange county.

The writer also wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood's sketch of Governor Burke in the Biographical History of North Carolina, and to Mr. Francis Nash for much material relating to Burke, and for numerous suggestions in regard to this paper.

COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY RELICS IN THE HALL OF HISTORY.

BY COL. FRED A. OLDS.

The development of literary activity in North Carolina during the past five years has been accompanied by the ripening of a taste for historical research and for the collection of matter bearing upon the history of North Carolina—not only documents, but the more tangible and personal things which have gone to form the history of the State, and which, more than aught else, put the people of this day and generation in touch with those of the olden time. Thus it has come about that the "Hall of History" has taken its place very firmly as a feature of historical development—one of those outward and visible signs which indicate a great movement, and which is full of hope and promise of yet greater things to come. When the agricultural building was enlarged it was decided, at the request of this writer, to build a noble room especially for the proper display of those objects which bear directly upon the history of the State, and on the 15th of December, 1902, the work of installation began, the writer having been engaged since 1885 in collecting, always hoping that such a place for historical objects would be sooner or later provided. North Carolina is yet rich in such objects, notably of the Colonial and Revolutionary period; but until this collection began, a little over three years ago, nothing had been done, except in what may be termed very justly a local way, to gather together such objects. By such failure the State has suffered enormous loss, due to the burning of courthouses, public buildings, and, most of all, private homes, in some of which there were extensive groups of objects, the loss of which is irreparable. But at last the gathering to-

gether at Raleigh, where by all manner of means the collection ought to be, has been begun, and the fact that the number of objects now exceeds the 4,000 mark shows not only zeal in collecting, but also an awakened public interest. It must be borne in mind that collecting is no easy matter, since, first, there must be obtained knowledge of the existence of particular objects; next, of their location and ownership; then coming the work of getting in touch with the owners and securing the objects, as loans or gifts—their acquisition by either of these methods being desirable at the earliest possible moment, since losses by the failure to acquire them are occurring all the while. It is felt that the present Hall of History is what may truly be termed a stepping-stone to higher things; in other words, that it is but a forerunner of a far more noble one, generous as to space, and built on the most modern lines as regards the elimination of risk by fire. Given such a building, and the writer can undertake to secure almost everything in North Carolina; only relatively few persons being unwilling to place objects in such safe-keeping. Of course there are a few who hide their treasures away, "under a bushel," so to speak, instead of letting them be set broad and fair before all the world to instruct and to stimulate the people of their State who pour through the great North Carolina Museum by so many thousands every year.

The task of telling a story about a collection so great and with so wide a scope as the one here presents no little difficulty, since if there be too much detail it is very apt to degenerate into a sort of catalogue; and so it will be the effort now to touch only upon those salient things which stand out and which ought to be seen, as taking a place in the State's history from the remotest time of which there are white men's records.

In another room will be found the relics of the Indians,

since it is extremely difficult to locate the period of the latter; the making of weapons of war, and the chase, as well as various other Indian articles of domestic use, sport, etc., having been continued until a comparatively recent period. The story, therefore, as told by the objects in the Hall of History, begins with the coming of the white men, those daring voyagers who, sent out by the great Raleigh, crossed the sea and landed on the Isle of Roanoke. The story of this landing of the whites themselves, and the Indians, is set before the visitor in a wonderful series of pictures, photographic reproductions of the engravings on copper in the 1590 edition of DeBry's book, the first to contain the pictures, from the drawings made by John White, the special artist sent over with the expedition of 1585. A map in this series of twenty-four pictures shows the English vessels and also one of their small boats going to the Isle of Roanoke, with an Englishman holding up a cross in the bow of the boat, which is nearing the island on which is the Indian town, with its palisade or stockade of sharpened timbers, this seeming to occupy a spot very near that on which the Englishmen built their first fort in what is now the United States, this being "Fort Raleigh," which is wonderfully preserved, and of which a map, photographs and a painting are also shown. Among the objects in the cases are ballast brought over by the English vessels and thrown out at a point on Roanoke Island yet known as "Ballast Point," and charcoal which was dug up a few years ago when the excavation was made for the monument to Virginia Dare, which now stands in the center of the venerable earthwork, and of which there are also special pictures. When the writer was at the fort last January, soundings were made with slender steel rods all over the place. The well which the colonists used was by this means located. No objects were found, and it was discovered that for perhaps much more than a century the ground, both within and without the fort,

had been again and again the object of curiosity to relic or treasure seekers. Gone are the tiny cannon which the colonists left there when they abandoned the fort, and which were seen somewhere about 1615, and only a low mound, like a star, marks the boundary of this most interesting of American fortifications. It is a neglected spot, the rude fence and ruder gateway having almost completely decayed. In any other State than this it would be marked in a splendid fashion, and it would be also a place of pilgrimage.

There is a long skip in white life in North Carolina after the abandonment of Roanoke, an intermission of almost three-quarters of a century. The next document bears upon a meeting held in what is now Perquimans County in 1684. Then there is a will of John Trueblood, of the Province of Albemarle, dated 1692, and this is interesting as showing that the style of handwriting had changed hardly at all from the date of the great days of Queen Elizabeth and the knightly Raleigh, that fosterer of adventure and promoter of daring deeds, to whom North Carolina owes so much. There are memorials of the oldest towns in North Carolina, the chief one being Bath, which was really founded about 1694, though its charter was not granted until eleven years later. Bath, as the picture shows, is unique in North Carolina, as being the one place at least where time has stood quite still. The pictures of the oldest church in the State and of the oldest residence, formerly known as "Government House," the chimney of which, the largest in the United States, was built for use as a fort, a place of refuge and defence, tell the story of the quaint village far better than any words. There are relics of the historic Blackbeard, or Teach, that bloodiest of all pirates along this coast, together with his pistol, a button from his coat, a brick from his house at Bath, and part of a wine bottle or flagon from which no doubt that roystering devil had drank deeply many a time and oft. There is an

English coin from Bath, taken from a pit near Teach's house, in which some three thousand or more were found, this being of the reign of William and Mary and dated 1694, and there are other strange coins of that time, known as brass farthings, which were taken from the same hoard.

Some of the oldest papers are records of the Quakers, who got an early footing in eastern North Carolina, particularly in Perquimans, where there is yet quite a colony of these worthy people. A document of a singular character tells of one of the two recorded Spanish invasions of North Carolina, if these may be termed invasions—one being an attempt at the capture of Beaufort, and another an attempt upon old Brunswick, when it was the seat of government, on the Cape Fear river, below Wilmington. The document in question is a bill for looking after the wounded Spaniards who were taken at Beaufort, and part of it is for "physiking and dieting" them; the charges including quite a variety of food and drink. One of the most thrilling periods of North Carolina history was that of the Tuscarora war, in the days of brave old Governor Thomas Pollock, who, to be sure, with all his English courage, was well put to it to save his colony from what looked like almost sure extermination; and had not South Carolina come to his aid with whites and friendly Indians in great numbers, the Tuscaroras must needs have gotten the upper hand and have soon killed ten where they had slain one of the settlers. There is the treaty of peace between the whites on the one hand and the portion of the Tuscaroras headed by Tom Blount, who was declared to be the king of those most bloodthirsty of all red men in North Carolina. The treaty itself breathes cruelty in every line, though cruelty in that day meant safety. The text of the treaty is as follows:

"Preliminary articles in order to a Gen'l. Peace, had, made, concluded and agreed upon this 25th day of November, Anno Domini, 1712, between Tom Blunt, Saroona, Heunthanohnoh, Chountharuntshoe, Newoonttootsere, chief men of several of ye Tuskarora Townes for and on behalf of themselves and ye Townes of Eukurknornet, Rarookshee, Tostohant, Rauroota, Tarhunta, Keuta, Toherooka, Juninits, Consotoba, on ye one part and the Honble. Thos. Pollock, Esq., Presdt., of and ye rest of ye Councill for and on behalf of themselves and this Government of North Carolina on ye other part, Witnesseth:—

"Imprimis. The afs'd Great Men doe hereby covenant and agree to & with ye said Presdt. and Council that they shall and will with ye utmost Expedition and Dilligence make warr ag't. all ye Indyans belonging to ye Townes or Nations of Catachny, Cores, Nuse, Bare River and Pamlico and that they shall not nor will not give any Quarter to any male Indyan of those Townes or Nations above ye age of fourteen yeares and also that they shall and will sell off and dispose of all ye males under that age, and that further after they shall have destroy'd those Townes or soe soon as this Government shall think proper to require it, the said Great Men doe hereby promise to join ye English with soe many Men as may be thought proper to distroy and cutt off all Matchapungo Indyans.

"2dly. The afs'd. Great Men doe hereby covenant and agree that if in this Warr they shall take any armes which shall be proved to have been owned by ye English and taken away in ye late horrid massacre such arms shall be delivered to ye right owners thereof.

"3dly. It is hereby further agreed by said Great Men that they shall and will well and truly deliver up to ye English all ye white captives and horses that they shall find among ye Indyans.

"4thly. It is hereby further agreed by ye Great Men afs'd. that these Severall Townes of Tostochant, Rauroota, Tarhunta, Keutah, Toherooka, Junitis, Caunookehoe, nor any of ye Indyans belonging to them or either of them shall not nor will not hunt nor range among ye English plantations or stocks without leave or then above the number of three at one tyme, neither shall they clame any proprty in ye land on ye southside of Nuse caled Chatooka River nor below Catachny Creek on Neuse nor below Bare Creek at Not-Sha-Hun-Han-Rough on ye south side of Pamptico River.

"5thly. It is mutually agreed by and between all ye said parties to these presents that if any injurey shall hereafter be done on either side, upon complaints made to such persons as shall hereafter be appointed for that purpose, full satisfaction shall be made.

"6thly. The afs'd. Great Men doe hereby agree that from & after ye

Ratification of a Gen'l. Peace they shall and will pay into this Government such a yearly Tribute as hereafter shall be agreed upon.

"7thly. The afs'd. Great Men doe hereby further agree that for ye full & true performance of all and every ye above articles on their part to be performed, ye several Townes of Tostehant, Rauroota, Tarhunta, Keuta, Toherooka, Juninits & Caurookehee shall bring in and deliver up to this Government at ye Honble. Col. Thos. Pollock's six of ye chiefest women and children from each Towne, for Hostages, by ye nexte full moons, provided that they doe not distroy ye Enemy afs'd. by that tyme.

"8thly. The said President & Councill doe hereby covenant and agree with ye Great Men afs'd. that upon the just and true performance of these articles the severall hostages afs'd. shall be well and truly delivered up againe and a free and open trade shal be had with said Indyans as existed formerly.

"Lastly, the afs'd. Great Men doe hereby agree that they will endeavor to bring in to some of their Townes alsoe Chauaneckquockenerook, Enuquner-called Johetaoin shrdluap uapapup called John Pagett, Ekehorquest called Lawson, Correuiena, called Barbar, Colsera, called Henry, Lyahe Oumskinneree, called Suarehooks, Touhquinanch, Erunvanhyne and Young Yyler, and send two Runners to Mr. Redding's Garrison, give there three Hoops, then show a white cloth for a signale in order to pilott such prsons as we shall think proper to send to see the operation done upon ye afs'd. murderers.

"In witness hereof the several parties to these presents have interchangeably sett their hands and seals the day and yeare first above written.

"TOM T. B. BLUNT,
"I. P. SAROONTA,
"H. HEUNSHANOHNAH,
"I. CHAUNTHARUNTSHOE,
"I. NEWOONTTOOTSERY,
"SAROONTHA HORUNTTOCKEN, absent.

There is also a map of the lands which the whites gave to Tom Blount in return for his co-operation with them, these lying in Bertie County, and to this day being known as the "Indian Woods." Surveyors in those days were generous, and when in later years it was found necessary to re-survey this tract, it was discovered that the area was more than thrice as great as originally stated. There are tomahawks,

made of iron and evidently obtained from the Indian traders; that is, white men who sold guns, ammunition, tomahawks and, worst of all, "fire-water"—that is, whiskey—to the red men, and who aided more in debauching them than did the very worst Indians. The tomahawks show by their shape that they were for no peaceful purpose, far unlike the English hatchets, and their very lines seem to tell a story of those days of horror.

While DeBry's pictures were the first ever printed about North Carolina (then "Virginia"), it was a great many years before the colony printed its own first book, and this did not appear until 1752, being a compilation of the laws of the colony, printed by James Davis, the official printer, at New Bern. It was bound in yellow leather, and hence became known in common language as the "Yellow Jacket." The example of it shown is perfect. New Bern had then become a place of importance. It was the east which in those days was the real seat of life, progress, culture and development, since the colonial towns were necessarily along the streams or sounds or broad estuaries—places which could be easily reached by vessels from the other side of the ocean. The early settlers showed much judgment in their selection of sites for their towns, and to this day the site of old Bath will strike any person with a practical eye, by reason of its situation. Old Brunswick, Edenton, Hertford, Plymouth, New Bern and other points were all well chosen. The collection is rich in objects illustrating the colonial life in all of these.

Edenton remains the most interesting of all the towns in the State, from a colonial point of view, and the illustrations of it show that it ought to be a place of pilgrimage for the Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the Revolution as well, since there is a remarkable blending of life of the two periods in North Carolina.

The stately court-house, with a "spring floor" on the upper

story, built for the special purpose of dancing, was modeled after assembly rooms in England, at such places as Bath and Tunbridge Wells. On this second floor is the Masonic Hall, with the chair in which Washington sat when master of the lodge of Masons at Alexandria, Va. Very beautiful pictures of "Hays," the great estate of the rich and powerful Samuel Johnston at Edenton, show this building to be one of the most beautiful of all existing country houses in America, and photographs which are wonderfully fine reproductions show some of the treasures of the library at this house, which has come down through a century and a half in such perfect condition. Of these treasures is the only known copy of the New Bern *Gazette* of June 16, 1775, containing the Mecklenburg Resolves of May 31, 1775, this paper having been sent to Richard Caswell, then a member of the Congress at Philadelphia, by Richard Cogdell, the chairman of the New Bern Committee of Safety, this letter saying, in part: "You will observe the Mecklenburg Resolves exceed all other committees or the Congress itself. I send you the paper in which they are inserted, and I hope this will soon come to hand." This letter is dated June 18th. These resolves did not appear in the Wilmington *Mercury* until a week after they had appeared in the New Bern *Gazette*. There are water-colors of the House with a Cupola, once the residence of Francis Corbin, Lord Granville's agent, and of the house where the patriotic women held the "tea party," and there are photographs of the former building and of the bronze tea-pot which Mr. Julian Wood has placed on the site of the tea-party house.

A pair of pistols of unique and striking form were the property of Capt. Hugh Waddell, and were carried by him in the expedition against the French and Indians in 1758, at which time the British troops and militia captured Fort DuQuesne, in Pennsylvania, and by the capture really broke

the French power in the colonies. These weapons are perfectly preserved and have what are known as cannon barrels, because of their shape, tapering from breech to muzzle.

Recent acquisitions to the collection are portraits of the first Lords Proprietors, these being photographs, the gift of Mr. James Sprunt, of Wilmington, of the portraits in his private collection, which are copies made to his order of the originals, which are in libraries and private homes in England. They include King Charles and all of the first Proprietors except Sir John Colleton, whose portrait has never been found. There is the Earl of Craven, who gave his name to the county of that name; Hyde, who is yet paid a similar honor; that Berkeley who was the only one of the Lords Proprietors who came over to this side and whose stay here was marked by death and destruction, mainly the execution of Governor Drummond of Virginia and the burning of Jamestown, the next place settled after ill-fated Roanoke. There is Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sarl of Shaftesbury, who wrote the Habeas Corpus Act, and for whom Locke wrote his "Fundamental Constitutions," which was intended as a chart of laws for the government of the colony of North Carolina, and who himself made additions to that interesting document, which to be sure provided a most impracticable mode of government, hard to be even imagined in these latter days. There is a deed by the Lords Proprietors to George Burrington for the fisheries in North Carolina for the term of seven years, this being a striking document, of great size, on parchment, and bearing the autographs and seals of the gentlemen who then owned North Carolina. Later it came about that all of the Lords Proprietors except Granville surrendered their proprietorships. There are interesting documents signed by him and by his agents, one of whom was Francis Corbin of Edenton, whose house is yet perfectly preserved and who was visited by the "Regulators" and made to

give bond that he would be just and true in his financial dealings with the people. There are also deeds signed by Nisbet, Granville's agent in the up-country, for lands granted to the United Brethren, otherwise the Moravians, whose headquarters were then and now are at Salem. There are royal seals, some weighing a quarter of a pound and of wax; bullet-moulds, button-moulds, candle-sticks, snuffers, pewter platters and plates, tuning forks and scores of other relics of the Colonial times. There are deeds and newspapers bearing the stamps used in collecting the stamp tax, which presently became so odious as to form one of the key-notes of the Revolutionary uprising. There are relics of the earliest Scotch settlement along the Cape Fear, with its center at Fayetteville, including wonderfully fine pictures of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" and his savior, the brave though unlucky Flora McDonald.

Very interesting indeed is the collection of maps of the State, dating from 1585, the most accurate of the early ones being that by Lawson, the Surveyor-General of this colony, which was made about 1708. An original edition of Lawson's history of the State is on view. This particular copy is a gift from President James Madison, to replace a much-prized one lost in the fire which destroyed the State capitol here in June, 1831.

Photographs of Edenton include the burial-place of a number of notables, among these governors Pollock and Eden, and the wife of Governor Edward Moseley, who is truly a lost governor, since no amount of search has so far availed to find his remains. Capt. Samuel A. Ashe, so well informed about all things North Carolinian, thinks that his grave is at Rocky Point, Pender County, and search will probably be made there. These remains of notables were gathered at various points and interred in this cemetery of old St. Paul's Church, Edenton.

There are many extremely fine examples of penmanship in the collection of colonials, and notable among these are maps or plots of lands, some of these going back to the time when the Roanoke River was known as the Morotoke or Morotuck. These maps show the origin of many of the present names. One of them shows the location of an Indian town, Tauhunta, which was on the Tau river, now known as the Tar.

Of the Regulators there are a number of relics, chief among these, perhaps, being the bell which they used for the double purpose of calling themselves together, having no drum, and also giving notice of the approach of the British. The bell has a very thin and peculiar tone, like a cow-bell. There is a pay-roll of the company commanded by Captain David Hart, of the Orange County Regiment, which served 70 days in what was then termed the "Insurrection." There is also a plan of the battlefield of Alamance, made on the spot by an engineer the day after the battle, and showing the positions of the militia under Governor Tryon and the Regulators.

But few old taverns yet remain in North Carolina, yet fortunately there is a very striking example at Hertford, the building being of wood, long and rambling, two-storied, with double portico its entire length, and this is excellently illustrated by photographs.

The most noted collection of letters in all North Carolina is unquestionably that of the Iredells, now in the possession of Col. Charles Earl Johnson, of Raleigh, this being very extensive and containing letters from practically every man in high public life in this colony and the others during the late colonial period and throughout the Revolution. Two cases of these documents are shown and there are some striking relics among these, one a proclamation by Governor Josiah Martin, who used on public documents his private seal instead of the State seal. There are other special cases, contain-

ing the documents of the Devereux family, which go back to the time of Governor Pollock; documents, rare books, etc., collected by Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire, and the very important collection of autograph letters made by Governor Swain while in office, this being of documents from the executive office, and covering not only the Colonial period but the Revolutionary, and coming down to a later date.

The period during the Revolution, when North Carolina was what may be termed an independent commonwealth, is illustrated by various articles, but certainly by none more striking than the currency issued by authority of congress at Halifax, April 2, 1776. This money is excellently well printed, the plates having been made on copper, and the designs are striking, being in sharp contrast with money issued a little later. Very perfect copies of the journals of two of the most notable State conventions are on view; one, that held at Hillsboro in 1788, which declined to ratify the Federal Constitution; the other, that at Fayetteville the following year, which ratified that great document. The "Resolves" of the Committee of Safety of Surry County and of Tryon County are unique as showing on their face that there was great loyalty to the King, while there was the sternest opposition to the policy of oppression practiced upon the colonies by England. The Surry County resolves, exquisitely written, bear in graceful design upon the cover the inscription, "Liberty or death. God save the King."

Mention has been made of the Johnson collection, covering a number of Iredell documents. A special case in this collection is devoted to the portraits of Colonial and Revolutionary celebrities, including Willie (or Wiley) and Allen Jones, the former of whom was to exercise a remarkable influence upon John Paul Jones, the first admiral of the United States Navy, the patronage and affection shown by Willie Jones having led John Paul to add Jones to his name and to

show in many other ways his regard for the great and warm-hearted North Carolinian who had done so much for him. There is in the Swain collection a characteristic note written by the Chevalier Paul Jones, while in Paris, to a friend, desiring a copy of the Constitution of North Carolina to be shown to a gentleman in high favor at the French court. The collection of portraits is mostly composed of etchings, and upon the borders of some of these Mrs. Robertson, a daughter of the late Col. Cadwallader Jones, has painted in colors the family arms, she being the official painter to both the Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the American Revolution in the United States. The collection embraces portraits of the three signers of the Federal Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia—Hooper, Hewes and Penn—and there are various other memorials of these worthies.

The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, claimed by some to have been made on the 20th day of May, 1775, and by others to have been made (in the shape of what have been known as the Resolves) May 31, 1775, is a disputed point in North Carolina. The evidence as to the 31st is beyond any human question. There is a special collection of autographs of Hezekiah Alexander and others, whom it is asserted signed the Declaration of May 20th. As has already been stated, the Resolves of May 31st appear in the New Bern *Gazette* of date sixteen days later, and also in the Charleston *Gazette,* the latter paper having been sent to England, and the most obnoxious of the Resolves having been marked by the royal governor, the original of this particular paper being in the British archives, but the photographic copy being of the precise size and very clear.

Of the Revolutionary period proper there are over four hundred relics, among these some of Richard Caswell, the first governor under American rule, being naturally prominent, including a cup and saucer made in France for him,

while there are particularly valuable documents bearing his autograph and the State seal of the time.

As has been stated, it is difficult to draw the line between the Colonial and the Revolutionary periods, so much do these blend in certain respects. Thus there are shown superb copies of the Bible and Prayer Book of the Church of England, both royal gifts from King George III. to the vestry of Christ Church in the good town of New Bern, when it was the capital of the State. These books were in continuous use in the church until a comparatively recent period. The "Palace" of Governor Tryon, at New Bern, built at what was considered a vast expense in those days, is illustrated by a very old wood-cut. This building did not a little part to fan the flame of unrest of the "Regulators." They harped upon it, and not a few of the colonists objected to paying taxes because of the fact that their money was going towards paying for this edifice, which provoked both their contempt and their hatred. It was the boast of Tryon that the building was to be the handsomest in the southern colonies if not in the whole country. Of it but a wing remains, long used as a stable, but now as a private residence.

There is a "letter of orders" from the Bishop of London (Compton), authorizing the holding of services in the Colony by a clergyman. There is money issued at a number of points in the State prior to the Revolution and during that period. Some of the colonial currency is what was known as "Proclamation Money," and the enormous depreciation of the revolutionary currency is shown by the fact that in a bill rendered in 1786 iron is quoted at four pounds, English money, the pound; sugar 12 pounds, pepper 90 pounds, rum 165 pounds a gallon, a glass tumbler 75 pounds. This bill, by the way, is for a total of over 1,500 pounds, and two of its entries are in these strange words: "By spirits rum drank at my father's funeral, 45 pounds." "A difference of seven pounds;

so near a balance that a drink of grogg settles it." Of the money issued during the Revolution some was emitted at Hillsboro, some at New Bern, and some at Smithfield and Fayetteville. There is a journal of the Provincial Congress at Halifax, April, 1776. Some of the bills issued by the Provincial Congress at Hillsboro, August 21, 1775, are signed by Richard Caswell and Samuel Johnston. There is a printed order, dated at Johnston Court-House, December 24, 1775, signed by Cornelius Harnett, the president of the council. Another document which shows how stirring were the times is a letter from the Wilmington Committee of Safety, or Committee of Intelligence, as it was termed, to the New Bern committee, signed by Cornelius Harnett and others, dated July 2, 1775.

In striking contrast to the bell used by the Regulators, so thin in material and in tone as well, is a great hand-bell which was used by Governor Tryon at the "Palace" and later by the provincial assembly and by Governor Caswell. It is deep in tone, rotund and heavy.

The wearing apparel of the blended periods is shown, and from it, certainly as to the shoes, we learn that our grandmothers were addicted to high heels and the most papery of slippers, with toes so pointed as to put to blush any modern creations. There are buckles of paste and other gewgaws of the time, and from these relics of the gay days of old there floats out like incense the subtle yet pervasive odor of sandalwood, since my lady of those far-away days must needs have a case of this wood in her boudoir, to contain some at least of her fripperies. What tales of dancing days, of the stately old assemblies, the graceful if slow minuet, of hoops so great as to render the curled darlings of the time unapproachable to caresses unless they bent over like a tree in a storm; with towering headdresses, tier upon tier, hair and feathers, with powder galore, and the faces, fair enough, disfigured by

rouge and beauty-spots most cunningly placed. There are combs of tortoise-shell most daintily carved, which were a fad in those days, and one of these was worn by a lady, herself a member of a great family, who it is said was for a number of years engaged to one of the signers of the National Declaration of Independence and who yet never became his bride. Soon after her death he died, brokenhearted.

There are more humble articles of domestic use, including a foot-warmer, in those days thought to be a necessity for those who went abroad in vehicles; lamps, made in some cases by a native blacksmith, to contain lard and twisted wicks of cotton; some being in rude imitation of ancient Greek and Roman lamps; flax-hackles, linen cloth, spun and woven by the good house-keepers of that time, cotton not being in much favor then, some of this cloth having been made by Mary Slocumb, a revolutionary heroine; pins made in rudest fashion, the head being twisted around the shank and rudely soldered.

There are Revolutionary warrants which were issued by the State to soldiers as pay, and there are also warrants which the State issued for considerable sums, one being for $7,500; this particular one being endorsed as having been "Rejected by the United States in 1791, upon presentation on loan." There is the roster of the North Carolina troops who served in the Continental line, some of whom had such hard fortune in falling into the hands of the British at the capture of Charleston.

Written school-books are another evidence of the hardships of those early days, one being an arithmetic written with great skill and at infinite labor and showing large numbers of examples under all the various heads.

The early Moravian life, from the first settlement by the United Brethren of the region round about Salem, is illustrated in various ways, and a catechism printed in Germany for use by the Brethren in North Carolina is quite unique.

The illustrations of Colonial and Revolutionary architecture are both numerous and varied. Happily a number of the older buildings, which have escaped the usual fate of destruction by fire, have not been tampered with. Some have been destroyed by fire and some torn down. There are some iconoclasts in North Carolina, and these do not spare upon occasion. Some of the handsome structures on the great estates in the eastern counties have been destroyed or so changed as to be unrecognizable, while the noble groves around others have been cut down and sold. In other ways iconoclasts have shown what they can do. The church at Bath is a pitiful example. The old windows were recently taken out, the antique high pews removed and the tiled floor except the aisle; the lofty pulpit with its shell-shaped sounding-board was carted off as rubbish, and now unsightly modern benches fill the church, the pulpit is something of the commonest, while the windows are those vari-colored abominations which one can see in any cheap new church here and there in the little towns and sometimes in the country. Over the front of this striking old building is a brown-stone slab containing date of erection, etc. This, too, was removed, and some relic-hunter took it up to Washington, N. C., where luckily it was found on a hotel counter and given to a lady of the place, who took it to Bath and had it replaced where it belonged. This is only one story out of many. The enlarged and very striking picture of the church at Bath shows it as it is to-day.

Among the Revolutionary autographs will be found those of generals Wayne, Lincoln, Davidson, Greene, Nash and Davie. The fact developed upon inspection of these that General Davidson sometimes signed his name simply William Davidson and sometimes William L. Davidson. Of Davie, who was so eminent in civil life, there are very interesting memorials, one of these being his appointment as an envoy

extraordinary to France, his letter of credit issued by that country, and also a note from Citizen Joseph Bonaparte, expressing his appreciation of a call by Davie during the Frenchman's illness.

The Revolutionary battlegrounds are being illustrated. The picture-story of that at Guilford Court-House is very complete and impressive. It has the honor of being the best marked of all the Revolutionary battlegrounds, and this has been done to a large extent privately, though the State has aided somewhat by an annual appropriation. Pictures are to be made of the battlefield at Alamance and the monument there, and also of that at Moore's Creek, the latter being a battle which had a notable effect in cheering the patriots, having been the first success of the American arms in the struggle. Mention has been made of the Regulators and of the battle of Alamance. Of them and of this engagement there are two views in North Carolina, one being that the affair bore directly upon the Revolution and tended as much as anything else to precipitate the latter; the other view being that there was no connection between the two and that the Regulator movement was merely what some writer has termed "An uprising of peasants." The juster view seems to be that the affair did bear upon the Revolution, though in a somewhat indirect way, having perhaps as much connection with it as did John Brown's raid upon the Civil War—disconnected yet connected. Of King's Mountain, so important an engagement of the Revolution, there is not a single relic, strange to say, though there are several of these in the State and a number in other States, one or two being in the possession of the United States government. Of Revolutionary uniforms there is not an example, only the gloves of Benjamin Cleveland being shown. Of the weapons of the Revolutionary period there are a number of examples, including swords, pistols, and muskets. The most interesting of these is a

musket of extremely fine workmanship, for that date, which was carried by a soldier in one of the Scotch regiments which was in the army of Lord Cornwallis, who fought at Guilford Court-house and then marched, or as we may say, retreated, to Wilmington. There this particular soldier was on duty when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, and then he and his musket went together into what is now Robeson county and settled. The Revolutionary swords of home manufacture show what the native blacksmiths could do at that day, as their construction was not upon lines at all graceful, but solely for lethal purposes. The bullet-moulds are of the time when the women used to lend their hands and make the bullets, and when, upon occasion, they could shoot them, too.

One of the most interesting places in the State during the Revolution was Hillsboro, a small town but containing noted men and being much visited by those from the low-country, being considered much in the west at that time, before the mountains became civilized enough for resort. Hillsboro has, until recently, preserved a number of its old examples of architecture, and its streets, paved with cobblestones, were reminders of the days when Cornwallis sojourned there and of that yet earlier period when Tryon paid the place visits. It is most unfortunate that illustrations were not made years ago of such places as Hillsboro, as now but few striking features remain. One of these is the court-house, in the belfry of which are a clock and bell, the gifts of King George III., who seems to have had much regard for the town, which was named in honor of the Earl of Hillsboro, while the county bears what may be termed a royal name, in honor of that Dutch King who came over and saved England at so critical a time. There is a picture of the court-house and some other views of places of note. There is luckily a picture, the only one known, of the building at Fayetteville, long destroyed, where the convention met which ratified the constitution.

These pictures are found to tell the stories as well as direct objects and this process of illustration is to continue until every part of the State which is historical is covered. The writer last January made the first tour for the express purpose of gathering historical objects of any and all periods. This was in what may be termed in the footsteps of the pioneers, embracing Fayetteville, Wilmington, Southport, New Bern, Washington, Bath, Plymouth, Hertford, Elizabeth City, Edenton and Roanoke Island. It was a resultful tour, as no fewer than four hundred objects were collected, in addition to more than one hundred photographs, most of the latter being originals made by special order. The result is that there is to-day more knowledge by the mass of the people as to the fine old towns in the early settled parts of the State than ever before. There pass through the State Museum and the Hall of History each year more than 100,000 visitors, representing nearly every county in North Carolina and a large number of other States. The interest in the historical collection is not local, not confined to Raleigh or North Carolina, but is widespread and some acquisitions to the collection come from persons from other States, who thus show their appreciation of the work of preservation which is being so earnestly pressed. One of the facts which is very plain is the influence which North Carolina has had upon other parts of the country in settlement and otherwise, notably in the great middle-west. Visitors from that part of the country manifest the keenest interest in the Colonial and Revolutionary objects in view, and there are students of those periods who are availing themselves of the Hall of History as a medium of information. To show the scope of the collection already, it may be stated that books are being illustrated by pictures made of the objects therein, notably readers and histories by such writers as Capt. Ashe, Prof. D. H. Hill and Prof. R. D. W. Connor. The photographs taken are not only of pictures,

but of objects in every department. The Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the Revolution are frequent visitors to and close students of the exhibits which closely interest them, and they have been no small contributors, while their influence is regarded as of very high value by the writer. It is felt that more ought to be done in regard to the Revolutionary period. The fact that articles are equally available as loans or gifts should have its weight upon the public mind, and the Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the Revolution, so closely linked in their work, should see to it that the most notable objects in private collections should come here. There is in the Raleigh a picture of King George III, which is of deep historical interest. Upon its back these words are written with red chalk, "O, George! Hide thy face and mourn!" General Nathaniel Greene wrote those words himself, having turned the King's face to the wall in a house at Salisbury.

What has been written here is designed merely to show in a partial way what has been done in so brief a space, comparatively speaking, in forming North Carolina's first collection of historical objects. This much may be added, that no collection was ever made at so small an expense, the writer's work being solely that of a volunteer, and this very fact being an incentive of endeavor to make the collection as good and as complete as if it were the work of some paid specialist. Surely the people of North Carolina will give hearty co-operation, and will see to it, sooner or later, that every object which bears upon their colonial and State history comes here.

The oldest documents in North Carolina connected with the history of any family now living are those of the de Rossets at Wilmington, which reach well back into 1500, and are mainly commissions issued by the kings of France.

The writer, it may be said, keeps very closely in touch with

the North Carolina Historical Commission, which by gift has placed a number of extremely interesting pictures in the Hall of History, and he has had these prepared under the auspices of the Commission. There is, of course, also close co-operation with the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, as chairman of its Museum Committee. The co-operation of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture has been very thorough and generous; in fact, all the surroundings and influences have been such as to very greatly aid in facilitating the work.

It is proposed to make special tours through other portions of the State than the east, and to revisit that particular section also. Wherever such visits are made there are conferences with and addresses made to such bodies as the Colonial Dames and the other societies of ladies, and these have proved resultful in every case. It is found that the personal equation enters very largely into this matter. State pride and family pride go well together, and the time is arriving when the large hall, already so nearly filled, will be crowded. The facilities for caring for documents and any and all objects, of whatever material, are of the best, with cases which are moth-proof, dust-proof, and are also thoroughly guarded against any and all insects. The fact that the collection, of which only two departments are here treated of, is so wide in its scope is found to add to the general interest in it, since something is afforded for the student of any period. It has been a distinct inspiration to teachers, of whom more than twelve hundred visited it in a body during the present year. It is set before the Legislature as an object-lesson and as the very best and most practical way of showing that it is worthy of the most complete preservation.

THE N. C. SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION AND ITS OBJECTS.

BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT, REGENT.

The Society "Daughters of the Revolution" was founded by Mrs. Flora Adams Darling, October 11, 1890. It was organized August 20, 1891, and was duly incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose.

The occasion of its founding was to provide a society whose terms of membership should be based upon *direct descent* from Revolutionary ancestors, in which organization admission upon *collateral claims would be impossible.* This rule, clearly stated at time of organization, has been rigidly observed, and the Society is justly proud of its membership, representing as it does the direct descendants of soldiers and statesmen of the Revolution.

The distinctive feature of the government of the Society is its system of State Societies and local Chapters; the officers and Board of Managers of the General Society have entire superintendence and management of the whole organization, while subject to this oversight, State Societies regulate and direct their own affairs. A State Society may be organized wherever there are at least twenty members residing within the State, and a local Chapter may be formed by five members living in the same locality. The State membership includes all members of local Chapters formed in the State.

The objects of the Society as stated in the Constitution are: "To perpetuate the patriotic spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence; to commemorate prominent events connected with the War of the Revolution; to collect, publish and preserve the rolls, records and historic documents relating to that period; to encourage the study of

the country's history, and to promote sentiments of friendship and common interest among the members of the Society."

THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY.

Founded by Mrs. Spier Whitaker, a lineal descendant of Wm. Hooper, a signer of the National Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, a biographical sketch of whose life by Mrs. Whitaker was published in the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET of July, 1905.

The North Carolina Society was organized in Raleigh, Oct. 19, 1896, the anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis; and a Constitution and By-Laws adopted on April 6, 1897, its declaration upon honor being, that "if admitted to membership in this Society, I will endeavor to promote the purposes of its institution, and observe the Constitution and By-Laws."

MEMBERSHIP AND QUALIFICATIONS.

"Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a lineal descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, or a member of the Congress, Legislature or General Court of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *provided,* that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence."

As will be seen, the watchword of the Society is "Patriotism." Love of Liberty, Home and Country is a heaven-born instinct not bounded by latitude or longitude, nor is it confined by wealth or position. It is imperative and should be absolutely understood in all social and official acts members

should avoid all semblance of sectional feeling, or political or religious partisanship.

That such a society for women was needed is attested by its sure growth—its patriotic activity in marking Revolutionary sites, erecting monuments, the finding and preservation of records vital to the history of the Nation and which in many instances have been preserved from destruction through the efforts of patriotic Societies which had gained a knowledge of their value.

The North Carolina Society grew in strength of purpose, more than numerically. Their meetings were held on important anniversary days—valuable historical papers were read by members on the Revolutionary services of their ancestors, all of which are preserved in our archives.

In December, 1900, it was determined to take up some special work. At this meeting a very interesting account of the "Edenton Tea Party of October 25, 1774," by Dr. Richard Dillard of Edenton, was read, and the idea of commemorating in some tangible way this important event filled the minds of all present. It was then determined to erect a memorial to the heroism and patriotism of those women of the State who by their aid and zeal helped to make this country a free and independent Nation, thereby in a measure setting aside that ignorant prejudice which has hedged them in with such false ideas of their place and power, that the history of mothers, even of the greatest men, is not easy to obtain. As the eye of history is opening to the fact that some credit is due the women of the past for the success of the War of the Revolution, a motion then prevailed to erect in this State a memorial to the brave and patriotic women who organized and participated in the aforementioned "Edenton Tea Party of October 25, 1774," who met to endorse the "Resolves of the Provincial Deputies" in New Bern, August 25, 1774, "not to drink any more tea or wear any more British cloth" until the

tax had been removed by Parliament from these foreign commodities.

On the reception of this news, obedient to the instinct of womanhood, ever ready to do her duty, a meeting was called to testify and put on record their adherence and co-operation in any movement for the peace and happiness of their country. Fifty-one ladies signed this document, an act which deserves an enduring monument.

Ways and means for the accomplishment of this purpose were discussed, and, on motion of Mrs. Helen Wills, a committee of the following ladies was appointed to consider the matter: Mrs. Walter Clark, Mrs. Hubert Haywood, Miss Martha Haywood, Miss Grace Bates and Mrs. Ivan Proctor. The committee reported at the next meeting that they would adopt a suggestion of Miss Martha Haywood to issue a monthly publication on great events in North Carolina history. The idea was adopted unanimously, and Miss Martha Haywood and Mrs. Hubert Haywood (*nee* Emily Benbury) volunteered to begin the enterprise. The treasury furnished means for issuing circulars, for postage, etc.

Through the indefatigable efforts and enthusiasm of our Regent, Mrs. Whitaker, and her associates, "The North Carolina Booklet" has become an assured success. The first number appeared in May, 1901, and consisted of a monograph by Maj. Graham Daves on Virginia Dare, she being the first English child born in America—"a fitting subject for a magazine issued under the auspices of the North Carolina Society 'Daughters of the Revolution,' edited by women, and the proceeds to memorialize the patriotism of women."

After two years of arduous labor freely given to the cause, the editors resigned and were succeeded by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton and Mrs. E. E. Moffitt. For the first four years the Booklet was published as a monthly, beginning in May each year. In 1905 it was decided to issue it quarterly, and the first number of Volume V was issued in July of that year.

The subscription list continues to justify the publication, and the profits therefrom have brought to the treasury of the Society a creditable amount.

Having in bank a sufficient amount for the erection of the memorial, the accomplishment of its object has been delayed in order to secure historical evidence beyond contradiction, that the heroic act of these patriotic women really took place. A correct list of the names of those who signed the document has been obtained, through the continuous efforts of Mrs. Spier Whitaker, who in correspondence with Rev. H. S. Iredell, of Tunbridge Wells, England, secured a correct list from the "*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* of Monday, January 16, 1775"; and through Mr. R. T. H. Halsey, a member of the Grolier Club of New York, and author of a late work entitled "The Boston Port Bill as Pictured by a Contemporary Boston Cartoonist." Additional evidence has been obtained through Mr. Horner Winston, of Durham, N. C., now at Christ's College, Oxford, England, winner of the Cecil Rhodes scholarship. The plans are so far perfected as to insure the unveiling on the next anniversary.

The North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution appeals to the patriotism of all descendants of those who will be commemorated, and of North Carolinians all over the United States, to co-operate in the work of "rescuing from oblivion the virtuous actions" of their ancestors, and with such encouragement and co-operation the BOOKLET will continue to succeed in its work for other patriotic purposes.

RICHARD DILLARD, M.D

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA.

COLLECTED AND COMPILED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

DR. RICHARD DILLARD.

There needs no apology for presenting with this article the picture of Dr. Richard Dillard, the one who revived that incident in North Carolina history of the notable "Edenton Tea Party of October 25, 1774." His researches on the subject have been exhaustive and scholarly. As nearly all of the information regarding that important event has been derived directly or indirectly from his original researches, he may justly be called the "Reviver of the Edenton Tea Party" incident.

A monograph which he wrote on the subject in 1892 was so well received that it was republished in 1898. It was the reading of this article that inspired the "North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution" to memorialize in a fitting way the heroism and patriotism of representative women of the State preceding the stormy days of the Revolution. The desire to endorse the proceedings of the Provincial Congress took shape in the "Tea Party," and the resolves were signed by fifty-one ladies.*

Dr. Dillard, bachelor, born at "Farmers Delight," Nansemond County, Va., December 5, 1857, descended from the old cavalier stock, which early in our history had settled along the shores of the Albemarle; received literary education at University of North Carolina, 1875-'77; studied medicine at University of Virginia; graduated at Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia, Pa., in 1879; since that time has been practicing at Edenton, N. C.

Many honors have been bestowed upon him by his State.

* American Archives, Vol. 1, p. 891.

Among these, the honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him by Rutherford College in 1899. He was appointed a member of the first Historical Commission by Governor Aycock; has contributed a number of historical papers to various magazines; was a contributor to the old Magazine of American History, so ably edited by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, in which magazine appeared his article on the "Edenton Tea Party," and which reappeared in the BOOKLET in August, 1901. The original of the picture of this Tea Party was upon glass, and by some misadventure became mutilated and broken into several fragments. Dr. Dillard, in 1893, had the painting reproduced on canvass, and presented it to the State. He was also the owner of the only portrait in existence of Martin Ross, the celebrated evangelist, called the "St. Paul of North Carolina," which he presented last year through the venerable Dr. Hufham to Wake Forest College.

He is a member of the North Carolina Society "Sons of the Revolution," through the services of Col. John Campbell, who was a member of three Provincial Congresses, during and prior to the Revolution, to-wit, the one which met at New Bern in August, 1774, at Hillsboro in 1775, and at Halifax in spring of 1776. Is passionately fond of botany and flowers, and contributes to the "House and Garden Magazine."

He resides at his old home in Edenton, which he has fitted up elaborately and named "Beverly Hall," in honor of his mother.

His descent from his Revolutionary ancestor, Col. Campbell, is contained in the manuscript archives of the North Carolina Society "Sons of the Revolution."

FRANCIS NASH.

I. Francis Nash, born at Floral College, N. C., 1855. Son of Rev. Frederick K. Nash and Annie M. McLean. His father was a distinguished Presbyterian minister, who died in his early career.

II. Grandson of Chief Justice Frederick Nash and Mary G. Kollock, his wife—Frederick Nash was born in Tryon's Palace at New Bern during his father's incumbency of the gubernatorial office, February 19, 1781; he graduated from Princeton College in 1799; admitted to the Bar in 1801; married Miss Mary G. Pollock, of New Jersey, with whom he lived fifty-five years; he died in 1858, distinguished as legislator, jurist and orator of high rank, and a Christian gentleman. The controlling motive of his conduct through life was a sense of accountability to God.

III. Great grandson of Gov. Abner Nash, the able and active friend to the rights of the people, and a member of the Provincial Congress in 1774. Governor 1780; member Continental Congress 1781-1786; died 1786.

IV. Great grand nephew of Gen. Francis Nash, of Revolutionary fame.

I. Francis Nash, subject of this sketch, and a worthy descendant of the above, was left an orphan when a child, was reared by his aunts, the Misses Nash, of Hillsboro, educated at the school of Misses Nash and Kollock and the R. H. Graves schools. At sixteen he began life for himself as clerk; began study of law at night; clerk in law office of Judge George Howard, of Tarboro; obtained license 1877, and was given a partnership by Judge Howard; by reason of failing health resigned. After a year of rest in the country he resumed the practice of law in Tarboro; was elected Mayor; Presiding Justice of Inferior Court of Edgecombe County 1883; again became partner with Judge Howard, but his health again failing he retired from the practice for ten years.

Resumed practice in 1894 in Hillsboro; has filled for short terms U. S. Commissioner and Referee in Bankruptcy. He is a writer of ability. A series of papers on Judicial Evolution, published in Albany Law Journal 1890-1; "Belleville," 1897-8, a story of Reconstruction period; "The Mac Travis Sketches" in 1898; "A Lawyer's Mistake" in 1899; and "Wiolusing," a sequel to "Belleville," in 1900-1; "Hillsboro, Colonial and Revolutionary." For the "Biographical History," which is being published by Charles N. Van Noppen, he has written twenty-three sketches of the worthies of North Carolina. He wrote "Historic Hillsboro" for the August number of the "Booklet" in 1903. He has written many other legal, political and historical articles.

In 1879 he married Miss Jessie P. Baker, of Tarboro, N. C., who died 1896, leaving two daughters—one a teacher of English in Goldsboro High School, the other of Mathematics in the Lucy Cobb Institute, Athens, Georgia.

J. G. de ROULHAC HAMILTON, Ph.D.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, the author of this sketch, was born in Hillsboro, N. C., August 6, 1878. Was educated at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., 1896-1900. Instructor at the celebrated Horner Military School, N. C., 1901-'02, student of Columbia University 1902-'04, Ph.D. 1906, Principal of Wilmington, N. C., High School 1904-'06, and now Associate Professor of History, University of N. C. Member of the American Historical Association, Southern History Association, N. C. Literary and Historical Association.

I. Son of Daniel Heyward Hamilton (Major of 13th N. C., C. S. A., later Adjutant 1st South Carolina); married Frances Gray Roulhac, on maternal side a granddaughter of Chief Justice Ruffin.

II. Grandson of Daniel Heyward Hamilton, of S. C.; member of S. C. Convention of 1851; Colonel 1st S. C. Regiment, C. S. A.; married Rebecca Middleton, a descendant of Mrs. Rebecca Motte, of Revolutionary fame, and relative of Arthur Middleton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence

III. Great grandson of James Hamilton; soldier of 1812; member S. C. Legislature; member of Congress; Governor of S. C.; President of Nullification Convention; Ambassador to the Court of St. James from the Republic of Texas; Senator-elect from Texas at death; married Elizabeth Heyward, a grand-daughter of Thos. Heyward, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

IV. Great, great grandson of James Hamilton; Major in Continental line on Washington's staff; married Elizabeth Lynch, a sister of Thomas Lynch, Jr., the signer of the Declaration, and a daughter of Thos. Lynch, a member of the Continental Congress of 1776.

COL. FRED. A. OLDS.

Col. F. A. Olds began newspaper work in 1877 in Raleigh, and has been continuously in this profession ever since, having in 1886 become the correspondent of out-of-town papers and devoting himself to this line of work, writing considerably for magazines. For twenty years he has been collecting historical objects, and since December, 1902, has given much time, labor and study to the Hall of History. He is the Chairman of the Museum Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and the Director of the Hall of History, and he also co-operates very heartily and extensively with the N. C. Historical Commission. He has written many historical articles and stories, which have been in most cases illustrated, and he edited a new edition of Lawson's History of North Carolina, which was published by the Charlotte Observer, and has prepared for publication a

new edition of De Bry's edition of Hariot's narrative of the discovery of Roanoke Island. Last January Colonel Olds made a tour, which was extremely successful, of the older towns in Eastern North Carolina, in the interest of the historical collection, and will later visit other sections. By the co-operation of the citizens of North Carolina, Colonel Olds would be greatly aided in the work he has undertaken of collecting relics and documents vital to the interest of the State's history—besides making a place of general interest to the students of our city, and in fact to all visitors to the Hall of History.

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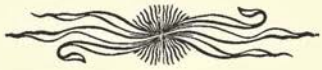

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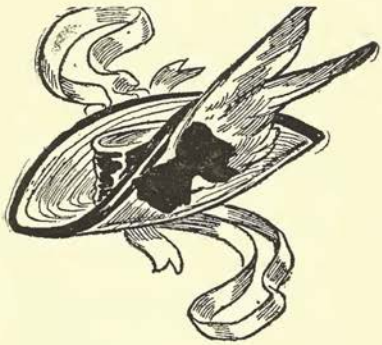

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Vol. VI APRIL, 1907 No. 4

NORTH CAROLINA'S ATTITUDE TO THE REVOLUTION.

BY ROBERT C. STRONG.

An attitude is a relative quality. Surrounding circumstances and conditions combine with and are a part of it. These were of a threefold character in North Carolina during the revolutionary period of her history: First, our colony had to neutralize the effect of the War of Regulation; second, she had to deal with the disaffected Cumberland district, and, third, she had to overcome opposition to her movements for independence by leaders whom she had theretofore followed. Her success in meeting these great difficulties was a national triumph.

The district of the trouble which caused the War of Regulation comprised the counties of Guilford, Orange and parts of Rowan and Granville. The culmination of this trouble was the battle of Alamance, of 1771, only a few years before the Declaration of Independence. The feeling of hostility arising from this source was such that the Convention of Hillsborough could not totally alleviate. Organized opposition in the Cumberland section to the national cause and the steps taken by the State therein, culminated in the battle of Moore's Creek on February 27, 1776; but resistance did not cease during the war. This disaffected district reached up from South Carolina and lay in North Carolina between the far divisions of Bladen and Rowan counties. Taking this in

connection with the section of the Regulators, it made a broad section of disaffected country sweeping up from South Carolina around to the west of the center of our State and back again, reaching upward nearly to the Virginia line. The British naturally considered North Carolina an easy mark, and in consequence laid their plans to operate through the port of Charleston; recruit their army by marching around and to the south of the Cumberland district, thence northward, to fall upon us from the west.

Our Representatives at the Continental Congress feared this more than they should have done. They used all methods they thought would be effective in calling upon the patriotic sentiment of the western counties, and it was not until they were present at the Convention at Hillsborough did they recognize their mistake.

This Convention met on August 20, 1775, and especially to be noticed in the full representation of the counties was that from the western counties, concerning which such useless fears had been expended. Saunders, in his Prefatory Notes, says: "Time proves all things, and it needed not much time after the struggle for freedom and for independence began to show what was the worth and what was the temper of the people of the center and west. How patriotic the feeling among them was, and how thoroughly united they were is apparent from the fact that, in spite of all the threats and all the inducements held out to them, 'not more than a hundred people of the county' could be enlisted under the King's banner in February, 1776, the rest being 'Highlanders,' new-comers, not yet incorporated into the body politic, in sentiment, at least, of North Carolina."

These changes of condition were not brought about by impulsive enthusiasm or domination of the majority voice in the Convention. The cause was not sought to be compro-

mised, but their faith in its rectitude caused them to give time for more careful thought to those holding the minority view. The six months' adjournment of the Convention to Halifax thus put the reins of a temporary government, so vitally essential, more firmly in their hands.

The early months of the year 1776 found Continental Congress in a state of indecision as to the final acts of separation, delaying necessary and unavoidable measures upon various pretexts. England had refused the North Carolina colony the right to issue currency. It was found that making certain commodities a medium of exchange did not meet the exigencies of the situation, and debenture bonds had to be issued redeemable at certain dates from taxes to be collected. They were only good among the colonists and were to meet the emergency of paying off a debt incurred in an Indian war. Abroad they had no value. Financial emergencies had to be provided for and perplexing financial situations faced. We can therefore appreciate the fear expressed in a letter written by Mr. Penn, our Continental delegate, to Mr. Person, a member of our Provincial Council, of February 14, 1776:

> Matters are drawing to a crisis. They seem determined to persevere, and are forming alliances against us. Must we not do something of the like nature? Can we hope to carry on a war without having trade or commerce somewhere? Can we ever pay taxes without it? Will our paper money depreciate if we go on emitting? These are serious things, and require your consideration. The consequences of making alliances is, perhaps, a total separation with Britain, and without something of the sort we may not be able to procure what is necessary for our defense. * * *

Soon after receiving this momentous communication, the third of the following March, the Provincial Council ordered an assembling of our Congress to be held at Halifax on April 2, 1776. On the fourth the Provincial delegates met. On the eighth a committee of seven was appointed to draft appropriate measures; and on the twelfth their recommendation

by resolution was unanimously adopted. This resolution, thus formed with that deliberate haste which can only be accorded to the disposition of the truly great, has given us the revered date of "12th April, 1776," for our State flag:

> Resolved, That the delegates for our colony in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring Independence, and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for this colony, and for appointing delegates from time to time (under the direction of a general representation thereof) to meet the delegates of the other colonies for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out.

This authoritative expression preceded by more than a month that of any other of the colonies. It was decisive upon the questions of independence and the forming of foreign alliances, and its reservation was not only consistent with the spirit of those times, but is indicative of the opposition of our people to-day to any encroachment upon the rights of this State and to centralization of power at Washington.

While at this Convention a constitution could have been adopted as well as later, yet, in the spirit of forbearance and for the purpose of creating harmony, such action was again postponed. On December the 18th, 1776, the colony declared her independence of British rule. There was a full representation, conservative, considerate of the small minority views, but resolute in the face of opposition from those who had been wont to lead. It was a movement of the people, and not of their leaders, though leaders of their own views arose to the occasion. They were strengthened by the wise course which they had pursued at the Convention at Hillsborough, and the "Declaration of Rights," with the Constitution incorporating it, proclaim their framers as men of moral and intellectual force and of great culture. Yet Mr. Johnston, in one of his letters, says of them: "Every one

who has the least pretentions to be a gentleman is suspected and borne down *per ignobile vulgus*—a set of men without reading, experience or principle to govern them." Notwithstanding, eleven of the twelve of these declarations of the bill were adopted in the Federal Bill of Rights, and the matters of the Constitution then adopted are for the greater part familiar to us in our own constitutional government of to-day.

The Representatives of the colony in the Continental Congress misunderstood her people, as we have seen, and learned them aright in Hillsborough. Her agents in England likewise undervalued their disposition. Destiny pointed in but one direction, working through an inflexible human agency, and human acts were impotent to change it. The people of the colony were astonished, outraged and indignant when they heard that the colony was not included in the act of the British Parliament of April, 1775, cutting off the trade of her sister colonies with Great Britain and the West Indies. On the date this act was to be operative, the 20th of July, 1775, the Committee at Wilmington, in the language of Saunders' Prefatory Notes, "formally and unanimously resolved that the exception of this colony out of the said act was a base and mean artifice to seduce them into a desertion of the common cause of America, and that North Carolina, refusing to accept advantages so insidiously thrown out, would continue to adhere strictly to the plans of the Continental Congress, and thus keep up a perfect unanimity with her sister colonies." It was afterwards that it was learned that the agents in England had substituted for the petition sent them "a memorial in more decent terms." Thus we glance backward from December 18, 1776, to July 20, 1775, for another view of the position that the colony assumed towards the common cause, and find the people unyielding in their consistency and uprightness. Through internal strife,

Indian troubles and dangers, financial straits, political disagreements of her people and sectional strategic difficulties, North Carolina, considered the weakest colony for attack, was prompt in maintaining her rights under the Stamp Act, in the town of Wilmington, and the foremost to throw overboard the vessel the tea upon which this tax was imposed, in the town of Edenton. This assertive spirit breathed through her people, and found expression, more or less formal, in many places, the most formal being that of Mecklenburg in May, 1775.

Despite the powerful opposition of leading citizens, looking forward from the time of the establishment of the temporary government at Hillsborough, we find a concert of deliberate and effective action. To this temporary government is greatly due the gallant aid given to repulse the British at Charleston on June 28, 1776. Quoting again from Saunders' Prefatory Notes:

> And so we have another instance of the efficiency of the temporary government established at Hillsborough. In a short twelve months it sent troops to the help of Virginia, and twice to that of South Carolina, fought the battle of Moore's Creek, and sent some three thousand men against the Cherokees. Within the year it put near ten thousand men into service in the field, certainly a very large proportion of its fighting population in so short a time.

For the history of North Carolina's part in the War of the Revolution, from the beginning of the year 1777 to the termination thereof, reference is made to the History of North Carolina, by Moore, beginning at chapter 12.

General Washington had but seven thousand men under his command when he took the field in the spring of 1777, almost too weak to oppose the British; but the defeat of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis at Charleston, in June, 1776, left the way open for North Carolina to send him six batallions, numbering four thousand muskets. The first

and second batallions were of experience, and all were of great courage. In the battles of Princeton and Brandywine they won honor, and honor greater still at Germantown. At home, in the year 1778, the Tories could not make organized opposition, and so they formed a regiment at St. Augustine, Florida. The Legislature was busy with pressing affairs of government, among other things, gravely concerning the finances of the colony.

Having won distinction at the battle of Monmouth Courthouse in the engagement of June 28, 1778, and there being more need for their active service in the army of the South, five batallions of North Carolina troops were sent with General Lincoln to Charleston. In the beginning of the year 1779 two thousand North Carolina militia were sent to South Carolina. In Georgia defeat overtook the Continental forces, but of the character which enhanced their courage and determination. Let our attention revert to the North. At Stony Point, on the 19th day of July, our troops not only shared in the glory achieved by the Northern army, but occupied the post of honor and peril; and then, being needed in the South, were sent to Charleston.

The inevitable fall of Charleston on April 9, 1780, caused us the loss of our veteran troops, and gave occasion to the rise of Lord Cornwallis, and Tarleton, a partizan Loyalist, his "right arm." Tarleton surprised the Virginia troops at Waxhaw on May 29, 1780, as they were on their way to the relief of Charleston. In his opposition he was daring and formidable, and he and his Tory troops were a source of continuous menace. Had it not been for our successful issue at the battle of Moore's Creek, and the wise course taken at the Convention at Hillsborough, our history might have been written differently. As it was, great concern was felt for the unprotected condition of South Carolina and the loss of our

veteran troops at Charleston. Cornwallis was commanding four thousand British regulars, to oppose which there was only available a troop of cavalry and two companies of mounted infantry. Our resources were well-nigh drained, and the maintenance of armies was a very grave difficulty. Under these conditions it was cheering to our people to win over the Loyalists of North Carolina the small but important battle of Ramsour's Mill, fought in June, 1780. At this time Lord Cornwallis was with his army at Camden, South Carolina, awaiting supplies. General Gates, lacking in the forethought and consideration for the ideas of others that characterized our people, met with his disastrous defeat there, and fled to the town of Charlotte without providing for the safety of the men under his command. On the 8th day of September, 1780, Tarleton, having surprised and defeated Sumter's command, Cornwallis, counting upon reinforcements from the Tories of the State, moved forward to subjugate North Carolina with much assurance. Just before this time the fighting at Hanging Rock had taken place, and, following this, transpired the decisive battle of King's Mountain and the strategic movements of Morgan to intercept the reinforcements of Royalists for Cornwallis' army. Then followed the famous retreat of Morgan before the British, his uniting with Greene, and the further retreat to Guilford Court-house, where Cornwallis was defeated in his plans by his more than doubtful victory. Then began the retreat of the British army, which ended in its surrender to General Washington.

Conciliatory and forbearing, our colony achieved a victory over those who theretofore had been the leaders of thought and action within her borders, and when the occasion demanded, with more than heroic courage, she subjugated those of her people who would interfere in her fight for independ-

ence. She neutralized the effect of her foreign disaffected element as much as possible, and successfully met force with force upon occasions of vital importance to the entire Continental cause. Duty and devotion could call successfully upon her every resource, and especial privileges and bounties brought very poor results. So liberal was her contribution to the common cause, and so self-sacrificing was she of her strength, that on September 13, 1781, her Governor, while at Hillsborough with his suite and other prominent military and civil officers, fell into the hands of the Loyalists. The attempt to re-capture at Lindley's Mill, on Cane Creek in Chatham County, was brilliant but unavailing.

There yet remains to complete the thought contained in these pages the consideration of the principles which actuated such brilliant achievements. Like all great principles, they are of a simple nature.

The following extracts are from the Mecklenburg Petition for the Repeal of the Vestry and Marriage Acts, 1769.

> In the Great Charter, His Majesty confirms to his subjects removing from Great Britain into this province, and their descendants, all the rights, privileges and immunities to which His Majesty's subjects in Great Britain, to-wit, England and Scotland, are entitled. * * * We assure your excellency, Your Honours of the Council, the Honourable Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, that we shall ever be more ready to support that Government under which we find the most liberty.

In speaking of the necessity of the Declaration of Independence James Iredell, in a letter to Joseph Hewes, written from Edenton June 9, 1776, said:

> I do not view the subject as a matter of ambition; in my opinion it is criminal and impolitic to consider it in that light; but as a matter of necessity; and in that case, in spite of every consequence (and very bad ones may be dreaded) I should not hesitate for an instant in acceding to it.

It is gratifying to know that Judge Iredell was one of our first judges, and that he afterwards acquired a national reputation. Also, that Mr. Johnston was placed in positions of trust by our people after the events of the Revolutionary War.

From the above quoted expressions we may judge the spirit of the times. The people had their rights under the Royal Charter, and, later, under the Great Deed or Grant from the Lords Proprietors. These rights were clear and unmistakable. They would live up to those rights, and enforce them when necessary. Feeling secure in them, they did not follow South Carolina in 1719 when she threw off the government of the Lords Proprietors. The third Royal Governor wrote home to England that he and the written instructions of the King were set at defiance, for that the people openly declared "that their charter still subsisted." Indeed, the people appeared to pay little heed to any arrangement that was made between King and Lords respecting them and their property. They appreciated charter rights by inheritance, and when necessary would enforce them without counting the cost. They were "ready to support that government under which they found the most Liberty" when in keeping with their Rights. This they Did, not as matters of Ambition, but those of Necessity.

This same spirit reaches upward into the disposition of our people of to-day, and presents an ever conservative but undaunted front. In more recent years it has been as splendid in its defeat as it was then exalted in its victory. To-day the wealth of the East and of the West are alike. The people of all sections are as one people, and Prosperity is their constant visitor. The United States are at Peace with themselves and with the World.

NOTE.—Biographical Sketch of above writer will appear in July number of Vol. VII.

JOHN LAWSON.

BY MARSHALL DeLANCEY HAYWOOD.

The writing of history has never met with much encouragement in North Carolina. Our first historian is said to have been burned alive. Should another, in this day and generation, adopt historical work as the sole means of gaining a livelihood, he might meet death in a no less miserable manner—by starvation. But, notwithstanding these trivial obstacles, the work goes forward. As we glance backward to find the forerunner of historians in our State (or Colony, as it then was), we must pass over Richard Hakluyt and other early writers who gave accounts of the settlements which were made under the patronage of Sir Walter Raleigh. These settlements never rose to the dignity of a province, were finally abandoned, and it was many years later before the name of Carolina appeared on the map as a British possession in America. Hence, the first historian of our State, and sometime Colony, was a sturdy adventurer and writer of no mean order, who made his first appearance in America in the Summer of 1700.

John Lawson, or "*John Lawson, Gentleman,*" as he preferred to style himself, tells us, in his narrative, how he reached the purpose of coming to America, in these words: "In the year 1700, when people flocked from all parts of the christian world to see the solemnity of the grand jubilee at Rome, my intention at that time being to travel, I accidentally met with a gentleman who had been abroad and was very well acquainted with the ways of living in both Indies; of whom, having made inquiry concerning them, he assured me that Carolina was the best country I could go to; and that there then lay a ship in the Thames in which I might have my

passage. I laid hold on this opportunity, and was not long on board before we fell down the river and sailed to Cowes; where, having taken in some passengers, we proceeded on our voyage."

After springing a leak, the vessel on which Lawson sailed was forced to put into port on one of the islands of Scilly, where the voyagers were hospitably entertained by the inhabitants during a stay of ten days. Setting sail once more on the 1st of May, the ship was thrown out of its course by adverse winds, and it was not until the latter part of July that Sandy Hook, in the Colony of New York, was reached. After remaining a fortnight in New York, Lawson's journey by sea was resumed; and, fourteen days later, he found himself in Charleston (or Charles Town, as it was then called), the capital and chief city of South Carolina. This colonial metropolis he highly praises, adding that South Carolina was as prosperous in condition as any English colony in America; and was a source of more revenue to the Crown than any of the more northern "plantations," except Virginia and Maryland.

It was on the 28th of December 1700, that Lawson left Charleston and began his journey through the wilderness to North Carolina. In his party were six Englishmen, three male Indians and a squaw—the last mentioned being wife of one of the three Indians. To tell how this band of explorers beat through swamps, forded creeks, went by canoe up and down rivers, camped in the forest by mountain and stream, held intercourse with the natives, were alarmed by wild beasts, and feasted on by mosquitoes, would make a narrative but little shorter than the journal in which Lawson recorded his "thousand miles traveled through several nations of Indians."

From the time of his first arrival on American soil, in 1700, Lawson remained eight years, returning to Europe late

in the Summer of 1708. In that year he was appointed Surveyor-General of the Colony. The first edition of his history made its appearance in 1709, being published in London. This was the only issue which came out during the lifetime of its author, though quite a number of posthumous editions have since been printed. Of the character and merits of this work later mention will be made.

During Mr. Lawson's stay in England he was engaged to assist Baron Christopher DeGraffenried in bringing his Swiss and German colonists to North Carolina. The place of their settlement was at the junction of the Neuse and Trent rivers. It was called New Bern, after Bern, in Switzerland, the Baron's native country. The site of New Bern had formerly been occupied by an Indian town known as Chatawka. From this town is said to be derived the name of the lake and settlement of Chatauqua in New York. To New York went a great majority of Tuscaroras under the leadership of Chief Hen-cock (or Hancock) a year or two later, thereby transferring to that colony many Indian names from North Carolina. It will be remembered that, prior to this migration northward of the Tuscaroras, the Indian confederacy in New York was known as the Five Nations—later becoming the Six Nations by the acquisition of the North Carolina tribe.

At a meeting held in London by the Lords Proprietors in August, 1709, Mr. Lawson was allowed the sum of twenty pounds for several maps made by him of the colonies of North Carolina and South Carolina. During the same year he was appointed, together with Edward Moseley, a commissioner to represent the Lords Proprietors in settling the uncertain boundary between North Carolina and the colony of Virginia. These commissioners entered upon their duties in 1710, but did not reach an agreement with the Commissioners of Vir-

ginia (Philip Ludwell and Nathaniel Harrison), and the line was not settled definitely until about twenty years later.

In September, 1711, being then at New Bern, Lawson proposed to Baron DeGraffenried to go on an exploring expedition up the Neuse River, to see how far that stream was navigable, and also to ascertain if a more direct overland road to Virginia could be laid out in that direction. Major Christopher Gale (afterwards Chief Justice) was to have accompanied this party; but, being advised of the illness of his wife and brother at the town of Bath, he abandoned his purpose in order to go to them. Lawson and DeGraffenried, however, set out on their journey, accompanied by two negroes to row the boats, and by two Indian guides. One of these Indians understood English and acted as interpreter for the party. After they had traveled some miles and were approaching the Indian village of Catechna, the voyagers were commanded by the natives to proceed no further. Fearing to disregard this order, the boats were pulled up at a spring on the river bank and preparations made to encamp for the night. DeGraffenried appreciated the danger of delay, and counseled immediate return without going into camp, when Lawson, who viewed the matter less seriously, laughed at his fears. But, to use the Baron's own words, "laughter, in a twinkle, expired on his lips" when they found themselves surrounded by scores of armed Indians, some springing from bush and thicket, while others swam from the opposite side of the river to join their tribesmen. For Lawson and his party to resist would mean instant death, so they at once yielded to the Indians, who started at a breakneck speed through the woods, compelling their prisoners to run with them. Toward morning they reached Catechna, the Indian town where King Hen-cock was in council with his warriors, who were even then, mayhap, planning the great massacre

which was to be visited upon New Bern shortly thereafter. While the above council continued its session, forty other "kings" or chiefs came with their followers. Among these savage dignitaries was "Core Tom," chief of the village of Core. On being arraigned before the council of forty chiefs, or "Assembly of the Great," as it was called, Lawson and DeGraffenried explained that they were on a friendly excursion, wishing to gather grapes, explore the river, and open up better trade relations with their Indian neighbors. By dint of much persuasion the captives seem to have succeeded in justifying themselves, and it was promised by the Indians that they should be set free the next day. But, unfortunately for the prisoners, two more chiefs arrived and desired to know the reasons for the prospective liberation of the explorers. This brought on another examination, when Lawson lost control of his temper and entered into a violent quarrel with Core Tom, the above-mentioned chief of the village of Core. After this, it was decided that all the party should be put to death. Lawson and DeGraffenried were first pounced upon by the Indians, who robbed them of all their belongings and dashed their hats and periwigs into the fire. Then they were carried out for execution. DeGraffenried, who survived the tragedy, has left behind him a graphic account of preparations for the slaughter, with descriptions of the wild caperings of the Indians, and the grave ceremonials of their High Priest, who was to officiate at the slaughter. "The priests," says DeGraffenried, "are generally magicians, and even conjure up the Devil." When the above gruesome ceremonies were drawing to an end, and the Indians seemed ready to proceed with their butchery, DeGraffenried gained the ear of one of the savages who understood English and gave him to understand that the great and powerful Queen of England, by whose orders he had brought his Swiss colonists to Caro-

lina, would be sure to avenge his blood; furthermore, he made promises of advantages which would accrue to the Indians should he be liberated. At length it was decided that the Baron's life should be spared, but that Lawson should be put to death. In telling of the separation of himself from his fellow-prisoner, it is said by DeGraffenried in his narrative: "Poor Lawson, being always left in the same place, I could understand that all was over with him, and that he would not be pardoned. He accordingly took leave from me, and told me to say farewell, in his name, to his friends. Alas! it grieved me much to see him in such danger, not being able to speak with him, nor to give him any consolation; so I tried to show him my compassion by a few signs." DeGraffenried states that nothing certain was ever known as to the manner of Lawson's execution, for the Indians would not tell how it was brought about. Some accounts said that he was burned alive, some that he was hanged, and others that his throat was cut with a razor taken from his own pocket. Another version, as mentioned in a letter from Major Christopher Gale, was to the effect that the Indians "stuck him full of fine small splinters of torchwood, like hogs' bristles, and so set them gradually on fire."

From the last mentioned version of how Lawson was killed it would appear that he met his death in a manner similar to that described by himself at an earlier period, when his history was written. In that work, while treating of the conduct of Indians toward their prisoners, he says: "They strive to invent the most inhuman butcheries for them that the devils themselves could invent or hammer out of hell; they esteeming death no punishment, but rather an advantage to him that is exported out of this into another world. Therefore they inflict on them torments wherein they prolong life in that miserable state as long as they can, and never miss

skulping [scalping] of them, as they call it, which is to cut off the skin from the temples, and taking the whole head of hair with it, as if it was a night-cap. Sometimes they take the top of the skull along with it; all which they preserve and carefully keep by them for a trophy of their conquest over their enemies. Others keep their enemies' teeth, which are taken in war, whilst others split the pitch-pine into splinters and stick them into the prisoner's body yet alive. Thus they light them, which burn like so many torches; and in this manner they make him dance round a great fire, every one buffeting and deriding him till he expires, when every one strives to get a bone or some relic of this unfortunate captive."

It was some days after the death of Lawson before DeGraffenried was set at liberty. During his captivity a proclamation (dated October 8, 1711), was dispatched to the Indians by Governor Alexander Spotswood, of Virginia, stating that upon advices received that they held captive the Baron DeGraffenried, he had thought proper to warn them that should any harm come to their prisoner the forces of Virginia would be called out to lay waste their towns, and no quarter would be given to man, woman or child.

When, at length, DeGraffenried did get back to New Bern, a woeful sight met his eyes. He was greeted by the survivors of his colony, who for many days had mourned him as dead; and from them he learned of the awful tragedy which had been enacted in his absence. On September 22, 1711, one hundred and thirty men, women and children had been inhumanly butchered by the red men; and those colonists who had escaped the tomahawk and scalping-knife were anxiously awaiting the military forces which were soon to come from South Carolina under Colonel John Barnwell. Major Gale, who went to solicit aid from Charleston, reported there that

the Baron DeGraffenried had also been murdered, for it was not then known that he had escaped.

In the second volume of the *Biographical History of North Carolina* is a sketch of Lawson, by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, in which are recounted the various editions through which Lawson's History has gone. Dr. Weeks says: "His historical and descriptive work was possibly compiled for John Stevens' 'Collections of Voyages and Travels,' which was begun in 1708 and finished in 1710-'11. The second of the series, printed in 1709, is Lawson's 'New Voyage to Carolina.' It appeared in 1711 as a part of the edition of Stevens published that year, with the same title page. In 1714 and 1718 it was re-published under the title 'The History of Carolina' (London). There was a German edition in 1712, 'Alleneuster Beschreibung der Provintz Carolina' (Hamburg), and another in 1722. These were doubtless issued to encourage immigration, and perhaps in the interests of DeGraffenried's Palatine colony. The 1714 edition was re-printed in Raleigh in 1860, and again at Charlotte in 1903 by Colonel F. A. Olds. Both of the North Carolina editions are very poorly done."

To the above comments by Dr. Weeks it may be added that the volume published at Charlotte contains matter which Lawson did not write, including some of the papers of Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, in Virginia. This edition is also relieved of some plain language which would hardly pass for polite literature in our generation. Some language found in Lawson's work (the unexpurgated editions at least) is not gauged by the modern standards of chaste expression. To tell, in delicate terms of the various things which passed under his observation while sojourning among the Indians, might have been considered by the old historian too difficult a task. He was an observant traveler, who saw and heard

much; and, what he did see and hear, was told in words which would be highly embarrassing if read aloud in a drawing-room of the present day.

When Lawson deals with natural history and animal life, the terms he employs are quite amusing. Under the head of *insects* he includes alligators, rattlesnakes and about twenty other kinds of snakes, terrapins, frogs, etc. Among the snakes he mentions "brimstone snakes." As to what a "brimstone snake" is, the present writer must confess ignorance, but it is evidently a pretty hot insect. In referring to frogs, he says: "The most famous is the bullfrog, so called because he lows exactly like that beast, which makes strangers wonder (when by the side of a marsh) what is the matter, for they hear the frogs low and can see no cattle." Lawson also tells of a disease which can be easily cured by baking a toad and grinding up his ashes with orris root, this to be taken internally. I am afraid this remedy would hardly find much favor in the present day.

It is not generally known that a trial for witchcraft once took place in North Carolina, which resulted in the conviction and execution (probably by burning) of the accused. Lawson states that, though North Carolina had been settled for upwards of sixty years, the only executions which had ever occurred were those where a Turk had been convicted of murder, and an old woman had been condemned for witchcraft. Alluding to the witchcraft trial, Lawson adds that it took place many years before he came to the colony, but adds: "I wish it had been undone to this day, although they give a great many arguments to justify the deed which I had rather they should have had a hand in than myself; seeing I could never approve of taking life away upon such accusations, the justice whereof I could never yet understand."

In 1737, some years after Lawson's death, Dr. John

Brickell published a Natural History of North Carolina. It has often been charged that this was a plagiarism, almost verbatim, from Lawson; and Brickell did get much of his material from the earlier historian. In the above quoted sketch by Dr. Weeks, however, it is intelligently argued that Brickell was not a mere copyist. Referring to the charges of plagiarism, Dr. Weeks observes: "These statements do a grave injustice to Brickell. He tells us that his work is a 'compendious collection.' He took the work of Lawson, reworked it in his own fashion, extended or curtailed and brought it down to his own time. His work is more than twice as large as that of Lawson's; his professional training is everywhere patent, and there is much in it relating to the social condition of the colony. Brickell's work is fuller, more systematic and more like the work of a professional student; Lawson's seems more like that of a traveler and observer."

In 1705 Mr. Lawson joined Joel Martin in securing a charter to incorporate the town of Bath. This historic borough, or what at present remains of it, is the oldest incorporated town in the State. The land on which it was built belonged to Lawson and Martin; and the former, being a surveyor by profession, was doubtless the one who laid out its streets. As Lawson aided Baron DeGraffenried in founding New Bern, he probably laid out the streets of that place also, and possibly of Edenton.

Since the days of John Lawson no writer has ever attempted to treat of the history of North Carolina without building in some measure upon the literary labors of others, or upon the records of former generations. The book of nature was the only volume to which Lawson could turn for information. Amid the wilds of a new continent he lived, labored, wrote, explored, blazed paths through the trackless wilderness, made measurements of our seacoasts, laid out vil-

lages and promoted colonization. To wrest the soil from a fierce and warlike race of savages required men of supreme courage—men who could be killed but never cowed—and who would fearlessly bear privations and face death when so doing would advance the great purposes they sought to accomplish.

Forceful is the figure of speech voiced by some writer who says that the pyramids of Egypt, doting with age, have forgotten the names of their founders. Immeasurably more mighty than the pyramids, and not doting with age either, is the great American continent, whose settlement was begun by our colonial progenitors; and succeeding generations should see to it that the names and deeds of these "founders" are held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

SOME OVERLOOKED NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY.

BY J. T. ALDERMAN.

Old books are sometimes quite interesting. For a number of years Waln's Life of Lafayette, published in 1826, has been in my library unread. Recently my attention was attracted to it, and I found it very entertaining. Among other things I came across something which was news to me.

In his account of the siege of Yorktown, the fact comes out that Lord Cornwallis, when about to be hemmed in by the American and French troops, began to look about for some way to extricate himself from their toils. On the arrival of the French fleet in the Bay Cornwallis determined to leave Yorktown and by forced marches, cross North Carolina and join the British forces near Charleston, S. C.

Waln says: "The most positive intelligence was soon received by Lafayette that Lord Cornwallis intended to penetrate with his army from Yorktown to South Carolina by land. He was moving from York to James River, and was getting hits boats across from Queen's creek to College landing to go from thence to Jamestown, then cross the James River to Cobham's to proceed from thence to South Carolina."

"Upon the first intelligence of this movement of Cornwallis, the most animated measures were adopted by Governor Burke to cooperate with Muhlenburg. Every boat on the Roanoke, Neuse and Meherin rivers was secured under guard or destroyed; every crossing was placed under guard and crossed by abatis; and the militia were ordered out *en masse*. The whole State of North Carolina, from the Dan River to the sea-coast appears to have been set in motion by this active Governor.

"Cornwallis had prepared a number of light pontoons on wagons, and was ready for the march. The arrival of the French fleet under Count De Grasse had been the cause of this movement; the departure of the French fleet to engage the British under Admiral Greaves delayed it. Below him he saw the whole country in arms to oppose his retreat, while Green waited in the South to receive him on the point of the bayonette," etc.

After reading the above it occurred to me that the Colonial Records ought to throw some light upon this subject. Investigation brings out plenty of evidence of the proposed invasion, and of the determination of the people of North Carolina to dispute his passage through the State to South Carolina.

The following extracts are from the State Records, Vol. XV., and are interesting, especially as they throw light on this matter.

Page 626. The following is a letter from Lafayette to Gen. Allen Jones. Dated. Ruffins, August 27, 1781:

DEAR SIR:—From the intelligencies lately received I am almost satisfied that the enemy mean to attempt a retreat through North Carolina, and as it is of the highest importance every obstruction should be thrown in their way, I request you will be particular in having every boat on the Roanoke collected and destroyed. I would not wish it delayed as they may fall into the enemy's hands, and it would furnish them with the means of crossing and render your opposition more difficult. I wish you to collect, without loss of time, a sufficient number of militia to render these attempts ineffectual. * * * *

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

LAFAYETTE.

Page 629. Letter of Col. H. Murfree to Governor Burke:

MURFREE'S LANDING, September 1, 1781.

SIR:—I received your excellency's favor of the 31st August, and observed its contents. I will lose no time in securing the boats, etc. * *

I am yours, etc., H. MURFREE

Page 630. Letter from Col. J. S. Wells to General Jones.

CAMP COWPER'S MILLS, September 1, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL:—I have the pleasure to inform you that the long expected French fleet has at last arrived in our Bay. * * * * In consequence of the said fleet's arrival, Lord Cornwallis is about moving from York to Jamestown and is getting his boats across from Queen's Creek to the College Landing, from thence to Jamestown and there to cross James River to Cobham, from that place to South Carolina. General Wayne and General Muhlenberg are on this side James River and I expect some of the French Frigates will go up the river in order to prevent his Lordship's crossing. But should he cross you may expect to see us in your quarter of the country. His Lordship must never be suffered to cross Roanoke. * * * *

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN SCK. WELLS, Collo.

Gen. W. Caswell to Governor Burke.

Under dates of September 4th, again on 8th, again on September 14th, Caswell wrote to Governor Burke that every provision was being made to fortify the country and put a large army in the field to dispute the march of Cornwallis should he attempt to cross the State.

The records show that the Militia was being collected and equipped in the whole State east of the Piedmont section. The people at that time were encouraged; they had gained considerable confidence in their power to resist the invading armies. Many of them had seen service during the campaigns in South Carolina and with Greene in west North Carolina. The officers knew better how to collect and maintain an army.

THE NORTH CAROLINA MILITIA OF REVOLUTIONARY TIMES.

Unjust criticisms have been heaped upon the North Carolina Militia during Revolutionary times. The youth of our country should know that historians were unjust to the men who served well their country at a time when valiant services were most needed. No doubt there were individuals in the ranks of the militia who were not brave soldiers.

An investigation of the services of the militia during those stormy years would give some idea of the valuable services rendered to the Cause of Liberty by the North Carolina Militia.

The first decided victory on the field of battle for Independence was gained by the North Carolina militia at Moore's Creek. Ramsour's Mill, Kings Mountain, Guilford Court House, and a hundred encounters with the Tories and British bore testimony to their bravery and courage. After the battle of Kings Mountain Cornwallis precipitately retreated from Charlotte to escape the North Carolina militia. A large number of the State Militia joined General Mogan's forces and helped to win the great victory at the Cowpens. The Tories were held in check through fear of the Militia in the disaffected sections of the State. A large number of the Militia went from the State to help the people of South Carolina.

At the battle of Camden Dixon's Brigade of North Carolina Militia was the last to leave the field. In the State Records, Vol. XV, page 384, is an interesting account of the bravery of this brigade of North Carolina Militia.

In that unfortunate battle General Gates had unadvisedly rushed his men into the battle unprepared for the conflict. Without proper precaution he had attempted to make a night attack on the British. The British were making the same kind of move during the night when they met in the darkness. The disastrous result is well known. The writer in the page named says:

"General Gates attempted to arrange the American troops in the darkness.

"At length the army was arranged in line of battle in the following order: General Gist's brigade on the right, the North Carolina Militia in close order, two deep, in the cen-

ter, and the Virginia Militia in like order with another corps on the left; the other troops were arranged in other parts of the field. * * * The enemy attacked and drove in our light party in front, and after the first fire charged the Militia with bayonets, whereupon the whole gave way, except Colonel Dixon's regiment of North Carolina Militia; the British cavalry continuing to harass the rear such was the panic diffused through the whole that utmost and unremitting exertions of the Generals to rally them proved ineffectual. They ran like a torrent and bore all before them. This shameful desertion of the Militia gave the enemy an opportunity of bending their whole force against the Maryland troops and Dixon's North Carolina Militia. The conflict was obstinate and bloody, and lasted fifteen minutes. Dixon's Militia standing firm with the regulars of the Maryland line, and pushing bayonets to the last. They were then furiously charged by British horse whom they completely vanquished, allowing only two of the British to escape. These brave militiamen suffered greatly, having lost half of their number, and to their immortal honor made their retreat good. * * * After this defeat the yeomanry of North Carolina immediately turned out unsolicited. An army was collected which consisted of between 4,000 and 5,000 men."

With such experiences with the North Carolina Militia, it is not surprising that Cornwallis hesitated to make another attempt to pass through the State.

NOTE.—Biographical Sketch of Prof. J. T. Alderman appeared in No. 3 Vol. VI, January, 1907.

THE WHITE PICTURES.

BY W. J. PEELE.

The pictures of John White purport to have been painted on Roanoke Island, and if this did not appear from inspection, the execution of them there would have been presumed from their character and fidelity.

Any one who visits the Island now can still recognize the scenes, the ground plans, on which the pictures are laid. The Sounds, the Banks, the sand hills, the inlets and the Island itself with its outline and configuration, are unmistakable. Then, too, White was selected by Queen Elizabeth and sent there to paint what he saw, and had ample opportunity to do it, for he remained a year lacking five days. How well he executed his commission may be gathered from the fact that two years later he was sent over to our shores as the governor of "Virginia"—perhaps the only artist who ever held that office. The "lost colony" seems to have been a sufficient argument against the repetition of the experiment.

The originals are still in the British Museum, and fairly executed copies preserving the colors are in the Smithsonian Institute. These copies were made, I think, in 1845.

The copies before me are those reproduced in DeBry's edition of 1590, cut, as he says, in copper with great pains, and printed in Germany, with their descriptions subjoined, which appear to have been written by White himself. DeBry's book with the descriptions in four languages (or rather his four books, for he got out an English, Latin, French and German edition), was the joint product of several minds, among them Raleigh's, Hariot's, and Hakluyt's.

The title of DeBry's book (in modern spelling) is "The true pictures and fashions of the people of that part of Amer-

ica now called Virginia, discovered by Englishmen, sent thither in the year of our Lord 1585, at the special charge and direction of the Honorable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Lord Warden of the Slannaries in the Duchies of Cornwall and Oxford, who therein hath been favored and autorified by her Majesty and her letters patent, translated into English by Richard Hakluyt, diligently collected and drawn by John White, who was sent thither specially for the same purpose by the said Sir Walter Raleigh, the year 1585 and also the year 1588, now cut in copper and first published by Theodore de Bry at his own charges."

There is no other record that White came over here in 1588. The writer probably meant 1587. The other date mentioned, 1585, if it referred to the discovery by Amidas and Barlowe, should be 1584; Lane's exploration in 1585 and 1586 were much more extensive, but they were not the first made by the English in eastern North Carolina.

The matter is set in a clearer light by giving the most material parts of De Bry's preface: *"To the Gentle Reader."*

"* * * I was very willing to offer unto you the true pictures of those people which by the help of Master Richard Hakluyt, of Oxford, minister of God's Word, who first encouraged me to publish the work, I carved out of the very original matter of Master John White, an English painter who was sent into the country by the Queen's Majesty only to draw the topography of the place and to describe in a manner true to life the forms of the inhabitants, their apparel, manner of living and their fashions, at the special charges of the worthy Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, who bestowed no small sum of money in the search and discovery of that country from the year 1584 to the end of the year 1588. * * * I carved them * * at London, and brought them hither to Frankfort, where I and my sons have taken earnest

pains in graving the pictures thereof in copper, seeing it is a matter of no small importance. * * * I have caused it (the descriptions of the paintings) to be rendered into very good French and Latin by the aid of a very worshipful friend of mine. [Probably Hariot.]

"Finally, I heartily request thee [the reader] that if any seek to counterfeit them, my books, for in these days many are so malicious as that they seek to gain by other men's labors, thou would give no credit unto such counterfeited draught. For divers secret marks lie hidden in my pictures which will breed confusion unless they be well observed."

De Bry's book contains twenty-three engravings. The first is Hariot's map of Lane's explorations, showing the Albemarle and Pamlico and Currituck Sounds, with their tributaries and islands, the Banks and their inlets. This is omitted in the copy in the State Library.

The ground plan of the second engraving, which serves also as a map, though its title "the arrival of the Englishmen in Virginia" indicates what it was intended to portray, centers around a boat load of pioneers approaching the village of Roanoke near the north end of the Island; or perhaps, the village itself is intended to be the central point. Behind the approaching pioneers is the inlet, Trinity Harbor, through which they have sailed, on either side of which two ships are riding at anchor in the ocean. Toward the village in front of them, one sitting in the prow of the boat is holding out a cross to indicate the pious purpose of their coming. Beyond what is now called Croatan Sound, some four or five miles from the Island, appears the village of Dassamonguepuek. On the north bank of what is now the Albemarle Sound, appears the village of Pasquenoke, of which the name Pasquotank may be a corruption. The entire view is less than thirty miles in any direction, and could be cov-

ered with a field glass on a fair day from a tower in Manteo. The miniature villages are surrounded by corn patches, and, when magnified show the surprising degree of skill with which they were sketched on so small a scale.

The description of the landing contains very suggestive material for the artist who will one day immortalize himself by working it into a great painting of the scene.

* * * "Sailing further we came to a good big Island, the inhabitants thereof as soon as they saw us, began to make a great and horrible cry as people which had never before seen men apparelled like us, and ran away making outcries like wild beasts or men out of their wits. But being gently called back we offered them our wares, such as glass beads, knives, dolls, and other trifles which we thought they delighted in. So they stood still and perceiving our good will and courtesy came fawning upon us and bade us welcome. Then they brought us to their village in the Island called Roanoke and unto their Weroance or Prince, who entertained us with reasonable courtesy, although they were amazed at the first sight of us.

"Such was our arrival into the part of the world which we call Virginia, the statue of body of which people, their attire and manner of living, their feasts and banquets, I will particularly declare unto you."

I should add in conclusion that the White paintings should be elaborately discussed by one capable of judging them from an artist's standpoint. Recently Mr. Albert Sterner, under the auspices of the Historical Commission, visited Roanoke Island after first examining De Bry. How he was impressed is told in an article recently published in the *News and Observer,* which it may not be improper here to reproduce.

THE SCENE OF A GREAT PAINTING—THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION SENDS MR. ALBERT STERNER TO ROANOKE ISLAND.

I had long thought it ought to be painted. It looked like a picture when I saw it in 1902—I mean the place where Amidas and Barlowe landed in 1584.

The little island was sleeping the sleep of centuries embowered in evergreens very much as it was when the English knelt there to thank God for the new possession. The long yellow banks glistened in the sunlight. The blue Atlantic rolled beyond. Some two or three hundred yards from Fort Raleigh is a little cove on the island shore filled in by the waters of Roanoke Sound. It is almost opposite the fort, and with the water a little deeper, as it may well have been then, it was almost an ideal place for the landing. North Carolina has made no memorial of this first great step in the transcontinental march of the Anglo-Saxon race. Centuries have gone by and the spread of the all-conquering race is arrested only by the Pacific. Monuments and memorials have been erected along the lines of its progress, but it has forgotten its cradle on the shores of the Old North State.

In a few months many tens of thousands of Americans will return to a spot in Virginia a little more than a hundred miles away to do honor to the memories which rightly cluster about it, and North Carolina has stretched to her sister across her border a generous hand of congratulation. Shall she do any thing for herself?

Framed by the banks of "Hatorask" on the east and the land of Dassamonguepuek on the west, and set an emerald in the golden waters of its four sounds, the island is as perfect a picture as it was when Queen Elizabeth sent John White to paint it. And he did paint it in a little picture nine by six inches which escaped the great London fire of 1666 and is

still preserved in the British Museum. The reproduction of this picture "The Coming of the English into Virginia"—North Carolina—on a great canvas by an artist of national and international fame is one of the debts which the State owes to herself—owes to her sister States—to the race which begun its new home here—its last and greatest home—owes to posterity—owes to the world whose representative peoples are about to assemble near our shores.

In December Mr. Albert Sterner, of New York, who illustrates for the great Northern periodicals, visited the island at the request of the Historical Commission. The people did not know he was coming and the regular boat was out of repair so there was nothing but a gas freight boat to take him from Elizabeth City to Manteo.

Nothing daunted, however, he went accompanied by his wife, herself an artist in temperament and enthusiasm. There was some natural hesitation at the acommodations or rather the lack of them, but the London historian, Mr. Withington, whom he had along with him and who had been everywhere and seen everything was delighted at the prospect of a terra incognita. Soon the little freight boat was gliding down the chocolate colored waters of the Pasquotank River. The sun, near its setting, struggled hard with the mists up the sound until finally, no bigger than a bull's eye, it was snuffed out. Light breezes were behind us and I suppose they bore pleasant odors with them, but we were sitting over an oil stove and fumes of this emphasized by those of the gasoline in front of us were quite sufficient to swallow up any faint aromas from the woods. In six hours we were at Manteo. Thawed out we chartered a boat for our return—the freight boat was to start back at five o'clock a. m.

A noise like that of a dozen freight trains loaded with bass drums was echoing up into the sky. It was the Atlantic

growling down the banks toward Hatteras in token of wind the next day. This we got in due season according to promise and some of our much traveled party got sea-sick on the Albemarle Sound.

The sun rose fine the next morning for those of us who got up with it. Our historian and his wife rose considerably before it, and he escaped from his exploration wet to his knees. This did not disturb him at all, however, for in a few minutes he was whizzing along through the frosty air on the road to Fort Raleigh. The sub-tropical evergreens—live oak, the yupon and the holly—brightened our way. We had sent the boat round to meet us toward the north end of the island near where the colonists landed. Out of the vehicles we made our way from the fort some two or three hundred yards to the shore of Roanoke Sound, and this was the place we had brought the great artist all the way from New York to see. Up the shore a few straggling pines, relics of the primeval forests, sentinelled the outskirts of the woods and marked the undulations of the shore. The little cove where probably the first boat load of colonists drew ashore curved gracefully inland. The quick eye of the artist caught the scene, and his bosom swelled with enthusiasm as he saw for the first time how well nature had framed "the cradle of the Anglo-American race." Behind him were the woods bedecked with evergreen. In front of him the yellow waters of Roanoke Sound brightened in the sunshine. Beyond stretched the banks, down which a flock of wild geese were proceeding in their orderly flight.

"The picture is worthy of the event," were almost the first words that escaped him. And this was always what I expected. He spoke little, but his enthusiasm was contagious as he strode up and down the sands of that historic spot. The scene which White painted on the island in his "true pic-

tures" of more than three centuries ago arose before him. He saw the coming boat freighted with the pioneers of the nation which is called "time's noblest off-spring and the last." He saw the Indians who first fled with "horrible cries" and then came fawning back upon their conquerors. He saw the village of Roanoke with its rude houses of bark. "They have robbed you of your birthright," exclaimed his wife—and she never knew it till she saw the paintings and the picture before her which verified them. But have they done it? We shall see.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CONTRIBUTORS.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

RICHARD BENBURY CREECY.

The subject of this sketch was one of the first contributors to the BOOKLET. In volume 1st, No. 5, he wrote a sketch of that heroic maiden, Betsy Dowdy, of Currituck Beach, who made the famous midnight ride to carry news of the probable invasion of the Albemarle section by the British troops under Lord Dunmore. Col. Creecy has given a graphic account of this incident introduced by these memorable lines:

> " Oh woman timid as a child
> When skies are bright, serene and mild:
> Let evil come with angry brow,
> A lion-hearted hero thou."

This is but another recorded instance that North Carolina had her heroines as well as her heroes; tho' history has usually been silent concerning them.

Col. Creecy, one of the ablest editors in our State, was born December 19, 1813, on Drummond's Point, the oldest settlement in North Carolina on Albemarle Sound.

He is descended from Job Creecy, a Huguenot emigrant from France, a representative of that branch of Christians noted in general for their austere virtues and the singular purity of their lives.

He is also descended from General Thomas Benbury, one of the leading statesmen of the Revolution, a member of the Provincial Congress of August 25, 1774, also member of the Edenton District Committee of Safety; paymaster of the 5th Regiment, who fought at the battle of Great Bridge, which engagement was so successful for the Americans that the British troops were forced to retreat.

Col. Creecy is also descended from William Skinner, who was Brigadier-General of State troops; Treasurer of the

Eastern District under Governor Caswell, and rendered in other ways important service during the Revolutionary War. With such sturdy and patriotic ancestors it is no wonder that the subject of this sketch holds on so tenaciously to life—a life filled with service for his State and country.

Col. Creecy was educated in the best schools that the State afforded, was graduated from the State University in 1835, studied law and obtained his license in 1842. After three years he abandoned the practice of law and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits. In 1870, finding that his tastes were inclined to journalism and other lines of literary work, he founded the *"Elizabeth City Economist,"* a paper which he has continued to publish to the present time, and which has a large circulation in Eastern North Carolina. His productions are considered of such literary merit, wit and humor and philosophy combined, as to enlist the attention of a reader from start to finish.

His article on the history of the Albemarle section has made the characters of the Revolution such living actors that their names have become household words with later generations. Would that every section of our beloved State had a historian like he—one to write a "Grandfather's Tales" for the children from the mountains to the sea.

Col. Creecy has never sought political preferment, which in many instances "blunts the edge of husbandry;" his line of work has been in the path of duty. Imbued with a generous ambition and a passionate love for his State and its honorable history, he has rescued from oblivion many facts that substantiate the claim that North Carolina stands foremost in the great struggle for liberty.

Col. Creecy has written many reminiscences that are keys to the book of history, opening the way to diligent research. His productions embrace a diversity of subjects, including history, biography, legends and poetry. One of his books,

called "Grandfather's Tales of North Carolina History," is widely read and highly recommended. The dedication, is its keynote. "To the youth of North Carolina I dedicate this volume, with the earnest hope that they will learn from its pages some lessons of patriotism, and will be strengthened in their love for their native State by these memorials of the past that I have sought to perpetuate for their benefit."

In November, 1844, Col. Creecy was married to Miss Mary B. Perkins, whose ancestors figured conspicuously in the Revolutionary War in defense of their country. Numerous descendants live to do him honor.

Capt. Ashe, in his biographical sketch, says: "Being asked for some suggestion that might be helpful to young people Col. Creecy suggests 'honesty, integrity, friendliness, timeliness, godliness, benevolence, cheerfulness, firmness in the right, modest assurance, and a careful study of great speeches by great men.' "

In conclusion we quote the following from a recent issue of *Leslie's Weekly*:

"One of the most interesting characters in the country, especially in the view of newspaper men, is Colonel R. B. Creecy, editor of the *Economist,* published at Elizabeth City, N. C., who bears the distinction of being the oldest editor in active work in the United States. Colonel Creecy is in his ninety-second year and still wields the editorial pen. He claims four longevities, being also the oldest living graduate of the University of North Carolina, and according to a leading Boston publication, an authority on the subject, the oldest long-seine fisherman in the world, having in early life established the Greenfield fishery on Albemarle Sound, which is still in existence. He studied and mastered stenography at the age of seventeen, and thus holds that there can be no older stenographer living than he."

WILLIAM JOSEPH PEELE.

William J. Peele, the subject of this sketch, was born in Northampton County, North Carolina. Was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1879. Settled in Raleigh. In 1880 he studied law under Hon. George V. Strong, in which year he was granted license to practice.

In entering on his career as a citizen of his native State he made its advancement a matter of study. The needs of an Agricultural and Mechanical College for the State was among the first things that claimed his attention, and was pressed by Mr. Peele and others to a successful realization, and, to-day, with its fine equipment and its long roll of students, attests its growing influence and stands as a monument to the promoters of the scheme. When the corner-stone of this great State institution was laid, on August the 22d, 1888, Mr. Peele delivered the historical address, which was a masterly effort, breathing such love of State as to inspire his hearers to greater individual effort to advance its interests. When the college was re-organized and Dr. George T. Winston was elected President, Mr. Peele was a member of the board of trustees, and took a most active interest in the plans for its enlargement.

Mr. Peele, with his keen sense of observation, foreseeing the possibilities that lay in waiting for active workers, was instrumental in the establishment of the State Literary and Historical Association, and was for several years chairman of its executive committee. Its chief purposes were:

First. To promote the reading habit among the people of North Carolina.

Second. To stimulate the production of literature in our State.

Third. To collect and preserve historical material.

In carrying out these purposes the Association had in mind "the improvement of the public schools, in the establishment of public libraries, in the formation of literary clubs, in the collection and re-publication of North Carolina literature worthy to be preserved and now rapidly passing away, in the publication of an annual record or biography of North Carolina literary productions, in the collection of historical material and the foundation of an historical museum, and in the correction of slanders, misrepresentations and other injustice done the State."

Mr. Peele was one of the prime factors in this movement, the results of which are apparent, one of the most important being the establishment of libraries in the public schools.

Mr. Peele has written much on the settlement of Roanoke Island, emphasizing the fact that Sir Walter Raleigh is the central figure in the English colonization of America; that on North Carolina shores was the first landing and settlement of Sir Walter Raleigh's colonies on Roanoke Island, the birthplace of Virginia Dare, the first Anglo-American and the cradle of American civilization. Through this apparent failure of Raleigh to colonize America, by his repeated efforts he became the inspiration of the Jamestown expedition, and now, while the great exposition at Jamestown is attracting the attention of the world, North Carolina is coming forward to do her part to make the celebration worthy of the man and of the events he inspired.

Mr. Peele compiled a chronological compendium of the principal events in the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, from 1552 to 1618, which shows beyond controversy that *Sir Walter Raleigh* was the statesman who wrested our continent from Spain, the pioneer who first planted the seeds of law and liberty and Anglo-Saxon civilization in America.

In the year 1898 Mr. Peele published in permanent form a

work entitled "Lives of Distinguished North Carolinians," a handsome volume of 605 pages, printed in excellent taste—an ornament to the men whose virtues it illustrates. This introduction is intended to embrace that period in which were cast the lives and labors of the subjects of the book, and showing how history is being miswritten to the prejudice of the South, and has been for a century. This book is the product of twenty-four minds, and among them the brightest the State has afforded. The *lives* and the best labors of these men are brought together and edited by Mr. Peele—had he done no other literary work than this, sufficient to say, he is entitled to the plaudits of the whole citizenship of the State.

Mr. Peele is now chairman of the Historical Commission, which was established by the Legislature in 1903. This Commission consists of five members, who are appointed by the Governor of the State. It is hoped that he may assist in adding other publications to the permanent history and literature of the State.

THE BOOKLET is indebted to Mr. Peele for an article published two years ago, entitled "The First English Settlement in America," a study in location, he showed that Amedas and Barlow came through an inlet north of Roanoke Island, and fixed their landing place at the north end of the island, thus preserving the historical value of John White's pictures and laying the foundation for a great painting, which will ultimately be made by an artist worthy of the undertaking.

GENERAL SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

THE SOCIETY AND ITS OBJECTS.

The Society Daughters of the Revolution was organized August 20, 1891, and was incorporated the following September as a society national in its character and purposes. The terms of membership of this Society are based upon *direct descent* from Revolutionary ancestors.

The objects of the Society as stated in the Constitution are:—"to perpetuate the patriotic spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence; to commemorate prominent events connected with the War of the Revolution; to collect, publish and preserve the rolls, records and historic documents relating to that period; to encourage the study of the country's history, and to promote sentiments of friendship and common interest among the members of the Society."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP.

Any woman shall be eligible to membership in the Daughters of the Revolution who is above the age of 18 years, of good character, and a lineal descendant of an ancestor who—

(1) was signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, or a member of the Congress, Legislature, or General Court of any of the Colonies or States; or—

(2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or—

(3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain:—

provided that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Every application for membership in this Society must be made in duplicate upon a form furnished by the Board of Managers, must be signed by the applicant and acknowledged before a notary. The endorsement of two members of the Society, or of two persons of acknowledged standing in the community in which the applicant resides, is also required. Such applications should be presented to the Secretary of the Society of the State in which the applicant resides; where no State Society exists, applications may be addressed to the Recording Secretary-General. The names and addresses of State secretaries will be furnished upon application to the Corresponding Secretary-General.

In filling out application blanks candidates are kindly requested to observe the following directions:

1. See that the line of descent is clearly stated, give the maiden names of all female ancestors, and also furnish dates of birth and death where possible. It is not necessary to show the pedigree any farther back than the ancestor from whom eligibility is derived.

2. If the applicant is married, give own maiden name and also full name, title and address of husband.

3. Write all proper names *legibly;* this is especially necessary with family name since there are often differences in old-time and modern spelling of such.

4. The record of the ancestors' service should be given fully but concisely. Give exact title of all books of reference, naming page and paragraph; where possible send a certified copy of State or pension records. This will be returned after the application has been accepted.

The Society does not accept Encyclopedias, Genealogical Works, or Town and County Histories, except such as contain *Rosters,* as authorities for proofs of service.

Reference to authorities in manuscript must be accompanied by certified copies, and authentic family records must be submitted, if required.

5. Send the initiation fee of $2.00 and the first year's dues with the application paper. Should the application not be accepted both will be returned.

When an applicant claims descent from more than one Revolutionary ancestor, then "Supplemental" applications must be made in duplicate for each ancestor; these are treated in form and procedure precisely as original applications. A fee of one dollar is charged for each supplemental paper filed.

PROOFS OF SERVICE.

In seeking proofs of service, the applicant must first know from which of the Thirteen Original States the ancestor served; and, if possible, the town and county. When writing officials simply ask for "the military service of ..... of ....., said to have been a soldier in the Revolutionary War," and they will inform you precisely what rank, length of service, etc., the records show. If the applicant has reason to believe an ancestor drew a pension under the acts of Congress of 1818 or 1832 the record of military service may be obtained by writing to Commissioner of Pensions, Washington, D. C.

Heitman's Historical Register contains the names, rank and service of the Officers of the Continental Army, and is accepted as an official record.

Applicants are referred to the following officials and records for certificates of military service:

MASSACHUSETTS.—The State has published nine volumes of the names of Revolutionary soldiers. These volumes are in the Library of the General Society, and may be found in all large reference libraries throughout the country. For names not contained in these volumes, applications may be

made to the Secretary of State, Boston, Mass. A fee is charged for this service.

VERMONT.—Gen. T. S. Peck, Adjutant-General, Montpelier.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Secretary of State, Concord.

RHODE ISLAND.—Secretary of State, Providence.

NORTH CAROLINA.—Mrs. Helen deB. Wills, Raleigh.

A fee of one to three dollars is charged by State officials for looking up records and furnishing a certificate of service.

INITIATION FEES AND DUES.

The initiation fee is two dollars and the annual dues for members at large are three dollars, payable to the Treasurer-General on or before the first day of April in each year. Applicants who enter through State Societies pay their annual dues to the State Society in which their names are enrolled. The fiscal year for all members begins on the first day of April and closes on the thirty-first day of March in each calendar year.

INSIGNIA, ETC.

The insignia of the Society is a badge of gold and blue enamel suspended from a gold bar by a ribbon of buff edged with blue. This may be obtained on receipt of check or money order for ten dollars, payable to Miss Mary A. Kent, Treasurer-General. Miniature badge, one dollar; stationery stamped with the seal of the Society, sixty and seventy-five cents per box, may be obtained at the office of the Society. Engrossed certificate of membership, three dollars.

The office of the General Society is Room 901, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, and is open daily except Sunday, from 10 to 4 o'clock.

Communications concerning the Society and inquiries may be addressed to Mrs. John A. Heath, Corresponding Secretary-General.

ABSTRACTS OF WILLS.

From Secretary of State's Office, North Carolina. (Historical and Geneological Register.)

Samuel Scolley, Bertie county, Feb. 18th, 1752, Mrs. Mary Fullington, alias Davis, spouse of Robert Davis, deceased; brother, Jerman, Robert Scolley of Lerwick, friend Dr. William Cathcart; Robert Todd, of Norfolk, Va., beloved sons-in-law Cullen and Thomas Pollock. I give unto Tully Williams his father's sword.

Elizabeth Scolley,* Bertie; Dec. 1st, 1766, sons, Thomas and Cullen Pollock; children of Richard Sanderson, children of Tully Williams, Frances Lenox, wife of Dr. Robert Lenox, John Scolley, of Boston, Peggy and Fanny Cathcart; Sarah Black, daughter of Joseph, Thomas Black, son of Joseph, Sophia Rasor, daughter of Edward; former husband Thomas Pollock; Thomas Pollock, Dr. Robert Lexon, Richard Sanderson and Joseph Blount, Executors. Test. Henry Hardison, Fred'k Hardison, ...

Thomas Sprott; Anson, January 5th, 1757—Son John Clark, daughters Mary Barnett; Ann Barnett, Susannah Polk and Martha Sprott; son Thomas, wife, Andrew Sprott and Thomas Polk, executors. Test. William Barnett, James Sprott, James Campbell.

Isaac Hunter, of Chowan, April 17th, 1752. April Court, 1753; sons Elisha, Jesse, Isaac and Daniel, daughter Allee Perry daughter Elizabeth Perry, daughter Hannah Riddick, daughter Rachel Walton, daughter Sarah Hunter; grandchildren, son and daughter of my daughter Jane, namely, Jesse Phillips, and Mary Perry and Sarah Fields. Zilpha Parker, daughter of Jonathan Parker.

MRS. H. DEB. WILLS,
Genealogist.

*First husband was John Crisp; second, Thomas Pollock; third, Samuel Scolley, formerly of Boston. Tully Williams' wife was sister of Mrs. Scolley. Frances Lennox was daughter of Cullen Pollock. Peggy and Frances Cathcart were daughters of Dr William Cathcart, and second wife Prudence West.

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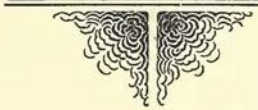

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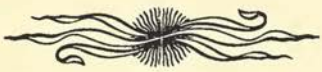

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BY R. D. W. CONNOR.

"The roots of the Present lie deep in the Past, and the Past is not dead to him who would understand how the Present came to be what it is."

A people who will constantly bear this great truth in mind will come to regard their history as something more than a fascinating story with which to beguile a winter's evening; they will think of their Past as something better than merely a subject for Fourth-of-July orations; they will study the careers of their great men with higher and nobler purposes than as stepping stones for membership into the "Sons" of this or the "Daughters" of that patriotic organization. Not that the romance of history, or the eloquence of the orator, or the formation of patriotic societies, are to be put aside as unworthy of serious consideration. But the study of history does have another and more important side to it, and a side too that often escapes the notice of those most in need of a knowledge of their Past. It is this: no men can safely be entrusted with the control of the Present who are ignorant of the Past; and no people who are indifferent to their Past need hope to make their Future great.

This is a lesson which those states of the Union that enjoy the greatest historical and literary reputation learned many years ago; it is a lesson which our own state needs to take seriously to heart. I am happy in thinking that our people are learning it and that they realize to-day more than ever

before the value of the steadying ballast which an accurate knowledge of the Past gives to the Present. But it is a lesson which, though fully appreciated, will be of little value unless the material is preserved which is necessary to make the Past intelligent to the Present and the Future. To this feature of the lesson I desire your closest attention.

We North Carolinians are very proud of our history and indulge ourselves in the pleasure of a great deal of boasting about it. But frequently when this indulgence, like an opiate, begins to soothe our spirits and we doze away in blissful contemplation of the greatness of our Past, it comes like a cold-water shock to find that the World, instead of gazing in admiring astonishment, is either whirling along in densest ignorance, or vigorously disputing our most cherished claims. Then we wake up, begin to say harsh things about our traducers, and clamor loudly about envy and jealousy. But the critical World, searching the pages of the great historians of our country and finding no mention of those "cherished claims," naturally asks for proof; and lo! we look, and the proof, which we believe would settle our claims beyond all dispute, has been lost, destroyed, burned, or stolen by envious partisans. Whom can we blame but ourselves, for who else should take care to preserve this proof? Surely it is an anomaly in our character as a people and as a state that we should be so proud of our history and so careless in the preservation of the records that would establish our claims forever. It may be doubted if any other of the thirteen original states has suffered more in this respect than North Carolina, or is now taking so little care for the preservation of the evidences of her greatness. Surely this is modesty run in the ground!

Even this very carelessness illustrates the influence of the Past upon the Present, and the value of a study of the Past if for no other purpose than to avoid its blunders. Our

carelessness in the preservation of our historical sources seems to have come down to us as an unwelcomed legacy from the Past. As long ago as 1748 Governor Gabriel Johnston in a letter to the Lords of the Board of Trade wrote:

"The Publick Records lye in a miserable condition, one part of them at Edenton near the Virginia Line in a place without Lock or Key; a great part of them in the Secretarys House at Cape Fear above Two Hundred Miles Distance from the other; Some few of 'em at the Clerk of the Council's House at Newbern, so that in whatever part of the Colony a man happens to be, if he wants to consult any paper or record he must send some Hundred of Miles before he can come at it."*

It seems that our ancestors had no more regard for their valuable documents than their posterity have.

No better illustration of the effect of this almost criminal negligence in caring for our historical sources can be found than the history of the documents relating to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The people of North Carolina are so firmly convinced that their story of this interesting event is correct that they swear by it spite of lost documents; they have placed on the flag of their state the date, "May 20th, 1775," in the face of all Thomas Jefferson's disbelieving sarcasm; they even lose patience with anybody who hints that the event might have taken place on May 31. And yet not one of the leading historians of the United States, from Bancroft to Woodrow Wilson, has accepted our version. Why? Whose the fault? The following facts will answer these very natural questions. Dr. George Graham, whose work on the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" is the fullest and best treatment in existence, quotes the following paragraph from Martin's History of North Carolina:

*Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. IV., p. 1165.

"These resolutions [of May 20, 1775] were unanimously adopted and subscribed by the delegates. James Jack, then of Charlotte, but now residing in the State of Georgia, was engaged to be the bearer of the resolutions to the President of Congress, and directed to deliver copies of them to the delegates in Congress from North Carolina. The President returned a polite answer to the address which accompanied the resolutions, in which he highly approved of the measures adopted by the delegates of Mecklenburg, but deemed the subject of the resolutions premature to be laid before Congress. Messrs. Caswell, Hooper and Hewes forwarded a joint letter, in which they complimented the people of Mecklenburg for their zeal in the common cause."

What has become of these two letters—these very important letters, either of which would settle the dispute forever? In all the years of controversy over the Mecklenburg Declaration, no one has produced them, or copies of them. Is it not strange that documents so valuable should not have been carefully preserved? But even this is not all. Dr. Graham continues:

"At the meeting of the delegates in Charlotte, John McKnitt Alexander was chosen secretary, and thus became custodian of the records. In April, 1800, twenty-five years after this meeting, these records, including the Mecklenburg Declaration, were burned in Alexander's house. In the meantime, however, the old secretary, as he is called, had transcribed not less than five copies of the original resolutions. . . . . There is abundant evidence to prove that at least seven authentic copies of these resolutions were in existence before the proceedings of the convention were burned in 1800. Of these seven transcripts, four, at the direction of the delegates, were transmitted to Congress at Philadelphia by John McKnitt Alexander, shortly after the

meeting at Charlotte adjourned. One to the President, and one copy each to the three members from North Carolina. A fifth copy appeared in the Cape Fear Mercury in June, 1775, within thirty days after the declaration was adopted. A sixth copy was presented by Alexander to Dr. Hugh Williamson, who was then writing a history of the State. . . . And a seventh copy of the declaration, which the author says was obtained before 1800, the year the records were burned, is preserved in Martin's History of North Carolina."

These facts show that at one time there certainly was plenty of evidence in existence to settle beyond controversy what took place in Charlotte in May, 1775. What became of it? This was an event generally regarded as the proudest in a proud history. Is it possible that a people proud of their history and proud that they are proud of it, would complacently permit every one of these valuable documents to be destroyed without making one single effort to preserve them? And yet read the story as told in Tompkins' History of Mecklenburg County. He says:

"The official papers [of the 20th of May meeting] were burned in the fire which destroyed John McKnitt Alexander's house in 1800."

"A copy of the original was sent before the burning of the house to the historian, Williamson, in New York, and it, together with the other sources of his history, were (sic) destroyed by a fire in that city."

"The Martin copy is so called from its publication in Martin's History of North Carolina. . . . As to this particular document of the Mecklenburg Declaration, Martin . . . obtained it in the western part of the State prior to the year 1800. . . . The papers from which Martin compiled his history were sent to France and have disappeared."

"A third copy, called the Garden copy, was published in 1828 by Alexander Garden of Lee's Legion, and this is almost exactly identical with the Martin copy, which is regarded as the authentic copy." After showing that Garden could not have obtained his copy from Martin, Tompkins says: "The data for Garden's anecdotes has (sic) been lost."

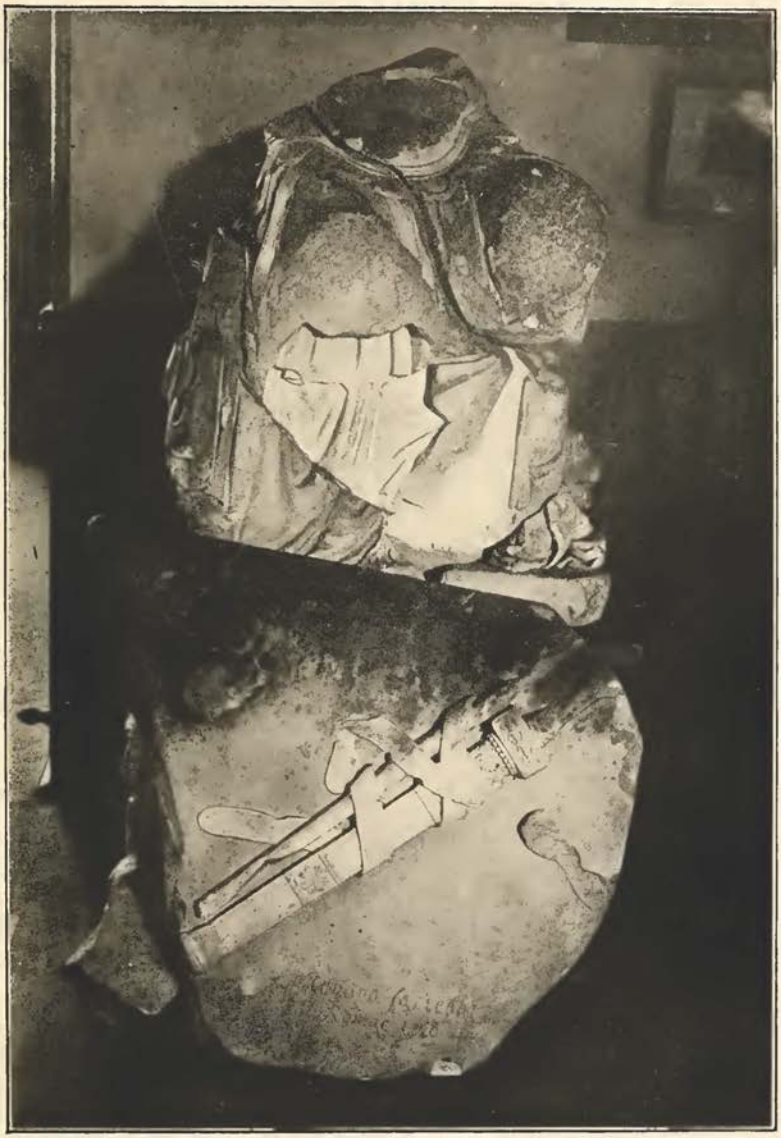
But what about the Cape Fear Mercury of June, 1775? "No copy of the Cape Fear Mercury of June, 1775," says Tompkins, "has ever come to light except the copy which Gov. Martin sent to London and which Mr. Stevenson, of Virginia, borrowed and did not return."

The letter of the President of Congress gone; the joint letter of the delegates gone; Alexander's copy burned; Williamson's copy burned; Martin's copy lost; Garden's copy lost; the Cape Fear Mercury stolen—is it any wonder that Jefferson characterized the Declaration as "a very unjustifiable quiz," saying that for proof it appeals to "an original book, which is burnt, to Mr. Alexander, who is dead, to a joint letter from Caswell, Hughes (sic), and Hooper, all dead, to a copy sent to the dead Caswell, and another sent to Doctor Williamson, now probably dead."

These facts tell us why the historians do not accept our story, and they place the responsibility on our shoulders, where it belongs.

Another illustration of this point is found in the burning of the State-house at Raleigh in the morning of June 21, 1831. The Raleigh Register of June 23 contained the following account:

"It is our painful and melancholy duty to announce to the public another appalling instance of loss by fire, which will be deeply felt and lamented by every individual in the State. It is nothing less than the total destruction of the capitol of our State located in this city. . . . The State



THE RUINS OF CANOVA'S STATUE OF WASHINGTON,
NOW IN THE HALL OF HISTORY AT RALEIGH

Library is also consumed, and the statue of Washington, that proud monument of national gratitude, which was our pride and glory, is so mutilated and defaced, that none can behold it but with mournful feelings, and the conviction involuntarily forces itself upon their (sic) minds, that the loss is one that cannot be repaired. The most active exertions were made to rescue this *chef d'oeuvre* of Canova from the ravages of the devouring element, nor were they desisted from until the danger became imminent."

The same paper of June 30 adds this information:

"Nothing was saved from the Library, nor could any attempt for that purpose be made by reason of the suffocating smoke which filled the room. It was in its infancy and the loss can easily be repaired with one or two exceptions. We allude to the collection of our old Legislative Journals, brought down in almost unbroken succession from 1715 to the present day. Lawson's history of the State, valuable only however for its antiquity, was also burnt."

The Raleigh Star of June 23 tells the story in the following words:

"Great concern was manifested for the preservation of the statue of Washington, which stood in the center of the rotunda, and an effort was made to save it; but it was vain and fruitless; and this monument, reared by the grateful and patriotic citizens of North Carolina, in honor of the father of our country, at an expense of about $30,000, and which was said to be the finest piece of sculpture in the world, was abandoned in despair to share the fate of the superstructure which it had so long graced."

Unfortunate as was the destruction of this splendid work, its loss was not the worst feature of the incident; the very worst feature was the fact that the statue could have been saved but for the short-sightedness and parsimony of the

legislature. A noble statue of the greatest of Americans, costing $30,000, a monument no less to the wisdom, patriotism and liberality of our forefathers than to the genius of the great Italian sculptor, was destroyed because a few politicians, without courage, without the generous fire of patriotic impulse, thinking to incur the favor of the populace, refused to appropriate the sum of $1,200 to secure its safety. The wretched story is told in the following paragraph from the Cape Fear Recorder, which, after lamenting the loss of the statue, says:

"Alfred Moore, Esq., one of the members from Brunswick County, made a motion in the first session of the General Assembly, after the statue was conveyed to Raleigh, that it should be placed on rollers, and that the doors of the capitol should be enlarged, so as to render it practicable to move it from the edifice in the event of a fire. The expense was estimated at $1,200. The motion of Mr. Moore was renewed at the following session and was grounded on his observation of the carelessness and negligence of the menials and workmen employed about the capitol, and on these facts he predicted the event which now affects so extensively and so deeply the inhabitants of the State; and he rung and rerung this prediction in the ears of his colleagues—*that the capitol would be burned!* The warning was unheeded; and we naturally enquire, on what defensible ground was it? Is it not to be imputed to those narrow views of economy, which are not only opposed to the counsels of liberal patriotism, in instances such as this, but also too often shed a blighting influence on the lasting interests and prosperity of the public?"*

* Of this great work of Canova, the Countess Albrizzi in "The Works of Antonio Canova," illustrated by Henry Moses the great English engraver, says:

"In this fine composition Canova has not only maintained the dignity of his subject, but (warmed by admiration of the amiable qualities of

A third illustration of our carelessness with our records occurring in our own time was related to me recently by Colonel Fred A. Olds, the enthusiastic and zealous director of the Hall of History. In the basement of the court-house in Cumberland County a few years ago, as he was informed, were stored hundreds of records and other documents running back to the first settlement of Cross Creek. Dust and cobwebs of course covered them, and this fact, which rather added value to them in the eyes of the historian and the antiquary, led the county board of health to condemn the lot as breeders of germs. At their orders these precious documents were dumped in the street and reduced to ashes!

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this illustrious man) has also infused into the statue an expression of the gentleness and benevolence which attempered his severer virtues.

"The hero is sitting with an air of elegant simplicity on an elegant seat, raised on a double square base. Nothing can surpass the dignity of the attitude or the living air of meditation which it breathes; and the grandeur of the style, the force and freedom of the execution, the close and animated resemblance to the original, all conspire to place the statue in the highest rank of art. The fine tunic which he wears is seen only at the knee, being covered by an ample ornamental cuirass; above which is a magnificent mantle fastened by a clasp on the right shoulder, and flowing down behind in majestic folds. Beneath his right foot, which is extended forward, is a parazonium sheathed, and a sceptre, signifying that the successful termination of the war, had rendered them now useless.

"The hero is in the act of writing on a tablet held in his left hand, and resting on the thigh, which is slightly raised for its support. From the following words already inscribed on it, we learn the subject which occupies his mind—'*George Washington to the people of the United States—Friends and Fellow-citizens.*' In his right hand he holds the pen with a suspended air, as if anxiously meditating on the laws fitted to promote the happiness of his countrymen; a border of the mantle, raised to the tablet by the hand which supports it, gives a fine effect to this graceful and decorous action. In his noble countenance the sculptor has finely portrayed all his great and amiable qualities, inspiring the beholder with mingled sensations of affection and veneration. This statue is only in a slight degree larger than life; his robust form corresponding with his active and vigorous mind.

"If to this great man a worthy cause was not wanting, or the means of acquiring the truest and most lasting glory, neither has he been less fortunate after death, when, by the genius of so sublime an artist, he appears again among his admiring countrymen in this dear and venerable form; not as a soldier, though not inferior to the greatest generals, but in his loftier and more benevolent character of the virtuous citizen and enlightened lawgiver."

With the ascending smoke vanished forever a mine of historical sources which, had it been opened, would have told the story of one of the most inspiring events in the history of North Carolina.

Many other instances of the destruction of valuable historical sources through carelessness, negligence, indifference and ignorance might easily be cited, but they would add no new force to those already given. The important question is, What shall we learn from these facts?

First of all, we ought to learn that "those narrow views of economy, which are not only opposed to the counsels of liberal patriotism, . . . but also too often shed a blighting influence on the lasting interests and prosperity of the public," can be defended on the ground neither of economy nor of patriotism. Was it economy to refuse the appropriation of $1,200 to insure the safety of a work which cost $30,000? Putting it merely on a material basis, how many times $1,200 would the state have made during all these years from the visitors who would have come to our capital city to see this noble work of art! Who can estimate the thousands spent annually by visitors to Dresden who go from the four corners of the earth to see the great Sistine Madonna? Was it patriotic—that is to say, was it a faithful fulfilment of the trust imposed in them by their constituents, for the members of the legislature to refuse the appropriation of $1,200 for the preservation of an object that would have been a source of inspiration to generations of their sons and daughters? It was neither economical nor patriotic; nor did the refusal to make the appropriation come from an honest desire to be either; it sprang from a want of trust in the good sense and patriotism of the people.

So it is neither economical nor patriotic to permit our present State Library, Supreme Court Library and the col-

lection in the Hall of History to remain day after day in constant danger of destruction by fire for the lack of a suitable building. We have a State Library creditable to North Carolina. It contains 40,000 volumes exclusive of the pamphlets and bound newspapers in which the history of the state is written. The destruction of this library would be a calamity to North Carolina from which there would be no recovery—thousands of books that could never be replaced; hundreds of newspapers nowhere else to be found; hundreds of pamphlets that could not be bought with gold. A very conservative estimate of the money-value of this library would place it from $150,000 to $200,000. In addition to the State Library, the same unprotected building holds the Supreme Court Library, one of the best state law libraries in our country, containing 17,000 volumes, worth at the lowest estimate $75,000. Adjoining this building is the Hall of History, a large hall at one end of the State Museum. Through the enthusiastic efforts of Colonel Fred A. Olds, who deserves the thanks of all patriotic citizens for his unselfish labors, more than 4,000 historic relics, documents, papers and pictures have been collected there illustrating every period and almost every phase of the life of the state. It is doubtful if any other state in the Union has a more valuable or more instructive collection of historic relics. In an interesting story of the Hall of History, Colonel Olds says:*

"North Carolina is yet rich in such objects, notably of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods; but until this collection began, a little over three years ago, nothing had been done, except in what may be termed very justly a local way, to gather together such objects. By such failure the State has suffered enormous loss, due to the burning of court-houses, public buildings, and, most of all, private homes, in some of

*North Carolina Booklet, October, 1906.

which there were extensive groups of objects, the loss of which is irreparable. But at last the gathering together at Raleigh, where by all manner of means the collection ought to be, has been begun, and the fact that the number of objects now exceeds the 4,000 mark shows not only zeal in collecting, but also an awakened public interest. . . . It is felt that the present Hall of History is what may truly be termed a stepping-stone to higher things; in other words, that it is but the forerunner of a far more noble one, generous as to space, and built on the most modern lines as regards the elimination of risk by fire. Given such a building, and the writer can undertake to secure almost anything in North Carolina."

It is impossible to place anything like a money-value on these three collections—the State Library, the Supreme Court Library, and the Hall of History. They represent thousands of dollars and years of patriotic labor. They are beyond all price, and yet year after year they are left in buildings inadequate in size and arrangement, hardly creditable to a great state in appearance, and totally unprotected from fire. A fire once started in either would sweep like a hurricane through both and reduce the whole to smoke and ashes in spite of all human effort. Is it economy to leave these public treasures thus exposed to destruction? Is it patriotic? Does not the destruction of the Mecklenburg Declaration papers teach us a useful lesson? Has the burning of the capitol no warning for us, the loss of the library, the destruction of the great statue of Washington? And shall we let these warnings go unheeded? Is it possible that the people of North Carolina care so little for their great Past, for the development of an interest in their history, for the cultivation of literature and art among their children, that they would frown down an appropriation from their

public money for the erection of a fire-proof building in which these treasures would be safe? The very question is almost a slander on the good name of the state.

The state is amply able to erect such a building—a building absolutely fire-proof, stately in architectural design, and ample for the purposes to which it shall be devoted. It would be much more than a library building. Patriotic societies would have rooms there for their meetings and records; the State Literary and Historical Association would have offices and record rooms set apart for its work; there too would be offices and archive rooms for a State Commissioner of Records and Archives; a spacious hall would be dedicated as a Hall of History which would be the instructor of thousands in the history of North Carolina:—in a word it would be the headquarters for all the historical and literary activities of future generations of North Carolinians. The hallways would be lined with statues, the walls with portraits, preserving the forms and features of the great men and women who have served the state and nation. On the walls, too, would hang paintings executed by native artists of the great events in our history—the landing of the first Englishmen on Roanoke; the famous May-day scene of '75 at Charlotte; the greater event at Halifax in April of '76; the mad charges up the sides of King's Mountain; the steady resistance at Guilford Court House; Davie and his fellows resting under the old poplar on a balmy October day dreaming of a great university; James C. Dobbin in the halls of legislation pleading with a power surpassing eloquence for those who could not plead for themselves; the long gray line sweeping up the slopes of Gettysburg—all these and many more such historic scenes would be there to inspire hundreds of North Carolina boys and girls with a desire to "serve so good a state and so great a people." And

there, too, would come students to search its treasures who would do for North Carolina and the South all that Bryant and Lowell and Longfellow and Holmes and Emerson and Bancroft and Fiske and a host of other great names have done for Massachusetts and New England. Visited every year by thousands, such a building, like a great beacon-light on a hill, would shed an inspiring light on the historical, literary and educational life of the state that would be worth a hundred times over all the money expended in its construction. It is not possible that the people of North Carolina would regard with disfavor an appropriation for such a purpose; sensible and patriotic people will applaud the legislature that takes this great forward step.

A second lesson equally valuable and equally necessary which the illustrations I have given ought to impress on us is the importance of collecting, copying, editing and publishing the historical sources now in existence *while they are yet in existence.* I have shown how hundreds of invaluable documents and other sources have been lost or destroyed through the carelessness, indifference and ignorance of their owners. Those are hopelessly gone, and with them a mass of historical wealth that can never be regained. But thousands of others remain which should be preserved. I have in mind now a collection of the papers of one of North Carolina's greatest sons containing dozens of most valuable letters, never published, from nearly all of his great contemporaries in the state and many in the nation: letters from Swain, Badger, Graham, Ruffin; from John Randolph of Roanoke, Webster, Marshall, Story, Hamilton, Kent and many more. There is no more valuable collection of private papers in the state and yet for the lack of such a building as I have described and the absence of a means of making use of them, they will doubtless soon be lost to North Carolina.

The owner, who lives in a distant state, has already expressed her intention of presenting them to the Library of Congress at Washington, and I must reluctantly confess that under present conditions I could not urge her to present them to North Carolina, although I know they properly belong here.

There are many other such collections in and out of the state, stuffed away in dark corners, and dusty archives, in pigeon holes, vaults, desks, attics and cellars, containing thousands of records, public and private letters, and other manuscripts of great value. Yet as matters now stand they are as absolutely useless to their owners or to the state as the miser's gold to the miser; but if collected, edited and published, would be a source of mental and moral wealth to North Carolina beyond that which the gold of all the misers could buy. Many of the owners of these collections would willingly part with them if the state had a safe place for their preservation and would provide for their publication.

What then can the state do? The state can follow the example of Alabama, Mississippi, New York, Wisconsin, Iowa, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and all the New England states, and make appropriations for their preservation and publication. The states of Alabama and Mississippi are doing more than any other Southern states for the elucidation of their history and present the best examples for our own state to follow. Each of these states has created a State Department of Archives and Records with a commissioner in charge whose duty it is to care for their historical sources. Let us follow their examples. Such a department, with a commissioner appointed by the Historical Commission, would not cost over $4,000 or $5,000 a year—a trifling sum in comparison with its value to the state. The Alabama act recites the duty of the Alabama commissioner as follows:

"He shall have control and direction of the work and operations of the department, he shall preserve its collections, care for the official archives that may come into its custody, collect as far as possible all materials bearing on the history of the state and of the territory included therein from the earliest times, prepare the biennial register hereinafter provided, diffuse knowledge in reference to the history and resources of the state; and he is charged with the particular duty of gathering data concerning Alabama soldiers in the war between the states."

The biennial register mentioned must contain: "(1) Brief sketches of the several state officials, the members of Congress from Alabama, the supreme court judges, the members of the senate and house of representatives of the State of Alabama; (2) rosters of all state and county officials; (3) lists of all state institutions, with officials; (4) state and county population and election statistics, and (5) miscellaneous statistics."

We cannot do better in North Carolina than follow the example of the state of Alabama. All patriotic citizens would aid the commissioner in his work. Those who possess documents of historical value would gladly place them at his disposal. Thousands of originals or certified copies of church and court records, letters, maps, old newspapers, portraits, manuscripts of all kinds, and other material of value to the student of history, would be entrusted to him for the benefit of the public and a safe repository would be provided for their preservation. All material which cannot be parted with permanently would be returned to the owners after copies were made; and provision would be made for copying such documents as the owners are unwilling to part with at all. The expenses of the work would of course be met by the department. The material after being carefully

edited would be published at the expense of the state and due acknowledgment would be made to all who aided in the work. The great value of such work to the state is splendidly illustrated by the monumental work of Colonel William L. Saunders and Chief Justice Walter Clark in the editing and publication of the Colonial and State Records prior to the year 1790. Until these volumes revealed the true story of the first century and a half of the state's history, it was fashionable among historians to pass it over with slurs and sneers or to ignore it altogether. But such an attitude now would very justly condemn any author to deserved oblivion. What citizen of North Carolina is there who is not gratified and proud of the rescue by these two loyal sons of the good name of their mother?

But as great as this work is, the complete history of North Carolina can never be written until a similar work is done for every decade subsequent to 1790. It is a work that cannot be accomplished except through the medium of the state. It is a work that cannot be accomplished within a year, nor within two years, but is rather the work of a generation. Let us earnestly hope that the intelligent patriotism of the state will demand that it shall be done and thoroughly done at the public expense through a State Department of Records and Archives.

Need any one urge upon intelligent men the necessity for such work? Says Judge Johnson in his "Life of Nathanael Greene": "There is and perhaps ought to be a clannish spirit in the states of the Union, which will ever dispose the writers they produce to blazon with peculiar zeal the virtues and talents of the eminent men of their respective states. . . . It will probably happen in future times, that the states that have produced the ablest writers will enjoy the reputation of having produced the ablest statesmen, generals

and orators." Just so it happens that the World knows by heart the story of Samuel Adams, but even his own people have forgotten the equally great services of Cornelius Harnett; the praise of Richard Henry Lee is on every tongue, but no tongue speaks the name of William R. Davie; the services of John Jay have been justly commemorated, but the more brilliant judicial career of James Iredell is unknown among his own people. Had the story of Virginia Dare occurred in Massachusetts, can it be supposed that no Longfellow would have been found to wrap it up in immortal verse? Consider for a moment how barren is the story of Evangeline when compared to that of the little heroine of the Lost Colony; yet the pen of the poet has brought tears to the eyes of the royal descendant of him in whose name the cruel deed was done. The friendship of an Indian chief probably saved our colony from annihilation, while the hostility of King Phillip came near to destroying the settlement of the Puritan; but no Irving has told the story of Tom Blunt. All the World knows by heart the story of the midnight ride of Paul Revere because a great poet commanded,

> "Listen, my children, and you shall hear
> Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere."

But no poet has commanded the World to harken to the thrilling midnight ride of Mary Slocum.

And there will be no Bancroft, no Fiske, no McMaster to tell our story; no Longfellow and no Irving to write our literature until the work of preserving and preparing for use the sources of our history has been done. So long as we neglect it we need not be surprised, nor will it be manly to complain, if the "scorner shall snear at and the witling defame us."

THE BATTLE OF ROCKFISH CREEK IN DUPLIN COUNTY.

BY J. O. CARR.

A period of one hundred and twenty-five years has elapsed since the battle of Rockfish Creek was fought in Duplin County on the 2d of August, 1781; but not one line has ever been written to commemorate this event, and few historians know of its occurrence.

In order that the reader may better understand the subject of this sketch, it is well to give an account of the relative movements of the American and British armies in North Carolina at that time.

About the first of February, 1781, Maj. James H. Craig, a British military officer of repute, entered the Cape Fear River with several hundred soldiers prepared to take and hold Wilmington. He had been sent from Charleston by Lord Cornwallis with instructions to seize the town and make it a place of refuge for the Tories and a place of retreat for the British army in case of any disaster, while Cornwallis himself proceeded to the Piedmont section of the state with the hope of completing the conquest of North Carolina.

On the very day that Craig entered Wilmington the battle of Cowan's Ford was fought, in which the brilliant and gallant William L. Davidson was killed, and Cornwallis and Gen. Nathaniel Greene were engaged in the famous campaign of 1781. Craig immediately issued a proclamation urging the people of North Carolina to renew their allegiance to the royal government, and the Tories throughout the State were rallying around the standard of the enemy—some because of their loyalty to the English government, and others because they saw no hope in further resistance; but there

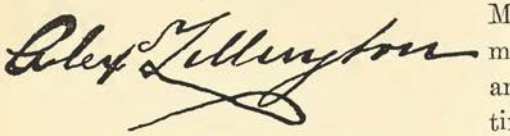
were yet many who were willing to die in the cause they had espoused. It is said that twelve out of fifteen companies of militia in Bladen County were at heart favorably disposed to the Crown, though still enlisted in the American cause. To some extent a similar condition existed in Duplin and New Hanover Counties, and in June, 1781, out of a draft of 70 in Duplin for the Continental army only 24 appeared (1).

HOME OF ALEXANDER LILLINGTON.

Immediately after arriving in Wilmington, Maj. Craig began depredations in the county and sent a party up the North East River to the "great bridge," which spanned the river about twelve miles north of Wilmington, where it was crossed by the Duplin road. The bridge was demolished and some American store-ships, which lay concealed there for safety, were burned. It was not easy to understand why the bridge was destroyed unless it be that Craig feared an attack from the Militia of the adjoining counties. This was the main crossing into the northern part of New Hanover and Duplin, and continual vigilance was kept at this post by the opposing forces. The Militia of New Hanover, Bladen and Duplin, consisting of about seven hundred men, took position here to prevent incursions into the country. Temporary

(1) Colonial Records, vol. XV, p. 490.

fortifications were made and after some skirmishing across the river Craig's men returned to Wilmington, and the



Militia under command of Gen. Alexander Lillington continued to hold the post until the army of Cornwallis entered Wilmington in April, 1781. Realizing the impossibility of holding the place longer, Gen. Lillington ordered a hasty retreat to Kinston, where he disbanded the Militia, except one company, on the 28th of April, 1781, at which time Cornwallis had proceeded to the center of Duplin, where he was carrying consternation to the hearts of the people. Checkmated and outgeneraled by Greene in his marvelous retreat through the State, Cornwallis was wreaking vengeance on the inhabitants and was leaving behind him desolation and ruin. He left Craig still in charge at Wilmington for the purpose of rallying the Tories and keeping the Whigs subdued in the surrounding country, and there did not remain a semblance of an American army in North Carolina. However, Craig's repeated expeditions into New Hanover, Duplin and Onslow made it necessary to reorganize the Militia, and four hundred men were collected in Duplin under Col. Kenan, and quite a number in Bladen under Col. Brown.

After the departure of Cornwallis, Craig's forces first proceeded toward New Berne with the purpose of subduing all the country east of the North East River, and on June 28th, 1781, Gen. Lillington sent a dispatch from Richlands, Onslow County, to Major Abraham Molton in Duplin, informing him that the British with about eight hundred Tories and regulars were advancing from Rutherfords Mill (1) towards

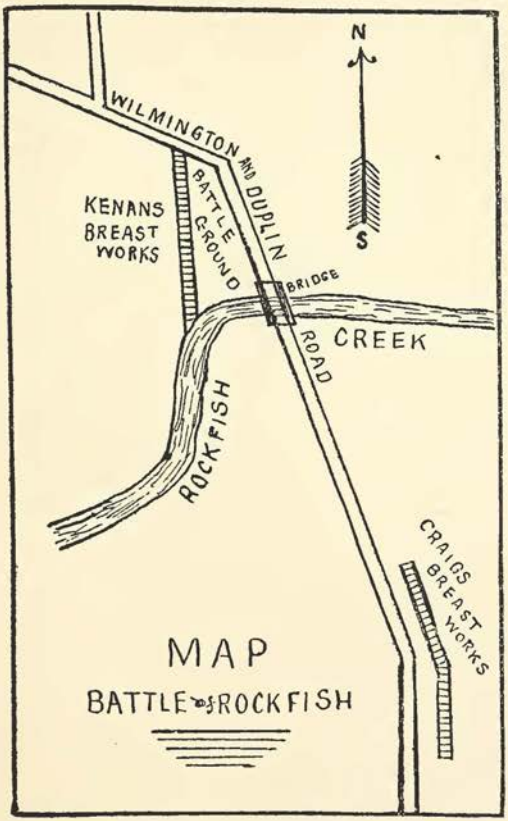
(1) Rutherford's Mill was east of the Northeast River, between Wilmington and Richlands.

Richlands, and instructing him to muster all the forces he could without delay (1). Molton immediately informed Gov. Burke of the situation and proceeded to raise a levy of troops in Duplin. It seems that Col. Kenan was otherwise engaged at this time, probably guarding the crossing at Rockfish Creek. On July 6th, Col. Kenan wrote Gov. Burke that one hundred Duplin men had marched to join Gen. Lillington at Richlands Chapel and fifty others were ready to go. Again on July 9th, he wrote the Governor that the enemy, which was moving toward Richlands, had returned to Rutherford's Mill, and that he had ordered a draft of two hundred men to be made from Duplin immediately, but that he had no powder nor lead—*not one round*—and urged the Governor to supply them with ammunition, as they could not take the field until supplied. And again on July 15th, he wrote the Governor that the enemy had moved out of Wilmington and were rebuilding the "long bridge"; that it was their intention to give no more paroles, but would sell every man's property who would not join them; that they had one hundred light horse, well equipped, and four hundred and seventy foot; and that he was informed that they were determined to be at Duplin County House the next Monday. (2) He further stated that they had no ammunition and could get none, and renewed his request to be supplied. On July 24th, Gen. Alexander Lillington wrote the Governor that a part of Caswell's army had reached Rockfish, in Duplin County, which was then held by Col. Kenan, and that Col. Kenan had informed him by letter that he had no ammunition. (3) It is apparent from all these communications that Kenan, Caswell and Lillington regarded the situation as serious, and thought

(1) Colonial Records, vol. XV, pp. 496 and 499.
(2) Colonial Records, vol. XV, p. 535.
(3) Colonial Records, vol. XV, p. 567.

ROCKFISH CREEK BRIDGE.

it very important that Craig's army should be checked in its march through the State. The importance of this resistance is readily seen when we consider the fact that Cornwallis had traversed the State and had just passed into Virginia without serious damage to his own army; for, while he had won no decisive victory, yet he had, in effect, subdued the State



THE BATTLE GROUND.

and had left it with no organized army; and Craig's expeditions were intended to give courage to the Tories, who were ready to support the enemy at any time.

Rockfish Creek, now the dividing line between Duplin and Pender Counties, was then the boundary between Duplin and New Hanover. The old Duplin road leading from Wilmington, along which Cornwallis had marched, crossed the creek about a half mile east of the Wilmington and Weldon Rail Road, and passed a few yards west of where the present county bridge now stands. This was the most convenient place for an army to make its passage, but it was hoped, and without much reason, that the Militia would be able to entrap the British here and win a signal victory, and likely such would have been the result had our troops been supplied with ammunition. Col. Kenan, who was chief in command at this time, and who had planned the attack, fortified himself on Rockfish Creek, at the crossing above described, by throwing up dirt-works just north of the ford, slight traces of which can now be seen, and waited the approach of the enemy. The fortifications were well planned so as to give the Militia every possible advantage as the enemy was crossing the creek, for their only hope was to make an attack while a crossing was being attempted. Craig had light artillery, some cavalry and over four hundred footmen, all well equipped, and was more than prepared to resist any force that the Whigs could put in the field. On the 2d of August, 1781, he attempted to cross the creek and was vigorously attacked by the brave Militiamen under Col. Kenan, though without ammunition sufficient to even give hope of success. Craig used his entire force, including his artillery, and the inevitable result was the defeat of our troops, outnumbered and unequipped as they were. There is now in existence an old cannon ball, about three inches in diameter, which was left at the place of battle by the British army; and while it is insignificant as compared with modern instruments of warfare, yet it was much superior to anything used by the Duplin Militia.

The accounts of this battle have only been preserved by

two eye-witnesses, and these are not as complete as we would like to have them; however, they throw some light on the matter, and without them we would have nothing reliable.

Col. Kenan on the same day wrote the Governor as follows:(1)

DUPLIN, August 2d, 1781.

SIR:—I imbodied all the Militia I Could in this County to the Amount of about 150 men and was reinforced by Gen'l Caswell with about 180 and took post at a place Called rockfish. The British this day Came against me and the Militia again after a few rounds Broak and it was out of my power and all my Officers to rally them. They have all Dispersed. Before the men Broak we lost none, But the light horse pursued and I am afraid have taken 20 or 30 men. I Cannot Give You a full acct., but the Bearer, Capt. James, who was in the Action, Can inform your Excellency of any Particular. He acted with Becoming Bravery during the whole action. I am now Convinced this County with Several others will be Overrun by the British and Tories. Your Excellency will Excuse as I cannot Give a more full accot.

I am Sir Your very humbl St.

On the 30th of November, 1784, William Dickson, who participated in the fight, wrote a letter to his cousin in Ireland, which contained the following reference to the battle:

"Col. Kenan's Militia had not made a stand more than ten days when Maj. Craig marched his main force, with field pieces, defeated and drove us out of our works, and made some of our men prisoners (here I narrowly escaped being taken or cut down by the dragoons). The enemy stayed several days in Duplin County (this being the first week in August, 1781). The Royalists gathered together very fast, and we were now reduced again to the uttermost extremity.

(1) Colonial Records, vol. XV, p. 593.

The enemy were now more cruel to the distressed inhabitants than Cornwallis' army had been before. Some men collected and formed a little flying camp and moved near the enemy's lines and made frequent sallies on their rear flanks, while others fled from their homes and kept out of the enemy's reach. Maj. Craig marched from Duplin to Newbern, plundered the town, destroyed the public stores, and then immediately marched back to Wilmington to secure the garrison."(1)

The battle of Rockfish is not one of the important battles of the Revolution, and its result, whatever it might have been, could in no way have affected the ultimate issue of the war. However, it throws some light on the history of the times and shows us what the brave home guard of the Revolution had to contend with, and how important a part of the great army it was. Without the "Militia," life would have been intolerable in Duplin during the great struggle, and Toryism would have deterred the people from giving support and aid to the far-away soldier, who was doing battle for our freedom. After the defeat of the "Duplin Militia" at Rockfish, Craig laid his cruel hand upon the inhabitants of Duplin, robbed them of their property, and inflicted upon them every indignity and outrage known to merciless warfare.

NOTE.—Sir James Henry Craig was born in Gibralter in the year 1749. He entered the English Army at the age of fourteen and was well trained in the art of soldiery. He came to America in the year 1774 and was in service here from the battle of Bunker Hill until the evacuation of Charleston in 1781. He was thirty-two years of age when he took possession of Wilmington and began his work of devastation in the surrounding counties. In 1807 he was made Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of Canada. He was a soldier of fair ability, but as a civil officer was a petty tyrant and oppressor. His administration as Governor of Canada was a failure, and he returned to England in 1811, where he died the following year.

(1) Dickson Letters, p. 17.

GOVERNOR JESSE FRANKLIN.

BY J. T. ALDERMAN.

The name Franklin suggests an ancestry worthy of noble sons. The name may have come down from an illustrious family of Norman nobles which established itself in Britain after the Norman Conquest. It may have originated from an expression signifying "free-man." We leave a discussion of this to the antiquarian and the philologist.

True nobility will assert itself even among the hills and forests of frontier life. When home and country call for men to face the oppressor and break away the tyrant's yoke, noble spirits and brave hearts lead the way. He who valiantly wields his sword in a cause that is just, yielding to neither difficulties nor discouragements, reveals a spirit that is noble born.

It was during the dark period of the Revolution, when home and liberty were in jeopardy from foreign foe and internecine strife that Jesse Franklin appeared in the full strength of young manhood. He was born on March 24th, 1760. His parents were Bernard and Mary Franklin, who at the beginning of the Revolutionary war lived in Orange County, Virginia. He was the third of seven sons. Owing to the turbulence of the times his educational opportunities were very limited. He, however, acquired the rudiments of a practical education.

When he was about seventeen years old, during the year 1777, he volunteered in the Continental service and held a lieutenant's commission in Washington's army. It is not known how long he remained with the army or where his service took him. When his term of enlistment had expired he returned to his father's home.

Attracted by the excellent range and fertile valleys of Piedmont North Carolina, a large number of good people had, before the Revolution, left their Virginia homes and moved to occupy the unbroken forests. Among them was Col. Benjamin Cleveland, a brother of Jesse Franklin's mother. Before the breaking out of the Revolution, Bernard Franklin had determined to go to North Carolina, as so many of his neighbors and friends had done. In the summer of 1778 he sent Jesse, who was then at home from the army, to select lands suitable for the settlement and to erect buildings for the accommodation of the family when they should arrive in the fall. The fact that the father trusted such responsibilities to his eighteen-year-old son is an earnest of the confidence he placed in him. The young shoulders which were destined to bear in after years the burdens of state and nation were thus early put in training by duties and cares in sharing the responsibilities of his father's family. His father was not disappointed. Jesse selected for their future home a beautiful valley near the head-waters of Mitchell's River, and provided for the coming of the family. The two older brothers, Bernard and Jeremiah, remained in Virginia. In the fall of 1778 Jesse's parents, with four sons and two daughters, the oldest of the children being under fifteen years of age, moved to their new home in Surry County, North Carolina. This homestead was to become the seat of patriotism and honor, culture and refinement.

The American people were not united in the desire for separation from the mother country. The division of sentiment was sharp and in many communities was a source of extreme bitterness and strife. Loyalists and Tories were found in all the colonies. Virginia, Maryland, and New England were perhaps less infested than any other sections of the continent. John Adams said: "New York, Pennsyl-

vania, and North Carolina were about evenly divided between Whig and Tory sentiment; in South Carolina there were more Tories than Whigs, and Georgia virtually swung back at one time to the crown as a royal province." As to the number of Tories in the Carolinas, the estimate of Mr. Adams is no doubt too large.

While all who were opposed to the American cause were classed as Tories, there was a difference between the Loyalist and the characteristic Tory. Many of those who adhered to the crown were people of excellent character and most valuable citizens—men who were above the piratical practices of the ordinary Tory. Many of the Scotch Highlanders in the Cape Fear section were Loyalists, but were men of high moral worth. They had but recently, after the battle of Culloden, sworn allegiance to the crown and were unwilling to violate that oath. There were other notable exceptions. But what excuse can be made for the predatory bands of plundering Tories roving the country, burning houses, murdering the best men in the communities, and creating consternation and misery among helpless women and children! They destroyed the growing crops of defenseless citizens and appropriated to their own use the farm supplies and whatever valuables could be found in the dwellings.

They were mainly irresponsible men, in whose breasts there existed no thrill of patriotism, whose only ambition was to gratify some personal grudge, and to satisfy their necessities by plundering and robbing. Their heredity has come down through the decades of our national history. When our southland was in arms for the defense of home and liberty, the sons of these men were "bush-whackers" and deserters. They now run illicit distilleries and debauch their communities; they object to civic and educational advancement. Tap their veins and you find Tory blood. During

the war the Tories in some sections became so aggressive and bold in their depradations that the Whig families were forced to build forts for protection. One of these was near the present town of Mocksville;[1] another was near Wilkesboro.

Fortunately there were men in most sections of the State whose names struck terror to the hearts of the Tories. Among them was Col. Benjamin Cleveland. As a partisan leader he had but few equals. He knew no fear and seemed ubiquitous to friend and foe. Colonel Cleveland's services in checking organized Toryism in that part of the State have never been fully recognized.

When about eighteen years of age Jesse Franklin joined his uncle's forces and for two years assisted in maintaining order in Piedmont North Carolina. He served with him in many skirmishes with the Tories and gained the confidence of his uncle as a bold and fearless patriot.

At the close of the summer of 1780, the British had overrun the whole of South Carolina. Cornwallis had for months been arranging to invade North Carolina and take vengeance upon the men of Mecklenburg and other Whigs of the State. He sent Major Ferguson with a large body of British troops to overawe the Whigs and enroll the Tories in the western counties. The appearance of the British among the hills of North Carolina had an unexpected effect. Those dauntless patriots who knew no fear rallied to the standard of Liberty with a determination which had never seized them before. Led by the brave Colonels Shelby, Sevier, Campbell, and General McDowell, they rushed down the mountain

[1] Some of the timbers of which this fort was constructed were moved to Mocksville about forty years ago by Col. A. M. Booe and used by him in building a tobacco factory, which is still standing. Colonel Booe ornamented this factory with a brass weather vane brought from Heidleburg by some German Lutherans who settled on the banks of Dutchman's Creek and placed it upon a church, which they built in 1765.

like a torrent maddened by the opposing elements. They were joined by the men from Surry and Wilkes under the intrepid Colonel Cleveland, with Jesse Franklin as his aid. Nowhere in Revolutionary times could be found a more heroic band. With incredible swiftness this little army of militia and volunteers rushed over creeks and rivers, ridges and forests, covering a distance of about seventy miles in twenty-four hours. Halting for a council of war, they selected nine hundred of the best equipped men and rushed forward to meet the foe. Ferguson had selected the top of the ridge known as King's Mountain for the encounter, from which, he said, "God Himself could not drive him." The patriots surrounded the mountain before Ferguson was aware of their presence and attacked him from all sides at once. As the British and Tories charged from one side of the mountain the American lines wavered, only to rush forward with redoubled fury. The British were hurled back, only to be met by the rifles and shouts of the men on the opposite side of the hill. A cloud of smoke encompassed the mountain shutting off the British army from sight. Jesse Franklin rode forward through the smoke, and finding the British in confusion and shooting above the heads of the Patriots, he called to his men to charge, assuring them of victory. They advanced till within range and fired. Colonel Ferguson fell and confusion overwhelmed the enemy. Captain Depeyster, the ranking officer, assumed command but was unable to restore order. Captain Ryarson's efforts were alike futile. He surrendered, and handed his sword to Jesse Franklin, saying to him: "Take it, you deserve it, sir." [2] The sword was in the Franklin family many years, but a party of gentlemen

[2] Accounts of the battle of King's Mountain vary. This sketch follows the statement of Judge J. F. Graves, who received it from John Boyd, a soldier of the Revolution, and an eye-witness to this incident.

on one occasion, in testing the temper of the mettle, broke it into fragments. The hilt was in possession of Mr. Ambrose Johnson, of Wilkes County, in 1854.

The victory at King's Mountain was complete. Nine hundred inexperienced militia had vanquished a superior force of regular British and Tory troops, consisting of 1125 men. With the loss of twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded, they had killed, wounded, or captured the entire British force. The effect was electrical. The Tory spirit was crushed, and hope stirred the hearts of the patriots. The prisoners were hurried to a place of safety. Cornwallis immediately left Charlotte and retired to his protected camps in South Carolina.

A record of the many daring adventures and marvelous escapes of Jesse Franklin during those years of ceaseless vigilance would make a thrilling narrative. A few only have been rescued from oblivion. The plundering Tories feared him and trembled for their lives when it was known that Franklin was in the community. They well knew that swift vengeance would be dealt to those guilty of murder and that all if taken would be punished according to their crimes. They determined to destroy him, but they realized that he was more than a match for them in any bold movement on their part. Bands were often in hiding along the approaches to his father's house. One evening he was attempting to reach his home by a circuitous route when suddenly he was surrounded by a strong band of Tories. Resistance in the face of a dozen rifles was futile. They tied his hands behind his back, and using his bridle as a halter, they made ready to hang him to an overhanging limb. When all was ready they commanded him to take the oath of allegiance. He refused and they swung him up. One of the men struck the horse to make him move from under Franklin;

just as he did so the halter broke and Franklin fell into his saddle as the horse dashed away. The rifle balls whizzed by his head. His escape was miraculous and Franklin in after life often referred to it as an intervention of a Kind Providence.

Three months after the battle of King's Mountain, Morgan gained another glorious victory over the British at the Cowpens. Cornwallis was stung by his defeat and the loss of so large a part of his army and hastened to carry the war into North Carolina. General Morgan knew that Cornwallis would endeavor to recapture the prisoners and immediately hurried them off toward Virginia. Thus began the race of Cornwallis and the Americans across the state of North Carolina. General Green joined Morgan near Salisbury and assumed command of the army. The details of this retreat across the State are facts common in all our histories.

Cornwallis reluctantly gave up the chase of Greene and turned aside to Hillsboro. Greene, having received reinforcements from Virginia and some militia from the eastern portion of North Carolina, recrossed the Dan River, thus showing a determination to meet the British in battle. Cornwallis said that he was greatly disappointed at the failure of the Tories in not rallying to the British standard and enlisting as soldiers in his army. The most of the Tories who did attempt to reach him were cut off and destroyed by scouting parties of Whigs sent out by General Greene to intercept their movements. The most notable of these encounters was perhaps the destruction of Colonel Pyle and his band of Tories near the present town of Graham. Cornwallis immediately moved west across the Haw River to succor those who should come.

Greene sent William Washington, Lee, and Williams to intercept the marauding parties of British and Tories. Capt.

Jesse Franklin was at the head of one of these skirmish lines near Hillsboro on February 25th.

General Greene was near the state line about 25 miles north of Hillsboro and began a westerly movement toward the little town of Martinsville, then the county seat of Guilford, which he had before selected as a suitable ground for the inevitable battle. He arranged his forces with skill and awaited the approach of the enemy. Cornwallis accepted the challenge and on the evening of March 15th the battle took place. Greene withdrew and Cornwallis held the ground, but his doubtful victory was the final undoing of the British in North Carolina.

In this battle Jesse Franklin was a conspicuous actor. He led a band of mountaineers who did good service, and was among the last to leave the grounds when General Greene ordered a retreat. The horses of his men had been tied in the woods and as they were mounting to retire some British cavalrymen killed a part of his men before they could mount and get away. Franklin escaped, but soon returned and secured the horse and arms of one of his neighbors, a Mr. Taliafero, and carried them to the family of his friend. Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington and soon left the State, to be captured at Yorktown. Greene was now on the aggressive, but gave up the pursuit and went to South Carolina.

While history has not been lavish in recounting the movements of Jesse Franklin, enough has been recorded to give us an idea of the military career of the youthful hero. Franklin was at this time under 21 years of age. America had gained its independence.

Hostilities had ceased, but the relationship of the former Whig and Tory elements were extremely trying in many sections. Bitter animosities and recollections rendered almost impossible the return of friendly intercourse. Tories

had committed outrages and murder. The Whigs had found it necessary to retaliate in order to check their unbridled ravages. Some sections had been almost depopulated; in others a spirit of lawlessness was prevalent. It was a task perhaps greater than the Revolution itself to bring order out of chaos and construct a nation, and people grew restless under suspense and delay. The Whigs had been under a supreme tension from the beginning of the war, and when that tension was removed it was natural for a reaction to follow. Lethargy and untimely contentment might lose for them the vantage ground which had been secured at so dear a price. Schools and churches were in many places still closed and the moral senses seemed blunted. Under such conditions as these there was need of the best and most patriotic men to guide in public affairs. The experienced and wary, like Caswell; the vigorous and hopeful, like Franklin, were immediately summoned to the councils of the legislative halls.

After the close of the war, Jesse Franklin settled in Wilkes County. In 1784, at the age of 24, he was elected to the Legislature from Wilkes County, and, with the exception of 1788, he was re-elected successively every year until 1793, when he changed his place of residence to Surry County. The people of Surry knowing his value as a public citizen immediately elected him to the Legislature for the year 1793, and returned him in 1794. In 1795 he was elected member of Congress and served two years. In 1797 and 1798 we again find him in the Legislature. The Legislature of 1799 elected him United States Senator for the full term ending in 1805. In 1806 and 1807 he was a member of the State Senate and was, at the close of his term, again elected United States Senator for the term to expire in 1813.

As a legislator Jesse Franklin was universally trusted.

Although he was one of the youngest of the members of the Legislature, he was placed at the head of important committees. He made but few speeches; these were mainly short, pointed and forceful. In February, 1795, one Jeremiah Early petitioned the Legislature for a premium or bounty to help and protect him in the manufacture of steel. Franklin was chairman of a committee appointed to investigate the merits of the petition and made the following report: "After due consideration it is our opinion that it is not expedient for the State to grant premiums or bounties for the manufacture of steel, being well assured that any person manufacturing that article will be amply compensated by the sale thereof."

As early as 1785 we find Franklin publicly advocating more opportunities for educating the people. He was a close student and acquired a broad fund of general information. He married Miss Meeky Perkins, of Rockbridge County, Virginia. The date of his marriage has not come to the writer, but it was some time before 1790, as collateral circumstances indicate. His home life was beautiful and inspiring, shedding a wholesome influence for culture and refinement in the circle of his friends and associates.

In 1784 he received grants of land in Wilkes County. The Federal census of 1790 shows that he was then a citizen of Wilkes County. As has been stated, he moved to Surry County in 1793.

Franklin was a Democrat in his feelings and mode of life. He was one of the people and on all occasions manifested his devotion to them in whatever might appeal to their sensibilities or prejudices.

While the Legislature was in session in Hillsboro he was in need of some shirts. The seamstress had made them with ruffles, according to the fashion of the times. "When

he came to put them on, he thought the frills did not become the representative of so plain a people as his constituents, and so he cut them all off with his pen knife before wearing the shirts."

In personal appearance Franklin was erect and commanding, somewhat above medium height, and, in his latter years, weighed over two hundred pounds. He was a man of strong personality, of few words, of unusual discretion and sound judgment. He was easily provoked to deeds of charity and unselfish service to those less fortunate than himself. His sympathy for the distressed widow and orphan was easily touched; even in his younger years his strong, manly courage brought comfort and hope to those in distress around him. Moore, the historian, says of him: "Jesse Franklin, like Nathaniel Macon, was dear to the people because he typified their best qualities. He did not shine in debate like Davie, or out-wit his competitors like Alexander Martin, but he was strong in the simplicity and directness of his character. He loved truth, peace and justice, and they shone in his life and made him a beacon and an assurance to all who knew him." His uniform and well recognized integrity, the soundness of his judgment on the great questions which so deeply agitated the public mind, his purity of life and exalted patriotism made him a trusted leader of men.

In 1795, when Jesse Franklin was elected to the National Congress, the young Republic was feeling its way toward a safe adjustment of internal organizations and at the same time striving to avoid external complications until it should realize a firm place in the hearts and confidence of the American people and gain respectability among the great family of nations. It had so recently set up business for itself that there was much and most important legislation to be made. Consequent upon the devastations of a long war,

there was a spirit of unrest in every quarter. Families were breaking up and moving to the western frontiers; resistance to taxation embarrassed the local authorities, and there were those who seemed to prefer the flesh-pots of their former conditions to the uncertain experiment as an independent nation. Sections were jealous of supposed encroachments upon their local interests. New England was ready at the slightest provocation to withdraw from the Union. The South was guarding suspiciously against any attempt to meddle in her affairs. Many of those who had been Loyalists and Tories, having lost their standing in their communities, were forced to seek other places to make their homes; some went to the West Indies, some to the British possessions, but the greater number went west and settled among the mountains of East Tennessee and Kentucky, where generations later their descendants arrayed themselves against the armies of the South. Many of the brave Continental soldiers received the pay for their long services in grants of land beyond the Ohio, and the states were poorer by the loss of these brave men. State and national debts were hanging ominous over the treasuries, for the magic hand of Hamilton had not yet given stability to the country's finances, converting a national debt into a national blessing.

Internal traffic was hampered for want of an acceptable circulating medium. Commerce on the high seas was at the mercy of the piratical practices of every nation. The same conditions which existed in North Carolina prevailed throughout the country. French customs and vices had permeated the social and moral fabric. French skepticism, reenforced by Tom Payne's "Age of Reason," was undermining the church and the sanctity of religion. Harvard, William and Mary, Princeton, and Yale colleges were sending out a limited number of scholars, but for two decades and more

the halls of learning had been almost deserted. There were no public schools, and the parochial and private schools had been forgotten in the common struggle for material existence. Conditions afforded but little time for social intercourse or intellectual development except among the more favored few. The masses were illiterate and appeared satisfied to remain so. There were but few newspapers or publications of any kind. There were but few who aspired to become authors. Books were rare. It was a period of relaxation and intellectual depression. North Carolina was the first to break the spell and establish a State University; others followed.

Jesse Franklin was a product of the times, but like others who were born to co-operate in shaping the destinies of the nation his horizon was broad, his conception of a government for the masses was clear and his good judgment gave him power in the State and national assemblies. His astute statesmanship won the admiration of his peers. For thirty consecutive years he represented his people and was a conspicuous figure in the State and national capitals.

It has been the custom of the historian to pass rapidly over this period. The records were meager and many of them are not accessible to the reading public. In our times it is difficult to discover what questions were of paramount interest to the men who served in the National Congress or how they disposed of them. There were great problems with which our representatives must grapple. England and France had continuously shown indignities to the American flag. It was a matter of great concern to protect our merchant marine; foreign emissaries were endeavoring to engender strife among the states and weaken the national unity. It required the patriotism and statesmanship of great men to save the young nation from universal disaster. Jefferson and Adams and their adherents were alike patriotic; they had staked all for

American institutions. Adams was a devout Federalist and espoused the policy of a strong centralized government. Jesse Franklin, like Jefferson, the great leader of popular rights, was as thoroughly convinced that the ideal form of government was that in which all national authority should originate with the people who were to be governed, and that those in authority were amenable directly to the people. While in Congress he served on a large number of important committees.

During his first term as United States Senator, Congress held its last session in the Quaker City. In 1800 the public offices and records were transferred from Philadelphia to the new Federal capital on the Potomac.

In 1801 Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr received the same number of votes for president. In accord with the provision of the constitution, it devolved upon the Lower House of Congress to name the President. Jefferson was chosen and Burr became Vice-President. In 1805 Jefferson was re-elected President, with George Clinton as Vice-President. Burr allowed the sting of defeat to lead him astray. He entered into schemes for dismembering the western settlements and organizing a new republic. The story of his trial in Richmond is an old one. In 1807 John Smith, an accomplice of Burr in his adventure, was Senator from the state of Ohio. Jesse Franklin had been appointed chairman of a committee to investigate the matter, and on November 13, 1807, made the following report: "It is the opinion of the committee that it is not compatible with the dignity of the Senate of the United States for John Smith to occupy a seat in the Senate." The trial before the Senate was a long and memorable one. The greatest orators of the times were engaged on one side or the other. The speeches were reported in full and are models of eloquence and power. Smith

was acquitted by one vote, but Franklin's masterly management of the trial had convinced the public that Smith was guilty. Smith immediately resigned and left Washington.

Another important historic fact is brought out by the services of Franklin. After the Declaration of Independence the Articles of Confederation were adopted as the supreme law of the land and were in force till the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789. The old Congress under the Articles of Confederation was in session on July 11, 1787, in New York, and adopted a form of government for the territory north and west of the Ohio River. The sixth article of this ordinance provided for the exclusion of slavery and involuntary servitude except as punishment for crime. At the same time this Congress was in session a great convention was in session in Philadelphia framing the Constitution which soon superseded the "Articles of Confederation." The ordinance of the Congress of 1787 was disregarded by the Constitution. In 1805 a number of exiled Cubans desired to settle with their slaves in the rich plains north of the Ohio. A conflict was about to arise and the Congress at Washington appointed a committee to report on the matter. Franklin as chairman of the committee reported: "Resolved, That it is not expedient at this time to suspend the sixth Article of the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the said territory."

Franklin was a strong advocate of the war of 1812 and urged Congress to grant permission to individuals to fit out vessels for privateering and destroying British commerce.

It is an interesting coincidence that while Jesse Franklin was presiding as president pro tempore in the Senate, Nathaniel Macon was Speaker of the House of Representatives. It was a red-letter day for North Carolina.

These references will serve to show the confidence the nation placed in Jesse Franklin during his term of service at the national capital.

He declined a re-election to the Senate in 1813 and retired to his home. In 1816 President Monroe appointed Franklin, Andrew Jackson and General Meriwether commissioners to treat with the Chickasaw Indians. The treaty was made near the bluffs of the Mississippi where the city of Memphis now stands.

In 1820 he was elected governor of North Carolina. After serving one term he declined a re-election. His message to the Legislature is dated November 20, 1821. It is still preserved in the files of the old Raleigh Register. It shows that he was a strong writer and a statesman of no ordinary powers.

He calls attention to the necessity of reforming the State court system; more efficiency in the militia. He says: "All nations have military force of some kind; the militia is the one preferred by our State. It behooves us then to encourage its efficiency and make it strong in order to render a standing army unneccessary; for precisely in the same degree that the one is neglected you create the necessity for the other." He encourages internal improvements. He mentions the surveying of the lines between North Carolina and Georgia; also the line between North Carolina and Tennessee, and a number of other matters for the consideration of the Legislature.

When his term of office was out he again returned to the quiet of his beautiful mountain section. He was not permitted to enjoy the pleasures of his home long, for death came to him September 29, 1823.

The following letter from Miss Isabel Graves, a great grand-daughter of Governor Franklin, will be found full of interest, and is inserted by her permission:

Nov. 28, 1906.

DEAR SIR:—I cannot add much to the sketch written by my father for Caruthers' Old North State Series. Governor Franklin would not have any portrait made of himself. He said he preferred to be remembered by what he had done and not by how he looked.

In looking over the old records I find that Meeky Perkins was born in 1765, and died February 20, 1834. I have not been able to find the date of her marriage to Jesse Franklin, but from other dates given it was probably sometime before 1790. He had been prominent as a brave soldier during the Revolution, and it is quite probable that he was sent on missions of importance to Philadelphia before the adoption of the Constitution in 1789.

Notwithstanding Jesse Franklin was a Democrat and took great pride in the wearing apparel made at home, his daughters indulged in silk dresses made in Philadelphia on occasions requiring such dress. One of these dresses is preserved in the family.

Governor Franklin, while not a member, was inclined to the Baptist church. His wife was a member of the Methodist church. He did not care for hunting and other sports, but was a great student and reader, and his leisure from public duties and private business was devoted chiefly to reading. His correspondence was extensive for that time, and one of his daughters usually assisted as his secretary.

He was noted for his kindness to his neighbors and consideration for people less fortunate than he. He restrained his children from jokes at the expense of other people's feelings. The story of "Dicky Snow of Fish River Scenes" he never allowed a member of his family to tell, and it only became known when Dicky Snow told it on himself.

My father used to tell us stories of his grandparents which always interested us. He said that Hardin Perkins was a well-connected and influential farmer of Rockbridge County, Virginia. Jesse Franklin in passing to and from Philadelphia on horseback with his wardrobe in his saddle-bags, happened to stop over at Mr. Perkins' and saw the daughter, Miss Meeky, a tall, graceful, black-haired and black-eyed maid, very handsome and accomplished for that period. He fell in love with her, and after the usual courtship, married her. There were very limited modes of conveyance then, indeed much of the country did not have even so much as a wagon road. After the marriage, which was celebrated with a wedding feast, a Presbyterian minister officiating, Jesse Franklin and his bride rode on horseback by way of Lynchburg to his home in North Carolina. On the way they were given receptions at the residences of several of the relatives of the bride, the Redds and the Pannills, and the uncle of the groom. The baggage came later in a sort of two-horse wagon.

Mrs. Franklin was occasionally in Washington with her husband, but not often. The journey from her mountain home to Washington was a long and tiresome one, the meager pay of the members of Congress, at that time not more than five dollars per day, would not well support two

in good style. She became a noted housekeeper. Her home-made cotton dresses for herself and daughters were always of the neatest make and finest shades of coloring. The home-made jeans and linsey were the best, her linen the finest and whitest made in the country from flax grown on the farm and spun with her own hand. My father had often seen his grandmother's old flax-wheel at the homestead of his Uncle Hardin Franklin on Fish River, where she died. She was a most elegant hostess and entertained her friends and her husband's friends in the best style possible. She had several daughters and sons, and they had much company.

Governor Franklin lived in an isolated neighborhood; about four families made up the community—Jesse Franklin, Micajah Oglesby, Meshack Franklin, and Mr. Edwards, and they were all intelligent and well to do. They kept up the most cordial social relations; they visited and had parties and dances, to which their friends from a distance were invited. From all the concurrent traditions there was never anywhere a happier community during the lifetime of Governor Frank lin. His wife was the leader and chief spirit among the ladies.

There are other traditions, but these will serve to give a picture of the times.

Yours truly,

ISABEL GRAVES.

Gov. Jesse Franklin was Surry County's greatest son. He reflected honor upon the whole State. It has not been the purpose of the writer to idealize him, but it is right that the noble heroes who risked their lives for American liberty, and whose long period of public service did so much to establish our national greatness, should have a proper setting in the records of the nation. It is a distinct loss to the State that so little is known of those men who so greatly honored our State in the early period of its history.

The remains of Governor Franklin have recently been removed to the National Park at the Guilford Battle Ground. This is right. To a great extent the lives of those great and strong men constitute our State's history. They served well the State and we should accord to their memory that honorable fame they so richly deserve.

NOTE.—The following authorities have been consulted:

Wheeler's History of North Carolina;
Wheeler's Reminiscences;
Caruthers' Old North State Series;
Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution;
King's Mountain and Its Heroes;
Judge Schenck's Guilford Battle Ground;
Moore's History of North Carolina;
Constitution and Rules of United States Senate;
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Journals of Legislature of North Carolina;
Files of *Raleigh Register;*
Colonial Records of North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA'S HISTORICAL EXHIBIT AT JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.

The Jamestown Exposition in 1907 is to be pre-eminently an historical exposition. All the states, and especially the original thirteen, are concentrating their energies on a display that will show to the world what share each has had in the settlement and development of the country, and later in that momentous struggle with England which transformed weak colonies into a great nation. That each claims the lion's share in that transformation, goes without saying. What is of more consequence, each state is planning to prove its faith by its works, and prove its works by its exhibit at Jamestown. Pennsylvania has already spent thousands of dollars, and will spend thousands more; Virginia says that she can't compete with North Carolina, either agriculturally or in manufactures, but in her historical collection she will lead the country. So the story goes, with but one exception—"the good old North State, heaven's blessings attend her," and she is sitting down peacefully with her knitting, wondering plaintively why other states know so little of her past and that little to her discredit. For the first time in her existence an opportunity has come to her to set right once and for all time the mistakes and sneers of ignorance. Her state pride as well as "a decent regard to the opinions of mankind," should make her send such a display that her brave, faithful, modest past, shall be the glory of her future, and that hereafter men shall not come to North Carolina to teach, but to learn. The Daughters of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the Revolution are making an effort to gather together a great historic exhibit, but it is not for their organizations they are working; it is for their state, and they ask

all patriotic orders—the Colonial Dames, the Cincinnati, the Sons of the Revolution, all patriotic men and women—to join with them in this labor of love. They cannot do the work alone; they would be ashamed to do it if they could, for it would be an admission that patriotism was sleeping or dead. That they are leading in the matter is a mere happening, and they would be just as proud to follow, for they are North Carolinians first and Daughters afterwards.

The ladies ask the loan of anything that will illustrate the history of the State—and particularly the life of Colonial and Revolutionary days—letters, manuscripts, school books, furniture, portraits, clothing, maps, silver, china, etc. All articles will be sent to Raleigh and placed in the care of an experienced person, who will see to their packing and shipping; their arrangements is locked cases at Jamestown; be with them during the exposition and then repack them afterwards. They will, of course, while there be in a fireproof building. The amount allowed the ladies for getting up this exhibit is so small that they fear the success of their efforts will be hampered by the necessity for strict economy, but they will try to make the wisest possible expenditure of the funds at their disposal. Their plans are not yet fully matured. When they are, all details will be given in the State papers. The ladies in charge feel that an appeal to the patriotism of the State cannot be in vain.

MRS. LINDSAY PATTERSON,
Chairman Jamestown Historical Committee.
MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
Chairman Committee for Eastern North Carolina.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CONTRIBUTORS.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

ROBERT DIGGS WIMBERLY CONNOR

Mr. R. D. W. Connor, whose address on the urgent need of a fire-proof state library building, delivered before the State Literary and Historical Association at its last session, and published in this number of "The Booklet," was born in the town of Wilson, September 26, 1878. He is the fourth child and the third son of Judge Henry G., and Kate Whitfield, Connor.

Mr. Connor was prepared for college in the public schools of his native town and entered the University of North Carolina in the fall of 1895. At the University he was a member of the Philanthropic Literary Society, the Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity, and The Gorgon's Head, a junior class organization. He was one of the representative speakers of his society at the commencement of 1898, and in 1899 was the winner of the debater's medal in his society. At the commencement of 1899 he was selected as one of the senior speakers. He was editor, and then editor-in-chief of *The Tar Heel*, the college weekly, editor and business manager of the *Hellenian*, the college annual, and editor of the *Magazine*. In his senior year he won the John Sprunt Hill History Prize, offered for the best original essay dealing with North Carolina history. His subject was a study of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina. Mr. Connor was graduated in 1899.

After leaving the University Mr. Connor was elected a teacher in the Public High School of the city of Winston. In February, 1902, he resigned his work there to become super-

intendent of the Public Schools of Oxford, but remained there only a few months, resigning in the summer of 1902 to accept the principalship of the Public High School of the city of Wilmington. After two years' work there he accepted work in the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, where he has charge of the Loan Fund for building school houses, and is secretary of the Education Campaign Committee, composed of the late Dr. Charles D. McIver, Hon. J. Y. Joyner, Hon. Charles B. Aycock and Governor R. B. Glenn. He is also secretary of the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, and is now serving his second term.

When the General Assembly of 1903 created the North Carolina Historical Commission, Governor Aycock appointed Mr. Connor one of the commissioners. He was elected secretary of the Commission. He was reappointed by Governor Glenn in 1905. Mr. Connor has done a little work in the history of North Carolina. To *The Booklet* he has contributed a sketch of Cornelius Harnett; to the Biographical History of North Carolina he has contributed sketches of Cornelius Harnett, John Harvey, Calvin H. Wiley, James C. Dobbin, Thomas J. Hadley, Richard H. Speight and John F. Bruton. More elaborate sketches of Harnett and Harvey by Mr. Connor have appeared in the Sunday editions of the *Charlotte Observer*. Mr. Connor is a member of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and of the Southern History Association.

On December 23, 1902, he was married to Miss Sadie Hanes, of Mocksville, N. C.

Mr. Connor is gifted with the energy to explore through the by-paths of our State's history and his researches, should he live to continue them, will prove of great value to future historians. North Carolina has a history to be proud of and

at the present time more general interest is being shown than in any former period. In the mass of authentic material that has been collected in the past twenty-five years, and especially in the last decade, and with the impetus that is being given to the youth of our state by the Captains of Education—by the strong, decisive stand taken by the Press—by the efforts of the Literary and Historical Society, the Sons of the Revolution, the Daughters of the Revolution and other like organizations, there is hope that a great historian will develop who will secure for North Carolina the place that rightfully belongs to her in the galaxy of States, showing that she had not lagged behind the other colonies in the assertion of her rights.

JAMES OWEN CARR.

J. O. Carr was born in Duplin County, North Carolina, near Kenansville. He was prepared for college by S. W. Clement at Wallace, N. C., and entered the University of North Carolina in September, 1891, graduating *cum laude* in the class of 1895 with the degree of Ph. B. In 1896 returned to the University where he studied law under the late Dr. John Manning and Judge James E. Shepherd. He received his license before the Supreme Court in September, 1896, and returned to his native county, Duplin, and began the practice of law at Kenansville. In 1898 he was elected as a member of the lower house of the General Assembly from Duplin County and served in this capacity in the Legislature of 1899. In the following April he moved to Wilmington, where he continued his practice as a member of the law firm of Rountree and Carr, which relation still exists. He has taken considerable interest in historical matters pertaining to the State. Inheriting the spirit of his forefathers, who were true to the principles of liberty, he is a descendant of

the Dicksons and Carrs who played a distinguished part before and during the Revolutionary war and one of whom was a signer to the Oath of Allegiance and Abjurgation passed at New Bern the 15th of November, 1777. The original document is now on file in the clerk's office of Duplin County, thus preserving the names of those patriots who were true to their country, their homes and their God. Mr. Carr is a writer of ability and thus early in his career has made an enviable reputation as a literateur. He is the author of the "Dickson" letters, consisting of a series of letters written immediately after the Revolution and of much historical value. He is a member of the Sons of the Revolution and his descent is contained in the manuscript archives of the North Carolina Society.

PROF. J. T. ALDERMAN.

The BOOKLET for this month is enriched by an admirable sketch of Governor Franklin. The paper is from the pen of Prof. J. T. Alderman, the able and successful superintendent of graded schools in Henderson, N. C. Writing of Professor Alderman and his work, Rev. J. D. Hufham, D.D., long a leading minister of the Baptist church, says: "Professor Alderman has devoted his life and all his splendid powers to the cause of education, mainly in North Carolina, and has no small share in the educational restoration of the commonwealth. Some particulars of his life and work seem to be called for as a contribution to the history of the period.

"The Aldermans, as their name indicates, are of Anglo-Saxon stock; of property and social standing in England. Members of the family were among the early settlers in this country. John Camden Hotten, of London, in his "original list of Persons of Qualitie emigrated to America," includes "Grace Alderman," who came "in the ship *Paula,* July,

1635." In 1715, Daniel Alderman, son of John, was born in London. In 1740 he married Abigail Harris and in 1750 removed to New Jersey, whither others of the Aldermans had preceded them. In 1755 Daniel and his wife came to North Carolina and settled on Black River in Pender County. Three sons, John, Daniel and David, were born to them. Of these sons, Daniel was the ancestor of the eminent head of the University of Virginia. From David have come the Aldermans of Greensboro. John married Mary Cashwell. They had among other children a son, John, who married Anna Newton, and among their children was Amariah Biggs, father of the subject of this sketch. He was a student at Wake Forest College 1845-'46-'47, and afterwards devoted his life to the Baptist ministry. He married Penelope Howard. Among her ancestors was Fleete Cooper, a prominent and active patriot during the Revolution and afterwards a preacher of renown among the Baptists. Another ancestor was Minson Howard, a soldier of the Revolution. Still another was Capt. John Williams, an officer in the American army during the Revolution; a fearless and active soldier and a terror to the Tories. These facts indicate with sufficient clearness the sort of people through whom the life has come down to Professor Alderman. In the old world and the new, they have been quiet, thoughtful, brave and earnest men, commanding the confidence of the public and achieving success. In North Carolina five of them have been preachers, many of them have been teachers and all of them advocates and supporters of education.

"Professor Alderman was born June 26th, 1853. His father's home lay in the line of Sherman's march, not far from the battlefield of Bentonville, and after that struggle the family had to begin life anew. To educate themselves without neglecting the labor needful to the home was not easy,

but the boys all achieved it. Professor Alderman graduated at Wake Forest College 1880, and at once gave himself with singleness of heart to the business of teaching, from which he has never turned aside. In his native county, Sampson, and in Davie County, he taught with singular success. He was superintendent of the schools at Reidsville, 1891-'94. He was assistant superintendent of city schools of Columbus, Ga., the finest system of schools in the South, and also principal of the high school in that city. In all these positions he had given entire satisfaction and had shown his capacity for even greater things. In 1899 the call came which brought him back to his native State and to the largest work of his life—to lay the foundations and construct a system of graded schools for the town of Henderson. It was a great undertaking, but success has crowned every step of it and it may be doubted whether there is in any part of the State a system of schools superior to this, whether we consider buildings and equipment, spirit or management. It is Professor Alderman's greatest work, but he is still in the fulness of manly vigor and there may be even greater things for him to do in the years to come. He is profoundly interested in the history of North Carolina, and the teaching of it holds an important place in his schools. He also keeps in touch with the work of education in the State. He is an enthusiastic Mason and is held in high honor by the members of the Fraternity of every degree.

"In 1894 he married Miss Lillian Watson, of Warrenton, N. C., a gifted and accomplished woman, who is interested in every department of his labor and finds her chief joy in his success."

SARAH BEAUMONT KENNEDY.

COLLECTED AND COMPILED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

The *Booklet* is indebted to Mrs. Kennedy for that very interesting monograph on "Colonial New Berne," which was published in No. 2 of volume first, which edition was so popular that it is now out of print. She wrote a beautiful story of that heroic and long-suffering people, the Palatinates,* who inhabited that picturesque portion of Germany situated on both sides of the Rhine. These Protestants who were no longer able to endure the persecutions which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled from their country, a large proportion joining De Graffienried's colony of Swiss in 1710, to America, and founded New Berne; calling their new settlement after the Swiss capital in the far-away Alps.

Sara Beaumont Kennedy's parents were both North Carolinians, her father having been Dr. Robert H. Cannon, of Raleigh, and her mother Nora Devereux, daughter of Thomas Pollok Devereux, so widely known through the South. Through her maternal grandfather she is a direct descendant of Jonathan Edwards, whose daughter Eunice married Gov. Thomas Pollok, and was the grandmother of Thomas Pollok Devereux. (Gov. Thomas Pollok was twice appointed governor.) Through her maternal grandmother, who was Catherine Johnson, of Stratford, Conn., she is a lineal descendant of William Samuel Johnson, who, as one of the most talented and forceful members of the Constitutional Convention, helped to frame the National Constitution. On this same line Mrs. Kennedy is descended from the Living-

*A further account of this settlement is given in the "Booklet," of April, 1905, by Judge Oliver P. Allen.

stons, one member of which family was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and another played a star part in the purchase of Louisiana. The line goes back, without a break, to the Bruces, of Scotland. On her father's side Mrs. Kennedy inherits French Huguenot blood, an early ancestor of that faith and nationality having settled in North Carolina, where his three daughters married respectively a Hill, a Cannon and a Battle.

Mrs. Kennedy was born in Somerville, Tenn., but her father having died, her mother returned to the Devereux homestead in Carolina. There and at St. Mary's, Raleigh, most of her childhood was spent, she having graduated from the above named school at the age of sixteen. Mrs. Cannon again removed to Tennessee and Sara, after teaching awhile, was married, in 1888, to Mr. Walker Kennedy, editor and novelist. Almost all of their married life has been spent in Memphis, Tenn., where Mr. Kennedy is editor-in-chief of the leading newspaper. Mrs. Kennedy began her literary career with "A Jamestown Romance," the first story that had as a heroine one of the tobacco-bought wives of the early colony. This ran as a serial in a magazine. Then shifting her scene, she wrote a series of short Colonial stories, with New Berne and Hillsboro, N. C., as the backgrounds. Her two novels are "Jocelyn Cheshire" and "The Wooing of Judith," both of which have won high praise from the critics. She writes a great deal of verse, but has never collected this class of her work into book form. As a reader she is ranked with the best on the professional stage, although she appears only as an amateur, reading her *own* stories and poems. During the past year she has done very little with her pen because of serious trouble with her eyes.

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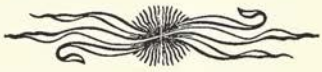

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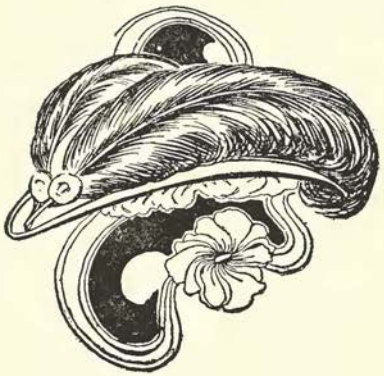

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Vol. VII JULY, 1907 No. 1

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. VII JULY, 1907 No. I

NORTH CAROLINA IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

BY COLONEL ALFRED MOORE WADDELL.

"The French and Indian War," as it is designated in our history, was the American part of the great Seven Years' War in Europe in which Frederick the Great made his fame. It was the struggle between France and England for supremacy on this continent, or, more accurately speaking, between the genius of William Pitt and the enemies of England, for the possession and control of what is now recognized to be the greatest empire on earth. The years through which it continued were from 1754 to 1763, when the final treaty of peace was made. Nothing in the career of Mr. Pitt so wonderfully demonstrates his stupendous and all-embracing genius as his management of this war. It established his supremacy as a statesman and administrator over every English-speaking prime minister that has ever lived. His correspondence with the Governors and military authorities in the colonies, which has recently been published in two volumes by the Colonial Dames of America, is so astonishing in its comprehensive grasp of the whole field of operations, civil and military, and so minute in its detailed knowledge of every feature of the situation—from the financial needs of each colony and its geographical position and means of defense, the forces at its command, the most desirable routes

for military movements, the methods of remedying defective quartermaster, commissary and transportation facilities, and indeed every other general or detailed matter connected with the conduct of a war conducted three thousand miles from his office, down to instructions as to how certain boats and wagons should be built and hauled, and the like—as to justify the assertion that it is without parallel.

The greater part of the French and Indian War was carried on far from the borders of North Carolina, the principal theatre of it being from the Canada border down to Fort DuQuesne (now Pittsburg, Pa.), and the northwestern frontier of Virginia, but before it ended it was extended along the settlements southwardly to Georgia. The French were very enterprising in conciliating and making treaties with the Indians all the way down to Louisiana. Their first act of aggression was as early as 1753, but matters did not become serious in the way of fighting until 1754. In the latter year Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, made an appeal to the other Colonies for help to repel French aggression. To that appeal North Carolina made characteristic answer by voting twelve thousand pounds, and mustering a regiment for the service. In regard to this contribution, Governor Dinwiddie, writing to Mr. Hanbury in London, May 10th, 1754, said, "Except North Carolina, not one of the other colonies has granted any supplies," and it appears from a letter of Governor Dobbs to Pitt, 22d December, 1758, that out of 66,000 pounds raised in the Province, 38,000 had been given to assist the other provinces.

This expedition of 1754, about which he wrote, was the first one in which North Carolina had an opportunity to participate in that war. Fourteen years before that, however, she had sent a company (in 1740) on the expedition to Carthagena in the war with Spain, which was commanded by Capt. James Innes; and the same officer, as Colonel, was as-

signed to the command of the regiment raised for the expedition of 1754. He was a native of Cannisbay, in Scotland, and a resident of New Hanover County, living on his plantation, Point Pleasant, about nine miles from Wilmington, on the northeast branch of the Cape Fear River.

He was an experienced soldier, having served "in the old country," as he expressed it, as well as in the Carthagena expedition. In the latter he was associated with General Washington's brother Lawrence, and upon his appointment to the command of the North Carolina regiment and all the forces in 1754, Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie: "I rejoice that I am likely to be happy under the command of an experienced officer, and man of sense. It is what I have ardently wished for." Governor Dinwiddie himself wrote to Sir Thomas Robinson in regard to him that he "has been in his Majesty's Army, and is of an unblemished character, of great reputation for his bravery and conduct."

And yet when Innes arrived in Virginia with his regiment he found a state of things so discouraging, and indeed so desperate, that he was compelled to inform the Governor that unless some relief was offered he would have to disband the North Carolina regiment, and let them go home, as they were in actual danger of starvation. Washington had been continually complaining of the miserable mismanagement of the expedition and of the want of necessary supplies, and when to this management was added a spirit of insurbordination among some of the officers who refused to recognize the superior rank of Washington and Innes, and among others who were offended at the putting of Innes at the head of the expedition, the climax was reached. Washington, at the beginning of the expedition, was Lieutenant-Colonel and had gone forward with the first detachment of one hundred and fifty men from Alexandria, on the 10th of May, and had arrived within seventy-five miles of the place selected for the erec-

tion of the fort at the forks of the Monongahela when he learned that a French force had come down on the company engaged in building it and had captured them, whereupon he went into camp and awaited reinforcements. Col. Joshua Fry had been made Commander-in-Chief of the expedition, but he died about the 1st of June, and Washington was promoted to the Colonelcy of the Virginia regiment in Fry's stead. It was at this juncture that Governor Dinwiddie wrote the letter to Washington, heretofore referred to, announcing the appointment of Innes as Commander-in-Chief, and referring to him as "an old experienced officer," which Washington acknowledged in the generous terms already quoted. Innes, who was as modest as he was brave, seemed to apprehend that his age would be against him, and moreover suspected that the Virginians would be dissatisfied with his assignment to the chief command—which proved to be correct, but Governor Dinwiddie wrote to him in these words: "Your age is nothing when you reflect on your regular mode of living," and "as for the expectations of the people here, I always have regard to merit, and I know yours and you need not mind or fear any reflections." After his arrival, however, and upon the discovery of the situation heretofore mentioned, viz, that he could get no supplies and no money to sustain his command, and after notifying the Governor of the facts, without receiving any assistance, he was compelled to disband his force of North Carolinians and let them go home to avoid starvation.

To aggravate the case, supplies were furnished to other troops, some of whom had gone on and joined Washington, and, with the command under him, had surrendered after a gallant fight against superior numbers at Great Meadows. Innes wanted and tried to resign, but was finally persuaded to remain on duty, and when Braddock's expedition was organized in 1755, to which North Carolina contributed about

one hundred men under Major Dobbs, son of the Governor, although they were not in the disastrous defeat but were in the reserve corps under Dunbar—Braddock appointed Innes commander of Fort Cumberland, with a title never before or since heard of, to-wit, Governor of Fort Cumberland, and it was fortunate that he did so, for he rendered invaluable service to Braddock's ruined and fugitive army at that point, notwithstanding he was abandoned by Colonel Dunbar, who succeeded Braddock, and who "went into winter quarters" (in August) at Philadelphia, leaving Innes with 400 sick and wounded, and a handful of Provincials to defend the frontier. He felt the ill usage accorded to him keenly, and, tried again to resign, but was begged by Governor Dinwiddie to be patient, and, yielding patriotically to these solicitations, he continued to do his duty to his King and country faithfully until the spring of 1756, when he returned to North Carolina on leave of absence, and ended his career as a soldier. He died September 5th, 1759, at Wilmington. In 1756 North Carolina sent three companies under Major Dobbs to New York. While these military operations were being conducted on the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers, and later in the year, Governor Dobbs of North Carolina was endeavoring as best he could to provide for the defense of the frontier of that province, as the region west of Salisbury was called, and, in the prosecution of that purpose two forts were built, one of them between Third and Fourth Creeks near the present town of Statesville, and the other as is believed, in Caldwell County, in or near what is known as the Happy Valley. These forts were built under the direction and command of a youth of twenty-one years of age who had been a Lieutenant in Innes' expedition, and had been promoted to the rank of Captain in Virginia, and who afterwards became Major, Colonel, and Brigadier-General, and died in

1773 before reaching the age of 39. His name was Hugh Waddell. While erecting these defenses he was engaged in negotiating treaties with the Catawba and Cherokee Indians. During the year 1756, under the same officer, service was rendered at various points in restraining the Indians, and again in 1757, under the same officer, a long and wearisome march, in the face of hourly danger of ambuscade, was made over three of the highest mountain ranges east of the Rockies to the relief of Fort Loudon, which was about thirty miles from the present city of Knoxville, Tennessee.

In 1758 the final expedition against Fort Du Quesne was organized under the command of General Forbes, and to this expedition North Carolina contributed three companies under the command of the same officer, who had been promoted to the rank of Major. It is to be regretted that, so far as this writer knows, no roster of these companies was preserved, but tradition says that among their officers were Thomas Brown, afterwards known as General Thomas Brown, the hero of the battle of Elizabethtown and the "Tory Hole," and Caleb Grainger, of Wilmington.

The battalion was promptly organized, marched at once to Virginia, and went thence immediately to the front. They were placed in the advance corps of Forbes's Army and were employed in scouting, reconnoitering, clearing roads, building bridges and boats, and rendering other valuable service. They had been engaged in this work for some time before Colonel Washington was assigned to the advanced corps, and their Commander, according to the testimony of Governor Dobbs, "had great honor done him, being employed on all reconnoitering parties." There is now in the possession of the writer of these pages a field return made by him on the 25th of October, 1758, which is in a good state of preservation, and with it is also preserved a piece of wood from a table brought by General Forbes from Scotland to Nova

Scotia in 1739, which was presented to this writer by a relative of General Forbes a few years ago, upon learning of the existence of the field-return. Forbes's expedition in a short while after it began operations, like its predecessors, began to be confronted by so many unexpected difficulties that Washington, who had already written to Speaker Robinson that "nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue," united with the other officers in a council of war, at which the alternative was presented of going into winter quarters or abandoning the expedition. At this juncture, as Sparks, the biographer of Washington, says, "a mere accident occurred which brought hope out of despair." In reference to this occurrence the following passage is quoted from "A Colonial Officer and His Times," where it originally appeared: "This mere accident, which all the historians mention and to which Washington himself alludes as a providential occurrence, but without mentioning any names, was the capture of an Indian, from whom the true situation of affairs at Fort Du Quesne was learned. But although this mere accident, or in other words this event of absolutely vital importance to the success of this formidable expedition which established English supremacy in the South—is carefully recorded, the person who was so fortunate as to accomplish this mere accident is as carefully ignored, to-wit, Sergeant John Rogers, of the North Carolina forces. It was a little thing to do perhaps, but Forbes considered the importance of doing it so great that he offered a reward of fifty guineas and another officer offered a reward of four hundred guineas to any one who would take an Indian prisoner, so that they might get information of the enemy's movements. Rogers accomplished it at the hazard of his life, and from the prisoner captured by him it was ascertained that the garrison at Fort Du Quesne were only awaiting the appearance of the British, when they would withdraw, and thereupon the light

troops made a forced march and the enemy burned and abandoned the fort."

Poor Rogers was entirely overlooked and never got either of the rewards that had been offered, but after he came back to North Carolina the Assembly voted him twenty pounds for his gallantry, as appears from the Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. VI, page 384.

Among the light troops who made the forced march on the fort were the North Carolina companies, and tradition says that a large dog belonging to their commander first entered the ruins. There were with these troops a number of Cherokee Indians, and perhaps a few Catawbas, and when the expedition ended those Indians started on their return home, and while passing through western Virginia discovered some horses running wild in the woods, and, as they afterwards alleged, supposing them to have escaped from the nearest settlements and been abandoned, as sometimes happened, they captured them and went on their homeward march, but they were pursued by the Virginians and a number of them were killed. The survivors on their arrival at home told their story, which infuriated their kinsmen, and the French, who learned of it, added to the flame by telling them that the English were only waiting for a good opportunity when they intended to kill their warriors and reduce their women and children to slavery. They also furnished the Indians with arms and ammunition, and promised them active support. The consequence was that the fall of Fort Du Quesne, so far from affording relief to the people of North Carolina, only served to transfer the war to their own western frontier, and a series of outbreaks followed, which lasted for more than two years, and kept the settlers insecure until the treaty of peace was made between France and England in 1763. The first outbreak was directed against Fort Loudon on the Tennessee river, where there was a garrison of two hundred men

chiefly from South Carolina, and the fort was cut off from supplies and the garrison in danger of starvation. The news of this outbreak and of the murder and scalping of many inhabitants soon spread and the Governors of North and South Carolina organized a considerable force to attack the Indians, when the latter, fearing that they would be destroyed, begged for peace and made a new treaty; but, as was customary with them, they soon broke out again. Thereupon Waddell, now a Colonel, was ordered to re-garrison the fort between Third and Fourth creeks, (Fort Dobbs) and to put five hundred militia on duty to protect the frontiers. He was attacked at Fort Dobbs by the Cherokees on the night of the 27th February, 1760, the assault being made by two parties, but he repulsed them, killing ten or twelve and losing one killed and two wounded. He expected an attack the next night, but the Indians had enough of it, and did not make another attempt.

Colonel Montgomery and Major Grant invaded the Cherokee country and fought an indecisive battle in the Etchoe settlement near the present town of Franklin in Macon County, on the 27th June, but whether there were any North Carolina troops in the expedition or not is uncertain.

The retreat of Montgomery to Fort Prince George caused the surrender of Fort Loudon, which was followed by treachery and murder by the Indians. In the fall of that year (1760) Colonel Waddell was ordered to join Colonel Byrd, of Virginia, in striking the upper Cherokees, but the latter made peace and he discharged his troops.

And thus, strictly speaking, the part of North Carolina in the "French and Indian War" ended, although for years afterwards North Carolina pioneers had to fight the Indians until they were finally suppressed during and after the American Revolution.

This article embraces only the general outlines of the subject discussed, and omits much that might be said by way of comment upon individual conduct, and particular events in the several campaigns, as well as in the civil administrations in Virginia and the Carolinas during the war, which, if included, would exceed the limits prescribed for articles in this publication.

A portrait of General Hugh Waddell may be found in each of the following works:

"A Colonial Officer and His Times—1778," by Alfred Moore Waddell, 1890. Published by Edwards & Broughton, Raleigh, N. C.

"Wilmington," by Rt Rev. Joseph B. Cheshire, in "Historic Towns of the Southern States." Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 3 New York City.

"The Story of the Old North State," by R. D. W. Connor. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

LOCKE'S FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS.

BY MR. JUNIUS DAVIS.

He who attempts to write of the earliest events in the history of North Carolina with a single aim to the truthfulness of his narrative, will find himself painfully embarrassed by a want of accurate information. And this is notably true as to the story of the first settlers, and the early political history of the Province. Where was the first permanent white settlement in North Carolina—the date of it—the names of the settlers—who knows? Saunders says (1 Col. Rec., Pref. IX): "The first permanent white settlement in North Carolina was made, it may be safely said, somewhere to the eastward of the Chowan River, extending in time down to and along Albemarle Sound. Neither its date, nor its locality may now be fixed with absolute certainty, but it began, doubtless, before 1660, and probably as early as 1650." I believe the correct date to be after 1660, but I am unable to fix it accurately. It seems to be certain that the first stout hearts, who, pushing into the wilderness beyond the touch of civilization, brought their families and household goods into the new land, came from Virginia and probably from Nansemond County. In July, 1653, the General Assembly of Virginia (1 Col. Rec., 17), regarding North Carolina as a part of that province, granted Ten Thousand Acres of land to the 100 persons, who should first settle on the Roanoke River, and the lands lying south of the Chowan and its branches; and One Thousand Acres to one Roger Green, to be chosen by him, "Having regard to those persons having a former grant." This proviso, I take it, was merely a saving clause tacked on by some cautious representative of the Old Commonwealth, who held a righteous regard for the first rights.

And this grant seems to have been more of an inducement held out to prospective settlers, a tentative offer, than an actual evidence of an actual settlement. For it is certain that Yardley, when he sent out his first expedition into North Carolina in September, 1653, and his second early in 1654, found no white man in North Carolina, save one lone Spaniard, who had pitched his tent with a family of thirty, "seven whereof are negroes," among the Tuscarora Indians. (2 Hawks, 17.)

Yardley calls his explorations "an ample discovery of South Virginia or Carolina." His first expedition, in September, 1653, went through the sounds as far as Roanoke Island, where the Chief of the Indians "showed them the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh's Fort." The second, early in 1654, penetrated into the interior, and during it Yardley bought and "paid for three great rivers" (supposed to be the Roanoke, Tar and Neuse) "with the surrounding lands, and took solemn possession of them, on behalf of the Commonwealth of England, by the delivery to them by the Indians of a turf of the earth with an arrow shot into it." His party neither heard of or met any white man save the Spaniard, and he certainly had lost himself, and claimed no allegiance to England. No after mention of Yardley, or his purchase, is to be found in any of the records. The grant from the King of Yeopin, dated March 1st, 1661, (1 Col. Rec., 19), to George Durant, was for land lying on Roanoke Sound and a river called by the name of "Pearquimans." It began at *"a marked oak,* which divides this land from the land I formerly sold to Samuel Pricklove," and is witnessed by two men of English names. George Durant probably came from Northumberland County, Virginia, for the record of his marriage to Ann Moorwood on January 4th, 1659, by Daniel Lindsey, a minister of the gospel in Northumberland County,

is to be found in the court-house at Hertford, N. C. (Hathaway, Vol. 3, page 199.) Durant, who was certainly one of the first "seators," was a man of ability and substance, destined to become prominent in the affairs of the province, and to be abused and villified by Hawks, without the least reason or foundation, as a Quaker and a turbulent promoter of sedition and resistance to lawful authority. On September 25th, 1663, Governor Berkley, of Virginia, issued grants to various parties for land in the Albemarle section of North Carolina, Seven Hundred and Fifty (750) acres to Thomas Relfe, Three Hundred and Fifty (350) to Robert Peele, Six Hundred (600) and Two Hundred and Fifty (250) to John Harvey, Seven Hundred (700) to Captain John Jenkins, and to George Catchwood One Thousand Five Hundred (1500). Both Harvey and Jenkins were afterwards Governors of the Province. These grants all describe the lands by actual metes and bounds, and call for the bounds of other lands belonging to actual settlers at that date, notably John Battle, Roger Williams, Thomas Jervis and others, names well known in the history of the State. It may seem strange to some that Berkeley, one of the Proprietors, should, as Governor of Virginia, be issuing grants for land in the Albemarle section some five or six months after the Great Grant of Charles. But the answer is, that the first grant to the Proprietors did not include the lands on the Chowan or north of the Roanoke.

It is well to note right here one most egregious error into which the historians of the State, Williamson, Martin, Hawks, Wheeler and Moore, have fallen. They all with one voice declare that the first settlers were Quakers and "religious refugees" from the Northern colonies "seeking a haven of rest from religious persecution." The utter fallacy of this statement has been completely proven by Bishop Cheshire, and declared by Colonel Saunders. Indeed it is strange to the

student of history of this day to see the many errors of these historians, notably Hawks, who had the least excuse of any.

I venture the opinion, that the first settlers acquired their lands by purchase or some like concession from the Indians, and that many of them afterwards "made good" by grants from the Governor of Virginia.

On March 24th, 1663, Charles Second, out of that careless generosity in which he was wont at times to indulge himself, granted to the Lords Proprietors the first Great Charter for Carolina. The inducement, or, as a lawyer would put it, "the consideration," for this truly princely gift, was the "laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith and the enlargement of our empire and dominions"—which were burning in the bosoms of these favored noblemen. But it was early ascertained that this grant did not include the settlements which had already been made in the Albemarle section; and so the Proprietors procured from Charles the second charter, dated June 30th, 1665, which extended their northern boundary to the line which now divides North Carolina and Virginia. It was truly a grand and noble estate, which Charles had so lightly and carelessly flung to his friends. It extended from Virginia on the north to the Spanish possessions in Florida on the south, and from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the Pacific on the west; and included the present States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Indian Territory, New Mexico, Arizona and the lower part of California. Over it the Proprietors were made "the true and absolute Lords," with full and plenary powers, even of life and death. There were, however, in the charter two very pregnant and portentous provisions. One was the excepting and "saving also the right, title and interest of all and every one of our subjects of the

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English nation, which are now planted within the limits and bounds aforesaid." The other was the restriction put upon the power of the Proprietors to enact and publish laws "for the good and happy government" of the province, which required these laws to have the assent and approbation of the freemen of the said province, or of the greater part of them, or of their delegates or deputies, whom for the enacting of the said laws, when and as often as need shall require, we will that "the Proprietors shall assemble," etc., etc.: *"Provided, nevertheless,* That the said laws be consonant to reason, and as near as may be conveniently agreeable to the laws and customs of our Kingdom of England." It is difficult to conceive why the Proprietors should have proposed such a restriction as this latter upon their otherwise plenary power. I say *"proposed"* advisedly. The grant cost Charles nothing, no expenditure of money, no loss of revenue. He was simply paying so-called debts of honor by giving something which had no value whatever in his eye. He had no love for Parliaments or Parliament law, and the judicial murder of his father at the command of the Parliament of England was then fresh and sore in his memory. He certainly would never have proposed such a limitation upon his bounty, and so I insist that the draft of the charter was left entirely in the hands of their Lordships, and this provision voluntarily inserted by them. It undoubtedly emanated from Ashley, who throughout his entire political career, was a strenuous supporter of the supremacy of the Parliament. If they had been endowed with the gift of prophecy, if they could have foreseen that rugged independence of their subjects, that sturdy resistance against any invasion of their chartered rights, which were so soon to follow, these restrictions would never have been written into their grant. But these Proprietors were great Nobles, in high favor with the King,

arrogant and overbearing toward their inferiors, living in the midst of luxury and plenty, and daily accustomed to obsequious and servile deference from their tenants and retainers, and utterly ignorant of the conditions prevailing in the province. No dream of trouble from the chance inhabitants of their newly acquired possessions far across the wide waters arose for one moment to disturb their serene and complacent indifference. They simply gave no thought to the just rights and welfare of the inhabitants of the land, who had long since lost sight and sense of Kings and Nobles, and who had, with infinite labor and at vast risks, builded their homes in the great wilderness, among the savage Indians, where the King's writ ran not, where Sheriffs and Courts were unknown, and their own stout hearts and strong right arms their only protection. They considered the settlers as "feudal vassals," mere chattels which they had acquired with the fief. Not only was there an utter lack of any community or bond of common interest between these non-resident landlords and their tenants, but their striking and unnecessary parsimony and greed was to destroy all hope of it in the future. The form of government and laws promulgated by them in the very outset were grievously unsuitable, unjust, irritating and surely calculated to create discontent and ill feeling.

In September, 1663, the Proprietors assumed control and sent out their first instructions to Wm. Berkeley, one of their number and then Governor of Virginia. He was authorized to appoint a Governor, with a grand council of six, who were to appoint all civil and military officers, and with the consent of the freeholders or their delegates to make laws, which should be in force until vetoed by the Proprietors. This was not so bad, but the further instructions as to the *parcelling out*—not granting—of the lands was a striking exhibition of extreme stinginess and woeful lack of common sense

and common justice. The Governor and Council were instructed to grant to each man "one chayne of land consisting of 66 foote in bredth and 100 chaynes from the River into the country in lenkth, and the remainder of his land to be noe nearer than at the end of 200 chaynes from the River * * * by means whereof there will be 200 men armed and lodged within each myle and quarter square * * * *and 10 acres,* which is the proportions above, will be as much as one man can well plant and keepe cleane in that growing country."

Not only this, but it was expressly enjoined that those settlers who had bought land from the Indians must *"be pursuaded or compelled to surrender them"* and take the small measure meted out by the Proprietors. And right here began trouble—that trouble, which ever after increasing and swelling even at times into revolt, resulted in the downfall of the rule of the Proprietors, and, having thus obtained sturdy root and Royal encouragement, flowed on in increasing volume until it burst into the Revolution and secured perpetual freedom from Royal rule. Ten acres indeed! what content, or joy, or happiness, did the promise of ten acres bring to those men, who had already acquired hundreds under titles expressly protected and secured to them by the great Charter! But this was not all. The settler, who had by great toil, with great peril, built him a house and cleared his lands for cultivation, who loved elbow room, and lived happy because his nearest neighbor was a mile away, who fairly revelled in the glorious possession of broad acres, was to be forced to abandon all these fruits of his labor and make a new home in a fortified village to serve the caprice of his overlords.

Land, the precious soil and the ownership of it, has ever been dear and close to the heart of the Anglo-Saxon from time immemorial even down to the present day. This ardent longing for a freehold was generated in the hearts of

our ancestors in the days of the feudal system, when the rich and the noble and the Church owned all the lands of England, and the stout yeomen were only tenants, and came down to us by inheritance. Land was beyond their reach, and therefore they coveted it and yearned for it above all things. For land even though it was so poor as only to "feed a hog or aiblins twa in a good year," we have always been ready and willing to spend our precious dollars and our blood.

Drummond was the first Governor of Albemarle and he assumed authority in October, 1664. In June, 1665, Woodward, the surveyor for the Province, protested, but with appropriate servility, against the restrictions upon the granting of lands, that the people resented the small acreage allowed, and that new comers were discouraged because of the better terms granted in the other colonies. He concludes his letter with the statement: "Those that live upon a place are best able to judge of that place, therefore the *Petition of the General Assembly that was here convened* will deserve your Honor's serious consideration."

It is important here to note two things, that a General Assembly of the freeholders—the first in the history of the State—had been held under the provisions of the great Charter soon after the appointment of Drummond, and that at the very birth of the Province, the deputies of the people were at war with their overlords.

In October, 1667, Samuel Stephens was appointed Governor and a new set of instructions, that is Laws, issued to him. These were fuller in detail and in some respects more liberal; but still some of the provisions were in express violation of the reserved rights of the people under the charter. On May 1st, 1668, the Proprietors, in tardy response to the protest of Woodward and the petition of the General Assembly, sent out the "Great Deed of Grant," under which lands were to be granted upon the same terms and conditions as

prevailed in Virginia. This document, of brief extent, was considered of such importance "that the original was preserved with the most scrupulous care, and sixty-three years after its date, was formally brought into the Assembly, and ordered into the special custody of its Speaker and its text spread upon its minutes." Nor does this great caution seem to have been in anywise unnecessary, for repeated attempts were afterwards made by the Proprietors and their Deputies, and even by Governor Johnston, under the Royal Government, to declare it revoked and annulled. But the colonists clung to it as a sheet anchor, and as late as 1856 it was invoked by our Supreme Court to sustain the validity of a grant issued in September, 1716, by the Governor and Council in accordance with its provisions. (See Archibald vs. Davis, 4 Jones, 133.)

This review of the birth and rise of the colony is necessary to a clear understanding of the political conditions existing at the time of the promulgation of the first set of the Fundamental Constitutions, and of the cause of the antagonism and opposition of the colonists to the Proprietors. Thus far the Proprietors had not attempted to establish any stable form of government, but had been content to dole out their laws in the form of changing instructions to each new Governor.

John Locke was a man of great learning and varied attainments, but an idealist, a profound philosopher and of broad religious and political views, but not a statesman, a fascinating conversationalist, an inimitable raconteur, a delightful companion, but not practical and utterly lacking in executive ability. He was born at Pensford, in Somersetshire, England, on August 29th, 1632. His father, who was a country attorney, was a Parliament man, and upon the breaking out of the rebellion against Charles I, entered the army as Captain of a troop of horse in the regiment commanded by Colonel

Popham. Locke's early youth was spent in the midst of war and bloodshed, for the storm of battle raged fiercely around his home. However, in spite of the absence of his father in the army and the fierce strife which was sweeping over the country, his education was not neglected.

In 1646, through the influence of Colonel Popham, he was admitted to Westminster School, where he remained for six years. In November, 1652, he matriculated at Christ Church College, Oxford. In 1658 he took his degree as Master, but continued with his college as tutor and lecturer. It is curious in this age of action and progress to note the range and variety of his studies—logic, metaphysics, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, history, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Roman Law, theology, chemistry, medicine, etc., etc. In his association here with great scholars of broad and liberal views, men learned in the theory of government, but without experience in its administration, we can readily see how Locke lost all touch with the spirit of Puritanism into which he had been born. His father died in February, 1660, leaving him a small estate, sufficient, with his studentship at Oxford, to afford him a comfortable living. Lord King, his kinsman, says he had the choice of three distinct roads to fame and fortune, the Church, the practice of medicine, and diplomacy, and with equal certainty of success in each. Medicine seems to have been his choice and love, and to this study he devoted the most of his leisure, save for that short dissipation in diplomacy, when he went as Secretary with Sir Walter Vane on his Embassy to Holland. In spite of his great ability and close devotion to his studies, through his neglect of some formalities, he failed to get his diploma in medicine. This failure would have ended his connection with his college but for the intervention of some powerful friends, who had been won to him by his charming personality and marked abilities, and who procured from Charles II a peremptory com-

mand to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church to continue his studentship with its emoluments.

About this time he became associated in some way with Dr. David Thomas in the practice of medicine, and it was this association that in 1666 accidentally brought him in contact with Lord Ashley. Ashley, afterwards better known as the Earl of Shaftesbury, was a man of brilliant attainments and remarkable abilities. He was a masterly and unscrupulous politician, and had been Royalist, and Roundhead, and Royalist again, as the balance of power shifted. Probably no other man of his high rank and position was ever the subject of so much scathing abuse and bitter satire. Dryden immortalized his memory in caustic verse, and Macauley, in equally bitter and brilliant prose. But "during his long political career, in an age of general corruption, he was ever incorrupt," and he was always a devoted friend and staunch advocate of both civil and religious freedom. He was by far the ablest of the Proprietors, and his dominating personality made him easily the leader in all their conferences. Appointed Lord Chancellor by Charles II, November 17th, 1672, without even a smattering of the rudiments of law, he filled that high office with credit. He was dismissed from office in disgrace in September, 1673, and Lord Campbell says that the first act of his successor, Lord Nottingham, "was to seal a pardon to his predecessor, which had been stipulated for when Shaftesbury took the office, foreseeing that he might do many things for which a pardon might be required, *and wishing to have the pleasure of sinning* with an indulgence in his pocket." It is difficult to tell which most compels our admiration, the wisdom of the politician or the delicious humour of the sinner.

Ashley was troubled with an abscess in his chest, the result of an ugly fall, which threatened to develop into cancer, but which was eventually cured under Locke's advice and direc-

tion. In July, 1666, Ashley, intending to visit Oxford, and wishing to try some medicinal waters in that vicinity, wrote to Dr. Thomas, who deputized Locke to wait on him. These two men, so great each in his different way, so dissimilar in character, and socially so far part, were drawn together at their meeting into an intimate friendship, and a close association, that was not to be shaken by either time or fortune. As the result, in July, 1667, Locke left Oxford to live with Ashley as his Secretary.

Speaking of the Lords Proprietors, Bourne, in his life of Locke, Vol. 1, page 236, says: "Of these patentees Ashley was the most active and influential, and thus it happened that Locke, being Ashley's principal adviser and assistant, became in some sort of irregular way the chief secretary or manager of the whole company of Lords Proprietors of Carolina."

In their letter of September 8th, 1663, to Governor Berkeley, the Proprietors urge the necessity of doing something towards the development of their new possessions, "that the King may see we sleep not with his grant but are promoting his service," etc. And yet, in spite of this, nothing was done, but the promulgation of laws, until 1669. In fact, while the Proprietors in 1669 spent some £3200 (equal at this time to about $75,000 or $80,000), and other sums later, towards the settlement of South Carolina, they gave little or no financial aid to Albemarle, evidently believing that it was, or ought to be, able to support itself.

But now had come an important need for some settled and permanent form of government and laws for the province, and hence the Fundamental Constitutions. They are always called "Locke's Fundamental Constitutions," and are generally reputed to be solely the product of his pen and brain. But Bourne, whose life of Locke is by far the best that has

been written, says: "Wonderful pains were taken to provide good government for Carolina, and perhaps no colony was ever started with a more elaborate scheme of political, social, and religious organization. Locke had a large share in this work, though there can hardly be any doubt that it was initiated by Lord Ashley, and modified by his fellow Proprietors." A careful study of all the authorities forces me to the conviction that this Utopian scheme was devised by Ashley, aided by the suggestions of Locke, and discussed, modified and then adopted by the Lords Proprietors. It is incredible that a man like Ashley, of such great abilities, of such high position and influence, so arbitrary, and dominating, should have deputed to his Secretary, even though he was Locke, the making of laws, which were evidently intended to be perpetual for all time, for such vast possessions. It is certain, I think, that the general outlines having been framed by Ashley, and agreed upon by the Proprietors, it was given to Locke to draft, and put them in proper shape.

It is a fact, not generally known, that first and last there were five several sets of these Fundamental Constitutions. The first set, dated July 21st, 1669, contained eighty-one articles; the second, March 1st, 1670, contained one hundred and twenty articles; the third, January 12th, 1682, contained one hundred and twenty articles; the fourth, August 16th, 1682, contained one hundred and twenty-one articles; and the fifth and last, April 11th, 1698, of forty-one articles. Of the first set Bourne says "there is extant a draft in Locke's handwriting, dated the 21st of June, 1669, and which with some alterations were issued by the Proprietors on the 1st of March, 1670." This set was never officially promulgated or sent out to Carolina, and but little is known of them. The second set, dated March 1st, 1670, which contained 120 articles, is the one generally referred to as "Locke's Fundamental Constitutions," and is published at length in all of

Locke's works, in 1 Coll. Rec., 187, and 2 Rev. Statutes of North Carolina, page 449. It is this act which I propose to discuss in this article, and which for brevity I shall call Locke's Constitutions, for while there were three other sets adopted and promulgated afterwards, yet neither Locke or Shaftesbury had part in them.

In 1674 Locke's health began to fail, and about November, 1675, he went to France on this account and remained there until the last of April, 1679. Shaftesbury had lost favor with the Court, and was dismissed from the Chancellorship in September, 1673. From this time on he was alienated from the King, was imprisoned in the Tower twice, indicted for high treason, and finally, in November, 1682, fled to Holland, where he died soon after. From the time of his return to England in 1679 until November, 1682, Locke was much of his time in the country, and Shaftesbury too deep in political plots to devote much care or time to Carolina. Locke's connection with the Lords Proprietors certainly ceased when Shaftesbury fled to Holland.

There is some confusion and difference among the historians as to which of the first two sets was actually the one first adopted, but after careful study I feel assured I have named them in their proper sequence. This confusion, as Hawks correctly says (Vol. 2, page 184), arose out of the difference, which prior to 1752 existed between the civil or legal year, which began on the 25th of March, and the historical year, which began on the 1st of January.

I have before endeavored to show the serious differences which already existed between the colonists and the Proprietors, and the conditions which produced them. The Constitutions were intended as oil upon troubled waters, the deliberate result of a sincere desire on the part of landlords, utterly ignorant of the pulse of their tenants, to allay forever the rest-

less fever of rooted discontent. But the people—the governed—were not represented or consulted in their making, and by the voice of history they were in their very infancy doomed to disastrous failure. For when, since the day of Runnymede and Magna Charta, has any set of fundamental laws, in the making of which the people had no part, been of lasting duration?

In the preamble to each and every set of the Constitutions the Proprietors declare them to be "for the better settlement of the government of the said place, and establishing the interest of the Lords Proprietors with equality and without confusion; and that the government of this Province may be made most agreeable to the Monarchy under which we live * * * and *that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy.*" And in the last clause of each it is solemnly declared that, "These fundamental constitutions * * * and every part thereof shall *be and remain the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina forever.*" Hereafter will be seen the careless and indifferent ease with which their Lordships suspended, altered and revoked their "sacred and unalterable pledges" as it suited their pleasure, or their interest. Let us now, as briefly as may be, consider this system of law.

A nobility was created, consisting of Palatines, Landgraves and Casiques, in the order of precedence given; and some twenty or more clauses were devoted to defining their estates, their dignities, devolution of titles, etc. A noble could only be tried for a criminal offense in the Chief Justice's Court, and there only by a jury of his peers. The seven chief offices, besides that of Palatine, to-wit, Admiral, Chamberlain, Chancellor, Constable, Chief Justice, High Steward and Treasurer, could only be held by the Proprietors or their Deputies.

Then came the courts, of which there were a great number. There were eight supreme courts, called the Great Courts or Proprietors' Courts. The chief of these, the Palatine's Court, was composed of the Palatine and the other seven Proprietors. The other seven, each consisted of a Proprietor "with six councillors added to him." A queer attachment was tacked on to all the courts in the shape of a college of twelve assistants, whose sole office was to furnish a body out of which to select the Councillors. In order to preserve their proper dignity and equality, each of the Proprietors had his own especial supreme Court. These Proprietors' Courts had each power to mitigate all fines and suspend all executions in criminal cases arising in any inferior court.

The Palatine's Court, "wherein nothing shall be acted without the presence and consent of the Palatine or his deputy and three others of the Proprietors and their deputies," had jurisdiction to call the sessions of Parliament, to pardon all offences, to elect all officers, to dispose of all public moneys, except those set apart by Parliament for some *particular* public use, and to *negative all acts, orders, votes and judgments of the Grand Council and Parliament.*

Here we find a bold and clear nullification of that most important provision of the Great Charter by which the Proprietors could only make laws with the assent of the Parliament.

Then came the Chancellors' Court, composed of one of the Proprietors and six Counsellors, called Vice Chancellors. It had jurisdiction of all state matters, treaties with the Indians, invasions of the law of liberty of conscience, and of the public peace upon the pretense of religion, and the license of printing. The twelve assistants were called Recorders.

The Chief Justice's Court, consisting of one of the Proprietors and six counsellors called Justices of the Bench, had jurisdiction of all appeals in civil and criminal cases, except

such as were cognizable in the Proprietors' Courts, and the regulation of the registries of writings and contracts. The assistants were called Masters.

The Constable's Court, of one Proprietor and six Counsellors, called Marshals, had charge of all military affairs by land, arms, ammunition, land forces, forts, etc., and "whatever belonged unto war." Each of the assistants was a Lieutenant-General.

The Admiral's Court, one Proprietor and six Counsellors, called Consuls, was an Admiralty Court, and given authority over all ports, navigable streams "as far as the tide flows," shipping, and all maritime affairs. The assistants were Pro-Consuls.

The Treasurer's Court—a Proprietor and six Counsellors, called under Treasurers—had charge of the public revenue and treasury. The assistants were called Auditors.

The High Steward's Court, a Proprietor and six Counsellors, called Comptrollers, ruled over all foreign and domestic trade, public buildings, work-houses, manufactures, highways, sewers, bridges, carriers, fairs and markets, all things pertaining to the public commerce and health, surveying of lands, appointing places for towns to be built on, and prescribing their size and figure. The assistants were called Surveyors.

The Chamberlain's Court was a most remarkable legal machine. Of course it consisted of the usual and indispensable Proprietor and his six Counsellors, called Vice Chancellors. It had cognizance and charge—note well its grave and serious duties—"of all ceremonies, precedency, heraldry, reception of public messengers, pedigrees, the registry of all births, burials and marriages, legitimation and all cases concerning matrimony or arising from it," and "power to regulate all fashions, habits, badges, games and sports." The assistants were called Provosts. How gladly would such a tribunal be hailed and

welcomed in this day of the high tide of Democracy by members of the high and exalted Four Hundred, and of certain other exclusive societies, whose names I have not the courage to mention. But what wot those fustian clad yeomen and dames of Albemarle of fashions or habits, of pedigrees or heraldry, of ceremonies or precedency, in the gloom of the wilderness! To them there came no patterns of fashion from London, or Paris, or even from Philadelphia or New York, and her own good taste in the neat fitting of her gown to her trim figure, was the only pattern or guide to the good women of the Province.

As each of the Proprietors had his own especial high court, and each with equal but ill-defined power, it was vitally necessary to erect some tribunal to compose the disputes, which were certain to arise between them—and hence one reason for the Grand Council.

This was a most important body. It consisted of the Palatine and the other seven Proprietors and the 42 Counsellors of the seven Proprietors' Courts. One of the Proprietors and his deputy and twelve other members, no less, could make a quorum. It was given supreme power, to determine any controversy arising between any of the Proprietors' Courts as to their respective jurisdictions, or method of proceeding—to make peace and war, leagues and treaties, general command over the Constable's and Admiral's Courts for the raising, disposing and disbanding of the land and sea forces—the judging of all causes and appeals affecting any of the Proprietors or the Counsellors of their courts—and the disposition of all monies voted by the Parliament and directed by it to any particular public use. But these, in the opinion of the colonists, were but as trifles, compared with the other and most vital matters. This court was directed "to prepare all matters to be proposed in Parliament. Nor shall any matter whatsoever be *proposed* in Parliament but what has first

passed the Grand Council." One might safely presume that the Proprietors would be content with this two-fold limitation upon the power of the Parliament—that having provided that only such measures should be considered by it as were proposed by their courts, and that then they, sitting in the Palatine's Court could nullify any act so passed—they would be satisfied that this sickly shadow of authority could in no manner be hurtful to their interests. And yet so tender were their Lordships as to their prerogatives, so distrustful of their own perspicacity, and their deputies, so afraid that they—sitting as the Grand Council—might propose some dangerous legislation to this bastard Parliament which it might accept, that by the 76th article it was declared that "No act of Parliament shall be of any force unless ratified in open Parliament" by the Palatine and three Proprietors, or their deputies; and even after such ratification, the act was to continue in force only until the next Biennial Parliament unless in the meantime ratified by the Palatine himself and three other Proprietors under their own proper hands and seals. No deputies this time "an it please you." Pray, of what avail were the reservations of the great charter to the freemen of the Province in the face of this unlawful assumption of more than kingly power? How long would the Parliament of England have suffered such extreme and arbitrary measures on the part of the King?

These were the great departments of the Government and the Chief Courts. But besides these there were County Courts, Precinct Courts, and a special court for the trial of all capital crimes. No cause could "be tried twice in the same court upon any reason or pretence whatever." But appeals to higher courts could be *bought* by paying to the Proprietors prices ranging from £5 to £50 in capital cases.

All jurors in the Precinct Courts were required to own 50 acres of freehold; all grand jurors in the County Courts and

Assizes 300 acres, and all petty jurors 200 acres; and all jurors in the Proprietors' Courts must own 500 acres. A very decided change of opinion on the part of the Proprietors since 1663, when they gravely proclaimed that 10 acres of land was enough for any man to hold "in that growing country."

And yet with all this grand array of courts, all this confused and complicated machinery of law, lawyers were absolutely banned and proscribed. For by the 70th article it was declared, "It shall be a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward; nor shall any, (except he be a near kinsman, nor farther off than cousin, germane to the party concerned) be permitted to plead another man's cause, till before the Judge in open court he hath taken an oath, that he doth not plead for money or reward, nor hath nor will receive, nor directly nor indirectly bargain with the party whose cause he is going to plead, for money or any other reward for pleading his cause." This remarkable and unique provision was most undoubtedly the work of Locke, and copied by him after the Cincia Lex of the Roman Law—"Ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat."

The Parliament, or General Assembly as I shall hereafter call it, was composed of the four estates—the Proprietors or their deputies, landgraves, casiques and freeholders, all sitting together as one body. Only owners of 500 acres of freehold were eligible to the General Assembly, and every voter must own 50 acres. The Assembly was to meet biennially, and at the opening the first ceremony "was the reading of the Fundamental Constitutions, and its subscription by all the members present." For it was declared that no man should sit or vote in the Assembly until he had signed the Fundamental Constitutions. Elections for members of Assembly were to be held biennially.

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"All manner of comments and expositions on any part of these Fundamental Constitutions, or on any part of the common or statute laws of Carolina, are absolutely prohibited." And so any criticism or discussion of any of these laws were "mala prohibita," crimes to be punished at the will of the Judges.

An office was established for the registration of conveyances, and one for births, marriages and deaths. The age of every one in the colony was reckoned from the date of the registration of his birth. No marriage was lawful until registered, and no administration could be had until the death of the decedent was registered. So that no man could be legally born, legally married, or legally dead until he was so registered.

All towns were to be governed by a Mayor, twelve (12) Aldermen and twenty-four (24) Common Councillors. The system so provided was a very cumbrous one for the small villages of the Province. This was in 1670; and yet in 1709, near forty (40) years later, it was said, (1 Coll. Rec., 715): "Here is no church, though they have begun to build a town called Bath. It consists of about twelve (12) houses, being the *only town* in the whole Province." This little town of Bath, which forty (40) years after the promulgation of the constitutions, only contained twelve (12) houses, was totally insufficient to furnish men enough to fill the municipal offices required by the above provision. Could there be stronger evidence of the total ignorance of the Lords Proprietors of the conditions existing in Carolina, and their incapacity to foster its growth and prosperity!

Port towns were to be established, and no goods or commodities could be lawfully exported or imported under a heavy penalty, unless loaded or unloaded at a port town.

It was declared by section 95 that no man could be per-

mitted to be a freeman of Carolina or have any estate or habitation within it unless he acknowledge the divinity of God; and by section 101, that no person, man or woman, of seventeen (17) years and upwards could have any benefit or protection of the law unless he was a registered member of some church or religious body. And that in a country in which no church was built until many years after the promulgation of these constitutions!

Very broad and liberal provisions were made for the freedom of religious convictions and worship, and stringent laws against the disturbance of any religious congregation or abuse of any church or religion. But at the same time the Church of England was declared to be the only true and orthodox church, and the only one entitled to support from the public revenues. Locke, sturdy in his defense of entire religious freedom, bitterly opposed this clause and refused to draft it.

All persons were given absolute power and authority over their negro slaves, even that of life and death. This provision needs no comment, save that it never had the sanction of law in any Southern State during the days of slavery.

Now we come to the 112th Constitution, by which the Proprietors deliberately proposed the most illegal and deadly blow at the very life and being of the colonists. It boldly declared that no person whatever should hold or claim any land in Carolina by purchase or gift or otherwise, from the Indians, or any other way whatsoever, save under and from the Proprietors, under pain of forfeiting all his real and personal property and of perpetual banishment. This decreed confiscation and banishment to any man who dared to claim or assert the title which he had previously acquired to the little estate carved out for himself at so great a sacrifice, and which had been expressly saved and guaranteed to him by the very words of the King's Grant. These titles and rights were preserved to him not only by the grant, but also by Magna

Charta, the greatest of those three great testaments, which, Chatham declared, composed "The Bible of the English Constitution." "Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut utlagetur, aut exuleter, aut aliquo modo, destruatur, nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, vel per legem terrae."

"Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus rectum aut justitiam."

Near seven centuries have swept over the world since that historic drama on the willow clad banks of the Thames, when the great Barons, churchmen and yeomen of England wrung with mailed hand from King John this declaration of their rights and liberties. New kingdoms, new principalities, new republics have reared their proud heads among the nations of the world, while others, old and new, have crumbled and vanished into the gloom of eternal night. Weak nations have grown strong and powerful, while others, once strong and powerful, are barely allowed a national existence in the jealousy and fear of disturbing the balance of power. Strange and unexpected cataclysms have from time to time violently altered and changed the destinies of nations. But through all the Anglo-Saxon people alone, crucified at times by war, but purified by revolution, increasing, conquering, broadening and expanding, have reached that great eminence, where standing together, they easily dominate the world. And yet even though they have separated and divided into two great nations, they have each always jealously and religiously preserved unaltered to themselves and to their children as a sacred inheritance, the everlasting shelter and protection of Magna Charta. If the evil day shall ever come, when this great protection from wrong and oppression shall be destroyed, then will inevitably follow violence, distress, ruin and anarchy. And from this day and this fate may God in His infinite mercy ever preserve our people.

All inhabitants over seventeen (17) and under sixty (60) years of age were bound to serve as soldiers, whenever required so to do by the Grand Council.

A copy of the constitutions was to be kept "in a great book" by the register of every Precinct, and signed by every person, whether male or female, over the age of seventeen (17) years; and no such person who had failed to subscribe the constitutions could hold any estate or possession in Carolina, or have any benefit or protection from the law. Any alien could subscribe these constitutions before any Register, and *ipso facto* he was naturalized. And having thus declared the laws some eleven rules of precedency among the nobility were established.

This lengthy abstract of the constitutions is necessary to a full and proper understanding of the laws, so solemnly enacted and declared by the Proprietors for the government of their subjects. It is to be noted here that no system of taxation, of raising revenues for the support of this cumbrous government, and no salaries for any of the officers were provided. One would naturally suppose that in drafting laws which were intended to be forever unalterable, for the government of their new possessions, the Proprietors would have provided some system for the support and maintenance of the officers. Why this was done, or was not done, does not appear. The Provincial Parliament evidently provided for certain of the expenses of the Province. The chief officers certainly took care of themselves in the handling of the public moneys.

Having thus promulgated these solemn declarations of their unalterable will, but a few months passed before the Proprietors declared that "they were not able to put it fully in practice by reason of the want of Landgraves and Cassiques and a sufficient number of people." And yet in the very next breath, and in the same instructions, they speak of four pre-

cincts in Albemarle County, and direct the Governor to issue writs for the election of five representatives in each precinct to the General Assembly. This was fully six years and more after their grant. It would seem that the yeomen of Carolina were not very desirous of being raised into the nobility. In fact, while some twenty-five (25) Landgraves and twelve (12) Cassiques were created by the Proprietors, only two (2) Landgraves and no Cassiques can be credited to this State. The Landgraves were De Graffinreid, and perhaps Eden. Even in the bestowal of these titles of nobility the Proprietors violated the provisions of the grant which restricted them to the inhabitants of the Province. John Locke was the first Landgrave created, and many of the others were never in the Province at all. It would seem that in the beginning the Proprietors sent out to their Governors blank deputations for Landgraves and Cassiques, which were for sale to almost any one who would pay the required price; but these were cancelled or ordered to be cancelled by the instructions to Governor Nathaniel Johnson, in June, 1702, (1 Coll. Rec., page 556.) These facts show what little regard, in fact what contempt, the settlers in North Carolina had for such empty honors. They felt, and correctly, that if they accepted titles of nobility from the Proprietors, that they would be in duty bound as vassals to support their rule; but they had no intention or idea of surrendering their independence for such baubles. From this time on for some years we find the Lords Proprietors, in their instructions to the different Governors, continually lamenting their inability to put their celebrated constitutions in effect and force by reason of the lack of material out of which to build Landgraves and Cassiques. In truth, the provisions of the constitutions were never enforced in North Carolina. Hawks says, "At last, in 1698, these fundamental "immortals" were laid aside by the Lords Proprietors forever." (2 Vol., 185.) In this, as in

many other things, he was in error; for in June, 1702, in their instructions to Governor Nathaniel Johnson, the Proprietors wrote him that "you are to follow such rules as we have given in our Fundamental Constitutions," etc. (1 Coll. Rec., 555.) And De Graffinreid was created a Landgrave August 4th, 1709. It may be curious to note that on the day he received the patent as Landgrave, De Graffinreid paid £50 to the Proprietors in part of the purchase of the land he had bought in North Carolina, and the greater part of it was immediately divided among the Proprietors, who each received a little over £5. It would seem from this that they were glad to get even so little amount as twenty-five dollars.

In commenting upon the existing conditions in the Colony at the time of the promulgation of these constitutions, Hawks most felicitously says, (Vol. 2, page 183): "Their Lordships theorized, the colonists felt: the Proprietors drew pictures, but the hardy woodmen of Carolina were grappling with stern realities. Titles of nobility, orders of precedence, the shows of an empty pageantry, were to them but toys which might amuse childhood; but there was no romance in watching the savage, or felling the forest, or planting the corn, or gathering the crop with the ever-present weapon in reach of the laboring hand. In short, 'the day of chivalry' had not then dawned on the widespread forests of Albemarle; and we may well believe that the rough colonists, in the mass, felt a sublime contempt alike for Palatine and Landgrave, and Cassique."

Governor succeeded Governor in quick succession. Drummond was succeeded by Stephens in 1667, who, in 1670, was succeeded by Carteret. There was some promise of peace and content in the Great Deed of Grant, but it was merely transient. The conflicting instructions to the different Governors, the flagrant violations of the provisions of the Great

Charter, the attempts to deprive the settlers of their lands acquired by them prior to the charter, the attempt to deprive the General Assembly of an independent part in the making of the laws, all combined to produce dissatisfaction and discontent, which at times swelled into disorder and violence. A free Parliament, a free hand in the making of the laws by which they were to be governed and protected in the possession of their lands, were what the people were determined to have. Carteret was unable to breast the storm and carry out his instructions. He left the Province in disgust late in 1675 or early in 1676 to carry the tale of his failure to England, leaving, says Chalmers, "the administration in ill hands and worse order. In truth there was no Governor and no government in Albemarle for about two years." Two of the colonists, Eastchurch, who had been Speaker of the General Assembly, and one Miller, who had a "grievance," followed Carteret to England and to an audience with the Proprietors. Eastchurch, seeming to them "a very proper and able fellow," was made Governor in 1676, and Miller Secretary, and Deputy of Shaftesbury, and also collector of the King's revenue. At this time, according to Hawks, the colony of Albemarle contained some 2,500 to 3,000 people, of course not including tribal Indians. Twenty-five hundred people, and no man yearning for a patent of nobility!

In 1677 Eastchurch sailed from England, stopping in the West Indies, where, beguiled by love, he dallied some months till he was married. Miller went on to Albemarle, and upon his arrival, without the least warrant of authority, usurped and took to himself the government and control of the affairs of the Province. Drunk with his stolen authority, and often, the historians say, with liquor, he ruled the Province and squeezed the people in the lordly manner of the ancient robber Barons of the Rhine. In six short months he gathered to himself some five thousand dollars ($5,000) in money and

thirty-three (33) hogsheads of tobacco from one item alone, the export duty on tobacco. Tobacco was virtually the currency of the Province, and by this time a very considerable and lucrative trade in it between Albemarle and New England settlers had grown up, and this Miller made strenuous efforts to break up and divert to England. Out of his oppressions and extortions sprang what is generally called "Culpepper's Rebellion." The colonists had lived for two years and more in peace and content, and without a Governor. The breath of freedom was in their nostrils. The Proprietors had seemingly abandoned or forgotten them; for here was this man, one of themselves, allowed to plunder them with impunity and without authority. The inevitable happened.

"The law protects not us; then why should we be tender,
To let an arrogant piece of flesh threat us."

Vexed and oppressed beyond endurance by the extravagant actions of Miller, the people arose in 1677 and seized and imprisoned him and the deputies of the Proprietors. Chalmers says, (2 Carroll, 304): "They seized the royal revenue, amounting to £3,000, which they appropriated for supporting the revolt; they established courts of justice; they appointed officers; they called a Parliament, and for years exercised all the authority of an independent State." What nobler and bolder stand for their just rights could any people have taken! And this was but the prelude to what followed. For from now on, upon reading the history of our State as written in her records, we will find our ancestors in constant revolt against the oppression and injustice of their rulers The insurgents, and among them were the most prominent and wealthy men in the Province, including the President of the Grand Council, in defense of their action, declared that Miller had "positively cheated the country out of 130,000 pounds of tobacco, had raised the taxes, misapp opriated the public

funds, and denied them a free Parliament." Miller, escaping from prison, fled to England to spread his complaints in every quarter, and with the eager and confident expectation of warm approval and armed support from the Proprietors. He had before complained and triumphed, but now he met only bitter disappointment and humiliation.

Eastchurch now arrived in the colony with a commission as Governor, and authority from the Proprietors that was unquestionable. But the colonists were in an ugly mood. They had tasted of independence, and it was sweet and gracious to their taste. They would have none of Eastchurch, and he went to Virginia to seek aid and military support to establish himself firmly in the enjoyment of his just rights as Governor. But, fortunately for the colonists, he died before a sufficient number of troops was gathered to him.

Culpepper boldly followed Miller to England and confronted him before the Proprietors. Their accusations against each other and recriminations brought distress to both. Miller was put aside with contumely, and Culpepper indicted for treason; but he, that is Culpepper, was defended by Shaftesbury himself and acquitted. Undoubtedly he could have only been defended and acquitted upon the ground that Miller was a mere usurper, with no lawful claim to the authority and power which he had exercised over the Province. This uprising of the people against oppression was the first armed expression in the State of that yearning for freedom and independence, which later on was so often and so conspicuously displayed by them. It was a brave and reckless deed which the men of Albemarle did, in the very face of the extreme and bloody punishments which had so recently been inflicted in Virginia by the vindictive Berkeley on the unfortunate followers of Bacon. But there was this pregnant difference in the results of these two uprisings: Virginia was a

royal Province, and a fleet and soldiers were sent to it to crush Bacon and his adherents; while the Proprietors forgave, even to the verge of approval, the acts done in the Province of North Carolina. Looking at this event from the standpoint of their interests, it is impossible to account for their extremely weak and vacillating, indeed almost apologetic course of action, save upon one ground, their habitual aversion to the expending of any money out of their own pockets for the protection of their interests in Albemarle. If they had sent a fleet and soldiers to put down the revolt with a stern and bloody hand, and had followed this with strong government, how far-reaching may have been the effect! It would most probably have secured to them their possessions until the revolution; and even in that struggle might possibly have made the States South of Virginia loyal to them and their King. And if so, it is certain there would have been no King's Mountain, no Guilford Court House, no Yorktown, and no independence. It is difficult, if not impossible, for any impartial student to ascribe this uprising of the people to any other cause than that of a just and manly indignation and resentfulness of an unlawful invasion and denial of their rights. And yet Hawks heaps abuse and vilification with overflowing measure upon Culpepper and his followers. To him Miller was "the champion of order," "freedom's martyr," and his opponents, unprincipled, unscrupulous, bad, "a set of vulgar and ignorant insurgents and anarchists, * * * acting under the guidance of unscrupulous, artful and better informed leaders, whose most appropriate elevation would have been, not to the honor of legitimate office, but to the topmost heights of the gallows tree." This was a direct fling at the Proprietors, who afterwards appointed or recognized both John Harvey and Colonel Jenkins, who were both leaders in Culpepper's Rebellion, as Governors of the Province. Hawks even went to the extreme

of abusing Shaftesbury for, that in defending Culpepper, "he robbed the gallows of its due." Truly North Carolina has been unfortunate in her historians! When one of her own sons, and he a man of such marked ability, declares false judgment against his own people, what better opinion could we expect from others. The Lords Proprietors themselves, at the time of the occurrence and after full consideration and examination into the facts, formed a very different view from that which Hawks wrote into the history of his State. Miller, repulsed by the Proprietors with contempt, was not content to leave the matter so, but carried his complaint to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, which as his Majesty's interest in the revenue was concerned, promptly called on the Proprietors for an explanation. The answer of the Proprietors, under date of November 20th, 1680, is in many respects a remarkable paper, (1 Coll. Rec., 326). It begins, "Mr. Thos. Miller, *without any legal authority*"—the italics are in the original—"got possession of the government of the County of Albemarle in Carolina in the year 1677, and was for a tyme quyettely obeyed, but doing many illegal and arbitrary things, and drinking often to excess, and putting the people in generall, by his threats and actions in great dread of their lives and estates, and *they, as we suppose getting some knowledge that he had no legal authority,* tumultously and disorderly imprisoned him, and suddenly after Mr. Biggs and Mr. Nixon for adhering to Mr. Miller and abetting him in some of his actions, and revive an accusation against Mr. Miller of treasonable words, for which he had been formerly imprisoned, but never tryed, and appoynt Mr. Culpepper to receive the King's customs, etc." It further states that they had appointed Seth Sothell, "a sober, moderate man," who had lately become one of the Proprietors, Governor, but that he had been "taken by the Turks and carried into Angiers,"

(sic); that on hearing of this they had appointed John Harvey Governor until the arrival of Sothell, and sent his commission by Robert Holden, who had been appointed by the King's commissioners of customs, Collector of his Majesty's customs in Albemarle; that Harvey had died and the Grand Council had appointed Colonel Jenkins in the place of Governor, *"ad interim,"* and that they were sending out Colonel Wilkinson temporarily as Governor. This report or explanation is a complete justification of the action of the colonists, evidently so intended, and a repudiation of the acts of Miller that whilom, "Champion of order" and "freedom's martyr." Harvey and Jenkins were both later on Governors of the Province; Holden, Durant, Blount, Willoughby, White, Bruner, Slocumb, Calloway, Lillington, Jarvis, and many other of the adherents of Culpepper, bore names which have since illumined the pages of the history of this State.

Harvey died very soon and was succeeded by Jenkins. But little is known of the short official life of Jenkins, but he was evidently *"persona non grata"* to the colonists, for he was deposed by the people. We are not enlightened by the historians as to the cause of his deposition, but as the Proprietors did not resent it, but seemingly concurred in it, by appointing Wilkinson to succeed him, we must assume that the people had just grounds for their extreme action. Sothell was worse than Miller. Hawks says, (Vol. 2, page 486): "His principles would not have disgraced an education in a college of thieves, and his morals illustrated the purity of a gambling-house. He had purchased the right of Clarendon as Proprietor, for no other purpose than to be placed officially in a position to plunder; and it was not long ere he had exhibited evidence that he was capable of almost any crime, and equally an adept in all." Hawks was right this time, for Sothell well merited all the abuse and opprobrious names

which Hawks heaped upon him in that vigorous style of which he was such a master. The patience and endurance of the colonists was finally exhausted, and in 1688, although Sothell was one of the Lords Proprietors, one of their lawful sovereigns, he was seized by them and imprisoned preparatory to being sent to England for trial. Sothell, however, did not want to be sent to England, but, Governor though he was, begged that he be tried and judged of by the General Assembly of the Province. The General Assembly found him guilty on all the charges brought against him, banished him from the Province for twelve months and compelled him to abjure the government of the Province forever. The Lords Proprietors mildly protested against this action of the colonists as "prejudicial to the prerogative of the Crown and to their honor." But they quietly submitted as usual and sent out another Governor. It does not concern us, however, to follow any further the fortunes of the various Governors sent out to Albemarle. A few specimens of them is sufficient. Raper says (page 6), that "From 1674 to 1712 the colonists knew little of governmental restraints except those of their own making, and drove out of office six of their fourteen Governors or Deputy Governors."

A mere cursory review of the Fundamental Constitutions makes it plain even to a casual reader, that they were utterly unsuited to the times, the situations and the people. There were laws in abundance—laws that were good, and others that were bad—some that were chimerical, and others most sensible—some despotic, others mild and lenient—and some Utopian, while others were brutal. Balancing the bad against the good, the bad greatly predominated. And to this was added the still greater evil of weak and unprincipled Governors. Hence the people refused the constitutions, and they were never enforced in Albemarle. Over and over again did

the Proprietors in their letters and instructions to the Governors and Deputy Governors of the Province acknowledge their inability to enforce the provisions of the constitutions; and always for the same and entirely erroneous reason that they could not find men worthy of nobility. If they had said that they could not find men who were ready and willing to buy themselves titles of nobility, that would have been nearer the truth. The weak and vacillating policy of the Proprietors, their greediness for revenue and stinginess for appropriations and financial aid, their easy condonation of the insubordination and revolts of the colonists, the weakness, greed and lack of principle and courage of their various Governors and Deputy Governors all inspired the people to a system of constant and persistent resistance against the laws and their rulers. Most unfortunately, the records of the proceedings and debates in the General Assemblies of that period have been lost, and we will never know the people's side of the question, the true reason for those acts, which have induced historians to denounce the early settlers of Albemarle as refugees from justice, absconding debtors, and law-breakers, reeking with turbulence and sedition. The truth is, and I am cherishing the hope that in the very near future an historian will make it plain, that they were a race of sturdy, independent, self-respecting men, always ready to obey cheerfully just laws and honest rule, but equally ready to resist oppression and evil rule. With the injustice of the first laws still rankling in their hearts, about the only effect of the coming of the constitutions was to knit the people more firmly together in their determination to resist all unjust laws.

And so the Fundamental Constitutions, after a stormy life spent in vainly striving to make a home in Albemarle, were shipwrecked and lost. They were never enforced, never abrogated or repealed, but simply died from inanition.

As it may interest some of the readers of the BOOKLET to know in what manner and by what mystic words and rites nobles were created in the Province, I give below a copy of the patent which was granted by the Proprietors to Landgrave, Thomas Smith, of Charleston, South Carolina. It is in the following words:

William Lord Craven, Palatine of Carolina, and the rest of the Lords Proprietors of the same, to all officers and ministers, & all the free inhabitants of the Province of Carolina, Greeting.

Whereas, his most serene Majesty, Charles 2nd of Great Brittain France & Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c of his special grace and favor has given and granted to us: together with the Province of Carolina power of constituting States, Degrees & Titles of Dignities and Honours in the said Province & Preferring to the said Degrees men of Merit & graceing & adorning such with Titles of Honours. And Whereas according to the forms of Government by us Established & which is perpetually to be observed by us and our successors: its appointed that there shall be a certain number of Landgraves and Cassaques who shall be the Perpetual & Hereditary Nobles and Peers of our Province of Carolina. And Whereas Thomas Smith a person of singular Merit will be very servisable to us by his great Prudence & Industry & we being willing to reward a Gentleman that has deserved so well of us we have Constituted him a Landgrave.....

Know ye therefore that as a lasting Monument both of our favor and his Merits we have promoted the said Thomas Smith & credited him Landgrave and by these presents do prefer to and confer upon the same Thomas Smith the Name, State, Degree, Style, Dignitie, Title & Honour of a LANDGRAVE together with four Barroneys each of which shall

containe Twelve Thousand Acres of Land and Other Privileges pertaining to the said Dignity, and forever unseparably Annexed to the same, and we have given and granted & by these presents in behalf of ourselves our Heirs & Successors, do give and grant to the said Thomas Smith his Heirs and Successors the Name, State, Degree, Stile, Dignity, Title, and Honour of Landgrave together with the four Barroneys Ennexed & all & every the rights Preeminencies privileges and Immunities belonging to the said Dignity, to hand and to hold the same according to the Dignity of our FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTION with and by these presents granting that the said Thomas Smith and his Heirs aforesaid shall always successively bear the name and enjoy State, Degree, Style, Dignity, Title and Honour of Landgrave and possess the four Barroneys annexed, and that Every one of them should bear, have and possess, and by the name of LANDGRAVE be called and named, and that the said Thomas Smith & his Heirs aforesaid should be successively held in in all things as Landgraves and be treated and Reputed as such, and every one of them should be so held, and reputed. And that they should forever have hold and possess and each of them enjoy the four Barroneys Annext paying annually for each acre a penny Lawful money of England to us and our Heirs, which payment is to commence about the end of the year One Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety. And Furthermore that the said Thomas Smith and his heirs aforesaid, all and singular of them should possess and use by the name of LANDGRAVE all and every the rights, privileges, preeminencies and Immunities which in Law & right belong to the said State. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Pattent under our Great Seale of Carolina; given from and under our hands the Thirteenth day of May Anno. Dom. 1691.

The document, of which the foregoing is a copy, is very ancient, and is now in the possession of Mr. Edw. S. Tennant, of Spartanburg, South Carolina, whose father, Edward Tennant, was a lineal descendant of the Landgrave. The signatures have been cut off; and on the back of it is endorsed "The Landgrave Pattent, Englished." So the original was probably in Latin, and this is only a translation.

The four Baronies, 48,000 acres of land, were taken up by the Landgrave on the west side of Cape Fear River, in what is now Brunswick County, and included the large island at the mouth of the Cape Fear River called "Smith's Island," which took its name from the Landgrave.

INDUSTRIAL LIFE IN COLONIAL CAROLINA.

BY THOMAS M. PITTMAN.

If full credit be given the early writers on Carolina, we must believe that the men of that period were chiefly concerned to avoid every form of industry that involved physical labor or inconvenience. Lawson says, "Some of the men are very laborious and make great improvement in their way, but I hardly dare give them that character in general." And again, "The planter sits contented at home whilst his oxen thrive and grow fat, and his stocks daily increase; the fatted porkets and poultry are easily raised to his table, and his orchard affords him liquor, so that he eats and drinks away the cares of the world, and desires no greater happiness than that which he daily enjoys." It is quite possible that Lawson, and Brickell who copied him closely, had in mind the attraction of new settlers to Carolina and sought to convey the idea that living was easy. Col. Byrd, on the other hand, was contemptuous towards Carolina, and most likely fell into exaggeration from that feeling. He says in the Westover MSS.: "The men for their parts, just like the Indians, impose all the work upon the poor women. They make their wives rise out of their beds early in the morning, at the same time that they lie and snore till the sun has risen one-third of his course, and dispersed all the unwholesome damps; then, after stretching and yawning for half an hour, they light their pipes, and, under the protection of a cloud of smoke, venture out into the open air; though if it happen to be never so little cold, they quickly return shivering into the chimney corner. When the weather is mild, they stand leaning with both arms upon the cornfield fence, and gravely consider whether they had best go and take a small heat at the hoe; but generally

find reason to put it off 'till another time. Thus they loiter away their lives like Solomon's sluggard, with their arms across, and at the winding up of the year, scarcely have bread to eat."

No such imputations, however, attach to the mothers of those early days. They are ever spoken of with high appreciation. Lawson tells us: "The women are the most industrious sex in that place, and, by their good housewifery, make a great deal of cloth of their own cotton, wool and flax; some of them keeping their families, though large, very decently apparcled both with linens and woolens, so that they have no occasion to run into the merchant's debt, or pay their money out in stores for clothing." Again, "Many of the women are very handy in canoes and will manage them with great dexterity and skill, which they become accustomed to in this watery country. They are ready to help their husbands in any servile work, as planting, when the season or the weather requires expedition; pride seldom banishing good housewifery. The girls are not bred up to the wheel and sewing only, but the dairy and the affairs of the house they are very well acquainted withal; so that you shall see them, while very young, manage their business with a great deal of conduct and alacrity." An incident recorded in George Fox's Journal shows that women of even the highest station were skilled in the handling of boats. On one occasion he was unable to bring his boat to the shore, when the wife of the Secretary of the Province, seeing his strait, as he says, "came herself in a canoe, her husband being from home, and brought us to land."

As opposed to the suggestion of indolence on the part of the men, the proposal of Tymothy Biggs to the Lords Proprietors in 1679, concerning Albemarle, shows that "Ye Inhabitants have liven and gott Estates under ye Lord^{ps} there by their owne Industry and brought it to the capacity of a hope-

ful settlement and ere these had it had your Lord[ps] smiles and assistance but a tenth part of what your Southern parts have had It would have been a flourishing settlement."

It must not be supposed that the settlers were entirely dependent upon the labor of their own hands in the mastery of this new land. There were many slaves in the colony—white, Indian and negro—to whom fell the greater burden of reclaiming the wilderness. The whites consisted of male and female convicts who, we are told, were "bought by the planters for the terms specified in their respective warrants, and worked with the negro slaves, under the lash of an overseer." Many of these, by industry and reformation of life, prospered when finally released from bondage, so that one old writer tells us that "thousands of them, if we are not misinformed, have by turning their hands to industry and improvement, and, which is best of all, to honesty, became rich, substantial planters and merchants, settled large families, and been famous in the country; nay, we have seen many of them made magistrates, officers of militia, captains of good ships, and masters of good estates." This was written of Virginia, but the similarity of conditions in the two colonies makes the statement as applicable to one as the other, except that there were more of such slaves in Virginia than in Carolina.

Naturally the first interest of the settlers was the building of houses, the clearing of land and the development of agriculture. There was no inn or place of accommodation. Literally a place to lay the head had to be created from timbers yet standing in the forests. Title to their lands was also dependent upon such improvements. Their grants contained a proviso, that if the grantee, his heirs or assigns "doe not seat or plant or cause to be seated or planted upon y[e] s[d] Land w[t]in three years after y[e] next Insueing y[t] then it shall be lawful for any Adventurer or planter to make choice and seat

thereupon." That agriculture was prosecuted with enterprise and vigor is manifest from the extraordinary statement, that aside from the supplies grown for their own necessities, tobacco, the great market crop, was grown to such extent in Albemarle, that in 1679, it yielded annual custom duties of at least £8,000 sterling—a most remarkable showing when we recall that the total white population of all the scattered settlements in the colony did not equal that of one-third or fourth rate town of the State at this time. At an earlier date even, the competition of this product with that grown in Maryland and Virginia had so embarrassed the trade of those colonies that they sought to induce a reduction of the crop.

The mild winters and fertile lands were so favorable to vegetable life that prodigious crops were produced—almost beyond credulity. Like favorable conditions furnished an opportunity for breeding horses, cattle, sheep and swine to great advantage, which the settlers availed of to become rich in flocks and herds. Lawson declares that the "beef of Carolina equals the best that our neighboring colonies afford. * * * The veal is very good and white. * * * Mutton is generally exceeding fat and of a good relish. * * * The horses are well shapen and swift. * * * The pork exceeds any in Europe." The writer of this paper has old letters of a later period, from which appears a custom of driving hogs in great droves to the Virginia markets from North Carolina. These products of the forest, farm and field were so greatly in excess of the needs of the people as to support a considerable export trade in "beef, pork, tallow, hides, deer skins, furs, pitch, tar, wheat, Indian corn, peas, masts, staves, heading boards, and all sorts of timber and lumber for Madeira and the West Indies, rosin, turpentine and several sorts of gum and tears, with some medicinal drugs." Many fish were also exported and considerable quantities of butter and cheese of good quality.

Manufactures, in the modern acceptance of that term, can scarcely be said to have had an existence in the colony. Yet the existence of a lumber trade suggests, and credible historians argue, that saw-mills must have existed here at a time when mob violence would not tolerate them in England. Good brick and tiles were made and worked into buildings still in use; also lime, which was made of oyster shells, the limestone deposit being too far inland for the convenience of the early settlers.

Buildings were at first of extremely primitive design and construction. Col. Byrd's description of the houses and fences will interest the older readers by its close resemblance to those of their own recollection. "Most of the houses in this part of the country are log cabins, covered with pine or cypress shingles, three feet long and one foot broad. They are hung upon laths with pegs, and their doors too turn upon wooden hinges, and have wooden locks to secure them, so that the building is finished without nails or other iron work." The fence: "They also set up their poles without any nails at all, and indeed more securely than those that are nailed. There are three rails mortised into the posts, the lowest of which serves as a sill with a groove in the middle, big enough to receive the end of the poles; the middle part of the pole against the inside of the next rail, and the top of it is brought forward to the outside of the uppermost. Such wreathing of the poles, in and out, makes them stand firm, and much harder to unfix than when nailed in the ordinary way." In a little while, however, frame, brick and stone houses came into vogue, and were fairly representative of the growing prosperity and ambitions of the people. They also evidence the improved facilities for building and the presence of skilled artificers and mechanics. Some of the houses of the Colonial period would make a creditable appearance in advanced and

prosperous communities of the present day. Dr. Rumple gives an account of the "Old Stone House" erected in Rowan by Michael Braun (Brown) of "native, unhewn, but rather well-shaped blocks of granite laid in cement so durable that it still stands in ridges between the stones." We are without the record of any furnace making iron plates in this State during the colonial period, but the inscriptions on the plates of the fire-box or stove of this house give pretty certain assurance of their American manufacture and indicate the possibility of Carolina origin. On one plate the inscription is

COM . BAN . NI :
1766 "

On another—

GEORGE ROSS . ANN
MARY ANN
FURNACE."

It was quite evidently the work of a German-American, but whether from Pennsylvania or North Carolina, does not appear.

Brickell, whose book was published in 1737, notes that "The men are very ingenius in several Handycraft Business, and in building their canoes and houses." Describing the houses of the period, he says, "The most substantial Planters generally use Brick and Lime, which is made of Oyster Shells, for there are no stones to be found proper for that purpose, but near the mountains; the meaner sort erect with Timber, the outside with Clap-Boards, the Roofs of both sorts of houses are made with Shingles, and they generally have Sash Windows, and affect large and decent Rooms with great Closets, as they do most beautiful Prospect by some noble River or Creek." Dr. Hawks adds, "The chimneys of the better class of houses, as well as ovens, were built of brick. Indeed, a brick chimney was a mark of gentility in its owner."

Naturally the earlier and more important trades repre-

sented among the early artisans were those connected with the building and related interests, as sawyers, brick, tile and lime makers, carpenters, masons, and blacksmith. The services of the smith, however, were by no means confined to the building interests. He was the metal worker of the community. "We have abundant evidence of his early presence in the province, though the iron which he wrought was all, at first, brought from abroad. The division of labor which in older countries characterized this branch of mechanical art, did not obtain in Carolina. The smith who made or repaired the implement of husbandry, was equally skilful in mending the gun-lock or making a hinge. So valuable was this artisan to the neighborhood that we find on the records of the Council, during the Indian War of 1711, representations made from a neighborhood of the indispensable need of a blacksmith in the settlement, and a consequent special order that he should be exempt from military duty, that he might not be obliged to march against the savages, and thus deprive the people of his important services." (Hawks.)

The carpenter, too, was in demand for making the furniture, implements and vehicles of the period, as well as for house building.

Another group of workers, most important, were those who contributed to the clothing of the people as tanners, shoemakers, weavers, tailors and hatters. The tanners learned from the Indians a mode of tanning deer skins, which converted them into a soft and pliable material of great toughness and endurance. This was extensively used for the ordinary dress of woodmen, and was admirably adapted to that purpose. The abundance of hides and the facilities for tanning them at small cost made this a most important industry, so that Dr. Hawks doubts "whether any manufactory in the province was more common than that of leather."

The shoemaker was sometimes tanner, too; and often a general worker in leather, making harness and saddles as well as shoes. They were reputed more numerous than weavers and smiths combined.

Dr. Rumple describes the towns as "composed of the public buildings, the residences of some of the county officials, a store or two, a hatter-shop, a blacksmith shop, a tailor shop, and a few inns."

There were also the trades relating to commerce—coopering and ship-building, both of which were considerable industries, the preparation of naval stores, the manufacture of tar, etc. To these should be added the fishing industry, licensed by the Governor. One writer mentions seeing, at one time, three New England whalers at Cape Fear.

The German settlements in the later Colonial period furnish probably the most interesting examples of industrial life in the history of the period embraced in this paper. Their indifferent knowledge of the English language cut them off largely from participation in the general movements of the times. "Hence letting public affairs alone, and attending to their home interests, they surrounded themselves with well-tilled farms, and adorned their premises with capacious barns and threshing-floors. Who has not seen the immense double barns, with wide double doors, to admit a four-horse wagon with its towering load of hay, or straw or wheat; and the threshing-floor, where the horses tramped out the wheat, and the wind-mill blew the chaff into the chaff-house? And who has forgotten the long stables where the cows were yoked to the trough, each one knowing her place, while the calves were tied to a trough at the other wall." (Rumple.)

The first Moravian settlers, who founded the village of Bathabara, consisted of twelve men, the most complete industrial group that ever came to the State. There was a minis-

ter, a warden (the business man), a physician, a tailor, a baker, two carpenters, a gardener, a shoemaker and tanner, and three farmers. Within the first year they had established and put in operation seven distinct enterprises, as follows: Carpenter Shop, Tailor Establishment, Pottery, Blacksmith Shop, Shoe Shop, Tannery, Cooper Shop. A mill was under way, but had not then been completed.

Within three weeks after their arrival six acres of land had been cleared and planted in winter wheat. During the first year not less than fifty acres were cleared and prepared for farming purposes. "In the first summer they gathered wheat, corn, flax, millet, barley, oats, buckwheat, turnips, cotton and tobacco in addition to the garden vegetables. Fruit trees were planted, and various kinds of medicinal herbs." (Clewell.)

Many reminders and specimens of the handiwork of the early days are preserved in the intensely interesting museum at Salem, which the writer of this paper was permitted to visit during the fall of 1906, through the courtesy of Judge Starbuck, and Mr. Lineback, the custodian. It is a pleasure to note that the community planted upon an industrial basis so sound and prudent has steadily prospered during its entire history and stands to-day unsurpassed by any community within the State in all the elements of a prosperous, enlightened and elevated citizenship.

NOTE.—The materials for this paper are drawn from Lawson's, Brickell's and Hawks' Histories of North Carolina, Bernheim's German Settlements, Reichel's Moravians, Clewell's Wachovia, Rumple's Rowan, The Colonial Records, etc.

An Address at Banquet Given by Newport News Chamber of Commerce to the League of Virginia Municipalities and Visiting North Carolinians Preceding the Launching of the U. S. Cruiser North Carolina.

BY HON. JAMES ALSTON CABELL.

"Governor Swanson showed good discretion in selecting Hon. James Alston Cabell to represent him at the 'North Carolina launching' banquet. Mr. Cabell's address was scholarly, tactful, generous and eloquent, and, with the good taste of a gentleman, he paid tribute to North Carolina's valor, chivalry and glorious achievement, without giving his remarks the sickly savor of flattery. In an address of this character, by a speaker of one State to an audience from another, one is apt to be either patronizing, or gushing. Mr. Cabell went to neither extreme. His praise consisted not in the emptiness of fine phrases, but in the recitation of the facts of history. It seems to us to have been an admirable address for such an occasion and was duly appreciated, we doubt not, by our neighbors from the Old North State"—*Editorial Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 7, 1906*

"OUR DEAREST NEIGHBOR—THE OLD NORTH STATE"

> "Great souls by instinct to each other turn,
> Demand alliance and in friendship burn."

I suppose it is understood that the Governor of Virginia was to have responded to this toast, but was unable to be present. I have been requested by him to express to you his heartfelt regrets. When your accomplished chairman informed me of the condition of affairs, and asked me to come to you, I thought of a scene in the closing chapter of one of Tom Page's stories, "Mah Lady," in which the minister, standing before the couple about to be married, asks: "Who gives this woman to this man?" and the old darkey said: "When he ax dat question and look at me and I think about all the suffin' we done been thro', and old Missus and Marse

Phil all gone, and dere ain't nobody to took up for de poor chile, I couldn't help it, so I says, when he ax dat question, 'Unc. Billy.'"

So when I thought of the Governor of Virginia being away, especially at this time, just as the big crowd has assembled here to witness the ceremonies of the marriage of a veritable queen, the battleship North Carolina to the king of waters, and that there would be no one to speak for the "poor chile," for the Governor of North Carolina will have his hands full in speaking for Virginia, I feel like "Unc. Billy," and am here to speak all unprepared and unfitted as I feel myself to be.

I do not know that I am wholly unfitted to respond for North Carolina. Some of my ancestors, of whom I am proudest, were North Carolinians, and played a prominent part in all the eventful epochs of her early history, and I am proud to say I am a member of the North Carolina, as well as the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati. I know her history, and delight to recall her glorious past, rich in lofty and heroic examples, and to witness her splendid present, so full of courage and industry and wisdom.

We all must admit that North Carolina had an excellent start, because when she began her career she was "Virginia," and she has done so amazingly well that we Virginians like to remind her of it, and we are proud to know that her first permanent settlement was made by Virginians. But she goes back of this and tells us that she boasts of the first English settlement in the new world, and that Virginia Dare, the first child of the English race, born on this continent, was hers. She was then known as "Virginia." Her first Governor, William Drummond, came to her from Virginia, and he began from the start to make her a record by becoming a patriot and martyr. Every boy knows that she boasts of being

once the home of Daniel Boone, that prince of pioneers, king of Indian fighters and pride of Kentucky. Not to speak of Flora McDonald, that picturesque and lovely Scotch heroine, as well as a number of romantic characters. But when we come to call over the names of her truly great men, and to look at her history, so resplendent with great names and great deeds, we must admit that no after-dinner speech can do her justice.

As I stood last April by the grave of Cornelius Harnett, in Wilmington, and took part in the laying of the cornerstone of the monument to be erected to his memory, and heard the long roll-call of North Carolina's immortals, I felt what the orator said was true, that the very air we breathed was fragrant with the incense of offerings laid on the altars of liberty and constitutional government, that that hallowed spot was richly red with patriotic blood. That the page of history was luminous with the records of deeds of valor done by North Carolina's sons.

But her's is indeed a wonderful history. It is connected with much of the romance of the career of Sir Walter Raleigh and Queen Elizabeth. No less a man than the famous John Locke drew up for her the most elaborate and comprehensive scheme of government ever devised for any colony. It was called the "Fundamental Constitution or Grand Model." From the earliest times she offered a retreat for the oppressed and unfortunate, and her history has been singularly free from the charge of persecution. She has ever been prompt to assert her rights and stand up for what she believed to be just. The first blood shed in the cause of the Revolution was upon her soil, and was that of her sons. First at the battle of the Alamance, May 16, 1771, and again at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, where Caswell defeated the British February 27, 1776. Henry Alexander White, in his recent History of the United States, says: "That this was the first clear vic-

tory won by the Americans in the war of independence. It was great in its results. It caused the failure of the British plan to land a large army in North Carolina." In spite of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Ritchie it appears to be proven that she pronounced the first declaration of independence. She had her own tea party. Fully as patriotic and much more delightful to read of than any Boston ever produced. Colonel Hunter's ride (with the halter around his neck with which he was to have been hung) on Fanning's own stallion, down the side of the steep rock to Deep River, put Putnam's little exploit, down the steps, out of sight. Her resistance to the stamp act was bolder and more effective than that in any of the other colonies. The defiance she flung to tyranny, and the love and devotion she gave to liberty was second to none. King's Mountain and Guilford Court House changed the tide of war and led to Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown. She has always played her part well. Slow to determine but prompt to act. She voted against secession, and was the last State to leave the Union, but the first blood shed for the Confederacy was that of one of her sons. She seems to have raised a storm by asserting the proud claim to 'First at Bethel, farthest at Gettysburg, and last at Appomattox.' I am not going to get into hot water by discussing this matter, but will simply say that the glory that North Carolina won in the Confederate war will endure as long as this country endures, or as men revere devotion to duty and splendid courage. How well she fought is shown by the wonderful record of 127,000 of her sons sent to the Confederate armies, 42,000 of these killed or wounded. What a story! What a glorious record! I wish that time permitted me to say all that I could, and all that I would like to say about this grand old State.

No Virginian will knowingly withhold the praise that belongs to North Carolina. She was once Virginia. She was

Virginia before the three famous ships sailed into this beautiful harbor, three hundred years ago, whose advent North Carolina is going to help us celebrate next year. Her first permanent settlement was made by Virginians in 1688. When she gave tobacco, potatoes and Indian corn to the world she was known as Virginia. It was all then "Virginia." All one then, and all one now, if our hearts are to make answer, whatever the difference in name. Our destinies have ever been, and must ever be the same, bound together as we are by a thousand tender memories and a thousand ties of common interests. As in the past, so in the future, America will again require the leadership of Virginia and North Carolina.

In the past, North Carolina was singularly careless about her history. She was content to do splendid things and let others claim the glory. The old books told us her principal products were "tar, pitch and turpentine," but they said little of her great products—her splendid women and her noble men. Believe me, she has always had something precious and distinctive in manhood and character to contribute to American life. She has awakened at last to the importance of letting the world know of her great children, and what they have done for this country. She is showing a past glittering with glorious deeds and an ancestry full of lofty and heroic examples. The sole object we have in view in recounting the great deeds of our ancestors and keeping alive their memories, is to infuse into the minds of the people a like spirit. This, indeed, is the object of all history, and as Lord Bolingbroke says: "It should be neither to soothe our indolence nor to gratify our vanity." The true and proper object is a constant improvement in private and public virtue. In this age of money-making, when the lust of wealth is threatening the ruin of the country, it is well that the people should be reminded by the examples of men who have gone

before, that they owe something to their motherland. A child-like attachment to the native soil has in all ages been the strongest and simplest basis of patriotism. It has ever been the inspired theme of all great seers and poets, and it is to-day the stronghold of all nationality.

Wherever this spirit is appealed to, in the rugged mountains of Switzerland, on the vine-clad waters of the Rhine, on the sacred soil of France, or in the marshes of Holland, we see the old worldworn nations becoming children in the violence of their passions.

What better way to foster this spirit, and infuse a love of native land and inspire the hearts of the people, than to keep before them the great deeds of their ancestors. The citizens of Rome placed the images of their ancestors in the vestibule of their houses, so that whenever they went in or out, those venerable busts met their eyes and recalled the glorious actions of the dead to fire the living, to excite them to imitate and even to emulate their great forefathers. The success answered the design. The virtue of one generation was transfused, by the magic of example, into several; and the spirit of heroism was maintained throughout many ages of that commonwealth. Let us continue to keep alive the memory of the great men who made these great States what they are, keeping ever fresh the recollection of the illustrious deeds of those great patriots who have gone before us, and by the magic of example, let them be infused into this generation. Let the people who know who were the men that established Virginia and North Carolina; that in their veins ran the blood of fierce, war-like, liberty-loving ancestors, rendering them incapable of counting the costs of resistance when liberty was at stake; let them know that the bold spirit which sustained their fathers in the trying hours of the Revolution and the Confederacy, has been transmitted to them unimpaired as their heritage and birthright.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CONTRIBUTORS.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

ALFRED MOORE WADDELL.

Hon. Alfred Moore Waddell, LL.D., whose valuable article on "North Carolina in the French and Indian War" appears in this issue, was born in Hillsboro, N. C., September 16th, 1834, educated at Bingham's School, Caldwell Institute, and graduated at the University of North Carolina, class of 1856. He read law under Chief Justice Nash, Judge Bailey, Judge Battle and Hon. Samuel F. Phillips. Since 1856 he has made his home in Wilmington, N. C. He edited the *Wilmington Herald* in 1860; entered the Confederate Army in 1861; was made Adjutant and advanced to Lieutenant-Colonel; was elected to Congress in 1870; was re-elected three terms; served from March 4th, 1871, to March 4th, 1879; was Chairman of Post-office Committee of the House during his last term; was elected Mayor of Wilmington five times. Colonel Waddell is a lawyer of acknowledged ability and distinguished for his power and eloquence as a public speaker and as a painstaking historian. He has brought to light many instances in the history of our State which have been generally unknown to the people of the other States. Col. Waddell was one of the twelve writers who contributed an article for Volume 1st of THE BOOKLET. His article was entitled "The Stamp Act on the Cape Fear." This recital of events leading to the Revolution is founded on the incontrovertable fact, that the Stamp Act, which was passed by the British Parliament March 22, 1765, and the repeal of which occurred just one year afterwards, was one of the most potent causes of the Revolution of 1776, which resulted in the estab-

lishment of the government of the United States; that in the old Colonial town of Brunswick, sixteen miles below Wilmington, on the Cape Fear River, the *first* armed resistance to British oppression on this continent occurred on the 28th of November, 1765. This was ten years before the Revolution and nine years before the Boston Tea Party. Colonel Waddell asserts "with absolute confidence, that while all the other colonies were resolute in their determination to resist the Stamp Act, yet in *one colony only* did they openly, in large numbers and with arms in their hands, resist in armed force a 20-gun sloop of war—in an attempt to land the stamps, and this two weeks after they had compelled a stamp master to resign his office."

Col. Waddell, in the article referred to, has given a full recital of the events leading to this armed resistance, not only the tradition as handed down to sons and daughters of the men who did these things, but the facts which are verified by Governor Tryon's letter book, which was discovered in London in 1848. There were various versions of the story before the contemporaneous records were brought to light, although in regard to the main facts they agreed. One of these versions confused these events with the "tea parties" of Edenton and Boston, which occurred several years afterwards.

North Carolina has ever been noted for the liberty-loving spirit of her people, and Bancroft, in his first edition, paid a magnificent and just tribute to this characteristic as displayed by them in Colonial days; but in editions published during the war for Southern Independence the tribute was eliminated and no longer appears in that standard work. Great credit is due Colonel Waddell for espousing the cause of the Cape Fear section, a section as historic as any in America, not only famous for its resistance to unjust oppression, but for the *first* victory of the American Revolution, won at Moore's Creek Bridge on February 27th, 1776, which

has been most ably written up by Prof. M. C. S. Noble of the University of North Carolina, in March number of BOOKLET, 1904.

The chief historical work written by Colonel Waddell is a volume entitled "A Colonial Officer and His Times"—this being a biography of his ancestor, General Hugh Waddell, who figured so conspicuously in the period just preceding the Revolution.

Col. Waddell comes of distinguished ancestry. His great grandfathers were Gen. Francis Nash (for whom Nash County and Nashville, N. C., and Nashville, Tenn., were named), mortally wounded at Germantown, Pa., October 4th, 1777; General Waddell (colonial); Col. J. Pugh Williams (revolutionary), and Alfred Moore, Justice of the United States Supreme Court (1799-1805), for whom he was named. His father's mother was the only child of General Nash.

Colonel Waddell was married first to Miss Savage, of Wilmington, and second to Miss Gabrielle de Rosset, of the same city. This genial and gifted gentleman at this writing resides in Wilmington and is engaged in the practice of law.

MR. JUNIUS DAVIS

Mr. Junius Davis, the author of the article in this number of THE BOOKLET, entitled "Locke's Fundamental Constitutions," is a prominent lawyer of the Cape Fear section of North Carolina, and was born on the 17th of June, 1845. He was the son of Hon. Geo. Davis, at one time Attorney-General of the Confederate States, who at the time of his death, in February, 1896, was called the first citizen of Wilmington; a man of unsullied character and eminent for his ability, culture and public service. The mother of Junius Davis, the first wife of his father, was Miss Mary Adelaide Polk, daughter of General Thomas G. Polk, of Mecklenburg County, and a granddaughter of Colonel William Polk, of the Revolution.

The subject of this sketch began his education in the primary schools of Wilmington, and on reaching his twelfth year he became a pupil of the celebrated Bingham School. In 1861, after the war began, the family having removed to Charlotte, he there studied for a few months, but on reaching the age of seventeen he enlisted as a private in Moore's Battery, which was Company E of the Tenth North Carolina Regiment. He passed through the dangers and perils of war, serving faithfully as private and corporal; was in the engagements at Plymouth, New Bern, Drury's Bluff, Bermuda Hundreds, battles around Richmond, in the trenches at Petersburg, Battle of the Crater, the assault on Fort Harrison, and continued to endure the hard experience which fell to the lot of Lee's veterans, and had the good fortune of escaping without any serious wound. It was with a sad heart, after hearing of the surrender of General Lee, that he with some companions pursued their way towards Bedford City, Va., with the purpose of joining Johnston's army; when they reached the vicinity of Greensboro they heard of Johnston's surrender, and that the last Confederate army had disappeared. Corporal Davis came to Greensboro and surrendered himself to the Federal provost-marshal at that point and was paroled. He then returned to his home in Charlotte, obtained employment for a time, returning to Wilmington in the fall of 1865 at the age of twenty years. In the absence of any other opening he engaged himself as a clerk in a dry-goods store. Indeed, at that time nearly every one was in a similar condition; young men all over the South were ready and willing to do any honorable service to earn a livelihood. As a clerk Mr. Davis was faithful, rendering efficient service to his employers, and passed through that period after the war that tried men's souls, with that resolution which insures success.

In the year 1867 Junius Davis began the study of law in his father's office, and obtained his license to practice in the

County Courts; was associated as a partner with his father until the death of that gentleman in 1896.

Inheriting much of the talent of his father and trained by him in the details of professional work, Junius Davis fell into the same careful habits of precision and thoroughness that were the distinguishing traits of that honored lawyer and public-spirited citizen.

Mr. Davis has attained an honorable position in his profession, and his opinions are held in as high esteem as that of any other lawyer in the State of North Carolina. He is an honorary member of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati and a member of the North Carolina Sons of the Revolution, and a member by baptism of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

On January 19th, 1874, Mr. Davis was married first to Miss Mary Orme Walker, daughter of Thomas D. and Mary Vance Walker. Mrs. Davis having died, some years later he married Miss Mary Walker Cowan, daughter of Colonel Robert H. Cowan, of Wilmington. He has had eleven children, of whom nine survive.

Mr. Davis is of distinguished lineage. Among his ancestors were Roger Moore, Sir John Yeamans, John Baptista Ashe, Major Alexander Lillington, Col. Sam Swan, as well as from other equally worthy lines of Colonial ancestors, whose axes had first rung in the forests of the Cape Fear. With such blood in his veins he is a worthy scion of illustrious stock.

Mr. Davis partakes of his father's literary and historical turn of mind, is interested in the local history of the Cape Fear, his public addresses though but few, on account of his arduous professional labors, have a genuine literary flavor, and his style is strong and forcible. His historical addresses show research and familiarity with the history of the State, and can be relied upon as thoroughly accurate.

(The above facts, chiefly condensed from a sketch of Mr. Davis in Biographical History of North Carolina by Capt. S. A. Ashe.)

MR. THOMAS M. PITTMAN.

Mr. Thos. M. Pittman, the author of the article in this issue entitled "Industrial Life in Colonial Carolina," is a practicing lawyer in the town of Henderson, North Carolina, where he devotes his time to his profession. He was born in Franklin County, North Carolina, November 24th, 1857. He was the son of Alfred H. Pittman and Elizabeth (Neathery) Pittman. His parents died when he was about fourteen years of age, but up to this period they had given him the best educational advantages that were attainable in the town where they lived. At the age of fourteen he began work at the Mecklenburg Iron Works and settled at Charlotte, N. C., where for four years he was diligent as a clerk, and won the esteem and confidence of his employers. At the age of eighteen he began the study of law, and at the age of twenty years received his license; was admitted to practice in the District and Circuit Court of the United States in 1878. In the fall of the same year, without waiting the usual three years, he was almost immediately appointed Examiner in Equity in the Circuit Court. Mr. Pittman, with these exceptional advantages, besides being an almost omniverous reader, has risen to the topmost round of his profession and has won the esteem and kindly consideration of his professional brethren, and of his countrymen. He has devoted much of his leisure time in gathering materials and making studies of North Carolina History, and has a notable collection of historical material hardly to be equalled in the State.

Mr. Pittman is a writer of ability and has delivered and written many addresses on different epochs in our State's history. Among the most important—

"The Great Sanhedrin of the Jews and its Criminal Procedure."

Address on "English Words."

The Race Question and Socialism.

The Preparation for Baptist Work in North Carolina.

The Revolutionary Congress of North Carolina, and the Monograph on John Penn, "the signer," written for the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, Vol. IV, September, 1904.

Address on Nathaniel Macon.

Address before the Baptist State Convention at Greenville, N. C.

Address at Guilford Battle Ground, July 4, 1902.

J. S. Carr Prize Essay.

Lemuel Brickett, A Sketch.

John Porter and the Cary Rebellion.

Address to Summer School at A. & M. College, 1903.

He has written several sketches for the Biographical History of North Carolina, 1906-7.

Mr. Pittman is a prominent member of the Baptist Church, and has filled the offices of Deacon, Clerk, Sunday School Superintendent, Teacher, Vice-President of the Baptist State Convention, and of the American Baptist Historical Society, and many other offices that are recorded in the annals of this progressive denomination.

Mr. Pittman married Mrs. Harriet Lassiter, formerly Thrower, in June, 1884, and they have two children, Elizabeth, a graduate of the Boston Conservatory of Music, and Thomas M., Jr., a civil engineer on the Illinois Central Railroad.

GENEALOGY.

The Pittmans are of German extraction, and were settled on the Rhine at an early period. They were in England prior to the settlement of Virginia. The first of the family in this country died at Jamestown within the first ten years of that settlement. Later two branches of the family settled in America, one in Rhode Island, the other in Virginia. His grandfather, Merritt Pittman, came to Halifax County, in

this State, from Isle of Wight County, Virginia; his father was James Pittman, who was settled on the James River.

Thomas M. Pittman's maternal ancestor was Richard Bennett, who came to North Carolina from Maryland about 1750 and settled in Halifax, N. C. He was one of three brothers. One settled in Marlborough County, S. C., and gave the name of Bennettsville to the county town; the other settled in Anson and was ancestor to Judge R. T. Bennett and others of consideration in that county. He numbers among his ancestors the Neatherys and Lancasters of Revolutionary fame.

With Mr. Pittman's determined will, noble ambition and character, together with a superior intellect, he will continue on the road to success, ranking with the best in all his undertakings.

COMPILED BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

HON. JAMES ALSTON CABELL.

The Honorable James Alston Cabell, lawyer, legislator, writer, was born in Richmond, Virginia. He belongs to an English family of undoubted antiquity, which was seated in the counties of Devon, Wilts and Somerset. His ancestor came to Virginia at a very early period. During the Colonial and Revolutionary epochs of our history, the members of his family bore a conspicuous part in all public affairs, and rendered their country useful and distinguished services in war as well as in peace, serving in the Colonial wars, the House of Burgesses, the Committees of Safety, the Conventions and the Army of the Revolution. His father, the late Col. Henry Coalter Cabell, was a prominent lawyer, and in the Civil War was Chief of the Artillery of the Army of the Peninsular, and Chief of Artillery of McLaw's Division of the Army of Northern Virginia. The mother of the subject of this sketch

was Jane Alston, daughter of Major James and Catherine (Hamilton) Alston, of Abbeville, South Carolina.

Mr. Cabell is a graduate of Richmond College, and also of the University of Virginia, having had three degrees conferred upon him by the latter institution. While at the University he was prominent in athletics as well as in his studies; was editor of *The Virginia University Magazine,* which he conducted with marked ability, and won the scholarship in the Scientific Department and a thousand dollar prize. He was called to a professorship in the Central University of Kentucky, which he filled for two years. This position he resigned in 1880, and joined his father in the practice of law at Richmond. In 1884 he was elected a member of the City Council. In 1893 he was elected a member of the General Assembly of Virginia. He was re-elected and served until 1897, when he declined re-election. In 1896 his constituents desired him to become a candidate for Congress, but he had determined at the close of his legislative duties to devote himself to his profession and literary labors. He has recently been conspicuously mentioned as a candidate for Governor of Virginia. He married June 12, 1895, Miss Ethel Hoyt Scott, of New York City. He served for nine years as Chairman of the Virginia Commission on the Uniformity of Legislation in the United States.

Mr. Cabell is a member of the State Bar Association and the American Bar Association; a life member of the American Historical Association, the Southern Historical Association, and the Virginia Historical Society. He has been a member of the Advisory Board of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities since its organization. He re-organized the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati, and was elected President of Temporary Organization of the Virginia Society in 1890. He is also an hereditary member of

the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati. He was elected President of the Sons of the Revolution in Virginia in 1895; President of the Alumni Association of Richmond College in 1896, and Commander of the Virginia Commandery of the Military Order of Foreign Wars in 1899. He is a graceful speaker.

Mr. Cabell is an active, honorary, or corresponding member of a number of literary historical and scientific societies in this country and abroad; is editor of the *Virginia Masonic Journal,* and is the author of a number of scientific historical and biographical treatises and papers.

This excellent address, delivered by this popular and talented Virginian, at a banquet given by the Newport News Chamber of Commerce last autumn before the launching of the U. S. Cruiser *North Carolina,* has been republished in THE BOOKLET at the suggestion of a prominent North Carolina lawyer.

ABSTRACTS OF WILLS

From the Office of Clerk of Superior Court of Chowan County, Edenton, N. C.

Will of Stephen Cabarrus, of Pembroke, Chowan County, October 20th, 1807. Sisters Marianna, Cadette and Julia Cabarrus, now living at or near Bayonne, $3,000. Brother Augustus, now living with me, nephews Thomas and Augustus Cabarrus, nowing living with me; sister-in-law Clarence, wife of my brother Bartholemy Cabarrus, now living at Paris, France; my large diamond ring and gold snuff box, formerly belonging to my beloved deaceased wife, Mrs. J. Charrier, sister of my beloved wife and wife of Mr. Jean Charrier *fils*, living at Bordeaux, France, all her sister's clothes, her diamond earrings, diamond Aigrette, our double gold wedding ring and a garnate necklace; my friend. General William Richardson Davie, living in S. C., my friend Judge John Louis Taylor; Sophia Niel, her sister Polly Niel, children of Julia Beaulieu Charrier, wife of Jean Charrier *fils*. Samuel Tredwell, Judge John Louis Taylor, John Roulhac and brother Auguste, Exrs. My servants, Louis, Sylvia, Lorient and John I desire emancipated and to each $100.00. Test. John Otis Freeman, Nat. Bond. From the office of C. S. C. Chowan Co., Edenton, N. C. Abstract of Will of Stephen Cabarrus.

Abstract of Wills taken from Secretary of State's Office.

Will of Elizabeth Anderson, Nov. 1732; prob. Dec. 1733. Son James, son Carolus, daughter Elizabeth Pitman, daughter Elizabeth Anderson, Eliz. Pitman's son, Wm. Anderson, daughter Sarah Anderson, granddaughter Elizabeth Anderson, granddaughter Sarah Anderson.

Will of Henry Bonner, Chowan. Son Henry, son Thomas, grandson Richard Lewis, daughter Elizabeth Lewis, daughter

Deborah, daughter Mary, granddaughter Sarah Lewis, granddaughter Deborah Lewis: Sept. 1, 1738.

Will of James Ansell, Sept. 12—1738; prob. Apr. 1—1740. John Ansell, daughter Sarah Roberts, grandson James Roberts.

Will of William Badham, Chowan. Oct. 28—1736; Ellen, daughter of Martha Dunston, relict of John Dunston, born at Edenton, Aug. 1st—1733, land I Bought of William Willson; 250 acres adjoining Orlando Champion to her sister Mary, born June 6th—, 1735.

Wife Martha, Barnaby Stetz Dunston, Richard William Dunston, Arthur Laport, son of Jonho Laport.

HELEN DEB. WILLS.

The North Carolina Booklet

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION ISSUED UNDER
THE AUSPICES OF THE

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THIS PUBLICATION treats of important events in North Carolina History, such as may throw light upon the political, social or religious life of the people of this State during the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, in the form of monographs written and contributed by as reliable and painstaking historians as our State can produce. The Sixth Volume began in July, 1906.

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Vol. VII. OCTOBER, 1907 No. 2

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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Vol. VII OCTOBER, 1907 No. 2

ODE TO NORTH CAROLINA.

BY PATTIE WILLIAMS GEE.

I.

By Honor called
To stay the rocks from heralding the shame
Long gathering of oblivion to blame;
Of silent tongue
While one beloved is still untrumpeted, unsung;
A daughter of the pines would climb Old Bald,
And from his heaven-ascending brim,
Down the long slopes which greet the sea's low rim,
Would gonfalons of song unfold
(As when Vulcanus rolled
His rugged gold;
Demeter swung her surging plumes,
All her arms held of primal blooms,
Of subtle beauty and of wild perfumes)
Far o'er the fruited, fern-robed Wold,
(A bride the burning Sun
Doth feast his amorous lips upon);
And over orioled mountain peaks
Whose sweeping eagles' piercing shrieks
Die in blue beds of cloud-blown deeps;
Till e'en the bitterest wrong
Which through the sad years yearns and weeps
Shall from its stream of tears up-leap to strife-dissolving song!

II.

O, Carolinians, lift your eyes!
(God-gladdened eyes!)
And know this well:—
That 'tis your happy lot to dwell
Where Nature walks
In affluence.
Beneath a low-hung sky forever slipping
Warm kisses on her lips and dewy nectar dripping
Upon her flowered petticoat
Oft caught by wandering mists afloat;
Whose tunic, jewel-broidered, gleams;
Whose train is sun-lit, shimmering streams,
And talks
With him who owns her influence!

III.

Yours the consecrated sod
Which first the Anglo-Saxon trod
Of all our hard-won soil!
And sanctifying home and toil,
Yours the Mother on whose breast,
Smiling in confiding rest,
Lay the first American!
O, Carolinians, know this well,
And to your children's children tell
That here our civil rights began!
That here a woman stricken sore
Scorned to spare the sons she bore!
That here our proto-martyrs bled!
Say no stately rites were said
O'er these first for freedom dead,—
These first red drops for freedom shed,
But tell them, Carolinians, how
From wounds and bruise of sword and lance,

From purple pools of Alamance,
There sprang the flower of Mecklenburg,
The laurel flower sprang, and how
Its spreading leaves of liberty
Wreathed first their Mother's brow!

IV.

O, blood-blown Leaves of Liberty,
So doubly dear, so fair,
O, blood-blown Leaves of Liberty
Which stained her glorious hair
When foes unnumbered sacked her shores
And left a leprous reptile at her doors,
A leprous reptile that a woman may not name,—
O, blood-blown Leaves of Liberty, men blush at your great name!
Since Nero burned imperial Rome,
His torches flashed beneath her dome,
Was never scourge like this,—
This crucifix which weak lips needs must kiss!

V.

But who could bear to stir a woman's pain
When guns, corosive, cold,
Lie dumb and still?
When o'er a wind-swept hill
Where sleep her valiant slain
A flawless moon unfolds in sympathy to rise in glory and in glory wane?
When o'er a silvered plain
The stars flood melody to light the reign
Of Love wherein young Hope was born?—
Born of the Awakening of unused resources
Wedded to Vigor of swift water courses

From towering summits scurrying cold
Through miles of cotton blossoms, miles of corn,
A Naiad robed in gold?—

VI.

Oh that a living lyre might tell
This patient Mother's virtues! Dwell
Upon each deed chivalric of her sons!
Oh that an Orpheus might sing
Of that chill morn whereon there fell
Such courage courting death
As merged Purpose into Promise; flowered incipient life to breath
When Victory's voice o'er Moore's lonely dell
Shook the gray boughs; forced every woodland bell![1]
Oh that resounding hymns might ring
Of Ramseur's Mill and the four hundred under Locke
Who stilled the booming of a thousand guns!
Of Joseph Graham whose twenty score
Repulsed the madness of four thousand more
Flung powerless upon a human rock!
Of that immortal field in Memory's raptured fabric woven[2]
Whereon no foe was lost, no foe uncaptured or uncloven!
Of her who won a warrior's crest
And blazoned Charlotte with The Hornet's Nest—
The proud escutcheon of the Hornet's Nest!
And of Penelope of old,
Leading (as chronicles relate)
The women of quaint Edenton to hold
High council and protest
Against coercion by an alien state
In mad exaction of an alien tax!
Of New Bern, Hillsboro, and of Halifax!

[1]The Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776.
[2]The Battle of King's Mountain.

VII.

Oh that a living lyre might tell
Her virtues! Dwell
Upon each deed chivalric of her sons,
Till from a million throats
Upon the rushing currents of the years,
(In tiger-breeding wars through tears)
There floats
This shibboleth—The spirit of the Spartan breathes and burns!
Ah yes, what though her iron days are past
And though the adamant wherein her fate was cast
No longer binds,—
The spirit of the Spartan breathes and burns
And on the shifting winds
Of Duty seaward turns,—

VIII.

Seaward where torn flags are trailing over crushed and crumbled walls,
Men are sighing, struggling, dying, to be freed from ancient thralls,
And again a righteous Mother,
Instant to relieve another,
Instant at her country's call,
Sends one with this spirit in him
"To return with Valour's guerdon"—
(List the Spartan Mother's burden!)
"Or beneath a soldier's pall!"
(Oh the pity and the heartache
And the anguish of it all!)
For Alamance and Bethel's story
Rings again amid the glory,
Rings again when at the daybreak,

With the Southern fire within him,
With his father's sword without him,
With the old flag wrapped about him,
(Oh the triumph and the glory,
And the rapture of it all!)
For his country's vindication,
For a friend's amelioration,
For the healing of his nation
Gallant Bagley bleeds and falls!

IX.

Yes, Alamance and Bethel's story
Heard again amid the glory
Challenges a nation's praise,
Challenges the world's amaze!

X.

Oh, with this spirit, Carolinians,
Onward to those pure dominions
Overspread by angels' pinions,
By the strong Thought angels' pinions!
Through all dreaming with its leaning toward the infinite,
Through all seeming to God's meaning clear and definite,
Onward to those pure dominions
Overspread by angels' pinions,
Where divine, effulgent light is!
Turn not backward where the night is,
For the broad-orbed sun is risen;
Holy Progress calls you: Listen.

XI.

Onward, patriot souls, unfettered,
Lifting standards, golden-lettered,
"Esse Quam Viderie" graven,
Words no coward hands nor craven

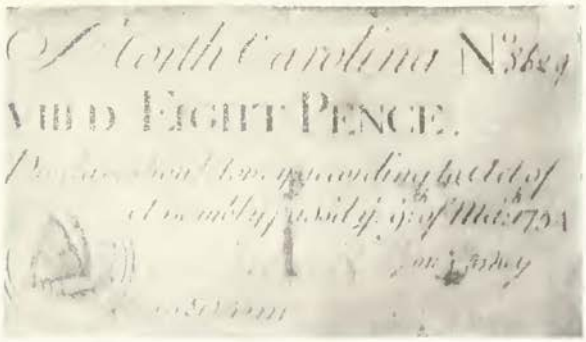
Dare upraise! The Future calls you;
All her luminous doors uncloses,
Pelts you with her dew-drenched roses;
Subtle Art and Music greet you;
Clear-voiced Learning low entreats you;
All the intellects and sages
Of the lost and buried ages
Echoing their sublime acclaim:
Brothers, she who bore you, calls you;
Answer her with deathless fame.

THE FINANCES OF THE NORTH CAROLINA COLONISTS.

BY CHARLES LEE RAPER, PH.D.,
PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

At the mere mention of finance, unless it be in a suggestion of a gift to us in the shape of money, most of us at once declare our lack of interest, if not indeed our complete indifference. We have become so accustomed to the idea that the monetary phase of life is so dry and uninteresting, that the consideration of this phase of our life belongs exclusively to the economist, the expert historian, or the statesman, that most of us, if not indeed all of us, are ignorant of some of the most vital and fundamental aspects and problems of our common everyday life.

But, notwithstanding this apparent popular indifference, the monetary phase of our common life is really vital to all of us—to every man, woman and child among us. We can never, even for a single moment, escape the question of finance, however much we would like to do so. The sentimentalist, who according to his own conceited belief lives solely in the realm of the beautiful and the true,—even he is most fundamentally dependent upon its forces. Finance is not, as many of us have so oftentimes fancied, a subject foreign to our real everyday selves. It is indeed a most vital and universal phase of our normal life, of our life as individuals and as collective bodies of individuals. It is ever present and vital in our consumption of wealth, and in our production and distribution of wealth. It is ever a problem, and a most serious one, for the state, which of necessity must consume wealth for the satiation of all its myriad wants and for the performance of all its protective and developmental functions. The state must not only satiate all its manifold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ONE SIXTH
DOLLAR.
ONE SIXTH.

No. 2844
Thirty Dollars.
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wants, but also perform its part in the production of wealth or the conditions of wealth production. It must do its part in creating and maintaining efficient and equitable conditions, in which the individual citizen may produce the maximum of wealth and the maximum of enjoyment from its production or consumption.

Indeed, the individual must needs have money as a standard of his values and a medium of their exchange before it is at all possible for him to play an important role in life. In fact, money, an efficient and just system, is one of the really great achievements of civilized man. For all men who live in a stage above that of the most primitive type, who are above the exceedingly crude phase of the savage hunter, fisherman, and root-grubber, money is both a necessity and an efficient instrument of individual and social weath and welfare. Whenever man has products which he desires to exchange with another man, wherever he may be, and the higher his civilization and culture the greater number of such products does he possess, then must he have money; then must he possess a standard of the values of these products and a medium of their exchange.

And the state, as well as the individual, has vital need of money. It, like the individual, must needs have money as a standard of values and a medium of their exchange. So numerous and varied are the State's wants and functions that we can not here give them in detail. It must perform all the functions of living, all the functions of protecting itself and all its citizens, and all the functions of developing itself and the conditions of peace, order, prosperity, and welfare, for all its citizens.

In all these phases of life, whether of the individual or of the state, money plays the ever vital part of transmitting economic forces and values, just as the blood carries to all parts of the body the physical forces. It also plays the part of supplying a common expression of these forces and values,

just as language gives to us a common medium of the expression of our thoughts and feelings.

With these convictions ever present in our minds, let us now trace and analyze the finances of our ancestors—the monetary system, and its forces and problems, of the North Carolina colonists. And we shall treat this vital phase of our colonial life under the following heads: Coin, Barter, and Paper.[1]

COIN.

The first colonists, in North Carolina as well as elsewhere in the American provinces, possessed little, if any, money in the shape of coin. They were for the most part poor, and the small amount of wealth which they possessed was in other forms than metallic money. Their wealth was in their weapons, tools, implements, seeds, cattle, and horses, and in this form it was only very slight. People of much wealth were now comparatively few anywhere in Europe, and life in a far-distant and savage land, where at best it was very severe, could offer little attraction to the wealthy and the contented. It was indeed the economic force, or prospect rather, that brought men and women from old and comparatively prosperous countries—it was the hope of economic betterment that brought our ancestors to this wild and unknown land. The provincial government, either in North Carolina or elsewhere, was forbidden to coin money in any form or denomination, and consequently the colonists could obtain only that coin which came to them as a result of their trade with Englishmen, in the motherland, or with foreigners. During the

[1]Since every fact upon which this paper is based can be found in our great collection, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, and in the acts of the provincial assembly—in the first four *Revisals of North Carolina Statutes* or in manuscript now in the office of the Secretary of State—we do not deem it necessary to make detailed references to these collections. For full details we would, with the reader's permission, refer to our *North Carolina Study in English Colonial Government* (Macmillan's, N. Y.), pp. 125-147. And we shall, in referring to this work, use this abbreviated title: *Raper's North Carolina.*

colonial days English coins occasionally came to our ancestors, and these were of the denominations of pound, shilling, and pence. And at times came Spanish silver coins, called Spanish dollars, and Brazilian gold coins. To the North Carolina colonists the Spanish coins came rarely. Our colonial ancestors for many years lived in almost complete isolation. They carried on little direct trade with the colonists of the Spanish islands; their exchanges with foreigners, even with their friends in England, were largely carried on through the New England traders. Ships from New England came to our shores, exchanged finished products for our surplus of raw materials and finished goods, and then transported them to the Spanish islands or Europe. The Carolina colonists sold for foreign or English consumption the surplus products of their streams, forests, and farms, but for the most part they received in exchange finished goods, not coin.

BARTER.

The early colonists of North Carolina, coming into the possession of little coin by means of their commerce, and being forbidden by the government in England to mint such money, must needs resort to the use of barter or paper currency. And they used barter currency extensively, if not indeed exclusively, until 1712, when paper money came into existence; and the use of barter continued for many years after this time. This currency was, to be sure, no new creation by the Carolina colonists. Its use has been universal in certain stages of economic development. Whenever people have surplus products to exchange with each other and do not possess a common standard of the values of these products or common media of their exchange, they always resort to barter currency. They, by common consent or by legislative enactment, declare that a certain one of their products shall serve as a standard of all values, and that a number of their commodities shall serve as media of exchange; and to these commodities

they assign certain legal tender values, in terms of which all their exchanges must take place. The Carolina colonists already possessed a standard of values—the English pound, sterling. In terms of this standard all their barter commodities were given a legal exchange value.

Exactly when the Carolina colonists resorted to the use of barter currency and gave it definite form we are unable to find out, though we have many reasons for thinking that it was early in their provincial life. In 1715-1716 the lords proprietors allowed, though unwillingly, an act of the assembly to go into operation, in which seventeen commodities were enumerated and assigned full legal tender values as barter currency; and this act was only a revisal of a former one. This act, changed a few years later so as to incorporate a few more commodities, was in operation until the middle of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding much opposition on the part of the lords proprietors or the crown officials (after 1731). The following is the table of commodities and their legal tender exchange ratios in terms of the standard, sterling, as declared by the act of 1715-1716:

	Pound.	Shilling.	Pence.
[1]Tobacco, per hundred		10	
Indian corn, per bushel		1	8
Wheat, per bushel		3	6
Cheese, per pound			4
Row buck and doe skins, per pound			9
Dressed buck and doe skins, per pound		2	6
Tallow, per pound			5
Leather, per pound			8
Beaver and otter skins, per pound		2	6
Wildcat skins, per piece		1	
Butter, per pound			6
Feathers, per pound		1	4
Tar, per barrel		10	
Pitch, per barrel	1		
Whale oil, per barrel	1	10	
Beef, per barrel	1	10	
Pork, per barrel	2	5	

This act was changed in 1723. Indian corn was now given the legal tender ratio of 2 shillings per bushel, in the place of 1 shilling and 8 pence, as by the act of 1715-1716, and wheat

[1]Colonial Records, IV., pp. 291-92.

was given the value of 4 shillings, in the place of 3 shillings and 6 pence. Hemp, at 8 pence per pound, rice, at 1 pound and 5 shillings per hundred, and turpentine, at 1 pound and 5 shillings per barrel, were now added to the table of barter commodities.[1]

As was to be expected, these legal ratios of the barter commodities did not long remain the same as their market ratios. Each commodity became more abundant or less abundant as compared with the demand for it, and consequently its market price must needs vary. Its market price must be either higher than the legal price or lower than this price. For instance, the market price of deer skins was in 1731 practically the same as that fixed by the law of 1715-1716, while the prices of tar and pitch in 1731 were from one-third to one-fourth of their legal value as fixed in 1716. Since the assembly for the most part took the maximum market value of the barter commodities and declared this to be the legal tender value, not only for that time but also for many years afterward, it was most natural that in the case of many of the commodities their market value should be much lower than their legal value. Exactly what the exchange ratio of these barter commodities in terms of the standard, sterling, was for the whole period of their use we can not say. It is, however, a well established fact that barter was for practically the whole period of its existence a depreciated currency. We have specific evidence that the average market ratio of these barter commodities in terms of sterling was in 1709, 1731, and 1733, three to one. So great was the depreciation of this currency, so much was the market value of many of these commodities below that assigned to them by law, that the lords proprietors at times refused to receive this currency in payment of their quit-rents,[2] unless this money should be offered at a fair market rate.[3]

[1]Colonial Record, IV., pp. 292-93.

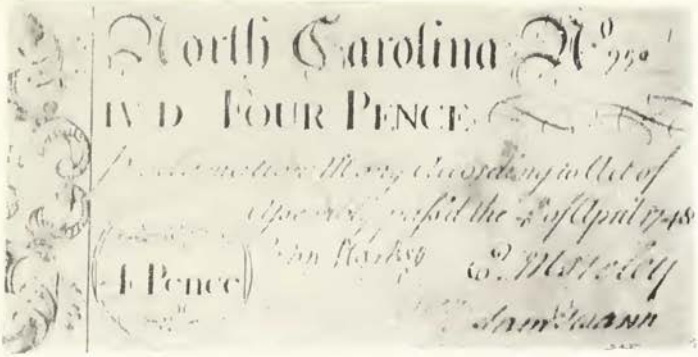
[2]Quit-rents were the land rents due from the colonists to the lords proprietors.

[3]Raper's North Carolina, pp. 129-30; Colonial Records, III., p. 185.

Such a currency, with its many fluctuations and its great depreciations, was, to say the least, very inadequate, if not indeed disadvantageous. It caused fluctuations in prices and wages. It was certainly a most inconvenient medium of exchange, both to the buyer and the seller, to the payer and the payee. It was also a dishonest form of the payment of fees to the provincial officers and of quit-rents to the proprietors, to say nothing of its great inconvenience. These fees and quit-rents were fixed in amount upon the basis of barter being equal to sterling, and were therefore only in part paid when barter money was actually worth from one-third to one-fourth sterling. Little wonder is it that we have so many and so frequent complaints of such a currency, on the part of the provincial officers, the lords proprietors, and the crown. And the defects of such a currency became more and more grievous as time went on and the economic life of the colonists became more extensive. There would be fluctuations and depreciations in this currency, even though the assembly at each session established new rates of the exchange of these commodities in terms of the standard, sterling; and this they most certainly did not do. Such a currency must be set aside entirely or the colonists must, at least, have some other form of money to supplement it. They could not, because of an order from England, mint coin money. They therefore resorted to the issue of paper currency, to supplement or take the place of barter. And the history of this paper money is full of disaster and broken faith, if not indeed of dishonor.

PAPER.

That a demand for this form of currency came early from the Carolina colonists, we are most certain. But the lords proprietors did not grant such a demand until 1712, and it was the pressing need of a financial emergency, that of war, which now caused them to yield. The provincial government was now burdened with a debt which the Tuscarora war had brought upon it. And, though this debt amounted to only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about 4,000 pounds, a really small sum, so inadequate was the province's machinery of taxation, and so great and fundamental was the colonists' opposition to paying a tax, that it was decided by the assembly to borrow this amount by forcing into circulation 4,000 pounds of bills of credit. These bills were given the same legal exchange ratio as barter currency; they were based upon the common standard of values, a pound sterling. They were also made full legal tender money—that is, they were forced into circulation by the provision that the refusal to accept them in payment of a debt caused the debt to become null. While theoretically they were to be redeemed, they were in actual fact irredeemable, at least for a time. To be sure, the legislature levied a tax for the purpose of their redemption, but this tax was only in slight part collected, and very slowly at that. But, notwithstanding its inconvertibility, this form of money passed for a time at its par value; its volume was small and the demand of the colonists for money was comparatively great.[1]

A new form of currency had now been issued by the provincial assembly, and its use had now been allowed, though very unwillingly, by the lords proprietors. When once the precedent of issuing irredeemable paper money was established, it was certainly a most difficult thing to resist the demand of the colonists for a further use of this kind of money. In 1713 this demand was again granted, and 8,000 pounds of bills of credit were emitted. To these bills, as to those of the issue of 1712, full legal tender powers were given, and they were forced into circulation among the colonists. They, like the bills of the first issue, were theoretically redeemable. For this purpose a tax upon land and polls was levied, but this tax, like the one levied in 1712, was only in slight part collected, and the bills were in actual fact not redeemed. They, as a matter of course, did not long pass on

[1]Raper's North Carolina, pp. 130-1.

the market at their par value; there were now in circulation 12,000 pounds ($40,000) of practically irredeemable paper money, a supply very large for a population of not more than 10,000. Soon they had depreciated within the province to the extent of forty per cent of their legal value, and outside of North Carolina they were all the time practically worthless.[1]

As we have already said, these issues of irredeemable and depreciating currency were very unwillingly allowed by the lords proprietors. But their opposition came not because of their conviction that such a currency would bring disturbances to provincial prices, but because they were keenly aware that this money would be an unfair form of payment of fees to their officers in the province and of quit-rents due to themselves from their land. Their opposition to the issue of such a currency was, however, of no avail. The lords proprietors lived in England, then an exceedingly great distance—a many-days' journey—from North Carolina, and their control over the provincial government was at best only slight.

This kind of currency once being established, and the policy of practical independence on the part of the provincial assembly once being allowed by the lords proprietors, paper money continued to be the chief currency of our ancestors for many years, in fact until the English parliament in 1764 forbade the issue, by any of the provincial assemblies, of bills of credit, and in 1773 of treasury notes. In 1714-1715, though the Indian wars were over, and, as time has proved, forever, though there was no pressing need for public revenue to the provincial government, the assembly again ordered, in spite of the opposition of the lords proprietors, an emission of bills of credit—24,000 pounds. This issue was for the purpose of retiring the bills which had been emitted in 1712 and 1713, now much worn and defaced, and of paying the other debts of the provincial government. The taxes which had been

[1]Raper's North Carolina, p. 131.

levied for the redemption of the first two issues had either not been collected or the funds accruing from these taxes had been expended for other uses than their legal ones—in either case a most remarkable comment upon the province's fiscal fairness and honesty. And for the redemption of this issue, that of 1715, no limit of time was fixed, though theoretically a tax was levied for its redemption some time or other. These bills were given a legal exchange ratio equal to that of the barter currency, which was now 1.5 to 1 sterling. To prevent their depreciation, the assembly resorted to a most extraordinary and foolish plan. The assembly not only gave to these bills full legal tender powers, but also established a severe penalty for refusal to accept them in payment of debt. For refusing to accept them meant, so the law declared, the forfeiture of twice the amount of the bills offered. But, notwithstanding such a provision, this paper currency did not pass on the market at its legal ratio of exchange. Irredeemable paper money rarely, if ever, passes at par value; the conditions of its redemption are too uncertain and vague. The very fact that the assembly provided such a penalty for refusal to accept clearly enough indicates the weakness of such money. The public credit of the provincial government was too weak for these bills to pass on the market at their par value, regardless of such an extraordinary penalty. By 1721 they were passing at 2.5 to 1 sterling, though by the law of their issue they must be accepted at 1.5 to 1 sterling. And now even the lords proprietors refused to accept such depreciated currency in payment of lands or quit-rents, though they were at this time accepting in payment of such claims that inconvenient and depreciated currency known as barter.[1]

So inefficiently was the tax which was levied upon land and polls for the redemption of these bills of credit of 1715, that one-half of the issue—12,000 pounds—was still outstanding in 1722, seven years after their emission. And,

[1]Raper's North Carolina, pp. 128, 132-3.

too, it was most evident that the colonists did not seriously intend to redeem them, for in 1720 the assembly enacted a provision which diminished the rate of the tax, and this in spite of a clause in the act of 1714-1715 to the effect that the rate should never be diminished as long as any of this paper money was in circulation. These bills which were in 1722 still unredeemed were worn and defaced, and during this year the assembly ordered that they be replaced by new bills. This act, together with the fact that one-half of the issue of 1715 had been redeemed, it was hoped, would bring greater value to the province's paper money. But such a desirable result did not come. Bills of credit for practically the whole of the next seven years, from 1722 to 1729, passed on the market at about 5 to 1 sterling, while by the act of their issue they were given a legal exchange ratio of 1.5 to 1 sterling. And little wonder is it that their depreciation was so great. The faith of the provincial government had too many times been broken, and during these seven years very little was done to bring back public credit to a condition of fairness and honesty.[1]

And this was by no means the last of irredeemable and depreciating paper money. The colonists were for many years yet to be cursed by the excessive use of this kind of currency—a curse which came to them while they were expecting a blessing. In 1729, just before the crown assumed administrative control of the province, though after the transfer of ownership of the soil had been made from the lords proprietors to the English king, 40,000 pounds of this very kind of currency, bills of exchange, were by the provincial assembly ordered to be emitted. The lords proprietors had all the time opposed the issue of inflated and inadequate, unfair and dishonest money, and the English crown was soon to advise, specifically and in strong terms, against its continued use. But now in the interim, as it really was,

[1]Raper's North Carolina, pp. 133-4.

in the period between the administration of the lords proprietors and that of the king, the colonists fairly satiated their inordinate desire for such inflated money. They increased the paper currency of the province to the extent of 30,000 pounds of bills of credit. They now, through an order from their assembly, issued 40,000 pounds of such paper money; 10,000 pounds of this to be used for sinking the old bills, which were now defaced and which had really come down from 1712 and 1713, and 30,000 pounds to be loaned. For the redemption of this total issue, 40,000 pounds, a provision was made for the loaning of 30,000 at six per cent. interest for a period of fifteen years; the interest accruing from this loan would, they thought, bring in sufficient funds with which to redeem the whole issue—40,000 pounds—and leave a balance to the credit of the provincial government of 5,000 pounds. But this plan, if it was not indeed foolish, came to a disastrous failure. The security upon which the loans were made was, at least in many cases, the most inadequate. To these new bills was given the legal exchange ratio of 5.17 to 1 sterling, which was approximately the market ratio of the old bills. But these bills, like all the others, did not long pass at their par value. The banking scheme of the assembly, by which these bills were to be redeemed, was so inefficiently executed, the securities upon which the 30,000 pounds were loaned were so unsound, so long had the faith of the provincial government been broken, that irredeemable paper money could not possibly pass at par. By 1731 the bills of 1729 were circulating at about 8 to 1 sterling, though by the act of their emission they were given full legal tender powers to pass on the market at 5.7 to 1 sterling.[1]

Such was the monetary condition when the English crown actually assumed control of the provincial government, such was the province's depreciated currency in 1731. And the

[1]Raper's North Carolina, pp. 134-5.

first royal Governor, George Burrington, came with full and specific instructions from the officials in England not to accept such depreciated money in payment of fees and quit-rents. But such instructions could not possibly be carried out. Only in theory could Burrington and the other crown officials in the province refuse to accept such currency in payment of fees and quit-rents; the colonists refused to pay these obligations unless they were allowed to pay them in their own money. And the royal governor was also instructed not to allow any further emission of such depreciating and dishonest currency. But the conditions which prevailed throughout the province, the great powers which the provincial assembly had gradually acquired through all the years of the proprietary period, and the extreme weakness of the English control over the Colonists,—all these circumstances stood face to face with the royal instructions, and the instructions were ignored or set aside. By 1735 not one tenth of the money due from the loan of 1729 had been collected, and the small amount which had been collected had been used for other than the legal purpose of redeeming the bills of credit; the whole issue of 1729 was still in circulation. Quit-rents to the King and fees to the crown's officers in the province were greatly in arrears. All this created a most favorable atmosphere for the advocates of inflated currency, and they now demanded a further issue of irredeemable paper money. And Governor Johnston, notwithstanding his royal instructions to the contrary, saw fit to accept an act of the assembly by which 40,000 pounds of new bills of credit were emitted. These new bills were to sink the issue of 1729; and it was enacted that the loan of 1729 should be continued and that the funds which accrued from it should be reloaned until 1744. The colonists again, as in 1729, made a frank and open declaration in favor of a permanent use of irredeemable and fluctuating paper money. In all their early issues

they made theoretical provision for their speedy redemption. But now, as in 1729, they provided for a large volume of paper money for a period of at least ten years. In the past, the use of paper money had been practically permanent, though in theory only temporary. Now it is made permanent both theoretically and practically.[1]

And this is not all of the monetary legislation of the year 1735. In order to pay certain claims against the provincial government, presumably salaries to the members of the legislature, the assembly made a grant to the crown of 14,150 pounds. In return for this grant of revenue to the crown, the assembly violated the royal instructions which forbade a further issue of bills of credit. They ordered to be issued 12,500 pounds of new bills, in addition to the 40,000 pounds already mentioned, and levied a tax upon polls and liquors for a period of five years.[2]

With 52,500 pounds of paper money in circulation for a population of only 35,000 whites, with very inefficient provisions for its redemption, and with a continuous record of broken public faith since 1712, it is not at all strange that the new bills of 1735 should depreciate. Soon they were passing at 10 to 1 sterling, while by the act of their issue they were given the full legal tender powers of 5.17 to 1 sterling—in reality the total volume of the province's actual media of exchange was only about 5,000 pounds sterling. All these bills should have been fully redeemed by 1745, but in actual fact none of them had been redeemed by this time. The loans of 1729 and 1735 had proved to be disastrous failures and the taxes levied in 1735 had either not been collected at all or had been illegally used for other purposes than that of redeeming a part of the issue of 1735.[3]

The monetary situation from 1745 to 1748, to say the

[1] Raper's N. C., pp. 135-6.
[2] Ibid., pp. 135-6.
[3] Ibid., pp. 136-38.

least, was very unsatisfactory. To relieve the depreciated currency and to pay fees, quit-rents, and legislators' salaries, many attempts were made to emit more bills of credit. In the minds of many of the colonists the one panacea for all financial ills was the issue by the assembly of bills of credit—to inflate and inflate a currency which was already absurdly swollen. These attempts were, however, unsuccessful until 1748, when Governor Johnston, in spite of his royal instructions to the contrary, yielded. The province must make defence against the French and the Spanish. The crown officials must have their salaries, which were now greatly in arrears. Under the pressure of such conditions, Governor Johnston accepted a bill which provided for the issue of 21,350 pounds of bills of credit, and the whole amount was voted to the crown. These new bills were given full legal tender powers at the exchange ratio of 4 to 3 sterling and 1 to 7.5 old bills. They were called "new proclamation" money, in distinction to the old bills and barter currency, which were called "old proclamation." For their redemption a poll tax was levied, to be collected until all of the bills should be redeemed—redemption at an indefinite time, perhaps never. These bills were to be used for the following purposes: 7,000 pounds to sink the whole outstanding paper currency, nominally 52,500 pounds, but in terms of sterling only 7,000 pounds; 6,000 pounds for coast defence, and the remainder for salaries. 21,350 pounds of paper money was not an excessively large amount of currency for a rapidly growing population and agricultural development; $71,093 should not have been an excessive amount of money for a population of about 85,000. But still these new bills, this "new proclamation" money, depreciated. Its redemption was too uncertain. It was based upon a tax which, according to the experiences of the past, would not be at all efficiently collected.[1]

[1]Raper's N. C., pp. 138-39.

For six years the demands for further inflation of the currency were resisted. The next issue was in 1754. The fourth intercolonial war, popularly known as the French and Indian war, was now fast coming on. The province must needs defend itself; it must have forts, soldiers, and provisions of war. Matthew Rowan, who as president of the council was now the crown's chief officer in the province, in the interim of Governor Johnston, now dead, and Governor Dobbs, who had not yet arrived, gave his assent to a bill of the assembly by which 40,000 pounds of bills of credit were emitted. These bills, like those of 1748, were "new proclamation" money and were given legal tender powers of exchange at the ratio of 4 to 3 sterling. Provision was, in theory at least, made for their redemption. A tax was levied upon polls and imported liquors for this purpose, but this, like former taxes, was very inefficiently collected, and the bills, like all former ones, depreciated.[1]

War continued and the province's burdens increased. Governor Dobbs, though desirous of complying with his royal instructions which forbade the issue of bills of credit, was really forced to assent to a further emission of paper money. He gave his assent to an issue, not of bills of credit, but of treasury notes; in 1756, 3,400 pounds, in 1757 and 1758, 25,806 pounds, in all 29,206 pounds of treasury notes. These notes were essentially different from the bills of credit which had so long and with such disastrous results been issued. Unlike these bills, the notes bore interest. They were also redeemable within a short time; a poll and liquor tax was levied for their redemption. The bills, as we have seen, had been practically irredeemable, though in theory some provision had always been made for their redemption. And in this instance, that of the treasury notes, the provincial officers largely kept the public faith. By 1764 they had paid,

[1]Raper's N. C., pp. 139-40.

in interest and principal, 23,807 pounds on these notes—the first really faithful fiscal performance since 1712, when the colonists started upon their policy of unsound and wasteful paper money. Though these issues and their comparatively speedy redemption brought much relief to a bad monetary situation, still it was expecting too much to hope that they would bring in a sound condition of public credit. Public faith broken constantly for more than forty years—this was a great difficulty to overcome.[1]

While these treasury notes were redeemed, almost according to promise, the bills of credit issued in 1748 and 1754 were not redeemed, at least rapidly. They were, therefore, depreciating. By 1759 they were passing on the market at only 1.9 to 1 sterling, while by the act of their issue they had the legal tender ratio of 1.33 to 1 sterling. And this depreciation came in the face of a rapidly growing population and consequently an increasing demand for money.[2]

And still the province must provide the expenses of war. Governor Dobbs, in spite of royal instructions to the contrary, accepted in 1760 a bill of the assembly by which 12,000 pounds of bills of credit were ordered to be emitted; and again in 1761, 20,000 pounds. These bills, like those of former issues, were given full legal tender powers. They were also really irredeemable, though in theory at least a tax was levied for their redemption. The volume of this kind of currency had now become large. The acts of 1748, 1754, 1760, and 1761 had put into circulation 93,350 pounds of legal tender, non-interest bearing, paper money. By 1764 only 25,286 pounds of this currency had been redeemed. But this was really a remarkable showing, since during the first forty years of the issue of such bills practically none had been redeemed. There were, then, still in circulation 68,064 pounds of bills of credit and 6,769 pounds of treasury notes—a total of

[1]Raper's N. C., pp. 140-1.
[2]Ibid., p. 141.

74,833 pounds of paper money. This was an amount of currency not apparently excessive for a population of at least 200,000. But we must remember that barter was still, to an extent, used in the western portions of the province.[1]

We have now come to the end of the issue of bills of credit; the issue of 1761 was the last. The emission of this kind of currency had long been contrary to the king's instructions, but, as we have seen, these instructions were not infrequently set aside. Now, in 1764, the English parliament enacted a law which forbade its use, and from this time until the downfall of the royal government the demands of the colonists for this inflated currency were never granted. But still the bills which were outstanding, those of 1748, 1754, 1760, and 1761, did not pass on the market at their par value. In 1767 they were exchanging at the ratio of 1.82 to 1 sterling, and in 1771 at 1.60 to 1, though legally they were to pass at the ratio of 1.33 to 1 sterling.[2]

Why this continued depreciation? The population was rapidly increasing. Business was prosperous. And these bills were being redeemed. But now, in 1768, the assembly, perhaps for the specific purpose of putting an end to a decrease in the paper currency, ordered that the taxes which were levied in 1760 and 1761 for sinking the bills of these years, should no longer be collected. In the same year 20,000 pounds of debenture notes were issued. Bills of credit had been forbidden by parliament. Governor Tryon, who needed money to pay the expenses of his first campaign against the "regulators," and to finish his magnificent palace at Newbern, gave his assent to such an issue. Though these notes swelled the paper currency, they were not made legal tender —were not forced into circulation by law,—and provision was made for their speedy redemption. The issue of these notes did not, however, permanently improve the fiscal situa-

[1]Raper's N. C., pp. 141-2.
[2]Ibid., pp. 143, 145.

tion. By the close of 1771 the provincial government, mainly because of a second campaign against the "regulators," was under a floating debt of 60,000 pounds. There were also outstanding 42,800 pounds of bills of credit. To provide for the floating debt, the assembly passed a bill and Governor Martin gave his assent to it, whereby 60,000 pounds of new debenture notes were issued. This issue of debenture notes made the paper currency at about 100,000 pounds, a volume of money not too great for a population of about 250,000. But still these bills and notes did not circulate at their par value. They were given the legal ratio of 1.33 to 1 sterling, but were passing on the market at 1.6 to 1. Too long had the provincial government broken its promise.[1]

We come now to the end of the issue of paper money by the provincial government of North Carolina. The colonists still asked for more inflated paper currency, but from 1771 to the downfall of the royal government, in 1775, their demands were not granted.

And this is the record of the finances of the Carolina colonists, though presented in its barest outlines and told with all too little clearness and interest. Though a record of failure and even of unfairness, still many excuses should be offered for it. Lack of an understanding of the deep forces and problems of money, primitive conditions, and hard circumstances—these in part furnish an apology for such public conduct on the part of our colonial ancestors. And the monetary record of the other twelve American provinces is no less dark. They each have left a record of inefficiency and unfairness in their administration of that most difficult problem, money. And, too, the monetary record of the American people since they have become an independent and sovereign people is far from being all bright, honorable and glorious.

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[1]Raper's N. C., pp. 144-5.

JOSEPH GALES, EDITOR OF RALEIGH'S FIRST NEWSPAPER.

BY WILLIS G. BRIGGS.

Joseph Gales, martyr to freedom of the press in England, editor of *The Raleigh Register* for thirty-four years, champion of popular education, advocate of every measure for moral and industrial development of the people; his political creed combined the liberty upheld by Jefferson with the progressive national policies sustained by Adams, Webster and Clay and placed him ever in advance of his time.

This brief statement of fact is enough to justify our interest in the career of one who left an indelible impress for good upon this community and State. Joseph Gales was born February 4, 1761, in the village of Eckington, Derbyshire, England. His great grandfather and his grandfather had successively taught the village school and were men of the model immortalized in Goldsmith's "Deserted Village." The father, Thomas Gales, who lived to an advanced age, was likewise described as "an Israelite in whom there was no guile."

Joseph Gales was the eldest son, an unenviable position in a crowded humble household. As a child he attended school and was proud to occupy a place at his father's side in the village choir. He never lost his fondness for music and in his latter years was wont to credit this early passion as one of the most salutary influences in his life. When a lad of thirteen he was bound to a man in Manchester for seven years to learn bookbinding and printing. This was a common practice even at a much later period until it was superseded by the apprentice system of today. The youth was grossly abused in the Manchester household and finally determined to make his escape. With only half a crown in his pocket he trudged fifty miles back to his native village. Many

years later, touching upon this experience, Gales wrote "In a solitary spot on the mountain moors over which I wended my way, I bent my knees in prayer to my God, thanking Him for my release from a heavy bondage and praying for His future guidance and protection." Relatives then appealed successfully to the law in his behalf. Later he was apprenticed to an excellent man in Newark and shared the refinements of his home. The youth made the most of his opportunities and soon became a master printer and binder.

While employed at this trade, the young man won the favor of Winifred Marshall, youngest daughter of John Marshall, of Newark-upon-Trent. Now developing into a strong, courageous man, his habits frugal and his character irreproachable, his clear intellect and sympathetic heart fired with a passion for peace and justice, he added to these traits the inestimable blessing of centering his temporal affections in the heart of a worthy and excellent woman. Winifred Marshall was related to Lord Melbourne and came from a family of distinction but no longer wealthy. She was her father's pet and constant companion; together they studied Shakespeare, Milton, and the political essays of the day on the governmental side, for John Marshall was a staunch Tory. Her literary talent was recognized and several of her stories and verses published. "Lady Julia Seaton" was the title of a romance written when she was seventeen; thirty years later in America she had a granddaughter who bore this very name,—a strange coincidence indeed.

The marriage was solemnized May 4, 1784, in the Episcopal church at Newark by the bride's brother, a clergyman. After a visit to the Gales family in Eckington, the young couple went to Sheffield in Yorkshire, where the groom had recently established himself as a printer. The first work from his presses was a folio illustrated Bible with annotations by his gifted wife.

The Dissenters from the established church were numerous in Sheffield and they were practically all Liberals in politics. Gales' studious mind had led him to accept Unitarianism as his religious faith. In 1782, at the dawn of the political revolution eminent in England, he threw himself, then a youth of twenty, full hearted on the side of the great unenfranchised class. Reform became his passion but it never dimmed his sense of justice. His cultured wife, reared in far different surroundings, embraced with zeal the religious and political convictions of her husband. In 1787 Gales began the publication of The Sheffield Register, a weekly newspaper, and ardently championed reform. He warmly welcomed the French revolution. The English ministry, under leadership of Pitt, soon resorted to severe measures to repress the liberal wave, fearing that it would bring calamity to the monarchy.

The advocates of reform had formed various Constitutional Societies and Gales was secretary of the organization in his town. Some of these associations may have aimed to employ force in correcting existing injustice, but such was certainly not the purpose of the Sheffield society. The government was nevertheless alarmed. Holt, a printer in Gales' office, was senteneed to four years imprisonment for publishing a letter by the Duke of Richmond advocating reform. The flame was further fanned by the prosecution of Dr. Priestly, a Unitarian divine beloved by the Gales family, as the alleged author of a circular asking friends of liberty to celebrate the fall of the Bastile. Rumors of riots at Birmingham and other points increased the excitement at Sheffield.

The arrival of Tom Paine with his "Rights of Man" further frightened the English ministry. Booksellers were vigorously prosecuted for handling the book. In his shop Gales found a big demand for "The Rights of Man." While Gales was in London on a businss trip a timely warning giv-

en by Thomas Diggs, an American visiting in Sheffield, enabled Mrs. Gales to dispose of every copy just before the King's officers arrived and instituted a vain search for "those dangerous books," "those wicked, seditious works," which George III had condemned and forbidden to his subjects. From personal acquaintance Joseph Gales entertained regard for Paine, and Mrs. Gales paid him tribute in later years by writing of "the simplicity and sweetness of his nature and his sprightly wit that charmed the social circle." Paine's flight and the King's proclamation would have produced a riot at Sheffield had not Joseph Gales, "who led the poor man's cause, advocated equal representation and treated all men as brothers," persuaded the mob to go peaceably to their homes.

A study of the file of The Sheffield Register of 1794 reveals no policy which the enlightened twentieth century would not applaud. Joseph Gales' clear convictions gleam in his brief editorials. His sympathy was openly expressed for the two hundred wretched debtors confined in Lancaster Castle, with accommodation for only eighty persons, two sleeping in a bed. When a fifteen-year-old girl was hung for the murder of her grandfather the editor grieved because the child had been given no chance and was so ignorant and wretched as not to know right from wrong. Again he remonstrates on the severity of the law when a farmer in March, 1794, was sentenced to die for shooting a neighbor's foal. The Sheffield editor applauded "the glorious example" of the jury, which refused five times to obey the mandates of the court and persisted in a verdict of "not guilty" in the case of Robert Erpe, charged with speaking libel in that he criticised the Pitt ministry. "Twelve gold medals" ought to be presented to those jurors, declared Gales.

Twice at least was the Sheffield editor provoked to sarcasm. When Pitt entertained certain church dignitaries at

a Sunday dinner Gales observed "The conversation of this pious company, we are informed, turned upon the profaneness of the French atheists and many holy toasts were given for success to throat cutting in defence of our religion." When a company for the "Conversion of the Negroes in the West Indies to Christianity" was incorporated, he wrote, "If we add to these advantages the practical comment we, as a Christian nation, are displaying in our continuance of a trade in which we annually murder or enslave fifty thousand wretched Africans, their brethren in the West Indies will no doubt most readily embrace the Christian religion." When a minister, a lawyer and three other advocates of reform in representation were tried at Edinburg and sentenced to fourteen years exile, Gales echoed the sentiment of Charles Fox who exclaimed, "God help the people who have such judges."

Monday, April 7, 1794, was a field day for the "friends of justice, of liberty and of humanity" in Sheffield. Henry Redhead Yorke, a young man of great promise, a graduate of Cambridge, a protege of Edmund Burke, had announced his allegiance to the Liberal cause after a visit to Paris, where he met leaders of the Jacobin clubs. He was hailed as an invaluable ally, and the Constitutional Society and the Society of the Friends of the People at Sheffield endorsed the young man for parliament. Twelve thousand reformers on this April day assembled on Castle Hill, listened to a stirring speech by Yorke and adopted an address. This address, briefly stated, asserted: (1) The people were the true source of government; (2) freedom of speech is a right which cannot be denied; (3) condemnation without trials is incompatible with free government; (4) where the people have no share in the government taxation is tyrrany; (5) a government is free in proportion as the people are equally represented. The address "demanded as a right," and no longer asked as a favor, "universal representation." It concluded

with a lengthy petiton not only for "abolition of the slave trade" but for "emancipation of negro slaves" in the British West Indies. The mechanics of Sheffield were wrought to a pitch of highest enthusiasm. Horses were unhitched and the carriage, containing Yorke, the candidate, and Joseph Gales, secretary of the meeting and probably author of the address adopted, was drawn in triumph through the town by the multitude.

The principles which Gales enunciated on that occasion finally triumphed in England, but the triumph came many years later. The Duke of Wellington in 1828 wiped out the test oaths; William Cobbett in 1832 made uniform the system of representation; Wilberforce in 1833 at last saw the slaves emancipated; Disraeli and Arch in our own day expanded and equalized suffrage rights. When these reforms were accomplished then were vindicated the convictions for which Joseph Gales had bravely fought and suffered in the preceding century.

The Committee of Secrecy, appointed by parliament to investigate rumored conspiracies, made a report May 23, 1794, of such a character that the Pitt ministry immediately suspended the habeas corpus act, a course almost without precedent in time of peace. The committee found that there existed "The Society for Constitutional Information" and "The London Corresponding Society" and that these societies had by resolution "applauded the publication of a cheap edition of 'The Rights of Man,'" and voted addresses to the Jacobins at Paris and to the National Convention of France. Continuing the report said "The circumstance which first came under the observation of your committee containing a distinct trace of measures of this description, was a letter from a person at Sheffield, by profession a printer (who has since absconded), which was thus addressed 'Citizen Hardy, Secretary of the London Corresponding Society', which was

found in the possession of Hardy on the twelfth of May, last, when he was taken into custody." The letter was dated from Sheffield April 20, 1794, on paper from "Gales' printing office" and the objectionable portion of the communication was as follows: "Fellow Citizens: The barefaced aristocracy of the present administration has made it necessary that we must be prepared to act on the defensive against any attack they may command their newly armed minions to make upon us. A plan has been hit upon, and, if encouraged sufficiently, will, no doubt, have the effect of furnishing a quantity of pikes to the Patriots, great enough to make them formidable." This was the only reference to resistance or force in the letter. With Hardy's paper was also found an account of a meeting at Sheffield where a full chorus sang a hymn written by James Montgomery.

When the news that the right of habeas corpus had been suspended reached Sheffield Gales exclaimed in his paper "every wretch who has either through malice or envy a dislike to his neighbor will have now an opportunity of gratifying his malicious intentions." Warrants were issued for Yorke, Gales and others, charged with treasonable and seditious practices, and the Sheffield editor knew that the time had come when he must either seek safety elsewhere or be delivered to his enemies.

The Sheffield Register of June 26, 1794, contains the editor's farewell. In this address he wrote: "The disagreeable predicament in which I stand, from the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, precludes me the Happiness of staying among you, My Friends, unless I would expose myself to the Malice, Enmity and Power of an unjust Aristocracy. It is in these persecuting days, a sufficient Crime to have printed a newspaper which has boldly dared to doubt the infallibility of ministers, and to investigate the justice and policy of their measures. Could my imprisonment, or even

death, serve the cause which I have espoused—the cause of Peace, Liberty and Justice—it would be cowardice to fly from it; but, convinced that ruining my family and distressing my friends, by risking either, would only gratify the ignorant and the malignant, I shall seek that livelihood in another state which I can not peaceably attain in this." He reviews his course: "I was a member of the Constitutional Society," he admits, "and shall never, I am persuaded, whatever may be the final result, regret it, knowing that the real as well as ostensible object of this society, was a rational and peaceable reform in the representation of the people in parliament. * * * The Secret Committee has imputed to the Society intentions of which they had no conceptions and crimes which they abhor. * * * It has been insinuated, and, I believe, pretty generally believed, that I wrote the letter which is referred to by the Secret Committee, concerning the pikes. This charge, in the most unequivocal manner, I deny. I neither wrote, dictated or was privy to it. * * * It will always be my pride, that I have printed an impartial and truly independent newspaper, and that I have done my endeavors to rescue my countrymen from the darkness of Ignorance and to awaken them to a just sense of their privileges as human beings, and, as such, of their importance in the grand scale of creation."

Ten years later in America, when a rival accused Gales of having been indicted in England, he replied in his paper, "If it be deemed a crime to have opposed by means of a free press, governmental usurpation on the rights of the people, I plead guilty."

After he reached the continent the Sheffield Society adopted an address wishing "Health, peace and happiness" to "Our ever dear friend and brother," and added "Though we regret your sufferings, yet, viewed in connection with their cause, we behold you dignified with the unfading crown of a martyr in the illustrious cause of God and man."

The Sheffield Register and printing plant were left in charge of Joseph Gales' competent wife and his assistant editor James Montgomery, the poet, who had entered the employ of Gales when a lad. The political disturbances had given rise to frequent riots and the Gales' possessions were under constant guard. The mechanics of Sheffield marched in a body and volunteered their services to Mrs. Gales, but she begged them to go peaceably to their homes. The King's messengers came, made a vain search for the absent editor and left without molesting the family or injuring the property.

The Sheffield Register in 1794 had attained a circulation of 2,500 in the Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottingham districts and the ministry coveted a paper of such influence. Mrs. Gales, however, rejected with spirit a flattering offer made by an agent for the government and sold the property to their devoted friend James Montgomery. He changed the name to The Iris. A file of The Iris for several years is in our State library. Montgomery remained true to the liberal cause, was constantly persecuted and twice imprisoned. Although separated by the Atlantic, the brotherly affection between these two men was never severed. Thirty years later, when Montgomery retired from the editorship, a banquet was given in his honor and he embraced the occasion to pay glowing tribute to Joseph Gales, whom he denominated "the true friend of freedom and humanity" and characterized as "generous, upright, disinterested and noble minded."

In a letter instructing his wife to join him in Denmark, Gales wrote: "Bring nothing with you, my dear Winifred, but what the strictest justice warrants. Let us meet in peace, with a clear conscience, and my trust is in God, that He will help us. We are young, healthy, and able to struggle for a support for our dear children; and, leaving no one behind us who can with truth say that we have wronged him,

fear not but that He Who feeds the young ravens will feed us."

Mrs. Gales crossed the channel with the two children,—Joseph, born April 10, 1786, and Sarah, born May 12, 1789,—and the family was soon reunited at Altona. In September, 1794, they set sail for America. However, the harbor was scarcely cleared before the vessel encountered a storm, the craft appeared far from sea-worthy, and the captain had no control over the crew. Gales forfeited his passage and returned with his family to shore on a passing pilot boat. The winter was then spent in Altona and proved most profitable for Raleigh's future editor. Several years before an itinerant short-hand teacher had visited Sheffield and implored Gales' aid. He had assisted the man in organizing a shorthand class and himself became one of the students. The months spent in Altona gave him an opportunity to perfect himself in this art, rare indeed in that day, and leisure to acquire French and Spanish in addition to his Latin. He and his family also formed intimate friendships with numerous influential French refugees then quartered in that city. During the winter a daughter was born and named Altona Holstein Gales, in honor of their city of refuge.

Not until August, 1795, did the Gales family land in Philadelphia after an eventful voyage. When the vessel was a few hundred miles from the American coast it was captured by the notorious privateers, Hutchins and Bethel. Incredible as the story appears, the pirates were overcome by the wit and charm of Mrs. Gales and relinquished their prize.

The English printer was introduced by a friend to Dunlop and Claypole, owners and editors of The American Daily Advertiser, and was given employment on that paper as a compositor. His worth was recognized and he was soon promoted to bookkeeper. Congress was in session in Philadelphia and The Advertiser's reporter gave dissatisfaction by

his inaccurate reports of the debates. By mere accident the editor discovered that his bookkeeper knew the art of shorthand, so Gales was immediately transferred to the position of congressional reporter. The young Englishman was not a little embarrassed when the editor escorted him to the old court house, corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, and introduced him to the Speaker of the House, who received him with great kindness and arranged a table for his convenience in reporting the proceedings for Philadelphia's daily newspaper. A few days later Thomas Pinckney arose and made a short but important speech on the then absorbing topic of our foreign affairs. Pinckney spoke without notes; it was not a set speech; hence Congressmen and the public were astounded next morning when they read in The Advertiser a verbatim report of his remarks. From that day the reputation of Joseph Gales as a reporter was made.

The uncertainty of our relations with France, the unpopularity of the Jay treaty with England, the wide difference of opinion in interpreting the Constitution of the United States, all served to draw a sharp distinction between the Federalists,—a school which embraced Washington, Hamilton, and Adams, and claimed the support of Hooper, Hawkins, Iredell, Johnston, Martin and Davie in North Carolina,—and the Republicans, led by Jefferson and championed in this State by Nathaniel Macon, leader of the congressional delegation, Jesse Franklin, Willie Jones, Bloodworth, Stokes and others. The sympathies of Joseph Gales were with France rather than with the Pitt ministry in England and his convictions were strongly Democratic. Aside from these motives, the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws under the Adams administration,—measures which savored strongly of the tyrrannical laws from which he had so recently escaped,—made Gales of necessity an ardent Republican. He had succeeded in business and was now owner and editor of The Independent Gazetteer, which he had purchased from the

widow of the Revolutionary soldier, Col. John Oswold. He enjoyed the acquaintance of the public men of the day. Nathaniel Macon soon perceived the worth of this industrious, high minded man and made him his friend. Hence when Macon and his co-workers recognized the political expediency of a Jeffersonian-Republican newspaper, an organ if you choose, at the newly established capital of this State, Macon no doubt quickly decided that Gales was the man for this task.

This was in the summer of 1799 and Mrs. Gales was convalescing after an attack of yellow fever. The state of her health was a factor in the decision to leave Philadelphia. Otherwise life in that city had been pleasant for the English family. Here they had renewed acquaintance with Dr. Priestly, the persecuted Unitarian divine, and were among the thirteen persons who composed the Unitarian church organized in Philadelphia. Jospeh Gales was the first lay reader. Gales sold The Independent Gazetteer to Samuel Harrison Smith, who followed the national capital to Washington and changed the name of the paper to The National Intelligence.

The trip to Raleigh was broken by a sojourn at Halifax, where the Gales visited Willie Jones, a graduate of Oxford, father-in-law of John Eppes, an ardent disciple of Jefferson and leader in the Halifax convention of 1780 when the federal constitution was rejected. The stay at Halifax no doubt gave the prospective editor a clearer conception of the political situation in this State.

North Carolina, with her 344,807 free white persons, at the dawn of the nineteenth century ranked among the four most populous States in the Union. This State was then an important political factor and Thomas Jefferson proposed to leave no stone unturned to gain the support of this commonwealth. Nathaniel Macon, close ally of the aspiring Virginian, was determined to rout Federalism in North Carolina

and perceived the need of the press in this work. The population was scattered, there were no cities and few important towns, public schools were lacking and printing presses were rare. The few newspapers were in the hands of the Federalists and wielded a powerful influence, because any newspaper was indeed precious in those days. Abraham Hodge, publisher, a native of New York, a personal friend of Washington and a strong Federalist, had come to North Carolina in 1785. The legislature chose him State printer and this position he still held. Hodge had followed Washington's army with his press and, during the dark winter at Valley Forge, his paper cheered the drooping spirits of the soldiers with words of encouragement. He now had printing presses at Edenton, Halifax, Fayetteville and New Bern and had established three newspapers. In editing the North Carolina Minerva at Fayetteville he was ably assisted by his nephew William Boylan. While the Federal party was thus supported in North Carolina, the "mobocrats," "red Republicans" and "Jacobins," as they were repeatedly styled, recognized that they must have a newspaper.

Raleigh had been laid out for the State capital, and, at the sagacious Macon's solicitation, Joseph Gales was making his way to the village capital to launch a newspaper to do battle for Republican principles. His task did not appear easy. The Federalists had made decided gains in the North Carolina election of 1798 and had partially recovered the ground they lost in 1796. Instead of one, the Federalists now had four of the ten congressmen from this State. The State senate had passed a resolution by a vote of five to one approving the Alien and Sedition laws but the resolution failed in the house of commons, in which the Republicans had a slender majority. However, these Adams measures were not popular with many North Carolina Federalists, who otherwise approved the Adams national administration,

and Jesse Franklin was elected United States senator to succeed Alexander Martin, who had voted for the Alien and Sedition laws. The mixed situation in North Carolina puzzled the politicians, for, in the summer of 1800, Jefferson wrote that the condition of the public mind in North Carolina was mysterious to him.

Under these political conditions Joseph Gales issued the first copy of *The Raleigh Register,* October 22, 1799. The paper was indeed *The Sheffield Register* resurrected, without a single change in principles for which the editor stood. *The Raleigh Register* had for its heading a budding staff, surmounted by the cap of liberty, with a scroll bearing the word "Libertas" and the motto:

> "Our's are the plans of fair, delightful Peace,
> "Unwarped by Party Rage to live like Brothers."

The Register began immediately to arouse public sentiment against the Adams administration by printing the prosecutions under the Sedition law, characterized the encampment of the Sixth United States Regiment here as a threat, and published, without editorial approval, however, Jefferson's famous Kentucky resolutions, which met inglorious defeat in North Carolina. The paper soon became a power and copies were being sent by Gales to every county in the State.

The Register held the Raleigh field undisputed only a few months before William Boylan moved his *Minerva* from Fayetteville to Raleigh and sought to combat *The Register.* Electors in this State were then chosen by districts, and in the 1800 election the Republicans captured six and the Federalists four of North Carolina's districts. The legislature was Republican, and Joseph Gales succeeded Hodge as State printer, a position which ten years later paid only $1,400 gross per annum, and *The Register's* rival then offered to take the job for $900. *The Register* was paid less than $80 a year for publishing acts of congress.

The Minerva was backed by the ablest Federalists, and in 1802 such men as Duncan Cameron, General Davie, Archibald Henderson, Colonel Ashe of Wilmington, and others were striving to extend *The Minerva's* circulation by something on the order of the club plan.

The Minerva denounced Jefferson as a demagogue, who cheats his neighbors and blasphemes his Saviour. *The Register* championed the President and his administration. It is not surprising that such irreconcilable opinions led to a personal clash. Both papers, be it said to their credit, denounced the then prevalent practice of the duel. The two editors met one morning on Hillsboro street and fought out their differences. Gales claimed that Boylan assaulted him and he brought a civil suit for damages. The trial was moved to Hillsboro, where a jury awarded the plaintiff 100 pounds. Gales paid his attorneys' fees out of this sum and donated the remainder to the Raleigh Academy. He was one of the first trustees of the academy and felt the keenest interest in the school.

Indeed Joseph Gales threw himself with enthusiasm into the life of this community. Dr. Stephen Weeks, in his little pamphlet on the press in North Carolina, says of him: "He was a man of untiring energy; besides editing *The Register*, he kept all his accounts, made out his bills, gave receipts, conducted a bookstore, managed a book printing establishment. He was director in a bank and secretary of nearly every benevolent society in the city. He was never idle. *The Register* was always on the side of law, order and good morals. It did not teem with editorials, but when it spoke it was with such fullness, discretion and power that the whole country was moved and impressed".

Gales and Macon were in thorough accord in their opposition to the Federalists' Alien and Sedition laws; both believed in full suffrage and fair representation, but, aside from these

issues, the union of their political convictions apparently ended, though their mutual regard was never severed. The Macon school believed that people least governed were best governed, that taxes should be endured in merely sufficient amount to operate the simplest possible government machinery; an army and navy, internal improvements or the development of industries or resources by governmental encouragement were extremely objectionable; that the States were sovereign and the Union but a weak confederacy with little power save for defense from invasion. Gales believed just as devoutly in the fullest liberty for the citizen, but he did not conceive that men must remain primitive or rustics in order to retain their freedom. He believed that a republican form of government was devised not simply to prevent men from cutting each other's throats, but to uplift and improve the condition of society; that the Union of States should not be a mere badge of defense but a force for righteousness and growth.

The files of *The Register* from 1800 to 1810 show that Joseph Gales during that decade advocated a State bank, after calling attention repeatedly to the fact that North Carolina was then the only one of the original States without such an institution; he urged a government banking system which would bring about specie payments; he sought to encourage home industries by offering prizes for the best cloth made in North Carolina, and recommended that the people wear no imported goods; the embargo he upheld; he urged in vain that the citizens subscribe $20,000 to build a cotton factory in Raleigh, and presented arguments that the enterprise would pay; he pointed out the benefit of organizing the proposed North Carolina Insurance Company with three hundred thousand dollars capital, and was its most persistent champion; and at this early date favored public improvements. He was strong in his contention that dueling should

be prohibited, imprisonment for debt abolished, the existing harsh penal code modified, and above all a State penitentiary should be established. The slave trade, which South Carolina still fostered, should be ended immediately, for on this question, Gales wrote, in 1806: "We tremble when we reflect that this cloud (slavery) may one day burst and bury so many thousands in irretrievable ruin."

These convictions, enunciated prior to 1810, he expanded and perfected but never violated. Gales had warmly supported Madison's administration in the War of 1812, and viewed with pity and concern the disaffection then prevalent in New England. Before 1820 *The Register* was known as a defender of both a State and a National bank. When the enemies of the State bank were preparing for an attack on that infant institution in 1813 Gales, on the eve of the session of that Legislature, wrote: "We presume that it will be a difficult matter to persuade the citizens of this State, who before the State Bank went into operation, were in the habit of losing 5 to 10 per cent on New Bern and Cape Fear notes, to return to a similar state of things, by again putting afloat our ragged currency." He applauded in 1810 the first sympathetic expression, voiced by Henry Clay, for every people struggling to attain liberty and free government.

Perhaps Nathaniel Macon represented the prevalent opinion in this agricultural State when he declared: "Whilst the present Constitution remains to the United States it is utterly impossible for the United States to become a manufacturing nation," still Joseph Gales was no less positive in his declaration, "We are in favor of supporting American industries," and again "Protect the great staples of our country and articles fabricated from them." Later, when the North Carolina Legislature of 1820, by resolution, instructed our senators and requested our representatives in Congress "to use their best efforts to prevent any increase in the tariff to

protect manufactures," the editor of the *Register,* then State Printer, defied the sentiment of the Legislature and wished that "our people would use a little common sense" on the subject. In this editorial Gales regretted the passage of the resolution and added: "We are of the opinion that this country will never get clear of its embarrassment until a stand is made in favor of Home Manufactures; until the amount of our imports shall not exceed that of our exports." Indeed he had set the example by locating a paper mill here and, beginning with the issue of September 29, 1808, *The Register* was printed on paper manufactured at Raleigh.

As editor and as a member of the State Board of Internal Improvements he labored for the upbuilding of the State, the improvement of highways and navigable streams, welcomed Fulton on his visit to Raleigh and encouraged the establishment of steamboats on our waters. He was anxious for the government to maintain a great highway from Washington through Raleigh to New Orleans. Nearly a century ago he urged that the nation connect the Atlantic and Pacific by canal. Before 1830 many leaders of the dominant political party here, in their extreme adherence to State rights, denied the power of the nation to make river and harbor and kindred improvements. In the face of such contention, *The Raleigh Register* boldly asserted, "If the Union is dismembered it will be by the States trenching upon the rights of the general government."

While *The Register* contended for principles which have since prevailed and have been thoroughly vindicated, yet the editor did not represent the popular view in North Carolina at that time. He was not a statesman to side with every faction, or a politician whose supreme aim was to be on the winning side; Joseph Gales disdained not to stand with a small minority in city, county and State. At the close of Monroe's second term, *The Register* supported William L.

Crawford of Georgia, then Secretary of the Treasury, as logical successor to the presidency. However, when the election, for the second time in the history of the government, was thrown into the national House of Representatives and the choice lay between Jackson and Adams, Gales declared in his paper: "We assuredly prefer Mr. John Quincy Adams to General Jackson." He took this position notwithstanding the fact that Jackson in the recent election had swept North Carolina, carried Wake County by an almost unprecedented majority, and won in the City of Raleigh by a vote of more than two to one. Old-line Federalists, like William Boylan and Colonel Polk, who had carried Wake County over Gales' strenuous opposition in 1812, were now supporters of Andrew Jackson and remained in the majority.

Though Gales' policies were not accepted at home, still he had the full confidence of his neighbors. From 1813 to 1833, with one exception, he appears to have been annually elected by the people as Intendant of Police of the City of Raleigh. The one exception was in 1826, when Col. John Bell, editor of *The Star*, was chosen Intendant, but the next year the office was restored to Joseph Gales. A ten-dollar fine was, in those days, imposed upon the citizen who declined a municipal office here. Gales served on the city patrol, organized the first fire company here, and brought a fire engine to Raleigh prior to 1820. He retained the position of State printer until the Jackson party in the legislature gave the printing to his rival, *The Star*.

The Register strongly approved the Adams administration (1825-'29), and, when the presidential election of 1828 came, Gales was urging the re-election of President Adams, an attitude not popular in the South. A convention or caucus was held in Raleigh to name an Adams electoral ticket; Gales was secretary of that meeting and was made chairman of the Adams Vigilance Committee for the campaign. The

Adams ticket made a pitiful showing in the election; Jackson swept the State. Gales was too strong a man to be deterred in his policies by lack of popular support. However, he was not alone. During the decade ending 1830 his advocacy of policies which would uplift and improve conditions had brought him into more or less distinct political accord with the rising young Willie P. Mangum, Judge Gaston, a former Federalist, Wm. A. Graham and others, who became leaders of the Whig party in the thirties. In 1825 *The Register* had supported Mangum for congress from this district; he was elected by only 58 majority; his opponent, Rev. Josiah Crudup, a Baptist preacher,—who was denied a seat in the State Senate from Wake the previous year under the constitutional provision debarring ministers from the legislature,—carried Wake by the then almost unprecedented majority of 961 out of a total vote of less than 1,200.

While Gales in 1830 was consistently opposing a reduction of tariff duties, he at least had the satisfaction of seeing the legislature of North Carolina, almost unanimously and without regard to party, emphatically repudiate South Carolina's nullification doctrine,—a course more timid slave States had hesitated to take. In 1832 Gales was again bitterly opposed to Jackson, but for a third time the General easily carried North Carolina.

The time was now at hand for Joseph Gales to lay aside editorial work, and his mantle was to fall upon the worthy shoulders of his son, Weston R. Gales. William W. Seaton, a brilliant young editor, came from Halifax to Raleigh and formed a business partnership with Joseph Gales in January, 1809. March 31, 1809, he married Sarah Gales. Joseph Gales, after coming to Raleigh, had purchased an interest in *The National Intelligencer* at Washington for his son Joseph Gales, Jr., and in 1807 the young man, who had been carefully trained by his father and was an expert at shorthand,

went to Washington as congressional reporter on that paper. He became sole owner in 1810. Two years later William W. Seaton moved to Washington and joined his brother-in-law in owning and editing *The National Intelligencer* under the name of Gales and Seaton. Joseph Gales, Jr., married in December, 1813, Julia Lee, of Mestmoreland, Va., and this cultured woman often acted as reporter for her husband and posterity is indebted to her for preserving the famous debate between Webster and Hayne. Altona Holstein Gales, the second daughter, married Rev. Anthony Foster, a Presbyterian divine who afterwards became a Unitarian. He lived only a few years later, and his widow died here November 16, 1827. Anna Eliza Gales died here September 22, 1822, aged 25 years, in an epidemic of fever which was accompanied by great fatality in Raleigh. Caroline Matilda, the youngest daughter, married Major Thomas L. West, of Bertie, on March 25, 1818. There were two other sons: Thomas Gales, who studied law, located in Louisiana, served on the staff of General Jackson in the War of 1812 and with his own hand hauled down the Union Jack at Pensacola, Fla.

Weston Raleigh Gales was born April 20, 1802, and died July 23, 1848. In January, 1822, he became associated with his father in publishing *The Register* under the firm name of Joseph Gales & Son. From 1823 to 1830 the paper was issued as a semi-weekly. In the fall of 1833 Joseph Gales announced that he would retire from business, leaving *The Register* in the hands of his son, Weston R. Gales, and spend his remaining years with his children in Washington City. This was just as his political party was at last coming into power in North Carolina; Mangum was now in the United States Senate, and in 1834 a revolution in sentiment gave the opponents of Van Buren, Jackson's candidate, the State Senate, while Wm. H. Haywood, of Wake, a Jackson man, was elected Speaker of the House by only four majority.

The retirement of Joseph Gales called forth universal regret in Raleigh. The citizens gave a public dinner in his honor; Governor Swain presided; Chief Justice John Marshall, Judge Gaston and other distinguished men attended. The beloved Rev. William McPheeters, who came to Raleigh in 1810 as "Principal of the Raleigh Academy and Pastor of the City," paid tribute to his devoted friend and the resolutions he offered thanked Joseph Gales for his "long-continued, efficient and faithful services as corresponding and recording secretary of the North Carolina Bible Society."

Joseph Gales lagged in no worthy cause. For years he was secretary of the Peace Society, which sought to end dueling and promote peace between individuals and nations. His untiring efforts he devoted to the Colonization Society, which purposed to gradually end slavery by transporting to Africa negroes, as they were freed. The last few years of his life spent in Washington were occupied with work as secretary of this society. Slavery he abhorred but recognized that the institution was thrust upon the South. *The Register* in 1825 made the prophetic statement that slavery was "a great evil but we can not believe it irremediable, hopeless and perpetual." When the legislature passed a very pro-slavery act in 1831, *The Register* boldly declared: "A string may be stretched till it breaks. It is admitted that slavery is a curse to the Southern States. Would it not be better to think of some means of getting rid of it, rather than fly in the face of humanity and the Constitution."

With Nathaniel Macon he considered the custom of treating at elections one of the worst evils of the day, but more than a decade passed after he directed public attention to the curse before it was prohibited by law. Gales advocated in 1805 "guardians for drunkards, lunatics and idiots." When whiskey was being sold freely in almost every store at 40 cents a gallon and temperance societies had not been formed

here, *The Register,* in 1820, declared: "We heartily wish there were no grog shops in this country." Ten years later the same paper repeated that "to lessen the drink evil no experiment should be left untried."

Dr. McPheeters had a zealous worker for Sunday schools in Joseph Gales. *The Register* in 1820 hoped ere long to see "a good Sunday school in every neighborhood." An editorial in 1829 gave this information: "It is gratifying to find that the governors of our State are lending the influence of their example to the cause of good morals. Our late governor (Iredell), the successor of the venerable Macon in the United States Senate, would not permit card parties in the governor's palace. * * * Our present governor (Owen) has accepted an invitation to visit the Sabbath school in the Presbyterian church, which is chiefly composed of children of Baptist and Presbyterian parents." In 1829 he called attention to the fact that a canvas in Wake County showed 49 out of 114 families without a copy of the Scriptures, and he urged support for the Bible Society to enable it to place a Bible in every home. One of the few controversies into which *The Register* was drawn was when the honored and beloved Bishop Ravenscroft, a highchurchman, in a special sermon here in 1824 expressed misgivings about the free dissemination of the Bible among the people, without interpretation and church rites, and feared that the Bible Society would do harm rather than good. Joseph Gales was so deeply interested in the Bible Society, of which he was secretary, that he wrote an editorial in reply, in which he said:

> "We have always believed that the Scriptures contained many things hard to understand, yet there is sufficient in them, which is plain and intelligent to the meanest capacity, to produce the best effects on the life and character: and sufficient even without a guide to teach men their duty to God and to their fellow-men. Nor do we conceive the diversity of opinion among men on the subject of religion as an evil to be lamented. All that is necessary to produce happiness under such circumstances is that men should think charitably of each other, and agree to differ.

> believing that every one who professes himself to be guided by the principles of the Gospel, and leads a good life, is sincere in his profession and will hereafter be approved by his Maker."

Bishop English, of the Roman Catholic Church, came to Raleigh about this time and delivered a series of religious lectures in the Presbyterian church. Gales formed a high opinion of the Bishop and they became fast friends.

No victory gave Editor Gales keener joy than when the legislature of North Carolina in 1820 declared against imprisonment for debt, and thus set "a glorious example" to the other States and to the nation. If Gales could have seen a penitentiary established while he was in the editorial chair and the severity of the penal code mitigated, his cup of joy would have been almost full. As foreman of the grand jury in Wake County he aroused public attention to the fact that the jails were then hot-houses of filth and disease, with no sanitation, heating or proper ventilation, and at his insistence a sewerage system was planned for the jail here. There were only two crimes, he believed, for which the death penalty should be inflicted, although the list in North Carolina was then much longer and included horse stealing and bigamy. Executions were always public, multitudes, including women, attended; drunkenness was prevalent. *The Register* ever protested and declared that when the State took human life it should be done in private. He expressed agreement with the first movement, in 1825, which finally culminated in the Constitutional Convention of 1835, when the clause disfranchising Jews and Catholics,—a clause not enforced, however, (which *The Register* declared in 1826 "it will be expunged whenever an opportunity occurs for so doing")—was expunged and our constitution vastly improved.

An earnest champion of good schools, he repeatedly asserted that education should be the primary matter before the legislature. "The framers of our constitution," he wrote when the legislature met in 1825, "directed such schools to be

established, and it is time that direction was being obeyed." At a non-political public dinner given John C. Calhoun here in 1825, Joseph Gales gave this characteristic toast: "Industry, frugal habits and a good system of general education, the surest means of promoting and securing individual and national prosperity and happiness." As a publisher, "Matilda Berkley," probably the first novel published in the State, came from his presses; also numerous publications on agriculture and law, besides annually Gales' Almanac with weather prognostications by the famous Beasley of Wake. A study of the census of 1820 led Gales to begin advocating a school for the deaf and a hospital for the insane. In 1827 Gales, Dr. McPheeters and Dr. Caldwell led in a convention held here to urge the legislature to establish a school for the deaf.

After spending six years in Washington with his children, the old man returned to Raleigh. Nearly fifty years ago one who had known him well thus wrote: "In Raleigh there was no figure that, as it passed, was greeted so much by the signs of a peculiar veneration as that great, stalwart one of his, with a sort of nobleness in its very simplicity, an inborn goodness and courtesy in all its roughness of frame,—a countenance mild, commanding yet pleasant, betokening a bosom no low thought had ever entered. You had in him, indeed, the highest image of that staunch old order from which he was sprung."

Two years after the death of his dear companion, who had indeed been his comfort and helpmeet and charmed the social circle here, he died of paralysis in this city. In the City Cemetery a granite stone bears this simple inscription:

TO THE MEMORY OF

JOSEPH GALES,

an Englishman by birth, but for a period of nearly forty years
a citizen of Raleigh.
Born February 4, 1761,
Died August 24, 1841.

Authorities consulted.—Files of Sheffield Register, Raleigh Register, Minerva and Star; Dr. Dodd's invaluable Life of Macon, Dr. Weeks on the press in N. C., Dr. Bassett on suffrage in N. C., addresses by Dr. K. P. Battle and Gov. Swain; lives of Pitt, Jefferson, Adams and Jackson; I am specially indebted to Mr. Charles Root, a descendant of Joseph Gales, for Life of Wm. W. Seaton and extracts from memoirs of Mrs. Gales.—W. G. B.

OUR FIRST CONSTITUTION, 1776.

E. W. SIKES.

The last representative of the English government in North Carolina was not driven from the colony, but on April 24, 1775, he deemed it wise to leave New Bern and go to Fort Johnston on the Cape Fear River. This flight of Governor Martin marks the failure of the English government in this province. Martin little thought when he spent the night with his good Scotch friend, Farquard Campbell, on his flight, that it was his last night as governor of this province.

Martin had seen the danger threatening in the two provincial congresses that had met in August and April under the very shadow of his palace at New Bern, but when he saw from his palace window the citizens removing the cannons from the palace lawn, he thought it high time to seek safety in flight.

Samuel Johnston soon called the provincial congress to meet for the third time in August at Hillsboro. This body declared that whereas the governor had "abdicated," it was now necessary to establish some temporary form of government. With this brief declaration the English government was dismissed. The temporary government consisted of a provincial council of thirteen members. Six district committees of safety of twelve members each, and the county and town committees.

These vigorous committees were able to meet the Scotch Highlanders and defeat them at Moore's Creek in February, 1776. The sceptre that fell from the nerveless grasp of Governor Martin was picked up by vigorous committees. In April the provincial congress met at Halifax. Public sentiment in the State, or at least among the revolutionists, was

now crystalized. The victory at Moore's Creek in February made them feel that independence was in easy grasp. A few days after the meeting the congress instructed its delegates in the Continental Congress to vote for independence. Samuel Johnston wrote Iredell that "they are all up for independence." On April 12 these instructions were given to the delegates; on the next day a committee was appointed to prepare a temporary civil constitution.

This was no easy task. These men could declaim about political rights; they knew how to justify their rebellion, but to construct a form of government was a new and untried task. They had no models before them save the old English charters. These were of very little service. After much labor, on April 25th, the committee reported the outline of a form of a government. Briefly the plan was that the executive should consist of a president and six councillors always in session; the legislature was to consist of an upper house composed of one member from each county and a lower house chosen from among the people. Justices of the county courts were to be elected by popular vote. For the upper house only freeholders might vote; for the lower house a household qualification was necessary. All officials were to be elected annually. Thomas Jones wrote that the executive council was to be always in session for "receiving foreign ambassadors" and other such purposes.

These outlines were reported to the congress on the 27th, and were discussed with much division of judgment. On May 2d, Samuel Johnston wrote that "affairs have taken a turn within a few days past. All ideas of forming a permanent constitution are at this time laid aside."

Whatever may have been the cause of this turn of affairs—whether the threatened invasion of the British or the divergence of opinion—the matter was postponed and a temporary government by committees constituted.

The question of a constitution, a form of government, had now arisen. Men began to think on the matter and to work out their plans. The discussion had gone just far enough to show that the revolutionary party, though united on the question of independence, was divided as to the form of government that should be adopted.

On August 9, 1776, the State Council of Safety issued a call to elect delegates to a new provincial congress, whose chief duty it would be to form a civil government. In the call emphasis was placed on the great importance of the meeting.

The campaign that followed this announcement was very bitter. The danger of an invasion had passed, so the pent-up feelings broke forth in this campaign. It was conservative against radical. The conservatives had little fault to find with the principles of the English government. They were in revolt because these principles had been transgressed. On the other hand, the radicals had little love for anything English. They wished to change things "root and branch." Samuel Johnston was the outspoken leader of the conservatives. He had not hesitated to condemn openly the outline that had been proposed. Patriot that he was, he despised the tempest and turmoil of a popular democracy. The leader of the radicals was probably Willie Jones. He was well educated, a large slave owner, but in politics an extreme radical for that day. Johnston was defeated. His opponents rejoiced greatly and burned him in effigy. Jones was elected.

The congress assembled at Halifax on November 12, 1776. On the next day a committee was appointed to lay before the body a bill of rights and a form of government. Among the members of this committee were Richard Caswell, who had come into great popularity since the battle of Moore's Creek; General Pearson, the wealthy landowner of Regulator fame; Willie Jones, the radical "who could draw a bill in better

language than any other man of his day," and Thomas Jones, an astute lawyer and friend of Samuel Johnston. The credit of authorship of the constitution rests probably among these men. Judge Toomer reported a tradition that Caswell was its author. Samuel Johnston called it (Thomas) "Jones' Constitution," and others divide the honor between Thomas and Willie Jones.

The political theory of this time is found in the Bill of Rights. The years of quarrels with Colonial governors and their experience in local self-government separated them from English political theory. In this Bill of Rights they declare that all governments originate from the consent of the people and that all representative power vests in them. These men had gotten a great deal from England, but they had also outgrown much that they had received. These brief statements of the Bill of Rights are commonplaces with us now, but they were revolutionary in 1776. Taxation without representation was the practice in England. The colonists raised the question and claimed it as a constitutional right. In this they were clearly wrong. In the end they fell back not on constitutional rights but on inalienable rights—rights not found in parchments but in nature and given man by the Creator of nature.

But it was possible for men to agree on the fundamental principles of liberty and yet disagree as to what form of government best secures that liberty to the individual citizen.

It is surprising to one of the twentieth century to find so many restrictions as are found in the Constitution of 1776. Despite all the democratic maxims of the Bill of Rights, the constitution proper contains many aristocratic principles. True, hereditary succession, hereditary privileges and entails were forbidden, but political power was vested in a few only. The "Fathers" found no inconsistency in proclaiming that "all government rests on the consent of the governed" and then restricting political privileges to a few.

The prevalent belief in America in 1776 was that the man without property ought not to vote. Franklin said that "allowing them to vote for legislators is an impropriety." Landholding, or at least some property qualification, was required in all of these first constitutions. In the Constitution of 1776 only those owning fifty acres of land could vote for State senator, while the payment of public taxes was a requirement of an elector for the House of Commons.

Office-holding was also limited to the property holding class. The governor was required to own a freehold valued at one thousand pounds. This was not peculiar to North Carolina. Maryland required five thousand and South Carolina ten thousand. A State senator was required to own three hundred acres and a commoner one hundred.

The result of this legislation was the disfranchisement in some cases of one-half of the adult males, while the office holding class was composed of a much smaller per cent of the people.

The "Fathers" were jealous of any kind of government. They feared tyranny. They were willing to sacrifice efficiency of administration to escape the danger of oppression or a hereditary ruling class. Consequently the term of office was short. The governor was elected annually, as was the General Assembly. In this way the officeholder was directly answerable to the people. Every year he had to give an account of his stewardship. John Adams declared that "where annual elections end, there slavery begins." Macon quoted this with approval. This clause pleased conservative Samuel Johnston, who said that in this way the people could repudiate the designing demagogue who had won their vote.

The governor was still further restricted by the clause that he could serve only three years out of six. Many of them served the three years limit. In practice it was the policy to re-elect the governors. Only the judges and the secretary of state were elected for a longer term than one year.

These "Fathers" feared the executive power and hemmed it about on every side, but the legislative power they trusted. All the State officers were elected by the General Assembly and for one year only, save the secretary, who was elected triennially, and the judges, who were elected for life. Practically no power was given to the governor. William Hooper declared that he was given just enough power to receipt for his salary, and even his salary was left in the hands of the General Assembly. While the judges were elected for life, still their salaries were determined by the assembly.

The constitution did not establish any judicial system. This was left to the legislature. Though the Bill of Rights declared in favor of the separation of the three departments of government, the idea was not carried out in making the form of government.

Freedom of religious worship was recognized; all sects were tolerated; no church was established. Nevertheless, a belief in these principles did not deter these men from requiring a religious test of officeholders. All officeholders were required to be Protestants. Thus were both Jews and Catholics and disbelievers disqualified. This law was not strictly enforced against the Catholics, for the third governor—Burke —was a Catholic, as was also the distinguished judge, William Gaston. This requirement was not peculiar to North Carolina. New Hampshire, New Jersey, South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland and Massachusetts had similar restrictions, while Pennsylvania and Delaware required belief in God, in future rewards and punishments, and in inspiration of Scriptures.

Another restriction was that no clergyman while he continued active "in the exercise of the pastoral function should be senator, commoner, or councillor of State." In this way it was hoped that both the State and religion would be helped. Such men were not precluded from executive or judicial

offices, but it was deemed unwise to entrust them with the making of laws. This law was enforced, and John Culpepper and Josiah Crudup were unseated from the General Assembly on this ground.

There were various other clauses that excited much comment. It was at one time proposed to elect the justices of the county courts by a popular vote. Samuel Johnston thought that this was a most dangerous feature, and prevailed upon them to change, so that the governor commissioned them for life upon the recommendation of the General Assembly. Even the assembly was forbidden to remove them save for misbehaviour, absence, or inability.

Debtors could not be imprisoned after the delivery of his estate; schools were to be established; county officers were to be chosen, and there were other matters of minor importance.

Popular democracy had not yet come; in fact, representative democracy was not well understood. In the composition of the General Assembly the people were not represented, but the counties were. In the Senate every county had one representative, and in the House of Commons two. It mattered not whether the county was large or small, rich or poor, populous or not, the political power was the same.

Altogether, the first constitution of North Carolina was typical of the times. It differs not much from those of other States. It is probable that copies of the constitutions of other States were before the body. There were certain political ideas that had become common property in the colonies, and these find expression with some modifications in these early forms of government. This constitution was destined to withstand every effort to change till 1835, when it underwent a general revision.

NORTH CAROLINA'S HISTORICAL EXHIBIT AT JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.

BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
(Member of Jamestown Historical Commission.)

It is indeed gratifying to know that the Old North State is creditably represented at this most interesting Exposition of the century, where history is given a place that never before has been accorded in the annals of America. Each of the thirteen colonies, realizing the importance of encouraging a thirst for research and knowledge in this essential branch of learning, has assisted in rendering the exhibition in the History Building a success. Connecticut proves the sole exception. This splendid edifice cost $130,000 and months of careful labor. It is perfectly fire-proof and burglar-proof. Upon the collecting and installing of the exhibits thousands of dollars were expended in addition to the arduous work, wearing anxiety and ceaseless responsibility given by the learned, patriotic men and women from the various sections of this broad land. The results are a compensation to all. From the outset it was intended to be the center of attraction among all the other departments in the numerous buildings. Its work is to be educational. Here the slumbering talent of the ignorant is to be awakened and he is to learn what America has done, can and will do, while the student is to grow wise and the scholar can refresh his treasured acquisitions.

As fashion and history repeat themselves, so again the daughters of Carolina have taken the lead and done their duty in placing her historically where she justly belongs—in the front rank. Too much praise can not be given Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, Vice-President General of the Daughters

of the American Revolution, who first planned and arranged this exhibit. As chairman of the Jamestown Historical Commission she proved herself a genuine leader. The Jamestown Commission for North Carolina appropriated as much money as could be spared for this purpose, which was not a large sum. Mrs. Patterson was assisted by Miss Rebecca Schenck, of Greensboro, and Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, of Raleigh, who have given months of arduous toil to this patriotic cause. North Carolina is the only State in which women have sole charge of the historical exhibit.

The relics are chronologically arranged save whenever the artistic can not be sacrificed. With a desire to start with the beginning of our State history, instead of an ambition to antedate the first permanent settlement at Jamestown by twenty-two years, the story of the "Lost Colony" is given by paintings and photographs. First on the post hangs the coat-of-arms of Sir Walter Raleigh; next, forming a frieze running along the top of the two partitions, which are the side walls of our space, are placed the White pictures—18 in number. In 1587 Queen Elizabeth sent John White to Roanoke Island to make paintings of the aboriginals. White remained a year minus five days and made a number of sketches from life. They represent the Indian features: their modes of prayer, dancing, fishing, cooking and eating; the styles of dress adopted by their chiefs, religious men, warriors, their women and children; views of their villages and tombs. The originals are in the British Museum. Colonel Bennehan Cameron gave an order for these paintings to be executed for exhibition, permission having been granted by the government, in the North Carolina space in the History Building. Afterwards they are to hang in the Hall of History at Raleigh. A more generous gift from a more patriotic citizen can not be found here.

Next are arranged the thirteen fine oil paintings of different scenes on the Roanoke Island of to-day, by Mr. Jaques Busbee, who was appointed by the State Historical Commission to undertake this task. Ballast Point, where Raleigh's colony first landed; Fort Raleigh, with its intrenchments plainly visible; the monument to Virginia Dare and the views of water, woods, sand dunes and sky, make one feel he is gazing in reality upon this sacred spot where was enacted the saddest tragedy of American history.

King Charles II. and his lords proprietors hang in the order of their rank: Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; George Monck, Duke of Albemarle; William, Earl of Craven; John, Lord Berkely; Anthony, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkely. These photographs—symphonies in brown—are taken from the oil portraits in possession of Mr. James Sprunt, British vice-consul at Wilmington, the only collection of the kind in existence. John Locke, who drafted the fundamental constitution under their rule, has not been forgotten, but an engraving of him looks calmly down from an elevated position on the passing throng. As the beautiful Theodosia Burr, daughter of Aaron Burr, and wife of Governor Alston of South Carolina, met a horrible fate at the hands of pirates on the coast of Carolina, her portrait hangs with this collection. This was washed ashore at Nag's Head in the winter of 1812-13, and was picked up by a banker. It is loaned by Mrs. Overman, of Elizabeth City.

The group of oil portraits, while not large, represents our leading statesmen whose lives were spent in the service of the State and some assisted in making our country great. The three signers—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and John Penn—are placed side by side. Mrs. Beale's picturesque painting of Charles I. is given a prominent position. Historians

can not agree as to the origin of the name of the Carolinas, claiming it is named in honor of either Charles I., Charles II. of England, or Charles IX. of France. It is most probable it was called for the Martyr King. Chief Justices Iredell and Alfred Moore hang on each side of the excellent portrait of the brilliant Judge Gaston. The portraits of Dr. James Norcom, skilled surgeon in the War of 1812, recommended by Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia and appointed by Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, and that of Mrs. Winifred Hoskins, secretary of the "Edenton Tea Party," are masterpieces—among the gems of the hall. These are the property of Miss Penelope Norcom, of Hertford. The Secretary of the Fourth Provincial Congress, George Green, and Martha Cogsdell, his wife, are loaned by Mrs. George Green, of New Bern. The splendid likeness of Governor William A. Graham, one of the greatest men our State has produced, adorns the middle column, also that of General Joseph Graham, his father. Many photographs, etchings and watercolors of our great men and women, notable events and historic places cover the walls—but lack of space forbids even a cursory mention here.

Of the twelve cases, that devoted to the silver is the handsomest and most showy. It tells of the aristocracy of the colony and offers an opportunity for the study of the armorial bearings of some of our early prominent families. The Colonial service of the Cameron family, bearing the arms of that Clan, loaned by Col. Benehan Cameron, is beautiful in its simplicity and a fine specimen of the style of silver of that period. The elegant service, also Colonial, but not so old and a trifle more ornamented, once in possession of Governor Samuel Johnston of "Hayes," is loaned by members of the Wood family. A portion—four pieces—of the silver presented by Prince Charles Edward Stuart to the dauntless Flora McDonald can be seen. Spoons owned by William

Hooper, the signer, George Green, secretary of the Fourth Provincial Congress, the DuBrutz family, and a ladle of John Harvey, bearing the respective crests, are arranged to advantage. The paten and chalice presented by "Col. Edward Mosely" to St. Paul's church, Edenton, in 1725, has been loaned by the vestry and rector of that historic old parish. This disproves the exaggerated statements of Colonel Byrd concerning the religious condition of that borough in 1728. The silver coffee pot and cream pitcher, with the Eden crest, and cruets with the Paget arms engraved thereon, have been secured through the courtesy of Mrs. and Miss Drane, of Edenton. The communion set of pewter, used by the First German Reform church, comes from Alamance. Another relic of interest is the green and gold plate, with festive scene in center, in a red velvet frame, which was one of a set of thirty pieces made to order for a coronation gift for Napoleon to present to Joseph Bonaparte when the Emperor created the latter King of Spain. This was brought to Bordentown and sold to General Patterson, from whom it was inherited by Mrs. Patterson. The plate owned by George Durant, whose treaty with the Indians deserves the reputation of that of William Penn, but is little known beyond our borders, comes from a descendant.

The quaint styles of the dress of long ago are revealed by a display of clothing that fills a case and a half.

The MSS. occupy another case and a half, while others are scattered here and there as chronological order demands. There are documents with the signatures of Generals William R. Davie, LaFayette, Anthony Wayne, Greene, Joseph Graham, Governors Caswell and Samuel Johnston, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn, Colonel John Hinton, Major John Hinton, and many other distinguished Carolinians, subscribed. The gem of the collection is the court martial made out in the handwriting of John Paul Jones, from the library at "Hayes."

The treasures handed down in the Blount and Harvey families were tastefully arranged and loaned by Miss Lida Rodman, of Washington, filling a case and a half. They comprise many valuable historic heirlooms.

Army officers and martial spirits pause indefinitely before the battle case, studying the curious old guns and swords stored there. Relics that did service at Alamance, Moore's Creek Bridge, Guilford Court-House and King's Mountain are grouped effectively. The bell that was rung, in lieu of beating the drum, to gather together the bands of Regulators on that fatal day in May, 1771, is one of the chief objects—as is also Cornwallis' pistol. The shaving case—indeed, a handsome one when presented by General Nathaniel Greene to the famous Peter Francisco for courage—is loaned by his descendants, the Pescuds of Raleigh. The velvet-lined tray contained originally a razor for each day of the week, with the name engraved thereon. On the top is an inscription in the handwriting of General Greene, scratched with a sharp-pointed instrument.

The "Edenton Tea Party," so dear to the hearts of the Daughters of the Revolution, who have labored long and patiently to raise funds, by publishing the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, to erect a suitable memorial to those fifty-one patriotic women, is well told in relics. The most unique of our treasures is the dainty little model, an exact reproduction of the "Tea Party House," the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth King, in which the resolutions were signed October 25, 1774. This is a gift from that versatile writer and historian, Dr. Richard Dillard, of Edenton. Above hangs the painting of that historic gathering, also presented by the same patriotic gentleman to the State Library. Another of his gracious acts has been placing in the exhibit for distribution a number of pamphlets, containing his article, revised, which appeared in the BOOKLET, August, 1901. It is well illustrated. A

photograph of the stately Penelope Barker, president of the Tea Party, the portrait of Winifred Hoskins, already mentioned, the cut-glass dish, rare china plate and Prayer Book of Elizabeth Horniblower, the china plate of Mrs. Hoskins and the candlestand that came down from the Valentine family—all bring those fascinating dames of the Revolutionary days very close to us and we can *feel* their very presence, hear their voices in a conglomeration of discussion, and are inspired by their patriotism and zeal. They were true, noble, refined women, who fulfilled the duty of the home yet forgot not their country. Can the daughters of to-day act unwisely in following such examples?

The exhibit of the Wachovia Historical Society reveals the life of the people—their industries, household utensils and implements. The Moravians have an excellent display in the Pennsylvania exhibit and this completes theirs. The entire history of these thrifty, peace-abiding citizens—that have ever remained a distinct colony—affords unusual opportunity for the student. Never before has the Society allowed the whole collection to leave Salem. On this occasion consent was not obtained for the removal until a custodian was permitted to accompany and install it. The maps, covering a goodly portion of the wall, are considered of great worth. A century of lights shows a remarkable series of candlesticks (with quaint methods of manufacturing candles), lanterns, lard and oil lamps. A century of music presents instruments of equal interest, such as a harpsichord played when Washington visited Salem and a horn also used on that notable occasion, with the music, "God save great Washington," by its side. Here can be seen the first printing press in the State, which was seized by Lord Cornwallis at Hillsboro and used by him for printing his proclamations. The fire engine, one of the first in this country, is indeed curious. It could be of service should anything so impossible as a fire occur in this abso-

lutely fire-proof structure. Four cases are crowded with all kinds of curios. Wachovia has done well for her State at the Exposition. To Mr. J. A. Lineback, who installed this splendid exhibit, many thanks are due.

Numerous pieces of furniture were offered, but could not be taken for lack of room. The following, however, were accepted: A chair owned by Washington; a chair from "Buncombe Hall"; one that Cornwallis sat in; two loaned by Colonel Cameron—one came from "Sweet Hall" and has an interesting history attached, the other was the property of Richard Bennehan of "Stagville," and has held some of North Carolina's most notable sons; the card table, a beautiful bit of mahogany that belonged to President Jackson. North Carolina gave three Presidents to the Union—Jackson, Polk and Johnson—and one "first lady in the land"—Dolly Madison. Pictures of these statesmen and their homes with possessions of the last named (loaned by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt) enlighten many who did not heretofore know these incidents in our history.

A limited space forbids a fuller account of this engrossing work, which it is hoped will greatly aid in developing the historical awakening that now exists within our borders. More visitors seek the North Carolina exhibit than any other in the History Building, while numbers come just for a glimpse at that alone. No description can convey a correct idea of its worth or artistic effect—one must see to understand—then enjoy. To the generous men and women of Carolina who have made this exhibition a possibility by the loan of their priceless heirlooms and untiring assistance, to the custodians of other States who by their courtesy and encouragement rendered the installation an easier task—there are obligations existing which can never be repaid. Again, North Carolina has done right nobly.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CONTRIBUTORS.

SKETCHES COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, LL. D.

To Kemp Plummer Battle, the erudite scholar and assiduous student of North Carolina history, the BOOKLET owes a debt of gratitude. In no better way can it show its appreciation than by recounting the headings of the monographs which he has contributed from time to time and which has enriched its columns.

(1) In Vol. I, January, 1902, he wrote: "A North Carolina Naval Hero and His Daughter," showing the career of Captain Johnston Blakeley, the brilliant Commander of the American sloop, *Wasp,* and captor of the English brig-sloop, *Reindeer,* during the War of 1812.

(2) Vol. II, November, 1902: "Raleigh and the Old Town of Bloomsbury," the name given by Tryon to Wake Court House, the site of the city of Raleigh.

(3) Vol. III, May, 1903: "Trial of James Glasgow and the Supreme Court," showing how our higher Court was evolved from the special tribunal organized for the investigation of the frauds committed by Secretary of State Glasgow and others.

(4) Vol. IV, May, 1904: "The Lords Proprietors of the Province of North Carolina," giving a succinct history of each of the eight Lords Proprietors and their successors, including their service to the Stuarts, which earned the grant of the imperial territory of Carolina.

(5) Vol. VI, July, 1906: "Glimpses of History in Names of Counties in North Carolina," showing how these counties derived their names: some named in honor of favored Eng-

DR. KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, LL.D.

North Carolina
State Library
Raleigh, N. C.

lish lords, of statesmen officially connected with the colonies, of champions of civil liberty, and of Indian tribes; and of educators, governors, and navigators who have lived within the limits of North Carolina.

The following sketch of Dr. Battle by Edward L. Stewart, of the University, and which appeared in a recent issue of the *News and Observer,* is herewith reproduced by permission of the editor of that paper:

"Kemp Plummer Battle was born in Franklin County, North Carolina, December 19, 1831. His father, William Horn Battle, of the class of 1820, a great grandson of Elisha Battle, of the Constitutional Convention of 1776, was for years a Supreme Court Judge of the State. His mother, Lucy Martin Plummer, a granddaughter of Colonel Nicholas Long, of Revolutionary fame, was a daughter of Kemp Plummer, State Senator from Warren County, who was known as the 'honest lawyer.'

"He entered the University in 1845 and graduated four years later at the age of seventeen. The prize oration, the valedictory address, was drawn for by the three first honor men of the class, and Dr. Battle was the successful one of those who drew for the prize.

"In his senior year, as President of the Dialectic Society, he, in company with Hon. James Mebane, First President of the society and ex-Speaker of the House of Commons, presided at the dedicatory services of the then new Dialectic Hall, which is now known as the History Room, in the Old West Building.

"After graduation he was elected tutor of mathematics, in which capacity he served for four years, during which time he studied law under his father, receiving his license in 1854, and at once began a remunerative practice in copartnership with Quentin Busbee, of the Raleigh Bar.

"In 1855 he married Miss Martha A. Battle, a distant rela-

tive, who is still living, the joy of his life. They have been blessed with seven children, five of whom reached maturity. His daughter, Nellie, wife of Dr. Richard H. Lewis, of Raleigh, N. C., died in 1889. His four living children are Dr. Kemp P. Battle, Jr., of Raleigh, N. C.; Thomas H. Battle, of Rocky Mount, N. C.; Herbert B. Battle, Ph.D., of Montgomery, Ala., and W. J. Battle, Ph.D., Professor of Greek of the University of Texas.

"In 1860, he was one of the Whig candidates for the House of Commons in Wake County, and, although himself defeated, he aided in changing a Democratic majority of over five hundred to a Whig majority of two hundred. In this campaign he prepared a pamphlet on "Ad Valorem Taxation Explained by Questions and Answers," which was so highly valued by his party that one hundred thousand copies were printed and distributed among the people of the State. During the Presidential campaign of 1860 he was President of the Wake County Union Club and actively opposed both Lincoln and Breckenridge, but when the great Civil War broke out he embraced the cause of the South with equal zeal and enthusiasm, and was elected a member of the Secession Convention, in which he, foreseeing that the Confederacy would need fuel for its navy and for its factories, successfully advocated the building of a railroad to the coal fields of Chatham, which later became a part of the Raleigh and Augusta Air Line of the present Seaboard Air Line system. At the request of Governor Worth, he was a successful candidate before the Legislature for State Treasurer in 1865, and in 1867 was re-elected practically unanimously, to be turned out of office by the operation of the Reconstruction Acts in 1868.

"In 1862 he was made a Trustee of the University, and soon thereafter he was placed on the Executive Committee, in which position his love for his alma mater at once began to assert itself constructively.

"In 1867 the University entered the darkest period of its history, its funds were running low, and its professors were fast resigning. Dr. Battle, as Chairman of a Committee of Trustees, of which Solicitor-General Samuel F. Phillips and ex-Governor William A. Graham were of the other members, wrote an elaborate report recommending a reorganization along the lines of the present system. The report was adopted almost unanimously, but our dear old University in a short time passed into hands that failed to keep its doors open to the youth of the State.

"In 1874 the University, which had for eight years been but a pathetic reminder of better days in North Carolina, was reached after by the strong arm of the State and, by Constitutional Amendment, was given back into the glad hands of its old-time friends. Dr. Battle, one of the new Trustees, was elected Secretary and Treasurer, and, on his recommendation, successful application was made to the General Assembly for $7,500 a year, interest on the Land Grant. With this amount as a beginning and, relying on the University sentiment in North Carolina, he began a movement to reopen the doors of our ancient seat of learning. But, its buildings were decaying, its beautiful campus was growing up in weeds, wreck and ruin were on every hand, and money must be had to put glass in the windows, stop the many leaks in the various roofs, and cut down the weeds in the campus. Confident that the generous heart of North Carolina still beat with love for the University, Dr. Battle appealed to its friends, who gladly answered his call for help, and gave him $18,000 with which to make the needed repairs.

"In September, 1875, the doors of the institution were once more thrown open; sixty-nine students were enrolled; and the University, with face uplifted toward the coming of better days, began its present career of service to the State.

"After the first year it was seen that a President was needed

and Dr. Battle, upon urgent solicitation, abandoned a lucrative practice and reluctantly but loyally accepted the responsible post of labor and honor. His Presidency was most successful. Under his wise direction and co-operation the number of students steadily increased, the instruction in all the departments was widened and deepened, the departments of law, medicine, natural history and electrical engineering were added, the number of laboratories was increased from three to five, a gymnasium and memorial hall were built, several literary and scientific societies were organized, the University Railroad was completed, and many other needed improvements were made from time to time. From 1877 to 1885 he conducted the first Summer Normal School in connection with a university or college, which gave a strong impetus to the establishment of graded schools. He also procured from the General Assembly the first annual appropriation ever granted the University, largely increased since.

"In 1891 he resigned as President and was at once unanimously elected Alumni Professor of History, which position he has ever since most acceptably filled. His efficiency as President and Professor has been due not merely to his scholarly instincts and vast fund of knowledge, but also to his large and varied experience in the business world, where, in addition to the offices already referred to, he held the following: Director of the Insane Asylum, President of a successful life insurance company, President of the State Agricultural Society, one of the three founders of the Oakwood Cemetery in Raleigh, N. C., Director and one of the founders of the Citizens National Bank, Raleigh, N. C., Alderman of the city of Raleigh, and Chairman of the Committee of Aldermen which put the city finances in order after the confusion of 1868-'9, and President of the Chatham Railroad during the Civil War, which, as has been mentioned, was built for the purpose of getting coal for the Confederacy.

"As an author Dr. Battle has written many valuable historical papers, pamphlets, and addresses, among which may be mentioned the following: History of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, Trials and Judicial Proceedings of the New Testament, Life of General Jethro Sumner, Old Schools and Teachers of North Carolina, Otway Burns—Privateer and Legislator, etc.

"Every friend of the University and especially those students who have matriculated since the reorganization in 1875, will read with interest this short sketch of Dr. Battle's long and successful service for North Carolina. As a Trustee he has been ever faithful to the University; as President he successfully rescued it from ruin and decay, and brought it back to a life of wider usefulness and deeper scholarship than it had ever known before; and now in the seventy-fifth year of his age, buoyant as a youth, both mentally and physically, with a heart beating proudly with love for his native State, and an indomitable energy ever bent towards finding out the truth of history and exploiting the achievements of the fathers in State and Nation, studious, painstaking, and indefatigable, year after year he has enthusiastically led the flower of our youth to the most authentic sources of historic lore where opinions may be formed without the bias of sentiment or the blindness of prejudice. May many more years of honorable, useful and sympathetic service to his State and people be spared to him."

(Dr. Battle has recently resigned as active Professor of History in the University of North Carolina and has been chosen Emeritus Professor. He is one of the few college professors in the South who have been placed on the list of the Carnegie Pension Endowment. Dr. Battle is now busy reading the proof of his new book, the "History of the University of North Carolina, 1789-1868," and as soon as that comes from the press and Vol. 2, 1868, to the present, is finished, he will

begin the Social and Political History of North Carolina from 1830, for which he has gathered material during his long and busy life. Nothing ever comes from his pen that is not wholesome, reliable and good.)

CHARLES LEE RAPER.

The sketch in this number of the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, on the "Finances of North Carolina Colonists," by Charles Lee Raper, will be read by historians and financiers of the State, especially by the latter, with genuine interest. The author has taken great care in the collection of facts relating to the financial and commercial system as used by the colonists, and he has brought into small compass this history during a hundred years.

Professor Raper was born in High Point, N. C., March 10, 1870. He was graduated from Trinity College, N. C., in 1902, with the degree of A.B. At this institution he won the prize for three successive years for highest standing in scholarship.

He received the degree of Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1901-'02, was elected instructor of Greek and Latin in Trinity College, 1902-'03; was elected Professor of Latin in Greensboro Female College, N. C., 1893-'98; received the Columbia University scholarship, 1898-'99; was Fellow in Columbia University, 1899-1900; was lecturer in European and American history in the Barnard College of Columbia University, 1900-'01.

Professor Raper has been head of the Department of Economics in the University of North Carolina since 1901; has created and developed the department, which now offers five courses (10 hours per week) running through the year, and has 175 Juniors and Seniors electing them: has collected for

the University a good working library in economics, a branch of education so necessary to success.

Professor Raper was Associate Professor of History in the University of North Carolina, 1901-06. He has been the chief instrument in collecting the great "Ethel Carr Peacock Collection of North Carolina History." He takes great interest in the history of his native State, and has been an important member of the State Historical Commission since 1905.

He has received two small grants from the Carnegie Institution for research in the economic history of North Carolina.

The following is a list of his published works:

(a) The Church and Private Schools for North Carolina.

(b) North Carolina, a Royal Province: pp. 71. 1901; N. C. University Press.

(c) North Carolina, a study in English Government; pp. 260, 1904; Macmillan. This study was received with great favor in this country and in Europe.

(d) The Principles of Wealth and Welfare; pp. 336, 1906; Macmillan. This is being introduced as a text by the high schools, normals, and smaller colleges, in many places.

(e) The South and the Manufacture of Cotton, 1905; a paper in the South Atlantic Quarterly.

(f) Why North Carolina at first Refused to Ratify the Federal Constitution, 1906; a paper in the American Historical Association Reports.

(g) The economic Future of the Negro, 1906; a discussion, in the American Economic Association Publications.

Professor Raper is a versatile writer and has contributed a number of short papers to the local newspapers; has written a number of book reviews; has frequently been asked for lists of books and for opinions on economic questions, by students in the schools and colleges and by men of affairs in many of

the Southern States; has given a number of popular lectures on economic problems before the Southern schools and colleges.

Professor Raper's travels in Europe and in the eastern part of the United States have so enlarged his observations on economic and social conditions that he is considered an excellent authority in this line of education.

The article written by him for the North Carolina Booklet (September, 1903), on "Social Life in Colonial North Carolina" throws much light on that period of our history, laying a foundation for a fuller account for the future historian who may rescue from old documents and other sources not yet attainable but which, through the North Carolina Historical Commission, will doubtless be found in the private letters and records of the old families of the State. The possessors of such documents should co-operate with the Commission in its efforts to preserve and render available such material.

Professor Raper's literary and historical work so far is an augury to his future usefulness and reputation.

WILLIS GRANDY BRIGGS.

Willis Grandy Briggs, writer of the article on "Joseph Gales, Raleigh's First Editor," in this issue of The Booklet, is the postmaster at Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Briggs was born October 9, 1875, and comes from the family of Hunters and Norwoods, pioneer settlers in Wake county. His great grandfather, John Joyner Briggs, helped clear the forest for this fair city, built some of the first houses in Raleigh and died here at the advanced age of ninety-six years. He was one of the founders of the Baptist church here, an officer in the first local temperance society and a man of great piety. Together he and Joseph Gales served on the

city patrol,—for the white males were then divided into squads of five for this duty.

His younger son, Thomas Henry Briggs, a building contractor and merchant, was successful in business and left a name the synonym of honesty. When his death occurred, August 4, 1886, the citizens held a mass meeting in the city hall and paid tribute to his memory. Though a modest quiet man, he was loved as has been given to few men to be loved here. His eldest son, Thomas Henry Briggs, second, father of the contributor to The Booklet, is one of Raleigh's best citizens, successful in business and a leader in Christian work.

Mr. Briggs' mother was formerly Miss Sarah Grandy, daughter of the late Willis Sawyer Grandy, who served in the Confederate army. She is a descendant of Caleb Grandy, Revolutionary soldier and first representative from Camden County; Colonel Peter Dauge, who was granted a large tract of land in 1794 "pursuant to an act of the General Assembly entitled an act for the relief of the officers and soldiers of the Continental line and in consideration of the signal bravery and personal zeal of Peter Dauge, a lieutenant colonel in said line;" William Ferebee, (1722-1783) of Currituck; Colonel Samuel Ferebee (1761-1845), of the War of 1812, last survivor of Fayetteville convention, 1789, which ratified for North Carolina the Constitution of the United States, and Dr. Enoch D. Ferebee, who lived in the old brick home on Lynhaven Bay. Dr. Ferebee (1797-1876) offered his negroes their freedom, which they declined, many years before the Civil War. His sons were in the Confederate army.

Mr. Briggs graduated with honors in a class of thirty-one at Wake Forest College in 1896. He was awarded the senior oratorical medal given by Thomas Dixon, the author. In that year, before he was of age, he aligned himself with the Republican party because of his opposition to "free silver." When a newspaper was established here in January, 1897, to aid in the re-election of Senator J. C. Pritchard, he ac-

cepted the position of city editor and retired from the business in which he had begun. The same year he was made United States Jury Commissioner, the youngest man, it is said, appointed to this position. He was connected with Raleigh papers and correspondent at the State capital for outside dailies until appointed postmaster by President Roosevelt Sept. 1, 1906.

He has made a number of contributions to the press on historical subjects. His sketch of Joseph Gales is written with appreciation of this great editor's work and cannot fail to be read with interest.

One among the many contributions to the press, published in The Raleigh Times of July 27, 1901, entitled "The Guardians of the Peace," was a comprehensive review of the early government of the city of Raleigh from 1792 to 1901, with biographical sketches of many who helped to frame the laws for the peace, security, prosperity and happiness of this community. This paper was of unusual local interest and great historical value.

When Postmaster C. T. Bailey retired from office, in 1906, Mr. Briggs was tendered the place by the President, which position he has filled with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the public; and more than this, he is the youngest man that has risen in this city to this most responsible position. Mr. Briggs is now in the prime of vigorous manhood, and with such character and qualifications as to command the regard and respect of the citizenship of his native city.

PATTIE WILLIAMS GEE.

Miss Pattie Williams Gee, the author of the "Ode to North Carolina," which enriches this number of The Booklet, is a native of North Carolina, born in Halifax County March 10, 1867. On the death of her mother and grandmother, at the age of five years she was transferred to the home of her ma-

ternal aunt, Mrs. Richard C. Badger, of Raleigh, N. C., under whose care she grew to womanhood. She was educated in a private school and at St. Mary's School in Raleigh. Early in life, feeling the necessity of earning her own living, she went to New York and studied at Packard's Business College, receiving a diploma in a partial course. Thereafter she was employed in various lines of clerical work. She reported the proceedings of a three days' session of the North Carolina Senate Committee with reference to a railroad commission. She worked for the Winston-Salem Land Improvement Co.; was employed by the Democratic State Executive Committee of North Carolina; worked for the Mercantile Association of the Carolinas at Wilmington, N. C.; for Samuel J. Tilden (nephew of the late Governor Tilden, of New York) in connection with his pharmaceutical factory at New Lebanon, N. Y.; for Orlando M. Harper, a commission merchant of New York; for the United States Book Company, and many affiliated companies then in the hands of a common receiver; for the law firm of Armoux, Ritch & Woodford, of 18 Wall Street; for Bowers & Sands (one of the oldest and best known law firms in New York City), and finally was private secretary for Mr. B. Aymar Sands, a member of the above firm. In 1905 she resigned this position and is now living at a cottage at Harsbrouck Heights, New Jersey. Having run the gamut of lucrative endeavor she has found her work, she has struck the keynote in unison with a poetic nature, and here in her own little cottage she is enjoying a well earned competency, pursuing the vocation of student, poetess and genealogist.

Her pen is ever busy "still pursuing, still achieving" thus giving the exceptionable promise of even more exquisite achievement.

In 1905 she issued a small volume of forty poems entitled "The Palace of the Heart," which attracted the attention of

lovers of genuine poetry. It was critically noticed by many papers. Below is the appraisement of two which are worthy of reproduction. The Boston Transcript said: "The verses in this volume are largely of spiritual import reflecting a hopeful look upon life and revealing a depth of thought and a command of literary technique not usually found in collections of modern poetry."

The New York Times Saturday Review of Books, said: "The Palace of the Heart" is conspicuous chiefly for the strong, religious feeling, simple and fervent in its expression, that inspires the greater number of poems. An air of devotion suggesting Fra Angelica, or even Cimabue gives the archaic forms of such songs as these, 'The Sinner and the Violets,' 'Orate pro Me,' and 'Mother Love in After Years,' a grace of spirit altogether lovely." A Newark paper has this to say of another of her poems: "Unquestionably the finest poem in the volume is 'Mater Mea Carolina,' wherein the part played by North Carolina men in the Civil War is commemorated. Miss Gee is a native of that State and her poem is evidently inspired by a deep and abiding love for it. Her father fought in the Confederate army and her uncle, Major Sterling Gee, lost his life before Richmond. It is natural that she should write with feeling. She sings of the 'hundred thousand men and twenty thousand beardless boys' that Carolina sent forth to the fray, and her verse rings with exultant pride to be followed by a note of mourning. 'Mater Mea Carolina' is true poetry and whenever Miss Gee's subject inspires her as in this, her verse rises to real excellence. Elsewhere she needs the diligent practice in the technicalities of her art. But the thought is always sweet, and wholesome and winning."

Since she has given up clerical work she will overcome the slight faults in her verse and no doubt will win laurels fitting for a victor's crown.

Miss Gee is secretary to the Genealogical Mss. Company, 150 West Forty-sixth Street, New York, and is the inventor of the Medallion Genealogical Register which has been patented both in America and Europe.

GENEALOGY OF GEE FAMILY.

Pattie Williams Gee is the daughter of Dr. Charles James Gee and Tempie Williams (Austin) Gee his wife, of Halifax County, N. C. Dr. Gee was educated at the University of Virginia, was a graduate of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and member of the Secession Convention of 1861. Served as surgeon in the Army of Northern Virginia of First North Carolina State troops.

Miss Gee is a granddaughter of Sterling Harwell Gee and Mary Temperance (Williams) his wife. She is a great granddaughter of Nevil Gee and wife Elizabeth (Harwell) Gee, and she is great-great-granddaughter of Charles Gee, of Virginia, who was a descendant of Thomas Gee, of Boston, Mass.

Miss Gee is ninth in descent from Richard Warren of the Mayflower; eighth in descent from Richard Warren II.; seventh in descent from Anne Warren and Dr. Thomas Little; sixth in descent from Bethia Little (sister of William Little, Colonial Chief Justice of North Carolina) and Thomas Barker. (The Barkers and Littles were old families from Massachusetts. They came to North Carolina in 1713. The Barker family have been traced back to the year 1200.) Fifth in descent from Thomas Barker II., who married first Perebee (Savage) Pugh, widow of Colonel Francis Pugh, of the Revolution, and second the distinguished Mrs. Penelope (Pagett) Craven, president of the famous "Edenton Tea Party of 1774." There were no children by this second marriage. Mr. Barker was a lawyer of considerable distinction, was one of the committee appointed to revise the laws in force in the colony for adoption by the newly formed State.

Miss Gee's descent from Thomas Barker and his first wife Ferebe (Savage) Pugh is interesting as she is connected by marriage to Penelope Barker the second wife of Thomas and the lady so famous as head of the Anti-Tea Drinking Society of Edenton, to which reference is made in this article. It may be of interest to the readers of The Booklet to know that Miss Susan Barker Willard, a descendant of the Barkers, lives at Hingham, Massachusetts. This lady has in her possession many letters from Penelope Barker dated July 22, 1788, Edenton, N. C. Pertinent to the above is the intention of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution to place a tablet at the capitol of North Carolina at an early day, in honor of those patriotic women. When all facts relating to that event will be fully brought forth and these valuable letters may be loaned for the occasion.

GENEALOGY OF WILLIAMS ANCESTRY.

Miss Gee is sixth in descent from Samuel Williams and Elizabeth (Alston) his wife (see will of W. W., first, dated 1704, Secretary of State's office, Raleigh, N. C.) married about 1725 to 1728. Fifth descent from Colonel William Williams and Mrs. Elizabeth (Whitmel) Blount his wife; married 1746. Fourth descent from General William Williams and Elizabeth Williams (second wife), daughter of Capt. Solomon and Tempie (Boddie) Williams. Third descent from Tempie Williams and Colonel Andrew Joyner, Lieutenant Colonel First Regiment of North Carolina, organized August, 1814. Second descent from Martha Williams Joyner who married first Archibald Alexander Austin, and second to Colonel Frank P. Haywood. First in descent from Tempie Williams (Austin) and Dr. Charles James Gee. Miss Gee is also descended from John Haywood Colonial Treasurer, etc. (—1757) and his wife Mary Lovat.

She is also descended from Rev. Thomas Burges, a clergyman and a pioneer of the Church of England in the colony.

She is also descended from Archibald Alexander Austin and Martha Williams (Joyner) his wife.

A rather interesting descent is that from Robert Alexander who belonged to the clan of McAlexander or McAlister, which is the same. He was a graduate of the University of Dublin and taught the first classical school west of the mountains of Virginia of which the present Washington and Lee University is the lineal descendant. Dr. Archibald Alexander, the first professor of theology at Princeton and the author of many religious works, was a descendant of his brother. This family has been noted for its scholarly attainments for many generations.

The North Carolina Booklet

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION ISSUED UNDER
THE AUSPICES OF THE

"NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION"

THIS PUBLICATION treats of important events in North Carolina History, such as may throw light upon the political, social or religious life of the people of this State during the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, in the form of monographs written and contributed by as reliable and painstaking historians as our State can produce. The Sixth Volume began in July, 1906.

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GENERAL ROBERT HOWE*

BY HON. JOHN D. BELLAMY.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Representatives:—During the present session of this Congress I introduced a bill (H. R. 17356) for the erection of an equestrian statue at Wilmington, N. C., to the memory of Maj. Gen. Robert Howe, of the American Revolution. I can not expect, in the closing hours of this session, when the congested state of the Calendar will preclude the consideration of many important measures, which are entitled to precedence, to secure the adoption of this resolution, but I do hope to bring to the attention of the country many of the incidents of the life and character of this remarkable man, in the hope that the next Congress will be possessed of sufficient patriotism to pass it.

In this centennial era, when we are commemorating the important events which have made this Government a great and powerful nation and enabled it to attain a century's growth, we should not alone seek to celebrate its material advancement, but should at least endeavor to perpetuate in some enduring form the memories of the great men whose wisdom and valor contributed so powerfully toward making the American Revolution successful, and thereby establishing the first great representative government that has ever been vouchsafed to mankind.

*This Address was delivered by Mr. Bellamy before the 57th Congress.

Carlyle has truly said that hero worship exists forever and everywhere; not loyalty alone; it extends from divine admiration to the lowest practical regions of life, and yet hero worship has never been a salient feature in the character of the average American citizen. A government whose basic principles are liberty and equality, and whose powers are not derived by divine inheritance and centered in a single individual, but emanate from the free consent of the people governed, has in it dogmas which tend to lessen reverence, yet it can never suppress the natural and spontaneous feeling of veneration for that which is truly great, for the true hero, be he philosopher, poet, priest, man of letters, warrior, or ruler.

There has always existed among all people and in all ages a special admiration for the warrior whose deeds of daring have worked good for his people, and the American people form no exception to this universal rule. The fame of Washington, the general, embalmed forever in the hearts of his countrymen, has been further perpetuated in statues of bronze and marble, that future generations may emulate his virtues and be inspired by his patriotic example. But few indeed of the great generals who aided Washington by their counsel, who shared his confidence, and who won glory and renown on many of the fields of battle which secured our independence, have been honored by their countrymen. Major-Generals Howe, Baron Steuben, Lincoln, Schuyler, and others performed their part in the great struggle equally with Washington, and achieved renown and fame excelled only by their leader. Some of them were leaders in the movement originating and precipitating the Revolution, and all prominent in consummating it with their sword and their talent. The Government, then an experiment, has become a Government respected and honored as the equal of the oldest and most permanent and stable governments of the world.

It is but just and proper then that these great generals should at least be remembered by a posterity which has reaped untold blessings from their patriotic efforts. It is with the view of rescuing from the oblivion into which it has fallen the life and services of one who possessed more eminently, if possible, the confidence of General Washington than any of his compeers that your speaker has offered this resolution to have Congress erect a monument to his memory in the city of Wilmington, near which he was born and lies buried.

Among the brilliant men of the Revolutionary period who have not been awarded the praise to which their patriotic services entitle them stands Maj. Gen. Robert Howe, of Brunswick, N. C. Of his early history little is preserved save that which is handed down by tradition in the vicinity of his birth. He was born in the precinct of Clarendon in the year 1732 in the present limits of Brunswick County, N. C. He was the son of Job Howe, a well-educated, influential, and wealthy rice planter, who resided at his palatial home on the Cape Fear River and spent his summers on the coast near the city of Wilmington. Like the Southern gentleman of that day, and for generations afterwards, this home was the seat of hospitality and refinement, and in this atmosphere of culture Robert Howe was partially reared. His grandfather had come over to America with the Yeamans colony in 1665, which was planted first on Old Town Creek, but afterwards moved to Charleston, S. C. His father, Job Howe, came to the Cape Fear region from Charleston with Col. Maurice Moore, his kinsman, who assumed charge of the lands of Sir John Yeamans abandoned in 1690.

Robert Howe was connected by blood and marriage with the best families in North and South Carolina. He was the lineal descendant of Sir John Yeamans, and was the grandson of Mary Moore, the daughter of James Moore, the gov-

ernor of the two Carolinas in 1670. At an early age, as was the custom in those days among gentlemen of wealth, Robert was sent by his father to England, and there had the advantage of the social life of the best London circles, and received the benefits of a solid and refined English education. He spent a good number of years in Europe, and did not return until a short time previous to his father's death, which occurred at his summer home on the coast in the year 1748. It appears from the will of his father, recorded in New Hanover County, that Robert had two brothers and two sisters, and although they lived in that vicinity, on fine plantations devised to each, yet in the early part of this century the name of Howe became entirely extinct, and is no longer found except occasionally among a few old family servants, negroes, who to-day alone retain the name.

In 1763 we find Robert Howe settled on his rice plantation at the mouth of Old Town Creek, the site of the first English settlement under Sir John Yeamans. He lived, like his father, in affluence, with his broad acres around him, his slaves, his library well stored with the best books of the day, which was always an indispensable requisite to the well-furnished home of the southern country gentleman. At that day the English Government had a well-fortified fort at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, known then and ever afterwards as Fort Johnston. Robert had an ambition to lead a military life. The royal Governor Tryon had partaken of his hospitality and had formed an attachment for him. A vacancy occurring in the position of commandant of the fort, he was appointed to it by the governor. In a letter dated July 29, 1766, at Old Brunswick, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Burrington, secretary of war, Governor Tryon says:

"Capt. John Dalrymple, commandant of Fort Johnston, in this province, died the 13th instant in said fort. As the

above command was from His Majesty, I have issued a new one to Robert Howe, a gentleman of this province, to succeed him." * * *

This is the first act of a public nature recorded of Robert Howe, and it was doubtless this appointment and the exercise of its duties that gave him a taste for the military life he was afterwards to lead. He held the position for a few years and was succeeded by John Abraham Collett. It was about this time that Robert met, wooed, and won the heart and hand of Sarah Grange, the daughter of Thomas Grange, a respectable planter on the Upper Cape Fear River, and they were afterwards married; and although they lived happily together for a number of years, they became, for some reason, eventually estranged and were afterwards peaceably separated, as appears from a deed providing for her support, recorded in the year 1772. They were never reunited.

In January, 1772, Robert Howe entered political life. He offered himself as a candidate from Brunswick County for the general assembly of the province, which was to meet that year in November, and was duly elected by the people. Josiah Martin was then governor of the province, having about two years previously succeeded Governor Tryon. Governor Martin was not so suave as Tryon, and was not generally popular. He was a man of a firm and obstinate disposition, and by his indomitable will doubtless widened the breach and precipitated the conflict which was soon to follow between the people and the Crown. The royal governors in colonial times were invested with the most absolute and arbitrary powers. They had entire control over nearly all appointments to office and almost as much power in the regulation of the elections themselves, and had also the right to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the assemblies at pleasure. Soon after the assembly met and organized Robert Howe introduced a resolution to regu-

late the elections and to have triennial meetings of the legislature. This bill was aimed at the curtailment of the governor's prerogatives, and was defeated through the instrumentality of the governor and his council, and a short time afterwards the governor dissolved the assembly. But by the resolution itself was exhibited a bold and fearless spirit in its author, which characterized him through life and was a faculty so necessary to fit him for the important part he was soon to play in the history of that momentous period.

A like spirit of opposition to the encroachments of the Crown and its officers had begun to prevail in the other colonies. Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, was prominent as a leader in the movement. He set out for a voyage through the Southern colonies for the purpose of having a conference with the Whig leaders. While on this expedition, on the 29th of March, 1773, Quincy paid a visit to Cornelius Harnett at Hilton, in the old mansion formerly standing there. Of this visit tradition informs us with some details. It is said that Mr. Quincy had no previous acquaintance with Harnett. On arriving at Harnett's residence he asked to be accommodated with a night's lodging, which was cordially granted him by his hospitable host. After supper, thinking Harnett might be a Tory, and it would be unsafe to advert to any political topic, Quincy specially avoided it, but in the course of the conversation, Harnett ascertaining in some way the cause of Quincy's appearance in the South, immediately began to express his views very positively and boldly concerning the tyrranical and oppressive course of the King toward his colonies. It is said that Quincy was so greatly surprised at finding Harnett so much in accord with his own views that he could not withstand embracing him upon discovering such a kindred spirit.

The whole night was spent in conversation, and the next

morning, upon Harnett saying to Quincy—which Quincy already knew—that in the immdeiate vicinity was a bold, intelligent, and determined man in full sympathy with their own views, Robert Howe, he was sent for and repaired thither without delay; and then and there, at Hilton, on the Cape Fear River, these three men, closeted together in the deepest of deliberation, concocted and agreed upon the scheme for the American Revolution. While on this journey Mr. Quincy kept a diary of the events of the day, and it is quite interesting to note the estimate of Howe by this sagacious and discerning patriot and of the incidents of this visit. In Quincy's Memoirs he records:

"*March* 26, 1773.—Spent most of the day in public and private conversation with Col. Robert Howe, a leader and active member of the general assembly. Fine natural parts, great feeling, pure and elegant diction, with much persuasive eloquence, a Crown officer with a lucrative post, a staunch Whig and colonist. I received much information in provincial politics and great pleasure from his relation. Zealous in the cause of America, he relished the proposed Continental correspondence, promised to promote it, and write to me by the first opportunity.

"*March* 28.—Yesterday was a most delightful day. Fort Johnston is as delightful a situation. The commander, Col. Robert Howe, is a happy compound of the man of sense and sentiment with the man of the world, the sword, and the senate.

"*March* 30.—Spent the night at Mr. Harnett's. Robert Howe, Harnett, and myself made the social triumvirate of the evening. The plan of Continental correspondence highly relished, much wished for, and resolved upon as proper to be pursued."

Well might Hilton be termed the birthplace and cradle of

American liberty, as it was so termed by Vice-President Henry Wilson, in a speech from the portico of this building, delivered in 1872. On departing from the Cape Fear region, Quincy bade his friend Howe adieu, each hoping to meet again and pledging each other to urge on the cause of independence, Captain Howe giving to Mr. Quincy a letter of introduction to Governor Tryon, who had then become governor of New York.

The legistlature of 1772 was dissolved by Governor Martin in the early spring, as he desired to have members elected who would support his administration. But, notwithstanding the opposition fomented by the governor against him, Robert Howe was again returned to the assembly, which met the same year at New Bern on December 4th. At this session the speaker of the House of Commons laid before that body letters from several provinces requesting the appointment of a committee to inquire into the encroachments of England upon the liberties of the American people. The house passed a resolution—

"That such example was worthy of imitation by which means communication and concert would be established among the colonies, and that they will at all times be ready to exert their efforts to preserve and defend their rights."

The committee was appointed, and after the Speaker's name, as chairman, stands next in order the names of Robert Howe and Cornelius Harnett. It was chiefly through the influence and exertion of these two men that this committee was chosen, and thus was recorded the first act of a legislative character that led to the revolution.

During this session the House had passed an act prohibiting the sheriffs from collecting that portion of the poll tax devoted to the payment of the public debt. The governor commanded the sheriffs to enforce the collection, and a direct

clash arose between the legislative and executive branches of the Government. The judicial branch was silent, as the courts were closed. The governor forbade the further meeting of the assembly. Whereupon among the Whig leaders it was decided to call a general congress to meet at New Bern August 20, 1774.

The governor called upon the council to concert measures to prevent the election of members as delegates to this meeting of the congress, but the people were thoroughly excited, and in spite of the governor's strenuous efforts to the contrary the congress assembled at New Bern on the 25th of August, pursuant to the call. Among the delegates sent was Robert Howe, of Brunswick County, and his learning and eloquence were felt in this body. Among the many important resolutions passed were those claiming the right of a citizen to trial by a jury of his vicinage, and denounced the sending of Americans to England for trial in criminal cases, and that no subject should be taxed without representation. They approved of the conduct of the people of Massachusetts, and resolved not to import tea or any British manufacture, or export their own products to Great Britain unless their grievances were redressed. On the 11th of February, 1775, Colonel Harvey called another congress to meet at New Bern on the 3d of April. As a delegate to this congress and also to the general assembly, which was to meet at the same time, Robert Howe was again elected from Brunswick County.

Governor Martin issued his proclamation against the assembling of this congress, and finding his voice unheeded, on the morning of the meeting of the assembly he issued another proclamation commanding them to desist from the proposed convention. But men determined on the attainment of the liberty for which they were striving would brook no opposition, and the convention was held in the very face of the gov-

ernor. Governor Martin still persevered in his course. On the meeting of the assembly he went before that body and addressed them at length. He told them that he looked with horror on the proceedings of some of the colonies; that the meetings and committees had injured the rights of the Crown and insulted its officers; that they were in duty bound to prevent the meeting of the congress; that it should be the care of the assembly to lead back the people to their allegiance; that Parliament was at that very time deliberating for the good of America, and they should await the result.

The assembly did not like the tone of the governor's address and immediately proceeded to the appointment of a committee to reply to it. Robert Howe, for his peculiar fitness, was selected as its chairman. On the 7th of April Robert Howe wrote and reported an address which, as a justification for the action of his people, as well as a refutation of the charges of the governor, stamps him as a clear, forcible and logical writer, than whom the colonies had no superior. Captain Howe said:

That they contemplated with horror the condition of America, involved in difficulties and distressed by invasions of ancient rights and immunities. In this way the colonies had been driven to measures which, however extraordinary, were still warranted by necessity. The appointment of committees in counties and towns had been adopted to resist unconstitutional encroachments, and the assembly was convinced that no step had been taken in that direction which was not salutary and proper. It was not to be controverted that all British subjects had the right of assembling and petitioning for a redress of grievances, and any attempt to deny or abridge this privilege was in direct conflict with the constitution. It was the least of their desires to prevent the objects and session of the provincial congress, then in session, or to join his excellency in his injurious epithets in its disparagement.

They further stated:

That they would gladly aid in the establishment of a proper court system, but declined any provisions for Fort Johnston.

This reply was so very distasteful to the governor that the next day he dissolved the assembly, and this was the last held under royal auspices in North Carolina.

Captain Howe returned to his home, and as the clouds of war were gathering thick and lowering over his country he immediately began to prepare for action. Having no trained soldiers he employed himself drilling the people and training them to arms. While thus engaged the governor issued a violent proclamation at Fort Johnston on the 16th June, 1775, against the people of the colony. A meeting of the district committee of safety was held at the court-house in Wilmington on the 20th June, with delegates present from Brunswick, Bladen, Onslow, Duplin, and New Hanover counties. Robert Howe appeared as a member from Brunswick.

Immediately a committee was appointed, with Robert Howe as chairman, to answer the proclamation which was ordered to be published. Captain Howe prepared the address, which, like his former addresses, was a masterly production. He said among other things:

"In order to prevent the pernicious influence of the said proclamation, we do unanimously resolve, that in our opinion his excellency Josiah Martin, Esq., hath by the said proclamation, and by the whole tenor of his conduct since these unhappy disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, discovered himself to be an enemy to the happiness of this colony in particular, and to the freedom, rights, and privileges of America in general. And in reply to Lord North's resolution, introduced into Parliament, concerning America, which his excellency alluded to, *'Resolved,* That this was a low, base, flagitious, and wicked attempt to entrap America into slavery.

and which they ought to reject with contempt which it deserves.' "

News of the battle of Lexington and Bunker Hill had now reached the Cape Fear, and the people began to prepare with increased exertions for the emergency. It became apparent that as Fort Johnston was the key to the entire Cape Fear country it must be held by the colonies, and on the 18th of May, after due preparation, Col. John Ashe, in command of a body of troops, among whom was Captain Howe, attacked, set fire to, and partially burned Fort Johnston, right under the English fleet then in the harbor.

About this time, also, another meeting of congress was called for August 21, 1775, at Hillsboro. Thither Robert Howe again went as the chosen delegate from Brunswick County. The meeting of this congress was alike denounced by Governor Martin from his place of refuge on a British man-of-war. But the congress, to his denunciation, voted to bear their part of the expense of a Continental army, and organized one of their own by providing for the immediate formation of two regiments of 500 men each, and appointed James Moore as colonel of the first and Robert Howe as colonel of the second regiment. By this same congress, on September 8, Colonel Howe was also appointed one of a committee, with William Hooper as chairman, to prepare an address to the people of the British Empire, declaring the views of the body as to the existing state of affairs. This was the last act of a civil nature in which Colonel Howe was engaged until the close of that great struggle which was to terminate in the establishment of the greatest constitutional republic the world has ever seen.

Colonel Howe, as we have seen, was prominent in every step which led to the Revolution. He was ever ready, with his broad and liberal views, to advance the cause of his country. He had with his pen, by his persuasive eloquence on the hust-

ings, and his debates in the legislative halls, as well as his votes, shown himself a true statesman, born as it were for the occasion. But it is not for us to regard him alone as a statesman, for he was great as a soldier. No sooner had the Hillsboro congress adjourned than Colonel Howe began to form his regiment, and continued training his soldiers. In this he was engaged when he was informed of the efforts of Lord Dunmore to raise an army at Norfolk, and of his emissaries to incite an insurrection among the slaves in the Albemarle region of North Carolina. He immediately, in December, 1775, proceeded with his regiment to Norfolk to engage the British and to rescue his people from the threatened insurrection. He arrived at Norfolk on the 11th of December, two days after the skirmish between Lord Dunmore and the Virginia troops at Great Bridge, but found that Lord Dunmore had only withdrawn to Norfolk and was then in possession of the town. Colonel Howe, being the officer of highest rank, assumed command of the American troops, and, an engagement ensuing, drove Lord Dunmore and his entire force from the country, and on the 14th of December took possession of the city.

Lord Dunmore on retreating betook himself to the British fleet, and on January 1, 1776, attempted to recapture the city. He opened a severe bombardment on the town from the fleet, and with such terrible results that nine-tenths of all the houses were reduced to ashes, and the fire raged for several weeks. But Colonel Howe successfully repelled the assault, and Lord Dunmore retired from the country.

At this point Colonel Howe remained until after the 1st of March, when, for his gallantry and good conduct, he was promoted by the Continental Congress to the rank of brigadier-general in the Continental Army and ordered to the Southern Department, under Major-General Charles Lee.

On May 4, 1776, the State Congress, through its president, addressed General Howe, and returned to him a vote of thanks "for his manly, generous, and war-like conduct in these unhappy times, and more especially for the reputation our troops acquired under his command." General Howe thus endeared himself to his own countrymen, but had become exceedingly obnoxious to the British.

So great was this aversion that on the 5th day of May, 1776, Sir Henry Clinton, then in command, issued a proclamation against committees and congresses, and invited the people to return to the royal standard, and offered and promised pardon to all the people of North Carolina who would submit, "except Robert Howe and Cornelius Harnett." On the 12th of the same month Cornwallis, sent by Sir Henry Clinton, with 900 men ravaged and burned General Howe's plantation at Old Town Creek and took away a few bullocks and a number of slaves. Major-General Charles Lee was now on his way to take charge of the military affairs in the South. While in North Carolina he was joined by General Howe and the two North Carolina regiments under Col. James Moore and Alex. Martin, the latter appointed to succeed General Howe, promoted.

These two regiments arrived at Charleston on June 11, 1776, and these, under the command of General Howe, participated in the brilliant victories of Forts Sullivan and Moultrie, which occurred on the 28th of June. At this battle the Americans had only one-tenth as many guns as were brought to bear on them, and yet they won the day. Of the soldiers General Lee said: "No men ever behaved better or ever could behave better." Here the North Carolina troops fought with conspicuous bravery and added new laurels to their own fame and that of their commander.

General Lee, in a report of the battle made to Edmond Pendleton, of the Virginia convention, said:

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"I know not which troops I have the greatest reason to be pleased with, Muhlenberg's Virginians, or the North Carolina troops. They are both equally alert, zealous, and spirited."

During the month of July, General Lee, with General Howe and Colonel Moultrie, left Charleston for an expedition against Florida, but when they arrived at Savannah General Lee was recalled by General Washington, and in October following Howe was placed in command of the southern department, with headquarters at Charleston. In retaliation for incursions from Florida, General Howe, at the head of 2,000 Americans, militia from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, attempted the capture of St. Augustine. He met with little opposition before he reached the St. Mary's River, where the British had erected a fort called Tonyn, in compliment to the governor of the province. On the approach of Howe they destroyed the fort and, after some slight skirmishing, retreated toward St. Augustine. But the Americans were driven back from Florida by a plague of fever which swept away nearly one-fourth of their number and rendered their retreat absolutely necessary.

It was while at Charleston that occurred the dispute between Colonel Gadsden and General Howe, which led to the duel between them on the 20th of August, 1778. As the duel was an episode in his life of so remarkable a character and our historians have been so inaccurate in their references to it, I deem it of so much interest as to here give a detailed statement of it, taken from an account of the duel in *The South Carolinian and American Gazette,* dated September 3, 1778, three or four days after its occurrence:

The dispute arose out of a conflict of authority between the States and the Continental Congress—a question of conflict of authority which agitated and seriously affected the Con-

federacy in the late civil war, and which was never clearly and permanently settled in the United States between the States and the General Government until the adoption of the Constitution:

"On the 29th October, 1776, General Howe published in his orders the promotion of Colonels Gadsden and Moultrie, and assigned them to their respective commands.

"On the 23d of August, 1777, General Gadsden resigned his command into the hands of General Howe. General Howe sent the resignation to Congress with a letter explaining it, and Congress, accepting it without comment, wounded Colonel Gadsden's feelings. To this letter Colonel Gadsden replied in an open letter to Congress. This letter was the cause of the duel. General Howe says that about four months before the date of his letter, that is, about the 1st of May, after he had been about six months in undisputed command of the post, General Gadsden desired to know by what right he commanded, and claimed that he himself was the natural commander in South Carolina. General Howe explained to him his right, and showed the error into which General Gadsden had fallen respecting claims of right. General Howe replied that as he had no doubt respecting his own right he would express none, but if the other desired it he would communicate those doubts to Congress as his, and this was assented to.

"At a subsequent interview a few days afterwards General Howe was led to believe that General Gadsden was now satisfied as to his right, and the letter was not written. One day in August they met at the house of President Lowndes, and General Gadsden inquired whether the letter had been written as agreed, and on General Howe replying in the negative, and giving his reasons for not having done so, General Gadsden said the matter should be brought before the South Caro-

lina assembly. Shortly afterwards a motion was made by William Henry Drayton inquiring into the nature of General Howe's command in that State. This motion was promptly rejected, and General Gadsden immediately resigned his commission into General Howe's hands. General Gadsden gave an explanation of the matter and says:

" 'On the 11th of August I received by the General's aid-de camp a long expostulatory letter, with a demand for satisfaction at the close unless I made him reparation for the expressions I had made use of relative to him in my letter of the 4th of July. I wrote for an answer next morning that I was ready to give him any satisfaction he thought proper, when and where he pleased; that I thought him the aggressor in having wrote such an unnecessary detail of that matter in it, omitting my principal objection, and especially for not letting me, whom it so nearly concerned, have a copy of it; and that he had nobody to blame but himself; that I never saw his detail, which had such immediate effect, for ten months after the date of it.

" 'Three letters from him and two from me passed before the matter came to a point. In his he gave me assurance that he did not mean in anything he said to reflect upon or injure me, and as to the breach of promise I accused him of he declared he really understood me as he had set forth; so that if there was a fault, his understanding and not his integrity was to blame; and had he imagined I wished to see his letter he should most cheerfully have sent it to me; that he had not the least wish to conceal it from me. My friends, Colonels Elliott and Horry, who were the only ones who had the least hint of the affair from me, seemed to think this a great occasion, and required some notice or apology on my side, and our friend, Colonel Pinckney, who was the General's second, appeared to be of the same opinion. But I, looking upon it

only as personal and private to me, and whereas the expressions of me he particularly referred to related to the manner of a public act, I determined to make no concessions, but to meet him in any manner he pleased.'

"Accordingly on the 30th of August the hostile meeting took place, and the following account given of it: 'After the generals met and ourteously saluted eah other, General Howe desired his second to acquaint his friends, in case he should fall, that it was his earnest request that they should not prosecute General Gadsden beyond the formality of a trial, and General Gadsden desired both the seconds to acquaint his friend in case he should fall, that he entirely forgave General Howe and earnestly begged them not to prosecute him, and he particularly enjoined Colonel Pinckney to charge his son not to intermeddle in the affair at all. General Howe's second then stepped off the distance then fixed upon by him and Colonel Elliott—18 short paces—and the generals being placed, Colonel Elliott said:

" 'Gentlemen, we have marked out your distance, leaving you to act as you please, not doubting but that, as this is an affair of honor, you will act consequently with the strictest rules of honor.' General Howe then said to General Gadsden, 'Fire, sir.' General Gadsden said, 'Do you fire first?' General Howe replied, 'We will both fire together.' General Gadsden made no answer, but both presented. There was a pause for a few seconds, and General Howe said with a smile, 'Why will not you fire, General Gadsden?' General Gadsden replied, 'You brought me out, General Howe, to this ball play and ought to begin the entertainment.' General Howe fired and missed. General Gadsden after a short interval fired his pistol over his left arm, about at right angles from General Howe, and then called out to General Howe to fire again. General Howe smiled, and at the same time dropping his

hands with his pistol in it said, 'No, General Gadsden, I can not after this.'

"General Gadsden's second said he was glad to see so much honor in the generals; that he did not think General Gadsden could have made a handsomer apology or General Howe have shown a higher sense of honor than in acting as he had done. Then General Gadsden went up to him and said, 'Now, General Howe, I will mention to you what I could not before, as my letter was a public one, and the words contained in it seemed to me proper, and as yours was a private one, the parts in it which, in the opinion of my friends, left an opening for an apology I could not take notice of; but I told my friends in the carriage before I came on the ground that I intended to receive your fire, and though I may, perhaps, talk this matter over again, I assure you I shall never in future make use of any harsh expressions concerning you.' General Howe said that it was very agreeable to him that the matter terminated in this way, and that he was happy that he had missed him. General Gadsden's second said he hoped that the difference that had caused this duel might now subside and be left on that spot. The generals, then, in token of this reconciliation shook hands and parted."

We rarely see such chivalry displayed in the duel; and although it is intended for the healing of wounded honor among gentlemen, yet as a practice to be condemned, if it must be resorted to, no finer example could be given of what ought to be observed as the rules of the code. General Gadsden was wrong in this matter, but, as it is said, "he was gloriously wrong," and General Howe was completely vindicated.

The unfortunate, but gifted Major André, of the British army, who was afterwards executed as a spy, wrote a humorous account of this duel in eighteen stanzas, set to the tune of Yankee Doodle, which was published as one of the humors of that day. It is thus given:

"ON THE AFFAIR BETWEEN THE REBEL GENERALS HOWE AND GADSDEN.

"Charleston, S. C., September 1, 1778.

"We are favored with the following authentic account of the affair of honor which happened on the 13th of August, 1778. Eleven o'clock was the hour appointed for Generals H. and G. to meet. Accordingly, about ten minutes before eleven—but hold! It is too good a story to be told in simple prose.

It was on Mr. Percy's land,
At Squire Rugeley's corner,
Great H. and G. met, sword in hand,
Upon a point of honor.

Chorus: Yankee doodle, doodle doo, etc.

G. went before with Colonel E.,
Together in a carriage;
On horseback followed H. and P.
As if to steal a marriage.

On chosen ground they now alight,
For battle duly harnessed;
A shady place, and out of sight,
It shew'd they were in earnest.

They met, and in the usual way
With hat in hand saluted;
Which was, no doubt, to show how they
Like gentlemen disputed.

And then they both together made
This honest declaration,
That they came there, by honor led,
And not by inclination.

That if they fought, 'twas not because
Of rancour, spite, or passion;
But only to obey the laws
Of custom and the fashion.

The pistols then, before their eyes
Were fairly primed and loaded;
H. wished, and so did G. likewise,
The customs were exploded.

But as they now had gone so far
In such a bloody business,
For action straight they both prepare
With mutual forgiveness.

But lest their courage should exceed
The bounds of moderation,
Between the seconds 'twas agreed
To fix them each a station.

The distance stepp'd by Colonel P.
Was only eight short spaces;
"Now, gentlemen," says Colonel E.,
"Be sure to keep your places."

Quoth H. to G., "Sir, please to fire";
Quoth G., "No, pray begin, sir";
And truly we must needs admire
The temper they were in, sir.

"We'll fire both at once," said H.;
And so they both presented;
No answer was returned by G.,
But silence, sir, consented.

They paused awhile, these gallant foes,
By turns politely grinning:
'Till, after many cons and pros,
H. made a brisk beginning.

H. missed his mark, but not his aim;
The shot was well directed.
It saved them both from hurt and shame;
What more could be expected?

Then G., to show he meant no harm,
But hated jars and jangles,
His pistol fired across his arm
From H., almost at angles.

H. now was called upon by G.
To fire another shot, sir;
He smiled and, "After that," quoth he,
"No, truly I can not, sir."

Such honor did they both display
They highly were commended;
And thus, in short, this gallant fray
Without mischance was ended.

No fresh dispute, we may suppose,
Will e'er by them be started;
And now the chiefs, no longer foes,
Shook hands, and so they parted.

Chorus: Yankee doodle, doodle doo, etc.

After this encounter and toward the close of December, 1778, we find General Howe at Savannah, Ga., sent by General Washington to command the defenses around that town,

to prevent the threatened attack of the British. On arriving he immediately bestowed as much labor on the fortification as he could command men and means to give. But Governor Houston, of Georgia, denied his right to command at that post, as the governor himself claimed to be commander-in-chief and entitled to precedence of rank on Georgia soil. But General Howe as commander of the continental forces under Washington could not concede this to the State authorities. He deemed it his duty to point out to the legislature of Georgia and to the governor, in the strongest expressions of which he was master, the want of proper defenses, and asked for men to throw up the fortifications.

But owing to this friction between Governor Houston and General Howe over the precedence to command the legislature refused to take any action whatever. Governor Houston still continued to dispute his right to command; and when the British forces sailed in the river Savannah was without means of defense. General Howe, having under him only about 900 men, without fortifications, was unable to prevent the landing of the British force, nearly four times as large, with heavy guns and ammunition, and consisting of thirty-five hundred men, under Colonel Campbell, from New York, and a like number under General Prevost, from St. Augustine, among whom was the regiment of royalists, chiefly from North Carolina, under the command of Col. John Hamilton, of Halifax.

The North Carolina Continentals here fought face to face against their brothers, the Loyalists. A battle took place, with great loss of life, the Continental troops being attacked both in the flank and front by so great an excess in numbers that, notwithstanding the bravery and gallantry with which the Continentals fought, they were driven from their position, and the British carried the day. The valor and patriotism of the Americans could not prevail over the immense number of

the British. General Howe incurred here the resentment of Governor Houston over this dispute as to whether the State or Continental authorities had the right to control and direct the management of the affairs of war, but this disaster showed how necessary it was to concede this power to the Continental Congress, as it was through the want of the cooperation of Governor Houston, or, rather, his opposition, coupled with the paucity of numbers of the Americans, that led to the defeat at Savannah. But the whole conduct of the battle showed in General Howe the highest marks of generalship.

After this, at the instance of Governor Houston, a court-martial, presided over by Maj. Gen. Baron Steuben as president, with Brigadier-Generals Knox and others, to investigate the conduct of General Howe on the charges of having sacrificed the Georgia troops and leaving the country exposed, but the court held him not guilty, and, in the language of the Court, "We do acquit him of both charges with the highest honor." In the early part of the year 1779, General Howe was transferred to the North, and on the 15th of July was ordered against Verplanck's Point, subsequently to Ridgefield. He also cooperated with General Wayne in his attack on Stony Point on the Hudson.

About this time the city of New York was evacuated by the Americans, and the British under Sir Henry Clinton took possession. The American Army withdrew into the interior of the State. The position of West Point, on the Hudson, was considered by General Washington as the key to the Army's position. And so great was Washington's confidence in the military ability and courage of General Howe that to him was intrusted the command of that department, and on the 15th of May, 1780, he was instructed by Washington to increase his rank and file to 2,500 men, if not now that large, from General Clinton's New York Militia. Gen-

eral Clinton was then Governor of that State and commander-in-chief of the militia. Howe was soon joined by part of Clinton's brigade and latterly by a division of the Connecticut troops, when he was ordered by General Washington to dismiss the militia, having then 2,500 Continental troops.

General Clinton doubtless took offense at the dismissal of his State's militia, and immediately began with Benedict Arnold and others to plot for the removal of General Howe. General Arnold made immediate application for the position, whether then with a treasonable design we can only conjecture, but he alleged "that his wound would not allow him to remain in the field," and that was his ostensible reason for seeking the appointment. Arnold secured the influence of Mr. Robert R. Livingston, then a member of Congress from New York, to assist him. Mr. Livingston wrote to General Washington on the 22d day of June, 1780, and stated that General Howe (probably on account of his dismissal of the New York militia), would not inspire the confidence in them essential for engaging their efficient service, and said: "If I might presume so far, I should beg leave to submit to Your Excellency whether this post might not be safely confided to General Arnold, who is the favorite of the militia, and who will agree perfectly with our governor."

On the 30th of June, General Arnold visited the camp at West Point. General Howe wrote that day to General Washington, "I have taken General Arnold round our works, and he has my opinion of them and of many other matters. I have long wished to give it to you, but I could not convey it by letter." General Howe had always, to a most extraordinary degree, enjoyed General Washington's esteem and confidence, and upon the solicitation for the appointment of Arnold he refused to make it, except that General Howe might prefer to resume his position in the line of the army. Gen-

eral Howe signifying his preference, General Washington acceded to the importunities of Arnold's friends, and on the third day of August, 1780, Major General Arnold was ordered to take command of West Point and its dependencies. And scarcely a month passed before Arnold was guilty of his base treachery and Major André was captured. The result is well known. He was tried by a court-martial, of which General Howe was a conspicuous member, and was convicted and hung.

General Howe was then placed in command of a division on the east side of the Hudson, where he remained until January 10, 1781. At this time a mutiny broke out among the Pennsylvania troops, and by order of General Washington he was sent with five battalions to quell the disturbance. A similar occurrence took place in the New Jersey line on the 22d, and General Washington dispatched General Howe to Ringwood, in that State, to quell the mutiny there. Both of these missions were performed with great promptness, and a few of the leaders having been so speedily and fairly tried, condemned, and executed that a vote of thanks was returned by General Washington, in behalf of the country, to General Howe and his troops, and Congress likewise passed resolutions thanking him for these services.

On the 21st of July, 1781, while still in New York, he was ordered to reconnoiter the enemy's position at King's Bridge, which task was performed entirely to the satisfaction of General Washington. The long struggle of America for freedom was now drawing to a close. Lord Cornwallis, finding it impossible longer to withstand the aggressive movement of the Americans, surrendered his sword to Washington on the 19th of October, 1781, at Yorktown. And on the 18th of the following month, Major Craig and his forces left the Cape Fear, and with him disappeared the last vestige of

British dominion in North Carolina. General Howe still remained in the service of the Government. The Continental Congress was in session in Philadelphia in June, 1783. Owing to the failure of Congress to levy revenue, which was due to the want of power, a defect in the Articles of Confederation, the Congress, while in session, was attacked by a clamorous mob and compelled to disperse.

For their protection, General Howe was sent with five battalions to suppress the mob. This was successfully accomplished, and was the last act performed by him of importance while in the Army. Soon afterwards he was mustered out of the service, holding then the rank of major-general of the Continental Army. On September 23, 1783, Congress passed a resolution of thanks to General Howe and the officers and soldiers of his command. Before retiring from the Army he took an active interest in forming the Order of the Cincinnati, and was one of the general officers designated at the Cantonment of the American Army June 19, 1783, to establish that society, and he was the first officer of the North Carolina Chapter which he afterward formed.

He had given six years' continued service to his country, and during all that time he never asked or accepted one moment's recess. To use his own language: "For this service I have sacrificed all other considerations, however interesting, endearing, or heartfelt they might have been." In the spring of 1785, he returned to his home on the Cape Fear, ripe with honors and the gratitude of his country. At Fayetteville he was received with public ovation, and the popular homage extended him was unparalleled in that day, except in the single instance of that given to George Washington. He immediately applied himself to his former occupation of tilling the soil, but was not long allowed to remain quiet at his home. During the summer of the year 1785 he

was elected by his people to represent them in the legislature, where he took his seat at New Bern on the 19th of November.

On the 17th of March, 1786, he was sent to select a site for a lighthouse on the Cape Fear River, and, with Mr. Benjamin Smith and the commissioners of pilotage, fixed the location at Baldhead. Again during this year he was a candidate for the legislature from Brunswick. At this time in North Carolina the judiciary was in great disrepute. At Wilmington a court was being held by Judges Spencer, Ashe, and Williams. In the words of Mr. Archibald McLean, a brilliant lawyer of that day "the most shameful partiality disgraced the bench." The question of the extent of pardon which should be granted to the Loyalists, who had lately been in arms against the Continentals, or adhering to the British, giving them aid and comfort, was greatly agitated among the people, especially in reference to the confiscation acts. General Howe, being a man of broad and liberal culture, favored magnanimity and advocated the restoration of the Loyalists to their property rights and granting general amnesty. He warred against proscription, which filled the air. He met with violent opposition at the polls from the narrow-minded and illiberal.

In a letter written by Archibald McLean to James Iredell on the 3d August, 1786, he says:

"General Howe will, I believe, be returned from Brunswick, though opposed with great assiduity. He openly avows the most liberal principles and execrates the judges and other officers."

Notwithstanding the opposition he was triumphantly elected, thus establishing the fact that the conservative spirit existed and was in the ascendancy among the people of North Carolina even in that day, and for which they have ever been and are still justly renowned.

The legislature was to convene at Fayetteville on the 18th

November, 1786. General Howe set out for the capital, and on his way was taken sick. He stopped at the residence of General Thomas Clark, his old friend and comrade in arms, on the Cape Fear River. He became ill, and there continued in declining health until he died. On the 14th December, 1786, Judge Alfred Moore, one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, wrote to James Iredell that "General Howe is at the very verge of the grave; it is supposed that he will die in a few days; he has only got as far as General Clark's." A few days afterwards he expired, at the age of 56 years, and was buried on Grange Farm, now a portion of Columbus County, N. C.

Not even a stone marks his last resting place, and nothing but a small hillock exists to show that even a grave was ever there. What a commentary upon the gratitude of his countrymen!

Thus ended the career of one who did more to bring about the crisis which caused the Revolution than any one man in North Carolina.

He was possessed of versatile talents. He was the life of social gatherings. On these occasions it is said of him that his imagination fascinated, his repartee overpowered, and his conversation was enlivened by strains of exquisite raillery.

He was of noble impulses and liberal views. He was an eloquent speaker and logical debater. He was a power in politics and was great as a soldier, and having attained the highest rank in the American army, he is easily distinguished as the greatest man North Carolina furnished to the American Revolution, and one of the most aggressive leaders for liberty and independence in all the colonies, in the preservation of whose fame every American citizen should take a just pride, and the American Congress should cheerfully erect a monument to make the name of Robert Howe immortal, that his example may be emulated by all future generations.

Grange Farm belonged to his wife's family.

EARLY RELATION OF NORTH CAROLINA AND THE WEST.

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There are two well defined types of political and social development in our colonial history. In one the predominant influences were European; the thirteen colonies were founded by Europeans, the institutions and customs of the seventeenth century were, to a large extent, those of the old world, and even the physical features of their populations reminded careful observers of their kinsmen across the seas. In the eighteenth century, however, a new type appeared; the founders of twelve colonies had passed away and their places were taken by men of native birth; untrammeled by recollections of Europe, a new generation faced and solved the problems of life on this continent in ways distinctively its own, and thus created an American heritage for modern Americans. The place of North Carolina in the first of these types has been made familiar by many incidents, some of which have been described in the Booklet. Its relation to the second is not so often emphasized; but no movement in all the colonies better illustrates the nascent Americanism of the eighteenth century than the migration of groups of men and women from North Carolina to the country beyond the Alleghany mountains, and the political experiments and social conditions established there. In this movement are revealed all the features of that continuous American expansion by which new country has been converted into territories and States, and of that spirit of democracy which, in the Jacksonian era, revolutionized American politics.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century the colonies

of the Atlantic seaboard were well advanced. While there were some strips of unoccupied territory between the various settlements, the land itself had become almost completely disposed of in numerous grants to individuals or corporations. The next wave of colonization must therefore cross the Alleghanies and possess the country between the mountains and the Mississippi. The British authorities were well aware of this problem. In 1748, the Board of Trade reported "that the settlement of the country lying to the westward of the great mountains would be for His Majesty's interest and the advantage and security of Virginia and the neighboring colonies;" in 1756, Sir Thomas Pownall wrote that "the English settlements as they are at present circumstances, are absolutely at a standstill; they are settled up to the mountains and in the mountains there is nowhere together land sufficient for a settlement large enough to subsist by itself and to defend itself and preserve a communication with the present settlements;" consequently in the negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Paris of 1763, England took the western country as spoils of the war with France in preference to Guadaloupe and Canada, the alternative choice offered by the French.

But how should the new territory be colonized? There are two very suggestive answers. In the same year that the treaty was signed, the British authorities forbade the colonial governments to make any new settlements beyond the western frontiers of the colonies, and by a series of treaties with the Indians south of the Ohio prepared the way for a peaceable occupation of the new country. Evidently the occupation was to be made by the initiative of British rather than colonial authorities. This is confirmed by some interesting evidence. Several applications for land grants in the new country were filed. Most significant of these was that of the Vandalia

Company, whose agent was Benjamin Franklin. It asked for 400,000 acres of land which would include all of present West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky. This vast territory was to have a proprietary government, with some features similar to the government of Massachusetts. In 1775, a charter corresponding to these terms was drawn up and passed through the preliminary legal processes and was ready for the royal seal, but the events which preceded the Revolution prevented its completion. Evidently it was the purpose of the British government to colonize through proprietary grants and had Franklin applied a few years earlier, fourteen instead of thirteen colonies might have participated in the Revolution.

In the meantime the Americans, especially those in the western part of the Southern colonies, had taken into their own hands the problem of expansion. Without the permission of either British or colonial authorities they began to cross the mountains by individuals, families, and groups of families. The movement was spontaneous and seems to have been the result of discontent with the political and social conditions in the colonies as well as the land hunger common to all Americans of the eighteenth century. Since the days of Bacon's Rebellion the people in Western Virginia had shown discontent with the tidewater region, and this was re-enforced by the advent of the Scotch-Irish toward the middle of the eighteenth century; in upper South Carolina there was similar discontent which found expression in local associations for the enforcement of order and justice independent of the colonial authorities; and in Western North Carolina the War of the Regulators was the culmination of social and political discontent. In contrast to the ills at home were the rude plenty, the freedom, and the charms of adventure in an un-

known land; by hundreds the choice was quickly made and the migration resulted in the States of Tennessee and Kentucky.

The territory first settled was the broad valley between the Cumberland Mountains on the west and the Great Smoky and Unaka ranges on the east. Through it flow the Holston, the Watauga, the Nolachucky, the Clinch and the French Broad rivers, which finally combine to form the Tennessee. The earliest settlements were made by Virginians at Wolf Hills, on the Holston River, the present site of Abingdon, Va. Gradually the settlers extended southward into the valley of the Watauga, but here they were gradually outnumbered by emigrants from the Carolinas, especially from North Carolina.

The beginnings of the North Carolina migration to Watauga are veiled in obscurity. The first recorded expedition was late in 1768 or early in 1769; one of its leaders was Daniel Boone, who was then living on the Yadkin River, but his aim was to reach the farther western country and his relation to Watauga does not extend beyond this exploration; shortly after a company of Virginians and North Carolinians crossed the mountains and brought back good reports, and in 1770, the most important figure in the early history of Watauga appears. This was James Robertson, a native of Virginia, but a resident of Wake County, North Carolina. He was a man of unusual native ability; "he had a sound mind, a healthy constitution, a robust frame, a love of virtue, an intrepid soul and an emulous desire for honest fame." He was born in Brunswick County, Virginia, in 1742. Eight years later he removed to North Carolina. He seems to have had friends among Regulators, at least he was well acquainted with the conditions in the western counties and was probably seeking a refuge from them. His wife was a wo-

man of some education and from her Robertson learned his first lessons in books. His first journey to Watauga was made alone; there he met a settler named Honeycutt, made a crop, and then started back for his wife and child. On the journey he lost his way; he was forced to abandon his horse; his provisions were exhausted and he could not secure game because his powder was ruined by rain. Tradition says that he wandered fourteen days in this condition; at last on the point of starvation he was relieved by meeting two hunters. These adventures did not discourage him. Soon after his return he again went to the Watauga Valley, this time with his wife, family, and sixteen others, all of whom made homes there. This was in the spring of 1771, whether before or after the battle of Alamance is not certain. The following year the second prominent man in the early history appeared, John Sevier, of Virginia, who later was so prominent in forming the State of Franklin.

The rate of settlement and the population of Watauga in these early days are not known, but in 1776 one hundred and thirteen names were signed to the petition for annexation to North Carolina. The people were mostly of Scotch-Irish descent; except for the more reckless and daring individuals, the settlements were made in groups. A fort or stockade was erected with surrounding cabins; here all assembled in times of danger, while in times of peace the cabins or farm houses on the plantations were inhabited. The life was simple; each farmer made his own tools and harness; the neighborhood co-operated in corn husking, house building, and log rollings. Gradually the wilderness was reclaimed, homes were filled with rude plenty and settlements extended to the Nolachucky and Carter's Creek. The landmarks of these early Watauga settlements are chiefly in the vicinity of Elizabethton, Tennessee.

Two problems soon presented themselves that tested the good sense and character of the people. First of these was that of government. They went into the new country believing that it belonged to Virginia, but in 1771 a surveyor, Anthony Bledsoe, discovered that the Watauga region was south of the Virginia line and within the limits of North Carolina. As many of the people had come to Watauga seeking refuge from conditions in North Carolina, they did not care to appeal to the parent colony for protection, but decided to look to themselves for laws and organs of government. No contemporary records of their action have been preserved, but according to tradition and later accounts the people of Watauga and the neighboring communities met in a convention at the home of Robertson. They chose thirteen representatives, probably one for each of the groups of settlers. These representatives then chose a court of five commissioners to whom was entrusted the administration of affairs. These five men performed practically all the functions of government, they recorded wills, issued marriage licenses, made treaties with the Indians, decided cases at law according to the laws of Virginia, punished criminals, and even supervised the morals of the community. Justice, especially criminal justice, was speedy; once a horse thief was arrested on Monday, tried on Wednesday, and executed on Friday, and certainly some unruly citizens committed the unpardonable crime of fleeing to the Indians rather than submit to Watauga justice.

This Watauga Association, as it was called, was the first government established west of the Alleghanies; it was also the first organization for government created by native-born Americans. Its characteristics are therefore suggestive of the political ideals of the eighteenth century. Suffrage, which seems to have been universal, unrestricted by property quali-

fications, the absence of religious tests, the convention of the people, the representative body, and the powers delegated to the executive, all these seem to forecast the kind of government which became universal after independence from England was secured. This political activity, however, was not the result of any self-conscious political theory, but of political experience in the colonies, for the people of Western Virginia, Western North Carolina and upper South Carolina had been accustomed to taking the administration of law into their own hands; discontented with the inefficient colonial administration, they frequently formed associations for regulating their affairs, especially for the suppression of petty crimes and misdemeanors. From such associations the Regulator movement in North Carolina derived its name. So the people of Watauga were simply applying more extensively methods and principles that had been in use for some time. This habit of self-help, the solution of problems without reference to the legally constituted bodies, is of vast significance; it followed the expansion of the nation in its various stages from the borderland of the original colonies to the far west, and applied to national affairs, it gave rise to a political theory, the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, which had so important an influence in the slavery controversy.

The second immediate problem before the Watauga people was that of relations with the Indians. In 1772, a treaty was made between Virginia and the Cherokees by which the line 36° 30′ was made the dividing line between the western white settlements and the Indians. Alexander Cameron, the Indian agent, thereupon ordered the Watauga settlers to remove, as they were occupying country which the treaty reserved to the Indians; they promptly defied him, but conciliated the Indians by purchasing an eighty years' lease to all lands on the Watauga River. In this negotiation Robertson seems to have

been the leading spirit. In celebration of the contract a day of sports was set apart; whites and Indians engaged in races, wrestling matches, and games. But the good will of the occasion was broken in the evening by some lawless whites from the Holston settlements. Lurking on the outskirts of the festivities, they killed a straggling Indian and the Cherokees departed in wrath. Again Robertson came to the front. While Sevier superintended preparations for defense, Robertson, alone, took the trail to the Cherokee villages fifty miles away, and convinced the Indians that the Watauga people were not responsible for the murder and thus prevented war.

In the meantime the mother colonies had drifted into the Revolution. The policy of Watauga and the other settlements beyond the mountains was of vast importance; if they should espouse the British cause, they would not only threaten the seaboard settlements but they would save the country beyond the mountains for the English crown. As most of the settlers had left their former homes on account of grievances which they attributed to the British administration in the colonies, they cast in their lot with the Revolution. The method by which this choice was made is interesting, suggestive of the political ideals and methods of American democracy. "Alarmed by the reports of the present unhappy differences between Great Britain and America on which report (taking the now united colonies for our guide) we proceeded to choose a committee, which was done unanimously by consent of the people. This committee (willing to become a party to the present unhappy contest) resolved (which is now on our records) to adhere strictly to the rules and orders of the Continental Congress, and in open committee acknowledged themselves indebted to the united colonies their full proportion of the continental expense."

The first result of the Revolution was to bring Watauga

into closer relations with North Carolina. The exigencies of war made cooperation necessary and in 1776 the Watauga Association applied for annexation. This was granted by the Provincial Council and delegates from Washington District, Watauga Settlement, were admitted to the Provincial Congress at Halifax. The next year Washington District became Washington County, a land office was opened, and a system of land grants similar to that of North Carolina was instituted; yet there was no idea of a permanent union, for the North Carolina Declaration of Rights, in defining the limits of the State as extending from sea to sea, distinctly says that this shall not be so contrued as to prevent the establishment of one or more governments westward of this State, by consent of the legislature. The country developed so much in a few years that two new counties were erected from Washington, Sullivan in 1779 and Greene in 1783, and in 1779 Jonesboro was founded, named for Willie Jones, of North Carolina. It became the county seat of Washington County.

Here, as in the eastern colonies, the Revolution was also a civil war; but the nature of the opposition was a contrast to that in the seaboard settlements. There the royalists were recruited from the property holders, the conservative and educated classes, but in Watauga the royalists seem to have been more extensively members of the disorderly and undesirable class of citizens. Government was severe and drastic. As the newly established North Carolina administration was unable to preserve order, the old self-regulative system was resorted to. Committees were appointed and military companies were organized; these arrested all suspicious persons; the mere fact of arrest was considered proof of guilt; the prisoner who failed to give security was shot, hanged or whipped, branded or drowned. The forger was branded, the murderer was whipped, and the horse thief was hanged.

Sometimes the regularly constituted authorities tried the prisoner; one indictment is against the defendant for toryism, the sentence that he be kept prisoner during the war, and that one-half of his property be confiscated.

The first military problem of the Revolution in the western country was the Indian question. The British administration instructed the Indian agents to make alliances with the leading southern tribes, the Creeks, the Choctaws, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, and turn them against the whites. Such an alliance was only natural for the Americans were constantly encroaching on the homes and hunting grounds of the red men, while the aim of the Indian agent was usually peace and trade. But the British policy was fatal; it aroused great hatred for England among the pioneers and led many to adopt the patriot cause who would otherwise have remained faithful to the king. In 1776 the Cherokees along the Carolina and Georgia frontier were persuaded to make war; they attacked the Americans in two simultaneous movements, one against the Holston, the other against the Watauga settlement. In both they were repulsed by the mountaineers while retaliatory operations against the Cherokees by troops from North Carolina under General Rutherford has already been told in this series.

The most noted service of the Watauga people to the Revolution, however, was their victory over the British and Tories at Kings Mountain. That, also, has been planned for a future article; a service equally important, often obscured by the more dramatic military events, was their part in furthering the westward expansion of the American people, in the conquest of the wilderness which lay beyond. In this work the interests of North Carolinians were closely concerned. Richard Henderson was, like many of his contemporaries, affected with the fever for western lands. Probably as early as

1763, he interested Daniel Boone in the exploration of the west, but not until 1774 were his plans matured. Then he organized at Hillsborough the Louisa Company, later called the Transylvania Company, and in 1775, at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga River, he bought from the Cherokee Indians a vast tract of land now included in western Tennessee and Kentucky. Neither the British nor the colonial authorities would recognize that the treaty gave rights to the soil, and indeed the claim of the Cherokees to convey title were not so strong as usual, for the country in question was really a battle ground between rival hostile tribes. But migration at once began, from which the first settlements in western Tennessee and Kentucky have their origin. Among the first immigrants was James Robertson, of Watauga. In 1779, he crossed the hills through the Cumberland Gap and established a small colony on the Cumberland River at French Lick, an old Indian trading station. The next year he was joined by John Donelson, of Virginia. They built a block-house on a high bluff, which they named Nashborough, in honor of Abner Nash, who was made Governor of North Carolina in 1780. Four years later Nashborough became Nashville.

The early history of the Cumberland settlements resembles that of Watauga. The first year's crop was a failure, the Indians became hostile and the supply of ammunition ran low. Many wished to abandon the settlement and return to their former homes, but Robertson rallied their courage and alone made a dangerous journey to settlements in Kentucky for ammunition, and on the evening of his return, January 15, 1781, through his natural vigilance, saved the fort from surprise by the Indians. Government also suggests conditions on the Watauga. On May 1, 1780, representatives from various communities met and framed a constitution similar to the Watauga Association. The administration of justice

was vested in a court of "Judges, Triers, or General Arbitrators," elected by the votes of all men who were twenty-one years of age, and "as often as the people in general are dissatisfied with the doings of the Judges andTriers—they may call a newe election at any of the said stations, and elect others in their stead." These articles were not only an expression of the popular will, they were also a contract between Henderson and the people, for it was written that "the said Richard Henderson on his part does hereby agree." It was not intended, however, that the Cumberland Association should be a permanent, independent government but a temporary arrangement until a county under North Carolina could be organized. This was done in 1783, when the Cumberland Association became Davidson County, North Carolina, and James Robertson, chosen as delegate to negotiate the formal union with the State, became the county's first representative in the General Assembly. Two years later the General Assembly authorized Rev. Thomas Craighead and others to organize Davidson Academy, which survives today as the University of Nashville.

No review of the causes and character of the early westward migration and of its relation to North Carolina would be complete without some account of the separation of the parent colony and the frontier communities, of how the State lost its sovereignty over the vast region that it had helped to colonize. For this there are a number of reasons. First of all, the remoteness of the new settlements from the State prevented the growth of sympathy and understanding between them. The westerners claimed that North Carolina would not pay the Indians for the lands they vacated, that the administration of justice by the North Carolina courts in the western counties was inefficient, and that the tax rate for lands on the frontier should not be the same as that for lands

in more thickly settled regions. On the other hand there was a feeling in North Carolina that the problem of the western country was too large for the State, and also a social cleavage which often exists between frontier communities and older settled regions. Above all was the interest of the nation, the necessity of ceding the western lands as a prelude to that more lasting union about to be established under the Federal Constitution. Therefore, in 1784 North Carolina ceded her claims to the lands beyond the mountains; the members in the Assembly from the western country voted for the cession and one of the representatives from the older counties of the State remarked that "the inhabitants of the western country are the offscourings of the earth, fugitives from justice, and we will be rid of them at any rate."

The act of cession provided that Congress should not take possession for two years and that in the meantime the western settlements should remain under the jurisdiction of North Carolina. But the people felt that something should be done for the better preservation of order and in preparation for Statehood in the new Union soon to be formed also, while the mountaineers had no great love for North Carolina, they were offended at being separated without their advice and consent. Committees from the captains companies of Washington, Sullivan and Greene Counties therefore called a meeting of delegates from the counties at Jonesboro in August, 1784. This body decided to form an independent government, to petition Congress to accept the cession by North Carolina, and called a constitutional convention. The convention met in November of that year but accomplished nothing, for those who favored immediate separation from North Carolina were divided as to methods of procedure while the opposition found strength in two acts of the North Carolina Assembly, one repealing the cession of the western lands, the other estab-

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lishing a special Supreme Court and a brigadier generalship of militia for the western counties. Several influential men who had been in favor of the Statehood movement now opposed separation; among these was John Sevier himself. But its advocates seem to have gained strength by the action of North Carolina; they secured a majority in a third convention which met in December, 1784, and accomplished their purpose. A constitution was framed whose principal features were taken from that of North Carolina, the name Frankland was given to the new State, soon changed to Franklin, and the first legislature met early in 1785, and in November, a convention of the people approved the work of the constitutional convention, probably with a few alterations in its Constitution. Thus "the new society or State called Frankland has already put off its infant habit. Here the genuine Republican; here the real Whig will find a safe asylum, a comfortable retreat among those modern Franks, the hardy mountain men."

There were three questions on which the future of the State of Franklin depended—its relation to the national movement, to other frontier communities, and to North Carolina.

The western country favored the establishment of a strong national government because of the protection it might afford against the Indians and the Spanish in the southwest. Among the acts of the State of Franklin was the reservation of lands surrendered by the Indians as a contribution toward the national debt; and delegates were also sent to a convention of western settlers to provide for the opening of the Mississippi to navigation. One of the first acts was to appoint William Cocke a delegate to the Federal Congress to lay before that body the interests of the State of Franklin. But his mission was without result; no official recognition could be secured and Benjamin Franklin, for whom the common-

wealth had been named, advised that separation from North Carolina should not be pressed.

But the co-operation of other frontier communities and the enlargement of territory might prove a means of securing recognition in national affairs and permanent independence. This seemed possible in two directions: first, in western Virginia there was discontent with the State government similar to that in the western counties of North Carolina. Colonel Arthur Campbell, an officer of Washington County, Virginia, declared that the people would take up arms rather than submit to continued unjust taxation and two petitions were sent to the Virginia Legislature asking that a new State be created in the west, whose boundaries should include the State of Franklin. But the Legislature had no sympathy with the movement; in 1785 it declared any attempt to form an independent government within the limits of the State without the consent of the Virginia government to be high treason. In the meantime expansion southward was prepared for by negotiations with the Indians. Treaties were made with some of the Cherokee chiefs which were ineffective, as all the chiefs would not agree and their lands had been guaranteed to them by North Carolina; an expedition was then sent to the bend of the Tennessee River, at Mussel Shoals, to make occupation under titles from Georgia and negotiations were opened with that State to begin war on the Creeks. All of these measures failed, for the Indians became hostile and also the Federal Government appointed three commissioners, one from each of the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to settle Indian affairs on the frontier.

So the State of Franklin was left to face the North Carolina authorities alone. The Constitution of 1776 had looked forward to the establishment of two or more governments west of the mountains; both Governor Martin and Governor Cas-

well were willing for a legal separation but the people of Franklin had acted independently, without the consent of the North Carolina authorities. Moreover, in 1784 the Assembly, dissatisfied with the negotiations for a federal union, repealed the cession of western lands. Governor Martin thereupon issued a manifesto, in which threats were made against the new government if the people did not return to their allegiance to North Carolina. Governor Caswell, his successor, was more conciliatory, but there was no hope for recognition, for the Assembly in 1786 decided to reassert its sovereignty over the country. North Carolina officials were sent into the western counties and pardon was offered to all who would return to allegiance. Conflict of jurisdiction between two sets of officials followed and the political issue threatened to widen into civil war, for John Sevier, after at first opposing separation from North Carolina, had been drawn into the movement and became Governor of the State of Franklin, while John Tipton, his personal rival, adopted the North Carolina cause. The extent of disorder is unknown; in one conflict twelve men were killed. But the danger of war was averted by the conciliatory policy of Governor Caswell. In 1787 he sent Evan Shelby to Franklin to open negotiations for a return to allegiance. Sevier was persuaded to sign articles of agreement in March, which promised a reference of all matters to the North Carolina Assembly. The following month he repudiated the agreement and declared that he would maintain the independence of the State of Franklin. This seems to have been due to distrust of the Assembly. War between the parent State and the colony seemed imminent, for Shelby urged sending troops to force submission; but Governor Caswell, in a broad-minded address, urged all parties to submit and unite against possible Indian hostilities and promised eventual separation. This

seems to have won the day. The Franklin Legislature authorized the election of representatives to the North Carolina Assembly; Sevier's term as Governor expired in 1788 and no successor was chosen; after his retirement he promised to do all he could for an amicable readjustment. Thus the State of Franklin collapsed. North Carolina's sovereignty was recognised until her claims to the western country were ceded to the Federal Government in 1789.

Bibliography: Roosevelt, *Winning of the West;* Haywood, *Civil and Political History of Tennessee,* written by John Haywood, of North Carolina, who went to Tennessee in 1810; he collected many traditions and facts from the pioneers. Ramsay, *Annals of Tennessee,* has many documents; Phelan, *History of Tennessee,* the standard State history; Turner, *Western State Making During the Revolution,* in American Historical Review, Vol. I., is very suggestive. Alden, *The State of Franklin,* Amer. Ibid. Vol. VIII.; *State Records of North Carolina,* Vol. XXII., has interesting documents relating to the State of Franklin.

INCIDENTS OF THE EARLY AND PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE CAPE FEAR.

BY W. B. McKOY

The study of history turns up many obscure and buried facts, but with them grow up the tares and weeds of fancy and imagination, and all must be reaped and winnowed to separate the true grain. Therefore, it is well to continue the good work, and the results that follow may be of use.

It is not generally admitted that the first explorers of the Cape Fear were the French. In 1624, however, Giovanni da Verrazano[1], a Florentine, left Dieppe in France under direction of Francis I of France to find a passage to Cathay. On January 24 he sailed westward from Madeira with one ship, the Dolphin, and says: "On the 10th of March we reached a new country that has never before been seen by any one within ancient or modern times." He described the shores as "covered with fine sand about fifteen feet thick, rising in the form of little hills about fifty paces broad, several arms of the sea which made through inlets washing the shores on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appeared at a little distance, rising somewhat above the sandy shore in beautiful fields and broad plains covered with immense forests of trees more or less dense, too varied in color and too delightful and charming to be described. They are adorned with palms, laurels, cypresses and other varieties unknown to Europe, that send forth the sweetest fragrance to a great distance." He entered the Cape Fear and sailed up as far as the present site of Wilmington. Although Cabot had, in 1497, found the continent, he only sailed south as far as 38 degrees north latitude, and though Sir Humphrey

Gilbert came near being wrecked off Cape Fear, he did not enter the harbor, and all the five attempts of Raleigh to colonize Virginia were north of this place. In the grant of this country to Sir Robert Heath by Charles I, October 30, 1629, he called the country "this our New Carolina." Notwithstanding that this grant was forfeited by their failure to settle the country, still a number of New Englanders settled on the point now called Federal Point, in 1660, to raise cattle, but soon abandoned the place, and only a post with a notice on it warning adventurers against the country, marked the occupancy.

In the first charter of King Charles II to the Lords Proprietors, March 20, 1663, and which, by the way, was the most princely gift ever conferred on subjects by a monarch, the name Carolina was retained as the name of a conquered province, named for Charles IX of France. The proprietors divided the province into North and South Carolina, making the Cape Fear River the boundary line. They gave to the counties north of the Cape Fear their own names of Albemarle, Bath and Clarendon to South Carolina. Settlers had already come into Albemarle from Virginia, but the first venture of the Proprietors was to form a colony at Cape Fear in Clarendon. The New Englanders had abandoned the point of land on the Cape, but still claimed the right to settle and maintain a colony there. On August 25, 1663, the Proprietors made a proposal[2] to settle the first colony on the Clarendon or Charles River near Cape Fear, and John Vassal and others, in behalf of the New Englanders and the people of London, petitioned for the privilege and set up their previous occupancy and right of possession. At the same time Col. Madyford, with several people of the Barbadoes, petitioned for the privilege of settling there.

In a letter to Sir William Berkley[3], the Proprietors, in September, 1663, mention the proposal of the New Englanders but hope to find "more fassell[3] people who may settle upon better terms for us," yet he was not to deter the planting of the colony there. On Monday, Oct. 12, 1663, the Barbadoes Commissioners came to anchor in Cape Fear Roads to spy out the land, took the meridian, altitude of the sun, and were in latitude 33 degrees 43 minutes. Their description and report reads as if it were a fairy land, and indeed it must have appeared so to them. The "scandalous[4] writing" left by the New Englanders appears to us now in a new light, it apparently having been their intention to keep others off. Capt. Hilton and Long found the cattle still there, and the Indians brought them very good fat beef, also fat and very large swine. Yet, in November, 1764, John Vassal, who, by the way, claimed the country through Samuel Vassal as assignee of the Robert Heath[5] Patent, obtained the appointment for his cousin Henry[6] Vassal as agent, and he was made Surveyor General[7] of the Cape Fear in the county of Clarendon. They carried a colony there, and settled[8] at Charles Town at the upper side of the mouth of Town Creek on the Charles River, under license from Governor Berkley of Virginia.

In January, 1665, the Proprietors entered into the articles of agreement with the Barbadoes explorers and appointed Sir John Yeamans governor. These colonists arrived at Cape Fear November, 1665, and found there a colony "newly begun[9] to be peopled," and Captain Edward[10] Stanyon with a vessel on his way to Barbadoes. The New Englanders craved the use of the sloop to visit the Northern settlements, which was refused. Yeamans returned to Barbadoes and left the colonists under Robert Sanford; they planted the lands along Town Creek, and it has not yet become a notable fact that they were the first to cultivate cotton in North America.[11]

In June, 1666, Robert Sanford, with Capt. Stanyon's frigate, which had returned from Barbadoes, set out to find a more favorable place for settlement, as the New Englanders and the Barbadians did not live together in harmony, and later Sanford removed with part of the colony to Port Royal.[12] Clarendon at that time consisted of eight hundred[13] souls. Later that year, Henry[14] Vassal, who signed himself sole agent at Cape Fear, complained that one Sir John Yeamans had been preferred to him, yet hopes to retain the colonists at Cape Fear.

October, 1667, John[15] Vassal bewails the breaking up of the colony, though they had two years provision of corn on hand. After the abandonment of the settlement by Vassal and the New Englanders, the river was infested with pirates who became a menace to the other settlements.

Lawson, Surveyor General of both Carolinas, traveled through this country in 1700, and found whites all along the route trading with the Indians. He tells us that Sapona is the Indian name of the Northwest Cape Fear. Thomas Smith, one of the Landgraves[16] of Carolina, received from the Proprietors a grant of land on the Cape Fear including the Cape Island at the mouth of the river. In his will, proved 30th of August, 1738, he wrote, "I give my four sons my Cedar Island (which is called now Smith's Island), at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, containing 800 acres, also the remainder of the Cape Fear lands." Other grants were issued for land along the south side of the Cape Fear River by South Carolina. In the fall of 1711, John Lawson, Surveyor General, was burned to death in a most horrible manner by the Tuscarora Indians, and then followed a bloody massacre of whites. Col. John Barnwell crossed the Cape Fear at the point where the town of Brunswick was afterwards established, quelled the insurrection and returned the same

way in July, 1712. In the fall of 1712, James Moore, Jr.,[17] with a party crossed the Cape Fear and defeated the Indians at Taw River with great slaughter. The notorious pirates, Steed Bonnett and Richard Whorley, blockaded the port of Charleston and broke up their commerce, and in September, 1718, Col. Wm. Rhett sailed for Cape Fear, entered the harbor, boarded the pirate and captured the sloop; carried Steed Bonnett, with his crew, to Charleston, where he and thirty others were hanged. We may observe from the above that the ever drifting sand dunes on the restless shores of the main are permanent memorials of our first explorers' report; that the name Carolina is handed down through Charles I who claimed to be by the Grace of God, King of England, France, etc., and we yet cling to it instead of our English name Virginia. We find the names of the counties which the Proprietors attached still with us as a proof of our lineage; though Clarendon and Charleston drifted southward with the Barbadians, Cape Fear and Old Town are here memorials of the New England settlers. The cotton-wool[18] here first cultivated was a distinct species. This was the beginning of the Sea Island, Barbadoesian, or black-seeded cotton, bearing a pure yellow blossom with a reddish purple spot in the base, and is the longest staple in the world, called "Gossypium barbadenses" by Linnaeus. We observe in the settlement of this country two classes of people who preceded the cultivators of the soil or permanent settlers, traders or adventurers and cattlemen who chose the wild, uncultivated life with the natives, traded and raised their stock on chosen spots far from the settlements. Those who accompanied Barnwell, Moore and Rhett on their several expeditions sounded the praises of the fertile lands of the Cape Fear and particularly their adaptability for the cultivation of rice on the lowlands of the river.

In 1720, the Proprietors, who felt the heavy loss by reason of the Indian war, became more exacting and imposed a heavy tax for the increased expense of the government, which was resented[19] by the people. A revolution had taken place in South Carolina and the people had declared their independence from the proprietory government, and attempted to set up a royal government under the Crown, and the Proprietors' tenure became a matter of serious concern. North Carolina had had no regular appointed governor for several years but was under the rule of the Presidents of the Council, when, in 1724, George Burrington, Esq.,[20] of the county of Devon,[21] who had been appointed Governor, opened his commission on Jan. 15. He immediately set about developing new settlements; he observed the approach of settlers on the Cape Fear from the South. Maurice Moore, a deputy of one of the Lords Proprietors, who had come from the southern colony in 1719 and had settled in Chowan, knowing the advantages of the Cape Fear, had induced his brothers and friends to make a settlement there as early as 1722,[22] and from the South came Roger and Nathaniel Moore, William Dry, Eliezer Allen, Thomas Clifford, Job Howe, Henry and Edward Hyrne,[23] John Moore's widow[24] and many others, bringing their families[25], slaves and cattle, and means to cultivate the land, and became permanently settled there. Burrington seeing the advantage of having the Cape Fear within the[22] northern colony[26] undertook to develop this section; he purchased an old grant issued in 1711, for a tract in Onslow County[26] at New River, and formed a colony of about 100 poor people upon the land, and offered as inducements large grants of land to settlers on the Cape Fear. In 1725, the town of Brunswick was laid out by Maurice Moore. John Porter[27] was granted, July 14, 1725, a tract of 640 acres adjoining Maurice Moore below Brunswick, and in 1726 con-

veyed it to Geo. Burrington. This is called Sturgeon Point or Governor's[28] Point on the old charts. Burrington,[29] in 1733, in speaking of his labors to develop the Cape Fear section said: "It cost me a great sum of money and infinite trouble." The first winter he went there he endured all the hardships that could happen to a man destitute of a house to live in, above a hundred miles from a neighbor, obliged to have all provisions brought by sea at great charges to support the number of men he carried there, whom he paid and maintained at his own expense; he sounded the inlets, bars and rivers, discovered and made known the channels of the Cape Fear River, Port Beaufort and Topsail Inlet. However, in 1725, Burrington was succeeded by Sir Richard Everard as Governor, and retired to the Cape Fear to improve his estates. He returned[30] to England about 1730. We have many grants from Everard for lands on both sides of the Cape Fear, even as far south as Waccamaw River and Lockwood's Folly[31] and the impetus to build up this section was in no way impeded. On October 22, 1728, Pleasant Oaks was granted to Justina Moore,[32] widow of John Moore.

In July 1729, the Governor and Council made a new precinct of Bath County, which they named New Hanover,[33] but the representatives were not admitted to sit, nor was the Act creating the county ever legally passed.

In 1729, the Act of Surrender[34] enabled[35] the Proprietors[36] to transfer to the Crown seven-eights of Carolina on September 29th,[37] for 17,500 pounds and the colony became a Royal Province.[34] This change of government became of great benefit to the colonists. The reform of the tariff system, the removal of export duties on manufactured goods and import duties on raw material encouraged an extensive traffic.[38] After 1730, rice was exported to southern Europe; a bounty was allowed on naval stores, tar, pitch and turpentine, and the

duty on lumber, staves and shingles was removed. The colonists were even permitted to ship other goods and products to England, place them in bond and pay the tax when sold or to re-ship without tax; rice, cotton and indigo culture was greatly developed; saw mills were on every tributary stream, and the forests of pine appeared inexhaustible. The live oak was found to be far superior for ship-building to the English oak; ship-building being one of the early enterprises on the river. Just below Newton, Michael Dyer had, near the Oaks, a ship-yard and a grist mill, and at the foot of Church Street[39] in Wilmington, Joshua Grainger, Jr.'s ship-yard is still used. Grainger did an extensive business and brought out from Philadelphia Ebenezer Bunting, John Hands, Richard Hands and others. Archibald Corbett built a vessel here for Beard & Walker,[30] of Glasgow. James Wimble, Master of the brigantine Penelope also was a ship-builder and surveyor.

Governor Johnston[41] informed us that during the year ending December 12, 1734, forty-two ships went out of the Cape Fear loaded, and in 1754, Governor Dobbs said: "Above one hundred[42] vessels annually enter this river and their number is increasing; there were sixteen in the river when I went down." Small craft came into the Sound at Cabbage Inlet, near the head of Topsail Sound from the northward, and conveyed the goods over the narrow strip of land opposite the town of Brunswick called the upper and lower haul-over. This land in 1736, was owned by Col. Thomas Merrick,[43] who bought it of Landgrave Thomas Smith. Topsail derived its name from the fact that the Spanish Privateers sailing along the coast would observe the masts of the small craft over the banks and would land to pillage them. The trade of the colonies extended to Spain, Portugal and New England, as well as England. Before this, Virginia imposed an import

tax on North Carolina tobacco. Trade later, was extended to Jamaica, St. Thomas, Barbadoes, Leeward Islands and Madeira, but was more frequent with the northern colonies. Labor[44] was high, carpenters demanded twenty to thirty shillings, and ordinary laborers twelve to fifteen shillings.

In 1733, a large colony[45] of Irish were settled in the upper part of South Carolina and spread along the coast northward towards Cape Fear. C.R. 3 p. 344

Burrington, in 1732, said: "A multitude of people have come into this county to settle last winter. Some have very great American fortunes. I now think there are men here to make up a creditable council." In Burrington's instructions, he is recommended to encourage the purchase of negro slaves.

George Burrington, who had been Governor under the Proprietors, was appointed by George II, first Royal Governor 29th of April, 1730, and sent over on February 25th, 1731. He was a man very violent in his temper, true and loyal to his cause. He was by no means popular, in fact historians have given him a very bad character, but when we read what has been said of the men of those times in the colony, we must either take them all as a sad lot, if we accept the severe charges made about them in our records, or treat their writings as villifications of men who were fighting in opposing factions. Can we believe all that has been said about Governor Eden and Everard, Moseley and Porter, Harnett, Maurice, James, and Roger Moore? They all had their share of abuse in letters of opponents. In a dispatch to the Colonial office in 1731, Burrington said: "About twenty[46] men are settled on the Cape Fear from South Carolina, among them are three brothers of a noted family whose name is Moore. These people were always troublesome where they came from and will doubtless be so here." We ob-

serve that immediately upon entering into office Burrington again became interested in the Cape Fear settlement, and determined to make it a part of the northern colony and devoted his personal attention to this project. He and his associates prevailed[46] upon the settlers[47] from the south to see the advantage of his claim. He directed Edward Moseley to make a survey[48] and map of the coast, the Cape Fear and Waccamaw River, and agreed not[48] to disturb grants already made by the Southern province. He demonstrated that it was to their private interest to be near the seat of government. Moseley made a chart and hydrographic survey of the Cape Fear and gave the depth of water on the main bar as eighteen feet, and James Wimble's map in 1738, makes it twenty-one feet. What was called New Inlet later, was opened by a storm in 1761. Early maps show that a small inlet had previously opened there and closed again. In several of Burrington's letters, we observe that there was little money in the country, and that the people barter and trade; he stated that fresh pork was one and one-half pence to one shilling per pound. Less than twenty shillings of goods bought in England sold for fourteen pounds fourteen shillings. A bushel of wheat sold for six pence worth of English goods. Burrington[49] appeared before the Board of Trade with Sir Robert Johnston in the matter of the boundary line and secured the boundary at a distance of thirty miles south of Cape Fear, and exhibited to them Moseley's map. Adherents of the once powerful Puritan party in England in 1625, had come to America to avoid persecutions under the reign of Charles I, and planted seeds of discord that have yielded a vast harvest in America. The attempt of Charles I, through Sir Fernando Gorges and Mason, to counteract their influence and power in New England fanned the flames of rivalry between Separatists and Churchmen. The prejudices of a persecuted peo-

ple become in their offspring, race distinctions that in later generations have become more pronounced.

This province was peculiarly independent and difficult to restrain; here the people revolted against ancient laws and customs if they conflicted with their ideas of liberty of conscience or freedom of action. Here occurred the first revolution in 1719, against the government of the Proprietors, and here in 1765, on the Cape Fear, was the first armed resistance to the Stamp Act. Neither Churchmen, Separatists nor Quakers could prevail or enforce their views upon a people who chose to reason for themselves. Here force met resistance, persecution engendered hatred, which gave them advanced ideas of their constitutional rights in the revolution against England.

The most thickly settled part of Clarendon County was along Old Town Creek, and we find settled there William and Joseph Watters, John Dalrymple, John and Nathaniel Rice, John Lewis, William Lewis, Thomas Hill, Thomas Asope, Patrick Doran, Jerry Bigford, John Jean, in 1744 Collector of His Majesty's Customs. Between 1722 and 1730, there came quite a number of persons from the Albemarle section, Robert Halton, Provost Marshal of Bath County;[50] Col. James Innes, Martin Holt and wife, Mary Holt,[51] of Beaufort County; Cornelius Harnett, Sr., who had been bred a merchant in Dublin, Ireland,[52] and had married Mary, daughter of Martin Holt; his second wife was an Adams, of Bladen County; William Smith, Chief Justice; John Baptista Ashe, John and Nathaniel Rice, John Porter, John Maultsby, Edward Moseley, Surveyor General, and others, and received grants for large tracts of land from Governors Everard and Burrington. We have a tradition that bad blood was aroused between these new comers and the southern settlers in their eagerness to settle the most desirable locations. Burrington

entered Stag Park and Hawfields; C. Harnett, Sr., settled near Hilton and established a ferry there but later kept the ferry at Brunswick. In the neighborhood of Wilmington settled also Robert Halton and John Maultsby on the North-east River. William Smith, Chief Justice, back of the present site of Wilmington. Martin Holt went to Brunswick, where he kept the ferry and a tavern; Maurice Moore and Roger at Orton; Nathaniel Moore at York, just below Brunswick; Allen at Lilliput, and Ashe on Town Creek.

In Burrington's instructions, we observe that public schools were provided for, but they direct that no schoolmaster[54] be permitted without license from the Bishop of London, and teachers in the province to be licensed by the Governor. William Wright was teacher in Brunswick. Education in the South[55] was of a higher type[56] than in the more northern settlements. The planters' sons were trained in the English schools and universities; were admitted to the English bar and were gentlemen in retirement, and imparted their manners and bearing to those about them. We find as early as 1712, a school teacher named Mashburn was in Albemarle. In 1750 George Vaughan,[57] an Irishman, writes from Lisburn, in Ireland, and offers to establish in the province at his own expense a seminary of learning. In 1756, the Assembly appropriated six thousand pounds for public schools but this fund was used in the French War[58] though refunded in 1760. In 1764, the public school committee appointed by the Assembly were Starkey, McGuire, Johnston and Harnett.

Burrington[59] remained in North Carolina until the arrival of his successor, Governor Gabriel Johnston,[60] at Cape Fear, October 27, 1734.[59] Governor Johnston was sworn in November 2, 1734, at the court-house in Brunswick. He was a Scotchman, a graduate of the University of St. Andrews and formerly professor there of Oriental languages, later a physi-

cian, and had received his appointment as Governor through Spencer Compton, Earl, of Wilmington, the Speaker of the House of Commons, with whom he lived while in London on intimate terms. He was received with delight by the people and great inducements were offered to have him make his residence in the northern part of the colony, which he at first acceded to. He married and settled at Salmon Creek, but subsequently returned to Cape Fear, where most of the Council resided, and attempted to make Wilmington the seat of government.

September 22, 1736, Governor[62] Johnston, in a speech before the legislature, both houses, called attention to the lack of Divine worship in many parts of the province; he deemed it essential that all rational creatures should pay due homage to the Supreme Author of their being[63] and that it is always regarded as a matter of the greatest consequence to peace and happiness to polish the minds of our young people with some degree of learning, and to early instill in them the principles of virtue and religion; that the legislature had not taken care to erect schools that deserve the name in this country was a misfortune. He proposed the use of the powder money[61] for the purpose but this was opposed. In Johnston's administration, this settlement rapidly developed, enterprising settlers came from many parts with retainers and slaves; they acquired extensive tracts of land and such as were best adapted to agriculture; and with fertile soils, abundant slave labor, they were easy and comfortable, with leisure to cultivate their mental faculties. They were eager students of history, literature, and the science of government, many were educated in England and broadened by foreign travel. They acquired a refinement of manners, which induced them to gather libraries and other comforts of home life; ease and abundance invited hospitality and social pleasures. Their daughters,

gentle in their manners, shone with natural graces which developed docility with independence. The restlessness of the face, the hurried gait, the quick voice and business air were wanting in their manners. It was not their part to fight in the holy cause of temperance of mankind, reformation of religion, labor or suffrage rights of women, but on the contrary their lot was that of devoted, honoring wives and mothers, filled with the spirit of the Lord, devoting their highest thoughts to the moral upbuilding of their offspring. Men yielded to them with pride and delight their prerogatives and privileges, but their rights were never considered or dreamed of; and though human nature through all ages has been stamped with vices, sin and passion, these people maintained a high ideal of woman which permeated through all classes, and with jealous care they guarded their wives and daughters until the restraint under which they were held from public intercourse became the palladium of their virtue and engendered a respect and honor from men which became a benison to the race. The wives of the wealthy planters, as well as the poorer classes had ample cares to occupy both their time and their thoughts; not only the household duties but the providing for their slaves in sickness and in health, and the preparing of their clothing and the distribution of food fell upon them.

As early as 1734, there were fine brick houses at Orton, Kendall, Blue Banks and Brunswick. The dwellings of the planters were not large but commodious, and had a remarkable capacity for having room to spare for the passing stranger and in them they entertained on occasions many friends and visitors. Many houses had the overhanging Dutch roof and were shingled both on roof and sides; ample open fire places extended across the end of the rooms, large enough to sit within, fire dogs holding the logs of wood. The fire filled

the room with warmth, and a glow of light more cheerful and comfortable than our modern method of lighting a house. Massive mahogany furniture, waxed and polished, but innocent of varnish, pewter and brass, chests of drawers, tables and chairs were imported from England. Their kitchen chimneys were hung with spits and chains for hangers, trammels and pot hooks, spiders and ovens where bread was baked for each meal; a modern cook might marvel how the savory meats and sweet breads were made. The dusky blacks toiling in the fields were dressed in bright dyed cotton clothes, women with red bandanas served about the houses, and at night they assembled about their cabin fires chanting weird and plaintive songs that called to the mind the pathetic lays of the daughters of Israel. Slaves were made mechanics, and there was little room for free labor.

Among early merchants we note Richard Quince & Sons, of Ramsgate, England, who owned several large ships; John Ancrum, from Hill House, near Frome in Somerset, England, secretary of the council, who purchased Old Town Plantation of Maurice Moore and resided there; Richard Morecraft and Thomas Merrick, from the Isle of St. Michael; William Dry, of Goose Creek, South Carolina; Rush Watts, of Lisbon, Portugal; Thomas Clark, a Captain of a Regiment of Foot in 1749.

Here in Brunswick, lived Matthew Higginbotham, the surveyor; Dr. Fergus, surgeon from a British Man of War, whose lot adjoined the town; Andrew Stewart, printer, who moved to Wilmington; Dr. Samuel Green, educated at Edinburg University, and Jonathan Ogden, the cordwainer. We note in deeds, the chair-maker, the block-maker, the baker, the tailor, carpenters and brick-makers, ship carpenters, tavern keepers, vintners, weavers, and periwig makers. There were settled on the river many whose names are hardly re-

membered; they came from many parts and were active in developing the settlement. Isaac Kilpatrick, of Londonerry; Thomas Carson and Michael Sampson, of Lisburn, and Waddell, of County Down, Ireland; Robert Walker, of New York; Joshua Gabourell, of the Isle of Jersey; James Murray, of London; Jehu, John and William Davis and William Hill, from Massachusetts; Dunbibin, Monk, Hogg and DuBois, of New York; John Watson, whose father had early established a botanic garden in Charleston; Mills, LeGeere, James Smallwood and Laspeyre, of South Carolina; DeRosset, from Lyme, England; William Bartram, the botanist; Dr. Roger Rolfe and wife, Ann, who owned the Rock Spring lot and St. James Square in Newton; Lord George Anson, for whom Anson County was named, the friend of Governor Johnston, who circumnavigated the world and was stationed a long while here in the man of war Scarborough. Here came James Hasell with his wife and son, a Yorkshire gentleman, who first settled in Philadelphia and came here in 1735, bringing into the colony thirty-five persons and for these he received grants for 1,750 acres. He purchased a tract on Town Creek and one of his grants was a tract on the coast at Cabbage Inlet about opposite the town of Brunswick. He was for forty years in public office in the colony, justice of the inferior court, chief justice, member of the council, president of the council, and several times acted as governor. "All these were there, and many others more, whose names and nations were too long to tell."

Before the arrival of Johnston the raftsmen on the Cape Fear refused to carry their tar, timber and naval stores down to the town of Brunswick, because of the open and exposed waters in front of that town, and as early as 1729, stopped at a place called the Dram Tree, where the merchants came up to trade; and many plantations up the river had their own

wharves where vessels were loaded. Finally a settlement was made and a tavern erected for their accommodation and a town laid out by James Wimble, John Watson, Joshua Grainger, Michael Dyer and others. This place was known by several names: New Town, Newton, Carthage, New Liverpool and finally through the influence of Governor Johnston incorporated under the name of Wilmington, in honor of his patron. We find the names of many forgotten streets on record of this old town, Nancy Street, King Street, Middle Market Street, Middle Street, Hannah Street, Coney Street. Finally by the removal of the Custom House, Court-house and Jail the town of Brunswick saw its downfall impending, and a hard fight was made at each move. The Governor called a council meeting there, and on May 18, 1735, organized the first Court of Exchequer[65] in the province, which he directed to be held at Newton, October 2, 1736, an act was passed making the town of Newton a township[66] to be called Wilmington, and the Assembly met there in 1741. Wilmington can not be called an offspring of Brunswick, but a rival settlement which finally absorbed the old town. The fight continued until February 25, 1740, when in the council, Allen, Nathaniel Rice, Edward Moseley and Roger Moore opposed[67] the Wilmington bill claiming that by the Act of 1729 Brunswick was made a township and empowered to build a court-house, jail and church; good houses had been built there by several people before Newton was established; that the custom house was too far up the river; while Robert Halton, Matthew Rowan and James Murray and William Smith contended that Brunswick was unhealthy, surrounded by ponds, and the people would not live there. The tie was broken by Chief Justice Smith[68] casting the second vote as chairman. December 17th, of that year, the Governor wrote that he hoped to get all public business done there. However, it is to Brunswick that our earlier traditions cling though it was never destined

to be a large town and only contained about forty families and in 1754, twenty families, while Wilmington then had seventy families.

The town of Brunswick was laid out on a tract of 320 acres granted to Maurice Moore and incorporated in 1729, and was divided into blocks with lots 80 feet front of a half acre each, about sixty lots fronting the river. The first street near the river with wharves in front was called Bay Street, the next in the rear Second Street, transverse streets were referred to as the streets where some person lived. In the town, the courts were held, merchants had their store houses and places of business, but they resided on plantations. The first minister[69] of the established church who resided in Brunswick was Rev. John LaPierre;[69] he came from Charleston in 1729, and remained nearly four years. His plaintive appeal to the Bishop of London, October 9, 1733, tells us of the sad plight of a missionary minister. He had no church, no provision made for salary, neither glebe nor house but was maintained by the contributions of a few. He speaks of a Mr. Chubb's[70] writings which leads his flock astray. He was succeeded by Rev. Richard Marsden,[71] both minister and merchant, who supported himself by trade, made voyages to Lisbon and England, owned a vessel and preached without pay. He was there till July 7, 1735, having been there in the colony[72] near seven years. Rev. James Moir came next in 1742, and March 26, 1745, tells us he lodges in a garret a little house which serves as a chapel Sundays and a school house during the week. He eats at the tavern among a rough set and his slave cooks his own food out of doors in all weather. Mr. Moir left Brunswick[73] in 1746. Rev. Mr. Bevis arrived in 1746, and was there two years; preached at the court-house; had much to suffer, neither a home provided nor parish laws observed. Then came Rev. Mr. Cramp

and Rev. John McDowell. The latter, in his will, directs[73] that he be buried[74] at the east end of the church near the grave of his wife, Sarah, and leaves his infant son to the care of the Governor and his uncle, John Grange, and requests that he be brought up under Mr. Richard Quince and his sons as a merchant.

The church at Brunswick was erected in 1751, and its walls still remain in very good condition. Cedar trees have sprung up within with spreading boughs which call to mind the arches of some gothic temple over which is spread a leafy canopy. Standing within the walls, one can well exclaim with the prophet: "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God," for here it is verily true.

The church appears to have been built due north and south by an accurate astronomical observation. The building is seventy-six feet long by fifty-four feet and three inches wide, windows fifteen feet high by seven feet wide, walls two feet and nine inches thick, and the height thereof is twenty-four feet and four inches. There are eleven windows and three doors, and the floor was a tesselated pavement made of square Dutch tiles. Notwithstanding that there is a graveyard around the church, most of the dead are buried at the plantations, for the Act of 1741 required the owners of every plantation to set apart a piece of land for burial of dead Christians, free and bond.

In 1760, an Act called the Lottery Act was passed to raise funds to furnish the churches at Brunswick and Wilmington, and appropriated the proceeds of the sale of the pirates into slavery, and their personal effects captured in 1748, for the same purpose.

The minister and his family now resided in the town. On Sundays, court days, or holidays, the planters and their wives

and families came to town either for religious service or social pleasures, business or friendly intercourse with neighbors. Sunday laws were read in the churches twice a year by the minister, clerk or reader, under a penalty for neglect of twenty shillings for the benefit of the parish. Among the tombs near old St. Philip's we still find some worthy of notice for they will eventually crumble into dust like their inmates. The Hon. William Dry, Jr., who moved here from Goose Creek, South Carolina, in 1736, was collector of the port and a member of the council, died June 3, 1795. Rebecca McGuire, daughter of William Dry, Jr., and wife of Thomas McGuire, Attorney-General. Jane Quince, wife of John Quince, died in 1765. John Lord, a native of the town of Brunswick, died August 28, 1831, aged 66 years. William Hill died August 23, 1783, and his wife, Margaret, died November 3, 1788. John Guerard,[75] "for many years an inhabitant of Cape Fear, snatched by a sudden stroke of fate from life April 25, 1789." Elizabeth Guerard died June 30, 1775, aged 18 years. Elizabeth Eagen died June, 1785, aged 60 years. Benjamin Smith, "of Belvidere, once Governor of North Carolina, died January 10, 1826." Mary Jane Dry, wife of William Dry, Jr., born January 21, 1729, died April 3, 1795. Mary Quince, wife of Richard Quince, died 1762. Elizabeth Lord died February 26, 1847. Mary Bacot died August 29, 1838, aged 75 years. Peter Maxwell, of Glasgow, died at Wilmington September 23, 1812, aged 59 years, and wife, Rebecca Maxwell, died February 12, 1810.

In 1736 and 1746, vessels with Scotch Highlanders came but were advised to move to the up country where land was cheaper and better. It is said that their queer costumes, braw manners and shrill pipes unsettled the nerves of our Wilmington people.

In 1740, war was formally declared between England and Spain. Governor Johnston was active in raising troops to

invade the Spanish colonies. Even as early as June, 1739, letters of mark and reprisal were issued to privateers. November 5, 1740, transports left Brunswick with four companies of troops for Florida, and early the following year they arrived at Jamaica, joined Admiral Vernon and sailed for Carthagena, but we have scant reports of their fate. We know that Col. James Innes, Robert Halton and Lieut. Benjamin Heron were on the expedition and that the latter returned home by way of England. We also find numerous deeds of assignment of prize money during the following years, among them Isaac Lewis, Owen Jones, James Small, Robert Page, George Chapman, Gideon Stubbs, James Hardy, John Brown, William Purdie and other mariners.

In 1743, South Carolina asked the assistance of troops to meet the Spanish invasion from Cuba, and a thousand men were promised on condition that they should be commanded by an officer of this province, and Colonel Maurice Moore was chosen to command.

October, 1745, a squadron[76] from Havana entered the Cape Fear and burned the town of Brunswick.

In July, 1747, the Council directed[77] a fort to be built, and the Island[78] north of Oak Island was selected, and in September South Carolina offered[79] them ten pieces of ordnance, nine and twelve pounders and ammunition.

In 1745, an Act was passed to encourage the rebuilding of the town of Brunswick, also an Act which recites[80] that in view of the well known depth of water of the Cape Fear and its defenceless condition, a fort was ordered to be built to be called Fort Johnston to contain at least twenty-four cannon, and Governor Johnston, Nathaniel Rice, Robert Halton, Eliezer Allen, Matthew Rowan, Major John Swann and George Moore were appointed commissioners to erect the same.

September 17, 1747, John Ellis[81] in an affidavit at Brunswick stated that he sailed in June on the brigantine John

Williams, Thomas Corbett Master, and that they were captured by the Spanish privateer, St. Gabriel the Conqueror, and sent to Hispaniola but retaken and sent to St. Simons; that the brigantine belonged to Rev. Richard Marsden.

November 8, 1748,[82] two pirate ships came up the Cape Fear, trained their guns upon the town of Brunswick and threatened to sack the town unless a ransom was paid. The inhabitants, without means of defense, were demoralized and fled to the woods, but the town was saved by the explosion of the magazine in one of the vessels, and the people taking courage boarded[83] the other vessel and captured it. The prisoners were sold into slavery and with the proceeds of the sale of their personal property there was realized a fund which by an Act was afterwards applied to finish the churches of St. Philip and of St. James. An "Ecce Homo"[84] still hangs in the vestry room of St. James Church, at Wilmington, taken from this pirate ship, supposed to have been from the plunder of some Spanish church.

From stray leaves of records of the old Court of Common Pleas of the town of Brunswick, 1738, we observe that the court was presided over by Nathaniel Rice, Matthew Rowan, Eliezer Allen, Robert Halton, James Innes and Cornelius Harnett and others. Deeds were proved before the court and among them a power of attorney from George Burrington to his wife, Mary. Nicholas Fox produced a license to practice as attorney in the province from the governor. Complaint is made of citizens obstructing public docks and landings with lumber in front of the town; beef brought to market without exhibiting ear marks and brands complained of; keeping hogs and swine in town was forbidden. Several persons warned against selling liquor in the town and county at exorbitant price to the great damage of artificers and laboring men. Tax levied to build court-house and jail. C. Harnett made sheriff. Rev. Mr. Marsden ordered to appear before

the court for building his cellar in the street, and erecting an oven in the street, fails to appear and sends certificate from Dr. Roger Rolfe, of Wilmington, that he is ill.

Governor Johnston died July 17, 1752. Nathaniel Rice, the president of the council, succeeded but died January 25, 1753, and Matthew Rowan succeeded till the appointment of Governor Arthur Dobbs, who was sworn in at New Bern, October 15, 1754. He was an Irishman and formerly a member of the Irish Parliment and a man of education. He fitted out a galley[85] sent to discover the northwest passage. He was a correspondent of the Geographical Society and of Rev. William Wetstein,[86] chaplain of his R. H., the Prince of Wales, and wrote several letters upon the course of the Gulf stream.

"O, what an endless work I have in hand," as well count the sea's abundant progeny as continue longer on this theme. More could be told of John Dalrymple, commander of Fort Johnston, Governor Dobbs and Governor Tryon, the Stamp Act, Governor Martin, formerly Lieutenant Colonel 86th[87] Regiment of Foot; the proclamation of George II, as King at Brunswick, of Cornwallis and Clinton, Harnett and Ancrum, of Howe, Ashe, Waddell and Moore, of the remains of the old houses, ruins of St. Philip's Church, the tombs and marble slabs with inscriptions that not only bespeak the memory of the dead but their intelligence and refinement, and may the inscription on the grave of young Rebecca McGuire "quisquis hoc marmor sustulerit ultimus suorum moriatur" adjure us to guard these ancient ruins and the traditions and memories of all who lived there as monuments of our race.

AUTHORITIES CITED IN THE FOREGOING ARTICLE.

[1] World's Discoverers, by Wm. H. Johnson, with Verrazano's map, p. 185.

[2] Col. Rec., N. C., Vol. I, p. 43. Proposal of Lords Proprietors.

[3] Col. Rec., I, p. 53.

[4] Term used by Barbadoes Explorers, 1663.

[5] Col. Rec., I, p. 35. Samuel Vassal, Assignee.

[6] Col. Rec., I, p. 161.

[7] Col. Rec., I, p. 73. John Vassal, Surveyor-Gen. Cape Fear.

[8] Col. Rec., I, p. 56. Landed at Old Town (Charlestown) 29th May, 1664.

[9] Col. Rec., I, pp. 119 and 116. Sanford, etc.

[10] Col. Rec., I, p. 120.

[11] Col. Rec., I, p. 154. Cotton, etc.

[12] Professor Rivers some time ago earnestly denied this, but we have not agreed with him.

[13] Col. Rec., I, p. 165. Souls.

[14] Col. Rec., I, p. 145.

[15] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in allusion to the monument of a Madam Ann Vassal, widow of John Vassal, at Cambridge, says:

"At her feet and at her head
Lies a slave to attend the dead."

Another of these adventurers has left a record. In Suffolk, Mass., Probate Records, Vol. I, p. 536, is a will of George Davis, dated December 7, 1664, proved September, 1667; says he is bound for Cape Fear, mentioned his sons Benjamin and Joseph, his five daughters, when they come of age, his wife and brother, Wm. Clark of Linn. Probate records give inventory of goods of George Davis, lately deceased at Cape Fear.

[16] New Hanover Co. Records, C, p. 74. Smith grant mentioned.

[17] This family of Moores are said to be descended from Roger Moore, leader of the Irish Rebellion in 1641. James Moore came to America, settled in Charleston, and was Governor of South Carolina in 1700.

[18] Col. Rec., I, p. 154. Also mentioned by Lawson, p. 269, who said: "We have clothes of our own manufacture of cotton, wool, hemp and flax of our own growth." Hon W. B. Seabrook, in an address before the South Carolina Agricultural Society, December, 1843, mentions this as the first recorded evidence of its cultivation in America. We also find that M. Le Page Du Pratz, 1758, in his History of Louisiana, p. 323, refers to the cotton raised in that country as the Siam or Turkey cotton, which is a green-seeded cotton, and this also was attempted in Virginia, but with indifferent success.

[19] Acts 1711 and 1715, to raise money by duties on liquors and other goods.

[20] Col. Rec., II, pp. 480 and 481.

[21] Col. Rec., II, p. 596.

[22] Col. Rec., XI, p. 128. Gents. Magazine, 1756.

[23] Col. Rec., ... Records A, p. 102, New Hanover County.

[24] Rec. New Hanover Co., A, p. 93.

[25] Col. Rec., XI, p. 128.

[26] Col. Rec., II, p. 596.

[27] Records New Hanover Co., D, pp. 512 and 403; Col. Rec., III, p. 63.

[28] See Wimble's Map.
[29] Col. Rec., III, p. 436.
[30] Col. Rec., III, pp. 63 and 30.
[31] Everard to John Bell, N. H. Co., p. 172; Lockwood's Folly and A, p. 93.
[32] I am of the opinion that she was the Widow Moore for which Moore's Creek was named. She was Justina Moore, sixth child of Landgrave Thomas Smith 2nd, and who married John Moore, seventh son of the first Governor Jas. Moore.
[33] Col. Rec., III, p. 575, Acts Assembly 1736, chapter 8.
[34] Revised Stats. N. C., Vol. II, p. 21.
[35] Rev. Stats. N. C., II, p. 466.
[36] Gentleman's Magazine, 1756.
[37] Acts 1729, 34 Geo. II.
[38] A valuable table of exports and imports of Carolina from 1663 to 1773 will be found in the American Museum, Nov. 1789, pp. 400, 401.
[39] New Hanover Co., A, p. 342.
[40] New Hanover Co., D, p. 403.
[41] Col. Rec., IV, p. 6.
[42] Col. Rec., V, p. 158.
[43] New Hanover Co., A, p. 313, and Col. Rec., XI, p. .....
[44] Gents. Magazine, 1756.
[45] Col. Rec., XI, p. .....
[46] Col. Rec., XI, pp. 128 and 148.
[47] Col. Rec., XI, p. 18, and Col. Rec., III, p. 137 and 147.
[48] See 47.
[49] From two deeds of lease and release in New Hanover Co., dated 10th and 11th April, 1754, "Geo. Burrington, late Governor, etc., now residing in the Parish of St. Margaret Westminster, in the County of Middlesex," conveyed to Samuel Strudwick his lands on Northeast Cape Fear, called "Stag Park," of 10,000 acres, and lands on the Northwest Cape Fear called "Hawol Fields" (Hawfields) of 30,000 acres. This deed mentions that by letters patent dated 29th April, 1730, he had been appointed Governor with a salary of 700 pounds per annum, to be paid quarterly by John Hammerton, Esq., Receiver-General; that he was still in arrearage 3,325 pounds, and in consideration of advancement by Edw. Strudwick, the father of Samuel Strudwick, of Mortimer street, in the Parish of St. Mary Le Bow, in said County of Middlesex, he makes that conveyance. It is acknowledged before the Lord Mayor in the Mansion House, April 11, 1754. His wife was Mary Burrington, and proved a deed in Brunswick County. Moseley speaks well of Burrington. Col. Rec., III, p. 137.
[50] Since March 25, 1739, called Sheriff. Acts 1738, chap. 3.
[51] Her will (New Hanover Co., C, p. 328,) mentions her grandson, C. Harnett, Jr.
[52] J H. Wheeler in South Atlantic, 1879.
[53] .....
[54] Col. Rec., V, p. 1137.
[55] Encyc. Brit., 9th Ed., under United States, p. 177.
[56] Other references as to Education may be found in Col. Rec., V, pp. 288, 289, 298, 280, 281, 1160, 1225, and Col. Rec., VI, p. 477.
[57] Col. Rec., V, pp. 144b and 306.
[58] Col. Rec., VI, p. 477.
[59] Col. Rec., III, pp. 642, 633 and 626.
[60] Gents. Mag., 1733, and Col. Rec., III, p. 630.

[61] Col. Rec., IV, p. 375—Thomas Clifford, receiver of powder money at Brunswick.
[62] Col. Rec., IV, pp. 226 and 271.
[63] First Masonic Lodge at Brunswick, 1733, No. 113, called "King Solomon Lodge."
[64] Col. Rec., IV, p. 338.
[65] Col. Rec., IV, p. 44, Wilmington.
[66] Col. Rec., IV, p. 235. See Acts 1736.
[67] Col. Rec., IV, p. 456.
[68] Col. Rec., IV, pp. 424 and 415.
[69] Col. Rec., III, pp. 350 and 391.
[70] At that time a prominent deist in England.
[71] Col. Rec., III, pp. 350 and 391; New Hanover Co., C, p. 62.
[72] Col. Rec., IV, p. 10.
[73] Col. Rec., IV, p. 875, and Vol. III, pp. 391 and 350; New Hanover, C, p. 62.
[74] Col. Rec., IV, pp. 755, 605, 606, 608.
[75] Col. Rec., I, p. 242; a Normandy family.
[76] Moore's Hist. N. C., Vol. I, p. 41, Vol. 4. p. 1306.
[77] Col. Rec., IV, p. 700.
[78] Col. Rec., IV, p. 702.
[79] Col. Rec., V, p. 38.
[80] Acts 1745, chap. 6.
[81] New Hanover Co., C, p. 133.
[82] Col. Rec., V, pp. 38 and 72.
[82] Col. Rec., V, pp. 38 and 72. Also Gents. Mag., 1749, in an account of this attack says one vessel escaped, and that 60 were blown up, 20 killed, 37 taken prisoners. One American—a pilot—missing.
[83] Col. Rec., IV, pp. 991, 1284, 922, 1300, 1306.
[84] See History of St. James Church.
[85] Gents. Mag., 1749, June.
[86] Gents. Mag., Dec., 1749.
[87] London Mag., 1764.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEOLOGICAL MEMORANDA.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

JOHN DILLARD BELLAMY.

Born in Wilmington, March 24, 1854; graduated at Davidson College, N. C., 1873; B.L.; University of Virginia, 1875; married December 6, 1876, Emma M. Hargrove. He served as City Attorney of Wilmington, 1881; was a member of the State Senate, 1891; delegate to National Convention of the Democratic party, 1892; member of Congress, 1879-1903, Sixth North Carolina District.

Mr. Bellamy's painstaking elaboration of the life and services of Gen. Robert Howe will be read with interest, as the life and sacrifices of the distinguished man have not received heretofore the just amount of notice that should have been accorded him. Since the great revival in historic interest and research, many important facts have been secured from musty documents, old letters, and other data. North Carolina is awaking to her duty. The ignorance that has prevailed as to the facts of our colonial settlements is being dispelled by our educators. A North Carolina Day has been established by act of General Assembly, and for the last six years an appropriate program has been arranged, treating of some especial section; its settlement, and brief histories of the distinguished men of the period. This pamphlet was compiled with great care by the Superintendent of Public Instruction and sent out to the public schools with the hope of inspiring the children with a new pride in their State and a new enthusiasm for the study of her history. The subjects treated followed the chronological order of the State's history. THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, from its first inception in

1901 has had in view the emphasizing and putting into convenient form great events in the State's history. It is acknowledged that this publication is doing as much for the education of the public in a historical way as any magazine in the State. The financial support of the public is solicited.

In addition to the above, and in this connection, I must not fail to mention the activities of the State Literary and Historical Association, which is doing such steady and efficient work collecting and preserving our State literature and history. Its object is the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of a historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation. Under the control of an active, intelligent, painstaking Board of Managers, this Association is advocating the establishment of a State Archives and Hall of Records.

WILLIAM KENNETH BOYD.

William Kenneth Boyd, author of "Early Relations of North Carolina and the West," was born in the State of Missouri in 1879, the son of Rev. H. M. Boyd (Presbyterian) and Mary Black Boyd. In 1888 his family removed to Western North Carolina, in search of a better climate, and located at Weaverville. His preparatory education was secured at Weaverville College, and in 1897 he graduated from Trinity College with the degree of A.B., and received his A.M. degree in 1898. He was then Master in History and Latin in the Trinity Park High School for the first two years of its existence (1898-1900). In 1900 he entered Columbia University as Scholar in History; in 1902-'03 he was Fellow in European History, in 1903-'04 Fellow by

Courtesy, and in 1906 received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In 1904-'05 Mr. Boyd was a member of the editorial staff of the Encyclopedia Britannica (Tenth Edition), in 1905-'06 he was Instructor in History in Dartmouth College, and in 1906 he accepted the Chair of History in Trinity College, where he had formerly, for one year (1901-1902), been Adjunct Professor of History.

Besides the present article, Mr. Boyd has contributed the following studies in North Carolina history and biography: "John S. Cairns, Ornithologist," "Dennis Heartt," "William W. Holden," "Nathaniel Macon in National Legislation," "Advalorem Slave Taxation," "Letters of Bedford Brown."

All of these have appeared in the Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society (Series I-VI). He will also contribute the sketch of William Gaston to the forthcoming Library of Southern Literature, with which Prof. C. Alphonso Smith is connected as associate editor. He has promised a study of the Battle of Kings Mountain for a future number of THE BOOKLET.

Besides these North Carolina studies, Mr. Boyd has published a monograph, "Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code," (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 1906), and has contributed the following articles to *The South Atlantic Quarterly:* "Alfred the Great as Legislator," Vol. I, No. 1; "Southern History in American Universities," Vol. I, No. 2; "Christian Persecutions and Roman Jurisprudence," Vol. II, No. 1; "Theodore Mommsen: His Place in Modern Scholarship," Vol. III, No. 3; "Dunning's History of Reconstruction," Vol. VI, No. 4.

Mr. Boyd, though not a native of North Carolina, has imbibed that spirit of research which is now pervading this section of the South. The day has passed when men are more ready to handle the sword than to wield the pen; con-

ditions have changed, the hand of the educator has grappled the pen, old dusty manuscripts are being brought to light, the many stories of traditional lore of her unparalleled record are being corroborated by documentary evidence, and simple truth will be thus enthroned, which is the highest ambition of patriotic North Carolinians.

WILLIAM B. McKOY.

Author of the article, "Incidents in the Early Settlement of the Cape Fear."

Wm. B. McKoy was born in Wilmington, N. C., December 24, 1852; went to school in Wilmington; graduated at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1876; studied law under Hon. Geo. V. Strong in Raleigh, N. C.; licensed to practice law in 1879; sworn in as a member of the bar at Rockingham, Richmond County, N. C., same year; since practiced law in Wilmington. He is from a long line of ancestors loyal and patriotic. His paternal ancestor in America was John McKay (now McKoy), who was sent out of Scotland after 1746 as an active adherent of Prince Charlie; settled in Bladen County; moved thence to Iredell County. On his maternal side his earliest ancestor in America was Col. Wm. Rhett, of Charleston, S. C. He is also a descendant of James Hasell and Charles Berry, two Chief Justices of the Province of North Carolina.

District Attorney Chairman Democratic Party

Mr. McKoy is Senior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Free Masons, a place he fills with great ability.

Mr. McKoy having been a life-long resident of Wilmington, the chief town of the Cape Fear, he is familiar with its history and traditions. No more patriotic people ever lived than those of this section, and this patriotism has descended from generation to generation, dating from the first permanent settlements made in 1663. Mr. McKoy, like many

others of this present day of educational awakening, is discharging a conscientious and patriotic duty to his State by publishing an article additional to what has heretofore been published concerning the history of this section.

The long struggle of this American colony on the shores of North Carolina, dating from 1554 to 1775, is hardly equaled by any other; but those days were not without their good results. It was the formative period in moulding the character of the people, and to-day there is no State that can boast of a purer Anglo-Saxon race (having the smallest percentage of foreign born citizens of any State in the Union), and a people more devoted to their State and its history. Though long in asserting her rightful place as one of the leaders in colonization and in achieving independence, her great citizenship is now awake to the importance of writing her history. This great renewal of interest in North Carolina history may be attributed to the publication of the Colonial Records, that admirable work ordered by the State and undertaken by Col. William L. Saunders.

Colonel Saunders, as Secretary of State, saw too plainly the necessity of collecting and preserving full and complete records of North Carolina, therefore he took upon himself this self-imposed task from love for his native State.

At a period somewhat prior to his death in 1891, these Records, reaching from the beginnings of the Province, 1662, down to and inclusive of the year 1776, filling ten large folio volumes, were suspended. In 1893 the Trustees of the State Library invited Judge Walter Clark to assume the continuation of the work. This he has done, beginning from the year 1776, completing the period to 1781, as authorized by The Code, and continuing under the title of State Records, filling sixteen large folio volumes, including the laws of the the Province and State from 1663 to 1791, and also an index.

To Colonel Saunders and Judge Clark the State owes a debt of gratitude beyond estimation. These Records are of immeasurable value to the student of history and a capital source of stimulation to the young. THE BOOKLET has a promise of an article on this gigantic work.

Even the women of this Commonwealth, through their historical organizations, are awaking to the duty of impressing upon the youth of our land the part they must perform in order to perpetuate our history. It was a noble work of the Colonial Dames of North Carolina in erecting, in 1907, on a public square in Wilmington, a monument to "Cornelius Harnett and the Colonial Heroes of the Cape Fear." In Vol. V, No. 3, of THE BOOKLET, may be found an interesting sketch of Cornelius Harnett, the pride of the Cape Fear, who was styled "the Samuel Adams of North Carolina," written by R. W. D. Connor. It is well to mention here that THE BOOKLET contains other articles of great historical value relating to this part of North Carolina, Colonial and Revolutionary, as follows: Vol. I, No. 3, "Stamp Act on the Cape Fear," by Hon. A. M. Waddell; Vol. II, No. 10, "County of Clarendon," by John Spencer Bassett; Vol. III, No. 11, "Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge," by Prof. M. C. S. Noble; Vol. VI, No. 1, "A Colonial Admiral of the Cape Fear," by James Sprunt. All of which can be obtained from the publishers except No. 3, of Vol. I, which is out of print.

The North Carolina Booklet

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION ISSUED UNDER
THE AUSPICES OF THE

"NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION"

THIS PUBLICATION treats of important events in North Carolina History, such as may throw light upon the political, social or religious life of the people of this State during the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, in the form of monographs written and contributed by as reliable and painstaking historians as our State can produce. The Sixth Volume began in July, 1906.

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The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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Great Events in North Carolina History.

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Vol. VII. APRIL, 1908. No. 4

The North Carolina Booklet

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While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by

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Vol. VII APRIL, 1908 No. 4

SAINT JAMES'S CHURCHYARD.

BY MRS. LULA CLARK MARKHAM.

A bit of ancient England dropped adown
Amid these alien streets,
Where 'neath the soft, blue, Southern sky, there beats
The throbbing life-tide of the crude New World:
The old gray church keeps guard, o'erblown
By winds of many winters; here have been unfurled
The sunset banners of an hundred years;
On these old, leveled, grass-grown graves the tears
Were dried a long, long century ago.

With stately step and slow,
O'er the smooth velvet of this grassy aisle,
Perchance the proud Cornwallis walked, the while
Pondering his lofty dreams of power and fame
And thinking of the waters, vast and gray,
Which stretched their stormy leagues between
This untamed land and his loved island, fair and green;
It may be that a grim
Foreboding came of sore defeat and shame
To cloud his haughty brow, an augury
Of dire disaster waiting him
At Yorktown far away.

Past these gray walls the Redcoats marched one day
With measured step and glittering swords aglow,
Unwitting that for them the end was nigh
Of weary warfare; that they marched to meet
In one last test their scorned, provincial foe,
To lay their proud swords at those ragged feet.

And here to-day one lies
Wrapped in his garb of glory for a shroud.
The careless, bubble-seeking crowd
Goes idly by, and recks not that the eyes
Here closed in sleep once flashed with ardor bright
To lead the blind young nation to the light:
The lofty brow that long has turned to dust
Wrought in its fervid brain the daring dream
Of liberty triumphant in a proud, august,
Great nation born of great souls like his own.
He was the White Knight of undimmed renown;
Patriot, soldier, statesman, not a gleam
Of wealth or fame allured him, and he swerved
Not from his chosen path although it led
Through sacrifice and loss, through doubt and dread,
Content if but his country's cause were served.

We can not tell to what far distant stars
His bark of life was steered so long ago;
On what high embassies he has been sent, what holy wars
For truth and right awaited him; we know
That here each flower, each crystal drop of dew
Is a white message from the heart of him,
Each buoyant breeze that sweeps in from the sea
Is whispering of his golden dreams come true,
Each radiant star that lights the evening's blue
Forever keeps his name from growing dim.
And while yon marble finger silently
Points to the heaven which claimed him for its own,
While one leal, Southern heart holds on its throne
The love of country and of right,
The fearless scorn of tyrrany and might,
Cornelius Harnett lives and can not die.

And so, year after year, till ages have gone by,
These ancient graves will wait the mighty word,
When with his trumpet blast, the Angel of the Lord,
With one foot on the sea and one upon the shore,
Proclaims "Time was, time is, but time shall be no more!"
And those who sleep below so tranquilly
Through their hushed hearts will feel the thrill of birth
Which wakes to find new heavens and new earth.

THE FAYETTEVILLE INDEPENDENT LIGHT INFANTRY COMPANY.

BY JAMES C. MACRAE,
(Dean of Law School, University of North Carolina.)

"He that hath no stomach for this fight let him depart."

The last decade of the Eighteenth Century was a time of trouble and perplexity to the young Republic which had so recently achieved its independence and taken place among the Nations.

Indeed, from the peace of 1783 to the defeat of Packenham, some thirty years later, the permanent existence of the United States was an unsolved problem. Threatened on the one side by the ill-concealed enmity of its former sovereign, and urged, on the other, by the officious efforts of its former friend and ally to embroil it in foreign wars. With no standing army, a long and unprotected coast line, and a small, though gallant, naval armament, its hope and reliance was upon its citizen soldiery.

North Carolina was, at the end of the century, one of the strongest States in the Union, with all the elements of future prosperity. It had no cities nor large towns in its borders, but it had a population filled with the spirit of liberty. It was in those early days when the life of the Republic seemed threatened with foreign wars that the town of Fayetteville on the twenty-third of August, 1793, called its young men together to organize a volunteer military company.

Robert Adam, a young Scotch merchant, was elected Captain, John Winslow, Lieutenant, and Robert Cochran, Ensign. These were leading citizens of Fayetteville in their day, and up to the present time their successors have been the worthiest representatives of their community.

This sketch is largely made from an address delivered on the occasion of the Centennial of the Company, with such addenda as may embrace some reference to the very important public services rendered by the Company since the close of its first century. A history of the organization would require much larger space than has been allotted to this paper, but the archives of the command contain full records and rosters, and one may find in several instances five generations of Fayetteville men upon its rolls.

The characteristic of this organization from its inception may be summed up in the word, *duty*. Its leaders and promoters were men of intelligence and position.

It was not formed for the simple purpose of giving grace to holiday pageants, but for the defense of the people in their rights and liberties.

It realized the true conception of a citizen soldiery; for its members were *citizens* as well as soldiers.

The same spirit which induced them to submit to discipline, that they might become efficient soldiers, led them also to take up the responsibilities incident to citizenship, without the bearing of which there can be no real enjoyment of the benefits of good government.

So, they were the upholders of law and order, and in times of agitation were ever ready to preserve the peace.

The strength and value of a military organization in a community, under the direction of cool and intrepid men (for with any other leaders they become a firebrand and a source of anxiety and of danger), can only be fully appreciated by those whose business it has been to execute the laws.

In times of excitement, when there is danger of some outbreak of popular violence, the advantage of an organized body of disciplined men, under proper officers, to be called out in the last resort, is simply incalculable.

The community whose foremost men constitute such a body is comparatively safe from intestine trouble.

The machinery of the civil law is ordinarily all-sufficient in itself.

A very large majority of the people are obedient to law, and it is an easy matter, when public sentiment is rightly directed, to administer the same for the welfare of all concerned.

But men, taken collectively, are sometimes, like the individual, overborne by passion; and while under its impulse they may break down the barriers which ages of exertion and sacrifice have built up around their liberties.

It is on occasions of such temporary bursts of lawlessness which are liable to occur in human society that it becomes necessary, under our system, to call in the citizen soldiers to assist the civil arm.

The great efficiency of the State Guard of North Carolina to-day is attested by the fact that it is so seldom necessary to bring them into actual aid of the civil authority.

So potent is their influence that the bare knowledge that such an organization is in existence and ready for action at a moment's warning, is sufficient in general to prevent any serious outbreak. Such has been the happy case of this community for all these hundred years.

For most of this period there have been other military companies here just as good and just as true, which, in the mutations of time, have risen and flourished and passed away, but this old company has lived through every change.

With the exception of those occasions when it was absent in active service, and when, in the overpowering calamity which fell upon us all, we were deprived of our arms, it has ever been the bulwark of these people's safety and the nucleus around which they might rally for defence.

It was organized in those unsettled times when the States of the American Union, having just emerged from the seven years struggle for freedom, each found itself face to face with the great problems of government which, pending the

conflict, had been held in abeyance; political feeling ran high; the spirit of peace had not yet calmed the passions of the recent combatants; and it seemed that the new and scarce formed nation was about to face as enemies those who had been its recent friends and allies. The first apparent necessity was the establishment of an armed militia for protection against all foes, both foreign and domestic.

It was then, before the laws which were soon after passed for its organization, that this company was brought into existence.

And on July 23, 1807, when a second war with England was imminent and the President had warned the militia to be in readiness for an emergency, this company tendered him its services in the following resolution which was communicated to the President:

Resolved unanimously, That we very much admire, and highly approve of the dignified, manly and independent sentiments contained in the proclamation of the President of the United States; and having observed that he has ordered the raising of 100,000 militia, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning, and it is his pleasure to accept Volunteers to compose a part thereof.

Resolved unanimously, That the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry Company, officers and soldiers voluntarily tender their services, with this declaration that although as citizens, they highly appreciate the blessings of peace, yet, as citizen soldiers, they are ever ready to avenge an insult offered to their country by any nation whatever, and pledge themselves to be ready, whenever called upon, for the defense of such measures as may be adopted by the Government.

In acknowledgment of this tender Mr. Jefferson, under his own hand, wrote as follows:

To Captain John McMillan and the
Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry Company:

The offer of your services in support of the rights of your country merits the highest praise. And whenever the moment arrives in which these rights must appeal to the public arm for support, the spirit from which your offer flows, that which animates our nation, will be their sufficient safeguard.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE LIBRARY.

To the legislature wil be rendered a faithful account of the events which have so justly excited the sensibilities of our country, of the measures taken to obtain reparation and of their result; and to their wisdom will belong the course to be ultimately pursued.

In the meantime it is our duty to pursue that prescribed by the existing laws, toward which should your services be requisite, this offer of them wil be remembered.

I tender for your country the thanks you so justly deserve.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON, *July 31, 1807.*

In 1813, when the enemy threatened to make a landing on our coast, it promptly marched to Wilmington, and there was the special bodyguard of Governor Hawkins, the Commander-in-Chief of the North Carolina forces. Upon the conclusion of its tour of service it was relieved from duty in the following communication:

To Lieutenant WM. BARRY GROVE.

SIR:—I am commanded by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the state of North Carolina, to express through you to the officers and privates of your company, the very high approbation which they merit, and which they have met with, for their prompt and soldier-like march to one of the vulnerable points of our state when it was invaded. And to his Excellency it is a high gratification that all composing your company have done all that could be expected from officers and soldiers. Stimulated by this laudable example, it is confidently hoped the militia of the state of North Carolina will derive much benefit.

On your arrival in the town of Fayetteville you will dismiss from duty the members composing your company. I am, with much regard,

Your obedient servant, F. N. W. BURTON, *Aid.*

In 1825, it attended LaFayette upon his visit to Fayetteville, the name of this town having been changed in 1784 from Cross Creek to honor the distinguished soldier who had done so much to achieve for us our liberty.

In 1846, when North Carolina was called upon to send a regiment to Mexico, while it was, of course, impracticable that this company, composed as it was of the leading business and professional men of the town should go on foreign ser-

vice, it sent out a noncommissioned officer, Sergeant W. E. Kirkpatrick, to take command of the Cumberland Company, F, of the North Carolina Regiment, as its Captain, advanced him to the same rank in its own company, and at the close of the Mexican war received him with distinguished honors.

In those peaceful days which followed, it continued to be the pride and glory of the town, ready in every emergency; foremost on every festive occasion—making casual visits to its brother commands in other towns, and keeping up its own *esprit du corps* by a generous rivalry with the other companies of the town.

On the 15th of April, 1861, after the Confederate States had been formed by the resumption of the sovereignty of the State of South Carolina and those to the south of her, President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling upon the States for 75,000 troops "to put down these combinations," and this was the declaration which brought about the war between the States.

Immediately upon the publication in Fayetteville of this proclamation, on the 17th day of April, the Independent Company unanimously tendered itself to the Governor of North Carolina to serve in opposition to the coercion policy of the Federal Government of which North Carolina was still a part.

Its tender was accepted, and its first service, in conjunction with the other companies of the town and county, was the taking possession of the United States Arsenal at Fayetteville, where it remained as guard until May 7, when, being relieved, it went into camp on Harrington Hill, and on the morning of the 9th of May, 108 strong it went to Raleigh, whither it had been preceded by the LaFayette Light Infantry, a magnificent company, with which it was at once embodied into the First Regiment of North Carolina Volunteers; and on the 20th of May, 1861, when the ordinance of

secession was adopted by the people of North Carolina in convention at Raleigh, it was already tasting the never-to-be-forgotten hospitality of the people of Richmond in camp at Howard's Grove in that famous city.

Though it had offered itself for ten years or the war, it had been mustered in for six months. It served its term on the Peninsula; its regiment, having taken a leading part in the engagement at Big Bethel, received the name of the Bethel Regiment, which was retained by its successor, the 11th North Carolina Troops.

Upon the return of the company home at the end of six months, while its organization was retained, its members, many of them having been fitted for command by their service in the ranks, became officers in other companies and regiments and on the general staff.

Many entered the ranks of other commands and there illustrated the effect of the fine discipline to which they had been subjected under the tutelage of their old Regimental Commander, D. H. Hill.

A remnant remained at home and kept up the organization. Too few to form a separate company in the field, they performed a tour of duty at and near Fort Fisher, as part of the Clarendon Guards. For a few years after the close of the war they were not permitted to bear arms, but they kept their organization, meeting each year upon their annisary for that purpose. It was not long, however, before the federal troops were withdrawn, and the days of reconstruction were over, and at once they were re-equipped and armed.

In 1876 this company with its distinguished guests to-day, the Washington Light Infantry of Charleston, S. C., was part of the Centennial Legion, and assisted in the opening of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, and before its return visited Boston by special invitation, where its officers and men were treated with marked consideration.

For some years it constituted the first company of the Second Regiment of the State Guard and attended the annual encampments, but upon the adoption by the Guard of a distinctive uniform for all its members, this company having been allowed by special legislation to select its own uniform and preferring to retain that which it wears to-day, became by order of the Commander-in-Chief, the late Governor Fowle, an unattached company of the North Carolina Troops.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
RALEIGH, *May 3, 1890.*

GENERAL ORDER NO. 6.

Company A, Second Regiment North Carolina State Guard, is allowed to withdraw from the State Guard and is restored to its former status as an independent Company, to be designated as the Fayetteville Light Infantry Company, under the Act of the General Assembly of 1819. It will be subject only to orders from the Commander-in-Chief.

It will retain the arms and equipment now in its possession, but the overcoats heretofore issued to it whilst a member of the State Guard will be returned to Col. F. A. Olds, Quartermaster General, who, upon receipt of the same will deliver to said Company the bond executed by said Company for said overcoats.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief.

JAMES D. GLENN,
Adjutant-General.

Recently it became again a company of the State Guard, and the question has arisen as to its right to wear the Confederate gray and is still unsettled.

No wonder, then, that with its record of long and faithful service, this ancient and honorable corps has become well known in North Carolina and beyond its borders. No wonder that it has been the recipient of marks of special regard from time to time at the hands of the Legislature.

In 1819 a joint resolution was passed by the General Assembly giving to its commanders the rank of Major and to its Lieutenants that of Captain "so long as the corps shall continue to hold itself armed and equipped agreeably to the tenor

of its rules and regulations." As I had occasion to say in an address to this company on its 81st anniversary, in the year 1859 an act was passed to encourage this company, by the terms of which its officers and men were exempted from the performance of jury duty; but this favor was unanimously declined upon the ground that its duty as soldiers did not and ought not to relieve its members from any of the duties incident to citizenship.

Thus was evinced the high spirit of the corps and the devotion of its members to the performance of duty.

Could I recount to you the pleasant traditions and some of the peculiar customs pertaining to this company it might afford you some amusement, but they are already perpetuated in successive addresses which have been delivered on the former anniversaries.

Some day, and it is to be hoped at no great distance, your historian will gather them into a book and hand them down the line, that those who come after you may, like you, partake of the spirit of the fathers.

The last public act performed by this company was a few weeks ago in Raleigh, when it followed the remains of the great man who had been the President of the Confederate States, as they passed to their place at Hollywood, testifying the respect of its members for his memory, and seeking participation in whatever may be awarded of praise or blame to him who was the embodiment of all that was left of their common cause.

If by any strange mischance the career of this company was closed with its century of service, what an honorable end it would have reached before giving up its arms and passing into history, that its last act should have been to follow the bier of Jefferson Davis as it bore him to his eternal rest.

Organized, as this company was, a few years after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States by the

State Convention assembled in this town, of the circumstances of which adoption, the fierce and bitter contest, the thorough discussion, and the guarantees of personal freedom and State autonomy required before final action, we have all been made quite familiar by the recent celebration in this place of its centennial, and the splendid oration there pronounced by Senator M. W. Ransom, and the impromptu speech of great merit by Senator Vance, the officers and men were thoroughly imbued with the first principles of loyalty to the State, which was its sovereign, except as to certain powers and jurisdictions for special purposes granted to the general government. They have ever been true to these traditions, and, recognizing certain changes tending to strengthen and perpetuate the union of sovereign States brought about by the submission of the question in dispute to the ultimate arbitrament of arms, they are, as ever, true and steadfast in their devotion to North Carolina and the Constitutional Union of which she now forms an independent and indestructible part.

No call has ever been made by the State authorities which this company has not obeyed with alacrity.

Distinguished among, and not above, its comrade companies by reason of its great age and repeated services; the last public relic of the hallowed past, except the venerable University which is its senior in years but is perennial in its strength and in the renewal of its youth; surviving the old Constitution, the best ever made for a free people; surviving the old judiciary system and the executive and legislative departments, for they all gave place in 1868 to the new ideas and forms of government begotten of the last revolution, it ought to have some mark by which it may be known among its fellows.

It might, under the special laws which govern it, have chosen to be recognized by the old uniform of blue and buff

which it wore for many years. But when it came to take up its arms again after an enforced suspension, it was thought it might be well to cling to that garb which typified its greatest service to the commonwealth; it was thought that it might serve to teach the coming generations to revere the memory of the fathers who wore the gray; to know that there rests no stain of treason upon those who, clad in the Confederate colors, lost all but honor on the field of battle.

It was thought that it might further illustrate for those who shall see it march wherever duty calls in future years, that they who took the parole of honor to bear faithful allegiance to the United States were none the worse for the struggle they had made to compass the freedom of the State; that their patriotism was in no way weakened, and that the old company could be as instant in discharge of duty to constituted authority in this year of grace, 1893, as they were in the days of '61; that it might serve to bind to the grand future of a united and prosperous nation in the 20th Century the traditions of the no less glorious Confederacy, when the gray-clad soldier marched with Robert Lee and rode in the column where Wade Hampton led.

And so, at the sacrifice of much that was pleasant and companionable and profitable, this company, in no spirit of insubordination, but simply in the exercise of a discretion granted years ago by those who made the laws which govern us, has chosen to retain the gray uniform as an object lesson in the teaching of those things which will serve to lead enthusiastic youth to honor virtue and heroism, whether its reward is victory, or its issue death.

We are honored by the presence at our festival of comrades from Virginia and South Carolina whose splendid companies vie with ours in age and which, like ours, have renewed their youth and yet preserved the traditions of the early days of the Republic.

Each of them, like our own, has been the pride of its State and the honor of its community.

We have already welcomed them to the freedom of the city. We thank them for the soldierly distinction with which they have come to join us in the celebration of our natal day.

The Richmond Light Infantry Blues celebrated its centennial in May; it shares with us the honor of having tendered its services to the President in 1807, and taken part in the war of 1812, and its record in the late war has covered it with glory. And in this connection there is a tender episode in its history which binds it fast in our affections. It was in a gallant defense of the soil of our own State at Roanoke Island on the 9th day of February, 1862, that its peerless young commander fell pierced with the messenger of death. His last words made the battle cry of the command until the scene closed upon the remnant left at Appomattox: "Fight on, fight on, keep cool."

Of all the lifeblood poured out for years on Southern soil there was none that welled from knightlier heart than that of Jennings Wise.

Our kindred and friends, the Washington Light Infantry, from the sister Carolina, have come to us from the citadel of liberty, the city of Charleston.

They, too, have traced their lineage from those early days of our country's history, have added to the glory of South Carolina in all her struggles for constitutional freedom, and we are bound to them by all the ties of a common cause and a common fate. Their record in the war of 1812 and that between the States was worthy of the reputation of their State and city.

To add to the interest of the occasion, they bear with them the crimson flag of the Cowpens and of Eutaw, the banner under which Virginia and the twin Carolinas rushed to vic-

NORTH CAROLINA STATE LIBRARY

tory. Long may this sacred standard remain in the keeping of the brave and gallant men who hold it now.

May the friendships formed between the two commands in 1876 ripen now into more intimate knowledge of each other as distance has been so shortened by the new lines of communication between Charleston and our town.

Nothing could have been more appropriate than the participation of these representatives of our neighbor States in the celebration of our centennial.

When each of these commands was formed there was a fresh memory of the heroic campaigns of 1780-81, when the patriot troops of Virginia and the Carolinas dealt the blow to Ferguson at Kings Mountain, which turned the tide that had overborne the State of South Carolina and was intended to crush out liberty in North Carolina and Virginia. With the Maryland Line and Washington's Light Horse they gained a victory at the Cowpens, under Morgan.

And after Cornwallis had been forced at Guilford to turn his course to the sea and abandon his idea of conquest, again they struck at Eutaw such a blow as resulted in the retreat of the invader to the coast, and the virtual redemption of South Carolina.

In all these desperate encounters the men of the three States stood together and the Maryland Line, the Delaware Contingent (the blue hen's chickens) and the Georgia troops, Light Horse Harry Lee and Swamp Fox Marion and Sumter, and old Ben Cleveland and Shelby and Graham and Campbell and Washington raised such a storm as swept the land of the invader and drove Cornwallis to his fate at Yorktown.

How fitting it is that we should meet here on common ground and recount the exploits of the fathers, keep alive their grand traditions and resolve that we shall ever stand together, in war and in peace, as soldiers and as citizens.

The founders of this company have long since gone to their rest.

Fifty years ago there was a day of brave rejoicing. An address was delivered by Ed. Lee Winslow, Esq., an old member of the company which was in itself a complete history of its first half century.

In 1850 on this day you were addressed by Hon. Robert Strange who had been the Major Commandant, a Senator and a Judge. His elegant oration has been printed with Mr. Winslow's and is preserved in the archives.

In 1873, a distinguished South Carolinian, though a native of Fayetteville, Hon. W. S. Mullins, came to join with us in the celebration of the eightieth anniversary and address his former comrades.

Time fails me to call over the list of the honored officers and members of this corps who have passed away.

God rest them in the land of Peace.

It is easier to speak of the olden times, the first years of the organization, because we never knew the actors in those stirring scenes, they were already in the halls of history when we were born.

But when we come to read the names of those who, in the vigor of manhood, took part in the festivities of the semi-centennial, or when we recall the names of those who have since been its members and have gone, we are brought into the visible presence of our fathers and our brethren and the ground is hallowed where we stand in the show of our own memories.

It was an established custom in the olden time that on the 1st of May the company should appear in garments of immaculate white and act as escort of the fair young Queen of the May to the scene of her coronation, and for that day of all the year its fealty belonged to her majesty alone.

In later times, for one day in the year, it is under the orders of the Ladies' Memorial Association in the celebration

of the solemn rites which they have instituted over the graves of the Confederate dead.

And for the small service it has rendered her she returns a tenfold devotion. No sacrifice has been too great for her to make in the past for the benefit of this company. Its silken banners are always the workmanship of her fair hands. Its festive board is garnished with her exquisite taste.

But how can I recount the many tokens of her favor? She is here to-day in all her loveliness to grace the festival. If I could express a wish that would include all good to the members of this old company it should be that each one shall be truly worthy of the tender love of one of these fair women.

For the members of the Veteran Corps and those of the dispersed abroad, who are here to join in this most interesting occasion, we have the heartiest welcome. They will rejoice to see that at the entrance of the old company upon its second century it has laid the foundations of an elegant armory, under whose temporary roof we assemble to-day, and which it expects from time to time to enlarge and beautify and embellish until it shall be in itself a history of the corps.

God speed the young men in this undertaking. May they realize that there is something of responsibility in taking up the escutcheon which bears the insignia of the F. I. L. I. upon it.

"He that hath no stomach to this fight, let him depart."

May they live and flourish and uphold the ancient reputation of the Corps and hand it down the New Century with undimned lustre and renown.

So passed into history the first century of the existence of this command and the years rolled quickly on.

The controversy concerning the right of the Company to select and wear its own uniform under the resolution of 1819 was revived and became sharp and decisive.

An order from Governor Carr to the Company in 1893 had

required the return of the arms and other public property in its possession and had dropped the Company from the State Guard for failure to parade for inspection dressed in the regulation uniform, although it had been expressly invited by a former administration to resume its place in the State Guard as an unattached company subject to orders direct from the Commander-in-Chief. The order was resented by the Company and itself set right in a long correspondence and after a long report by a committee of leading members of the Company to whom it was referred. This report is spread at length upon the records and reserves forever as a complete vindication of the action of the command under rather trying circumstances.

But the order of the Governor was promptly obeyed, the arms and other property of the State returned, and the Company as promptly armed and accoutred itself and tendered its services to the Governor as an independent volunteer organization of the North Carolina Militia under the law of 1819.

Then came a time of great festivity. The Company was immensely popular, especially with the ladies, on account of its distinctive uniform.

In May, 1894, it had the post of honor on the occasion of the unveiling of the Confederate Monument on Capitol Square in Raleigh, and was treated with distinguished consideration.

In the month of January, 1898, there was a great midwinter fair under its auspices in Fayetteville, which was attended by several of the visiting military companies, and there seemed to be for the community and for the country at large an era of lasting peace and prosperity.

The large and convenient armory was completed, the archives were kept therein, and the walls were adorned with the beautiful banners it had borne in its various service, and with the portraits of its worthy members and commanders.

To appropriate the words of one of its most devoted members and sons, the late Col. John D. Cameron, of Asheville:

> The organization was formed of the best blood of Fayetteville; it was the pride of the sons to succeed the fathers, and such has been religiously observed. Service in such a company has always been esteemed an honor; and, for nearly a century, joining the Independent Company has been almost an essential to the young man of Fayetteville, as a formal declaration of manhood, as the assumption of the *toga virilis* by the youth of Rome.
>
> Lawyers, physicians, merchants, mechanics, all have taken their turn in the ranks, and in their turn have succeeded to command; the course of promotion is uniform and inflexible; the lowest corporal, if he serves long enough, will in time rise to the rank of Major, but can only do so when those above him have passed through the same course by the rise and withdrawal of those who have attained the highest rank.

By this time the old town, itself scarred all over by fires of war, had begun to look up again; the old landmarks were being removed by the march of progress.

"Camp Adam" on Haymount, named for its first commander, where the beautiful May festivals used to be held, is now ceasing to be a memory. And the old shooting ground on Cross Creek where, after the target firing on the 23rd of August, the long tables groaned with the weight of the feast, and the shady grove resounded with eloquent periods, as the rippling waters made cool the summer air, and the "Foresters Spring" afforded purest beverage, either straight or mixed, according to the taste of the drinker. And historic "Cool Spring" higher up the creek where on whose banks for a century the company was accustomed to halt for refreshments and fire its memorial volley over the grave of old Isaac Hammond, the colored fifer, whose last wish it was to be laid where he might hear the music of the fife and the drum; are not all these things written in the rich chronicles of the old Independent Company?

Even now some of the quaint customs of the grandfathers are preserved. The young member of this company, be it

officer or man, who takes unto himself a wife, must sure as fate meet the ordeal for every new-made benedict in the rank and file, a free ride around the company, thrice repeated, on the arms of his comrades at the next regular muster.

But the new century, so full of peaceful promise, had not gone far before in the clear sky rang out the call to arms, and of course the reveille sounded at the armory, and the citizen soldiers without a moment's hesitation took up their duty and responded to the summons, and young husbands and fathers and younger boys, whose furthest thoughts on yesterday had been of battles, were putting on their armor and off to the wars as their fathers had gone before them.

It was an easy matter now to settle the question of uniforms. This company was mustered into service of the United States as company A, Second Regiment, N. C. Volunteers for the Spanish war.

Perhaps because of its being unattached to one of the regiments of the State Guard, or by some other strange mischance, its natural place at the head of the first regiment was filled by others, but it was supposed that North Carolina's two regiments, so promptly tendered and accepted would have been among the first at the front.

The first regiment reached Havana, and the second, delayed by the work of preparation on the part of the government, was held in Raleigh for some weeks and then distributed along the coast awaiting transportation, when by reason of the total destruction of the Spanish Navy and the overpowering rush of the first American troops who reached the field, the war was brought to a sudden determination. And soon the men were at home again engaged in their ordinary avocations. The organization is kept up; the company is now a part of the State Guard of North Carolina and a beautiful arrangement has been made, well-pleasing to all concerned.

There is a battalion, the Gray and the Blue.

For all special occasions the company musters in the colors of the North Carolina State Guard, whatever it may be, blue now, but soon to be turned into some invisible khaki color, possibly gray.

But when the anniversary comes, or Washington's or Lee's birthday, or the first of May, then it is the Gray Company, the old Independent, its commander a major, and all its lieutenants captains.

The armory has been disposed of to the United States, its site is to be occupied by a public building; a newer and a finer armory will soon be provided and the progressive city of Fayetteville will take as much pride in the future of this ancient and honorable corps as the fathers and mothers did in the old company, whose history, like a golden thread, runs through the annals of the municipality and of the State.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ROW GALLEY "GENERAL ARNOLD"—A SIDE LIGHT ON COLONIAL EDENTON.

BY REVEREND ROBERT BRENT DRANE, D.D.,
(Rector of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C.)

In the year 1781, the American colonies were yet in the life and death struggle for political freedom from England and the southern portion of them was the scene of many important actions. The incident herein treated is not given in the histories, but the fact and its importance to the Edentonians are witnessed to in "The Life and Correspondence of James Iredell," and in certain papers of Josiah Collins, Esq., heretofore unpublished.

Writing in that year to James Iredell, Samuel Johnston, says: "All Europe have their eyes on America, and particularly the Southern States. Much will depend on our exertions and success. The great and sudden fall of the old continental money has occasioned very great convulsions and dissatisfaction in this city and has reduced all paper currency to a very doubtful state, very many refusing to have anything to do with it." And again, "We shall suffer much in this campaign, it will be very bloody, but I hope it will be the last. * * * My hopes and expectations of a favorable issue to our troubles are very sanguine."

Such was the spirit of the leading men of Edenton in the face of the invasion of their region by Cornwallis, both by land and water.

In those days and for long afterward the port of Edenton was much more important than we of today know it, since the development of Norfolk and the railroads has given trade greater facilities than through our shallow sounds. As the "Port of Roanoke" Edenton was entered by many vessels of

the foreign trade, and this suggested to the British invader an avenue of distress to the Americans, which they entered.

At the time above indicated and for the cause here specified, many Edentonians sought safety in flight across the sound, particularly to Bertie County; and Windsor was crowded with fugitives, especially women and children, who seem to have made the best of the situation. Familiar letters of those days anticipate for us the scenes of Refugee Life in our "Sixties." Good humour and old fashioned hospitality prevailed. News from the front was continually conveyed by the gentlemen in person, passing and repassing, and through the letters sent by "expresses," or messengers, to their loved ones and their business correspondents. *

Under date of 28th May, 1781, Charles Johnson writing from Edenton to James Iredell gives some particulars relative to one of the most formidable of the British predatory boats in Albemarle Sound, the Row Galley "General Arnold." †

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*The following subscription paper illustrates this aspect of the life of that day:

"We, the subscribers, being willing and desirous of establishing a Post between this Town [Edenton] and that of Suffolk, in Virginia, for the purpose of receiving the earliest News and Intelligence in the Present Critical times, do agree to pay the several sums affixed against our Respective Names, the same to be paid into the hands of Robt. Smith, Esq., for the purpose of Employing a Rider once a fortnight. Given under our hands this 6th of May, 1775."

Signed for five shillings each by J. Charlton, John Pearson, Charles Bondfield, Arch'd Corrie, George Gray, S. Dickinson, Thos. Benbury, Wm. Hoskins, Roger Pye, Wm. Boyd, Wm. Littlejohn, Geo. Russell, Arch'd Campbell, Jno. Green, Jno. Horniblow, Chas. Johnson, Robt. Patterson (K. Williams?);
and for ten shillings each by Jos. Blount, Thos. Jones, Rob. Smith, Michael Payne, Quintin Miller, Jos. Montford, Andw. Little, James Blount, Jas. Iredell, Sam'l Johnston.

† In J. R. B. Hathaway's Hist'l. and Gen'l. Register, Vol. 3, No. 2, page 299, it is made probable that the infamous Benedict Arnold visited Edenton in 1774.

"We last night returned from a cruise, unfortunately not having taken the galley, our principal object; but as we were so happy as to retake Mr. Smith's schooner, in which his whole property was embarked, it gives, as you may conceive, every person concerned in the expedition the most heartfelt satisfaction. Ten of her hands [the Galley's] were taken by about the same number of ours in Mr. Johnston's canoe, after a smart fire on both sides, in which, however, nobody was wounded. We pushed them so close that they were obliged to set fire to Mr. Littlejohn's schooner and, under favor of the night, made their escape. We are now fully employed in fitting out three or four armed boats to go in pursuit, Nelson's brig proving improper for the service, as the Galley can always get in shoal water, where a large vessel can not follow her. If she does not immediately leave the sound, or is not reinforced, which the prisoners seem to expect, I have not the least doubt of our people taking her. The inhabitants, in general, and sailors have, and do, turn out unanimously. I never saw, nor could hope to see, so much public spirit, personal courage and intrepid resolution—it would please you to see it. I am convinced that was the measure adopted of fitting out one or two armed vessels, we might laugh at all attempts of the enemies' plundering banditti.

"I feel for Mrs. Dawson's exposed and unprotected situation. I'm apprehensive this is but a prelude to what we must expect upon return of the enemies' boats from the plunder of James River, but thanks to Providence for the formation of our natural fortifications, which will hinder their small craft being supported by their large ships."

Robert Smith, owner of schooner above happily retaken, a considerable merchant of Edenton, writing to Iredell from Eden House, in Bertie County, says: "I am just going over to town to know the worst. They have given me a pretty little switching, but it might have been worse; they have

ruined poor Littlejohn and would have left me nothing had they not have taken fright. * * * I apprehend this visit is only a prelude to many such we are to expect."

Another glimpse of the situation is seen from Mrs. Blair's letter to Iredell: "I think it will be very wrong for my sister to stay below any longer, for though these boats come up to cut out vessels, it is, I think, more than probable they will call at plantations, and those in particular where they see good houses, for there they will expect rich plunder. I believe they seldom want information where the most is to be had. I should think it would be better for Mrs. Dawson also to get out of the way, if it was only on account of the continual dread and uneasiness she will continue to be under."

Judge Iredell, writing to his wife, under date Edenton, 30th May, 1781, adds something: "The boats went yesterday, four of them, under the respective commands of Captain Gale, Captain Bateman, Captain Addison, and Captain Finch, all together having about fifty men, or perhaps more. They are Mr. Johnston's canoe, Mr. Pollok's, the Caswell's barge, and Bonitz's boat, and each, I believe, has a swivel, besides muskets. The men are well chosen, and went with excellent spirits, without any kind of riot or disorder. The Galley, when the last account came, was in the marshes. Two other boats were to go from Perquimans, and two, it was expected, would be fitted out by the Bankers below.* * * * Mr. Smith has lost several of his papers, though not the most valuable, his table and other linen and clothes, and very near seven hhds. of rum.

Littlejohn has lost little, I am told, except his schooner. Two of his negroes are returned."

While such was the agitation in and about Edenton and Mrs. Johnston's friends were advising her to vacate "Hayes," the family seat, just out of town, to follow her friends to Bertie County for safety, her husband, Samuel Johnston, in

attendance on the sessions of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia (whence we heard from him, in the opening of this paper) wrote his friend James Iredell: "I am sorry people were in such haste to remove themselves and property from Edenton. I rather could have wished they had thought of defending it, which would have been attended with less risk and expense, in my opinion, for till the conquest of Virginia is effected, which I flatter myself will not speedily take place, I scarcely think you will be molested with any considerable invasion, and if the plundering parties meet with opposition they will grow sick of the business.

"However, every one will, and has a right to, judge for himself on these occasions.* * * Should a few fortunate events cast up in our favor, I hope there will be no more of it after this summer,—if otherwise, God knows where it will end, *for America can never submit.*"

The above quotations from letters and the documents to follow, (now printed for the first time) show us something of the people,—who they were and how they felt, and what they did; that they were not disposed to be "like dumb driven cattle." There is an absence of *heroics* which saves the situation from being comical; in view of the *one row galley* of the British, a shallow draught boat, which might have been floated in the barrels and hogsheads of rum listed as captured by her and as provided for sustaining the courage of the various crews of sloop, galley, and dispatch boat fitted out against her. We may suppose that the lack of information concerning her whereabouts and purposes tended to exaggerate the gravity of the situation. For, since the days of Tacitus, "*omne ignotum pro magnifico.*"

At any rate the Edentonians were not going to take any chances on a duel-like encounter with the "General Arnold." They believed in "team play," and they did not scorn the suggestion of auxiliaries from Perquimans, nor even from the

distant Bankers whose familiarity with the shoal waters of Currituck and Roanoke should well qualify them to cope with a row galley which affected the marshes.

Fifty-nine men, leading citizens, subscribed £74,500, or $186,250 in their accounts. Lest they should seem to us extravagant in their preparations to give the enemy's row galley a proper reception, let us recall the expense which our government has just now incurred for the war-vessel, North Carolina, $7,000,000, in much better money, too.

The following are transcribed from papers in the handwriting, mostly, of Josiah Collins. There are many interesting autograph signatures:

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ROW GALLEY, GENERAL ARNOLD.

Where as the Navigation of this state will be rendered dangerous unless a stop is put to the depredation of the Enemy by the capture of their Galley now in Albemarle Sound—

For the encouragement of those who are willing to turn out for the purpose, we the subscribers in behalf of themselves and the State in general, which will doubtless reimburse them for all sums they may Advance for a measure of such publick utility, do promise and engage that should they be so fortunate as to make prize of the galley called the General Arnold or any other of the enemies' armed Vessels, the whole of such Vessel or Vessels shall be divided in Just propportions amongst them, and shou'd they retake any Vessels made prize of by the enemy they shall be entitled to the whole of such part as the Law allows in such cases, without any deduction whatever on account of the Boats or Vessels they gain, which Boats or Vessels shall not be entitled to draw any part of such prizes—

It is further agreed that shou'd any person receive A Wound that may disable him shall be entitled to receive three shares over and above as aforesaid and shou'd any person be so unfortunate as to lose his life, his wife and family (if he have any) shall receive four shares, over and above, as aforesaid.

The subscribers promise and agree to the sum of One Hund'd pounds per day for each man who shall engage in this enterprise untill such time as the Cruise is finished, besides being sufficiently provid'd for in provision, Rum, &c., &c.

1. Thos. Benbury.
2. James Neilson.
3. Robt. Hardy.
4. Nath'l. Allen.
5. Chas. Johnson.
6. Mich'l. Payne.
7. Wm. Littlejohn.
8. Joseph Smith.
9. S. Dickinson.
10. Sam'l Cooley.
11. Josiah Collins.
12. Arch'd. Bell.
13. Jos. Blount.
14. Wm. Bennett.
15. Nath'l Allen for Robt. Smith.
16. Wm. Boyd.
17. Will'm Skinner.
18. T. Barker.
19. Chas. Pettigrew.
    Jas. Lutin.
20. Wm. Savage.
21. B'n. Bryor.
22. Ed. Blount.
23. Wm. McDonald.
24. Henry O'Neil.
25. Wm. Roberts.
    Wm. Gardner.
26. Robt. Egan.
    Thos. Bonner.
27. Fine & Scott.
28. Geo. Gray.
29. John Blackburn as for as £1,000.
30. Stephen Cabarrus.
31. Wm. Bonitz.
32. William Cumming.
33. Alex'r. Black.
    Nehemiah Bateman.
34. Jas. Whedbee as far as £1,000.
35. Gavin Hamilton.
36. Wm. Scott.
37. Jno. Horniblow.
38. J. Mare.
39. John Etheridge.
40. Pamburse.
41. Enoch Sawyer.
42. David Meredith.
43. Thos. Ming, £1,000.
44. John Bennett.
45. James Webb, junr.
46. Ditto for Willis Langley.
47. Joseph Underhill.
48. Samuel Black.
49. Chris'r. Clark.
50. Nich's. Long.
52. David Lawrence.
53. Michael Levy.
54. John Baptist Beasley.
55. John Anderson.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS ON THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ROW GALLEY, GENERAL ARNOLD.

1. Thomas Barker, W. B.	£1,500
2. Thomas Benbury, pd. J. C. & B.	1,500
3. James Nelson, pd. W. B.	1,500
4. Nath'l Allen, pd. J. C.	1,500
5. William Sawyer, J. B.	1,500
6. Genl. Skinner, W. B.	1,500
7. Robert Smith, pd. J. C.	1,500
8. John Horniblow, pd. J. C.	1,000
9. Joseph Underhill, pd. J. C.	1,000
10. John Baptist Beasley, W. B.	1,000
11. Mich'l. Payne, W. B.	1,000
12. Charles Pettigrew, pd. J. C.	1,000
13. Gavin Hamilton, J. B.	1,000

14. William Bonitz, W. B.	1,500
15. Robert Hardy, J. S.	1,500
16. Joseph Smith, J. S.	1,500
17. Willis Langley, J. B.	1,500
18. James Webb, W. B.	1,000
19. Samuel Dickinson, W. B.	1,500
20. Enoch Sawyer, J. C.	1,000
21. Jno. Blackburn, £1,000 pd. J. C.	1,000
22. Thos. Ming, £1,000 pd. J. C.	1,000
23. Roullack, W. B.	1,000
24. David Lawrence, pd. J. C.	1,000
25. Fine & Scott, W. B.	3,000
26. Henry O'Neil, W. B.	1,000
27. Robert Eagan, J. B.	1,000
28. Josiah Collins	1,500
29. Geo. Gray, pd. J. C.	1,000
30. Will'm McDonald, J. S.	1,000
31. Benj'n. Bryce, J. B.	1,000
32. Sam'l. Cooley, J. B.	1,000
33. Arch'd. Bell & Co., J. B.	1,500
34. Alex. Black, pd. J. C.	1,500
35. Chas. Johnson, pd. J. C.	1,500
36. Sam'l. Johnston, pd. J. C.	1,500
37. Joseph Whidbee, J. C.	1,000
38. William Littlejohn, J. B.	1,500
39. Joseph Blount, J. B.	1,500
40. Thomas Bonner, J. B.	1,000
41. William Bennett, pd. W. B.	1,500
42. Christ'r. Clark, pd. J. C.	1,500
43. Nehemiah Long, pd. J. C.	1,000
44. William Scott, J. S.	1,500
45. William Armstrong, J. S.	1,500
46. John Mare, J. B.	1,000
47. John Etheridge, J. S.	1,000
48. Dominique Pamburse, J. B.	1,000
49. Samuel Black, J. S.	1,000
50. John Stewart, J. S.	1,000
51. Edmund Blount, J. S.	1,500
52. Rich'd. Blow, by Wm. Bennett, Esq'r.	1,500
53. David Meredith, W. B.	1,000
54. Stephen Cabarruce, J. S.	1,000
55. Levy, J. S.	1,000
56. Nehemiah Bateman, J. S.	1,000
57. Geo. Wynns, pd. J. C.	1,500
58. William Boyd, pr. W. B.	1,500
59. William Roberts, J. B.	1,000

LIBRARY

A List of Seamen and Marines on board of the Galley Tartar, viz:

William Proby, Cap.	1	*Michael Young	15
†Valentine Nohell, 1st Lu.	2	*John Gucy	16
†Jacob Butler, 2nd ditto	3	*George Jackson	17
†James Luten, Cap. of Marcins.	4	*Frederick Morris	18
*Malvin Moore, Cap. of the Ward Boat	5	Tho. Mann, pilate	19
*Cap. Cannon Master	6	*Jeremiah Johnson	20
*William Heaker	7	*Emanuel Spaniard	21
*Henry Flury	8	*Marino Spaniard	22
*Thos. Oates, Steward	9	*John Moore	23
*Thos. Gaskins	10	*John Fife	24
*David McKinsey	11	*Henderson Luten, Sr.	26
*Abraham Clark	12	*Henry Roads	27
*Moses Gregory	14	*Daniel Leonard	28
		Samuel Twine	29

6 Days Wages on board of the Galley Tartar	29 6
Dollars	174
To Sundry Expenses	7
Dollars	181
To Sundries pr. acct	12⅝
	193⅝
Amt. brot. over	193⅝
Capt. Proby for his trouble over and above his daily pay	6
	199⅝

£52.14
3. 2

£55.16

Received Edenton, August 12, 1782, of Josiah Collins One Hundred Ninety-Nine and five-eighths Spanish Milled Dollars, being in full for the within account. W. PROBY."

The Subscribers to the Expedition against the Row Galley, General Arnold, to Joseph Smith, William Bennett, Joseph Blount, and Josiah Collins, Commissioners appointed by the said subscribers.

1781.		DR.
June 7.	To 40⅝ galls. Rum @ £240	£9,640
	1 Barrel Pork	2,000
	264 lbs. Bread 80d	1,056

† These lines have pen line drawn through names, but numbers remain.

Bags for ditto	480	
40 lbs. Sugar, £24	960	
20 lbs. Coffee, £30	600	
8 lbs. Pork for hands to go over the Sound to fetch Mr. Pollock's Canoe	80	
8 lbs. Bread for do. do.	32	
Negro hire for do. do.	60	
12 lbs. Muskett Balls	360	
		15,318
9 days hire of 40 men, £40		36,000
Cash paid the Captains for Sundry expenses while on the Cruises	2,162	
5 lbs. Nails	180	
14 Swivell Balls	140	
Amt. Messrs. Sam'l Cooley & Co., acct.	485	
2 Sadles and 2 Worms, 8d	640	
2 gin cases.		
Error in Cash paid Capt. N. Bateman	362	
Cash paid Negro hire going over the Sound with M. Pollock's Canoe	100	
Mr. Geo. Gray for Liquor for Sailors	200	
Thos. Ming, amt. of his acct	1,920	
6 pr. Handcuffs, £320	1,920	

The Sloop commanded by Capt. Cross.
The Galley commanded by Capt. Simons.
The Dispatch Boat, Capt. Yeomans.

1782. *To* JOSIAH COLLINS, *Dr.*

July 30th—

To 10 gallons rum, 14d	£7.	—	—
To 100 lbs. salted Pork, 8d	3.	6.	8.
To 104 lbs. Ship Bread, 5d	2.	3.	4.
To 10 lbs. Beacon, 8d	—	6.	8.
To 2 Tinn Potts, 12d	1.	4.	—
To 1½ lbs. Tallow	—	1.	6.
To 1⅛ lbs. Nails, ¾		5.	—
To Cash paid 28 Hands for 2 days Hire each at 8d	22.	8.	—
To do. pd. Capt. Yeomans for boat hire	1.	4.	—
	£37.	19.	2.

The effect of all this upon the hostile "row galley" does not appear, so far as this writer has been able to discover.

Lord Cornwallis's surrender to General Washington at Yorktown on the 19th of October, 1781, practically ended the

war. The date of the last account above given, 1782, July 30, may suggest a continuance of the expedition much longer than the original subscribers bargained for. The treaty of peace was finally signed at Paris, September 3, 1783. While we are guessing, possibly there was a parallel here with the Americans' victory in the battle of New Orleans, in the later war of 1812, won after the treaty of peace had been signed, of which they knew not. At the least, let us be sure that the event of this expedition justified the means adopted by the people of Edenton and their neighbors to rid their sound and America of such a pest as the Row Galley General Arnold.

THE QUAKERS OF PERQUIMANS.

BY JULIA S. WHITE.

To write of the Quakers of Perquimans County involves almost the complete history of the Friends' Church in North Carolina for the first seventy-five years of its existence. It also involves the beginning of all North Carolina church history; for, so far as known, the first religious gathering in the State was a Quaker meeting. Says the Rt. Rev. Joseph Blount Cheshire in the North Carolina Booklet of April, 1906, page 261: "Quakerism was the only organized form of religion in the colony, with no rival worship among the people for the rest of the seventeenth century (1672). * * * It drew to itself a number of the intelligent and well-disposed inhabitants, especially of Perquimans and Pasquotank. * * These zealous and self-sacrificing men deserve to be held in honorable memory, who at the expense of so much time, labor, and bodily suffering, cultivated the spiritual harvest in that distant and unattractive field. Quakerism did not begin the work of settlement, and of reclaiming the wilderness for civilization, but it has the greater honor of having brought some organized form of Christianity to the infant colony, and of having cared for those wandering sheep whom others neglected."

The first Quaker in North Carolina was one Henry Phillips, who had been a member of that church in New England previous to his coming to Carolina in 1665; though William Edmundson, an Irish Quaker preacher, was the real instigator of Quakerism among the settlers. This "traveling Friend" after much hardship reached a place probably not far distant from where the town of Hertford now stands, and in a three days stay held two religious services. One of these two was at the home of Henry Phillips, who, with his family,

had wept for joy at the coming of Edmundson, not having seen a Quaker for seven years. The second of these services was at the home and by the invitation of one Francis Toms, a justice of the peace, who with his wife had at the first meeting "received the truth with gladness." Edmundson was followed in a few months by George Fox himself, the founder of the church. Fox's carefully kept diary gives much insight into the methods and route of travel as well as the conditions, social and religious, in the infant settlement. No doubt his coming had much to do in fostering and establishing the church, especially by instigating his letters of advice written after his return to England.

Four years later Edmundson returns to Carolina and says, "Friends were finely settled and I left things well among them." All of this occurred in what is now Perquimans County; and from that day to this (1672-1908), a term of two hundred and thirty-six years, Friends have been prominent citizens of that county.

Friends (this term is far preferable to Quaker, though the latter has no longer the opprobrium of its origin) until very recent years included in their church organization four distinct assemblies, viz: the Preparative, the Monthly, the Quarterly, and the Yearly Meeting. The first has now been done away with and all yearly meetings which have adopted what is known as the Uniform Discipline are no longer a court of final appeal or distinct within themselves as in early days, but are subject to the action of the Five-Years Meeting, or rather the consensus of opinion of all the Friends on the American continent.

Of the transactions of their various meetings for business the Friends have been unusually careful to preserve a record, and these manuscripts are now invaluable to the student, giving not only an insight into the social condition of the time, but also the methods of church discipline and authority and

the doings of its members. The faithful records of the marriage certificates with the signatures of the witnesses, the chronicling of births and deaths, all give the genealogist a mine yielding rich returns.

The oldest record preserved by the Quakers of North Caroline is a marriage certificate of Christopher Nicholson and Ann Attwood, both of Perquimans, and dating 1682, which it will be noted, is just ten years after the visits of Edmundson and Fox. The regular minutes of the business meetings do not begin till later, and these are rather fragmentary as they were not properly collected till 1728.

The first organization of Friends in Perquimans County was known as Perquimans Monthly Meeting. After 1764 it was called Wells.' This meeting finally set off Sutton's Creek Monthly Meeting and transferred itself to Piney Woods Monthly Meeting in 1794. Piney Woods Monthly Meeting is the only monthly meeting in that county at the present time, and is, as shown, the direct outgrowth of the first organization of Quakers in the State. The Wells' meeting house stood not far from the present town of Winfall, just across the road from the Jessup homestead. A rather interesting episode occurs in the annals of this meeting. It seems that one Jonathan Pearson had for some reason filled up the spring to which Friends of this meeting had had access. He was "churched" in regard to the same and so the spring was opened again.

Almost coequal with the growth and development of Quakerism in Perquimans County was that in Pasquotank County, and the two monthly meetings joined in constituting a superior, or quarterly meeting known as Eastern Quarter. This was done in 1681, and in 1698 the yearly meeting was established, embracing only the one quarter and the two monthly meetings. For nearly three-quarters of a century (till 1757) this was the condition of the church.

Perquimans County continued to be the radiating center for Quakerism for the first century of the State's history; that is, until the great migratory wave of Quakers from Nantucket, New England, Pennsylvania, and other points north had swept into our borders and organized themselves and asserted their powers. Then the Quakers of Perquimans shared their power and a new quarterly meeting was established in the section near where Guilford College now stands, which by way of distinction was called *Western* Quarter. The migratory spirit was in the air and the old Teutonic blood which had made our sturdy forefathers first cross the Virginia border now impelled many of them to move from the lowlands to the Piedmont section of the State. But for eighty-eight years (till 1786) the yearly meeting of North Carolina (that is the highest authority in the church) was held either at Perquimans or Old Neck or Little River—all in Perquimans County. Then there was a series of years (1787-1812) in which the yearly meeting alternated between Perquimans and Guilford Counties, with four exceptions when Pasquotank claimed the honor. So that it is only in recent years, 1812-date, that Perquimans County has not been a rallying point for the Quakerism of the whole State.

As to what part of the population the Quakers were, there is no means of determining; but this fact is assured, that prior to 1700 the Quakers had things much their own way in church and state and that this "golden age" of North Carolina Quakerism culminated in the appointment of a Quaker governor, John Archdale, who, though giving his time and energy to South Carolina, left an impress and gained much prestige and recognition for his co-religionists in North Carolina.

Early in the eighteenth century the Quakers began to need all the metal which was in them in order to breast the tide of opposition and to remain true to what they believed right. Governor Walker aroused the Church of England in such

words as these addressed to the Bishop of London: "My Lord, we have been settled near this fifty years in this place, and I may justly say most part of twenty-one years, on my own knowledge, without priest or altar, and before that time, according to all that appears to me, much worse, George Fox some years ago came into these parts and by strange infatuations, did infuse the Quakers' principles into some small number of the people; which did and hath continued to grow ever since very numerous, by reason of their yearly sending in men to encourage and exhort them to their wicked principles; and here was none to dispute nor to oppose them in carrying on their pernicious principles for many years, until God, of his infinite goodness was pleased to inspire the Rev. Dr. Bray * * * to send in some books * * * of the explanation of the church catechism, etc." * * *

"My Lord, I humbly beg leave to inform you, that we have an assembly to sit the 3rd of November next, and there is above *half* of the burgesses that are chosen are Quakers, and have declared their designs of making void the act for establishing the church; if your lordship, out of his good and pious care for us, doth not put a stop to this growth, we shall the most part, especially the children born here, become heathens."

This quotation, lengthy as it is, is yet of great intrinsic value. It shows a great antagonism on the part of the writer for the Quakers, and incidentally their origin, growth and present power. That one-half the burgesses were of the Quaker faith is about the nearest approximation we can secure as to relative numbers in their community, and this was in their years of waning power too.

But more than all, it shows us the beginnings of a long struggle between church and state, and the beginning of a protest on the part of the Quakers which has eventually resulted in the existence of many of the civil and religious privi-

leges of today; notable among them is the privilege of affirmation by any individual and in any court of justice, rather than the taking of the legal oath.

That a vigorous effort was made and much legislation secured toward making the Church of England the church of the Carolinas is easily shown by a study of the legal enactments of the time. That the Quakers were for a long time the only organized body of Dissenters must necessitate crediting them with trying to stem in its beginning the current which was about to sweep from us religious tolerance and individual liberty. To be sure in later years (from 1750-) the Presbyterians were much more potent in this struggle, but the Quakers held the fort until that time. As to taking the oath (and the laws of our State have on the face of them seemed lenient toward Quakers), it will hardly be claiming too much to say that the universal privilege of affirmation in any court of justice in our State is an outgrowth of Quaker influence. It must not be overlooked, however, that it was just this matter of taking an oath which first put the Quakers out of politics and which eventually made it a disownable offense for any members of the Friends' Church to hold office under the government. It is only in recent years, very recent years, that Friends have awakened to the fact that they may without being untrue to the tenets of their faith hold office. We are glad to realize that they are again making themselves a part of civic life and doing their part politically, as well as socially, in the great civic awakening which is spreading over our country.

Another point in which the Quakers figure largely in the early law annals of our State and in which the Quakers of Perquimans must have been prime movers, as it occurred in the years when they were the leaders of Quakerism in the State, is in regard to taking up arms. They paid gladly their militia fines which were *thrice* the usual tax on property; and while

these taxes were heavy at times, and long imposed, i. e., till 1783, the Quakers then were even more so than now, it seems, extremely careful to meet all financial obligations, so that there was credence in the old adage, "A Quaker's word is as good as his bond." While today the man who would vouch for the genuineness of an article of production must call it "Quaker Oats," "Quaker Gelatine," etc.

That the Quakers were a large majority of the inhabitants of Perquimans in 1723 can be almost assured from the following data. At that time the law of 1715 was in force which provided "that no Quaker or reputed Quaker shall by virtue of this act (that is of affirming instead of taking the oath) be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal causes or to serve on any jury, or bear any office or place of profit or trust in the government." Now we have a list of jurymen in the various precincts for the year 1723, and while Pasquotank and Chowan have 156 and 142, respectively, Perquimans has only 54, and Perquimans was just as old a province as either of the other two. Furthermore, in this list the surnames so familiar in Quaker records are conspicuously absent. Despite all this, in the formative days of the civil and ecclesiastical history of the Old North State, the Quaker was a very influential individual; and shall we not claim that this wide influence of what Weeks calls the "flower of Puritanism," was the great influence which preserved our State from any dark pages of history, pages which mar the annals of Virginia and Massachusetts, and place us along with Pennsylvania in matters of justice to the Indian and opposition to war?

So much for the Quakers of Perquimans and their relation to the State. It now remains to be told of their workings among themselves. Their records show many points of interest and much which seems to us like an infringement of personal liberty and that the church was overstepping its bounds.

With the special privilege granted the Quaker in regard to the marriage rite, it is matter of much pride to the church that it exercised so much care in this regard. Upon every occasion careful inquiry is made in regard to the life and conversation of the parties wishing to marry, and especially in regard to their freedom from marriage relations; and then the church has its representatives present at the wedding and they must be responsible and report on the good order maintained at the ceremony and produce to the meeting the marriage certificate always very carefully and explicitly written, with the names of many witnesses to the ceremony affixed thereto. The whole thing with the signatures is properly recorded in the church books provided for that purpose.

It might be said on passing that these records which the Friends have always been so careful to keep are one of the fruitful sources for genealogical study before mentioned.

"Marrying out," that is, marrying some one not in membership with the Friends, was a disownable offense; and it was thus that the Quakers lost many members. The church would not grant its permission to a marriage request sometimes, and such a thing as a man's not having paid his debts would hinder no less than grösser evils if such were detected.

Indeed, it has always been a care of the Quakers to keep their outward affairs in proper condition, and in the early days of the Perquimans records, where boundary lines were not marked with sufficient definiteness, one of the principal matters of church record is the settlement *by the church* of such differences as may arise in regard to land tenure. The manner in which these differences were settled is something like this: the two contesting parties would each name an equal number of individuals to act as arbitrators, and the church would appoint *one;* and generally such a committee reached a satisfactory conclusion. Should either party appeal to the courts for justice, he was immediately "churched,"

and if no acknowledgement was made, he was disowned. "Brother goeth to war with brother and that before the unbeliever," had a very vivid meaning to the Quaker fathers.

The Perquimans records show time and again that its members were under surveillance if they were not prompt and exact in the payment of their debts. In 1769 a party is disowned for bankruptcy. This is the actual wording of the inquiry which was made at least once a year, and generally oftener, for nearly two hundred years in the Quaker church: "Do you maintain strict integrity in all transactions in trade and in your outward concerns; and are you careful not to defraud the public revenue?" or something in substance the same.

Other matters which concerned the Quakers of Perquimans in the pioneer days seem trivial only as they give an insight into the social customs of the time and also what the Quakers regarded as right. For example, one Friend asked the church for the privilege of wearing a wig, and the request was *not granted;* but some years later another request came up and the privilege *was* granted, with the advice "to wear a *plain one.*"

So soon as a member was known to be "drinking to excess" or "using bad language," he was at once "churched;" and twice the records of Perquimans show where individuals were up before the church for "striking or whipping their wives," and once a Friend is reputed to be keeping a tavern. The committee of investigation is appointed and the tavern keeper, by forsaking his chosen business, is restored into good fellowship.

But these are of the early days. At the present time there are two hundred and ninety-six Friends in Perquimans and Chowan Counties (the latter has only about thirty-five). These all belong to Piney Woods Monthly Meeting, which is composed of Piney Woods and Up River meetings for worship.

Quakerism in Perquimans has long been on the wane. The peremptory way in which Friends have disowned its members make us almost wonder that any at all are left. But it was not disownment any more than migration which brought about the present condition. The Teutonic spirit which made the people first migrate into the State was the same which, working in their descendants, caused them to move further South or over West, seeking new lands and new environment. For there was a decided exodus from Perquimans to points South and also to points in central Carolina. As the Quakers were very careful to take their church credentials with them, it is easy to follow them from place to place as they moved.

The Quaker protest against slavery and war, when he found he could not remove the one from our midst much as he succeeded in getting it out of his church, and when he would not take part in the other—the Quaker's protest, I say, was a very quiet one, that of leaving the State; and the Quakers of Perquimans were among those who so largely settled the free States of Ohio and Indiana. It was this migration which left the Quakers on their original site not a weak body, but shorn of much of its strength.

What the Quakers have been to the county and the community is best shown by stating a few facts. For seventy-two years the Quakers of Perquimans have maintained an academy at Belvidere which has always stood for high grade work and has been, and still is, recognized as one of the most worthy institutions for secondary education in the State. This institution now enrolls about one hundred and thirty pupils per year who are here prepared for any of the leading colleges of our State.

The Total Abstinence Society of Perquimans and Chowan Counties, which claims to be the second oldest temperance organization in the State, dating back to the early part of the

nineteenth century, while by no means an exclusively Quaker organization, had as its founders men of Quaker faith and such have always been its ardent supporters, working shoulder to shoulder with the Baptists. This fact is worthy of mention at this time; for in the recent election in Edenton the temperance forces at work there felt and acknowledged the fruits of the work of this pioneer organization.

Shakespeare says, "What's in a name? That which we call a rose, by any other name would smell as sweet;" and on the naming of their places of worship, the Friends had no ear for the artistic or euphonious, but were purely *local.* This strict adherence to facts is full of hints to the research student, and the hallowed associations are just as sweet as if we had not such names to bring them up as those named below. All of the Friends' meetings, that is, all of the places in which church services have been held in Perquimans County, aside from the private houses first used, are as follows: Perquimans, Wells', Suttons' Creek, Old Neck, Little River, Boice's, Beech Spring, Piney Woods and Up River.

As to the people, the surnames which appear in the Quaker records of these meetings are names still to be found in Perquimans and adjoining counties or are among those transplanted to central Carolina and the middle West. Notable among them are Nicholson, Albertson, White, Winslow, Newby, Toms, Bagley, Elliott, Blanchard, Nixon, Cannon and others equally as important, but the list is already too long. I mention the last for it is not a matter of conjecture, but a matter of history that the present Speaker of the House, Joseph G. Cannon, is not only of Quaker extraction through his mother, but also on his father's side; and that were the Cannons of Guilford County traced back a few generations, Perquimans might come in for a share of the honor, if such there be, attaching to our countryman.

While Quakerism in Perquimans has much to be proud of in its past history and can pride itself in the worthy citizens which it has produced, we believe none in the past can surpass some of the standard-bearers of the present day, and though the outlook in that county might be more hopeful, the outlook for Quakerism in the State was never more encouraging; and we know that much of the brain and sinew of the Perquimans Quakers are only transferred and are now working in other and more aggressive portions of our State, looking steadily to the future, but never unmindful of the past.

AN EARLY PEACE SOCIETY IN NORTH CAROLINA 1819-1822.*

BY MARSHALL DeLANCEY HAYWOOD.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In these days of The Hague Tribunal, Carnegie peace endowments, and general efforts to substitute arbitration for force of arms in settling the disputes of nations, we of the present time are inclined to claim for our own generation credit for a movement which has gone on, in one form or another, through ages past. Thoughtful men in all times have labored to avert wars or lessen their horrors, and yet some of the bloodiest and most desolating conflicts recorded in history have been carried on in the name of religion. Not only in the Crusades, where Christian fought infidel, has such warfare raged; but even more bloody and bitter still have been the turmoils when princes of the earth really thought they did God an acceptable service by slaying and burning those who differed from them only in a doctrinal way, while fellow-worshippers of Jesus Christ. The altar of military glory and popular applause has had devotees from time immemorial, and will so continue to have until the changing natures of men shall bring forth that brighter day when the nations shall learn war no more.

David Low Dodge, of New York, is generally regarded as the father of the organized peace movement in America. He published, in 1809, a tract called *The Mediator's Kingdom not of this World.* In 1812 he first proposed the formation of a peace society, and the New York Peace Society was organized at his home in August, 1815. Similar organiza-

*An address delivered before a Conference on Arbitration and Armament in the hall of the House of Representatives at Raleigh, N. C., March 23, 1908.

tions soon sprang up in other States, including North Carolint, where the Raleigh Peace Society was formed in 1819.

It was on April 21, 1819, that the Raleigh Peace Society proceeded to organize. We are fortunate in finding in *The Star and North Carolina State Gazette,* a Raleigh paper of April 30th following, an account of the first meeting, when "a number of respectable gentlemen of the town and its vicinity" met and elected officers, also adopting a constitution, which is given in the same newspaper. The meeting was presided over by William Shaw, as Chairman *pro tempore;* and Jeremiah Battle, M.D., acted as Secretary. The officers elected were William Peck, President; Richard Fenner, M.D., Vice-President; Kimbrough Jones, Recording Secretary; Jeremiah Battle, M.D., Corresponding Secretary; and Sterling Wheaton, M.D., Treasurer. The preamble and constitution of the Society were as follows:

"We, the subscribers, impressed with the belief that the Gospel is designed to produce peace on earth; and that it is the duty of all good men to cultivate, and, as far as they have power, to diffuse a spirit of kindness, do agree to form ourselves into a society for the purpose of disseminating the general principles of peace, and to use all proper means, within the sphere of our influence, to promote universal harmony and good will among men.

"Article 1st. This Society shall be called the Raleigh Peace Society.

"Article 2d. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer.

"Article 3d. Any person subscribing this constitution and paying one dollar annually shall be a member of this Society; or, by the payment of ten dollars, on subscribing, shall be considered a member for life.

"Article 4th. It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President, to preside at all meetings, and to call a meeting at the request of any three members. The Secretary shall record the proceedings; and the Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence under the direction of the President and Society. The Treasurer shall collect subscriptions, receive donations, and hold all moneys subject to the disposal of the Society.

"Article 5th. The annual meeting of the Society, which shall be the stated meeting for choosing officers and transacting business, shall be holden on the first Monday after the fourth of July.

"Article 6th. This constitution shall not be altered except at an annual meeting, and by a vote of two-thirds of the members present."

The above-quoted newspaper, in its issue of May 21, 1819, gave a copy of a letter addressed to a peace society in England by the Czar of Russia, who was then, as his successor is now, crying "peace, peace," when there was no peace—especially in his own dominions.

Another old paper, *The Raleigh Register,* throws considerable light on the peace movement at that time in North Carolina. It happened that the Society's first anniversary fell on Monday, July 5, 1819; and, as the day preceding was the nation's birthday and fell on Sunday, the usual Fourth of July festivities had to be postponed till the 5th day of July, both occasions falling on the same day. In a religious way the Raleigh Peace Society observed Sunday, July 4th, and held its business meeting on Monday. *The Raleigh Register,* of July 2, 1819, contained this notice: "To afford an opportunity to the citizens to hear both sermons on Sunday, the Rev. Dr. McPheeters will preach the Independence Anniversary Sermon at the Presbyterian Church at 10 o'clock, and the Rev. Mr. Charlton will preach the Anniversary Ser-

mon of the Peace Society at the Methodist Church at 12 o'clock. The Peace Society will meet at the State House on Monday at 5 o'clock p. m. for the election of officers for the ensuing year, and for the transaction of other business."

The above services by the Reverend William McPheeters and the Reverend G. W. Charlton were held at the appointed time, Mr. Charlton's sermon being from the text, "Blessed are the peacemakers." On the next day the Peace Society held its regular meeting and elected the following officers: William Peck, President; William Shaw, Vice-President; Daniel DuPré, Recording Secretary; Jeremiah Battle, M.D., Corresponding Secretary; and Sterling Wheaton, M.D., Treasurer. In the proceedings published in *The Raleigh Register,* of July 16th, we learn that a memorial was drawn up to be forwarded to the President and Congress, asking that international treaties should be made to prohibit privateers from operating in naval warfare, and citing a treaty of this nature made through Benjamin Franklin with Prussia. On this point, at least—the desire to abolish privateering—the wishes of the Society were gratified eventually, but not until many of its members had passed to the realm above, where the Prince of Peace reigns supreme. Says the above account: "It was gratifying to see at this anniversary all parties, professions, and conditions of men unite for the holy purpose of diffusing and cherishing the pure Gospel principles of peace and general benevolence. Men who fill high stations in the civil and military departments of our government, ministers of three different denominations of Christians, and those who were opposed in politics at a time when parties existed amongst us, all cordially joined hands in this work, and enrolled their names as members of the Society."

Some North Carolinians, it would seem, had fears that their right to answer a call to arms in time of war, even to repel invasion, would be curtailed by the Peace Society; and,

to quiet these misgivings, the announcement was made: "It may be proper to notice an error which some few uninformed persons have fallen into respecting this Society. They have supposed its principles were those of passive submission and non-resistance. Far from it. No man, by becoming a member of this Society, surrenders his independence of thinking and acting, and many of them distinctly avow their determination to take up arms to defend their country whenever the occasion requires. But they all unite in the endeavor to do away with the necessity of wars, and hope to do so by means first suggested and attempted by the great and good Henry the Fourth, of France, in an age not sufficiently enlightened and humanized for plans of such extended beneficence." From the extract, just quoted, it will be seen that the tenets of the Raleigh Peace Society were identical with those now advocated by those who favor arbitration and armament—peace if possible, but war if necessity should require it.

The Raleigh Peace Society recommended as reading matter, for the instruction of the public, a series of pamphlets entitled *The Friend of Peace.*

In the year 1820, the annual meeting of the Raleigh Peace Society was announced for July 10th by *The Raleigh Register* of July 7th. It was also stated that the Reverend William Hooper, of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, would preach the annual sermon in the Methodist Church on Sunday, July 9th. This meeting, together with the religious services, no doubt took place, though the later newspapers fail to enlighten us as to this.

In 1821, it was expected that the anniversary sermon before the Society would be delivered by the Reverend Mr. Crocker in the Baptist Church on Sunday, July 8th, but the Reverend Dr. McPheeters preached on that day, as, for some reason, Mr. Crocker did not deliver his promised discourse. Mr. DuPré, the Recording Secretary, published a report of

some length in *The Raleigh Register* of July 20th, and this expresses regret over the small gains in membership during the preceding year. Yet at that time there were thirty-eight members of the Raleigh Peace Society, and about thirty-five similar organizations throughout the United States, containing an aggregate membership of over sixteen hundred. The Society in Raleigh kept up a fraternal correspondence with peace societies in several distant States, the newspapers mentioning among these one in New Lebanon, Ohio, another in Richmond, Indiana, and also one in Great Britain. At or near Cincinnati, Ohio, was a peace society made up exclusively of women.

Though the Raleigh Peace Society in 1821 had a balance of only ten dollars in its treasury, it had—since its formation in 1819—purchased six hundred and sixty-six pamphlets, periodicals, etc., advocating the cause of peace, and had two hundred and fifty-two undistributed copies on hand.

So far as I can learn, the last public announcement by the Raleigh Peace Society was under date of July 3, 1822, when the statement was made that the anniversary sermon would be preached in the Methodist Church on Sunday, July 14th, by the Reverend George M. Anderson, and that a business meeting would occur on July 15th. This meeting was probably the Society's expiring effort, for the faith of its members was tried by failure. Yet faith they had, and strong faith too, in the ultimate success of the cause they advocated. One of their last public declarations—made while the Society was declining in power—said: "The cause we advocate is the happiness of our species. We know of whom it is said, 'he maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the earth.' We know also who hath said, 'the nations shall learn war no more'—and we know him who hath called the peace-makers 'blessed'. With a knowledge so rich, so animating, how can we despair of ultimate success? Though our march may be slow, it will

be sure; and must end in universal peace on earth and good will among men."

Before closing the above account of the old Raleigh Peace Society, a word or two concerning its officers may not be altogether devoid of interest; and so we shall give, in a very brief way, some account of each one.

William Shaw, who presided over the first meeting and was later Vice-President of the organization, was a Scotchman, born in Ayrshire about the year 1763, and died in Raleigh on December 27, 1827. He came to America early in life and lived for more than thirty years in Raleigh, of which town he was postmaster for a considerable length of time. He was a merchant; and, besides his possessions in Raleigh, he owned lands in Scotland, and at Cape May, New Jersey, bequeathing the former to his nephew. He was married, but left no children, yet had relatives in North Carolina. He was a zealous Christian, and an elder in the Presbyterian Church. In his will he bequeathed $150 to the Bible Society of North Carolina, $150 to the Foreign Missionary Society, $150 to the Presbyterian Missionary Society, and $50 to the Raleigh Female Tract Society.

William Peck, who was President of the Peace Society upon its organization, was born in Norfolk, Virginia, April 1, 1772; was carried to Petersburg, in the same State, when a child, and came to Raleigh in February, 1798. He spent the remainder of his life in Raleigh, and died there on June 21, 1851. In his religious affiliations he was a Baptist. In recording his death, Seaton Gales, editor of *The Raleigh Register,* wrote as follows: "For more than fifty years he has been actively engaged in business; and, in the midst of its fluctuations, he pursued the even tenor of his way, neither elated by prosperity nor depressed by adversity. He learned in early life to rely on himself for success rather than on the favors of friendship, and thereby acquired an independence

of character which elevated him above the reverses of fortune and secured the confidence of his fellow-citizens in all his business transactions. He was not only an honest man, but a good man and a Christian. He delighted in doing good to the bodies and souls of men." Mr. Peck had two sons, Willis and Lewis W. Peck. The latter lived until recent years, doing business in the same little shop formerly occupied by his father, just east of the southeast corner of the Capitol Square.

Richard Fenner, M.D., who was Vice-President of the Peace Society at the time of its organization (but who was later succeeded in that office by Mr. Shaw), knew what war was by personal experience, having fought for America's cause in the Revolution and languished for more than a year in the military prison at Charleston, South Carolina. Dr. Fenner lived in early life at New Bern, later in Franklin County, for a while in Raleigh, and eventually went to Jackson, Madison County, Tennessee, where he died at an advanced age in May, 1828. Both personally and in his chosen profession—the practice of medicine—he was highly esteemed, being described as "a kind-hearted friend and neighbor, and an active and useful member of society." In religion he was an Episcopalian, having originally been connected with the old colonial parish under the Church of England at New Bern. In the Revolution his career began as Paymaster of the Second North Carolina Continental Regiment, on June 1, 1778; he was commissioned Ensign, January 10, 1780; was captured when General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered the city of Charleston to Sir Henry Clinton on May 12, 1780, and remained in prison till exchanged, on June 14, 1781; was made a Lieutenant on May 12, 1781, (just before his exchange), and served till the end of the war. In 1783 he was one of the Continental officers who founded the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, at Hillsborough.

Kimbrough Jones, Recording Secretary, was born on the 26th of April, 1783, and died on the 30th of March, 1866. He was a planter of large interests, and came of a family which had long been prominently identified with the affairs of Wake County. He was a son of Nathaniel Jones, of Crabtree, whose father (also named Nathaniel) was a brother of Attorney-General Robert Jones, Jr., better known as "Robin" Jones, an eminent lawyer in the days of royal rule. Kimbrough Jones represented Wake County at five sessions of the North Carolina House of Commons, and in the Constitutional Convention of 1835, his colleague in the latter body being Judge Henry Seawell. In religion Mr. Jones was a Methodist. The plantation where he lived—about three miles north of Raleigh on the Louisburg road, just beyond Crabtree Creek—is now owned by his son and namesake. All of the sons of Mr. Jones, who were living at the time of the war, went into the Confederate Army, the eldest, William Hogan Jones, being a Major in the Forty-eighth North Carolina Regiment, and Henry W. and Kimbrough, Jr., serving in the Third Cavalry or Forty-first Regiment, Company I. Ex-United States Senator James Kimbrough Jones, of Arkansas, is of this family, his father having been born on the upper waters of Crabtree Creek.

Daniel DuPre, who succeeded Mr. Jones as Recording Secretary, was a bank officer and planter. As an expert accountant he had few equals in the State. For more than forty years he resided in or near Raleigh, and was a consistent member of the Baptist Church. Not long before his death, he went to Wilmington, but did not remain there permanently. He died in Raleigh on April 9, 1858, at the age of eighty. "From childhood he had led a pure, unsullied and upright life," says an account written at the time of his death.

Jeremiah Battle, M.D., Corresponding Secretary, was a physician by profession, whose latter years were spent in Ra-

leigh, where he died on the 28th of February, 1825. He belonged to a noted family, at that time chiefly residing in Edgecombe County, of which he was a native. His father, Elisha Battle, Jr., was the son of Elisha Battle, a Revolutionary statesman. Dr. Battle was a capable physician, "universally respected for his liberality and kind and benevolent deportment." He died unmarried, and was a Baptist in religion. He was author of a treatise of a statistical and historical nature relating to Edgecombe County in 1810. This was originally delivered as an address before an agricultural society. It was first published in a newspaper, afterwards in *The North Carolina University Magazine,* April, 1861, and later still in *Our Living and Our Dead,* October, 1874.

Sterling Wheaton, M.D., Treasurer, was another physician who practiced in Raleigh at that time. As early as 1802 he aided in organizing the North Carolina Medical Society. That society passed out of existence in a few years, and the present North Carolina Medical Society was not organized until 1849, some years after the death of Dr. Wheaton, which occurred in the summer of 1832. What his church affiliations were I am unable to say, yet his last will and testament (now filed in the records of Wake County) breathes a deeply religious spirit. In it he says: "I die in the full faith of that religion I have professed, and in the humble hope that I shall, by the mercy of my God, through the merits of my Redeemer, be raised up and accepted at the last day, when all shall be called to render an account of the deeds dõne in the flesh."

Thus I have given some account of the short-lived Peace Society of Raleigh, with a few remarks concerning its officers. Who its thirty-eight members were I am unable to say; for, so far as can be learned, its membership list has not been preserved. The religious affiliations of the above officers are

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given, to show that the movement was inter-denominational in its character.

It must be acknowledged that the Society in Raleigh apparently accomplished nothing in its day. It may be, however, that during the brief period of its existence, it encouraged other local societies, of like nature, to keep alive until greater and more effective measures could take shape. If this be true, the influence of these early North Carolina peace-workers is still felt, even though they may have accomplished no noticeable results in their day. And the same influence may be felt more strongly in the years to come, for the movement is steadily gaining favor with civilized nations throughout the world. So the old worthies, who labored and lost in the earlier stages of the efforts for peace on earth, well might say:

> "'Tis not in mortals to command success,
> But we'll do more, Sempronius—we'll deserve it."

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEOLOGICAL MEMORANDA.*

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

MRS. LULA CLARK MARKHAM.

Mrs. Lula Clark Markham was born in Christian County, Kentucky. She is descended from distinguished North Carolina families, her ancestors belonging to the Phillips family of Rowan County.

She is classed among the most promising of the younger writers of her native State, and has long been a contributor to the poetry columns of the leading magazines.

Her home at present is at historic Wilmington, where she is engaged in literary work along the line of North Carolina history.

JAMES CAMERON MacRAE.

Judge James C. MacRae, the author of the article on "The Fayetteville Light Infantry," comes from ancestors numbered among the old and distinguished families of the State. He was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, October 6, 1838; son of John MacRae and Mary (Shackelford) MacRae, the latter a native of Marion, South Carolina. Judge MacRae grad-

*The writer desires to say that this method has been adopted in order to give to our present readers and to posterity some account of those useful citizens who have the history of North Carolina at heart, and who from true and accepted historical records, original manuscripts, wills and other authentic sources have made valuable contributions to this publication.

To these writers THE BOOKLET owes its prosperity and continuance in the work projected by it of developing and preserving North Carolina history. All profits from this publication will be devoted to securing tablets and other memorials to commemorate important events in the history of our commonwealth. MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

uated from Donaldson Academy at Fayetteville. At the age of fifteen taught school for a short time, then secured a position as clerk and continued in that occupation for several years, when he again turned his attention to teaching. Ambitious to become a lawyer, he studied with this aim while teaching in Brunswick, North Carolina, and Horry District, South Carolina.

In August, 1859, he was licensed to practice law, and in June, 1860, he located in Fayetteville to practice his chosen profession. During the Civil War he enlisted as a private in Company H, First North Carolina Volunteers, and was subsequently promoted to Adjutant of the Fifth North Carolina State Troops. He commanded a battalion in Western North Carolina as Major, and was Assistant Adjutant-General for General Baker in the Eastern District of the State until the end of the struggle. After the war he resumed his practice and succeeded in securing a large clientele. In 1874 was elected a member of the Legislature. July, 1882, he was appointed Judge of the Superior Court to fill an unexpired term, and during same year was elected Judge of the Fourth, afterwards the Seventh Judicial District.

Subsequently he was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, by Governor Holt, to fill the unexpired term of Justice Davis, and was subsequently elected to the position. After leaving the bench he returned to the practice of law and became a member of the legal firm of MacRae & Day, with offices in Raleigh.

Judge MacRae, as attorney for the Seaboard Air Line System, executed his duty with commendable ability. While practicing in the Federal and State courts he was considered an able lawyer and steadily and closely applied himself to the performance of every duty devolving upon him, and to-day holds a position in the front ranks of North Carolina's eminent lawyers. At the bar he has ever disdained the small

arts of the pettifogger, and upon the bench he ever held the scales of justice with an even hand, treating with impartiality the poor and the rich, the innocent and the guilty. The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by the University of North Carolina. He has also served as Chancellor of the Episcopal Diocese of Eastern Carolina.

On October 31, 1867, he married Miss Fanny Hinsdale, of Fayetteville, and the union has been blessed with nine children.

Judge MacRae was, on August 19, 1899, elected Dean of the Law School of the State University, one of the highest honors that can come to a lawyer. He is editor of *North Carolina Journal of Law*, and has published several addresses. His sketch of the "Highland Scotch Settlements," which he contributed to the columns of THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, February, 1905, was a concise and interesting account of this strong and exuberant race, principally from which the American Colonies were peopled. In this sketch may be found information heretofore wanting in historical libraries, interesting not only to the present generation but to those who shall come after them.

During the last month, in the presence of a distinguished array of counsel from the Seventh District and of a number of friends from the Raleigh Bar, ex-Chief Justice James E. Shepherd presented to the Supreme Court a handsome oil portrait of ex-Justice MacRae, a former Associate Justice of this high tribunal.

The remarks of Judge Shepherd consisted of a brief outline of the life and service of Justice MacRae more potent than any eulogy that, as he said, the modesty of his subject forbade. He spoke, however, at the request of the court—in part as follows:

"It is meet, therefore, that a few words be said of one, who, though still living, began his career in that crucial

period in the history of his State which reflects his greatest civic and military glories—a time, indeed, when 'None was for the party and all were for the State'—when men bared their breasts to the iron hail of battle, not for conquest or glory, but in defense of their homes and firesides."

Accepting the portrait for the Court, Chief Justice Clark said, "The Court is gratified to receive this portrait and to add it to those of the other learned and able men who look down upon us from these walls, and whose lives and labors reflect credit upon this court and the State.

"It can not be said that Judge MacRae has ceased to be a member of this court. The sitting members are only a part of that greater court which takes part, and whose views are potent in the decision of controversies. The opinions of our predecessors are daily quoted to us at the bar as controlling. The long rows of volumes before us are the repository of their views. In our deliberations and decisions, they descend as it were from their frames, sit at our counsels, throw light upon the path we should go and point the way. They are 'the dead but accepted sovereigns, whose spirits rule us from their urns.'

"In the illustrious company of our predecessors, the recorded opinions of Mr. Justice MacRae, who is yet spared to us, make him still a part of the court. His services were long enough to establish his fame, but too short for the full measure of the service he might have rendered the profession. Yet it may be doubted if in his present position he is not rendering greater service still and more enduring, through his influence upon the future Bar and Judges of North Carolina.

"To those who sat with him here the memory of his uniform courtesy, his great learning and indefatigable labors is a benediction."

Judge MacRae continues as Teacher of Law at the Univer-

sity, beloved by Faculty and students. He is a genial and courteous gentleman, possessing that quiet dignity and strength of character worthy of emulation.

REV. ROBERT BRENT DRANE.

Rev. Robert Brent Drane, D.D., was born in Wilmington, N. C., December 5, 1851. His father, the Rev. Robert Brent Drane, D.D., came from Maryland and was Rector of St. James's Parish, Wilmington, N. C., for twenty-five years.

His mother's maiden name was Catherine Caroline Parker. Her early home was Tarboro, N. C.

He was ordained to the Priesthood in 1876, and, through Bishop Atkinson's advice, accepted the Rectorship of St. Paul's Parish, Edenton, of which he is yet in charge.

Dr. Drane's article, in this number of THE BOOKLET, on "Historic Edenton," will be of value to students of North Carolina history. Since becoming a resident of this historic place, Dr. Drane's interest in its past has been unabated. He found here a town "rich with the spoils of time" and a most inviting field for one fond of legendary and historical lore. One of the many important movements made by him was having the Records of St. Paul's Church copied by the young

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NOTE—The BOOKLET takes this method of calling the attention of the patriotic citizens of North Carolina to a matter that if more widely known many names no doubt, would be added to its list of stockholders. Dr. Drane is desirous of getting more subscribers and thereby increase personal and popular interest and money resources.

This Association held its annual meeting in Edenton on April 27th in commemoration of the sailing of Amadas and Barlowe from the west of England April 27th, 1584, O. S. which resulted in the discovery and occupation of Roanoke Island in July 1584.

A review and memoranda of what the Association has accomplished will be given in a future number of the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

It remains for a generous and patrotic public to uphold the hands of Dr. Drane and the other officers of this Association who are going their time and zeal for the love of their section and their State.

men of the town, in order that the originals might be filed away and saved from destruction by frequent handling. These precious records, dating back to 1701, are carefully preserved in the archives of the church and are greatly valued by the vestry and citizens of the Parish.

Another notable movement projected by him was the removal from abandoned graveyards to St. Paul's church-yard the remains of people distinguished in Colonial and Revolutionary times—a work that his parishioners entered into with zest and interest.

Dr. Drane, through maternal connection with Col. William Haywood, of Revolutionary fame, became a member of the North Carolina Society Sons of the Revolution, and is Chaplain of this Society. His wife, Maria Louisa Warren, is a daughter of a brave Confederate soldier, Maj. Tristram Lowther Skinner, who fell in the Battle of Mechanicsville.

She traces her lineage back to some of the best of old Edenton's good people, the Edens, Lowthers, Blounts, Johnstons and Harveys.

Dr. Drane is the President and a most active member of the "Roanoke Colony Memorial Association," with headquarters at Edenton, N. C. This corporation was organized for the benevolent and patriotic purpose of reclaiming, preserving and adorning Old Fort Raleigh, built in 1585, by the first English settlers on Roanoke Island, the birthplace of Virginia Dare, the first white child born in America; and also to erect monuments and suitable memorials to commemorate these and other historic events in North Carolina.

Dr. Drane's long rectorship in the Parish of St. Paul's argues well for the popularity and usefulness of this golden-hearted Christian gentleman. To him and others of his class for services in the cause of Christianity and unfaltering interest in the material things around, both church and state owe a debt of gratitude.

MISS JULIA SCOTT WHITE.

Miss White's article, in this number of THE BOOKLET, on the Quakers of Perquimans County, will enlighten many who are not familiar with the tenets of this sect of Christians whose distinguishing doctrine is that of the "light of Christ within."

Miss White was born in Perquimans County, N. C., in the year 1866. She is the daughter of Jephtha and Anna M. White, and granddaughter of Joseph and Charlotte (McAdams) White, natives of Scotland. She is a descendant of the Whites, Jordans, and McAdams, of Eastern Virginia, also connected with the Scotts, for whom she is named. Her maternal ancestors have been "Friends" for many generations, but her paternal ancestors for only two. Her father adopted the faith of his father, and was a prominent and useful member of the Friends' organization, and died in the faith, leaving an honored name to his posterity.

Miss White's parents dying in her infancy, she made her home with a sister, Mrs. Josiah Nicholson, at Belvidere, N. C., which she yet retains as her home. It was here that she received her early education, afterwards graduating at Westtown, Pennsylvania.

Adopting teaching as a profession, she was elected Principal of the Graded School in Southampton, Virginia, in 1884-1887; Teacher and Governess at Guilford College, N. C., 1887-1892; was awarded the B. S. degree at this college in 1891; was graduate student of Bryn Mawr College, Pa., 1892-1894; Teacher in Mathematics in Nolb Female College, Louisville, Ky., 1894-1896; Teacher of Mathematics at Pacific College, Oregon, 1896-1900.

Miss White's talents for painstaking accuracy well fitted her for the position to which she was called as Librarian of Guilford College, one of the best and most complete in the

State until the recent disaster, which occurred in January, 1908, when about 8,000 volumes were burned. This was a great loss to the college and one most keenly felt by its careful custodian, whose familiarity with these books and records kindled a love like of that unto a brother. Her task, though arduous, in collecting and arranging for another library, will be one of love and interest, and she will heartily welcome the gift of suitable books from a generous public.

Miss White has done considerable editorial work for newspapers and magazines. Among her most recent articles in *The American Friend* (the national organ of the Friends of America) are the following:

(1) "Dolly Payne Madison," giving the records preserved at Guilford College, showing that she was a "birthright" member of New Garden Monthly Meeting of Friends in North Carolina.

Dolly Madison came of pious stock. While presiding genius of the White House, during the administration of her husband, James Madison, she commanded the respect of the nation, and for thirteen years succeeding his death, she maintained a conspicuous and respected position in society at Washington, never forsaking the early and careful teachings received in her youth.

(2) "Friends in South Carolina," particularly the Bush River settlements.

II. In *The Guilford Collegian,* the College Magazine:

(1) "Matthew W. Ransom," the distinguished soldier, statesman, scholar, and orator. This article was well received and highly commended by his relatives as a true and just eulogy of the merits and public services of this great North Carolinian.

(2) "Guilford—What's in a Name," was a carefully compiled study of the origin of the name and how and why it was transplanted to America.

Miss White, though not a native of Guilford County, loves its people and its traditions.

It was in this county that the "Battle of Guilford Court House" was fought, March 15, 1781—the battle that led to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The site of this noted battle was secured through the services of that dutiful and distinguished son of North Carolina, the late Judge David Schenck, and the formation of the "Guilford Battle Ground Company," which has cleared up, adorned, and placed there many monuments to distinguished men of the Colonial and Revolutionary period. Since the death of Judge Schenck, Maj. Joseph M. Morehead has been the untiring, zealous and devoted President, under whose guiding hand the work goes on, making this the historic rallying ground of the Piedmont section of North Carolina.

A biographical sketch of Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood will appear in the next BOOKLET. In future issues will be given sketches of those who contributed articles previous to Vol. VI.

ABSTRACTS OF WILLS PREVIOUS TO 1760.

By Mrs. H. DeB. Wills, Genealogist and Historian, N. C D. R.

Will of George Deane, Sr., of Chowan; 1700; Son George, daughter Christian, Wife Elizabeth.

Will of William Benbury; July 1709; Wife Jane Son-in-law James Watch; sons William and John; daughters Martha and Hannah. Test. Henry Bonner, Ann Moseley and Edward Moseley.

Will of James Fewox, Tyrrell; May 5th, 1711; son Robert, John Lawson, Mary Lawson, Jr., grandson Samuel Hardy, son of William Hardy, (brother of John and Jacob Hardy of Bertie), wife Anne, Mary Lawson, wife of Nathaniel Lawson.

Will of Farnifold Green of Bath, 1711; sons Thomas, John, Farnifold, and James Green; wife Hannah, daughters Elizabeth and Jane Green; daughter-in-law Ann Smithwick; wife Hannah Exx.

William Duckenfield, of Cheshire, Eng., Feb. 1721; brother John, Cousin Charles Barbour, Cousin Nathaniel Duckenfield, son of my brother Sir Robert Duckenfield, Mary, Anne, Susanna, Jane, Katherine, and Judith, sisters of Nathaniel.

William Barry, 1722; Marian, brother David Barry, Theo' Morris, Mary Meads, daughter of John Meads of Little River.

Will of Gov. Charles Eden; prob. 1722; dear niece Mrs. Margaret Pough, youngest daughter of Robert Pough, deceased; dear friends John Holloway, Daniel Richardson, James Henderson, John Lovick; John Lovick, Ex.

Will of Thomas Hoskins, 1733-'34; daughter Sarah Charlton, son William, daughter Mary, William Hoskins and John Benbury, executors. (He had other children, among them

son Thomas; who can furnish the full list.—*N. C. Hist. and Gen'l Register.*

Will of Christopher Gale, Chief Justice of the Colony 1734; b. at York, G. B., 54 years old; wife Sarah Catherine, brother Edmund, debts due from the estate of my wife's former husband, John Ismay, son Miles Gale, daughter Penelope Little, Mary, daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Clayton, gr. daughter Sarah Clayton, Nephew and godson Edmund Gale, Granddaughter Penelope Little. Note, Wife Sarah was Widow of Gov. Thomas Harvey, *nee* Laker (dau. of Benj. Laker). William Little married his daughter Penelope.

Will of John Baptista Ashe; * * * prob. 1740; son Lemuel, son John, daughter Mary, brother Samuel Swann.

Will of Richard Hill of Bath, Granddaughter Elizabeth Hill, brother Francis Hill, son-in-law Evan Jones, daughter Ann Jones, Craven Precinct 1723-4.

Will of Samuel Johnston of Onslow Co., Prob. Jan. 3—1759; daughters Jean, Penelope, Isabel, Ann and Hannah; sons Samuel and John. Test Cary Godbie, Wm. Williams, John Milton.

Will of Gov. Gabriel Johnston of Eden House, Bertie Co., prob. April 10th, 1753; Wife Frances, daughter Penelope, * * * brother Samuel's children my books to Wm. Cathcart, sister Elizabeth Sinclair of Fife N. B.

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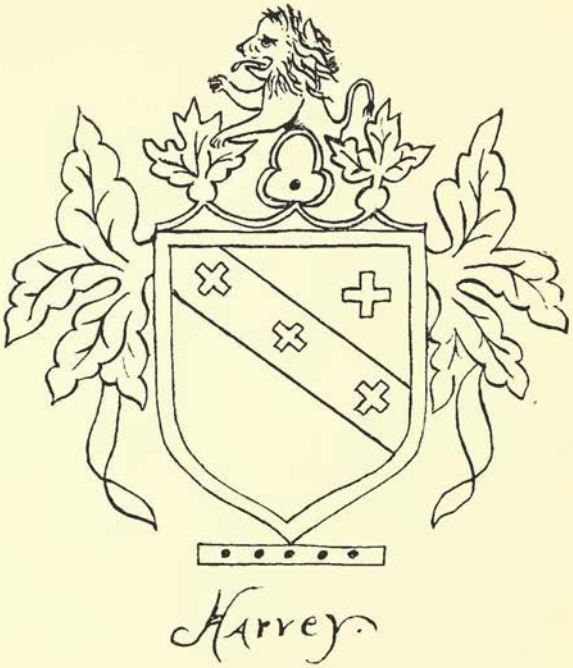
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Vol. VIII. JULY, 1908. No. 1

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of the BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITORS.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. VIII JULY, 1908 No. 1

JOHN HARVEY.[1]

BY R. D. W. CONNOR,
Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Of all the men who inaugurated the Revolution in North Carolina, John Harvey, perhaps, is least known. But little has been written of his services to his country, and the student of his career will search in vain outside of the bald official records for more than a mere mention of the official positions which he held. These records, however, reveal a career that would do honor to any of his great contemporaries.

The origin of the Harvey family in North Carolina has been the subject of much speculation and has been accounted for in various ways. The traditional accounts credit Virginia with furnishing this family to North Carolina, but whatever may be true of the other branches, this is not true of the branch from which John Harvey sprung. During the middle of the seventeenth century the first John Harvey of whom we have any record, and his wife Mary, lived "at ye Heath in Shetterfield Parish in Warwick Sheare in Ould Ingland." One of their sons, Thomas Harvey, came to North Carolina some time about 1680 as private secretary to Governor John Jenkins. He himself afterwards served as deputy governor during the absence of Governor Archdale. Upon his arrival there he found others of his name who were

[1] Reprinted, with additional matter, from the "Biographical History of North Carolina," Volume IV, by permission of Charles L. Van Noppen, Publisher.

already prominent in the official life of the province. They had settled in Perquimans County on Albemarle Sound, occupying a strip of land between the Yeopim and Perquimans rivers, known to this day as Harvey's Neck. Governor Jenkins died December 17, 1681. Within less than four months Thomas Harvey showed his devotion to the memory of his patron by marrying the bereaved widow, Johannah. In those early days in North Carolina, when the number of men in the province greatly exceeded the number of women, it was probably regarded as contrary to public policy for a sprightly woman to hide her charms behind a widow's veil. Six years after her second marriage Johannah Harvey died. Thomas Harvey bore his loss with becoming fortitude and within less than six months resigned his sorrows into the keeping of Sarah Laker, the daughter of a prominent colonial official, Benjamin Laker, and his wife Jane Dey. By her Thomas Harvey had three children. The second son, a Thomas also, married Elizabeth Cole, daughter of Colonel James Cole, of Nansemond County, Virginia. This union continued only a few years, Thomas Harvey dying during the winter of 1729. He left four sons, Thomas, John, Benjamin, and Miles.[2] In his will he made provisions and left directions for the education of these boys; one legacy in this will was a hundred pounds proclamation money for the poor of Perquimans County.

The second of these boys was destined to become the most illustrious of the Harveys. He was born some time about the year 1725. According to the provisions of his father's will he received a good education, probably under a private tutor, or, as was not unusual then, in England. We may suppose that, like other boys similarly situated, he gave due

[2] Hathaway: North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 3, No. 3, 476-480.

attention to the sports common in frontier settlements—riding, hunting, fishing, swimming, rowing, and other outdoor amusements. Early in life he was married to Mary Bonner, daughter of Thomas and Abigail Bonner, of Beaufort County. They had ten children. It is not unworthy of remark that the Harveys were a prolific family. John Harvey's eldest son, Thomas, had eight children; his second son, John, had three; Miles, his fifth son, had four; while Joseph, the seventh son, had fourteen. John Harvey's grandchildren also proved themselves in this respect not unworthy of their origin.[3]

We know nothing about John Harvey's early life. As soon as he was old enough to understand such things he manifested a lively interest in provincial politics; the traditions of his family, no less than his own inclinations, would lead him to do so. A promising young man, supported by family influence, wealth, and education, he could not fail to attract the attention of the local politicians of the popular party. He had scarcely laid aside his childish things before they brought him forward as a candidate for a seat in the General Assembly, and elected him a member of the session held at New Bern in June of 1746.[4] He arrived one day too late to take part in the organization of the House, which was effected by the election of Samuel Swann speaker. The journal quaintly states that, June 12, "Mr. John Starkey moved that as Mr. Samuel Swann had been speaker heretofore and no objection lay against his behaviour in that station he may be chosen speaker." To this proposition there was no dissent. John Harvey's first session was a short one, lasting only sixteen days.

Harvey had entered the Assembly, however, just in time to become involved in one of the bitterest contests connected with

[3] Ibid. [4] Colonial Records of North Carolina, IV, 818.

our colonial history. The early North Carolina charters had given to the counties of Chowan, Perquimans, Pasquotank, Currituck, Bertie,[5] and Tyrrell the privilege of sending five members each to the Assembly, and had allotted to all the other counties only two each. As these latter counties grew in wealth and population they looked with jealous eyes on the extra privilege of the older counties. Rivalries and friction enhanced by local prejudices arose out of this inequality. By having five members each the northern counties had a majority of the Assembly, and of course controlled legislation. The southern counties could do nothing but patiently await their opportunity to strike a more nearly even balance. It happened that just at the time John Harvey entered the Assembly the governor, Gabriel Johnston, a hard-headed Scotchman, threw himself into the controversy on the side of the southern counties. In November, 1746, he called the Assembly to meet at Wilmington.[6] On account of the difficulties in reaching Wilmington at that season of the year, the northern members had declared that they would not attend an Assembly held at that place. Relying upon the fact that they composed a majority of the members, they expected, of course, that no session could be held without them. In this they reckoned without their host. Little did John Harvey and his colleagues think that Samuel Swann and his colleagues, for the sake of a petty sectional advantage, would surrender one of the most cherished constitutional principles for which the colonists had ever contended—that no number less than a majority of the Assembly ought to be considered a quorum. But this is just what the southern members did, for at the bidding of a royal governor they formed a house composed of less than a majority, and proceeded to business. Only two bills

[5] Northampton County had afterwards been created out of Bertie and given two of the latter's five members. Northampton acted with the northern counties. [6] Colonial Records, IV, 838.

were passed at this session—one to make New Bern the capital of the province, the other to reduce the representation of the northern counties to two members each. After this had been done the governor with many honeyed words sent the members home.

Of course the northern counties refused to recognize the validity of laws passed by this rump Assembly. So when the governor issued his writs for a new election, commanding them to choose two members each, they refused obedience, and chose five each as usual. John Harvey was one of those elected for Perquimans. But the governor declared the elections void. Thereupon the northern counties appealed to the king. The controversy was long and bitter. Eight years passed before a decision was reached on the appeal, and during these years the northern counties, refusing to send only two members each—the only number the governor would recognize[7]—were not represented in the Assembly of the province. It was not until March 14, 1754, that the board of trade filed its report with the king; the decision was in favor of the northern counties.[8]

Governor Johnston, dying in 1752, did not live to see the end of the controversy he had helped to fasten on the colony. His successor was Arthur Dobbs. He arrived in North Carolina in October, 1754,[9] bringing instructions to call a new Assembly in which the representation was to be distributed as it had been prior to 1746. This Assembly met in New Bern, December 12th, and was the first session in eight years at which all the counties were represented.[10] John Harvey was returned at the head of the Perquimans delegation. John Campbell was there from Bertie, leader of the northern forces; Samuel Swann from Onslow, leader of the southern

[7] Col. Rec., IV, 856–57. [8] Col. Rec., V, 81. [9] Col. Rec., V, 144g.
[10] Col. Rec., V, 231.

faction. The northern faction was of course hostile to Swann, and for the first time in fourteen years an opponent for the speakership appeared. An interesting contest ensued. There were fifty-eight members of the Assembly, thirty of whom were of the northern faction, twenty-eight of the southern. On the opening day, however, six members were absent, four of the former, two of the latter party, so that those present were equally divided in their allegiance. This gave the southern members some encouragement, for if their two absent colleagues arrived before those of their opponents, they could re-elect Swann and triumph over the arrogant North. When the house met, therefore, "Mr. Sinclair set up Mr. Samuel Swann; Mr. Thomas Barker proposed and set up Mr. John Campbell, on which the motion was made and the question was put, and the house dividing there appeared an equality of votes." Neither faction was willing to give way. Word was therefore sent to the governor that the house could not yet attend upon him, and his opinion was asked as to the solution of the difficulty. Dobbs replied that it was an unprecedented case, "but in all cases where there was a right, there ought to be a remedy," and he thought the clerk ought to cast the deciding vote. The house would not agree to this, and Swann, realizing that the chances were against him, offered to withdraw. His friends demurred, but in spite of their opposition "Mr. Swann acquainted the members that in order to expedite the business of the house he gave up his pretentions to the said place to Mr. John Campbell, whereupon he was placed in the chair."[11] The next morning Governor Dobbs wrote: "Although there may be some little sparring betwixt the parties, yet both have assured me it shall have no effect upon public affairs or make my administration uneasy." [12]

[11] Col. Rec., V, 233. [12] Col. Rec., V, 153-4.

The great event of Governor Dobbs's administration was the French and Indian War. No man was more British in his enmity to the French or more Protestant in his hostility to their religion than Arthur Dobbs. He made the wringing of money out of the province for the prosecution of the war the paramount object of his administration. The Assembly met his demands as liberally as they thought the situation and circumstances of the province justified, but they could not satisfy the governor. Greater demands pressed in impolitic language gave birth to sharp controversies over the limitations on the prerogatives of the Crown and the extent of the privileges of the Assembly. In these debates John Harvey was one of the leaders in stoutly maintaining that the only authority on earth that could legally levy taxes on the people was their General Assembly. Dobbs's first Assembly voted £8,000 for war purposes.[13] John Harvey was a member of the committee that drafted the bill. An incident connected with its passage is significant and worthy of record. The Council, or upper house, having proposed an amendment, the Assembly, or lower house, promptly rejected it and, instead, resolved, without a dissenting vote, "that the Council in taking upon them to make several material alterations to the said bill whereby the manner of raising as well as the application of the aid thereby granted to his Majesty is directed in a different manner than by that said bill proposed, have acted contrary to custom and usage of Parliament, and that the same tends to infringe the rights and liberties of the Assembly, who have always enjoyed uninterrupted the privilege of framing and modeling all bills by virtue of which money has been levied on the subject for an aid for his Majesty." [14] Within less than a year after this session adjourned all British America was thrown into consternation

[13] Col. Rec., V, 243 et seq. [14] Col. Rec., V, 287,

by the disastrous ending of Braddock's expedition. Governor Dobbs at once convened the Assembly in special session, and in a sensible, well-written address suggested that "a proper sum cheerfully granted at once will accomplish what a very great sum may not do hereafter."[15] The house went into committee of the whole, with John Harvey presiding, to consider the ways and means of raising £10,000. Harvey was also a member of the committee to draft the bill which was promptly passed. Three companies were ordered to be raised and placed at the disposal of the governor. The next session of the Assembly, 1756, voted another war appropriation, £4,400.[16] In the meantime the war had been going against the British and the ministry felt that more concerted action by the colonies was desirable. At a meeting of southern governors at Philadelphia, March, 1757, a plan was adopted which apportioned 400 troops to North Carolina.[17] When Governor Dobbs laid this plan before the Assembly, the house, through a committee of which Harvey was a member, promised to do all within its power to carry it into execution.[18] A bill carrying £5,306 was introduced. John Harvey was especially instrumental in securing its passage. He presided over the committee of the whole to consider ways and means, was a member of the committee that drafted the bill, and a member of the conference committee of the two houses. These appropriations were all voted with "alacrity," as the Assembly said, and the governor acknowledged, though they imposed upon the people a debt of "above forty shillings each taxable," which was more than the currency in circulation in the province.[19]

The summer of 1757 was one of the gloomiest in the annals of the British empire. Success everywhere crowned the arms

[15] Col. Rec., V, 495 et seq. [16] Col. Rec., V, 734. [17] Col. Rec., 750.
[18] Col. Rec., V, 829 et seq. [19] Col. Rec., V, 1001.

of France. In America, the French empire "stretched without a break over the vast territory from Louisiana to the St. Lawrence."[20] The Indians called Montcalm the "famous man who tramples the English under his feet."[21] In July, however, a new force was introduced into the contest which, it is not mere rhetoric to say, was destined in a few brief months to raise the banner of England from the dust of humiliation to float among the most exalted stars of glory. This force was the genius of William Pitt, "the greatest war minister and organizer of victory that the world has seen."[22] The Assembly of North Carolina had quarreled with Dobbs, but the words and spirit of Pitt inspired them, "notwithstanding the indigency of the country," to renewed efforts for the support of the war. John Harvey was a member of the committee that drafted a bill enrolling three companies to serve in the Virginia campaign under General Forbes and appropriating £7,000 for their subsistence.[23] The house requested that these troops be sent to General Forbes "without loss of time." The summer of 1758 was as glorious as the summer of 1757 had been gloomy. In every quarter of the globe England's arms were victorious. In Europe victory followed victory with dazzling rapidity. In America Louisburg fell, Fort Frontenac surrendered, and Fort Duquesne was rebaptized with the name of England's great war minister. The North Carolina Assembly at the winter session voted £2,500 for the North Carolina troops serving on the Ohio.[24] After this Dobbs made a total failure in his efforts to direct the Assembly. More zealous than judicious, he allowed himself to become involved in a foolish quarrel in a matter which he was pleased to consider an encroachment upon the king's prerogative; and rather than yield a little where resistance could do no

[20] Green: Short History of the English People. [21] Fiske: New France and New England, 309. [22] Fiske: Ibid, 315. [23] Col. Rec., V, 1003. [24] Col. Rec., V, 1063.

good, he foolishly threw away the supplies which a burdened people reluctantly offered. Quarrel after quarrel followed; the sessions were consumed with quarrels. The Assembly refused to frame supply bills at the governor's dictation, and in an outburst of wrath he wrote to the board of trade that the members were "as obstinate as mules," and appealed to the king to strengthen his authority that he might "prevent the rising spirit of independency stealing into this colony."[25]

While the war occupied public attention little else occurred to attract general interest. John Harvey had gradually forged his way to the front rank of the popular leaders and had become the recognized head of the northern party. In October, 1755, Governor Dobbs wrote to the board of trade, "parties are only smothered, yet not quite laid aside."[26] The truth of this observation became apparent at the session of September, 1756. John Campbell was detained at home on account of sickness and sent in his resignation of the speakership. The smoldering embers of faction at once broke forth. The North lined up behind John Harvey in one more effort to break the power of Samuel Swann. But as no one expected such a contest, several members of the Assembly were not present at the opening, and when the roll was called only thirty-eight answered. The majority of these were of the Swann faction, and he was accordingly elected speaker.[27] This was the last attempt made to defeat Swann. Events soon occurred that welded the two parties together for united resistance to the encroachments of the governor, and harmony being the first essential for success, Swann was allowed to preside over the Assembly until he voluntarily resigned the honor. Except for matters relating to the war the time and attention of the Assembly were given largely to schemes for internal improvements. John Harvey was concerned in much

[25] Col Rec., VI, 251. [26] Col. Rec., V, 440. [27] Col. Rec., V, 689.

of this uninterestingly necessary work. He served on most of the important committees and was frequently called on to preside over the house in committee of the whole.

Governor Dobbs, who had grown peevish with age, was given permission in 1765 to surrender the cares of his office to a lieutenant-governor and return to England. While he was busily packing for his trip "his physician had no other means to prevent his fatiguing himself than by telling him he had better prepare himself for a much longer voyage." He set sail on this "longer voyage" March 28, 1765.[28] His successor was William Tryon, the ablest of the colonial governors. Tryon's first Assembly met at New Bern, May 3, 1765.[29] He laid before the house some correspondence relative to the establishment of a postal route through the province, and recommended that an appropriation be made for the purpose. This was of course a matter of the first importance, and the Assembly, desiring more information than was then available, resolved to postpone final action until the needed data could be collected. However, "desirous that a matter of such public utility should take effect" at once, the house appointed a committee to arrange with the postmaster general for a temporary route until more definite action could be taken. The chairman of this committee was John Harvey. The work was pushed with vigor and success, and a route was laid out from Suffolk in Virginia to the South Carolina boundary line, a distance of two hundred and ninety-seven miles. In a letter to Governor Bull of South Carolina urging him to have the route continued to Charleston, Governor Tryon says, evidently referring to the committee, that the route was established through North Carolina "by the assiduity of some gentlemen" of this province.[30]

December 20, 1765, Tryon, who had until then been lieu-

[28] Col. Rec., VII, 3, [29] Col. Rec., VII, 61. [30] Col. Rec., VII, 100.

tenant-governor, qualified as governor. As was customary when a new governor entered upon his office, he dissolved the Assembly, December 21, and issued writs for a new one. Nearly a year passed, however, before he allowed the members to convene, and they did not meet until November 3, 1766.[31] That day Richard Caswell, representing Dobbs County, "moved that John Harvey, Esquire, be chosen speaker; and [he] was unanimously chosen speaker and placed in the chair accordingly. Mr. Howe and Mr. Fanning," continues the journal, "waited on his excellency the governor, and acquainted him the members had made choice of a speaker, and desired to know when they should wait on him for his approbation; and being returned acquainted the members that his excellency said he would receive them immediately. The members waited on his excellency the governor in the council chamber and presented John Harvey, Esquire, to his excellency for approbation, who was pleased to approve of their choice. Then Mr. Speaker asked his excellency to confirm the usual privileges of the house, particularly of that of freedom of speech, to which his excellency, for answer, was pleased to say that the house might depend he would preserve to them all their just rights and privileges."

Thus John Harvey at last came to his own. Since the people then had no voice in the choice of their governor, the highest office within their gift was the speakership of the Assembly. To this office the ambitious politician aspired, and to it the leader of the popular party was generally elected. This position, as leader of the province, which John Harvey now assumed, he never lost, though once temporarily laid aside because of ill health. It is of course impossible, from the bare records that have been preserved, to estimate accurately the exact share which he had in the stirring scenes

[31] Col. Rec., VII, 342.

enacted in the province from now until his death, but we know that as leader of the popular party his was the mind that directed the inauguration of the Revolution in North Carolina. He was the author of many of the movements that culminated in the Revolution, while none were attempted until he had been consulted and his co-operation secured. How he bore himself in his responsible position the success of those movements, guided by him in their inception, bears witness.

At the winter session of 1767-1768 Edmund Fanning moved in the Assembly that the speaker provide for himself, the clerks and other officials "necessary robes, suitable to their stations, and a mace for this house and the Council at the expense of the public."[32] The motion was passed unanimously. At the next session Harvey reported that he had written to London to learn what the articles would cost, and now submitted his information to the house for instructions. "Whereupon the house resolved," as the journal states, "that the two silver maces of about two feet long and gilded, weighing about one hundred ounces, do not exceed the sum of one hundred and fifteen pounds sterling, and that the robes for Mr. Speaker do not exceed the sum of fifteen pounds sterling."[33] Harvey accordingly ordered the articles through the colony's agent, Henry Eustace McCulloh. McCulloh sent the robe, but not the maces, because he did not have money enough for the latter. A resolution of the North Carolina Assembly evidently would not pass for currency in London. Referring to the robe McCulloh wrote to Harvey: "I flatter myself it will please, for it is rich and plain. You will want a handsome tye upon the occasion, but that, I recollect, George Gray, of Edenton, can furnish you with. Ninety-nine out of a hundred of the sons of Adam bow the knee to

[32] Col. Rec., VII, 656. [33] Col. Rec., VII, 969.

appearances; so far wise men approve, and make use of them."[34]

But graver matters than the purchase of parliamentary paraphernalia demanded the attention of John Harvey and the North Carolina Assembly. The Stamp Act had been repealed, but the continent was now in a turmoil from one end to the other over the Townsend Acts. Massachusetts and Virginia, during the summer of 1768, issued their famous circular letters inviting the co-operation of the other colonies in concerting measures of resistance, in order that their remonstrances and petitions to the king "should harmonize with each other." November 11, 1768, John Harvey laid copies before the Assembly.[35] Much to the disgust of some of the leaders the house declined to take any action except to give the speaker verbal directions to answer them.[36] The house then resolved to present "an humble, dutiful and loyal address" to the king, praying the repeal of the several acts imposing duties on goods imported into America. A committee composed of John Harvey, Joseph Montfort, Samuel Johnston, Joseph Hewes, and Edward Vail was appointed to draw up the address, which Henry Eustace McCulloh was instructed to present.[37] Thus the Assembly missed the real significance of the proposition, unity of action with the other colonies. Union was the great bugbear of the king and ministry; they did not doubt that if the colonies could be kept separated they could easily bring them to terms. The policy of the king, therefore, was to avoid as far as possible giving the Americans a common grievance in support of which they could unite. So, too, the king and ministry did not dispute the right of each colony alone to petition the throne for redress of grievances; but they fought desperately against any disposition on the part of the Americans to unite in their

[34] Col. Rec., VIII, 59. [35] Col. Rec., VII, 928. [36] Col. Rec., VIII, 9.
[37] Col. Rec., VII, 973.

petitions. Johnston and Hewes were so disgusted at the Assembly's flash in the pan that they declined to serve on the committee. But John Harvey acted more wisely. He assumed that the Assembly intended for the committee to act in concert with the committees of the other colonies, and thus improved on the Assembly's verbal instructions. In his letter to Thomas Cushing, speaker of the Assembly of Massachusetts, Harvey said: "I am directed to inform you that they [the North Carolina Assembly] are extremely obliged to the Assembly of the Massachusetts-Bay, for communicating their sentiments on so interesting a subject; and shall ever be ready, firmly to unite with their sister colonies, in pursuing every constitutional measure for redress of the grievances so justly complained of. This house is desirous to cultivate the strictest harmony and friendship with the assembles of the colonies in general, and with your house in particular. * * * The Assembly of this colony will at all times receive with pleasure, the opinion of your house in matters of general concern to America, and be equally willing on every such occasion to communicate their sentiments, not doubting of their meeting a candid and friendly acceptance."[38] In their letter of instructions to McCulloh, Harvey, Montfort, and Vail, said: "The last thing, Sir, which we shall take leave to recommend to you as the sense of the people and which we doubt not will be equally pleasing to you as to us, will be on your part a spirited co-operation with the agents of our sister colonies and those who may be disposed to serve us in obtaining a repeal of the late act imposing internal taxes on Americans without their consent and the which is justly dreaded by them to be nothing more than an introduction to other acts of the same injurious tendency and fatal consequences."[39] This

[38] The Boston Evening Post, May 15, 1769. [39] Col. Rec., VII, 877.

course taken by John Harvey and the other members of the committee, therefore, saved North Carolina from the odium which a failure to support the common cause would have heaped on the colony.

In the address to the king, which Harvey as chairman of the committee probably wrote, the king was reminded that in the past whenever "it has been found necessary to levy supplies within this colony requisitions have been made by your Majesty or your royal predecessors conformable to the rights of this people, and by them cheerfully and liberally complied with"; and while promising a like compliance in the future, the address maintained that members of the "Assembly can alone be the proper judges, not only of what sum they are able to pay, but likewise of the most eligible method of collecting the same. Our ancestors at their first settling, amidst the horrors of a long and bloody war with the savages, which nothing could possibly render supportable but the prospects of enjoying here that freedom which Britons can never purchase at so dear a rate, brought with them inherent in their persons, and transmitted down to their posterity, all the rights and liberties of your Majesty's natural born subjects within the parent state, and have ever since enjoyed as Britons the privileges of an exemption from any taxations but such as have been imposed on them by themselves or their representatives, and this privilege we esteem so invaluable that we are fully convinced no other can possibly exist without it. It is therefore with the utmost anxiety and concern we observe duties have lately been imposed on us by Parliament for the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue. This is a taxation which we are firmly persuaded the acknowledged principles of the British constitution ought to protect us from. Free men can not be legally taxed but by themselves or their representatives and that your Majesty's subjects within this province are repre-

sented in Parliament we can not allow, and are convinced that from our situation we never can be."[40]

McCulloh's letters to the committee and to Harvey give the history of the address after it reached him. To the committee he wrote that in accordance with customary procedure he waited on Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for the colonies, with the address and that his lordship agreed to present it to the king. The answer, he said, would be forwarded through the official channels.[41] To his friend, John Harvey, to whose influence McCulloh owed his appointment, he wrote with more freedom. "The little right I had to expect that warmth of friendship which I have met from you," he said, "is an additional circumstance to the grateful sense I have of your partial kindness; I am very sensible that my success in the affair of the agency is principally the work of your hand. I wish I may ever have it in my power to make you a more weighty return than words; them I will spare. I am proud and happy in your friendship, and will endeavor to deserve it.

"I don't mean a compliment, but I really think the general idea of your petition is the best I have seen. I should have blushed forever for you if you had not bore [sic] some testimony in the good cause. Surely you have been polite and compliant enough.

"It may be proper to give you a little private history as to your petition. I am convinced they would have been better pleased had you let it alone. Many of my friends (acquaintances rather) in Carolina, have kindly hinted to me, that I would best judge whether I would lay the ideas of the mad (rebellious) Americans at the foot of the throne; and have been kindly concerned for the consequences to me should I attempt it. I am much obliged to them. I see nothing in

[40] Col. Rec., VII, 980. [41] Col. Rec., VIII, 55.

your petition but my soul approves. My spirit as well as my circumstances are independent, and though my Lord H—h [Hillsborough] had the politeness to say *that petitioning in my circumstances was foolish,* (his own words) I insisted I had no discretion to exercise—no question to ask, but that it should be presented in the most proper and official manner; had he refused I would have bent the knee myself—the way it has been done is the only one, and never deviated from but in cases of refusal. I trust in God I shall never want courage to execute your commands. * * * I have it from authority, to acquaint you, that the acts complained of by America are to be repealed; their proud stomachs here must come down. Our politics here are nothing but a scene of confusion. Men's minds seem greatly inflamed. The ministry, etc., seem most cordially detested—it is, however, my opinion that they will keep their seats. * * * One thing let me add—surely Messrs. H. [Hewes] & J. [Johnston] who have refused to act, will not be continued of the committee of correspondence."[42]

This Assembly and the governor parted on good terms. Later, because of several deaths among the members, Tryon dissolved it and issued writs for a new election. When the new Assembly met in October, 1769, John Harvey was again unanimously elected speaker.[43] They met the governor in good spirits and everything promised smooth sailing; but unexpected reefs were in the way. In the preceding May the Assembly of Virginia adopted a series of resolutions on the questions at issue between the American colonies and the British Parliament. These resolutions were sent to the speakers of the various colonial assemblies. John Harvey laid a copy before the Assembly of North Carolina, November 2, and the house adopted them *verbatim.* They denied the right of Parliament to levy taxes in America. They affirmed the right

[42] Col. Rec., VIII, 58–61. [43] Col. Rec., VIII, 107.

of the subject to petition the throne for redress of grievances. They denounced the act of Parliament requiring Americans accused of treason to be taken to England for trial. They declared "that the seizing any person or persons in this colony suspected of any crime whatsoever committed therein and sending such person or persons to places beyond the sea to be tried is highly derogatory to the rights of British subjects, as thereby the inestimable privilege of being tried by a jury from the vicinage, as well as the liberty of summoning and producing witnesses on such trial, will be taken away from the party accused." An address to the king was adopted which presented in a different form the same ideas embodied in the resolutions; and McCulloh was instructed, after presenting it to the king, to have it printed in the British papers.[44] Convinced by experience that the ears of the king were deaf to their appeals, the Americans now began to appeal to their British brethren. For these resolutions the house suffered the penalty of dissolution.

The Assembly was dissolved November 6, 1769. But the members had not completed their work and they were not ready to go home. They thought "it necessary that some measures should be taken in their distressed situation, for preserving the true and essential interests of the province," and therefore resolved to hold a meeting "for that very salutary purpose," independent of the governor. Sixty-four of the seventy-seven members immediately repaired to the court-house and organized themselves into a convention. So far as I have been able to ascertain no account of this meeting has ever appeared in any history and, therefore, at the risk of being tedious and of prolonging this sketch beyond the proper limits, I shall give the account in full as it appears in the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal,* of December

[44] Col. Rec., VIII, 121–124.

8, 1769.[45] Says that paper, after stating the fact of the meeting, "it was first proposed, for the more decent and regular discussion of such matters as might be taken into consideration, that a moderator should be appointed, and John Harvey, Esq., late speaker of the house of Assembly, was unanimously elected.

"The true state of the province being then opened and fully explained, and it being proposed that a regular association should be formed, a committee was appointed to prepare the necessary and most proper regulations for that purpose, and they were ordered to make their report to the general meeting the next day, at nine o'clock."

The next day accordingly the committee made their report, "which being read, seriously considered, and approved, was signed by a great number of the late members of the Assembly then present, and is as follows:

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful subjects, the late representatives of all the freeholders of the province of North-Carolina, avowing an invincible attachment and unshaken fidelity to our most gracious Sovereign, and protesting against every act that may have the least tendency to disturb the peace and good order of this government, which we are willing, at the risque of our lives and fortunes, to maintain and defend; but, at the same time, sensibly affected with the hardships, difficulties and discouragements the colonies at present labour under, from several taxes and impositions laid on by Parliament, for the sole purpose of a revenue, by which our money is taken from us, without our consent, and applied to the sup-

[45] For this, and the other material from the South Carolina papers used in this article, I am indebted to Miss Mabel L. Webber, the very efficient Secretary of the South Carolina Historical Society. Miss Webber has been engaged by the North Carolina Historical Commission to make an index to the North Carolina items in the Colonial and Revolutionary newspapers of Charleston, and has done her work with thoroughness and accuracy. These items throw much new light on the early history of North Carolina.—R. D. W. C.

port of new created commissioners of customs, and other placemen: And by other acts of Parliament, we are deprived of that invaluable privilege of trial by our peers and the common law, and made subject to the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of the civil law, justly abhorred by our ancestors, the freemen of England: And finding, that the most dutiful and loyal petitions and remonstrances from the colonies for redress, have been rejected with contempt; and dreading the evils which threaten us and our posterity, by reducing us from freedom to a state of slavery; and in order to stimulate our fellow subjects, the merchants and manufacturers in Great-Britain, to aid us in this our distress, and to shew our readiness to join, heartily, with the other colonies, in every legal method which may most probably tend to procure a redress, which we believe, will be most effectually promoted by establishing economy, encouraging American manufactures in general, and of this province in particular; promoting industry, and discouraging all manner of luxury and extravagances: We do therefore, most earnestly, recommend this our association, to the serious attention of all gentlemen, merchants, traders, and other inhabitants of this province, not doubting that they will, very readily and cordially, accede thereto; we therefore, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do solemnly promise and agree, to and with each other, that until the colonies are restored to their former freedom, by a repeal of those oppressive acts, we will most truly adhere to, and abide by the following resolutions, to-wit:

"*First.* It was unanimously agreed on and resolved, this 7th day of November, 1769, that the subscribers, as well by their own example as all other legal ways and means in their power, will promote and encourage industry and frugality, and discourage all manner of luxury and extravagance; and will also encourage and promote the use of *North American*

manufactures in general, and those of this province in particular; and such of the subscribers who shall or may have any such for sale, will sell and dispose of them at the same rates as heretofore.

"*Secondly.* That they will not at any time hereafter, directly or indirectly, import or cause to be imported, any manner of goods, merchandise or manufactures, which are or shall hereafter be taxed by act of Parliament for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, except paper, not exceeding eight shillings sterling per ream, and except such articles only as orders have already been sent for; nor purchase any such after the first day of January next, of any person whatever, but they will always consider such taxation, in every respect, as an absolute prohibition; and in all future orders forbid their correspondents to ship them any goods whatever, taxed as aforesaid, except as is above excepted.

"*Thirdly.* That the subscribers will not hereafter, directly or indirectly, import or cause to be imported from Great Britain, or any part of Europe, (except such articles of the produce and manufacture of Ireland, as may be immediately and legally brought from thence, and also all such goods as orders have been already sent for) any of the goods hereinafter enumerated, to-wit: Spirits, wine, cyder, perry, beer, ale, malt, barley, pease, beef, pork, fish, butter, cheese, tallow, candles, oil, fruit, sugar, pickles, confectionary, pewter, hoes, axes, watches, clocks, tables, chairs, looking-glasses, carriages, joiners and cabinet work of all sorts, upholstery of all sorts, trinkets, and jewellery, plate and gold, and silversmiths work of all sorts, ribbons and millinery of all sorts, (except spices), silks of all sorts, (except sewing silk), cambrick, lawn, muslin, gauze, (except bolting cloth), calico, or cotton stuffs, of more than two shillings per yard, linens of more than two shillings per yard, woollens, worsted 'stuffs of all sorts, of

more than one shilling and six-pence per yard, broadcloths of all kinds, of more than eight shillings per yard, narrow cloths of all kinds, of more than three shillings per yard, hats, stockings, shoes and boots, saddles and all manufactures of leather and skins, of all kinds, until the late act of Parliament imposing duties on tea, paper, glass, etc., for the purpose of raising a revenue in America are [sic] repealed; and they will not after the first day of January next, purchase any of the above enumerated goods of any person whatsoever, unless the above mentioned acts of Parliament are repealed.

"*Fourthly.* That in all orders which any of the subscribers may hereafter send to Great Britain, they shall and will expressly direct their correspondents not to ship them any of the above enumerated goods, until the above mentioned acts are repealed; and if any goods are shipped to them contrary to the tenor of this agreement, they will refuse to take the same, or make themselves chargeable therewith.

"*Fifthly.* That they will [not] import any slaves or purchase any imported, after the first day of January next, until the said acts of Parliament are repealed.

"*Sixthly.* That they will not import any wine of any kind whatsoever, or purchase the same from any person whatsoever, after the first day of January next, (except such wines as are already ordered) until the act of Parliament imposing duties thereon are [sic] repealed.

"*Seventhly.* For the better preservation of the breed of sheep, that they shall not kill, or suffer to be killed, any lambs that shall be yeaned before the first day of May, in any year, nor dispose of such to any butcher, or other person, whom they have reason to expect intends to kill the same.

"*Eighthly and Lastly.* That these resolves shall be binding on all of the subscribers, who do hereby, each and every person for himself, upon his word and honour, agree that he will

strictly and firmly adhere to, and abide by, every article in this agreement, from the time of his signing the same, for and during the continuance of the before mentioned acts of Parliament; and every subscriber who shall not strictly and literally adhere to his agreement, according to the true intent and meaning hereof, ought to be treated with the utmost contempt."

Upon the publication of these resolves the newspapers declared with triumph: "This completes the chain of union throughout the continent for the measure of non-importation and economy."

Governor Tryon had been pleased at the action of the Assembly on the circular letter of 1768; but now his wrath boiled over. He declared that the resolutions and address adopted by the Assembly "have sapped the foundations of confidence and gratitude, have torn up by the roots every sanguine hope I entertained to render this province further service, if in truth I have rendered it any, and made it my indispensable duty to put an end to this session."[46] To Lord Hillsborough he wrote: "I must confess the proceedings of the last Assembly have wounded my sensibility and, being dangerously ill at the time, their conduct took advantage of the then weak state of my mind, and for that reason perhaps has made the deeper impression upon it. I wish I could say with Lord Botetourt[47] that my prospect brightens. Confidence, my Lord, that delicate polish in public transactions, has received an ugly scratch, and I fear we have no artists here who can restore it to its original perfection."[48] In his reply Lord Hillsborough declared that the conduct of the Assembly in adopting "measures and resolves so unbecoming and unwarrantable" gave "great concern" to his Majesty.[49]

[46] Col. Rec., VIII, 134. [47] Governor of Virginia. [48] Col. Rec., VIII, 169. [49] Col. Rec., VIII, 170.

But the friends of the American cause were as much pleased as its enemies were offended. To John Harvey, Henry Eustace McCulloh wrote: "A letter from Mr. Pryor acquaints me of the dissolution of your late Assembly and of my appointment as agent. I am pleased to think the Assembly had virtue to *deserve* the first event; and I am sensible I am greatly to thank *you* for the second."[50] Later he referred again to their resolutions: "In my opinion the proceedings of your late Assembly have vindicated the honor of the province, and I pray God, future assembles may ever have wisdom to see, virtue to assert, and courage to vindicate the just rights of themselves and their constituents."[51] Ten days later he added: "Your governor (in my opinion) would have done wiser to have been less passionate; and had he been so I do not believe he would have been blamed here. Lord Hillsborough has found out at last that *dissolutions do no good.*"[52]

A sentence in one of McCulloh's letters reveals the commanding position in the province which Harvey had now attained. Acknowledged leader of the popular party, there was no political position which he could now accept that would have been regarded as a promotion. McCulloh says: "For the reasons you approve, I shall endeavor hard to get some of the vacant seats in the Council filled by gentlemen from the northward. I may be wrong, but I at present conceive it would be a lessening of your dignity and weight to take one of them. Pray write me unreservedly on this subject."[53] Many of the leaders of the Assembly had stepped up into the Council; for Harvey alone it was suggested that it would be a step downward.

When the new Assembly met at New Bern in December, 1770, Richard Caswell was elected speaker. It has been frequently stated that the Assembly took this step because they

[50] Col. Rec., VIII, 171. [51] Col. Rec., VIII, 181. [52] Col. Rec., VIII, 183.
[53] Col. Rec., VIII, 184.

were anxious to placate Tryon, and John Harvey on account of his bold stand for the privileges of the colony was not acceptable to the governor. Such a statement is not only erroneous, but does a great injustice to all the persons concerned. It is an insinuation that the Assembly could stoop to the sacrifice of their leader in order to please a royal governor; it is an insinuation that Tryon had no better sense than to bite at the bribe; it is an insinuation that Richard Caswell was not true to the interests of the province and was willing to lend himself as a peace offering at the expense of his leader; it is an insinuation that John Harvey was willing to show the white feather after having so arrogantly waved the red flag. There is no need to seek such a complicated explanation of such a simple event; the plain truth is that John Harvey was at home sick when the Assembly convened and so a substitute had to be found. What better substitute could be found for bold John Harvey than the versatile Richard Caswell? It may as well be said here that John Harvey's relations with Tryon were of the most friendly, and even confidential, nature. In that event in Tryon's career for which he has been most blamed, the Regulator War, he received the sympathy and support of John Harvey.

Whatever may be the sympathies of the people of North Carolina to-day, one thing is certain—the Regulators received scant sympathy from those patriots of North Carolina who organized and conducted the Revolution and won American independence. In a letter to John Harvey, December 21, 1770, while the Assembly was in session and Harvey was at home sick, James Iredell said: "Before I left New Bern the Assembly had done nothing, but since there have been appearances very alarming. The day I left town (New Bern), Mr. Johnston presented a spirited bill to the house upon the subject of punishing the Regulators. * * * This bill, I believe,

sir, you would have thought expedient, though severe, but desperate diseases must have desperate remedies. * * * Your absence, sir, at so critical a period is much to be lamented, but yourself are equally to be pitied for the unhappy occasion, as your country for the unhappy effects of it."[54] McCulloh in a letter to Edmund Fanning, whom the Regulators especially detested, refers to Harvey, and two others, as "our common friends."[55] Tryon, too, regarded Harvey as friendly to his movement against the Regulators, and there is nothing to show that Harvey felt otherwise. When about to set out on his Alamance campaign, the governor wrote to Harvey: "Though I am apprehensive your situation lays [sic] too remote from the seat of the disturbances in this country to give government in time any aid to suppress the insurgents, I, nevertheless, out of respect to you, take the liberty to inform you that I purpose the last week in next month to begin my march from New Bern to Orange County, so as to be if possible the first week in May in the settlements of the insurgents."[56] It is probable that had he not been ill Harvey would have followed the example of Harnett, Caswell, Ashe, the Moores, and other leaders and marched to Alamance with Tryon.

After the battle of Alamance Tryon went to New York and Josiah Martin came to North Carolina. Martin met his first Assembly November 19, 1771. The session was short, for the governor soon quarreled with the house over a measure which he denounced as "a monstrous usurpation of authority that I think provides irrefragably the propensity of this people to democracy."[57]

The Assembly did not meet again until January, 1773. Richard Caswell, whose bold conduct had been the cause of Martin's wrath, might very justly have demanded that the

[54] Col. Rec., VIII, 270. [55] Col. Rec., VIII. 223. [56] Col. Rec., VIII, 697.
[57] Col. Rec., IX, 234.

members endorse his conduct by re-electing him speaker. But realizing that it was an improper time for self-seeking, he deferred to the real leader of the Assembly, and himself nominated John Harvey. From this session till the end of royal rule in North Carolina John Harvey was continuously elected speaker of the Assembly without opposition. This January session ended in confusion. During the preceding summer Governor Martin, acting under certain instructions from the king which the assembly had positively declined to follow, had caused the boundary line between North Carolina and South Carolina to be run in such a way as to operate to the disadvantage of the former province. He now called upon the Assembly to defray the expenses of this work and the house peremptorily and sharply refused. In order to give them an opportunity to reconsider their action, which, under the rules of the house, could not be done at that session, Martin prorogued the session from March 6th to March 9th. On the 9th, when he was ready to meet the Assembly again, he found to his astonishment that the majority of the members had gone home. He therefore convened those who remained and commanded them to form a house. They refused unless a majority of the members should return. When Martin asked John Harvey if he expected a sufficient number to return to make a majority, Harvey replied that he had not "the least expectation" that any such event would occur. In an outburst of rage Martin declared that "the Assembly had deserted the business and interests of their constituents and flagrantly insulted the dignity and authority of government," and forthwith dissolved it.[58] He afterwards wrote to Lord Dartmouth, secretary of state for the colonies, that he had the satisfaction to find that "no ill humour or disposition has been discovered toward me," but "the Assembly confessed

[51] Col. Rec., IX, 594–595.

with one accord that I had acted in every part of this business with uniform and becoming firmness, an effort of candour that I will acknowledge to your lordship I did not expect, but that is not therefore the less pleasing to me. To evince their regard to me the speaker and the other members who remained in town, at the dissolution of the Assembly, paid me a visit on the evening of that day, and complimented me in the most respectful manner. In justice to these gentlemen, my lord, it behooves me to remark to your lordship, that they were the flower of that very heterogeneous body."[59] One can not let pass this opportunity to remark that these "flowers," in the estimation of Governor Martin, soon degenerated into very obnoxious weeds.

The Assembly at this session manifested their regard for John Harvey by voting him out of the public treasury £100 "as a reward" for his extraordinary trouble, assiduity and attention to the business of the Assembly. The Council readily concurred in this resolution and the governor assented to it, declaring that he did so "with the greatest pleasure * * * as it is a token of the just respect of your house to Mr. Speaker, which I am well assured the faithful services of that gentleman will always claim."[60] A similar mark of respect, except that the sum was £200, was again shown in 1774.

In the meantime the quarrel with the mother country had continued with increasing bitterness, until it had become apparent to all Americans that if they were to make a successful stand for their liberties they must stand together. So when John Harvey at the December session in 1773 laid before the house letters from Virginia proposing that each colony appoint a committee of correspondence to keep in touch with the committees of the other colonies, the idea found ready acceptance. The following were elected a committee for

[59] Col. Rec., IX, 600. [60] Col. Rec., IX, 571, 580, 936.

North Carolina: John Harvey, Robert Howe, Cornelius Harnett, William Hooper, Richard Caswell, Edward Vail, John Ashe, Joseph Hewes, and Samuel Johnston.[61] Thus North Carolina took her first step towards union. The next step was the natural consequence of the first and was easy to take. This was the call that now went abroad throughout the country for a Continental Congress. When Martin learned that North Carolina was determined to join in this congress he determined to prevent it by refusing to call the Assembly together until too late to elect delegates. April 2, 1774, he wrote to Lord Dartmouth that "writs have been issued for the election of a new Assembly, returnable on the 26th of May next, being one day beyond the time to which the late Assembly stood prorogued, but unless some unforeseen public exigency shall make it expedient, I do not propose another meeting of the Legislature until the fall."[62] Tryon had successfully adopted this plan to prevent the election of delegates to the Stamp Act Congress; but Martin lacked a good deal of Tryon's tact and personal popularity, and the men with whom he was contending were not the kind to be caught twice in the same trap. When the governor's private secretary communicated his determination to John Harvey, Harvey flew into a rage, exclaiming, "In that case the people will convene one themselves." April 5, 1774, Samuel Johnston wrote to William Hooper: "Colonel Harvey and myself lodged last night with Colonel Buncombe, and as we sat up very late the conversation turned on continental and provincial affairs. Colonel Harvey said during the night, that Mr. Biggleston told him, that the governor did not intend to convene another Assembly until he saw some chance of a better one than the last; and that he told the secretary that then the people would convene one themselves. He was in a very violent mood,

[61] Col. Rec., IX, 737, 740, 741. [62] Col. Rec., IX, 959.

and declared he was for assembling a convention independent of the governor, and urged upon us to co-operate with him. He says he will lead the way and will issue handbills under his own name, and that the committee of correspondence ought to go to work at once. As for my own part, I do not know what better can be done. Without courts[62] to sustain the property and to exercise the talents of the country, and the people alarmed and dissatisfied, we must do something to save ourselves. Colonel Harvey said that he had mentioned the matter only to Willie Jones, of Halifax, whom he had met the day before, and that he thought well of it, and promised to exert himself in its favor. I beg your friendly counsel and advice on the subject, and hope you will speak of it to Mr. Harnett and Colonel Ashe, or any other such men."[63]

Harvey's bold and revolutionary proposition fell upon willing ears. The people rallied to his support; the convention was called; and in defiance of Governor Martin's proclamation forbidding it, met at New Bern, August 25, 1774.[64] Seventy-one delegates were present, among them the ablest men in the colony. When they came to choose their presiding officer all eyes turned to one man, the father of the convention, John Harvey. A series of resolutions was passed denouncing the acts of Parliament, stating the claims of the Americans, and expressing approval of the call for a Continental Congress to which delegates were elected. John Harvey was authorized to call another convention whenever he thought it necessary. Then having resolved "that the thanks of this meeting be given to the Hon. John Harvey, Esquire, moderator, for his faithful exercise of that office and the ser-

[62] This was due to the fact that the Assembly declined to pass a court law in accordance with the king's instructions, and the king refused assent to any other. For a brief account of this long contest see sketch of Cornelius Harnett, in No. 3 of Vol. 5 of The North Carolina Booklet.
[63] Col. Rec., IX, 968. [64] Col. Rec., IX, 1029, 1041.

vices he has thereby rendered to this province and to the friends of America in general," the convention adjourned. No more significant step had ever been taken in North Carolina than the successful meeting of this convention. It revealed the people to themselves; they now began to understand that there was no special magic in the writs and proclamations of a royal governor; they themselves could appoint delegates and organize legislatures without the intervention of a king's authority. This was a long step toward independence; John Harvey took it, the people followed.

During the summer of 1774 the distressed situation of Boston, because of the Boston Port Bill, touched the hearts of the American people. In all the colonies the cry went up that Boston was suffering in the common cause. The convention of North Carolina reiterated this cry and the people, by their generous contributions, showed that their sympathy lay deeper than words. From Wilmington, New Bern, Edenton, and the surrounding counties ship loads of provisions were sent free of freight charges to the suffering poor of the New England city. September 20, 1774, John Harvey addressed the following letter to the committee of correspondence in Boston, composed of James Bowdoin, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and Isaac Smith:

"PERQUIMANS Co., 20th Sept., 1774.[65]

"Honorable Gentlemen.

"Joseph Hewes, Esq., appointed a trustee with me, to collect the donations of the inhabitants of two or three counties in the neighborhood of Edenton, for the relief of our distressed brethren of Boston, being absent attending the Constitutional Congress at Philadelphia, I have the pleasure to send you, as per enclosed bill of lading, of the sloop *Penelope,* Ed-

[65] Massachusetts Historical Society Collection, 4th Series, Vol. 4, 85–86.

ward Herbert, master, which [I] wish safe to hand, and that you will cause the amount of the same to be divided among the poor inhabitants according to their necessities.

"The captain has received the most of his freight here. The balance will be paid him on return, the cargo to be delivered clear of any expense; which you would have received some months sooner, but the difficulty of getting a vessel on freight prevented. [I] hope to be able to send another cargo this winter, for the same charitable purpose, as the American inhabitants of this colony entertain a just sense of the sufferings of our brethren in Boston, and have yet hopes that when the united determinations of the continent reach the royal ear, they will have redress from the cruel, unjust, illegal and oppressive late acts of the British Parliament. I take the liberty to inclose you the resolves of our provincial meeting of deputies, and have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem, in behalf of Mr. Hewes and self,

"Honorable Gentlemen, your most obedient and very humble servant, JOHN HARVEY."

This cargo was received October 15. It consisted of 2,096 bushels of corn, 22 barrels of flour, and 17 barrels of pork, which, as the Boston committee said in their letter of thanks, was a noble and generous donation from their worthy brethren and fellow countrymen of the two or three counties in the neighborhood of Edenton. "We thank you," continued the Boston committee, "for the resolves of your provincial meeting of deputies, which you were so kind as to inclose. We esteem them as manly, spirited and noble, worthy our patriotic brethren of North Carolina. The tender concern for, and honor done, this greatly injured and oppressed town and province, expressed therein, demand our particular notice and grateful acknowledgments, which are hereby tendered by

this committee in behalf of the town. In short, your bounty, of which we now partake so largely, and the encouragement given of the increase thereof, lay us under the greatest obligation, and make us almost forget our misery. God grant that our endeavors to restore and preserve the rights of our dear America may be attended with His favor and blessing; then we may hope that we shall have occasion, both *he that soweth* and *he that reapeth,* to rejoice together in the salvation of our God and Saviour. To Him be all the glory."[66]

And yet there are those who would have us believe that in this great contest with the power of Great Britain none of the American colonies played other than a selfish role!

Foiled in his purpose to hold North Carolina aloof from the Continental Congress, Governor Martin determined to make the best of a bad situation and summoned the Assembly to meet him at New Bern, April 4, 1775. John Harvey immediately called a convention to meet at the same place April 3.[67] It was a wise precaution, for the Assembly sat only at the pleasure of the governor, who would certainly dissolve it upon the first manifestation of disloyalty. It was intended that the members of the Assembly should also be members of the convention, and this plan was carefully carried out, though there were members of the former who were not members of the latter. Martin was furious and denounced Harvey's action in two resounding proclamations.[68] The convention replied by electing Harvey moderator; the Assembly by electing him speaker.[69] The governor roundly scored both bodies, and both bodies roundly scored the governor. It was indeed a pretty situation. One set of men composed two political bodies—one legal, sitting by the authority of the royal governor and in obedience to his writ; the other non-legal,

[66] Ibid, 86–88. [67] Col. Rec., IX, 1125. [68] Col. Rec., IX, 1145, 1177.
[69] Col. Rec., IX, 1178, 1187.

sitting in defiance of his authority and in direct disregard of his proclamation. The governor impotently demanded that the former join him in denouncing and dispersing the latter, composed largely of the same men whose aid he solicited. The two bodies met in the same hall, the convention at nine o'clock a. m., the Assembly at ten, and were presided over by the same man. When the governor's private secretary was announced at the door, in an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, Mr. Moderator Harvey would become Mr. Speaker Harvey and gravely receive his excellency's message.[70]

Neither body accomplished much. The convention approved the "Association" recommended by the Continental Congress, agreed to adhere to it, and recommended it to the people of the province. A resolution declaring the right of the people themselves, or through their representatives, to assemble and petition the throne for redress of grievances was adopted, with the conclusion that "therefore, the governor's proclamation issued to forbid this meeting, and his proclamation afterwards commanding this meeting to disperse, are illegal and an infringement of our just rights and, therefore, ought to be disregarded as wanton and arbitrary exertions of power." Hooper, Hewes, and Caswell were reelected delegates to the Continental Congress, and a resolution of thanks for their services was adopted. Thereupon Mr. Speaker Harvey returned the thanks of the house in the following words:

"GENTLEMEN:—The sacred trust reposed in you by your country, so faithfully discharged by you, does honor to yourselves; justifies the choice made of you by the last convention; and places you in a situation to receive the best reward a patriotic breast can fill [feel], the applause of your country, who, in order to bear testimony to your merit, have directed

[70] Col. Rec., Prefatory Notes, IX, XXXIV.

me to convey to you their sincere thanks for the services you have rendered them in the important office to which they appointed you. And it is with great pleasure I now, gentlemen, in behalf of this colony in general and of this convention in particular, return you those thanks which have been so unanimously resolved by the convention to be your due."

The next day John Harvey, or in the event of his death, Samuel Johnston, was authorized to call another convention when necessary.

The Assembly had time only to organize and exchange messages with the governor when it, too, came to an end. Its first offense was the election of John Harvey speaker. The governor had authority to reject the Assembly's choice if he saw fit, but he did not dare do so, however bitter a pill it was. "On the 3d instant, the time appointed for the meeting of the convention," thus he wrote to Lord Dartmouth, "* * * hearing that many deputies from the counties were come here, I issued the proclamation, of which I now transmit your lordship a copy numbered 1,[71] notwithstanding which I found this unlawful body met for a short time and elected Mr. Harvey moderator, by whose advertisement it had been convened. I still hoped the Assembly on what I had to say to it would secede from this convention, although I well knew that many of the members had been sent as deputies to it. And this hope, together with my desire to lay no difficulties in the way of the public business, induced me on the next day to admit the election of Mr. Harvey, who was chosen speaker of the Assembly, and presented by the house for my approbation. Indeed, to say the truth, my lord, it was a measure to which I submitted upon these prinples not without repugnance even after I found the Council unanimously of the opinion that it would not be expedient to

[71] Col. Rec., IX, 1177.

give a new handle of discontent to the Assembly by rejecting its choice if it should fall as was expected upon Mr. Harvey, for I considered his guilt of too conspicuous a nature to be passed over with neglect. The manner, however, of my admitting him, I believe sufficiently testified my disapprobation of his conduct while it marked my respect to the election of the house."[72] The next day the Assembly committed its second offense by inviting the delegates to the convention who were not also members of the Assembly to join in the latter's deliberations. The governor promptly sent the sheriff of Craven County with a proclamation to forbid this unhallowed union. The only notice taken of it was by James Coor, the member from Craven County, who said, after the sheriff had read the proclamation: "Well, you have read it and now you can take it back to the governor."[73] "Not a man obeyed it," wrote Martin, who had thus far succeeded in keeping his temper admirably. But on the fourth day of the session the house adopted resolutions approving the "Association" of the Continental Congress, thanking the delegates for their services, and endorsing their re-election. This was more than the governor had bargained for, and when he learned of it his wrath boiled over. He promptly issued his proclamation, April 8, 1775, dissolving the Assembly. It was the last Assembly that met in North Carolina at the call of a royal governor and by its dissolution Governor Martin put an end to British rule in that province. In a letter to Lord Dartmouth, describing these events, he said: "I am bound in conscience and duty to add, my lord, that government is here as absolutely prostrate as impotent, and that nothing but the shadow of it is left. * * * I must further say, too, my lord, that it is my serious opinion which I communicate with the last degree of concern that unless effectual measures, such as British

[72] Col. Rec-, IX, 1212. [73] Col. Rec., IX, 1213.

spirit may dictate, are speedily taken there will not long remain a trace of Britain's dominion over these colonies."[74]

It was impossible for Governor Martin to let slip any opportunity to vent his wrath at a rival. Three days after the dissolution of the Assembly he called the attention of the Council to the proceedings of the convention "signed John Harvey, moderator, wherein are certain resolves highly derogatory to the honour and dignity of his Majesty's government, tending to destroy the peace and welfare of this province, in the highest degree oppressive of the people, and utterly subversive of the established constitution. He therefore submitted to the consideration of this board the propriety of marking its indignation of such unlawful and dangerous proceedings by striking Mr. John Harvey out of his Majesty's commission of the peace for the county of Perquimans, where he resides."[75] The councilors of his Majesty's governor gravely concurred in these sentiments and John Harvey's judicial head fell at the block.

But little did John Harvey care. His time for earthly honors and earthly contests was rapidly drawing to a close. The last days of his life were spent under the clouds of the rapidly coming revolution. That revolution no man had done more to produce than he. No man watched its outcome with greater confidence, or awaited it with greater hope. But it is one of the tragedies of human life that men often are not permitted to see and enjoy the fruits of their labors and sacrifices. So it was with this man of the people, this political leader with the vision of a prophet, this organizer of revolution destined to mark the beginning of an era in the history of mankind. *The South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal,*[76] in a letter dated at New Bern, May 19, 1775, announced his death in the following appreciative obituary:

[74] Col. Rec., IX, 1215. [75] Col. Rec., IX, 1215–1216. [76] June 6. 1775.

"With inexpressible grief and concern, we have received from Edenton the melancholy account of the death of Col. John Harvey, of Perquimans County, who a few days since died at his seat there after a very short illness, occasioned, it is said, by a fall from his horse. The respectable and uncommon character of this worthy member of society has, for many years past, placed him in the highest department of this province in the gift of the people, that of speaker of the house of Assembly; and the great assiduity and diligence with which he discharged that, and many other important trusts committed to his care, and his perseverence, in seeking the real and substantial good of his country, renders his death a public loss, which will be truly lamented by a grateful people. It is to be hoped that some abler pen will do justice to his manes; we can only say, that as in public life all his actions were directed to the good of his country, so in private his house was one continued scene of hospitality and benevolence, and his purse, his hand and heart, were ever devoted to the service and relief of the distressed. In him the advocates for American freedom have lost a real and true friend! In him this province may mourn a substantial and irretrievable loss."

On the last day of May, Robert Howe, Cornelius Harnett, and John Ashe, patriots who had not hesitated to follow where John Harvey led, wrote these words to Samuel Johnston: "We sincerely condole with all the friends of American liberty in this province on the death of our worthy friend, Colonel Harvey. We regret it as a public loss, especially at this critical juncture."[77] "He will be much missed," wrote Joseph Hewes from Philadelphia. "I wish to God he could

[77] Col. Rec., IX, 1285. McRee in his "Life and Correspondence of James Iredell," I, 34, states, and the statement has been repeated, that Harvey died June 3, 1775. Perhaps for "June" we should read "May".

have been spared and that the G—r [Governor] and Judge H—d [Howard] had been called in his stead." Few the words, but sincere the tribute, from men who knew his virtues and appreciated his worth.[78]

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[78] John Harvey was buried at Belgrade farm, on Albemarle Sound, in Perquimans County, in a granite tomb said to weigh twenty tons. The tomb was originally on a bluff, but the waves have gradually washed the bluff away until the tomb now lies about three hundred yards from the shore. It has withstood the washing of the waves and is yet in a good state of preservation. It is said that there is an inscription on it, but it is so covered with moss and barnacles that it can not be deciphered.

MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS OF NORTH CAROLINA DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY CLYDE L. KING, A.M.

The purpose of this paper is to make a study of the military organizations of North Carolina, during the American Revolution, with the hope of finding out whether North Carolina or the Continental Congress exercised final and sovereign authority over them. We will examine, first, the various military organizations of the State and, second, the military organizations placed upon the Continental establishment, noting in each case how the troops were embodied, supported, officered, and directed. Then we will determine, if we can, whether North Carolina or the Continental Congress exercised sovereign control over them.

One of the first[1] steps taken by North Carolina toward embodying military forces for the Revolutionary War was to provide[2] (Sept. 7, 1775) for minute men and militia. For this purpose the Province was divided into six districts. Each of these districts was to raise one battalion[3] of minute men to be enlisted for six months. It seems that they were not reinlisted at the expiration of their six months term, at least no further reference is made to them after the battle of Moore's Creek.

In each of these districts, too, a brigade of militia was to be raised. "The militia of every county," so read the resolution[4] of the Provincial Congress, May 4, 1776, "is to consist of all the effective men from sixteen to sixty years of age and shall be formed into one regiment" and "the regi-

[1] On Aug. 30, 1775, two Continetal Battalions had been embodied.
[2] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, pp. 196-199.
[3] "Consisting of ten companies, of fifty men rank and file each."
[4] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, pp. 560-564.

ments divided into companies of not less than fifty rank and file." Each company was to be divided into five divisions, one division to consist of all the more aged and infirm men, the other four divisions to draw lots for the first, second, third, or fourth turns to go on service. The militia were to muster once a month at least.

From time to time other military organizations were formed. On April 9th, 1776, three companies of Light Horse were created, "consisting of one captain, one lieutenant, one cornet and thirty-three privates each.[5]" On April 29th, 1776, the Provincial Congress created[6] five Independent Companies "to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, two drummers, one fifer, and sixty-eight rank and file." Later, they created a company of rangers and embodied and equipped an artillery company. Thus we see that the legislative power of North Carolina created military organizations at will and regulated their embodiment in detail, and that they did this without reference to any other sovereign body.

How were these organizations supported, how officered, and by whom directed? All of them were paid, armed and maintained[7] by the State of North Carolina. The field officers for each and every battalion of minute men were recommended by the several districts and appointed by the Provincial Congress.[8] The field officers of each district appointed a suitable person or persons in each county to enlist minute men. These minute men, when their companies were completed, chose their captains, lieutenants and ensigns, and these appointed their respective non-commissioned officers.

The field officers of the militia were appointed by the Provincial Congress; the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns by

[5] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 506.
[6] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 546.
[7] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, pp. 570-571; XI, p. 529; X, p. 290-1.
[8] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, pp. 196-197.

committees of their respective companies.[9] The Provincial Congress named all the officers for the five Independent Companies[10] and for the Light Horse.[11] In order that this power of appointment should always rest with the State legislature or, in its recess, with the Governor, Sec. 14 of the State Constitution[12] (1776) provided "That the senate and house of commons shall have power to appoint the generals and field officers of the militia and all officers of the regular army of this State" and section 20 provided "That in every case where any officer, the right of whose appointment is by this constitution vested in the General Assembly, shall, during the recess, die, or his office by any other means become vacant, the Governor shall have power, with the advice of the Council of State, to fill up such vacancy by granting a temporary commission, which shall expire at the end of the next session of the General Assembly." The full and ultimate power, therefore, to support and officer these troops rested in the North Carolina Legislature, or, during its recess, with the Governor.

The first decided and effective use made by North Carolina of her military forces was the overthrow of the Loyalists at Widow Moore's Creek on February 27, 1776.[13] The committees of safety in the various counties, in accordance with the power[14] vested in them by the Provincial Congress, ordered out a certain part of their militia.[15] These forces were placed by the Provincial Council under proper command, and other organizations were ordered to join them, so that by the time of the battle, Colonel Caswell, who re-

[9] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, pp. 200, 204, 207.
[10] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 546.
[11] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 519.
[12] Revised Statutes of N. C., Vol. 1, p. 13.
[13] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 482.
[14] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 200 (On Sept. 8, 1775).
[15] Tryon County ordered out "every third effective."

pulsed and scattered the Loyalists, had under him[16] 800 minute men to whom he added the 250 under Lillington. Col. James Moore was near at hand with an army[17] of 1,100 men made up of the First North Carolina Continental Battalion, 150 Wilmington minute men, 200 Duplin militia and 100 volunteer independent rangers. These forces were assembled and directed by North Carolina authorities alone. Again, May 2, 1776, the Provincial Congress drafted 1,500 militia[18] for three months[19] to ward off a threatened attack, and ordered them to march as quickly as possible to Wilmington. At divers times other uses were made of the troops by local or provincial authorities, such as putting[20] down local uprisings of the loyalists and preventing them from joining Governor Martin.[21] Some of her laws, too, show that she was not expecting any other authority to make use of North Carolina troops. The act (April 29, 1776) creating the five independent companies specifically provided[22] that they should "be subject only to the control of this or any future Congress, or to any executive power, acting in the recess of the same, to remove or disband them." These companies were also given authority to take enemies' ships as prizes of war—a power assumed only by sovereign States. Thus we see that North Carolina made use of her troops for such purposes and in such ways as her sovereign will directed.

Whenever the urgent need for any one or more of these military organizations seemed to be past, the Provincial Congress disbanded them at will. On one occasion she dissolved the two Southern Independent Companies[23] and at another

[16] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 482.
[17] Moore's Hist. of N. C., pp. 203, 204.
[18] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 558.
[19] May 11, 1776, this.
[20] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 761.
[21] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, pp. 440, 536.
[22] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 546.
[23] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 92.

time certain companies of militia.[24] On December 15, 1777, she discharged[25] the militia companies that she had stationed on the coast and also those on the frontier, creating[26] in the place of the latter a special company of Rangers to warn the militia when Indian uprisings seemed imminent. The Provincial Congress and, later, the State Legislature not only assumed full control over these military organizations for itself, but, during its recess, vested its power in the Provincial Council and, under the constitution, in the Governor.

Not only did North Carolina assume sovereign control over her State troops within the State, embodying, officering, using, and disbanding them as she wished but, when outside the State, she exercised the same control over them. Jointly with Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, she subdued the Cherokees with no interference or suggestion from the Continental Congress, save the following resolution[27] (July 30, 1776): "Information being given to Congress by a letter from the President of South Carolina, that the Cherokees have commenced hostilities against that State, and that he has ordered a body of men to march against them and has applied for assistance to the neighboring states of North Carolina and Virginia:

Resolved: That it be recommended to the states of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia to afford all necessary assistance to the State of South Carolina and to cooperate against that state in prosecuting the war against the Indians with the utmost vigor." But at once the three North Carolina delegates then in the Continental Congress, lest the home authorities might interpret this resolution as of some force and significance, sent home this statement[28] which they

[24] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 927.
[25] State Records of N. C., XII, p. 159.
[26] State Records of N. C., XII, p. 160.
[27] Journals of Cont. Cong., V, p. 616 (Ford ed.).
[28] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 679.

all signed: "This resolve is by no means intended to alter the plan of military operations which you have begun or to draw off the Strength of our back Country to a distant part merely for the sake of acting in the same place with the South Carolinians, if the Opposition can be made as effectually in any manner devised by yourselves or from a part of your province from whence hostilities may successfully be carried into the bosom of the Cherokee country. *In fact, nothing is meant but to subdue the Cherokees.*" The States subdued the Cherokees, and then, without any resolution on the part of the Continental Congress, appointed joint commissioners and signed a treaty[29] of peace with the Indians. Later in the same year (November, 1776), North Carolina granted to South Carolina, which was then in sore need of troops, permission to raise troops in North Carolina territory. At the same time she embodied two regiments and sent them to the aid of South Carolina,[30] maintaining the while full control of them.[31]

We may conclude from these facts that North Carolina assumed the same sovereign control over her troops when without the state or in joint action with other states, as when within the state, a thing impossible had she considered herself and the other states subject to a common sovereign power.

Since North Carolina embodied, supported, officered and directed her troops, maintaining full and final authority over them, whether serving within or without the State; and since the Continental Congress in no sense even *assumed* power over these troops, and since North Carolina in her

[29] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, pp. 650, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661-9, 889, 895, 912.

[30] State Records of N. C., Vol. XI, p. 103.

[31] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 929.

[32] There were also many objections made by North Carolina to the raising of troops on her territory by other States, *e. g.*, see N. C. R., XI, p. 663.

military regulations never suggested that the Continental Congress had power to control them, we must conclude that so far as her State troops were concerned North Carolina was a sovereign and independent State.

But there remains for consideration another military organization embodied in North Carolina, the Continental Battalions. These Continental Battalions were supported by money advanced by the Continental Congress to Treasurers appointed by the North Carolina Legislature, to which they reported, and to which they looked for orders and directions.[32] The Battalion officers proper were all appointed by the North Carolina legislature. Those officers having charge over one or more battalions[33] were appointed by the Continental Congress upon the nomination of the North Carolina Legislature. These troops, therefore, if any, should be under Continental control.

Let us follow in some detail the embodiment of these troops, to find out by whom they were embodied, and if by North Carolina upon the order of the Continental Congress, whether the State acted in a spirit of obedience or in one of prudent acquiescence.

On June 26, 1775, the Continental Congress resolved "That in case the Assembly of Convention of that Colony shall think it absolutely necessary for the support of the American Association and safety of the Colony to raise a body of forces not exceeding 1,000 men this Congress will consider them as an American army and provide for their pay."[34] The Provincial Assembly of North Carolina embodied these troops, appointed their officers (September 1, 1775), divided them into two regiments of five hundred men each, subdivided these into divisions, and stationed these di-

[32] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. IX, pp. 482 and 521.
[33] Journals of Cong., Vol. IV, p. 174.
[34] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 40.

visions where they were most needed in North Carolina. In the same act the legislature provided that "The said two regiments, and every of the above divisions, shall from time to time be disposed of as this Congress or the Council of Safety shall direct."[35]

The Assembly of North Carolina, one week afterawrds,[36] declared that these troops should "be kept in pay three months, unless the Provincial Council shall judge it necessary to continue them longer; and the said Council are empowered to disband them at any time before or after the term of three months, when they shall judge that their service is unnecessary."[37] But on November 28th following, the Continental Congress put these two Battalions on pay for one year.[38] North Carolina made no change in the terms of her enlistment and embodied her troops on her own plan. The same overriding of Continental regulations occurred the next year. The North Carolina Legislature had declared (April 27, 1776) that the Continental troops should be enlisted for the term of two years and six months.[39] On September 24, 1776, the Continental Congress resolved that these troops should be enlisted for the "continuance of the war."[40] But to this resolution North Carolina paid no heed. This was not obedience nor was it acquiescence, but rather the natural neglect, it would seem, of a sovereign body to take care that its acts should coincide with the requests and recommendations of a Central Committee.

Eight more battalions were finally put upon the Continental Establishment. The embodiment of the Third to the Sixth of these Battalions may throw additional light upon the attitude of the North Carolina Congress to the Conti-

[35] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 187.
[36] September 8, 1775.
[37] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 203.
[38] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 338.
[39] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 544.
[40] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 807.

nental Congress. On January 16th, 1776, the Continental Congress resolved that another Battalion should be raised in the Colony of North Carolina.[41] Acting upon this resolution, the Provincial Congress of North Carolina created, April 9, 1776, not one Battalion, but three and these of 750 privates each, and in addition three companies of Light Horse.[42] The next day the members of the Provincial Congress bethought themselves of the Continental regulations that, including officers, each regiment should consist of 728 men. Nothing daunted, however, they created a fourth Battalion out of the extra officers and privates, and the President of the Assembly cheerfully wrote to the Continental Delegates at Philadelphia: "It is hoped that you will find no difficulty in getting them placed on the Continental Establishment when it is considered that the Colonies of Virginia and South Carolina are in daily expectation of being invaded and that we have therefore very little reason to hope for succour or assistance from either of them."[43] There is in this a spirit of independence that can scarce be reconciled with obedience to sovereign power.

When these Continental forces were needed for military purposes, by what power were they summoned, and, when in operation, by what power were they directed? On October 21, 1775, the Provincial Congress which had already stationed the two Continental Battalions along the coast, ordered them to "oppose to the utmost of their power" the landing of any hostile troops.[44] We have already seen that North Carolina used the First Continental Battalion at Widow Moore's Creek. Other similar uses were made of them. When within the State, then, North Carolina assumed full control of these troops.

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41 Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 413.
42 Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 506.
43 Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 495.
44 Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 186.

But what of their control when without the State? On September 3d, 1776, the Continental Congress resolved that "Two of the Continental Battalions be ordered to march with all possible expedition under command of General Moore to reenforce the army at New York." By whom they were to be ordered the resolution did not state but that the execution of the resolution at least was to be left to North Carolina is shown by the following resolution[45] of the Continental Congress (September 16, 1776): "It being represented by the delegates of North Carolina, that, from late accounts, it appears that the situation of affairs in that State is such, that it will be dangerous, if not impracticable, to execute the resolution of Congress of the third instant * * * Resolved that it be left to the discretion of the Council of Safety of North Carolina, to execute or suspend that resolution according as they shall think most conducive to the public service and the safety of their particular State."[46]

On November 16th, 1776, the Continental Congress passed the following resolution:[47] "Resolved that it be recommended to the Convention of North Carolina to station General Moore with the regular troops under his command in such parts of that state or of the state of South Carolina where they will be in capacity to render immediate and seasonable assistance to their friends in South Carolina." The North Carolina Assembly evidently did not consider this as a command of a superior authority directing its own troops, for on November 29th, 1776, following, it put this order into execution in the following words:[48] "In consequence of In-

[45] Journals of Cont. Cong., Vol. V, p. 761 (Ford ed.).

[46] It is very significant to note that the following clause was stricken out: "Provided, nevertheless, that they shall not have power to stop Brigadier-General Moore from repairing to New York." Is this a tacit confession that North Carolina did have full control even over a Brigadier-General? Does it mean that she could have held the troops and not the officer?

[47] Journals of Cong., Vol. VI, p. 956 (Ford ed.).

[48] Col. Records of N. C., Vol. X, p. 947.

formation from the Continental Congress that a considerable number of Troops and a large Fleet had sailed from New York, and are supposed to be intended against Charlestown, South Carolina, *Resolved,* That General Moore do immediately march with the troops under his command to the Relief of Charlestown without delay." General Moore led his troops as directed and while in South Carolina looked to the North Carolina authorities for direction.[49] That the execution of the orders of the Continental Congress was left wholly to North Carolina we can no longer doubt, and it only remains for us to find out whether or not the State considered herself under obligations to execute implicitly Continental orders.

In the early part of 1777[50] the Continental Congress resolved that all the battalions of Continental troops in North Carolina should join General Washington "as soon as may be" after March 15th.[51] Governor Caswell on February 6th requested General Moore to order three complete regiments to march without delay and join General Washington.[52] General Moore encountered constant delays always reporting to Governor Caswell, never to the Continental Congress, for aid[53] and orders.[54] In time all of the nine Battalions by order of North Carolina authorities reached General Washington. But North Carolina followed her own dictates, ordering them to depart when she wished and in the way she wished.[55] This may have been acquiescence, but certainly it was not obedience.

Even after these Continental Battalions were in Washington's camp they continued to look to the North Carolina

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49 State Records of N. C., Vol. XI, p. 367.
50 February 5, 1777.
51 State Records of N. C., Vol. XI, p. 374.
52 State Records of N. C., Vol. XI, p. 375.
53 State Records of N. C., Vol. XI, p. 411.
54 State Records of N. C., Vol. XI, p. 412.
55 State Records of N. C., Vol. XI, pp. 579, 614; Vol. XII, p. 131. Follow particularly the new Tenth Battalion.

authorities as the authorities to whom alone their obedience, outside of their immediate field operations, was due. In the first place North Carolina recruited the ranks[56] and punished the deserters. To aid in this, the North Carolina Legislature called upon General Nash or the Commanding officer of the Continental troops to report to the Assembly lists of the different battalions, divisions, companies, parts of companies and names of deserters.[57] It ordered Continental Battalion officers to recruit in North Carolina or to repair to the North as it saw fit.[58] It even abolished superfluous Continental offices although the officers were then under General Washington.[59] That there was need of effective recruiting we may learn from the fact that the nine Continental Battalions, instead of having 6,552 men and officers had 1,385 of whom there were only 655 privates fit for duty.[60] Yet the Continental Congress gave no orders. Her anguish and feeling of helplessness were no doubt reflected in these words written home by the North Carolina delegate, Corn. Harnett: "For God's sake fill up your Battalions, Lay Taxes, put a stop to the sordid and avaricious spirit which infects all ranks and conditions of men."[61]

Not only did the North Carolina Legislature assume full control over these Continental troops while within and without the State, but on May 9th, 1777, vested the Governor, during its recess, with power[62] at his discretion to appoint "officers to fill up all such vacancies as may happen in the Continental armies," and to remove,[63] suspend and censure

[56] State Records of N. C., Vol. XI, pp. 578-9, 456-7; XII, pp. 9, 10, 59, 60.
[57] State Records of N. C., Vol. XII, p. 33.
[58] State Records of N. C., Vol. XII, pp. 59 and 60.
[59] State Records of N. C., Vol. XII, pp. 48 and 50.
[60] State Records of N. C., Vol. XI, p. 690.
[61] State Records of N. C., Vol. XI, p. 696; Dec. 16, 1777.
[62] State Records of N. C., Vol. XII, p. 99.
[63] State Records of N. C., Vol. XII, p. 93.

any Continental officer that may behave unworthily. It particularly required him from time to time to give such directions respecting the securing and disposal of deserters as he might judge necessary, and further gave him power "To give such orders as he may think necessary for the removal, marching or disposition of the Continental Troops *in this state or any of them.*"[64]

North Carolina, then, embdoied at will such state military organizations as she pleased and directed all of them as she thought best, exercising full and sovereign control over them. She embodied in her own way ten Continental battalions which were paid by the Continental Congress through North Carolina treasurer. The Continental Congress recommended by resolution certain military operations for these troops. The execution of these resolutions was left wholly to the State of North Carolina which maintained and exercised full control of the troops, both within and without the State, even to the extent of punishing deserters though they were under the immediate command of General Washington. The Continental Congress in no place asserted definitely that she had sovereign authority over them while North Carolina not only asserted such authority but exercised it. We must conclude, then, that so far as control over her military organizations was concerned, North Carolina was a sovereign and independent State and that Thomas Burke expressed the common attitude of the people of North Carolina toward the Continental Congress, when he said to the General Assembly: "I consider the Congress at present as a general council of America instituted for the purpose of opposing the usurpations of Britain."

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[64] State Records of N. C., Vol. XII, p. 99.

A SERMON

BY

REV. GEORGE MICKLEJOHN

PREACHED BEFORE

GOVERNOR TRYON'S ARMY AT HILLSBOROUGH

SEPTEMBER 25, 1768

Edited for THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

BY

R. W. D. CONNOR

Secretary North Carolina Historical Commission

On the important Duty of SUBJECTION to the CIVIL POWERS.

A

SERMON

Preached before his EXCELLENCY

WILLIAM TRYON, Esquire,
GOVERNOR and Commander in Chief of the Province of NORTH-CAROLINA,

AND THE

TROOPS raised to quell the late

INSURRECTION,

AT

HILLSBOROUGH, in ORANGE County,
On SUNDAY *September* 25, 1768.

By GEO. MICKLEJOHN, S. T. D.

NEWBERN:
Printed by JAMES DAVIS,

M,DCC,LXVIII.

DEDICATION.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY

WILLIAM TRYON, *Esquire,*

Governor and Commander in Chief of the

Province of *NORTH-CAROLINA.*

SIR,

THE Kind Approbation with which YOU have favoured this DISCOURSE, is as much an Honour as it is a Satisfaction to me; for which I desire Your Excellency to accept my grateful Acknowledgments: And as You, with many other Honourable Gentlemen, have, in so particularly obliging a Manner, signified Your Desire of seeing it published, I have complied with Your Request; which, indeed, I must own, You put it out of my Power to refuse. I heartily pray GOD it may be attended with those beneficial Effects, which You seem to entertain so much Hopes of: And if it should be instrumental in bringing any to a just Sense of the great DUTY inculcated therein, and a religious Observance of it for the future, My Pleasure would be greatly heightened, by the Happiness I am sensible You will receive Yourself. With My earnest Wishes for Your Excellency's present Felicity, as well as Eternal Wellfare, which it will always be a peculiar Joy to Me to promote,

I remain, SIR,

Your EXCELLENCY'S

Ever faithful and obliged

Humble Servant,

GEO. MICKLEJOHN.

A SERMON, &C.[1]

ST. PAUL'S *Epistle to the* ROMANS, Chap. XIII. Verses 1st & 2d.

Let every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God; the Powers that be, are ordained of God.

Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.

I AM persuaded, that every one who feels the least regard for the wellfare and happiness of his country; and the peace and comfort of his fellow-subjects and countrymen, will look upon the subject as highly proper, and seasonable at this time.

FOR who can reflect upon so many wretched and unthinking men, thus madly attempting to subvert the laws of the kingdom; thus inconsiderately involving friends, relations and neighbours, in the most direful calamity, and foolishly

[1] Extracts from the Journal of the General Assembly of North Carolina:

Friday, November 18, 1768:

Recd from his Excellency a Written Message by Mr. Edwards relative to, and accompanied with one hundred copies of a sermon preached by the Reverend Mr. Micklejohn before the Troops at Hillsborough, which Message is as follows, (that is to say)

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

By the particular request of the Reverend Mr. Micklejohn, I desire leave in his behalf to present your House with one hundred copies of a sermon preached before the Troops at Hillsborough. The merit and beneficial tendency of this admirable discourse, gave general satisfaction to all who heard it delivered; a testimony it will undoubtedly receive from every one who reads with attention. WM. TRYON.

* * * * * * * *

bringing upon themselves destruction here, and damnation hereafter;—who can look upon so deplorable a scene, without feeling the most earnest desires, that every such rash and misguided person could be made duly sensible of the dreadful impiety of so daring and wicked an action, as well as of the certain misery that must inevitably be the consequence?

IT is possible this alarming consideration may prevail with some persons, when every other more laudable motive fails of its proper influence; and, it is to be hoped, that a sight of their danger may bring them to a sense of their duty.

Saturday, December 3d, 1768:

Recd from the Council the following Message Vizt

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

* * * * * * * *

We must also recommend to your consideration the Reverend Mr. Micklejohn who preached to the Troops at Hillsborough printed and dispersed several copies of one of the sermons on the the important occasion.

3d December 1768. In the upper House.

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Resolved the following Message be sent to the Council, Vizt,

Gentlemen of His Majestys Honble Council.

* * * We do agree that the Treasurers pay the expence of printing those sermons preached by the Reverend George Micklejohn sent to this House by his Excellency this session.

3d December 1768. JOHN HARVEY Sp.

* * * * * * * *

Monday December 5th 1768.

Resolved the following Message be sent to His Excellency the Governor, Vizt,

To His Excellency William Tryon, Esquire, Captain, General Governor, &Ca,

SIR,—This House have received your Excellency's Message relative to the Reverend George Micklejohn, with one hundred copies of a Sermon preached by him at Hillsborough, and in his behalf presented by your Excellency to the House, in consequence of which we have Resolved that the Expence of printing the said Sermon be paid by the Public. * * *

5th December 1768. JOHN HARVEY Sp.

(Colonial Records of North Carolina, VII—939, 976, 983.)

WITH this view, I have singled out the words of the text for the subject of our present meditation: And though I have the pleasure to think I am speaking before those who stand not in need of [2] the admonition they contain, yet I thought it not improper for us to consider the several arguments which enforce this great duty here enjoined; that we may not only be preserv'd stedfast in our obedience to it ourselves, but may be able to convince others of the danger, as well as error of their ways; and keep them, for the future, in the paths of duty and allegiance, from which they have lately so unhappily wandered.

YOU cannot but observe then, in the first place, that this important duty of subjection to lawful authority, is one plain and principal doctrine of Christianity. It is here delivered to the world by an inspired Apostle of CHRIST; by *Him,* whom our LORD, in a vision to *Ananias,* honours with the distinguishing title of *"a chosen vessel to Himself."* He it is, who, thus commissioned from above, gives us, in the name of the most high GOD, this solemn command in the words of the text; to which we are, all of us, both high and low, rich and poor, wise and ignorant, indispensably obliged to pay the highest reverence and regard; and no rank nor station in life, can possibly exempt any one from the strictest obedience to it: For it is directed to all men in general, without any exception—*Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*—and it comes to us by the *Authority* of the same GOD and SAVIOUR, who has given us every other precept that we meet with in holy scripture:—It comes to us from that sovereign LORD OF ALL LORDS, whose name we have the honor to bear; whose subjects we profess ourselves at present; and whose eternal kingdom we hope to become inheritors of hereafter: 'Till men, therefore, have renounced CHRIST, and apostatized from *his* religon—'till they have disowned *his* sovereignty and dominion over them, and given

up all expectations of future happiness from his favour, they must acknowledge themselves bound, by the strongest ties, both of interest and gratitude, to comply with this sacred injunction, no less than with every other command of *his Divine Gospel.*

BUT we may still further judge of the singular importance of this duty enjoined us in the text, from that remarkable stress laid upon [3] it by the great Apostle in several other of his Epistles. When he is delivering his apostolical injunctions to *Titus,* and instructing him in the several branches of his duty as a minister of *Christ,* he gives it him in charge, in a very solemn manner, to put men in mind, to be subject to principalities and powers; to obey *Magistrates;* to speak evil of *no man;* to be no *brawlers,* but *gentle;* shewing all *meekness* to *all men.* These things, says he, I will that thou affirm constantly, that they which have believed in God, that is, they who have acknowledged the truth of that revelation[2] *he* has made us in the Gospel, might be careful to maintain good works: These things are good and profitable unto men.

AND in the first Epistle to *Timothy,* he carries this request and reverence for the powers that are lawfully set over us, to a still greater height; making it our duty, not only to be subject unto them, but to implore the favour of Heaven upon them, and the divine blessing on their endeavours for the public happiness and tranquility. *I exhort first of all,* says the Apostle, *that Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks, be made for all Men: For Kings, and for all that are in Authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty: for this is good, and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour.*

JUDGE therefore in yourselves, my beloved brethren, and beseech others, in the name of God, to consider how dreadful

[2] In the text, revalation.

a breach of this duty they must be guilty of, who, instead of praying for the safety of our governors and protectors, presume to threaten their sacred persons with violence, to whom God has commanded us to pay the highest veneration, because they derive their authority from *him*.

AND this leads me to a second very material argument, arising from the words of the text, which strongly enforces this duty, and to which it becomes every one seriously to attend: For surely nothing should more fully convince us of our obligation to pay the most ready obedience to this precept of Christianity, than the solemn reason which the Apostle has immediately subjoined: *Let every soul* [4] *be subject to the higher*[3] *powers; for there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God.*

HAD this precept been delivered to mankind without pointing out to them at the same time, this particularly awful sanction; yet even then our observance of it would have remained indispensable: For when God commands, man is to obey.

THAT God, from *whom* we have received life and breath, and all things, and to *whom* we are indebted for every comfort and blessing we enjoy—that God, upon *whom alone* we are to depend to all eternity, and by *whom* our unalterable fate is to be finally determined;—this great and adorable BEING has an uncontroulable right over *his* dependent creatures, to lay upon them whatever commands *his* wisdom sees proper for them, without being obliged to satisfy them of the reasons for such his sovereign will and pleasure. But in the case before us, you cannot but take notice, in how very different a manner God has been pleased to deal with us; for while he gives us this command by his holy Apostle, he graciously condescends to inform us of those weighty reasons

[3] In the text, higer.

upon which the duty is founded, and which would be most likely to engage us in a religious observance of it.

WE are commanded, therefore, *to be subject to the higher powers,* because the authority they are invested with is from HEAVEN: *The powers that be, are ordained of God!*— They are God's vicegerents upon earth, and instruments in the hand of his providence, for carrying on the grand purposes of protection and government, and for securing the peace and happiness of mankind.

AND though, indeed, they are sometimes unhappily obliged, through the perverseness and wickedness that is in the world, to become *unwilling* avengers, to execute wrath upon every one that doth evil; yet are they, in general, the ministers of God to us, for good, and for the praise and reward of them that do well.

WAS it not for this necessary power which has been committed to them by the ALMIGHTY, every thing must soon be involved in the most dreadful anarchy and confusion. Every man's own will [5] would then be his law; and no language can fully describe those various scenes of misery and horror which would continually arise before us, from the discordant passions and divided interests of mankind. But God, in his infinite goodness, has provided a natural security against all these mischiefs in those different ranks and orders of men, which his wisdom has thought proper should subsist in the world; and in which some are allotted to govern, and others obliged to obey, that so the happiness of the whole community might the more effectually be preserved. And upon these *guardians* of the public and general wellfare, God has been pleased to confer a divine authority, to render their persons, as well as ordinances, the more sacred and venerable.

IT is by *him,* therefore, that kings reign, and princes decree justice; by *him* princes rule, and nobles, even all the

judges of the earth: And as it is very beautifully expressed in the book of Wisdom, *power* is given them of the LORD, and *sovereignty* from the *Highest:* To the truth of this important point, we have a greater than *Solomon* bearing testimony; even our blessed Saviour himself; *who,* when *Pilate* was boasting of that power he had over *him,* either to crucify or to release *him,* puts him in mind from whence he had received his authority; and gives him this mild and instructive answer, *Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.*

HERE we learn from the mouth of our *Redeemer himself,* whence is derived that dignity and sacredness, which belongs to those who are invested with any public power and office.—Here we behold the God of the universe submitting to that supreme authority *he himself* has conferred upon man; and acknowledging the reverence due to that very power, which was shortly to pronounce the sentence of death against *him.*

BUT we have a still more striking and remarkable instance of submission and respect to the *Civil Powers,* which our blessed Lord, upon another occasion, condescended to shew, and which highly deserves every one's serious attention and regard: It is recorded by the [6] Evangelist St. *Matthew,* in the 17th chapter of his Gospel, that when our Lord was come to *Capernaum,* they who received the tribute money, which was required of every Jew above the age of twenty, demanded of St. *Peter,* whether his *Master* intended to pay it. St. *Peter* very readily engages for his Lord's willing and chearful compliance; as he well knew how exact had ever been *his* observance of every civil, as well as religious duty: But when he came into the house to inform his master of this demand, our *blessed Saviour,* by an easy similitude, leads him to understand, that he had been too hasty in his

promises for *him;* for surely, if the children of earthly princes could plead a freedom from paying any custom or tribute, (as appeared by his own reply to the question our Lord had proposed) much more reasonably might *he* be exempted from it, who was *himself* the *Lord of all things,* and the *Son* of that heavenly *King,* for the service of *whose* temple this particular tribute was paid.—But notwithstanding our Lord might have justly claimed this privilege and exemption; yet, you see, *he* willingly declines it; and, *Least we should offend them,* says *he,* to the Apostle, *go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shall find a piece of money; that take, and give unto them for me and for thee.*—What condescension was this in the *Son* of *God!*—Who but must be struck with admiration at this amazing instance of *goodness,* in thus vouchsafing to work a miracle, rather than not satisfy the demands of public authority; lest, by refusing compliance *himself,* he might countenance others in disobedience and rebellion! And who is there that will presume to offer insult to the powers that are in authority, or shew the least resistance, when he considers how remarkably our Lord was pleased to honour them, by expressing the most cautious fear of displeasing them, and thus wonderfully providing against giving any offence?—In order, therefore, to guard men from incurring the guilt of so heinous a crime, let us, in the third place, briefly consider the dreadful consequences that must attend it.—This the Apostle gives us, in these few, but awful words, *They that*[7] *resist, shall receive to themselves* DAMNATION; not only condemnation in this *world,* but *eternal vengeance* in the *life to come.*—And here again, we cannot but observe, the great importance of this duty of subjection, from that tender care which the goodness of GOD has taken to secure our obedience

to it. Some precepts are delivered to us without any particular intimation of the punishment attending our neglect: But this was a matter of so much consequence to the general comfort and happiness of the world, that the *divine wisdom* thought it necessary for us, while we read the sacred injunction, to have before our eyes that future misery which must follow the violation of it: So that, if the love of God, and reverence for *his* commands, should fail to produce this becoming submission, a regard for our own *Everlasting Interest* might possibly prevail.

GOD has, therefore, been pleased, by *his* holy Apostle, to pronounce the sentence of *inevitable perdition upon all those who refuse subjection to lawful power and authority;* as hereby, they not only shew the highest contempt of *his* positive command, but do all in their power to obstruct the gracious designs[4] of *his* providence, for the *good* and *welfare* of *mankind.* So that, upon calm consideration, every one must acknowledge, there cannot possibly be offered a greater insult to *Almighty* GOD, than thus contemptuously to disregard *his* will, and despise those sacred powers whom *he* has ordained and appointed to carry on the best and noblest purposes in the world: And what wonder then is it that so terrible a portion is reserved in store for every such bold and presumptuous offender?—God is represented in scriptures as the *God* of *Peace,* and *Lover* of *Concord;* and we are, for this reason, commanded, in another place, to follow peace with *all men;* because, without this, no man shall see the LORD. Every one, therefore shall hereafter be banished from *his* presence and glory who dares to disturb, in the least degree, that peace and harmony; or endeavours, in any respect, to destroy that good order and government, which it is the intention of HEAVEN should be supported in the world.

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[4] In the text, desings.

[8] BUT though we were not able to assign any particular reason for this severe judgment mentioned in the text, yet ought it to be a sufficient warning to every rebellious sinner, to find how positively it is there denounced: For what God has so solemnly threatened, *he* will most assuredly inflict.

THESE then are the principal reasons which enforce the duty enjoined by the Apostle; but there are several others, which, if duly attended to, cannot but add considerable weight to the arguments already offered, and which I shall, therefore, beg leave briefly to mention.

LET it be considered then, that resistance to that lawful power and authority which God hath set over us, can never possibly be productive of any thing but the wildest uproar, and most universal confusion; and, in the end, can never fail of being attended with the most shocking and dismal effects.

OF this we would have seen a dreadful and melancholy proof; and God only knows what worse consequences might have ensued, had they not been happily prevented by the good conduct of those brave men, who distinguished themselves as remarkably by their HUMANITY, as by the VALOUR, they shewed on that trying occasion.

TO their courage and intrepidity will ever be due our warmest gratitude and thanks; which, blessed be God, gave so timely a check to the desperate fury of those rash men who were engaged in that execrable attempt; and to their humanity these very men must ever acknowledge themselves obliged, which bore so long and patiently their repeated and exasperating insults, and treated them afterwards with greater lenity than they could reasonably expect; for where one has not fallen, twenty ought to have suffered.

LET every one learn, that outrage and violence can never answer any other end but to spread slaughter and desolation

around us; and to introduce the most wretched scenes of misery and distress: Let them consider further, how impossible it is that any good can ever be brought about by such wicked means; and that tho[ugh] some [9] may only meet the ruin their rashness has sought, yet many others must unavoidably become partakers in the calamity, who were never partners in the crime.

THE consideration therefore of the present misfortunes, in which many of their fellow-creatures must be involved, as well as the future destruction to which others are exposed by such daring acts of rebellion, will naturally restrain every man from uniting in them who has the least spark of humanity and compassion remaining in his breast.

ANOTHER motive which cannot but have great weight with every generous mind, is the reflection that every the least Insult offered to magistrates and governors, is an act of the basest ingratitude against those who are, under God, our protectors and guardians, not only from foreign Enemies, but from every domestic foe: To them we owe our security from all that numerous train of mischiefs to which we should be daily liable, from the corruption and wickedness of the world, if under no restraint from human laws, and unawed by proper authority!—To them are we indebted for the safe and comfortable enjoyment of all the blessings of private life, and all the advantages we derive from civil society!—Were there not some who would take upon them the arduous business of public government, the execution of laws, and administration of justice, how would vice and iniquity every where triumph! And what must become of the welfare and tranquility of every individual, were men left at full liberty to plan their malicious schemes against them, and knew they could safely execute them whenever they pleased? What must become of the general peace and

happiness of the whole community, when fraud and injustice, oppression and violence, with every other crime that is injurious to society, might be perpetrated with impunity, and without controul? How infinitely then are we obliged to those persons who willingly undertake so important a trust, and by whose care, abilities and vigilance, these evils are prevented, and the public felicity preserved? And how very[10] enormous and shocking is the offence, when in the discharge of their laborious office, they are treated with insolence instead of honour, and meet with threatenings instead of thanks!

BUT lastly, there is one remark I have further to make, and which ought to have a peculiar force with the people of this land, in leading them chearfully to that subjection which is represented in the text, as the common duty of all men.—I would beg leave to observe therefore, that for an *Englishman* to oppose the laws of his country, is an instance of the highest folly and contradiction we can conceive: For such is the singular excellence of our happy constitution, that the laws to which our obedience is required, are, in reality, no other than what we ourselves have been partly concerned in making.

ALL men must know, that it is impossible for a whole province to meet together for this important work; and every one, I believe, will acknowledge, that were they so assembled, very few would be found capable of carrying it on: For as the wise son of *Sirac* very justly observes, *How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad; that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours; and whose talk is of bullocks? They shall not be sought for in the public council; nor sit high in the congregation; they cannot sit in the judges seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment*: Since therefore, we cannot all be present in this great assembly, wherein the weighty business of public

government is transacted, we have this peculiar privilege, *and a glorious one it is,* of appointing such persons, in whose abilities, understanding, and integrity, we think we may safely confide, to appear for us, in that august assembly; and who are, upon that account, very properly stiled *our representatives.*

IN consequence then of this choice, which we have the liberty to make, and that full power we voluntarily give into their hands; we not only yield our consent before-hand, to whatever laws they may judge it expedient to enact, but may be justly said to have had [11] a principal share in enacting them ourselves; inasmuch as they are framed by their wisdom, and established by their authority, whom we have appointed for that very purpose.

SO that every man, of the most common understanding, if he will allow himself a moment's reflection, may easily see how particularly it is the duty of every one of us, to submit to the laws of his land; and, how astonishing an absurdity it must appear to all the world, if ever we refuse that becoming subjection.

HOW happy would millions think themselves at this hour, who know no other law than the imperious will of some arbitrary prince, could they change situations with us, and taste the singular blessing we enjoy, in being govern'd by the laws we ourselves have made! Let us take care, we set a due value upon this inestimable privilege; lest, if we slight these distinguishing marks of God's favour, and disturb that excellent form of government which his providence has so long preserved among us,—*He* may be provoked to deprive us of it, and bring upon us the misery which such ingratitude would deserve.

I SHALL now briefly sum up what has been said in this discourse, that we may see how many, and powerful, are the

arguments we are furnished with, to engage us in a stedfast observance of this duty, and enable us to convince others of their indispensable obligations to practice it.

YOU find, then, it is a duty which is guarded from violation by all the most sacred and awful sanctions that could possibly be thought of; and bound upon us, by every tie, civil, moral, and divine.—The peace and tranquility of our fellow-subjects and countrymen demand our obedience to it. —The well-being and happiness of society in general, and the comfort and felicity of our dear relations, friends and neighbours in particular, depend upon it; and without our conscientious performance of it, an universal scene of confusion must soon prevail, and all be involved together in the deepest calamity and horror.

[12] LET all such persons therefore who dare to think of engaging in any act of rebellion and disobedience, be intreated to contemplate a little those various and horrible miseries they will unavoidably occasion, and that may possibly deter them from it:—Let them listen to the cries of the disconsolate[5] widow;—behold the tears of the helpless orphan; and consider, how they will be able to endure the sad upbraidings of those miserable mourners, who may justly take up against them the lamentation of the prophet *Jeremiah*: *Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which your rashness and iniquity have brought upon us!*

BUT particularly let them remember, that the blood which may be shed by their means, will hereafter be required at their hands; and that every one of those unhappy souls who shall be brought to an untimely end through their evil counsels and wicked instigations, and sent into another world with all their sins about them, will rise up in judgment

[5] In the text, disconlate.

against them at the last day, and call for tenfold vengeance on their devoted heads.

LET them be farther put in mind, that gratitude to those who afford us a peaceful security from every ill, should engage us in a steady adherence to this duty, at all times and upon every occasion: Should lead us to return obedience for protection, and repay the kind exertion of their abilities and endeavours for the public happiness, with the easy tribute of reverence and affection.

BUT some men may have neither humanity nor generosity enough in their tempers, to be affected by such considerations as these. To them therefore we must open the sacred page, (which, perhaps, they have never before looked into) and point out the solemn and positive command of God enforcing this great duty; and tho[ugh] they may not regard an earthly potentate, yet surely they will stand in awe of the MAJESTY of HEAVEN: Or, as holy *Job* emphatically puts the question: *Shall not HIS EXCELLENCY make them afraid? and shall not His DREAD fall upon them?*— Shew them, moreover, [13] the foundation upon which the reasonableness of this duty is supported: Tell them, that obedience to the civil powers is required of us, not only because God has commanded it, but given us also this very solemn reason, enforcing that command;—that they were instituted and ordained by Himself. When they read therefore, that there is no power but of God, beseech them seriously to consider how detestable they must render themselves in His sight, who, instead of submitting[6] to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, (as we are taught by another Apostle, is our bounden duty) dare to rise up themselves, and compel others to unite with them, in opposition to any law that has been legally established; or to obstruct the ministers

[6] In the text, summitting.

of justice in the execution of that high office they are obliged by oath to discharge, and which has been derived to them from the authority of the *Almighty* himself.

NOTHING, one would think, could so effectually strengthen our obligation to the duty of subjection, as this single consideration, that whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and that every such wicked and desperate attempt is not only treason against an earthly sovereign, but rebellion against the most high God.

AS a farther motive to this duty, and because example is more prevailing than precept, bid them turn their eyes upon the meek and blessed Jesus, and behold him in that gracious and condescending act of submission, I mentioned in the former part of this discourse.—Ask them, if they are not sensible, that He who could feed five thousand men with a few loaves and fishes, could have supported millions with the same ease, to have protected him from the resentment of the civil powers, if he had thought fit to have made the least opposition? But instead of shewing resistance, we behold Him here manifesting the most tender concern and regard for the support of their authority; and by that miraculous method he took to pay obedience to it, convincing mankind of the necessity and importance of this great duty.

SHALL man then presume to refuse that submission which God himself has thus condescended to pay? This amiable pattern we [14] have before us in the person of our great *Redeemer*, ought to have an irresistable influence upon all who call themselves by *his* name; and was, no doubt, intended for our imitation by that gracious Being, who came from HEAVEN with this peculiar design, to leave us an example that we might follow his steps.

FINALLY, whereas the more various and powerful the motives are, which enforce any duty, so much more aggra-

vated will be the crime which leads us to break through them: Oh! beseech them therefore, in the pathetic words of St. *Peter,* to repent of this their wickedness; and pray God, if perhaps the thought of their heart may be forgiven them. This repentence and contrition, if accompanied with future obedience, may not only procure them pardon at an earthly tribunal, but when they come to stand before the judgment seat of CHRIST, will be one means of their obtaining mercy from the Lord in that day, and escaping the vengeance which will otherwise fall upon them. And this leads me to the last motive we have, to enforce their observance of this Christian duty enjoined in the text; the consideration of that eternal misery denounced against those who neglect it.

IF men have no love for their country; if they have no regard for the peace and happiness of those around them; if they have neither humanity nor compassion; neither gratitude nor generosity in their breasts; if they have no veneration for their king, nor reverence for the best constitution in the world; yet they must have some affection for themselves: And though they may despise the commands of GOD, and the example of a SAVIOUR, yet they cannot disregard their own everlasting wellfare. This motive then may possibly bring them to repentance, and a better mind, when every other has failed of its influence; and let us not omit incessantly, and importunately, to urge it upon them.

WARN them of the certain perdition they must inevitably bring upon themselves; and exhort them to consider in time, how fearful a thing it is to fall into the hands of the LIVING GOD! Tell them our God is a consuming fire to such workers of iniquity, and able [15] to destroy both body and soul for ever; and bid them therefore remember, that though they may escape from the sword of justice in this life, they cannot escape the DAMNATION OF HELL.

MAY the good grace of God preserve us at all times from falling into the like crime, that we may never incur so dreadful a condemnation. And as we of this land are peculiarly blessed at this time with one of the most amiable and excellent Governors that ever adorned a province, who has given us his *promise,* that the felicity of his people shall ever be his principal care; let it be our perpetual study and delight, by every means in our power, and particularly by all dutfiul submission to *him,* and *those* whom *he* shall set over us, to render *his* government as peaceful and happy to our affectionate SOVEREIGN, as he will endeavour to make it to us his grateful subjects.

SO shall we secure the blessings of Heaven on ourselves and our posterity; and whenever we are removed out of this troublesome world, shall become members of that blessed kingdom, where universal peace and love, and uninterrupted concord and harmony, will reign for ever and ever. *Amen.*

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

R. D. W. CONNOR.

Robert Diggs Wimberly Connor, the author of the sketch of John Harvey, which appears in this number of the BOOKLET, is fast coming to the front, among that class of writers trained to the work of investigation and is now devoting himself largely to historical research. As Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission he is discharging his official duties with credit to himself and honor to the State. A biographical sketch of him may be found in the BOOKLET, January, 1907.

CLYDE L. KING.

Clyde L. King, born May 1, 1879, at Burlington, Kansas, is the son of Peter and Sarah (Taliaferro) King; graduated from Kansas State Normal, Emporia, Kansas, 1904; Michigan University, 1907, A.B.; 1908, A.M.

He had a teaching experience three years before entering Kansas Normal Schools, Mound City, Kansas, then resigned in order to enter Michigan University in the fall of 1905. In the summers of 1905 and 1906 he was Instructor in the Teachers' Institutes in different counties in Kansas. During the summer of 1907 he served as Instructor in the Department of American History in Kansas Normal College at Emporia (a college course having been added since 1906 to this institution). He was elected as Fellow in American History, 1907-'08, in Michigan University and was called upon to act as "quizmaster" in one of the American History courses.

Mr. King is a member of the Kansas State Historical As-

sociation and the American Historical Association. He belongs to the University societies, but is more interested in the "Acolytes", a Philosophers' Club of the University, and he prizes his membership in this club more than any other.

In 1907 Mr. King was elected Assistant in the Department of American History and Government in the Kansas Normal College, and after his election he was granted the "Honorable Peter White Fellowship" for 1908, when he asked and received a leave-of-absence from the Kansas position in order to profit by a year's study as Fellow in Michigan University; after which he returns to the position in the Normal College in June. Recently he has passed successfully the examination for the Master's degree.

It will be seen that Mr. King's course of study has brought him in intimate relation to North Carolina history and his article in the present number on the "Military Organizations of North Carolina during the American Revolution" will be hailed with much interest by the readers of the BOOKLET. This carefully prepared treatise is collated from approved official and documentary *data* and adds another valuable monograph to the BOOKLET's collection, which will be the more appreciated as coming from a citizen of a distant State.

MARSHALL DE LANCEY HAYWOOD.

Marshall De Lancey Haywood was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, on March the 6th, 1871. He is the son of Dr. Richard Bennehan Haywood (1819-1889), an eminent physician, at one time a surgeon in the service of the Confederacy; and he is of New York ancestry on the maternal side, his mother, whose maiden name was Julia Ogden Hicks, being connected with some of the first families of her native State.

Mr. Haywood is the grandson of Sherwood Haywood

(1762-1829), a man who was venerated and affectionately beloved in private life and highly honored as a man of sterling integrity. He was among the earliest settlers of Raleigh.

This Sherwood Haywood was a son of Colonel William Haywood, and a nephew of Lieutenant-Colonel Sherwood Haywood and Major Egbert Haywood—all patriots of the Revolution, and sons of Colonel John Haywood, who was member of the Colonial Assembly, Treasurer of the Northern Counties of the Province, Commissioner of Coast Fortifications, etc., prior to the Revolution. Sherwood Haywood, of Raleigh, already mentioned, married a sister of Governor William Hawkins, and a daughter of Colonel Philemon Hawkins, Jr., who—like his father, Colonel Philemon Hawkins, Sr.—was an officer in the Revolution.

Through his mother, Marshall De Lancey Haywood is lineally descended from Robert Hicks, who settled at Plymouth, Mass., in 1621; John Hicks, of the Colonial Assembly of New Amsterdam; Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Hicks, High Sheriff of Queen's County in the Colony of New York; Lewis Morris, of Morrisania Manor, Chief Justice of New York and first Governor of New Jersey; Attorney-General James Graham and Surveyor-General Augustine Graham, both of the Colony of New York; and Major John Graham, of the Second New York Continental Regiment. Through the wife of the last named, Mr. Haywood is also descended from the historic Ogden family of New Jersey.

Marshall De Lancey Haywood early evinced a love for letters, and his experience as Clerk in the Attorney General's office and as local editor of a daily newspaper, led him into a broader field of literature of a higher and more substantial character. When twenty-nine years old, he entered Johns Hopkins University and took a special course as a student of history. On returning to his State in 1901 he became As-

sistant State Librarian; following this he was appointed Librarian of the State Agricultural and Mechanical College. All of these positions he filled with credit, besides the benefit of becoming conversant with standard works and particularly in that line of literature bearing on the history of his State. He has collected books and pamphlets bearing on the history of North Carolina and also owns a most valuable collection of book-plates, engraved portraits, and autographs.

With a patriotic ancestry, and rare opportunities for studying old and forgotten lore, Mr. Haywood has devoted much time to the service of the Society of Sons of the Revolution in North Carolina and is Secretary of the organization, the object of which is to preserve and perpetuate the memory of the War for Independence, devoting surplus funds to the painting of portraits of eminent men who have cast luster on the State, and to similar patriotic purposes.

Mr. Haywood was elected an honorary member of the Society of the Cincinnati in the year 1897 and is now its Secretary. He is equally interested in the United Sons of Confederate Veterans, having served on several of the committees of that organization.

To the Masonic Order he is devoted, and was chosen Historian of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina. His book on the "Beginnings of Freemasonry in North Carolina and Tennessee" has given great satisfaction and has received much applause.

He is the author of numerous other historical sketches, notable among them a book entitled: "Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina." Mr. Haywood has been an important factor in the life of the BOOKLET, and has contributed the following articles: "Governor Charles Eden" (1673-1722), Vol. III, December, 1903; "The Genesis of Wake County," Vol. V,

July, 1905; "John Lawson"—the Colony of North Carolina's earliest Historian—(—1711), Vol. VI, April, 1907; "The North Carolina Peace Society, 1819-23," Vol. VII, April, 1908. This last mentioned article comes in opportune time, when the Hague Tribunal, Carnegie Peace Endowment, and general efforts to substitute arbitration for force of arms, are claiming the attention of the world, looking forward to that brighter day when the nations shall learn war no more.

At present Mr. Haywood has in preparation a work dealing with the lives of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of North Carolina, running down to the division of the Diocese—this including sketches of Bishops Ravenscroft, Ives, Atkinson, and Lyman.

Mr. Haywood's devotion to historical research, his painstaking industry and literary ability led to his selection as one of the editors of the "Biographical History of North Carolina From Colonial Times to the Present," which is to be completed in ten volumes. The name of Capt. Samuel A'Court Ashe as editor in chief is sufficient to attest the high merit of this work. It is published by Charles L. Van Noppen, a bookman of established reputation. The sketches in this publication represent the best work of some of the best writers of the State; the result is meeting with the highest commendation and the BOOKLET adds its voice to the general verdict—that "the publication is of great excellence and of equal merit with the historical productions of the best American authors." Up to the present time Mr. Haywood has written more than one hundred sketches for that work.

Through a series of steady successes Mr. Haywood is daily adding to his reputation as a writer of history. An interesting sketch of his life, with portrait, may be found in Volume VI of the Biographical History, by Capt. S. A. Ashe, to whom the editor is indebted for the facts set forth in this sketch.

ABSTRACTS OF WILLS.

FROM SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE.

Will of Adam Gambell, of Glascow, Scotland; Nov. 14, 1694.—John Land, living in London; Adam Hill, in London; John Argy, in France; Robert, Thomas and John West, sons-in-law of Thomas Pollock; John Hunt, brother James Gambell, of Glascow; Thomas Pollock and John Hunt, Exrs. Test: Henel Gregory, Elizabeth Hunt, W. Lynch.

Will of Thomas Gough, Dec. 18, 1794.—Son Robert, daughter Sarah, wife Sarah, whom I appoint Exx. Test: Anthony Dawson, John Williams, Juliana Taylor.

William Flovell, Newton, New Hanover. Dec. 8th, 1737; Mch. 1, 1737-8.—Two hundred pounds to be paid by my executors in six months, to build an English Church in Newton, and my pew in the English Church of Charlestown to be sold and the amount laid out for "Communion Plate" for the said Church in Newton: niece Elizabeth Colleton, now wife of George Colleton, of South Carolina; Uncle William Hale, late of Nassau, New Providence; William Roper, Elizabeth Colleton, Rufus Marsden, John Davis and Jos. Wragg, Exrs. Test: Roger Rolfe, Mich. Higgines, Armand deRossett, M. D.

Mary Glaister, Pasquotank. 9th day, 4th month, 1740; Oct. Court, 1740.—Cousin Henry Palin, son of Thomas, decd.; cousin Thomas Palin, cousin Ann Riding, daughter of Thos. Palin, decd.; cousin Mary Glaister Palin, daughter of Thos., decd., and cousin Mary Palin, daughter of John, decd.; John Palin, son of John, decd.; cousin Sarah Palin, cousin Susannah Pritchard, daughters Sarah Honeycutt and

Ruth Scott; Elizabeth Scott, daughter of Stephen, Mary Joans, Mary Morris, Sr., Sam'l Newby, son of James, Hannah Stafford, Sarah Martin, wife of Nath'l; friend Thomas Pritchard, cousins Sarah Palin and Mary Clark, Exrs. Test: David George, John Henby and Joshua Scott.

Dr. John Gourley, Onslow, Jan'y 2d, 1746-47; Jan'y 7th, 1747-48.—Mother Elizabeth, if alive; brother George Gourley, sisters Grizzle and Mary, Sam'l Johnston Exr: £40 (pounds) to buy Bibles and New Testaments for the poor children on New River; nephew John Gourley. Test: James Glenn, Geo. Coheenaw.

Gordin, Nath'l; July 14, 1755; Jan'y Court, 1756.—Son Nathaniel, daughter Tamer, son George, daughters Elezele and Elizabeth; wife Amy, Exx. Test: Thomas Bartlift, Emanuel Davis.

John Haywood, Edgecombe. Feb'y 18, 1758; June Court, 1758.—My father, sisters Deborah and Mary, brothers Egbert and Sherwood. Test: Robert Wasson, Joseph Pope, Samuel Pittman.

John Jacob Horn, Craven. Feb. 4th, 1744; Nov. 20, 1744, Wife, sons Jacob, Henry and Samuel, daughters Mary and Elizabeth Slabbach, daughter Margaret; wife Mary Magdalene and Nicholas Purefoy, Exrs. Test: John Granade, Jas. Wilcox.

HELEN DEB. WILLS,
Historian and Genealogist.

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Vol. VIII. OCTOBER, 1908. No. 2

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by

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DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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THE CONVENTION OF 1835.

BY HENRY GROVES CONNOR,
One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of North Carolina.

The Convention which met in Raleigh, June 4, 1835, was one of the "Great Events in the History of North Carolina." It was the result of a long, sectional controversy which had divided the people of the State for more than fifty years, growing out of the Constitution of 1776.

At the Provincial Congress of April, 1776, the question of forming a Constitution was considered and a committee was appointed to draft one, but the delegates could not agree on a plan and the matter was postponed until the next session. The next Congress met, at Halifax, in November, 1776, and the delegates to it were elected with special reference to the adoption of a Constitution. In some of the counties full instructions were drawn up and given by the people to their delegates in respect to those particular points on which they were to insist in the formation of the Constitution. William Hooper, a delegate to the Continental Congress, addressed a letter to the Convention giving his opinion, in regard to the proposed Constitution. Among other things he strongly urged that the Legislature should be composed of two branches, saying: "A single branch of legislation is a many-headed monster which, without any check, must soon defeat the very purpose for which it was created, and its members become a tyranny, dreadful in proportion to the numbers which compose it." At the opening of the Congress, November 12, 1776, a committee, composed of the ablest men in the body, was appointed to report a "Bill of Rights" and "Constitution or

Form of Government." When this report came in it was "debated, amended," passed its several readings and adopted on its third reading.[1] It would be interesting to read the discussions of the delegates, some of whose letters and other writings have been preserved, that we might see what their views were in regard to the making of a written Constitution.[2] The vote by which the report of the committee, with the amendments thereto, was adopted, is not given in the Journal of the Congress, but it is certain that there were wide divergencies of opinion among the delegates upon the most important phases of their work. While in its general provisions the Constitution is a model in style, clearness and adaptability to the conditions existing, like all things human, it was, in some respects, imperfect. It is probable, however, that but few changes would have been made for many years, but for the basis upon which representation in the Legislature was fixed. The Constitution as adopted, allowed each county one senator and two members of the House of Commons. The State at that time was divided into thirty-five counties, twenty-nine of which were east of the present capital. Six borough towns were permitted to send one representative each to the House of Commons, and this privilege was afterwards [1789] extended to Fayetteville. It was based upon the theory that by reason of the trade and commerce in which they were engaged these towns had interests peculiar to themselves which entitled them to representation. The qualifications of a senator differed from those of a member of the House of Commons only in regard to the number of acres of land which he was required to own. Both were to be freeholders. An elector was required to be a freeholder in order to vote for a senator, while to be a freeman, if his taxes were

[1] Colonial Records of North Carolina, X 974.

[2] Much light is thrown on the subject in McRee's "The Life and Correspondence of James Iredell".

paid, entitled him to a vote for a commoner. It was provided that the Legislature should consist of two branches, but there is nothing in the Constitution suggesting that represenation in the Senate was based upon wealth, and in the House of Commons upon population. It is probable that it was deemed wise, in the conditions then existing, to make only such changes as were necessary to organize the State government. While the statesmen of that time were laying the foundations of States, based upon the sovereignty of the people instead of the Crown, they wisely avoided making radical changes in matters of administration. They were State-builders rather than scholastic theorists discussing abstract "rights of man," and were not seeking to cut loose from, but rather to build upon the experience and lessons of the past. They were familiar with the principles of English Constitutional liberty and the rights secured by Magna Carta, and other guarantees of liberty, including the common law. It was because these rights and liberties guaranteed in their charter had been denied to them, that they separated from the Mother Country. The "Bill of Rights" and "Form of Government" were not adopted hastily or without consideration.

So soon as the War for Independence was over and the State began to increase in population, friction arose between the larger counties which were being formed in the central and western parts of the State and the smaller counties in the east. As population moved westward there was a demand for the formation of new counties in the west which was met by a counter demand for a corresponding increase in the east, without, however, there being any such increase in population. The East, upon the basis of county representation, held controlling power in the Legislature and refused to permit any amendment to the Constitution. The question, originally one of political power, soon became, because of increased interest in improved modes of transportation and other internal

improvements, one of industrial and commercial importance. The East, content with its waterways, slave labor, and the produce of its rich soil, cleared into large plantations, opposed State aid to schemes for internal improvements. Judge Murphey originated a movement for improved methods of transportation, "by deepening the inlets from the ocean, opening the rivers for navigation, connecting them by canals, and constructing turnpikes or macadamized roads, so as to concentrate all the trade at two or three points within the limits of the State." The plans of this wise, far-seeing statesman and of those coöperating with him, were changed and given a new impulse by the invention and introduction of the locomotive engine and railroad for transportation and travel. Other States embarked in the construction of canals, and the building of railroads, whereas North Carolina, with no large cities, no canals or other modes of transportation, and no manufactories, made but little progress in industry, wealth or population.

It is not difficult to see that these conditions not only intensified the complaints of the West, regarding the distribution of power, but created a positive antagonism of interest between the two sections. For many years the East successfully resisted every demand for a change in the Constitution, or compliance with the demands of the West for internal improvements, which became more pronounced each year. In 1821 resolutions were introduced in the House of Commons by Charles Fisher, of Salisbury, declaring "that the representation of the people of this State, in both branches of the Legislature, under the Constitution, was greatly unequal, unjust and anti-republican; that the Constitution ought to be so amended that each citizen should have an equal share in the right of representation upon the principle of free white population; that a Convention, therefore, should be called to amend the Constitution." The debate on the resolutions clearly

marked the line of division. It was ably conducted and at times aroused much bitterness of feeling. The western members showed that thirty-three counties, containing one-third of the free white population, sent ninety-nine members, being a majority in each branch of the General Assembly; thus one-third of the white population controlled the law-making department, and, as the Constitution then provided, elected the Governor and other executive and the judicial officers. If the representation had been based upon population Rowan County would have been entitled to send *nine*, and Orange *seven* members, whereas they sent only six, two senators and four representatives. Six eastern counties, with about the same population, sent eighteen members. Twelve eastern counties, with a population of 38,037, sent as many members as the same number of western counties, containing 156,726. The State, at that time, contained sixty-two counties.[3] The resolutions were defeated in the House by a vote of 81 to 47, while in the Senate they were rejected, without discussion, by 36 to 23. Meetings were held by the western people, "addresses" were sent out, and continued agitation kept up for a Convention. At the session of 1831 resolutions were introduced by Mr. Whitaker, of Macon, calling a Convention for the purpose of amending the Constitution, and after a full discussion were defeated by a vote of 69 to 56. It is not difficult to see that, in a government based upon the consent of the people, discord and dissension would continue until some change was made. The State government was developing into an aristocracy based upon county representation without regard to the right of the majority of the people to make the laws under which they lived.

In 1831 the State Capitol was burned. The question of rebuilding was complicated by a movement to make Fayetteville the capital. Of course the old controversy in regard to

[3] Debates of 1821.

amending the Constitution came to the front and entered into the discussion. The people of the State were divided in sentiment, mainly along sectional lines, involving sectional feelings and interests. The divisions, and their combinations are thus set forth in a letter from a member of the General Assembly:

"We are distracted—rent asunder, by factions, and the result of the legislative discussions and dissensions will be (I fear) that we shall separate in anger, after having proved most unprofitable servants. There are five parties here. The largest—but it does not quite constitute a majority—is for rebuilding the capitol and is opposed to a Convention in every form. This may be termed the Eastern party. The next, in point of magnitude, is the Western party—they want a reconstruction of our Constitution with respect to political power and want no more, but will either keep the government at Raleigh or remove it to Fayetteville, as the one or the other will favor their great end. The third, in point of size, is the Fayetteville party; their main object is removal—but they are willing, also, to go for a general Convention. The two others are of about the same magnitude—the Northwestern and Southwestern parties. The former want a modification of the Constitution, but are utterly opposed to a removal, and the latter want a removal, but resist alterations of the Constitution."

The outcome of this somewhat complicated condition was the rebuilding of the capitol at Raleigh, followed at the session of 1834, after an unsuccessful effort to make amendments to the Constitution by submitting them directly to the people, by the passage of an act submitting to the people the question of calling a Convention.

The act provided that, if a majority of the votes cast were for "Convention," elections were to be held in the several counties for the election of delegates, each county sending

two. The act further provided that only such amendments as were named therein should be submitted. The Convention was *directed* to form and submit an amendment providing for the election of not less than thirty-four, nor more than fifty senators, to be elected by districts, which were to be established on the basis of the amount of taxes paid into the public treasury; and not less than ninety nor more than one hundred and twenty members of the House of Commons distributed among the counties on the basis of the "Federal population," *i. e.*, of all free men and three-fifths "of all other persons," excluding Indians, not taxed. Each county, however, was to have at least one member. This basis of representation was adopted by the General Assembly as a compromise. At that time the State contained sixty-five counties and seven borough towns, making the total number of senators and members of the House two hundred and two. The Assembly met annually. Other amendments, in the discretion of the Convention, might be submitted. The most important of these were: whether borough representation should be abolished, or restricted; whether the right of free negroes to vote should be abolished or restricted; whether the Governor should be elected by the people and for what term; whether there should be biennial sessions of the General Assembly; whether the capitation tax on free whites and slaves should be equal throughout the State; whether the salaries of Judges should be decreased during the term for which they had been elected, and whether they should be eligible to any other position while retaining their judicial office, except the Supreme Court Bench; whether, in the election of officers, members of the Legislature should vote *viva voce;* and finally, whether the 32d Article should be amended. Each delegate was required to take an oath, prescribed by the act, to observe these limitations.

The proposition to call a Convention was approved by a

vote of about 27,000 out of 49,224. This, according to Governor David L. Swain, was, with one exception (the election of 1828), the largest vote cast at any election in this State. He also stated that he did not think that the population of the State had increased between 1830 and 1835 so much as three per cent, and was not sure that it had increased at all. As a general rule the counties sent as delegates their ablest and most experienced citizens. Warren sent Nathaniel Macon, who, after a long and distinguished service in both branches of the National Congress, had voluntarily resigned in 1828, and retired to private life. His associate was Weldon N. Edwards. From Buncombe came Governor Swain; from Burke, Burgess S. Gaither and Samuel P. Carson; from Caswell, Calvin Graves; from Cumberland, Judge John D. Toomer; from Granville, R. B. Gilliam and Josiah Crudup; from Guilford, John M. Morehead; from Lincoln, Bartlett Shipp; from Richmond, Alfred Dockery; from Rockingham, E. T. Broadnax; from Rowan, Charles Fisher; from Wake, Judge Henry Seawell; from Wilkes, James Wellborn and Edmund Jones; from Craven, Judge William Gaston and Richard D. Spaight; from Greene, Jesse Speight; from New Hanover, Owen Holmes; from Washington, Josiah Collins; from Sampson, W. B. Meares; from Martin, Asa Biggs; from Edgecombe, Louis D. Wilson; from Halifax, Governor John Branch and Judge Joseph J. Daniel; from Perquimans, Jesse Wilson; from Pasquotank, John L. Bailey; from Chatham, Hugh McQueen; from Chowan, J. B. Skinner; from Bertie, David Outlaw; from Hertford, Kenneth Rayner; from Cartaret, James W. Bryan; from Cabarrus, Daniel M. Barringer; and from Lenoir, Council Wooten.

These citizens had won at that time, or thereafter won distinction in the service of the State and Nation. They and their colleagues constituted a strong, patriotic body of men, who recognized the importance of the work to which they

were appointed, and approached it with a determination to remove from the Constitution the source of discord and dissention. Macon was unanimously elected President; E. B. Freeman, Principal Clerk, and Messrs. Gales and Son, Printers. The question was raised regarding the power of the Legislature to impose limitations upon the delegates representing the people, or to prescribe a form of oath to be taken by them. This objection was disposed of by the pertinent suggestion that the people had, by adopting the act as their own, themselves prescribed the limits within which the delegates were to submit amendments. The Convention decided to discuss proposed amendments in Committee of the Whole before final adoption. It is impracticable, within the limits of this paper, to give more than the outlines of the debates on the most important amendments.

The first question discussed was a proposition to abolish borough representation. The debate took a wide range and gave indications of the views of the delegates upon other questions which were to engage the attention of the Convention. Judge Gaston favored retaining the right of the borough towns to send representatives, and gave an interesting account of the origin of the right, and the reasons upon which it was based. Mr. Smith, of Orange, opposed retaining them, as did Mr. Fisher and several others representing counties which contained borough towns. A number of delegates took part in the debate. Governor Swain, although from the extreme west, from which there were no such representatives, noticed that the votes of the borough members had joined with the West in calling the Convention. He said: "The united vote of the borough members was the *fiat* which called this Convention into existence, and their constituents were the only aggregate portions of eastern communities that sustained the measure. Are they to be immolated upon the Altar of their own patriotism?" In this speech Governor

Swain outlined the policy of the western people. Internal improvements, education, general progress in the development of the resources of the State, and encouragement to immigration were the purposes of this strong, patriotic leader from the mountains. His speech drew fire from Mr. Macon, and the lines were soon drawn. Mr. Macon said that he could go hand in hand with the gentleman from Buncombe as regarded education, but he differed with him in his notions about internal improvements. He doubted the capacity of North Carolina to become a great commercial State, but they could diffuse the blessings of education and become a virtuous if not a great people. The opponents of borough representation were in the majority, and passed the amendment abolishing it. As the principle of representation based upon population was to be engrafted into our Constitution, the action of the Convention was logical and doubtless wise. To have retained it would have been a source of dissension outweighing its advantages.[4]

The Convention next discussed the proposition to deprive "free persons of color" of the privilege of voting. Judge Daniel favored giving to each of them the right to vote for members of the House of Commons provided he owned a freehold estate of $250. In an interesting speech he traced the origin of the privilege which they had enjoyed, which he thought was useful to them as a means of protection and a stimulant to good behaviour, because it gave them a status which appealed to their pride and manhood. He did not think that the right to vote was secured in the Bill of Rights. That embraced only free white men. He had observed that they uniformly voted for men to represent them of the best character and talents. Mr. Macon was utterly opposed to any free person of color having the right to vote. He did not

[4] Nash: "The Borough Towns of North Carolina," in THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET. Vol. VI. No. 2.

think they ever had such right under the Constitution of 1776. Mr. Crudup, a man of great wisdom and large views, wished to see these people raised from their present degradation, but did not think giving them the right of suffrage would do so. His remarks upon this, and other subjects before the Convention, were conservative and well considered. Mr. Gaston did not think it wise to make any change in the Constitution in respect to these "unfortunate people." If they had not enjoyed this privilege they would not at that time aspire to it. "The hardship," he said, "lay in depriving them of what they had been in the enjoyment of. * * * Let them know that they are a part of the body politic, and they will feel an attachment to the form of government and have a fixed interest in the prosperity of the community, and will exert an important influence over the slaves." Mr. Wilson, of Perquimans, did not believe "free blacks qualified to vote." He gave expression to the opinion then held by many Southern men. He said that he had heard almost everybody saying that slavery was a great evil. He believed it was no such thing, but thought it a great blessing to the South. Our system of agriculture could not be carried on in the Southern States without it. The Southern people might as well attempt to build a railroad to the moon as to cultivate their swamp lands without slaves. It is interesting to note that Mr. Wilson thought there were, at that time, about five hundred and seventy-five "free persons of color" voting in Halifax and several neighboring counties. He feared that "if we foster and raise them up they will soon become a majority and we shall have negro justices, negro sheriffs," and other negro officials. The western men took no part in the discussion, leaving the question to be settled by the eastern delegates, and the amendment depriving negroes of the privilege of voting was adopted. Branch, Daniel, Gaston, Rayner, Toomer, Holmes, Seawell from the East, and Swain, Carson,

Morehead with others from the West, voted in the negative. How little the wisest know of the operations of the industrial, political and social forces, and what disturbances they work in the "nice adjustments" of human governments.

Having disposed of these "side issues," the Convention grappled with the paramount issue, the question which had disturbed the peace and retarded the growth of the State for more than a generation. The proposition submitted to the Convention was that the Senate be composed of fifty members. This was easily decided in the affirmative with but little debate.

The next proposition, that the House of Commons be composed of one hundred and twenty members, met with opposition from Mr. Speight, of Greene, who saw in this number a majority from the West with internal improvements, railroads, and all manner of evils for the East. He was of the opinion that to make a railroad from Beaufort to the mountains would be incurring an expense which could never be repaid by the intercourse between these distant portions of the country.

Mr. Wilson, of Perquimans, also opposed any change in the Constitution which would give power to the West to impose upon the East taxes for internal improvements, saying: "But what benefit would accrue to the West? Very little; for nine-tenths of their lands are exhausted, and not worth cultivating, contrasted with hundreds and thousands of acres annually brought into market in the Southwestern States. None complain so much of the want of a market as those who have little or nothing to carry to it."

Mr. Macon was opposed to any plan of internal improvements in which the government was to take any part. All improvements of this kind, he said, ought to be the work of individuals as they could always have it done at cheaper rates than the government.

In response to the arguments of Governor Swain, Messrs. Fisher, Wellborn, Morehead, Carson and others, Mr. Speight said that he need not assure the committee that he was the friend of internal improvements, such as would afford a facility to the farmers of our country in getting to market; but he equally deprecated those wild and visionary schemes on which the demagogue always mounts to power. "The gentlemen talk about a railroad from the seaboard to the mountains. Why, sir, such a scheme is not only idle and visionary, but perfectly impossible." To convince the Convention that he favored internal improvements, Mr. Speight assured the delegates that, if he ever had the honor to be again a member of the Legislature he would "bring forward a plan, and the only one which can improve our condition, viz: a railroad from Beaufort to New Bern, and one from Fayetteville to some central point in the West."

Judge Gaston discussed the question in all its aspects, in a spirit of moderation, with thoroughness and convincing argument. He favored the number of senators and members agreed upon by the report of the committees. Among other things he said, "It should be borne in mind that governments are formed for practical purposes, and not to present themes for the exercise of schoolmen and declaimers." Conceding that the West had cause for complaint, and combatting the conservatism of the extreme eastern men, he said: "The principle which the gentleman from Greene professes, that of equal representation by counties, is supported by no reason whatever—is upheld by nothing but existing usage—stands condemned by the people and has had its day." He showed by calculations made by himself, the original of which are before the writer, that by adopting fifty as the number of senators, distributed upon the basis of taxable property, and one hundred and twenty as the number of the House of Commons, distributed upon the basis of Federal population, the

East would have a small majority in the Senate, and the West in the House. He insisted that while by this plan the result was satisfactory, at the time, it was also based upon a correct principle. Said he: "Make it right, so that it may last. Make it right, for the effect of it will be to obliterate those very sectional divisions which have heretofore prevailed." In conclusion, deprecating the dissensions which had divided the people and retarded progress, he said: Who but must wish that the disconnected fragments of the State may be brought together by those facilities of communication which will make her people and act as one people in interest and affection. Much, very much, may be done for the improvement of the State's physical condition. But there was another point of view in which he most earnestly desired the improvement of the State. If the only secure foundation of rational liberty be the virtue of the people, the best safeguard of that liberty is to be found in their intelligence. This alone could secure them against the wicked acts of oligarchs and demagogues. Not a little had lately been done in the cause of education; and he hailed with delight the institutions which were springing up in various parts of the country for the instruction of youth. But no efficient plans had yet been adopted for diffusing information throughout the land, and bringing it home to the poor and humble. If righteousness exalteth a nation, moral and religious culture should sustain and cherish it. It was in vain to hope that what ought to be done for the physical or intellectual and moral advancement of the State, could ever be accomplished, without the united efforts of the good and the wise, without liberal councils, and systematic coöperation. Many an anxious, many a painful hour, had he spent in reflecting on the divided and distracted state of his country. Earnestly had he wished that he might live to see the day when, instead of wasting their energies in sectional broils—instead of waging against each other a foolish and

wicked contest, in which victory was without glory, and defeat without consolation, they could, like a band of brothers, devote all their aspirations and all their efforts to their country's cause. He would not—he could not abandon the hope, that harmony and good will were about to be restored. He did hope that under this new order of things—under these favorable auspices, his beloved State was about to become all that her sons could wish her to be—that retaining the excellencies she now possessed—her love of liberty and order—her steady, kind, republican and industrious population—her simple and unobtrusive virtues, there might be added to her whatever was fitted to raise, and decorate, and ennoble her character.

Mr. McQueen, of Chatham, followed in a very able and patriotic speech, advocating the same views. After an enthusiastic discussion he concluded: "I am impressed with the belief that the meeting of this convention holds out a more sublime and beautiful spectacle than ever has been before presented to the moral or intellectual vision in North Carolina. And as I firmly believe that it will reveal brighter and more animating prospects than ever flushed Carolinians' hearts with joy, my heart now swells with rapture at the imperfect glimpse which I have caught of the bright beams that have occasionally darted upon the consultations we have held for the benefit of our country. I think that when this convention surrenders its powers at the feet of those who gave it, we will perceive the morning sun of a brighter day beaming in the firmament of our prosperity."

The motion to strike out 120 members was defeated by a vote of 76 to 52. The affirmative vote came entirely from the eastern counties. Among the eastern delegates voting in the negative were Bonner and Tayloe, of Beaufort, Arrington of Nash, Faison and Meares of Sampson, Macon and Ed-

wards of Warren, Gaston and Spaight of Craven, Holmes and Marsteller of New Hanover, Ruffin and Williams of Franklin, Toomer and McDiarmid of Cumberland, Williams and Joyner of Pitt. The number of representatives fixed upon at that time has never been changed. The center of population has moved far westward, and the present indications are that it will continue to do so, but happily the conflict between the sections is now confined to friendly contests for office.

It is an interesting problem for the student of North Carolina to forecast the basis of political power in 1935. With the negro eliminated, as a political factor, and the industrial growth of the Piedmont and West, it may safely be assumed that a convention in 1935 would present a very different line of division from that of 1835. The number of senators and representatives will hardly be interfered with unless, as is not probable, the present number of counties is increased to more than one hundred and twenty.

The proposed amendments providing for biennial sessions of the General Assembly, and the election of the Governor biennially by the people alarmed Mr. Macon, and he strongly opposed them. He said, "Democracy is dead in North Carolina"; predicted all manner of tyranny, and the destruction of popular rights. He quoted Mr. Jefferson as saying, "Where annual elections end, tyranny begins." He offered as a safe analogy the custom of a good farmer who, he said, always hired his overseer for one year. Judge Daniel quietly observed that he had lately seen a gentleman from Tennessee, where they elected the governor by the people, who told him that "candidates were traveling through the State on an electioneering campaign at expense and trouble to themselves and great annoyance to the people." Mr. Macon expressed the opinion that "this was a talking government," and he apprehended that the proposed change would destroy this safeguard of liberty.

The convention did not share the fears of their venerable president, and adopted both amendments. Time has justified their wisdom. Certainly our liberties are in no danger from the change.

The convention next entered upon a long and in many respects an able and interesting discussion on the proposition to amend the 32d Article of the Constitution. This Article provided: "That no person who shall deny the being of God, or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the Divine authority either of the Old or New Testament * * * shall be capable of holding any office of trust or profit in the civil department of the State." The only proposition seriously discussed, although several others were considered and voted upon, was whether the word "Protestant" should be stricken out and the word "Christian" inserted; and it is difficult at this day to understand how so able a body of men could have spent so much time and taken so wide a range of debate on such a simple proposition. For many years different opinions had been held in the State whether the Article, as it stood, excluded Roman Catholics from holding office, but the question had never been brought to a practical test. Judge Gaston had been elected to the Legislature a number of times, and two years prior to the meeting of the convention had been elected by a practically unanimous vote of the General Assembly a justice of the Supreme Court, and commissioned by Governor Swain, without any question other than the expression of private opinions. He was on the bench at the time of the convention.

The debate indicated a wide range of opinion in regard to whether any, and if any, what religious test should be applied. The objections to any change were based upon a number of reasons. Some thought that to admit Roman Catholics would meet with much opposition from the people. Mr. Smith of Orange thought that in some indefinite way he was

instructed "by his constituents not to remove the test." It is quite interesting to note how, by unanswerable facts and arguments his difficulty was removed, but his mind and conscience not satisfied.

Mr. Macon said that so far as he was individually concerned it mattered not what provisions were incorporated in the Constitution. His time had nearly come. But this article was the only feature in the old Constitution which he had ever heard objected to outside of the State; and the objection was always coupled with an expression of surprise that it could have got a foothold in a State where the principles of liberty were so well understood. There were times when a man must stake himself for the good of his country. The present was a crisis of this kind. To him it appeared too plain a question to argue that every man may worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. But it is a practical denial of its truth to debar a man from office be cause he may entertain certain religious opinions. You might as well attempt to bind the air we breathe, as a man's conscience—it is free—liberty of thought is his inalienable birthright. Referring to Judge Gaston, Mr. Macon said: "There was one member of this Convention whose father had been inhumanly murdered by the Tories in our Revolutionary struggle—he begged pardon for the allusion, but it was history—and shall it be said that his son, baptized, as it were, in the blood of his father, is unworthy a seat in the Legislature of our country?"

As one of the many instances in which men have used language, in making constitutions and laws, capable of many different constructions, numerous and widely divergent views were expressed in respect to the purpose and meaning of the Constitution. Some thought that it was intended to exclude Roman Catholics—some that it had no reference to persons of that faith and was not intended to exclude them, while

others insisted that by reason of the uncertainty of its meaning it was incapable of enforcement.

Judge Gaston, the only member of the Convention to whom it could be supposed the article had any personal application, discussed the subject in all of its aspects in the last, and probably the greatest speech made by him in any deliberative body. While expressing his views strongly, and explaining the circumstances upon which he went upon the bench, he said: "But as an individual I beg it to be understood, that I am utterly indifferent as to the determination of the Convention and of the people, except a desire that the consitutional provision be made explicit. If it be thought essential to the State that a monopoly of offices be secured to certain favored religious sects, let it be so disclosed. He who now addresses you will not feel a moment's pain, should such a decision render it his duty to return to private life. Office sought him—he sought not office. An experience of its cares, its labors and its responsibilities has not tended to increase his attachment to it."

Mr. Smith said that he wished this section to be laid aside as sleeping thunder, to be called up only when necessary to defeat some deep-laid scheme of ambition.

Mr. Swain disliked to keep the "sleeping thunder" of this section, as the gentleman from Orange termed it, to be used in some emergency hereafter. He did not like to leave it in the hands of men in power, who might hereafter abuse it by

> "Dealing damnation round the land,
> On all they deemed their foe."

After rejecting a number of proposed amendments, the Convention, by a vote of 74 to 52, struck out the word "Protestant" and inserted the word "Christian." The negative vote included a number of delegates who were opposed to retaining any religious test. Upon the final test the Convention by a vote of 76 to 32 refused to strike out the word "Christian," Gaston voting with the majority.

Upon the question of submitting the amendments to the people, Mr. Macon said that he could not give them his approval as he had two decided objections to them—the one was the doing away with annual elections, which he considered a fundamental principle of Republican liberty; the other was the change made in the election of Governor. He was sorry that he could not concur in approving the work of a body of men from whom he had received uniform kindness and attention.

The vote on this question stood 81 to 20, the latter being generally from the East.

The closing scenes of the Convention were peculiarly interesting. Judge Gaston, Governor Swain being in the chair, offered a resolution "respectfully tendering thanks to the Honorable Nathaniel Macon, their venerable President, for the distinguished ability, dignity and impartiality with which he has discharged the duties of his station." Mr. Macon, after returning his thanks for "all your kindness," said: "This I expect will be the last scene of my public life. We are about to separate; and it is my fervent prayer that you may, each of you, reach home in safety, and have a happy meeting with your family and friends, and that your days may be long, honorable and happy. While my life is spared, if any of you should pass through the county in which I live, I shall be glad to see you.[5]

"On the President's resuming his seat and the applauses of the Convention having ceased," according to the Journal, "Mr. Carson, of Burke, arose and said that he was about to leave old North Carolina to reside in the far West, where he should be happy at all times to see any friend from the old State—to be a North Carolinian, would be sufficient recom-

[5] Mr. Macon's prophecy was not fulfilled. He was an Elector on the Van Buren ticket of 1836, and presided over the Electoral College. He died, June 29, 1837.

mendation—his house and corn crib should be at the service of his friends."

Judge Gaston, from the Committee on Enrollment, reported that the Amendments to the Constitution correctly enrolled on parchment had received the signature of the President and Secretary. After Reverend Dr. McPheeters had offered prayer, the President announced that the business was finished, and on motion of Judge Gaston the Convention stood adjourned.

The amendments were ratified by a vote of 26,771 for, and 21,606 against, the majority being 5,165.

The votes in the following counties are of interest:

Burke, for the amendments,		1,359;	against,	1
Buncombe,	"	1,322	"	22
Iredell,	"	1,184	"	18
Lincoln,	"	1,887	"	42
Rutherfordton,	"	1,557	"	8
Rowan,	"	1,570	"	18
Wilkes,	"	1,757	"	8
Edgecombe,	"	29	"	1,334
Brunswick,	"	0	"	466
Tyrrell,	"	1	"	459
Washington,	"	14	"	409
Martin,	"	14	"	795
Hyde,	"	2	"	431
Warren,	"	46	"	580
Craven,	"	131	"	270
Wake,	"	243	"	1,124

This is a fair average of the vote of the eastern and western counties. They are interesting figures, and shed much light on the history of North Carolina. They also show that the Convention was called none too soon. The question which called the Convention into existence was that upon which the

line of division in the vote upon the amendments was formed, representation in the House of Commons based upon population. The other questions were of but little importance in the opinion of the people. Notwithstanding the apprehension of Mr. Smith in regard to the "instruction" given him, the county of Orange ratified all of the amendments by a vote of 1,131 to 246.

The limitations necessarily imposed upon the length of this paper render it impossible to refer to many interesting discussions in the Convention which exhibit a very high order of learning, eloquence and patriotism on the part of the delegates. They are worthy of and will repay study by any person interested in our history.

THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF BRIGADIER GENERAL JETHRO SUMNER.

BY KEMP P. BATTLE, LL.D.

[Abridged from his Guilford Battle Ground address, by the author.]

The President of the Guilford Battle-Ground Company, the eminent Judge Schenck, who, with wonderful energy and success, made green the memories of the warriors, who. on the 15th of March, 1781, 127 years ago, inflicted on the disciplined army of Cornwallis the blow which saved the Carolinas from slavery, caused to be transported the remains of General Jethro Sumner from the wilds of Warren County to the battle-field. The heavy stones, which by the care of his daughter, were over his dust, were reverently taken down and as reverently reerected here.

The task of writing his history has not been an easy one. The facts of his career were only obtainable by diligent research through many manuscripts of a public nature and through numerous volumes relating to the history of Virginia and the Carolinas and the United States. We know nothing of General Jethro Sumner's family in England, whence it came. It must have been one of respectability and substance, for we find his grandfather, William Sumner, becoming a freeholder of Virginia soon after William and Mary ousted from the English throne Mary's tyrranical father, James II. He came about the time of the removal by the choleric Governor Nicholson of the capitol from Jamestown to Williamsburg and of the founding of the second college in America, the noble old William and Mary, named in honor of the new sovereigns, (1691). On his plantation, called Manor, (for English ways and English names were then much liked) one mile from the town of Suffolk, he

raised his tobacco and his corn and wheat, and after the fashion of the day, his blooded horses and fat cattle, while a family of five boys and one daughter grew up around him.

The name of the daughter has not come down to us. The names of the five boys were, Jethro, John, James, William and Dempsey. It is altogether probable that Jethro was the oldest. The right of primogeniture then existed and was dear to the landholders, who had not lost their English love of aggrandizing the family name by entailing the principal homestead on the oldest son. I find that Jethro Sumner was in 1743 one of the first vestrymen of the Episcopal church at Suffolk, and his oldest son, Thomas, was in his stead four years afterwards. General Sumner in his will refers to the "Manor plantation" of his brother in Virginia. These facts seem to show that Jethro, the elder, inherited the paternal land.

Jethro Sumner, the elder, died early, leaving three children, Thomas, already named, Jethro and Sarah. Thomas lived many years and died a bachelor, though not childless. General Sumner's will shows that he did not devise his "Manor plantation" to him, but bequeathed him only a legacy in money.

Sarah married a man with the singular name of Rushworm, whose family seems to have become extinct.

Jethro Sumner, the younger, was born in 1733 and was probably about twelve years of age at the death of his father. How long he had been deprived of a mother's care we do not know. There is a tradition that he was well cared for by his mother's mother.

The East Virginia planters of Colonial days were a race of striking virtues, but with many defects both as to character and conduct. They were high spirited, brave and truthful. They were loyal to the English Crown, but they understood their rights and were always ready to defend them. They

were devoted to horses, and boasted justly that they owned scions of the best racers of England. They had frequent races and both sexes thought it no harm to bet on them, the men heavily, often to the impairment of their fortunes, the ladies seldom venturing beyond a pair of gloves.

The young men learned the art of horsemanship not only in fox-chases, but by constant habit of visiting and traveling on horseback. So deep-rooted was this fashion, that a traveler of that day avers that he has often seen men walk five miles to catch a horse in order to ride one.

The use of firearms was learned by practice in hunting deer, wild turkeys and squirrels, and other game so numerous as to seriously threaten the existence of food crops. Shooting matches, too, were common, the victor not only winning the stake, but receiving the plaudits of admiring neighborhoods.

There was little of what we call education. A few boys received college training at William and Mary. Still fewer were sent to the great schools or universities of England, but the greater part were content with reading and writing and a little arithmetic. The writing was invariably legible, but much liberty in spelling was allowable. In General Sumner's will the county of "Isle of Wight" is spelled "Ilewhite." The gallant Murfree writes of "legenary coors" (legionary corps). Uniform spelling came in with Webster's blue-back spelling-book. The colonial gentleman was likewise too proud to be willing to submit himself to the strict grammatical rules of the solemn pedant who posed as the predecessor of Lindley Murray.

But while there was little education from books, there was a most valuable training from the exigencies of life in a country full of natural resources, but requiring for their development incessant watchfulness and incessant toil. The

carrying the chain and the compass through thickets almost impenetrable and swamps almost impassable, the felling of forests, the defense from floods, the war of extermination against wild animals, the occasional march to help the settlers of the mountain lands to repel the hostile, or to barter for furs with the friendly Indians, the rough sports on horse or on foot—all these, joined with watchful criticism and a discussion of their rights by charter and by inheritance, made a hardy, self-reliant, independent, proud and daring people. They were, as a rule, respectful to those in authority, friendly and courteous to their equals, kind and considerate to their inferiors, but equally ready when angered by encroachment upon their rights to resist fiercely, to avenge insults, to crush insubordination even with cruelty.

In depicting the habits and the character of the people among whom young Jethro Sumner was trained up to manhood, I have pictured him. His removal to North Carolina did not change him for the better or for the worse.

Hardly had Jethro Sumner reached maturity before a contest broke out, of far-reaching influence on the destinies of this country. This was the struggle between the French and the English for the ownership of the magnificent territory, drained by the Mississippi and the Great Lakes and their tributaries. The French sought by connecting Quebec and New Orleans with chains of forts, and by gaining the alliances of powerful Indian tribes to confine the English between the ocean and the Alleghanies.

In the early stages the plans of the French were crowned with success. Our colonies had been designedly kept in a state of pupilage to the mother country. While there was great individual capacity, they had not been taught to organize into armies. Looking each to England for their commerce, and most of them for their chief executive and judicial officers and their clergy, they knew little of one another.

Their laws were subject to the royal veto. They had not learned the immense value of union among themselves. Their levies of soldiers were badly supported and badly armed. At first too, the English government supported them in a manner feeble and actually tending to cripple their efforts. The officers sent were stupid and arrogant, as full of conceit of their own importance as contempt for the colonists. There was disaster almost everywhere, while ruthless savages were laying waste the entire Northwest frontier of the British colonies.

In 1757 the genius of Pitt changed disaster into victory. He gained the confidence of the colonies by consulting their legislatures about the conduct of the war. He promised arms and ammunition, tents and provisions, the colonies to raise, clothe and pay the twenty thousand troops called into service with promise of reimbursement by parliament. Incompetent officers were replaced by competent officers. Amherst captured Louisburg and superceded Abercrombie, who had lost two thousand troops in a rash assault on Ticonderoga. Bradstreet captured Oswego. Forbes, aided by Washington, seized Fort Du Quesne, and on the 13th of September the great contest was virtually won by Wolfe's heroic capture of Quebec. The French power was broken and in the following year (1760), which witnessed the death of old King George II and the succession of his grandson George III, also witnessed the final conquest of Canada and the end of a glorious dream of a dominating New France in the New World. Three years later the English flag waved over all the land from the ocean to the Mississippi.

Jethro Sumner was an actor in this great struggle. Bearing a letter of commendation from Governor Dinwiddie to Colonel Washington, he was in 1758 appointed a lieutenant in a Virginia regiment of which William Byrd was Colonel, General Joseph Forbes being Commander-in-Chief. Wash-

ington had been endeavoring with insufficient means, to defend the long frontier from the terrible savages, whose destruction of property and slaughter and torture of the settlers, old and young, male and female, had been inconceivably horrible. The winter was coming on. The fierce winds began to blow; the snow began to whiten the hills. The General and his council of war talked of delaying the march till spring. Washington begged to be allowed to lead the van with his provincials, who were clamoring for an onward move. Through all difficulties, watching against ambuscades, infusing his indomitable spirit into his men, he pressed on. The French officer saw that he had an officer of brains and daring in his front, and, setting fire to the woodwork of the fort, he fled with his troops down the Ohio. On the 25th of November, 1758, Washington and his brave troops marched into the ruined fortress. Jethro Sumner was one of those daring men, who gained for the Anglo-Saxon race the control of the Ohio, and started their onward march, which from that day has had no backward move, and ninety years later climbed the lofty Rockies and planted the starry flag on the shores of the Pacific.

His were likewise among the kindly hands which, after the victory was gained, reverently and tenderly gathered the bones of Braddock's men, whitened by the sun, and amidst the solemn silence of the interminable forest, gave them Christian burial. A great city, whose smoke from a thousand factories overshadows the scenes of those old fightings, commemorates by its name of Pittsburg the sagacious and daring war minister who prepared the victory.

Sumner remained in service until his regiment was disbanded in 1761. He was evidently an officer of merit. An order published in the Colonial Records of our State, dated November 26, 1760, from Colonel Bouquet, his superior, shows that he was entrusted with separate command at Fort

Bedford. His regiment marched twice into the Cherokee country as far as Holston River, while Colonel Grant with an army of twenty-six hundred men terribly avenged the massacre of the garrison of Fort Loudon. For their services grants of land were authorized to be given to the discharged officers. Sumner having reached the grade of captain, received three thousand acres.

This war prepared the way for American Independence. It taught the colonies their own strength. It taught them how to fight, and what is of still more importance, that they could fight. They learned the value of union. They learned the value of organization and discipline. The war was a training school for their officers—for Washington and Mercer, Sumner and Montgomery, Putnam and Morgan and many others.

After his return to Nansemond the young officer determined to change his home. Probably his long service among the hills and mountains had given him a distaste to the dreary flatness of the lands which adjoin the great Dismal Swamp. Only an imaginary line separates our State from Virginia. There has been for two centuries a steady movement of population from the dearer lands of the valley of the James to the cheaper lands drained by the streams which flow into the Albemarle and the upper waters of the Tar. The Sumners, the Eatons, the Mannings, the Smiths of Scotland Neck, the Ransoms, the Armisteads, the Riddicks, the Norfleets, the Saunderses, the Lewises, the Ruffins, the Camerons, the Battles, the Plummers, the Bakers, the Pughs, the Winstons, the Winbornes, the Hunters, the Bridgerses, the Thomases, the Taylors, and hundreds, perhaps thousands of others, were all old Virginia families. Some changed their homes because, being younger sons, they had no share in the paternal lands; others, because high living or losses by gaming had worsted their estates; others to exchange few acres for larger

plantations equally fertile, or old fields for virgin forests; others to escape by settlement among the rolling hills of Bute and the country westward, the miasmatic diseases of the low country. But for whatever causes they migrated they changed neither their opinions nor their practices, nor their business habits. They still sent their produce to Virginia markets—Richmond, Petersburg, or Norfolk. Returning wagons brought back the tea and coffee and sugar and ladies' finery. They kept their accounts in both Virginia and North Carolina currency. Visits to these cities for shopping or pleasure were the *summun bonum* of the aspirations of young men and maidens.

Most of these emigrants from Virginia became true North Carolinians. Occasionally would be heard arrogant boasting of Virginia superiority, as from the old man, mentioned to me by my mother, who answered all who disputed with him, "Weren't I born in Jeems (James) River, and ough'nt I to know?" But most of them, as Jethro Sumner did, devoted their affections and their energies to their adopted State.

Captain Sumner settled at the court-house of the new county of Bute (pronounced Boot), named in honor of the first instructor and minister of George III, who became so odious that a favorite amusement among the populace was with groans of derision to throw an old jack-boot, often accompanied by an old petticoat, to illustrate, falsely, I think, his suspected intimacy with George's mother, into a bonfire and dance around the crackling effigy. An early General Assembly of free North Carolina expunged the name of the odious Marquis from the map and substituted Warren and Franklin as names of the new counties carved from the old. The court-house of Bute was a few miles to the south of the present county seat of Warren. Here Jethro Sumner set up his household gods. We do not know the exact date of Sumner's settlement in Bute. It was certainly prior to 1769.

Mr. William J. Norwood has donated to the Battle-Ground Company an account book kept with all the neatness of penmanship and durability of black ink so remarkable among our ancestors. It contains the dealings of the neighbors with the keeper of the tavern at Bute Court-house. It shows among many others the account of General Sumner from November, 1769, to November, 1774. It effectually contradicts the statement of Captain Smyth, author of Smyth's tour, as to his occupation. He says that Sumner pursued the business of tavern-keeper, and that more than one-third of the officers of the American army had the same occupation, and were chiefly indebted to that circumstance for their rank. He gives as a reason that by this public calling their principles became known, and their ambitious views were excited by the variety of the company they entertained. Smyth's book shows violent false prejudices throughout. In his opinion Washington was a very poor general, but a most cunning demagogue, his moderation and disclaimer of desire for office being only for electioneering purposes. The book is valuable in many respects, but utterly unreliable in its statements about the officers of our army. It would have been no discredit to Sumner if he had been the keeper of the only inn at the court-house, but this account book shows that he was the owner of it and rented it to one Elliott for thirty-six pounds per annum. Smyth states, as we learn from other sources, that he had married "a young woman of good family, who brought him a handsome fortune."

Captain Sumner was appointed sheriff in 1772. The office was a very dignified and responsible one. The appointment was by the Governor of one out of three nominated by the justices of the county. I have a copy of his commission, signed by Governor Jo. Martin at Hillsborough at August Term, 1772. It is a proof of the high character and business habits of Sumner, that while there had been great uprisings of

angry people in some of the counties almost adjoining Bute, and loud complaints of extortion and embezzlement in those and many others, there were no charges of such criminal conduct in Bute. There were no Bute militia, however, in Tryon's Army which marched against the Regulators in 1771.

The account book of Bute court-house tavern confirms my statement that Sumner and his neighbors retained the habits and feelings of Eastern Virginia. The New Light and Great Revival, if they made any impression on them, it was only transitory. We see glimpses of the same high living and love of fun. We see notices of a court-house ball, of a "bull-dance," the progenitor probably of the modern "stag," of a game of pitch, (quoits, probably, of which Chief Justice Marshall was especially fond); of games at cards, at which one of the players "got broke" and borrowed money of the landlord, of ten pounds paid by Sumner for the erection of a battery, which was a wooden wall for playing the good old game of "fives"; of a barbecue costing six pounds, seven shillings, and three pence, given by William Park; and of fox-hunts of course. All these were accompanied by drinking of liquor in some shape. Sometimes it was rum pure and simple, or as we say "straight"; more seldom it was brandy, never whiskey, but usually it was some mixture. The most common is bumbo, composed of rum, water, sugar, and nutmeg; but we have also juleps (spelt julips) and frog and flip; sometimes we see wine and sangaree and cider too (spelt cyder). There is an entry which the rising generation hardly understands. After a "rousing frolic" there is a charge for "broke glasses." This suggests the foolish custom of winding up the feast with some jolly toast and, after drinking it, smashing the tumblers against the ceiling, typifying that having conferred a pleasure so divine, they should never henceforth be debased to any ignoble use.

And in this account book we detect William Person (called

Billy Parsons) and Green Hill, members of the General Assembly, engaged in what we consider a crime, but was then expected of all candidates—that is, treating at elections. They are charged with their proportions of "liquors expended in the court-house while voting, ten shillings"; also toddy one shilling and three pence. Rum one shilling and six pence.

There was a strange hallucination in regard to spirituous liquors in the "good old days." The men of that generation thought that they were drinking health and joy and long life. In truth they were drinking down gout and dropsy, and liver disease, and kidney troubles and short life. There were few old men of that generation.

General Sumner was like the rest—he kept the prevailing fashion. Smyth says that he was a "facetious" man. Doubtless he told good stories about his experiences in the army, and the peculiarities of the unlettered backwoodsmen with whom as sheriff he had dealings. He was "of person lusty and rather handsome", says Smyth, that is he had a strong body and vigorous health, and a fine, manly bearing. The cynical Englishman of a nation of grumblers, chronicles that his dinner was excellent. We can easily call to our mind the Jethro Sumner of that day, at the age of forty-two, his long hair combed back so as to fully expose his rubicund face, tied in a cue behind him, his countenance frank and open, looking one straight in the face with a clear, bright eye, his body inclining to portliness, as became the devourer of good cheer; vigorous from out-door exercise, on foot or on horse, in sport and on business, having the air of authority as became the executive officer of a county in those monarchical days when official station inspired far more awe than at present; as became too a man who had learned the art of command in actual service in an army where officers and men were widely separated by social as well as by army rank, as became, too, the owner of a great estate and many laborers.

At the dinner-table in the familiarity of social intercourse with a young military officer of wealth and good blood, he showed appreciation of a good joke, a quality which has not yet died out in North Carolina. I think better of him for that. Capt. William Biggs, an admirer of Chief Justice Merrimon, and Col. Henry A. Dowd, an admirer of Senator Vance, were once rather heatedly discussing the relative excellencies of their favorites; "I admit," said Biggs, "that Vance can tell a joke better than Merrimon"—"Stop right there", shouted Dowd, "I tell you no man but a smart man can tell a good joke." It is a pleasant picture—these two—the Bute County sheriff and the English officer, exchanging their army anecdotes over their nuts and wine, or rather, I should say, over their hickory nuts and bumbo, in the beautiful month of November, 1774, both too polite to discuss the angry questions which will in three years array them in opposite armies at Germantown, thirsting for each other's blood, the host an American colonel, the guest a British captain. Notwithstanding Sumner's desire to be agreeable to his guest, Smyth notices that he was a man "of violent principles" in regard to the pending quarrel between the mother country and the colonies.

No part of the State was more unanimous in resistance to English aggressiveness than the county of which Sumner was sheriff. "There were no Tories in Bute" was the proud boast. And few families contributed as much to the common cause as the descendants of William Sumner. One of his grandsons, Luke Sumner, repeatedly represented his county, Chowan, in the State Congresses before and the State Senate during the war, and was the highly trusted chairman of the committee of safety from Chowan, member of the eminent committee which reported the Constitution of 1776, and many other important committees, such as those for the purchase and manufacture of arms. David Sumner was a mem-

ber of the State Congress of August, 1775, and of the committee of safety of Halifax and Lieutenant Colonel of Militia, James Sumner was lieutenant in a company of Light Horse. Robert Sumner was a member from Hertford of the convention of 1776 which formed the State Constitution, and of the Senate afterwards, while Elizabeth Sumner's husband, Elisha Battle, was representative from Edgecombe in the State Congresses of 1775, 1776, and State Senate under the Constitution.

But the most eminent of all the family was Jethro Sumner, whose "violent principles" were noticed by Smyth. As sheriff it was his duty to hold the elections, and he could not himself be elected to the convention of 1774 and of March, 1775, but after the flight of Governor Martin to the Royal ship Cruiser, we find him member of the Hillsboro Congress, 1775. The congress proceeded with firmness and wisdom to inaugurate a provisional government and prepare for war. The militia was organized, a special force of five hundred minute-men for each of six judicial districts was ordered to be raised, besides two regiments of five hundred each for the continental army. Bounties were offered for the manufacture of articles most needed.

Captain Sumner was chosen major of the minute-men of the Halifax District. They were in effect volunteer militia, with the privilege of electing their company commissioned officers. He at once showed the superiority natural to one who had learned the art of war under Washington. Occasion was now had for his services. Within a few weeks after the adjournment of Congress the following order was issued:

IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY,
November 28th, 1775, Halifax.

Ordered that Major Jethro Sumner raise what minute-men and volunteers he can, and follow Colonel Long with the utmost dispatch.

By order OROON DAVIS, Clerk.

A copy.

Most probably Colonel Long had marched to the defense of Norfolk, and Sumner followed with the minute-men of Bute. Colonel Howe, afterwards General Howe, hurried forward the second regiment of Continentals, and took command of them and of the North Carolina minute-men. He arrived two days after the victory of the Great Bridge, but he and his troops so gallantly defended Norfolk that the baffled Dunmore on the first day of January, 1776, burned the town and sailed away. Howe was emphatic in his praises of the troops under his command and the legislature of Virginia thanked him and his men for their services.

The Congress of 4th April, 1776, at Halifax, looked the great issue boldly in the face, discarded their hope of friendship from the English King or the English people, and, first of all the colonies, authorized its delegates in the Continental Congress to vote for Independence. The militia was ordered to consist of all between sixteen and sixty years of age. A brigadier-general for each distrtict was elected. Four additional regiments were voted for the American continental army, and four hundred thousand pounds, or one million dollars in bills of credit, were ordered to be issued for the purpose of paying all expenses. The name of Provincial Council for the supreme executive power was found to be inappropriate, as the word "Provincial" implied a recognition of dependence on Great Britain. The name Council of Safety was substituted. Large executive and judicial powers were given, care being taken, however, that they should not be despotic. Three vessels of war were ordered to be built and officers appointed for them.

So highly appreciated was the conduct of Major Sumner that at the next meeting in April of the Provincial Congress he was promoted to the colonelcy of the third regiment of the Continental troops. His field officers were William Alston, lieutenant-colonel; Samuel Lockhart, major. His captains

were William Brinkley, Pinkethman Eaton, John Gray, William Barrett, Jacob Turner, George Granbury, James Cook and James Emmett. The enlisting of men was voluntary, and the following instructions to recruiting officers are interesting: They were to accept "able-bodied men only, capable of marching well and of undisputed loyalty." Regard must be had as much as possible to "moral character, particularly sobriety." The Colonel was authorized to reject those not fit for service. No soldier under five feet, four inches high must be enlisted. They must be healthy, strong-made and well-limbed. The character of disqualifying bodily infirmities sounds strange in our day. They must be "not deaf or subject to fits, or ulcers on their legs, or ruptures." The last-mentioned may have been frequent on account of log-rolling matches, and other violent exercises, but what caused the prevalence of ulcers and fits is a mystery. The recruit took an oath to be faithful and true to the united colonies.

About the middle of July, 1776, the recruits were carried to Wilmington, where Gen. Francis Nash was in charge of the brigade of six regiments. Lillington was too old to go on parade and Lieutenant-Colonel Lambe was substituted. Recruiting had been very successful and the regiments were full. About the middle of November the troops were marched north to join Washington, but were stopped for three weeks in Halifax on the land of Col. Nicholas Long, now Commissary-general of this State. They were marched back to participate in a campaign against Florida. They paused on their journey near the boundary line of South Carolina, about three weeks, "making excellent beds of the long moss on the trees." Here a squad of men claimed that they were enlisted for only six months, and, on being refused their discharges, deserted. "Three of them were colored people," so it appears that free colored men helped to gain American Independence. From this camp they marched to Charleston, and

lay in camp opposite to Fort Sullivan until the middle of March, living on fresh pork and rice as their constant diet, the expedition to Florida being abandoned.

It has always been thought that only the first and second regiments under Colonels Moore and Martin, brigaded under Brigadier-General Howe, participated in the brilliant defense of Charleston on the 28th of June, 1776, Charles Lee being general-in-chief, and that they only of the North Carolina soldiers were entitled to the splendid praise of General Lee, all the more valuable since he had been an officer in the English army. "Their conduct is such as does them the great est honor; no men ever did and it is impossible to ever behave better," and again in his report to the Virginia Convention, "I know not which corps I have the greatest reason to be pleased with—Mecklenburg's Virginia's or the North Carolina troops; they are both equally alert, zealous and spirited." But a letter from Col. Jethro Sumner to Lieut.-Col. William Alston, printed in the tenth volume of our Colonial Records, page 790, shows, I think, that Sumner and his regiment were at the defense of Charleston.

The letter places Sumner in the most favorable light. He states that General Lee had given him leave to return to North Carolina for the purpose of providing necessaries for the troops in view of the coming winter. He urges Lieutenant-Colonel Alston to be particularly careful of the discipline and to keep a good understanding among the officers and soldiers. He wishes them informed of the cause of his leaving, that it is to their benefit. He says, "You are at all times to keep up a strict discipline, but to reserve a mode of clemency as among young troops; now and then to throw something of a promising hope among them of a quick return to North Carolina, which I doubt not but some time hence will be the case. It will engage the mind and will for a time dispense with inconvenience. Be careful in seeing that no fraud is done

them by the commissaries, and their pay regularly to a month delivered by their captains."

We see here a kind, fatherly and careful heart. Soldiers with such a sympathetic commander were sure to reciprocate his watchfulness for them by attention to duty in camp and on the battle-field.

At the same time that Colonel Sumner went to North Carolina, Lee was ordered north to join Washington. At the urgent request of the authorities of Georgia and South Carolina, the North Carolina troops remained for the defense of those States during the fall and winter following the Declaration of Independence. They were on the fifteenth of March, 1777, ordered to join Washington's army. The route was by Wilmington, Halifax and Richmond. The story of their brilliant victory over the British fleet had preceded them. Their progress through Virginia was an ovation. They could, says the chronicle, hardly march two miles without being stopped by ladies and gentlemen who flocked to see them. At Georgetown those, who had not suffered from smallpox, were inoculated with such success that not a man was lost. They reached Washington's camp at Middlebrook about the last of June. They were placed under the command of General Alexander, Lord Sterling.

Washington met the enemy on the eleventh of September at Brandywine. Sterling's division, including Nash's brigade, was under the command of Sullivan. They showed praiseworthy courage. The flight of Sullivan's own division exposed the flank of Sterling and of Stephen. As Bancroft says, "These two divisions, only half as numerous as their assailants, in spite of the unofficer-like behavior of Stephen, fought in good earnest, using their artillery from a distance, their muskets only while within forty paces." They were forced to yield to superior numbers. Sullivan redeemed his want of generalship by personal bravery, and Lafayette

fought by their side as a volunteer and was shot through the leg.

Within five days Washington was ready for another fight, but the conflict was prevented by a furious rain-storm, which damaged the powder of both armies. On the fourth of October he formed an excellent plan for attacking the enemy at Germantown. The brigades of Maxwell and Nash under Sterling, formed the reserve in the most difficult attack—that on the British left. This attack was successful and if it had been supported properly by the other parts of the army would have won the victory. North Carolina lost some of her ablest men—General Nash, Col. Henry Irwin, Jacob Turner, a captain in Sumner's regiment, and soon afterwards the noble-hearted Col. Edward Buncombe, who was wounded and fell into the hands of the enemy, died at Philadelphia.

The North Carolina brigade went through with fortitude the heart-rending suffering at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-78. When the news of the Alliance of the United States and France and the sailing of the French fleet to America induced the British commander to retreat to New York, giving up Philadelphia, they did faithful service at Monmouth on the twentieth of June—a victory which would have been most signal for the Americans but for the misconduct of the traitor, Gen. Charles Lee. They were posted on the left flank of the army and prevented the turning of that flank by Cornwallis.

In May, 1778, on account of the diminished numbers, the North Carolina battalions as they were called after joining Washington's army, were consolidated. The sixth was put into the first under Col. Thomas Clark, the fourth into the second under Col. John Patton, and the fifth into the third under Col. Jethro Sumner.

Sumner was promoted for his faithful services to be brigadier-general on January 9, 1779. The North Carolina regu-

lars, dwindled to only seven hundred men, were ordered to the south for the defense of South Carolina and Georgia. General Howe had been disastrously defeated near Savannah, and Congress had superceded him with General Lincoln. General Sumner and his brigade had the post of honor in the attack on the intrenchments of the enemy at Stono Ferry on June the twentieth, 1779. The troops were ordered to trust to the bayonet only, but meeting with a heavy fire, they could not be restrained from returning it. They behaved with great spirit, but as Moultrie, who had been charged with this duty, was unable for the want of boats to prevent the arrival of reinforcements to the British, Lincoln withdrew his men with small loss and in good order. Soon after the battle active operations ceased, on account of the heated air laden with malaria. Sumner's strong constitution, which had resisted the fierce cold of a Pennsylvania winter, could not save him from the prevailing fever. He was forced to ask leave of absence, expecting a speedy recovery in the highlands of Warren. His presence in North Carolina was needed to aid in forwarding recruits to his depleted brigade. His request was granted early in July, and he was therefore not engaged in the disastrous assault on Savannah by the French and American forces on October the ninth, 1779.

In November, 1779, General Sumner was again with Lincoln and joined in the advice to cross the Savannah into Georgia, a movement rendered of no avail by the defeat of General Ashe. On account of his great personal influence in North Carolina he was detached to raise four new regiments of regulars and so escaped being captured at Charleston.

Baffled in the attempt to conquer the Middle States the British ministry determined to transfer the theater of war to the South. The policy seemed for a while successful. In 1779 occurred the disastrous failure by the Americans to capture Savannah. In May, 1780, Charleston capitulated, and

by the blundering policy of General Lincoln, urged on by the governor and other officers of South Carolina, two thousand of our best regular soldiers, the heroes of many hard-fought battles, including the North Carolina brigade under General Hogan, were lost. Georgia and South Carolina were overrun, only a few small partisan bodies, under Marion and Sumter and others, keeping alive the slumbering fires of patriotism.

To make matters worse, Congress which had already inflicted one unwise general on the South, now sent another still worse. The defeat of Gates at Camden left North Carolina open to invasion.

General Sumner was one of the most active and efficient officers in the movement which led to the salvation of the Carolinas. As said before, the North Carolina regulars, except those who were absent on leave, were captured under Lincoln at Charleston. General Greene on account of the unreliability of short term troops earnestly desired the organization of another brigade of regulars. He was ably seconded by the General Assembly, whose determination like that of senators of old Rome, rose higher as the invader drew nigher. As the Roman senators did in times of extreme danger, they appointed a dictator—a Council-Extraordinary—composed of the Governor (Nash), ex-Governor Caswell and William Bignal, of New Bern, and for fear that the Assembly would be prevented from meeting, gave it all the powers vested in the Board of War and Council of State, the powers of the purse and of the sword, the power "to do and execute every act and doing which may conduce to the security, defense and preservation of this State."

Conscription, the last resort of a self-governing people, was adopted. A law to raise two thousand, seven hundred and twenty men for filling up the Continental battalions was enacted and great bounties offered. All runaways and desert-

ers, all who harbored deserters, all who failed to appear at the time of drafting, were to be *ipso facto* privates in the Continental army for twelve months.

Other strong measures were authorized, such as power of impressment for supplies for the army, the confiscation of property of Tories, and a specific tax of one peck of corn or the equivalent in other provisions, for each one hundred pounds of property. This was afterwards increased to one bushel. These were stern measures, and could only have been enacted by those who valued freedom over property and life.

Prior to the battle of Guilford, March the fifteenth, 1781, there seems to have been small success in recruiting. Greene was forced to replenish his small army with militia. Seeing this state of things, Sumner, with the full approval and at the request of Greene, offered his services as a commander of a brigade of militia, but the offer was not accepted on account of the influence, it is said, of Caswell, who dreaded the despotic influence of officers of the regular army.

Governor Alexander Martin differed widely from Caswell. On the first day of January, 1782, he made an urgent request to General Sumner for Continental officers. He writes, "With your leave Major Hogg accepts a command of Light Infantry of five hundred men with Major McCree; Captain Tatum in command of a troop of horse attached to Major Hogg. Captain Dixon also will command such of the State troops as are now at Warren Court-House until the corps can be organized under Lieutenant Marshall. I flatter myself with the great advantage this State will derive from having the honor of Continental officers in its service at this important period which may finally blast the hopes of a despairing enemy and cause them to fall an easy prey to our arms."

Col. John Armstrong, in a letter to Sumner, gives graphic account of his trials. He says: "The General (Greene)

seems very uneasy about the delay of the draft of the Salisbury district and of the desertions that frequently happen by reason of the forced number of Tories into the service, and as soon as they receive the bounty, they desert. I have received nigh three hundred men and will have not above two hundred in the field. I did everything in my power to bring out the drafts of this district, but all to no purpose. There is one-half at home yet, and remain without molestation. As for clothing, there was little or none sent fit for a negro to wear, except from Rowan. I am sorry that I ever had anything to do with such slothful officers and neglected soldiers. There is a number of them now almost naked, and when cold weather sets in they must be discharged, for no officer would pretend to put them on duty. The neglect we have labored under heretofore, together with the present, makes the service very disagreeable to every one in camp. We are without money, clothing, or any kind of nourishment for our sick; not one gill of rum, sugar or coffee, no tents or camp kettles or canteens, no doctor, no medicine. Under these circumstances we must become very inefficient."

"I am afraid that in a short time you will have but few officers in the field, by reason of the shameful neglect of the State. We seem rather a burden than a benefit to them; we are tossed to and fro like a ship in a storm."

The one thing praised by Armstrong is the pleasantness of the situation of the camp, "plenty of good water." "But," he adds, with a groan, "It has one failing—it will not make grog." Armstrong says that if Sumner had known of the sad condition of the soldiers a remedy would have been found. This is a confirmation of what I have already mentioned of his tender care of his troops.

Although the required number had not been raised, yet Sumner was able on the fourth of July, 1871, to march from Salisbury for Greene's camp in South Carolina, to take command of a thin brigade of one thousand men, distributed into three battalions.

In the pleasant hills of the Santee the raw soldiers, many of whom were conscripted on account of their desertion from their militia duties, were taught the drilling and discipline of soldiers. The enemy under Stewart, was near the confluence of the Wateree and Congaree, each army in sight of the watch-fires of the other. Two large rivers ran between them, effectually preventing surprises, and the operations were confined to cutting off convoys and foraging parties, in which the infantry was not employed.

Greene was the first to move. On the twenty-second of August he marched up the Santee, and Stewart, divining his intention to cross, fell back forty miles nearer his supplies at Eutaw Springs, where the battle occurred. In this stubborn conflict, in which both sides displayed the lofty qualities for which the Anglo-Saxon race is distinguished, Sumner and his brigade, although the soldiers were new levies with only three months' training, and most of them had never before been in a battle, made such a brilliant charge as to win from General Greene the strong commendation, "I was at a loss which most to admire, the gallantry of the officers or the good conduct of the men." And again, "The North Carolina brigade under Sumner were ordered to support them, and though not above three months men, behaved nobly." Governor Martin wrote, "I congratulate you on the honor you have gained at the head of the North Carolina army at the Eutaw." And such was the general verdict. Captain Smyth, the British officer, heretofore mentioned, after peace speaks of Sumner's having "distinguished himself in the course of the late war, being the General Sumner of the American army, who has been so active in the Carolinas."

Although the glory of a conceded victory was denied the Americans, the British forces hurried off to Charleston, and Greene, weakened by the expiration of the term of service of so many of his men, retired to his camp among the hills of

the Santee, soon to rejoice over the glorious news from Yorktown. Here he waited for recruits and watched the enemy.

As soon as the camp was reached, Sumner at Greene's request returned to North Carolina for the second time for the thankless business of raising new forces and urging the supplying of his brigade with food and clothing. Colonel Armstrong wrote on February the thirteenth, 1782, from camp at Colonel Shivers, thirty miles from Charleston: "Your officers and soldiers are very naked and no hopes of being better."

There was universal apathy. The currency became worthless and people in defiance of stringent laws began to refuse to accept it. Specie began to make its appearance at the North, but very little found its way to our State. There was no provision made for the soldiers when recruited. One officer writes that he has men, but no food, another that he has not a single blanket to his company. Another that his drafted men have not come in, and if he obeys Sumner's orders to march he will go alone. Another says that the men came in slowly, and that numbers desert, "we are very scarce of provisions and under the necessity of impressing from the inhabitants who have been greatly disturbed,"..... "The people will make very little corn in this (Caswell) county."

It is impossible at this late day to trace with any minuteness the actions of General Sumner during the last eighteen months of the war. As no great movements of the armies were inaugurated it is probable that he remained in North Carolina, prosecuting his duty of raising troops. In this, his efforts, as were similar efforts in other States, had little success. The ravages of disease in the low lands of South Carolina, where the operations were carried on, had been so great that each recruit, as he turned his back on his home, felt that he was marching to suffering and death. Drafting was the only remedy, and this became so odious that only one-third of those liable in North Carolina were procured.

On the twenty-third of April, 1783, furloughs were granted to the North Carolina soldiers, and they returned gladly to their homes. Large grants of the fertile lands of Tennessee were made them, including twenty-five thousand acres to General Greene, while General Sumner's share was twelve thousand acres. A commission was appointed to settle and pay the just dues, which the Continental Congress had failed to discharge.

In the closing years of the war only the energy generated by fears of defeat and ruin had kept up the people to the fighting point. After the capture of Cornwallis there was a universal feeling that war was practically over. The exertions which were the fruit of terror and despair, gave way to supineness and lethargy. The poor soldiers, far from home, seemed to have been forgotten. In some commands there were mutinies and threats to enforce their rights at the point of the bayonet. An Alexander, a Cæsar, a Napoleon, might have urged the fierce discontent of the army for the organization of a military despotism. The great and good Washington, by the union of kindly feeling and occasional force, quieted these troubles. The brave soldiers who encountered all the sufferings which can afflict mankind—hunger, thirst, nakedness, disease, wounds, separation from loved ones, apparent ingratitude and neglect from those in civil authority—officers whose fame will never die, and their humble followers, "unnamed demigods of history," hung up their swords and their muskets on the bare walls of their ruined dwellings, and addressed themselves manfully to repairing their shattered fortunes and laying the foundation of the Great Republic of the world. As S. S. Prentice so beautifully said to the returned soldiers of the Mexican War: "Thus the dark thundercloud at Nature's summons marshals its black batallions and lowers in the horizon, but at length, its lightning spent, its mission finished, its dread artillery silenced, it melts

away into the blue ether, and the next morning may be found glittering in the dewdrops among the flowers, or assisting by its kindly moisture the growth of the young and tender plants."

General Sumner was exempt from some of the trials suffered by his compatriots. He was a man of large possessioons. His home was not in the track of the armies and suffered no injury from the rude soldiery. His neighbors were all loyal to America and we find no depredations of Tories or deserters in Bute. His prudence kept him from debt. In the midst of admiring friends, enjoying the satisfaction of a well-earned reputation, he spent the residue of his days in the management of his estate, the care of his slaves and his blooded horses, the training of his children and the exercise of a generous hospitality. His wife probably died during the war, as she seems to have been living in 1781, and was not living in 1785.

Only once was he induced to leave his privacy. In 1784 was formed the Society of the Cincinnati, composed of the officers of the Continental army. Its name was taken from the personification of Washington, called, like Cincinnatus of old, from his farm to the salvation of his country. It was designed to perpetuate the feelings of patriotism and brotherly affection engendered by the long struggle together for Independence, and provide for the indigent in their ranks. Washington was its president-general. General Sumner was president of the North Carolina division and presided over a meeting of the delegates at Hillsboro on April the thirteenth. As delegates to the general body he appointed Archibald Lyttle, Reading Blount, and Griffith J. McCree. As in the original incorporation the primogeniture principle was contemplated, fears entered the public mind that the society was an entering wedge for the introduction of an aristocracy into our country. This hostility, coupled with the difficulty of

communication in this large but thinly settled State gave it a short life here. In some of the States it still flourishes, and has been successfully revived in North Carolina. From it is derived the name of one of the most flourishing cities of the West.

We have the inventory of General Sumner's effects, returned by his executors. Including the bounty lands in Tennessee, he left over twenty thousand acres of land, besides town lots in Halifax, Louisburg and Smithfield, in Virginia. He owned two valuable farms in Warren County, one called his "Manor Plantation" and the other his "Bute Court-House Plantation." On them were thirty-five slaves, nearly all able to work, and seventeen horses, some of them racers, and about two hundred and forty hogs, twenty sheep and eighty-six head of other cattle. The possession of this large amount of stock, together with one hundred and fifty barrels of old corn and a quantity of bacon and beef and six hogsheads of prized tobacco and about two to prize," as late as the fifteenth of March, after the winter was passed, is a pretty good showing for his management. The mention of a "quantity of quart bottles, some rum, brandy, cyder and wine," five large China bowls, and four small ditto, shows that he kept up the convivial habits which distinguished Warren society for so many years, while the "one chamber chair" suggests that the war-worn veteran, after leaving his active army life, may have contracted by too generous living that affliction, formerly called the aristocratic disease, the gout, exceedingly common in that day. There is an enumeration of a large quantity of earthenware and china, silver and ivory-handled knives and forks, "two square tables, two round tables, and two tea ditto," which shows that he was accustomed to show bountiful hospitality. As mementos of his army experience we find two thousand, three hundred and seventy-four pounds, nine shillings and six pence of army

certificates, his silver-handled sword, bequeathed to his eldest son, and "his camp-beds, bedsteads and furniture," which he gave to his daughter. The division of his "printed books" between his two sons, in that day when books were quite rare, indicates that he had some taste for literature.

The end was much nearer than the age of fifty-two years would seem to make probable. The exposures of war from the bitter cold of Valley Forge to the fever swamps of South Carolina, undermined his strong constitution. His will is dated March fifteenth, and he died March the eighteenth, 1785.

I regret that I can ascertain nothing satisfactory about General Sumner's wife. Smyth states, as I have mentioned, that she was young at the time of the marriage, of good family and of a handsome fortune. Wheeler says that she was a widow Heiss, of New Bern, but none of the old inhabitants of that town know anything about her. General Sumner bequeaths to his daughter the "clothing and jewels of his wife, now in possession of Mrs. Long, of Halifax." Mrs. Long, of Halifax, the widow of Col. Nicholas Long, the commissary-general, was a notable lady, whose maiden name was McKinnie, and from the fact that Mrs. Sumner's clothing and jewelry were left with her, coupled with the fact that one of her sons was named McKinnie Hurst, and further that it appears from an act of the General Assembly, disentailing some lands, that the McKinnies and Hursts were related, the presumption is that she was either a McKinnie or a Hurst, nearly related to Mrs. Long. The presumption is strengthened by the fact that one of the devisees of Sumner's lands, in the case of the death of all his children in their minority and without issue, was Nicholas Long, Jr., a son of Mrs. Long.

General Sumner left three children, all minors. We do not know the dates of his marriage or of the birth of any of his children, except Jacky Sullivan, who married Thomas

Blount, a brother of Col. Reading Blount, one of Sumner's colonels. She changed her name to Mary Sumner Blount, and died in 1822. She was born in 1778 and was probably the youngest child. The two sons were Thomas Edward and McKinnie Hurst. To the former, doubtless the oldest child, was devised his Manor Plantation. To McKinnie Hurst the Bute Court-House Plantation. In case either should die in their minority the other was to have the whole. If all his children should die in their minority his lands were to go to Nicholas Long, Jr., and the oldest son of Benjamin McCullock and James Gray. His executors nominated were Benjamin McCullock, John Baptista Ashe, Young McLemon, and James Grey, but only McCullock and Grey qualified. McKinnie died young and Thomas, after being a member of the legislature of North Carolina, removed to Tennessee and died childless, and so all the property finally vested in Mrs. Mary Sumner Blount and was scattered by her among sixty legatees, including the Episcopal Church of Raleigh, and friends who had been kind to her. Her husband was a member of Congress of the United States, and one of the commissioners to locate the capitol, and also the University.

From the foregoing sketch, we are able to estimate what manner of man Jethro Sumner was. He was not a genius; he had little education derived from books. But he had a generous nature and a big heart. One of his colonels writes: "Dear General, you are no stranger to our sufferings; we have our eyes upon you as our support in our hour of need." They did not lean on a broken reed, but on a sturdy oaken staff. He had a strong head and sound common sense. General Greene and Governor Nash and scores of military leaders in the dark hours of a desolated State, of civil strife, of ruined currency, of despondency and of terror, asked the aid of his sagacity and pluck, and asked not in vain. He had a long experience in actual military service, in fierce

battles, in laborious marches, in dreary encampments, in thankless recruiting service, from a Lieutenant to a Brigadier-General's place. He was a loyal, brave, true, gallant soldier. He did his whole duty and made no boast. He left no posterity to keep his fame burnished. Let us join in thanks to the giver of all good, because of His gift to North Carolina of *"Jethro Sumner, one of the Heroes of 1776."

* This is the inscription on Sumner's monument.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

BY BRUCE CRAVEN.

The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775, was tremendously significant in that it was a logical fruition of and a striking keynote to the unconquerable and indomitable free spirit of the people of North Carolina. It was not the effect of sudden passion. It was not an ill-advised act of fanatics. It was instead an extraordinarily noticeable outcropping of a pure vein of sturdy independence that extends from the beginning to the end of the history of North Carolina. This heart of the matter has been neglected in the intricate efforts to prove or to disprove that the event occurred as claimed. The simple fact of this long drawn-out discussion which has continued unabated for nearly one hundred years is evidence of the importance of the act, the genuineness of which can not be doubted by any unbiased mind in possession of the uncontrovertible testimony. The desire here, however, is not to present proof of established history, but to penetrate the outward semblance and analyze the motives and purposes of the spirit so powerfully manifested in advance of the other American colonies and at a time when the Continental Congress was declaring fealty to George the Third and denying any desire for national independence.

Freedom of thought and speech is the foundation of the American Republic and is engrafted into every American constitution, but this immortal fundamental element of true democracy was born in North Carolina. It was the first declaration of the first settlers and in their first laws it was first legally guaranteed to mankind with equal rights to all and

special privileges to none. The desire for freedom of mind and conscience was directly responsible for the settlement of America, but the Puritans and Cavaliers who sought and won freedom for themselves, denied it to others, thereby sacrificing the principle of it. Never was it guaranteed by any people to all other people in good faith until in 1653 the gentle peace-loving pioneers left Berkeley's tyranny in Virginia and came southward and settled around Albemarle Sound. Of these people Bancroft said "they were the freest of the free," and further, "If you would study man's capacity for self-government, study the history of North Carolina." These settlers included many nationalities, but they were united in a common cause in a sincere and abiding belief in the natural and inalienable rights of pure liberty. When in 1663 the King granted the territory to the Lords Proprietors, the first inducement held out to new settlers was this guaranty of religious and industrial freedom, and though the promise was not held sacred by some of the British Governors, the rights were never surrendered by the people who submitted gracefully to British rule so long as it protected them, and resisted it boldly and defiantly when it trampled upon their rights.

In 1678, when the government was fifteen years old and the colonists numbered twenty thousand, they accomplished the first successful armed resistance to the encroachment of British tyranny. The trouble began with the philosophic but impossible "Model Constitution" prepared by Locke and Shaftsbury, and which provided for high-sounding titles and civic and military dignitaries intended to captivate the people. Nothing ever failed more completely. The offer of Dukedoms and Earldoms had no more attraction for these free people who had builded their homes with their own hands out of the rough-hewn logs of the forests than the offer of toys would have for full-grown men. The fantastic document was scorned with unanimity, the people thus showing their innate

repugnance to undemocratic government. They feared God and loved the brethren, were willing to bear their own burdens and to help others, but never to presume to add to the neighbor's burden by any assumption of superiority warranted or unwarranted. Relieved from this handicap, they were subjected to an attempt to rigidly enforce the odious navigation act which stipulated that the colony could only trade with English vessels. This would have destroyed a chief source of wealth in preventing trading with the other colonies, and as it was plainly an infringement of national rights, the people, headed by John Culpepper, threw the officials into jail and *conducted their own government in actual independence for two years,* until their just demands were satisfied in the repeal of the law.

In 1688 the colonists became incensed at Governor Seth Sothel (also one of the Proprietors) for his tyranny and extortion, arrested, tried and convicted him and drove him from the State in disgrace. The authorities in England decided that the only hope of maintaining the rule over the North Carolinians was to send one of their own number over as Governor, so they sent the one England could spare the best. He was captured at sea by Algerine pirates, who might have atoned for many misdeeds by keeping him, but they released him at the end of two years, during which time he no doubt added much to his store of knowledge in wicked ways. In his five years' administration of the colony's affairs he set the pace for all time for corruption in office. He was a shameless libertine, briber and taker of bribes, and thievery and all species of corruption were as natural to him as drawing breath. The people endured his misdeeds until patience ceased to be virtue and then gave a fitting example of the way to deal with such abuses, even though the object of their wrath was the sole representative of the power of the greatest nation on earth.

In 1704 a law was promulgated making the Established Church of England the State church for North Carolina. Delegations were sent to Queen Anne protesting that they paid their own preachers and would pay no others, and declaring their unalterable determination to resist the injustice even unto death. The struggle was fierce but short and the authorities saw that discretion was the better part of valor. *The people won and the obnoxious law was repealed.*

In all history there is no finer example of the spirit of freedom than in the open defiance of England by these few thousand colonists living in their rude log cabins. The Lords Proprietors, perceiving the impossibility of conquering the spirit, turned the colony over to the King in 1729, and the people entered no protest. They recognized the English government as the seat of authority and offered no resistance until the government abused its power. Gabriel Johnston was Governor from 1734 to 1752, and though he was a faithful servant of the King he was an able and conscientious man and the people enjoyed peace and were never more friendly disposed toward the mother country. In these years the rushing tides of immigration were settling the State as far west as the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains, but the spirit of the population remained unchanged. In 1749 the printing press was introduced into the State and the progress and prosperity were so noticeable that there was no suspicion of the storm that in twenty years was to follow the calm.

In 1764 the North Carolinians forced Governor Arthur Dobbs to admit that the control of the State's revenue rested exclusively with the people who paid the taxes. Governor Dobbs, by his obstinacy and lack of tact, developed much friction and hard feeling between the people and the government. He claimed that the revenues belonged to England and that he, as England's representative, had the right to disburse them without recourse to the will of the people. The people

had no text-book of political economy and cared but little about theories of law and government; they knew this was an attempt to destroy their liberty and they refused to pay taxes until the Governor, facing open rebellion, yielded to their demands that no money should be appropriated from the public funds without the consent of the General Assembly.

William Tryon came into office in 1765, when the people were discontented and distrustful and fearful of British rule, and his services began with the duty of enforcing the Stamp Act, which required all legal papers to be written on stamped paper, for which a revenue tax was collected. The declaration was unanimous that there should be no submission to this unjust measure, and when the ship-of-war Diligence arrived at Wilmington with the hated paper, September 28, 1765, *Colonels Ashe and Waddell, leading armed men, told the ship's commander that the paper could not be landed,* and he probably knowing something of North Carolina history, made no attempt to carry out his task. Again the contest was fierce, brief and decisive. *The Stamp Act was annulled by the King, but only after it had already been annulled by the voice of the people, which was continuing to demonstrate its supremacy over Kings and Empires and Parliaments.* Governor Tryon tried to pacify the enraged people by giving a great public feast in Wilmington, but they would have none of it, and showed their contempt for such patronizing methods by throwing the roasted meats in the river and pouring the beer on the ground. It was an open declaration that peace could only be maintained by submitting to the people's will and guarding and protecting them in their just rights; but the government failed to profit by the hint, and from that time events led rapidly to the Revolution.

May 16, 1771, in the battle of Alamance, was shed the first blood in the war for Independence. After the repeal of the Stamp Act, the taxes were increased to the limit of en-

durance and the extortions of corrupt officials made the bad matters worse. This moved the people to organize to regulate the abuses, and this organization, under the leadership of Herman Husbands, became known as the "Regulators." They first appealed to the courts, which showed themselves to be mockeries of justice. Then they resisted the injustices of the extortionists, and the hostility prevailed to such an extent that Governor Tryon, always ready for military display, formed an army to intimidate the Regulators. Husbands, with his followers, many of whom were unarmed and none of whom were well armed, approached the Governor's troops for a parley, and the Governor, realizing his advantage, forced a battle. To Tryon, it gave the opportunity (which he desired) to send a message to the King proclaiming "a glorious victory over the rebels." The Regulators were completely routed and the organization was ended, but rapidly from this time the British authority in North Carolina tottered to its fall, and the shedding of patriot blood opened the eyes of North Carolinians to the sober fact that *though the issue had been before them for one hundred years, now they knew that British rule was not feasible in America and that the only possible permanent government in North Carolina must be founded on the consent of the governed.*

April 26, 1774, William Hooper wrote to James Iredell. "With you I anticipate the important share the colonies must soon have in regulating the political balance. *They are striding fast to independence,* and ere long will build an empire upon the ruins of Great Britain; will adopt its Constitution, purged of its impurities, and from an experience of its defects will guard against the evils which have wasted its vigor and brought it to an untimely end." It is no wonder that Thomas Jefferson wrote to John Adams that "No State was more fixed or forward than North Carolina in the struggle for independence." About the time Hooper's letter was written,

Governor Martin (who succeeded Tryon in 1771) dismissed the Assembly with the statement that it should not meet again until peace should reign. This was a practical declaration of war, and the people met it as they had met previous abuses. There was no legal provision for them to assemble at their own will, but these men were of the kind who make precedents when there are none sufficient to the needs. John Harvey, the aged leader, even then near death, drove in his gig to meet Willie Jones, Samuel Johnston and Edward Buncombe. *These fearless patriots consulted together and threw defiance to the King and his Governor by calling on their own authority an Assembly to meet in Newbern, August 25, 1774.* This Assembly, the first one in America to meet independent of British authority, elected Joseph Hewes, Richard Caswell and William Hooper delegates to the Continental Congress, and made it plain that further submission to the King was not possible.

In view of this unparalleled record for independent character, there is nothing inconceivable nor inconsistent in the action of the sterling patriots of Mecklenburg assembled in Charlotte May 20, 1775, and who, upon receiving the news of the Battle of Lexington, adopted resolutions declaring: "We do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us with the mother country," "absolve ourselves from the allegiance to the British Crown," and "declare ourselves a free and independent people." At a second meeting May 31, further resolutions were adopted and provisions made for self-government. The declaration simply described actual conditions, for *from May 20, 1775, North Carolina was independent of Great Britain.* The militia of the counties were under arms subject to the orders of the Provincial Congress, and early in June Governor Martin went on board a war-vessel at Wilmington and British authority was thereby forever brought to an end in the State. From the ship-of-war

Governor Martin sent to England a copy of the Resolutions of May 31, which had been published in the *Cape Fear Mercury* and the *Charleston Gazette,* and said they were the most treasonable publications he had yet seen. In August of 1775 the independent government was fully organized, with Cornelius Harnett as Governor. February 27, 1776, the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge was fought and the first American victory won. April 12, 1776, the Provincial Congress instructed the North Carolina delegates at Philadelphia to vote for national independence, and in this connection it is well to note that the three delegates from Mecklenburg went to the Provincial Congress with instructions to vote for the resolution of independence.

The story of the Revolution need not be detailed here. The North Carolinians left their own State unprotected in order to aid their sister States. Cornwallis entered the State in September of 1780 as a conqueror and in anticipation of a triumphant march to join the British troops in the North, but as a result of the fighting in Charlotte and the battles of King's Mountain and Guilford Court-House, he left the State in defeat only to go to Yorktown for unconditional surrender. Thus in the study of the character of the people we reach the logical conclusion that *the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence was a rational manifestation of the will of the people and in perfect harmony with the history of the State from the beginning to the end of the tremendous struggle for free and independent government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."*

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

JUDGE HENRY GROVES CONNOR.

Judge Connor was born in Wilmington, N. C., July 3d, 1852; the son of David and Mary C. (Groves) Connor. He was educated in the town schools of Wilson; married in Wilson, Kate Whitfield, daughter of George Whitfield, afterwards his law partner; he practiced law at Wilson; was State Senator, 1885; Superior Court Judge, 1885-1893; Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1889; again member of the House of Representatives in 1901; was elected Associate Justice of the Supreme Court January 1, 1903, and still continues to perform the duties of that office.

Judge Connor has always been a consistent Democrat, and his party has shown appreciation of his value, in the high offices to which he has been chosen. For many years he was President of the Branch Banking Company, Wilson, N. C. He was President of the State Literary and Historical Association, 1901-1902. He delivered an address before the Law Class of the University of North Carolina in 1899; and at the Civic Celebration at Trinity College, February 22, 1899; before the Colonial Dames of North Carolina on their annual pilgrimage to Old Brunswick, 1902. He contributed to "Great American Lawyers" a sketch of Judge William Gaston; to the Biographical History of North Carolina sketches of Judges George Howard and Charles M. Cooke; to the North Carolina Booklet, Vol. IV, an article entitled "The Convention of 1788," and in the present number one on "The Convention of 1835."

In 1908 the State University conferred on Judge Connor the honorary degree of LL.D.

In preparing a sketch of such a man as Henry Groves Connor it is only just to mention his character as a man and a private citizen, which even more perhaps than his public record has made him beloved and honored in his own community and everywhere that he is known. Judge Connor has long been a member of the Episcopal Church. His residence continues in Wilson, N. C., while his office is in the Supreme Court Building in Raleigh.

KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE.

NOTE.—A sketch of Dr. Battle appeared in Vol. VII, October, 1907, of this Booklet. Since that time Dr. Battle completed the first Volume of *The History of the University of North Carolina,* and in consideration of its merit, the State Literary and Historical Association awarded to him, at the annual meeting in October, 1907, the "Patterson Memorial Cup."

BRUCE CRAVEN.

Prof. Bruce Craven, the author of "The Significance of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," was born May 14, 1881, in Trinity. He is the son of the late James L. Craven, M.D., and Mrs. Nannie Bulla Craven; grandson of Rev. Braxton Craven, D.D., LL.D., founder and president of Trinity College, and of Hon. James Ruffin Bulla, who was for many years one of North Carolina's most noted lawyers; was educated in Trinity College, and since leaving college in 1900 has been superintendent of the graded schools of Murphy and Clinton and Morganton. He has achieved distinction as a clear and strong writer, is an excellent speaker, an active member of the Methodist Church and an ardent advocate of thorough and effective education. November 5, 1901,

he was married to Miss Clara Chaffin, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. M. R. Chaffin, of Mocksville, who was his classmate in college. In the year 1907 was superintendent of the public schools in Elizabeth City, and has been elected superintendent of the city schools of Lancaster, S. C. Mr. Craven has been active and prominent in educational work in North Carolina for several years and has achieved reputation in independent and fearless advocacy of genuine moral and intellectual training. For many years past he has been a close student of North Carolina history, particularly that of Mecklenburg County, and a frequent contributor of historical and educational discussions to leading newspapers and magazines. In the recent campaign for State prohibition he was one of the speakers for the cause. Though he has accepted the call to Lancaster, yet he remains a genuine North Carolinian for all time. His home people have watched with interest and pleasure his success in teaching and in literary and historical work.

The unveiling of a tablet to the "Ladies of the Edenton Tea Party of October 25th, 1774," will take place on October 24th, 1908, in the capitol of North Carolina.

INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

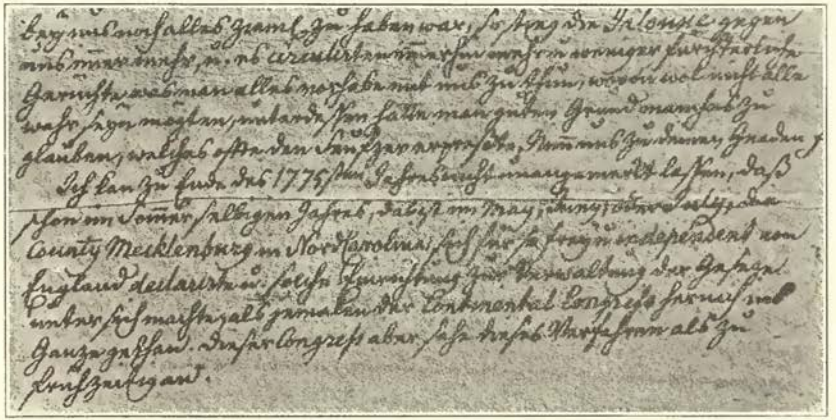
a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membershipand Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past seven years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet." It still continues to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.



Photographic Fac-simile of the Contemporary Moravian Church Record of 1775, which eminent historians declare is the final proof of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

Vol. VIII. JANUARY, 1909. No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of the Booklet is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. Editors.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

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THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

BY A. S. SALLEY, JR.

For nearly ten years prior to the adoption of constitutional forms of government by the several British provinces of North America, following the breaking out of hostilities in 1775, those constitutions had been evoluting from the extra-legal committees that had from time to time during those years been organized at town and county meetings in the different sections of America. With the arising of each new cause for political dissatisfaction the number and influence of these local committees increased, and as their strength and influence increased they assumed greater powers or were voted them by the people in town or county meetings.

When the passage of the Boston Port Bill, as it was popularly called, by the Parliament of Great Britain in 1774 became known in the several provinces the local committees called meetings of the inhabitants, at which delegates were elected to provincial conventions.

The first provincial convention of North Carolina was held in New Bern August 25, 26, and 27, 1774. On the last day resolutions appropriate to the existing political conditions in America were adopted, wherein was incorporated the following recommendation looking to a closer union of the people of the province:

and it is recommended to the deputies of the several Counties, That a Committee of five persons be chosen in each County by such persons as acceed to this association to take effectual care that these Resolves be

properly observed and to correspond occasionally with the Provincial Committee of Correspondence of this province.[1]

These committees were chosen soon after the adjournment of the convention.[2] The signers of the Association soon selected their committee in Mecklenburg, as was the case in the other counties. The date can not be fixed, but it was done most likely before January 26, 1775, when Governor Martin made the following statement to the Earl of Dartmouth, British Secretary of State for the American Department, in a letter of that date:

> In this Province as in all others to the Northward Committees have been Chosen by the people to carry into execution the measures of the General Congress. Your Lordship will judge of the spirit of these extraordinary Tribunals by the proceedings of that of Halifax County (of which I herewith enclose a copy) towards a very worthy and respectable merchant of that place.[3]

Martin's statement is confirmed by the action of the second provincial convention of North Carolina, held April 3-7, 1775, when occasion was taken to "recommend to the Committees of the several Counties to propose Premiums to the Inhabitants whose Industry may be a proper Subject for their Bounty."[4] Additional confirmation may be gathered from the fragmentary records of the committees of several other counties which have been published in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina.*

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[1] *The South-Carolina and American General Gazette,* October 7, 1774; *American Archives* (Peter Force), Fourth Series, I, 734-737; *Colonial Records of North Carolina,* IX, 1043-1049. The resolution recommended that five persons be chosen but almost every county of which we have any records of the committee of selected more than that number. Rowan and New Hanover counties each selected twenty-five.

[2] In Rowan September 23, 1774 (See journal of the committee, Wheeler's *Historical Sketches of North Carolina,* II, 361); in Pitt December 9, 1774 (See *Colonial Records of North Carolina,* IX, 1095); in New Hanover January 4, 1775 (*Ibid.,* 1107).

[3] *Colonial Records of North Carolina,* IX, 1115.

[4] *Ibid.,* 1185.

We are also uninformed as to who composed the Mecklenburg committee, save that by two contemporaneous records it is shown that Ephraim Brevard was the secretary and Abraham Alexander the chairman. The first of these records was published in *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal* (Charles Town) for June 13, 1775; in *The North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern) for June 16, 1775; and in *The Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington) for June 23, 1775. The following are the resolutions as they appear in *The North-Carolina Gazette:*

Charlotte *Town*, Mecklenburg *County*, May 31.

This Day the Committee met, and passed the following

RESOLVES:

WHEREAS, by an address presented to his Majesty by both Houses of Parliament in *February* last, the *American* colonies are declared to be in a state of actual Rebellion, we conceive, that all Laws and Commissions confirmed by, or derived from the Authority of the King or Parliament, are annulled and vacated, and the former civil Constitution of these Colonies for the present wholly suspended. To provide in some Degree for the Exigencies of the County in the present alarming Period, we deem it proper and necessary to pass the following RESOLVES, *viz.*

1. That all Commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the Crown, to be exercised in these Colonies, are null and void, and the Constitution of each particular Colony wholly suspended.

2. That the Provincial Congress of each Province, under the Direction of the Great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive Powers within their respective Provinces; and that no other Legislative or Executive does or can exist, at this Time, in any of these Colonies.

3. As all former Laws are now suspended in this Province, and the Congress have not yet provided others, we judge it necessary, for the better Preservation of good Order, to form certain Rules and Regulations for the internal Government of this County, until Laws shall be provided for us by the Congress.

4. That the Inhabitants of this County do meet on a certain Day appointed by this Committee, and having formed themselves into nine Companies, *to wit*, eight for the County, and one for the Town of *Charlotte*, do choose a Colonel and other military Officers, who shall hold and exercise their several Powers by virtue of this Choice, and independent of *Great Britain*, and former Constitution of this Province.

5. That for the better Preservation of the Peace, and Administration of Justice, each of these Companies do choose from their own Body two discreet Freeholders, who shall be empowered each by himself, and singly, to decide and determine all Matters of Controversy arising within said Company under the Sum of Twenty Shillings, and jointly and together all Controversies under the Sum of Forty Shillings, yet so as their Decisions may admit of Appeals to the Convention of the Select Men of the whole County; and also, that any one of these shall have Power to examine, and commit to Confinement, Persons accused of Petit Larceny.

6. That those two Select Men, thus chosen, do, jointly and together, choose from the Body of their particular Company two Persons, properly qualified to serve as Constables, who may assist them in the Execution of their Office.

7. That upon the Complaint of any Persons to either of these Select Men, he do issue his Warrant, directed to the Constable, commanding him to bring the Aggressor before him or them, to answer said Complaint.

8. That these eighteen Select Men thus appointed, do meet every third *Tuesday*[5] in *January*, *April*, *July*, and *October*, at the Court-House, in *Charlotte*, to hear and determine all matters of Controversy for Sums exceeding Forty Shillings; also Appeals: And in Cases of Felony, to commit the Person or Persons convicted thereof to close Confinement, until the Provincial Congress shall provide and establish Laws and Modes of Proceeding in all such Cases.

9. That these Eighteen Select Men, thus convened, do choose a Clerk to record the Transactions of said Convention; and that said Clerk, upon the Application of any Person or Persons aggrieved, do issue his Warrant to one of the Constables, to summons and warn said Offender to appear before the Convention at their next sitting, to answer the aforesaid Complaint.

10. That any Person making complaint upon Oath to the Clerk, or any Member of the Convention, that he has Reason to suspect that any Person or Persons indebted to him in a sum above Forty Shillings, do intend clandestinely to withdraw from the County without paying such Debt; the Clerk, or such Member, shall issue his Warrant to the Constable, commanding him to take the said Person or Persons into safe Custody, until the next sitting of the Convention.

11. That when a Debtor for a Sum below Forty Shillings shall abscond and leave the County, the Warrant granted as aforesaid shall extend to any Goods or Chattels of said Debtor as may be found, and

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[5] *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal* prints "Thursday," but all other contemporary copies and the county court records show "Tuesday" to have been correct.

such Goods or Chattels be seized and held in Custody by the Constable for the Space of Thirty Days; in which Term if the Debtor fails to return and discharge the Debt, the Constable shall return the Warrant to one of the Select Men of the Company where the Goods and Chattels are found, who shall issue Orders to the Constable to sell such a Part of the said Goods as shall amount to the Sum due; that when the Debt exceeds Forty Shillings, the Return shall be made to the Convention, who shall issue Orders for Sale.

12. That all Receivers and Collectors of Quitrents, Public and County Taxes, do pay the same into the Hands of the Chairman of this Committee, to be by them disbursed as the public Exigencies may require. And that such Receivers and Collectors proceed no farther in their Office until they be approved of by, and have given to this Committee good and sufficient Security for a faithful Return of such Monies when collected.

13. That the Committee be accountable to the County for the Application of all Monies received from such public Officers.

14. That all these Officers hold their Commissions during the Pleasure of their respective Constitutents.

15. That this Committee will sustain all Damages that may ever hereafter accrue to all or any of these Officers thus appointed, and thus acting, on Account of their Obedience and Conformity to these Resolves.

16. That whatever Person shall hereafter receive a Commission from the Crown, or attempt to exercise any such Commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an Enemy to his Country; and upon Information being made to the Captain of the Company where he resides, the said Captain shall cause him to be apprehended, and conveyed before the two Select Men of the said Company, who, upon Proof of the Fact, shall commit him, the said Offender, to safe Custody, until the next sitting of the Convention, who shall deal with him as Prudence may direct.

17. That any Person refusing to yield Obedience to the above Resolves shall be deemed equally criminal, and liable to the same Punishments as the Offenders above last mentioned.

18. That these Resolves be in full Force and Virtue, until Instructions from the General Congress of this Province, regulating the Jurisprudence of this Province, shall provide otherwise, or the legislative Body of *Great Britain* resign its unjust and arbitrary Pretentions with Respect to *America*.

19. That the eight Militia Conpanies in this County do provide themselves with proper Arms and Accoutrements, and hold themselves in Readiness to execute the demands and Directions of the Provincial Congress, and of this committee.

20. That this committee do appoint Colonel *Thomas Polk*, and Doctor *Joseph Kennedy*, to purchase 300lb. of Powder, 600lb. of Lead, and

1000 Flints, and deposit the same in some safe Place, hereafter to be appointed by the committee.

Signed by Order of the Committee.
EPH. BREVARD, *Clerk of the Committee.*

Richard Cogdell enclosed a copy of *The North-Carolina Gazette* containing the foregoing resolutions to Richard Caswell, in attendance on the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, in a letter, dated "New Bern 18th June 1775", in which he said: "you'l Observe the Mecklinburg resolves, exceed all other Committees, or the Congress itself. I send you the paper wherein they are incerted as I hope this will come soon to hand."[6]

Governor Martin issued a proclamation June 16, 1775, wherein he denied the allegations made by the committees of the counties in the Wilmington district of designs on the part of the British Ministry and Parliament to enslave Americans and severely denounced the associators in North Carolina.[7]

On Tuesday, June 20, 1775, the several committees in the Wilmington district met in the court house in Wilmington, and unanimously chose Richard Quince, Sr., chairman. Among the matters taken up was Governor Martin's proclamation of the 16th, and a committee of three was appointed to answer it. On Wednesday, the 21st, this committee returned its answer "which was read and ordered to be printed in the public papers and in hand bills." The preamble closed with this language:

We, then, the Committees of the counties of New Hanover, Brunswick, Bladen, Duplin and Onslow, in order to prevent the pernicious influence of the said Proclamation, do, unanimously, resolve, that in our opinion, his Excellency Josiah Martin, Esq. hath by the said Proclamation, and by the whole tenor of his conduct, since the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, discovered himself

[6]This letter and newspaper are in the library at Hayes, the old Johnston home near Edenton.

[7]*Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 16-19.

to be an enemy to the happiness of this colony in particular, and to the freedom, rights and privileges of America in general.[8]

At a meeting of His Majesty's Council for North Carolina, held June 25, 1775, Governor Martin called the attention of the Council to the

seditious Combinations that have been formed, and are still forming in several parts of this Colony and the violent measures they persue in compelling His Majesty's Subjects by various kinds of intimidations, to subscribe Associations, inconsistent with their Duty and allegiance to their Sovereign, The obliging People to frequent meetings in Arms, by the usurped Authority of Committees, the recent Assemblage of a Body of armed Men, in the town of Wilmington for the purpose of awing His Majesty's Loyal Subjects there into submission to the dictates of an illegal and tyranical tribunal erected there under that name, and the late most treasonable publication of a Committee in the County of Mecklenburg, explicitly renouncing obedience to His Majesty's Government and all lawfull authority whatsoever.[9]

In a letter written at Fort Johnston June 30, 1775, Governor Martin detailed to the Earl of Dartmouth what had happened in North Carolina since his last despatch (No. 33). He recounted the causes which had induced him to issue his proclamation of June 16, enclosing a copy thereof, and wrote of the reply of the committees at Wilmington on the 21, as follows:

The News Paper enclosed will shew Your Lordship that the same spirit of Sedition and extravagance that gave cause to that Act of Government, has produced an impudent and formal contradiction of the undeniable truths it contains, under the authority of a Committee; proving irrefragably that People embarked in a bad cause, scruple not to avail themselves of the basest falsehoods, and calumnies to support it according to custom, and as the last effort of malice, and falsehood, Your Lordship will find this Publication prescribes me as an Enemy to this Province in particular, and to America in General.

Further on Governor Martin wrote:

The Minutes of Council held at this place the other day, will make the impotence of Government here as apparent to your Lordship, as anything I can set before you.

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[8] *Ibid.*, 27.

[9] *Ibid.*, 38-39.

In the next paragraph he wrote:

> The Resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburg which Your Lordship will find in the enclosed News Paper, surpass all the horrid and treasonable publications that the inflamatory spirits of this Continent have yet produced; and Your Lordship may depend, its Authors and abettors will not escape my due notice, whenever my hands are sufficiently strengthened to attempt the recovery of the lost authority of Government. A Copy of these Resolves I am informed were sent off by express to the Congress at Philadelphia, as soon as they were passed in the Committee.[10]

Governor Martin marked this letter, or despatch, "No. 34."[11] In it he mentioned three enclosures: the proclamation of June 16, the minutes of the Council meeting of June 25, which he referred to twice, and a newspaper, which he referred to twice—the first time as containing the reply made by the Wilmington district committees June 21 to his proclamation of June 16, and the second time as containing the "Resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburg." The proclamation (endorsed: "In Governor Martins of the 30 of June 1775 No. 34") and the minutes of the Council are filed with the letter in the British Public Record Office, but the newspaper is missing. The original wrapper of the despatch, whereon there doubtless was the Earl of Dartmouth's usual endorsement as to who the letter was from, the number of enclosures, etc., is missing also and the following endorsement which does not state the number of enclosures, has been made on the back of the last page of the letter: "(Origl. mislaid) Gov^{r}. Martin 30th June 1775. (No. 34.)" The following pencilled memorandum is also there: "Printed Paper taken out by M^{r}. Turner for M^{r}. Stevenson, August 15th, 1837."[12]

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[10]These extracts have been taken from a photograph of the original letter, which is on file in the British Public Record Office, London. See also *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 41-50.

[11]The writer has had the use of photographs of the entire letter.

[12]Andrew Stevenson was then United States minister to England. In the Public Record Office is also this memorandum: "1837 July 24. Sent to Mr. Backhouse, Foreign Office, North Carolina 1774-5-6-7. No.

That memorandum and the statements in Governor Martin's letter show that but one newspaper was sent, containing both the Wilmington and Mecklenburg resolutions. Unfortunately the Governor did not mention in his letter the title of the newspaper, but it is perfectly clear that it could only have been a paper issued between June 21 and 30. The two papers then publishing in Charles Town and the one at Williamsburg were all too far off to have received the news of the 21 and returned a printed paper to Fort Johnston by the 30. The next issue of *The South-Carolina and American General Gazette,* which appeared June 23, is not in the Charleston Library's file, but that was too soon after June 21 to have enabled the news to reach Charles Town. The succeeding issue was June 30, and does not contain that news either. The next issue of *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal* was June 27, and, even if it had contained the two sets of resolutions, it could not have reached Governor Martin by June 30, but it has already been shown that the Mecklenburg resolutions were published in the issue for June 13, and the files of that paper in the Charleston Library show that the Wilmington resolutions were not published therein until July 11.

The only papers near enough to have contained the Wilmington reply of June 21 were *The North-Carolina Gazette,*

96. Returned to the State Paper Office 21 February 1839." It is apparent, therefore, that Mr. Turner got the paper from the Foreign Office. That he got it for his own use and not "for Mr. Stevenson" is amply attested by the following statement made in 1875 by United States Senator J. W. Stevenson, a son of Minister Stevenson, to a reporter for *The New York Herald* who had asked him if the paper was among the papers left by his father and then in the Senator's possession:

"That document is not among my father's papers, but in its stead is a memorandum which states that though the paper was withdrawn under the sanction of my father it was not withdrawn for his use, but for the use of another person whose name is there given." (See *The New York Herald,* May 15, 1875.)

of New Bern, and *The Cape Fear Mercury,* of Wilmington. These papers were issued every Friday. The only intervening issues, therefore, were those of June 23 and 30. It has already been shown that the New Bern paper of June 16 contained the Mecklenburg resolutions. It is hardly likely that they were repeated immediately. It is clear, therefore, that it was *The Cape-Fear Mercury* that Governor Martin enclosed to the Earl of Dartmouth, and, as Wilmington was too far from Fort Johnston for a paper issued there June 30 to have reached the Governor on the same day—in time to be twice mentioned in the lengthy letter in which the paper was enclosed to Dartmouth, that day—it is also clear that the date of the paper which Governor Martin sent to Dartmouth was June 23, 1775. This is confirmed by the following extracts from a proclamation which Governor Martin issued from "on board His Majesty's Sloop *Cruizer* in Cape Fear River," August 8, 1775:

> Whereas I have seen a publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* which appears to be proceedings of a General Meeting of People stiling themselves Committees of the District of Wilmington signed Richard Quince Senr Chairman, in which the well known and incontestible facts set forth in my Proclamation bearing date the 12th day of June last are most daringly and impudently contradicted, and the basest and most scandalous Seditious and inflammatory falsehoods are asserted evidently calculated to impose upon and mislead the People of this Province and to alienate their affections from His Majesty and His Government and concluding in the true spirit of licentiousness and malignity that characterizes the production of these seditious combinations with a resolve declaring me an Enemy to the Interests of this Province in particular and America in General.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> And whereas I have also seen a most infamous publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* importing to be resolves of a set of people stiling themselves a Committee of the County of Mecklenburg most traiterously declaring the entire dissolution of the Laws Government and Constitution of this country and setting up a system of rule and regulation repugnant to the Laws and subversive of His Majesty's Government.[13]

[13] *Colonial Records of North Carolina,* X, 142, 144.

On July 6, 1775, Governor Martin wrote a letter ("No. 35") to Dartmouth wherein he said:

I have engaged Mr Alexr Schaw whom I have now the honor to introduce to your Lordship to charge himself with this Letter, and my Dispatch No. 34.[14]

On July 16 Governor Martin wrote ("No. 36") to Dartmouth:

Since the departure of Mr Schaw who was charged with my Dispatches to your Lordship No 34 and 35, Duplicates of which are herewith enclosed. . . . Having an opportunity of writing safely by a passenger in a Merchant's Ship, I could not let it escape me without giving your Lordship the Accounts contained in this letter relative to the operations of the Army at Boston.[15]

The passenger referred to was a Mr. Burgwine, and on September 15 Dartmouth wrote to Governor Martin:

I have received from the hands of Mr Burgwine your dispatches numbered 34, 35, 36, 37 & 38, the two first being Duplicates, the originals of which you mention to have been trusted to Mr Schaw, who has not yet appeared.[16]

The original despatches numbered 34 and 35 reached Dartmouth soon thereafter, and No. 34 is in the Public Record Office, as already mentioned. The duplicate thereof, which was enclosed in No. 36 is still in the collection left by the Earl of Dartmouth, and was described, with its enclosures, in a calendar of that collection which was published in 1895. It retains its original wrapper and thereon is endorsed "North Carolina. Fort Johnston, 30. June 1775. Governor Martin. N°. 34. (Duplicate original not rec^{d}) R. Sept^{r}. 10. 1775. 3 Inclosures." Of these enclosures the minutes of the Council of June 25 is on file in the Public Record Office and is marked "Duplicate No. 36." The duplicate of the proclamation of June 16 is with the duplicate of the letter (No. 34) in the Dartmouth papers and in lieu of a duplicate copy of "the enclosed News Paper" there is a manuscript

[14]Ibid., 70. [15]Ibid., 96, 98. [16]Ibid., 247.

copy of the Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31, 1775, which Governor Martin had said in his letter were printed in the "enclosed News Paper", and it is endorsed: "In Gov^r. Martins of the 30 of June, 1775. No. 34."

In a letter (No. 39) written from aboard the *Cruizer* in Cape Fear River August 28, 1775, Governor Martin said to the Earl of Dartmouth:

> I have found myself defeated in almost every attempt I have made to correspond with the well affected people in the upper Country. All of them who have come down here to consult me about their safety, have been intercepted coming or going, and searched, detained, abused, and stript of any Papers they have had about them except a Messenger from a considerable Body of Germans, settled in the County of Mecklenburg, who brought me a loyal declaration against the Very extraordinary and traiterous resolves of the Committee of that County, of which I had the honor to transmit a copy to your Lordship with my last Dispatches.[17]

These resolutions, published in three contemporaneous newspapers of the section; Cogdell's comments thereon in his letter to Caswell; Governor Martin's comments thereon in his letter of June 30 and the duplicate thereof enclosed in his letter of July 16; the manuscript copy thereof which Martin enclosed in his duplicate letter of June 30 accompanying his letter of July 16, and Martin's remarks on the address of the German settlers of Mecklenburg all show beyond refutation that on May 31, 1775, the *committee* of Mecklenburg County declared the laws of the province of North Carolina wholly suspended in Mecklenburg County and, "for the better Preservation of good Order" formed "certain Rules and Regulations for the internal Government of this County" and provided for the selection of certain officers for the county "who shall hold and exercise their several Powers by Virtue of this Choice, and independent of *Great-Britain,* and former Constitution of this Province." This action was not taken with

[17] *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 231.

any view of declaring absolute independence of Great Britain, but, as the committee themselves declared in the preamble to their resolutions, "To provide in some Degree for the Exigencies of the County in the present alarming Period" when, according to the expressed views of the committee, all laws were suspended in America by the recent acts of the British parliament.

The Mecklenburg records now available are so meager that we are unable to say how many of the provisions of these resolutions were carried out, but it is certain that some of them were. That the inhabitants of the county formed themselves into a militia regiment, as directed, is attested by the fact that the Provincial Congress appointed Thomas Polk colonel, Adam Alexander lieutenant-colonel and John Davidson major thereof September 9, 1775.[18] The records do not show whether the convention of selectmen, which was to act as both an executive and a judicial body, was ever organized or not, but the records of the County Court of Mecklenburg show that that court, which had been established several years before, continued to be convened the third Tuesday in every January, April, July and October thereafter up to and including the July, 1776, term; that the same justices who had composed the court before the passage of these resolutions continued to sit thereon after the passage of these resolutions, and bound men over to keep "the peace to all his Majesty's liege subjects" and, even at their July, 1776, term continued the "crown" docket to the next term; that it was discontinued only after the passage of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, and that it was reorganized in January, 1777, after a new constitution had been adopted by North Carolina.[19]

[18]Ibid., 206.

[19]See *Publications of the Southern History Association*, XI, 329-338.

Another evidence that the committee had not intended a secession from the mother country when they passed these resolutions is that at the meeting of the Provincial Congress in August and September following, wherein Mecklenburg was represented by Thomas Polk, John Phifer, Waightstill Avery, Samuel Martin, James Houston and John McKnitt Alexander, that body issued an "Address to the Inhabitants of the British Empire" wherein they avowed themselves loyal subjects of Great Britain, vehemently denied that independence was their object and called on the Almighty to witness that "it is our most earnest wish and prayer to be restored with the other United Colonies, to the State in which we and they were placed before the year 1763" and finally covered the Mecklenburg case with the following language:

> Whenever we have departed from the Forms of the Constitution, our own safety and self preservation have dictated the expedient; and if in any Instances we have assumed powers which the laws invest in the Sovereign or his representatives, it has been only in defence of our persons, properties and those rights which God and the Constitution have made Unalienably ours. As soon as the cause of our Fears and Apprehensions are removed, with joy will we return these powers to their regular channels; and such Institutions formed from mere necessity, shall end with that necessity that created them.[20]

That address breathed the sentiments of the whole American people at that time—if we are to judge by their own repeated public and private utterances. But a year later it was different, and the country was ready for independence when the Continental Congress declared it. The home rule government which the committee had provided for Mecklenburg by the resolutions of May 31, 1775, now no longer acknowledged allegiance to the crown of Great Britain but to the State of North Carolina; the temporary independence became permanent, and there can be no doubt that the resolutions of May 31, 1775, very soon began to be referred to tradi-

[20] *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 201-203.

tionally (though erroneously) as a declaration of independence. That such was the case is evidenced by the fact that scattered through a period of about forty years thereafter we find in current records an occasional reference that indicates as much. The earliest of these is to be found in some reminiscences of the Revolution prepared by Traugott Bagge, of Salem, in the neighboring county of Surry, and is as follows:

I cannot leave unmentioned at the end of the 1775th year that already in the summer of this year, that is in May, June or July, the county of Mecklenburg declared itself free and independent of England, and made such arrangements for the administration of the laws among themselves, as later the Continental Congress made for all. This Congress, however, considered these proceedings premature.[21]

The next account we have of a declaration of independence is in some rough notes prepared by John McKnitt Alexander, of Mecklenburg, in 1800. It appears that his house was burned in April, 1800; that he claimed to have lost therein some records of the Mecklenburg committee's proceedings, and that some time between April 6 and September 3, 1800, he prepared these notes, which are as follows:[22]

On the 19th May 1775[23] Pursuant to the Order of Colo Thos. Polk[24] to each Captain of Militia in his regiment of Mecklenburg County, to elect nominate and appoint 2 persons of their Militia company, cloathed with ample powers to devise ways & means to extricate themselves and ward off the dreadful impending storm bursting on them by the British Nation &c. &c.

[21]See *The Wachovia Moravian* for April, 1906, 2-3.

[22]The original notes in John McKnitt Alexander's handwriting are not now in evidence, but a copy thereof, which was made for Bancroft about 1855, is now in the New York Public Library and has been reproduced in fac-simile in *The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence* (New York, 1907) by William Henry Hoyt, A.M. The copy here given has been made from Mr. Hoyt's fac-simile. The blank spaces show where parts of the original had been destroyed.

[23]Bancroft's copyist made explanatory notes to his copy. He states in one of these that a 6 was written through this 5.

[24]The copyist states that "Adam Alexander" was stricken out and "Thos Polk" written above.

Therefore on sd 19th May the sd. Committee met in Charlotte Town (2 men from each company) Vested with all powers these their constituents had or conceived they had &c.

After a short conference about their suffering breathren beseiged and suffering every hardship in Boston and the American Blood running in Lexington &c. the Electrical fire flew into every breast and to preserve order Chosse Abraham Alex Esquire chairman & J. McK. A. Secretary[25] After a few Hour free discussion in order to give relief to suffering America and protect our Just & natural right

1st. We (the County) by a Solemn and awful vote, Dissolved[26] our allegiance to King George & the British Nation.

2d. Declared ourselves a free & independent people, having a right and capable to govern ourselves (as a part of North Carolina)

3d. In order to have laws as a rule of life—for our future Government We form[27] a Code of laws; by adopting our former wholesome laws.

4th. And as there was then no officers civil or Military in our County We Decreed that every Militia officer in sd. County should hold and occupy his former commission and Grade

And that every member present, of this Committee shall henceforth as a Justice of the Peace (in the) Character of a Committee M hear and determine all Controversies agreeable to sd. laws— peace Union & harmony in sd. County—and to use every spread the Electrical fire of freedom among ourselves & w

5th. &c. &c. many other laws and ordinances were then ma after sitting up in the Court house all night—neither

After reading and maturing every paragraph they were all passed Nem-Con about 12 o'clock May 20 1775[28]

But in a few days (after cooling) a considerable part of sd. Committee Men convened and employed Captn. James Jack (of Charlotte) to go express to Congress (then in Philadelphia) with a Copy of all sd. resolutions and Laws &c. and a letter to our 3 members there. Richd. Caswell, Wm. Hooper & Joseph Hughes in order to get Congress to sanction or approve them &c &c.

Captn. Jack returned with a long, full, complasent letter from sd. 3 members, recommending our zeal perseverance order & forbearance

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[25]The word Secretary is interlined above J. McK. A. and the initials are jammed up to After.

[26]The word abjured is written above Dissolved.

[27]ed on the end stricken out.

[28]The figures 180 were stricken out before 1775, showing that the writer had started to write 1800.

&c. (We were premature) Congress never had our sd. laws on their table for discussion, though said Copy was left with them by Captn. Jack.

N. B. about 1787 Doctor Hugh Williamson (then of New York: but formerly was member of Congress from this state) applied
above by Colo. Wm. Polk, who was then compiling a
in order to prove that the American people
in the Revolution and that Congress com
N. B. allowing the 19th. May to be a rash Act
effects in binding all the middle & west
firm whigs—no torys but not fully represented in the first

The next reference to the traditional declaration is in the following toast that was offered at a banquet held in Charlotte the night of July 4, 1808:

By Jos. Pearson—The Patriots of Mecklenburg: the first to declare Independence—May their sons be the last to acknowledge themselves slaves.[29]

The next reference is in the following extract from a valedictory address delivered at Sugar Creek Academy, Mecklenburg County, June 1, 1809, and printed in *The Minerva* (Raleigh) of August 10, 1809:

On the 19th of May 1776, a day sacredly exulting to every Mecklenburg bosom, two delegates duly authorized from every militia company in this county* met in Charlotte—After a cool and deliberate investigation of the causes and extent of our differences with G. Britain, and taking a view of the probable result; pledging their all in support of their rights and liberties; they solemnly entered into and published a full and determined *declaration* of independence, renouncing forever all allegiance, dependence on or connection with Great Britain; dissolved all judicial and military establishments emanating from the British crown; established others on principles correspondent with their declaration, which went into emmediate operation: All which were transmitted to Congress by express, and probably expedited the general declaration of Independence. May we ever act worthy of such predecessors.[30]

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[29]See *The Raleigh Register*, July 28, 1808.

[30]To the asterisk in the foregoing extract the following note appeared in *The Minerva:* "*The present county of Cabarrus was then included in Mecklenburg."

The next discussion of this traditionary declaration was brought forth by a discussion which arose over a statement in Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry,* which appeared in 1817. Wirt claimed that Henry "gave the first impulse to the ball of the Revolution," and the discussion was as to whether the earliest movements toward independence took place in Virginia or in Massachusetts. During the session of Congress of 1818-19 this controversy was a topic of conversation among congressmen, and members from North Carolina, recalling the Mecklenburg tradition, avowed that Mecklenburg County had declared independence in May, 1775, but were unable to furnish any proof of the truth of their assertions. Senator Macon showed considerable interest in the matter, and Representative Davidson wrote to Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander, a son of John McKnitt Alexander who had fostered the tradition for so many years, but who had died July 10, 1817, for information. In reply Dr. Alexander sent Davidson a paper which he gave to Senator Macon who sent it to the *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*[31] wherein it was published April 30, 1819, as follows:

It is not probably known to many of our readers, that the citizens of Mecklenburg County, in this State made a Declaration of Independence more than a year before Congress made theirs. The following Document on the subject has lately come to the hands of the Editor from unquestionable authority, and is published that it may go down to posterity.

North-Carolina, Mecklenburg County,
May 20, 1775.

In the spring of 1775, the leading characters of Mecklenburg county, stimulated by that enthusiastic patriotism which elevates the mind above considerations of individual aggrandisement, and scorning to shelter themselves from the impending storm by submission to lawless power, &c &c held several detached meetings, in each of which the individual sentiments were "that the cause of Boston was the cause of all; that their destinies were indissolubly connected with those of their Eastern fellow-citizens—and that they must either submit to all the

[31]See Hoyt's *The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence,* 1-3.

impositions which an unprincipled, and to them an unrepresented parliament might impose—or support their brethren who were doomed to sustain the first shock of that power, which, if successful there, would ultimately overwhelm all in the common calamity. Conformably to these principles, Col. Adam Alexander, through solicitation, issued an order to each Captain's Company in the county of Mecklenburg, (then comprising the present county of Cabarrus) directing each militia company to elect two persons, and delegate to them ample power to devise ways and means to aid and assist their suffering brethren in Boston, and also generally to adopt measures to extricate themselves from the impending storm, and to secure unimpaired their inalienable rights, privileges and liberties from the dominant grasp of British imposition and tyranny.

In conforming to said Order, on the 19th of May, 1775, the said delegation met in Charlotte, vested with unlimited powers; at which time official news, by express, arrived of the Battle of Lexington on that day of the preceding month. Every delegate felt the value and importance of the prize, and the awful and solemn crisis which had arrived—every bosom swelled with indignation at the malice, inveteracy and insatiable revenge developed in the late attack at Lexington. The universal sentiment was: let us not flatter ourselves that popular harangues—or resolves; that popular vapor will avert the storm, or vanquish our common enemy—let us deliberate—let us calculate the issue—the probable result; and then let us act with energy as brethren leagued to preserve our property—our lives,—and what is still more endearing, the liberties of America. *Abraham Alexander* was then elected Chairman, and *John M'Knitt Alexander*, Clerk. After a free and full discussion of the various objects for which the delegation had been convened, it was unanimously Ordained—

1. *Resolved*, That whosoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form or manner countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great-Britain, is an enemy to this Country,—to America,—and to the inherant and inalienable rights of man.

2. *Resolved*, That we the citizens of Mecklenburg County, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the Mother Country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, and abjure all political connection, contract or association with that Nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties—and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

3. *Resolved*, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent People, are and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing Association, under the control of no power other than that

of our God and the General Government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual cooperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

4. *Resolved*, That as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this County, We do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each and every of our former laws,—wherein, nevertheless, the Crown of Great-Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities or authority therein.

5. *Resolved*, That it is also further decreed, that all, each and every military officer in this county is hereby reinstated to his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz: a Justice of the Peace, in the character of a '*Committee man*,' to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy, according to said adopted laws, and to preserve peace, and union, and harmony in said County,—and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a more general and organized government be established in this province.

A number of bye-laws were also added, merely to protect the association from confusion and to regulate their general conduct as citizens. After sitting in the Courthouse all night, neither sleepy, hungry, or fatigued, and after discussing every paragraph, they were all passed, sanctioned and declared *unanimously*, about 2 o'clock, A. M. May 20. In a few days a deputation of said delegation convened, when Capt. *James Jack* of Charlotte was deputed as express to the Congress at Philadelphia, with a copy of said Resolves and Proceedings, together with a letter addressed to our three Representatives there, viz: *Richard Caswell*, *Wm. Hooper* and *Joseph Hughes*—under express injunction, personally, and through the state representation, to use all possible means to have said proceedings sanctioned and approved by the general Congress. On the return of Capt. Jack, the delegation learned that their proceedings were individually approved by the members of Congress, but that it was deemed premature to lay them before the House. A joint letter from said three members of Congress was also received, complimentary of the zeal in the common cause, and recommending perseverance, order and energy.

The subsequent harmony, unanimity and exertion in the cause of liberty and independence, evidently resulting from these regulations, and the continued exertion of said delegation, apparently tranquilised this section of the State, and met with the concurrence and high approbation of the Council of Safety, who held their sessions at Newbern

and Wilmington alternately, and who confirmed the nomination and acts of the delegation in their official capacity.

From this delegation originated the Court of Enquiry of this County, who constituted and held their first session in Charlotte—they then held their meetings regularly at Charlotte, at Col. James Harris's and at Col. Phifer's alternately one week at each place. It was a civil Court founded on military process. Before this judicature all suspicious persons were made to appear, who were formally tried and banished, or continued under guard. Its jurisdiction was as unlimited as toryism, and its decrees as final as the confidence and patriotism of the County. Several were arrested and brought before them from Lincoln, Rowan and the adjacent counties—

[The foregoing is a true copy of the papers on the above subject, left in my hands by John M'Knitt Alexander dec'd; I find it mentioned on file that the original book was burned April, 1800. That a copy of the proceedings was sent to Hugh Williamson in New York, then writing a History of North-Carolina, and that a copy was sent to Gen. W. R. Davie.

J. M'KNITT.][32]

This production, however, is entirely inconsistent with the history of the time, both as to America in general and North Carolina in particular, as revealed by the authentic contemporary records. There is not one contemporary record in evidence to sustain it. The traditionary references to a declaration of independence heretofore quoted are neither contemporaneous nor specific, and will apply as readily to the authenticated resolutions of May 31 as to this alleged declaration of May 20. Neither Bagge nor Pearson states that the declaration to which they refer was passed *May 20, 1775*, by a *convention*. John McKnitt Alexander gave May 20 as the date of the passage of the declaration that he so poorly jotted down what he recalled concerning, but he stated that it was passed by a *committee* and gave none of the words of the declaration. The valedictory address follows Alexander's notes as to the day of the meeting—in fact the reference opens exactly as the amended notes opened: "On the 19th of May 1776"—but gives nothing specific in addition. A perusal of the entire

[32]From the files in the Library of Congress.

address at once discloses that it was written by a person of mature years, and, as the teacher of the Sugar Creek Academy, Samuel C. Caldwell, was a son-in-law of John McKnitt Alexander, it is evident that this reference to the declaration came from the same source as the rough notes of 1800. The resolutions of May 31 preclude the possibility of any such action having been taken on May 20. The resolutions provided for the organization of the people of Mecklenburg into a regiment of militia at a future date. It is evident that the colonel of the regiment could not have called a convention of two men from each company when there were as yet no companies. The resolutions provided for the organization of a convention of two selectmen from each of these companies after their organization. It is further evident that this convention could not have been called together at a date prior to May 31 when provision was made for its organization. This narrative asserts that John McKnitt Alexander was secretary of the convention which passed the declaration. These resolutions show that Ephraim Brevard was clerk of the committee. The narrative asserts that Abraham Alexander was chairman of the convention. The following certificate, which has been published in several historical works, shows that he was "Chairman of the Committee of P. S." for Mecklenburg County:

North Carolina, Mecklenburg County, }
November 28, 1775. }

These may certify to all whom they may concern, that the bearer hereof, William Henderson, is allowed here to be a true friend to liberty, and signed the Association.

Certified by Abr'm Alexander, Chairman
of the Committee of P. S.

It will be observed that parts of this "declaration" bear close resemblance to parts of the national Declaration of Independence; in fact the combinations of words "inherent and inalienable rights," "dissolve the political bands which have

connected," "all allegiance," "all political connection," "free and independent," "are and of right ought to be," "pledge to each other" and "our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor" are taken verbatim therefrom. That fact, together with the fact that there had never been any widespread knowledge of the Mecklenburg traditionary declaration, raised doubts as to the genuineness of this paper. Had John McKnitt Alexander's rough notes of 1800 and the valedictory address been brought into evidence at that time, those doubts would have been increased, as critical observers would have seen at once that those two papers and the national Declaration had furnished nearly all of the material from which both the narrative and the "declaration" had been constructed. But, as none of the records which have been cited here to show exactly what it was that Mecklenburg County adopted in May, 1775, were then in evidence, and as there were many people alive who had personally witnessed the passage of what they had long regarded as a declaration of independence, there were many who readily accepted this paper as authentic. Some of those who had witnessed the proceedings in May, 1775, made statements.

One of the first of these was Col. William Polk, who was sixteen years old in May, 1775. He stated in a letter to Judge Archibald DeBow Murphey, August 18, 1819, that he could not vouch for the accuracy of the resolutions in the paper which he enclosed (a copy of the foregoing narrative and "declaration"), and which he said he had procured from Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander, but that they were "essentially correct." The *Raleigh Register* for February 18, 1820, published a further statement to the effect that Colonel Polk vouched for "the correctness of the facts generally, though he thought there were errors as to the name of the Secretary," etc. There is nothing in Colonel Polk's statements to prove that the declaration he witnessed the passage of was passed by

a *convention May 20.* The imperfect knowledge which he displayed might easily apply to the resolutions of May 31, and his statement as to the secretary *is* in accord therewith. The paper which he sent Judge Murphey was revised by the Judge and published in *The Hillsboro Recorder* in March, 1821.

The next witness was Rev. Francis Cummins. He stated in a letter to Senator Macon, November 16, 1819, that he was a young man in Mecklenburg in 1775, and that "in the same year 1775, I think positively before July 4th, 1776, the males generally of that county met on a certain day in Charlotte, and from the head of the court-house stairs proclaimed Independence of English Government, by their herald Col. Thomas Polk." He stated that he was present, but did not take and keep the date and could not be particular as to that; that Rev. Hezekiah James Balch, Waightstill Avery, Hezekiah and John McKnitt Alexander and Col. Thomas Polk were the leading characters "in this business," and that Captain James Jack "was sent with the account of these proceedings to Congress, then in Philadelphia." He did not say that the "declaration" published in the *Raleigh Register* was the one he saw passed, or that it was passed *May 20* by a *convention.* What he said could easily apply to the resolutions of May 31, and his statement as to Captain Jack corroborates the statement in Governor Martin's letter of June 30, 1775, that a copy of those resolutions had been sent to Philadelphia as soon as they were passed.

Captain Jack was appealed to and in a letter to Senator Macon, December 7, 1819, said that he had seen "in the news papers some pieces respecting the Declaration of Independence by the people of Mecklenburg County, in the State of North Carolina, in May, 1775"; that at that time he resided in Charlotte and had been "privy to a number of meetings of

some of the most influential and leading characters of that county on the subject, before the final adoption of the resolutions"; that "among those who appeared to take the lead, may be mentioned Hezekiah Alexander, who generally acted as Chairman, John McKnitt Alexander, as Secretary, Abraham Alexander, Adam Alexander, Maj. John Davidson, Maj. (afterwards Gen.) Wm. Davidson, Col. Thomas Polk, Ezekiel Polk, Dr. Ephraim Brevard, Samuel Martin, Duncan Ochiltree, William Willson, Robert Irwin"; that "when the resolutions were finally agreed on, they were publickly proclaimed from the court house door in the town of Charlotte"; that he proceeded to Philadelphia in June and delivered the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May, 1775, to Richard Caswell and William Hooper, the Delegates to Congress from the State of North Carolina; that court was in session when he passed through Salisbury. Although he had seen the "pieces" in the papers he did not say that the "declaration" included in those "pieces" accorded with his recollection of that which he took to Philadelphia, nor did he mention a *convention* or *May 20.* He said he carried the declaration to Philadelphia in June. Governor Martin said the resolutions of May 31 were sent to Philadelphia "as soon as they were passed in the Committee." The Rowan court records show that court was held in Salisbury from the 1st to the 6th of June. Jack's statement accords with Martin's and the court records. It is evident that he took the resolutions of May 31 to Philadelphia.

John Simeson, Sr., stated in a letter to Colonel Polk, January 20, 1820, that he had conversed with many of his old friends and others "and all agree in the point, but few can state the particulars"; that, "in the language of the day, every Province had its Congress, and Mecklenburg had its

county Congress, as legally chosen as any other, and assumed an attitude until then without a precedent"; that Colonel Thomas Polk, "as commanding officer of the county, issued orders to the Captains to appoint two men from each company to represent them in the Committee"; that he could not remember all of the committee men but that Neill Morrison, John Flenniken, Charles Alexander, John McKnitt Alexander, Hezekiah Alexander, Abraham Alexander, John Phifer, David Reese, Adam Alexander, Dickey Barry and John Queary were some of them; that he thought Dr. Brevard drew the "declaration"; that it was "in substance and form, like that great national act agreed on thirteen months after"; that the action was taken towards the close of May, 1775; that the "committee appointed three men to secure all the military stores for the county's use—Thomas Polk, John Phifer, and Joseph Kennedy"; that he was "near the head of the line, near Colonel Polk, and heard him distinctly read a long string of Grievances, the Declaration and Military Order above." He admitted that he could remember very little, but made several statements that apply forcibly to the resolutions of May 31. (See resolution 20 in regard to the military stores.) The "long string of Grievances" are in the resolutions of May 31 and the "Military Order" is there. They are not in the Alexander "declaration." He did not mention *May 20* or a *convention,* but said *committee.*

The *Raleigh Register* of February 18, 1820, published a certificate from George Graham, William Hutchinson, Jonas Clark and Robert Robinson reciting that they were in Charlotte May 19, 1775, "when two persons elected from each Captain's Company in said county, appeared as Delegates, to take into consideration the state of the country, and to adopt such measures as to them seemed best, to secure their lives, liberty, and property, from the storm which was gathering,

and had burst upon their fellow-citizens to the Eastward, by a British Army, under the authority of the British King and Parliament"; that "the order for the election of Delegates was given by Col. Thomas Polk, the commanding officer of the militia of the county, with a request that their powers should be ample, touching any measure that should be proposed"; that to the best of their recollection the meeting took place in the court-house about 12 o'clock and Abraham Alexander was chosen chairman and Dr. Ephraim Brevard secretary; that the "delegates continued in session until in the night of that day" and "on the 20th they again met" and a committee read some resolves "which went to declare themselves, and the people of Mecklenburg County, Free and Independent of the King and Parliament of Great Britain"; that "from thenceforth, all allegiance and political relation was absolved between the good people of Mecklenburg and the King of Great Britain"; that the "Declaration was signed by every member of the Delegation"; that they were not, "at this late period, able to give the names of all the Delegation," but could safely declare Thomas Polk, Abraham Alexander, John McKnitt Alexander, Adam Alexander, Ephraim Brevard, John Phifer, Hezekiah James Balch, Benjamin Patton, Hezekiah Alexander, Richard Barry, William Graham, Matthew McClure, Robert Irwin, Zacheus Wilson, Neil Morrison, John Flenniken, John Queary and Ezra Alexander to have been thereof; that "in a few days" after the meeting Capt. James Jack carried the resolutions to Philadelphia; that "a Committee of Safety for the county was elected" and that its acts "were received as the Civil Law of the land in many cases." It is evident from the verbiage of that certificate that those who gave it refreshed their memories to a considerable extent from the publication in the *Raleigh Register*. Nevertheless they put into it some nuggets of truth that will not harmonize with

that publication near so well as with the resolutions of May 31. They said that Colonel Polk was colonel of the militia regiment of the county and that Ephraim Brevard was the secretary of the meeting which they *did not* term a *convention.* They said the delegates "on the 20th again met." They did not remember an all-night session of delegates free from hunger and fatigue and a 2 a. m. unanimous vote on the 20th. They had an indistinct recollection of the truth, as it is revealed by the heading put to the copies of the resolutions of May 31 sent to the gazettes: "Charlotte-Town, Mecklenburg County, May 31, 1775. *This day the Committee of this county met, and passed the following resolves."* They did not say that the resolutions in the *Raleigh Register* were what they heard read that day. They said the resolutions "went to declare" independence, not that they declared it.

The foregoing statements and letters were published in a pamphlet by J. Gales & Son, Raleigh, 1822.

The next memory witness was Reverend Humphrey Hunter who wrote his Revolutionary recollections to a friend who had requested it. He said that Colonel Polk had issued orders to the several companies to select two men from each company to meet at the court house May 19, 1775, for consultation; that a larger number met on the day appointed; that there was some difficulty in choosing the "commissioners," as it would have made the meeting "too numerous" to have chosen all thought worthy; that the following were selected, and styled Delegates," according to the best of his recollection: Abraham Alexander, Thomas Polk, Richard Harris, Sr., Adam Alexander, Richard Barry, John McKnitt Alexander, Neil Morrison, Hezekiah Alexander, Hezekiah J. Balch, Zacheus Wilson, John Phifer, James Harris, William Kennon, John Ford, Henry Downs, Ezra Alexander, William Graham, John Queary, Charles Alexander, Waightstill Avery,

Ephraim Brevard, Benjamin Patton, Matthew McClure, Robert Irwin, John Flenniken and David Reece; that Abraham Alexander was made chairman and John McKnitt Alexander and Ephraim Brevard secretaries. He gave a copy of the "declaration" which had appeared in the *Raleigh Register* and followed it with comments which clearly show that he drew upon that newspaper article for his narrative.

About 1825 the Alexander "declaration" underwent another evolution. A broadside appeared containing the first three resolutions thereof, with the names appended thereto of Abraham Alexander, Chairman; J. M. Alexander, Secretary; Adam Alexander, Hezekiah Alexander, Ezra Alexander, Charles Alexander, Waightstill Avery, Ephraim Brevard, Hezekiah J. Balch, Richard Barry, John Davidson, William Davidson, Henry Downs, John Flenniken, John Ford, William Graham, James Harris, Robert Irwin, William Kennon, Matthew McClure, Neill Morrison, Samuel Martin, Duncan Ochiltree, John Phifer, Thomas Polk, Ezekiel Polk, Benjamin Patton, John Queary, David Reese, Zacheus Willson and William Willson as signers of the "declaration". The alleged copy of the "declaration", which Alexander had furnished to Davidson, contained no signatures and the only mention of signers in documents then in evidence was that made in the certificate by Graham, Hutchinson, Clark and Robinson. This broadside contained the name of every man who had been mentioned by any of the memory witnesses as having anything to do with the "convention," or committee. It bore many internal evidences of not being a contemporary publication, and, much faith having been put in its authenticity by the super-credulous, its compiler, Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, and printer, F. S. Heiskell, stated that it had been printed in Knoxville, Tenn., "in 1825 or thereabouts." The minutes of the county court of Mecklenburg for the July and October, 1775, and Janu-

ary, April and July, 1776, terms show that Robert Harris, Abraham Alexander, Robert Irwin, Richard Barry, John Foard, Hezekiah Alexander and Adam Alexander, all alleged "signers" of the "declaration," sat as justices during that time; and, notwithstanding the "declaration" they are alleged to have signed in May, 1775, held court in the name of the Crown.

On October 11, 1827, James Johnson, of Knox County, Tenn., certified to the best of his recollection that "in the month of May, 1775, there were several meetings in Charlotte concerning the impending war"; that being young he was not called upon to take an active part, but that he positively remembered that Mecklenburg County held a "convention," declared independence and "sent a man to Philadelphia with the proceedings." He did not say this was done *May 20*, and did not say that the "declaration" was in the same words as the Alexander production.

July 4, 1828, *The Charleston Mercury* published another version of the "declaration" slightly different in verbiage from all previous versions. The contribution was signed "Guilford." In November of the same year another slightly different version appeared in Garden's *Anecdotes of the American Revolution*, but it is plainly to be seen upon comparing the Guilford and Garden versions that the latter was revised from the former.

In 1829 Judge F. X. Martin, of Louisiana, published a history of North Carolina in which he incorporated this "declaration." It is clear from the context, the circumstances under which it appeared, and the absence of accurate references to the source from which it was obtained, despite the claim in his preface that his work had been prepared twenty years before, that this version of the "declaration" was obtained after the other chapters of his work had been pre-

pared, and the correspondence of Judge Murphey, now in evidence, shows that Martin used the version Judge Murphey published in 1821.

In the same year that Martin's history appeared Thomas Jefferson's works were published, and therein was found a letter from Jefferson to John Adams in which Jefferson declared that this "declaration" was spurious and that he had never heard of it before. Letters of Adams and additional letters of Jefferson still in manuscript show that Adams fully agreed with Jefferson. Jefferson's letter aroused renewed interest in the matter in North Carolina and drew from Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander the following contribution, which appeared in *The Yadkin and Catawba Journal,* of Salisbury, of November 9, 1830, under the caption "Declaration of Independence, by the citizens of Mecklenburg County (then including Cabarrus) North Carolina, on the 20th day of May, 1775", and over his full signature:

Estimating this transaction as giving the primary impulse to our national independence; as directly operative in producing the Declaration subsequently made by the Legislature of North Carolina; then by the Legislature of Virginia; and perfected on the 4th of July, 1776, by our National Congress; it becomes a matter of high importance to establish the fact, that the citizens of Mecklenburg county, through their delegates, on the 20th of May, 1775, drew up, signed and promulgated a Declaration of Independence of the British Government, and transmitted the same to the Congress of the United States for their approbation.

In claiming this as the patriotic achievement of our forefathers, we wish to derogate nought from the patriotism and energy of any State, or of any individual on earth, but at the same time, we feel bound, by the most sacred obligations of truth and justice, to guard this our birthright with vigilance.

To every ingenious mind, the difficulty is at once obvious of establishing by *positive* proof, such a transaction, 55 years after its occurrence, when no record of the transaction could be *officially* kept; when a long Revolutionary war supervened; the place of its occurrence, for a season, being in the occupation of the enemy; when all the delegates are in

the silent grave,[33] and when the validity of the transaction has never been called in question until Mr. Jefferson, in a letter of his recently published, pronounced it "a spurious and unjustifiable quiz";—but difficult as the task may appear, we dread not to meet the closest scrutiny. [Here follow resumes of the certificate of Graham, Hutchinson, Clark and Robinson and the statements of Simeson, Cummins and Jack. These are followed by a resume of a certificate from William S. Alexander, a resume of the statement in Hunter's journal, resumes of statements by Joseph Graham and John Davidson, resumes of certificates by Isaac Alexander and Samuel Wilson, and a resume of the statement by James Johnson.]

There is now a paper in my possession, written and signed by J. M. Alexander, and purports to be extracted from the old minutes, &c Of this there is no date to show when these extracts were made, the introductory part is similar, as far as it goes, to that placed in the hands of Gen. Davie. The Resolves entered into, are in this extract noticed as follows: [Here follows a resume of the John McKnitt Alexander rough notes of 1800.]

I hold these papers, certificates, &c., subject to the inspection of any one desirous of examining them.

From the proceeding certificates, it appears most probable that there were drawn up by a select committee, a declaration of grievances and a formal Declaration of Independence, which, if so, was the paper sent on by Captain Jack to Congress; the original of which is lost to us through the death, shortly afterwards, of Dr. Ephraim Brevard, the Chairman of the Committee, and by the occupation of Charlotte by Cornwallis, where the Dr. lived, and where his papers probably were. But be this as it may, we have an authentic copy of these resolves and bye-laws mentioned in so many of the certificates, in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander, and certified by him as Clerk, which had been by him deposited with Gen. Wm. R. Davie, for the use of some future historian; and after the death of the General, procured and deposited with us, by Dr. Samuel Henderson, now Clerk of the Superior Court of this County. [Here follow the resolutions that he had furnished to Davidson and Polk in 1819, and which had been published in *The Raleigh Register* and *The Hillsboro Recorder*.]

These Resolves having been concurred in, bye-laws and regulations for the government of a standing Committee of Public Safety were enacted and acknowledged, &c. &c. The whole proceedings of the delegation, though interesting, are too long for this publication; but to show, in accordance with Gen. Graham's certificate, as to Dunn and

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[33]He overlooked the fact that Major John Davidson, an alleged "Signer" of the "declaration" was still alive and had lately made a statement for him.

Booth, that municipal authority was assumed and acted on by the Committee of Public Safety, I will only copy a certificate now in my possession, viz: [Here follows the certificate, already quoted, from Abraham Alexander, Chairman, relative to William Henderson and following that is a digression to acts and doings of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina in 1776 that have not the remotest bearing on the acts and doings of Mecklenburg County in May, 1775. The contribution then closes with a few remarks criticising Thomas Jefferson.]

Joseph McKnitt Alexander.

Joseph Graham, in a letter to Dr. Alexander, October 4, 1830, said he would give "the details of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence on the 20th of May, 1775," as well as he could recollect them "after a lapse of fifty-five years"; that he was present on the occasion, "a lad about half grown"; that during the winter and spring preceding several popular meetings were held in Charlotte at which papers were read, grievances stated and public measures discussed; that on the 20th of May, 1775, "besides the two persons elected from each militia company (usually called Committee-men), a much larger number of citizens attended in Charlotte than at any former meeting"; that the news of the battle of Lexington had arrived; that the "committee were organized in the Court-house by appointing Abraham Alexander, Esq. Chairman, and John McKnitt Alexander, Esq. Clerk or Secretary to the meeting"; that after the usual reading of papers and much animated discussion "they resolved to declare themselves independent"; that "among other reasons offered" was one "that the King or Ministry had, by proclamation or some edict, declared the Colonies out of the protection of the British Crown"; that Doctor Brevard, Mr. Kennon and a third person whom he could not recall were appointed to draft the declaration and retired from the court house, but that while they were out the "committee continued in session in it"; that upon the return of the "sub-committee" Dr. Brevard

"read their report, as near as I can recollect, in the very words we have since seen them several times in print"; that the instrument was read at the court house door; that he understood afterwards that Captain Jack "undertook, on request of the committee, to carry a copy of their proceedings to Congress" and that on his way, at Salisbury Mr. Kennon publicly read the declaration, which was approved by the crowd present. It is evident that Graham's memory had been much refreshed by the publications he had been reading, but, notwithstanding that, the facts that had imbedded themselves in his memory *would* come forth occasionally. He remembered that the body that passed the declaration was a *committee* and not a *convention*. The only reason he could remember of all those assigned why independence should be declared was "that the King or Ministry had, by proclamation or some edict, declared the Colonies out of the protection of the British Crown," and that is the very reason why the resolutions of May 31 were adopted, as set forth in the preamble thereto.

Major Davidson, in a letter to Dr. Alexander, October 5, 1830, said that he had been a member of the "Convention" and that he was the sole survivor thereof, but that "being far advanced in years" and not having his "mind frequently directed to that circumstance for some years" he could give "but a very succinct history of that transaction"; that "there were two chosen from each captain's company, to meet in Charlotte, to take the subject into consideration"; that when they met "a motion was made to declare ourselves independent of the Crown of Great Britain," which was carried by a large majority; that Dr. Brevard prepared the "sketch of the Declaration of Independence" and that Captain Jack took it to Philadelphia. The only participant in the proceedings who has ever made a statement in regard thereto since the publication of the Alexander "declaration" did not proclaim that

the declaration he had assisted in the passing of. He did not say that it was done *May 20,* 1775.

The certificate which Dr. Alexander alleged that he had from William S. Alexander was to the effect that he "was in Philadephia in the Spring of 1775," and that "on the day General Washington left that city to take command of the American army in the north" he met Captain Jack who told him that Mecklenburg County "had declared themselves independent of the Government of Great Britain, and that they had sent him on express with their Declaration, to Congress," and that he had delivered it to the North Carolina delegation in Congress. He said nothing that could not be applied to the resolutions of May 31 as the declaration that Jack told him of.

Isaac Alexander and Samuel Wilson, who had also witnessed the proceedings in May, 1775, also gave certificates to Dr. Alexander reciting the fact that they had been present when the declaration was passed. Alexander gave the dates May 19 and 20, and thought that the "declaration" furnished by Dr. Alexander was what he had seen adopted. Wilson was not definite in his statements. Their testimony, like that of all of the others will apply as readily to the authenticated resolutions of May 31 as to the "declaration" of May 20, which is unsupported by a single contemporary document or reference.

The General Assembly of North Carolina at the session of December, 1830—January, 1831, appointed a special committee to examine the evidence bearing on the Mecklenburg "declaration" and other matters and report the result of their work. The report expressed the belief that Mecklenburg County did pass the "declaration" that Dr. Alexander had furnished to Davidson in 1819. It was then resolved that the Governor "be directed to cause to be published in pamphlet form" the report of the special committee, "the Mecklen-

burg Declaration, with the names of the Delegates composing the meeting"; the statements of the memory witnesses heretofore cited, and other papers bearing on other matters. In carrying out the resolutions of the General Assembly Governor Stokes engaged David L. Swayne, a judge of the Superior Court, to edit the pamphlet. His preface thereto is a resume of the evidence bearing on the Alexander "declaration" and an argument for its authenticity. The "names of the delegates present" are declared to be Thomas Polk, Ephraim Brevard, Hezekiah J. Balch, John Phifer, James Harris, William Kennon, John Ford, Richard Barry, Henry Downs, Ezra Alexander, William Graham, John Queary, Abraham Alexander, John McKnitt Alexander, Hezekiah Alexander, Adam Alexander, Charles Alexander, Zacheus Wilson, Sr., Waightstill Avery, Benjamin Patton, Matthew McClure, Neil Morrison, Robert Irwin, John Flenniken, David Reese, Richard Harris, Sr. No information whatever is given as to where this list was obtained, or how it was compiled. If there is anywhere in any contemporary record a mention of the names of the Mecklenburg committee, or of the convention of selectmen provided for by the resolutions of May 31, it has never been put in evidence. It is quite certain that this list was compiled from the various lists given by the memory witnesses. It differs from the list compiled by Ramsey for his broadside in 1825, and contains fewer names than were mentioned by the memory witnesses. Some names had doubtless been edited out to avoid dilemmas. William Davidson and Samuel Martin, for instance, were citizens of Rowan County and Ezekiel Polk, of South Carolina. John Davidson was probably left out because his memory had not been clear enough on what the convention of which he claimed to have been a member did. William Kennon was a citizen of Rowan County and should not have been on this list.

Waightstill Avery could not have been present, for his fee book, which is extant, shows that during the month of May, 1775, he was in attendance upon the courts of Rowan, Guilford and Surry Counties, and the Rowan court records show that he was appointed "Attorney for the Crown" at Salisbury August 2, 1775. There was no such person as Richard Harris, Sr. There was a Robert Harris in Mecklenburg taking a conspicuous part in public affairs in 1775. John Foard's name is misspelled in the pamphlet. Following the "names of the delegates present" is a copy of the Alexander "declaration." Following this are the exhibits. The first (A) is a reprint of the article in the *Raleigh Register* of April 30, 1819. Following this is the following certificate (B):

I, Samuel Henderson, do hereby certify, that the paper annexed was obtained by me from Maj. William Davie in its present situation, soon after the death of his father, Gen. William R. Davie, and given to Doct. Joseph M'Knitt by me. In searching for some particular paper, I came across this, and knowing the handwriting of John M'Knitt Alexander, took it up and examined it. Maj. Davie said to me (when asked how it became torn) his sisters had torn it, not knowing what it was.

Given under my hand, this 25th Nov. 1830.

Sam. Henderson.

To this certificate there is the following note:

To this certificate of Doct. Henderson is annexed the copy of the paper A, originally deposited by John M'Knitt Alexander in the hands of *Gen. Davie*, whose name seems to have been mistaken by Mr. Jefferson for that of *Gov. Caswell*. * * * This paper is somewhat torn, but is entirely legible, and constitutes the "solemn and positive proof of authenticity," which Mr. Jefferson required, and which would doubtless have been satisfactory, had it been submitted to him.

The certificate of William S. Alexander, who was then dead, was not printed in the pamphlet, but, in its stead, there is a certificate from Alphonso Alexander, Amos Alexander and J. M'Knitt that they had often heard him say that he

had met Jack in Philadelphia and learned from him that he "was there as the agent or bearer of the Declaration of Independence made in Charlotte, on the twentieth day of May, seventeen hundred and seventy-five, by the citizens of Mecklenburg, then including Cabarrus, with instructions to present the same to the Delegates from North Carolina, and by them to be laid before Congress." A glance at that certificate shows that the affiants were more than "willing" witnesses. Captain Jack *could* not have told William S. Alexander all that they certify that he told them Jack said, nor does this certificate accord with what is credited to him in *The Yadkin and Catawba Journal* of November 9, 1830, nor with Captain Jack's own statement.

On November 12, 1776, a convention of the people of North Carolina met at Halifax to adopt a constitution for the independent State of North Carolina—so made by the national Declaration of Independence, passed the preceding 4th of July. Mecklenburg was represented in that convention by John Phifer, Robert Irwin, Zacheus Wilson, Hezekiah Alexander and Waightstill Avery. They had been elected by the freemen of the county November 1, 1776. They had been given certain instructions to follow in the State convention. In 1837 a Charlotte newspaper published a draft of "Instructions for the Delegates of Mecklenburg County, proposed to the consideration of the County." It was dated September 1, 1776. Wheeler, who subsequently published it in his *Historical Sketches of North Carolina,* says: "It was found among the old surviving papers of John McKnitt Alexander, and he is the author of them." Wheeler probably got his information from the newspaper, which is not at hand, but that he is correct is attested by the instructions that were adopted at the county meeting and which were printed in the *North Carolina University Magazine,* 4, 259, with a note saying that they were "in the well-known sharp,

angular handwriting of Colonel Avery, with the exception of Sections 17 and 18, which are in the small cramped hand of John McKnitt Alexander. Sections 10, 11 and 13, as appears from a marginal note in the handwriting of Mr. Alexander, were rejected by the people." In addition to this direct statement as to Alexander's connection with the instructions that were adopted, enough of the ideas of the draft found among Alexander's "old surviving papers" were incorporated into them to confirm Wheeler's statement that he was the author of that draft. That draft also contains some of the very words and ideas of the alleged "declaration" of May 20, 1775. "North Carolina is and of right ought to be, a free and independent State," and "unalienable Rights" are familiar expressions to the point. Like the national Declaration, the rough notes of 1800 and the valedictory address it was evidently used in the preparation of that "declaration."

Prior to this time no copy of the resolutions of May 31 had been brought into the controversy, but in 1838 Peter Force, the well-known historical writer, called attention to an epitomised copy thereof in *The New York Journal* of June 29, 1775, credited to *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal* of June 13, 1775, and another such copy in *The Massachusetts Spy* of July 12, 1775, credited to the same gazette, and suggested that these resolutions probably accounted for the Mecklenburg tradition. In 1840-1841, while working in London, Sparks saw a copy of *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal* of June 13, 1775, which Governor Wright, of Georgia, had sent to London, and in 1848 Bancroft also saw it. Both of these eminent historians publicly called attention to their discoveries and expressed the opinion that the resolutions of May 31 constituted the foundation for the tradition and the testimony of the memory witnesses. But the Alexander "declaration" had now become a reality with, a part of the Presbyterian religion of, and a test

of patriotism with many North Carolinians and reliable evidence and logical deductions could not throw it down from the pedestal upon which myth-worshipping idolators had placed it.

About 1845, after the death of Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander, the papers which he had bearing on the "declaration" were given into the custody of the State. A paper before unmentioned was now discovered among them. It contained the same resolutions and historical note, with a few textual variations, as were published in the *Raleigh Register* of April 30, 1819.[34] There were several evidences on the face of the paper, however, to show that it was not copied but was improvised as the writer went along. At the end of the 5th resolution, for instance, the writer had written the word State, but seeing that it would not fit the history, struck it out and wrote province. Other words had been stricken out and better words interlined; another evidence of improvisation and not copying. In the narrative the constructor of this paper wrote: "From this delegation originated the Court of Enquiry of this county, who constituted and held their first session in Charlotte immediately on Lord Cornwallis leaving Charlotte in the year 1780—they then held their meetings regularly at Charlotte, at Col. James Harris's," etc. But when the constructor saw that to mention Cornwallis and 1780 would spoil the story he struck the references out. To this paper and the "half sheet" whereon John McKnitt Alexander's rough notes had been written the following certificate was attached:

No. Carolina,
Mecklenburg County.

The sheet and torn half sheet to which this is attached (the sheet is evidently corrected in two places by John McKnitt Alexander as marked on it☞—the half sheet is in his own handwriting) were found after the death of Jno. McKnitt Alexander in his old mansion house in the

[34] A paper, prepared for Bancroft, showing these variations, is in the New York Public Library.

centre of a roll of old pamphlets, viz: "an address on public liberty printed Philadelphia, 1774"; one "on the Disputes with G. Britain, printed 1775"; and "an address on Federal policy to the Citizens of No. Ca. held at Halifax the 4 of April, 1776," which papers have been in my possession ever since. Certifyed Novr. 25th, 1830.

J. McKnitt.

In an address delivered at an Academy near Charlotte, published in the *Raleigh Minerva* of 10th Augt., 1809, the Mecklenburg Declaration is distinctly stated, etc.

As to the full sheet being in an unknown handwrite, it matters not who may have thus copyed the original record: by comparing the copy deposited with Genl. Davie they two will be found so perfectly the same, so far as his is preserved, that no imposition is possible—the one from the same original as the other is conclusive. I have therefore always taken from the one which is entire, where the other is lost. the entire sheet is most probably a copy taken long since from the original for some person, corrected by Jno. McKnitt Alexander, and now sent on. the roll of pamphlets with which these two papers were found I never knew were amongst his old surveying and other papers untill after his death. They may have been unrolled since 1788.

J. McKnitt.

About 1853 ex-Governor Swain, Historical Agent for North Carolina, took these papers from the State archives to the University of North Carolina. The Davie "copy," so often mentioned by Dr. Alexander, was now examined by Professor Charles Phillips of the faculty of the University, who discovered that all of it was gone except the last two resolutions and the following certificate in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander, which had received no notice from Dr. Alexander, the legislative committee, or Swain.

It may be worthy of notice here to observe that the foregoing statement, though fundamentally correct, may not literally correspond with the original record of the transactions of said delegation and court of inquiry, as all these records and papers were burnt with the house on April 6, 1800; but previous to that time of 1800 a full copy of said records, at the request of Dr. Hugh Williamson, then of New York, but formerly a representative in Congress from this State, was forwarded to him by Colonel William Polk, in order that those early transactions might fill their proper place in a history of this State,

then writing by said Dr. Williamson, in New York. Certifyed to the best of my recollection and belief, this 3d day of September, 1800.

J. McK. Alexander.

With the documents before us that have heretofore been cited there can be no reasonable disputation of the conclusion that the paper sent to Davidson by Dr. Alexander, and subsequently published in numerous newspapers and books, was a fabrication. That it was fabricated after the formation of Cabarrus County in 1792 is quite certain and, as John McKnitt Alexander made no mention of Cabarrus in his rough notes of 1800, it is evident that it was fabricated after the publication in 1809 of the valedictory address wherein was incorporated that foot-note about Cabarrus; otherwise there would have been no occasion to bring into the narrative that extraneous reference to Cabarrus.

In the first paper which Dr. Alexander gave out he avoided acknowledging that John McKnitt Alexander was his father; hid his identity under the signature "J. M'Knitt"; mentioned "papers" left in his hands by "John M'Knitt Alexander dec'd," although he produced only one paper, and did not say how many more there were or what their import was; and did not say that John McKnitt Alexander was the author of the paper or tell how the latter came into possession of it, or in what shape it was. He stated that he had found it "on file that the original book was burned April 1800. That a copy of the proceedings was sent to Hugh Williamson in New York, then writing a History of North-Carolina, and that a copy was sent to Gen. Davie." He never produced that "file" during the whole controversy over his paper, but when we compare his first certificate with that of his father on the Davie "copy" it is evident that he was cognizant of the statement his father had made in that certificate in reference to the burned records. In his article in the *Yadkin and Ca-*

tawba Journal he stated that there was "an authentic copy of these resolves and bye-laws mentioned in so many of the certificates, in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander, and certified by him as Clerk which had been deposited with Gen. Wm. R. Davie, for the use of some future historian." He knew that that was false, for the Davie "copy" contained the father's certificate that that paper was not taken from an original record but was prepared from memory and was only true to the best of his belief, and there was nothing thereon to show that he claimed to have been clerk of the body that passed the "Declaration" which he saw voted. He made it appear that he had the "whole proceedings of the delegation" which, "though interesting," were "too long for this publication." He forgot that at the very outset of the same article he had said that it was difficult to prove a thing after fifty-five years "when no record of the transaction could be *officially kept.*" As a matter of fact he never did have a single original record and all that he was ever able to produce was the rough notes, the paper of doubtful origin and the Davie "copy" and of that only the last two resolutions and the certificate were left. At the outset he gave the impression that no records of the convention had been kept, yet at a later point stated that he had in his possession a paper "written and signed by J. M. Alexander, and purports to be extracted from the old minutes." The father tells us that the records had been burned in his house, but says not a word about his notes being a copy of those same original records. The son intimates to us that no official minutes had been kept, and then tells us that he has some extracts taken from the minutes by his father. But the Bancroft copy of those notes shows the evidence on their face of having been written in 1800. In his paper of 1819 Dr. Alexander said the paper had been "left in my hands by John M'Knitt Alexander dec'd" but in his

certificate to the rough copy of the declaration and the rough notes he said they "had been found after the death of Jno. McKnitt Alexander in his old mansion house in the centre of a roll of old pamphlets" which "may have been unrolled since 1788." Not only are the two statements irreconcilable, but contradict the father's statement that his house was burned in 1800 and everything lost. The rough draft of the "declaration", which had been shown by evidence on its face to have been fabricated, was the basis for his subsequent copies for Davidson and Polk, for he tells us in the last certificate that he had "always taken from the one which is entire, where the other is lost." The "other" he referred to was the Davie "copy." He also tells us that "it matters not who may have thus copyed the original record." It does matter, however, for it is evident that no "original record" was copied at all. This is not only shown by the face of the paper itself but by the certificate of the father which shows that the "original record" had been destroyed.

We might excuse Dr. Alexander's failure to see that the paper in the unknown hand contained statements contradictory of the rough notes in his father's hand and language stolen from the national Declaration of Independence, on the ground of lack of critical discernment, but for the fact that even after he got the Davie "copy," which should have set him straight, he, even more than before, tried to keep up the deception. The Davie paper was most likely a polished version of the rough notes of 1800, but Dr. Alexander maintained in his certificate of November 25, 1830, that it was "perfectly the same" as the rough draft and that both had been copied from "the original record." The only evidences to connect John McKnitt Alexander with this rough draft, which was the prototype of what was first published in the *Raleigh Register,* are the statements of Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander that it had two corrections in his father's hand-

writing (only one is noted by Bancroft's copyist) and that it was "perfectly the same" as the remaining fragment of the Davie "copy," which Henderson certified was in John McKnitt Alexander's handwriting. It seems hardly possible that John McKnitt Alexander would have put only two corrections on a paper which contained statements in conflict with his rough notes and his certificate to the paper he gave General Davie. He would doubtless have noticed that this paper said *convention* and not *committee* as he had said.

It will be observed that Henderson did not certify that the fragment of the Davie "copy" which he found was "perfectly the same" as corresponding parts of the resolutions in the *Raleigh Register,* nor did any one else who saw it before or after it fell into the hands of Dr. Alexander so certify. The legislative committee has left no statement to that effect, and the editor of the pamphlet which was issued by legislative authority merely appends a note to Henderson's certificate saying that to the certificate there is annexed the *copy* of the paper A "originally deposited by John M'Knitt Alexander in the hands of *Gen. Davie*" and that "it is somewhat torn, but is entirely legible." There is no evidence that Judge Swain wrote that note or saw the paper himself. That he did not and that he accepted that note, ready made, from Alexander is attested by the following statement made by Professor Charles Phillips in letters to Lyman C. Draper, June 8, and June 22, 1875:

> Gov. Swain had very little confidence in Dr. Jos. McKnitt Alexander; and evidently knew more about him than he told me * * * * treading on delicate ground when insinuating that Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander was guilty of a discreditable *suppressio veri;* he used to talk of it to me confidentially as *a dirty trick* but one which *he* could not expose.

With the Alexander papers before him Professor Phillips, aided and abetted by Governor Swain, published in the *North Carolina University Magazine* for May, 1853, an exposition

of the May 20 fraud. From an official supporter thereof Governor Swain had now become (temporarily) a repudiator thereof. In one of the letters above cited Professor Phillips said that there was "no evidence that John McKnitt Alexander claimed for himself the Secretaryship in 1775" and that the "introductory portion, with the first three of the Resolves, had been torn off the Davie copy," so that they had no opportunity to test the handwriting, though he noted one difference in the two papers. In another letter Professor Phillips wrote: "The condition of the originals in our possession here, the diversity of handwriting, the frequent interlineations, erasures, etc., show that the younger Alexander tried to set forth a poem in Alexandrian measure."

It is very doubtful, therefore, if the original Davie "copy" was "perfectly the same" as the rough draft of the "declaration" in the unknown hand from which Dr. Alexander had "always taken" his copies. By the fragment of it which was left it was impossible to show that it had ever contained the narrative which was published in the *Raleigh Register,* and which contains so many statements at variance with well-established facts, or that the first three resolutions thereof were in the same language as the corresponding resolutions of the publication in the *Raleigh Register*, which contain all of the expressions stolen from the national Declaration of Independence, and, in the fourth and fifth resolutions, notwithstanding the interlineations, erasures, etc., Professor Phillips still noted one difference. An examination of the carefully made Bancroft copy of the rough notes will confirm Professor Phillips's statement as to the interlineations and erasures. Particularly is that the case in the matter of John McKnitt Alexander being named as secretary. A word was evidently erased and his initials crowded in its place and the word secretary interlined.

That Dr. Alexander tried to force the Davie "copy" and his father's rough notes to conform to his *Raleigh Register* publication seems quite likely, and that he was the fabricator of that document is attested by the very best of circumstantial evidence. The writer is not alone in that opinion. In a letter to Draper, July 31, 1875, Professor Phillips said that about 1857 Governor Swain submitted "all the original documents in his possession touching on the subject of the Mecklenburg Declaration" to former Chief-Justice Thomas Ruffin, and asked him for a candid and impartial opinion thereof; that, after due examination, Judge Ruffin returned the papers with the remark:

> I want no better case to convict the parties concerned of forgery.

In a letter to his daughter, written a few years after this, Professor Phillips said:

> This is Meckl. Decl. time & N. C. has made herself ridiculous as usual of late. When she cd. & might read a veritable Decl. of 1775, she tries to perpetuate the paper of May 20, & so endorse what Judge Ruffin called—"*to all intents & purposes a forgery.*" My Presbyterianism & my patriotism boil with indignation at the fraud of Joe McKnitt Alexander, at its unworthy success.

There are several little internal evidences in some of the papers which Dr. Alexander published that tend to strengthen the opinions of Swain, Phillips, Ruffin and the writer. Once he got that idea into his head about Cabarrus County it asserted itself on all occasions. It appeared with his "declaration," then in his contribution to the *Yadkin and Catawba Journal* and in the certificate which he, Amos Alexander and Alphonso Alexander furnished for the legislative pamphlet. In the certificate which he attached to the rough draft of the "declaration" and his father's rough notes he mentioned the valedictory address, wherein the fact that Cabarrus had formerly been a part of Mecklenburg was first stressed, thus

showing that there was where he first got that idea which he injected into his narrative accompanying his "declaration." Another internal evidence is that in all papers that were submitted as *proof* of the fact of a declaration, from his "declaration" itself to his final certificate, he signed himself "J. M'Knitt," but when he wrote a *defence* of his evidence and his own position he signed his name in full.

In concluding the writer will say that he was once a believer in this "Mecklenburg Myth," as it has now come to be generally known in historical circles, but that he was convinced of its lack of authenticity by the late distinguished historian, Edward McCrady, and that a few years ago he was drawn into the controversy over it by the publication in *Collier's* of Millington Miller's forgery purporting to be an issue of *The Cape-Fear Mercury* of Friday, June 3, 1775, containing a contemporary copy of the "declaration." The moment the writer saw that publication he pronounced it a forgery and, so far as has yet been shown, was the first to so declare in the public prints, and the records will show that, while others were still defending Miller's production as genuine, he was turning up the proofs which eventually convicted him of forgery to the satisfaction even of those who had formerly defended the forgery.

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

BY BRUCE CRAVEN.

"No less than seven witnesses of most unexceptionable character swear positively that there was a meeting of the people of Mecklenburg at Charlotte, on the 19th and 20th days of May, 1775; that certain declarations distinctly declaring independence of Great Britain were then and there prepared by a committee, read publicly to the people by Col. Thomas Polk, and adopted by acclamation; that they were present and took part in the proceedings themselves, and that John McKnitt Alexander was a Secretary of the meeting."—*Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D., in New York, December 16, 1852.*

"The documentary evidence in my possession satisfies me that there was a meeting of the citizens of Mecklenburg at Charlotte, on the 19th and 20th of May, 1775, and that resolutions in relation to independence were discussed and adopted. I entertain the opinion that the resolutions of the 31st May, were the resolutions published in the Cape Fear Mercury."—*Governor D. L. Swain, in a letter to Hon. George Bancroft, March 6, 1858.*

"The manuscript (May, 20) applies to Mecklenburg County alone; that county only is declared independent. The declaration (May, 31) is not for one county of one colony. It is a declaration of independence of the United Colonies, and made by men who saw far into the future—whose patriotism was not limited by the boundaries of their own county."—*Col. Peter Force, December 11, 1841, in a letter to John Vaughn.*

"Thus was Mecklenburg County in North Carolina separated from the British Empire."—*George Bancroft's History, Volume 7, page 231, discussing the resolves of May, 31.*

Cui Bono? Some wise man has observed that the only justification for anything to be said or written is that it has never been said before or that it has not been said so well. Judged by this criterion in the face of the evidence alluded to above, the perennial outbursts against the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence are so futile as to approach banality. If all the variegated criticisms and witticisms could be brought together and condensed, it would amount to merely "words,

words, words, no matter from the heart." Omar Khayyam was a little previous but he struck these anti-history people a sharp blow in his verse about hearing great argument "but evermore came out by the same door wherein he went."

"Who can refute a sneer?" asks Paley in his Moral Philosophy, and the question has not been answered. In the shadow of slander, virtue is at a disadvantage in defending itself. The suspicion-breeder is worse than the cuttle-fish, because he hides within pretensions to noble things. This mere groundless suspicion is all there has ever been in refutation of the unshaken testimony of actual witnesses of the proceedings on the occasion of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence —suspicion conceived in envy, born in malice, nurtured in conceit, and kept alive in vain imaginations. Not one fact has been presented against the Declaration's authenticity (which has been proven by positive testimony) but it seems that the friends of the facts are expected to explain the endless profusion of delusive suspicions and aspersions invented by the experts in mythology. Though obviously unfair, this expectation will be satisfied until there be "no hinge nor loop to hang a doubt on."

Suppose at this late date some sensation monger should cast suspicion upon the *Magna Charta* signed by King John at Runnymede, June 15, 1215; that the suspicious ones should argue that there was only an uneventful assembly on that occasion; that later some of the Barons drew up the document and it was accepted (not by John) but by his successor Henry III at the famous conference at Bristol, November 11, 1216. Such quibbling could not shake the faith in the accepted history, but the hypothesis could not be proven untrue to the satisfaction of the ones who for reasons of their own might wish to believe them. *Verbum sap sapienti.*

The motive in this case on the part of the detractors is self-evident. It is the same motive that is responsible for the fact

that some "historians" refuse to admit that North Carolina furnished more troops for the Confederacy than did any of her sisters. The opponents of established facts have no reverence for nor interest in history as history but only as it is selfishly pleasing: they try to make the facts fit their preconceived opinions instead of making their opinions fit the facts. The true historian, on the contrary, delights in the truth whether it be for him or against him. These chronic doubters resemble the green country lad who in his supreme ignorance thought he knew it all and that a giraffe was a myth and a fraud, and when he was finally confronted with the reality, turned away in disgust exclaiming: "Pshaw, they ain't no sich anny-mule."

Let us grant for the sake of argument that the negative suppositions are true; what difference does it make? The resolutions of May 31, 1775, are not now disputed, though formerly they were condemned along with the more formal declaration of May 20. These undisputed resolutions declared "all laws and commissions, confirmed by or derived from the authority of the King or Parliament, are annulled and vacated" and that "whatever person shall hereafter receive a commission from the Crown, or attempt to exercise any such commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an enemy to his country." This in itself is a declaration of independence that can not be denied. The argument of Colonel Force (paragraph 19) on this point is conclusive. Governor Martin, who had not heard of the Declaration of May 20, sent the *Cape Fear Mercury* containing the resolutions to Lord Dartmouth with the statement that the action of the Mecklenburg committee "surpasses all the horrid and treasonable publications that the inflammatory spirits of this continent have yet produced." That Josiah Martin was not partial to North Carolina is evidenced by the fact that he fled from that "inflammatory spirit" to the more peaceful harbor

of South Carolina in that same month of June of 1775, from which time *North Carolina was independent in fact as well as in declaration.*

So if the Declaration as claimed for May 20 falls, the resolutions remain, and only eleven days are taken from Mecklenburg's four hundred and eleven days of priority in defiance of Great Britain. Mecklenburg's only reason for maintaining the claim is that it is the truth and that there is no reason for doubting it. The difficulty of obtaining proof at this time sufficient for persons who do not want to believe, is apparent; but the fact that the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May, 1775, was accepted as "common tradition" before 1800 when all the people must have known whether or not it was genuine and when original records were available, is good indications that the tradition was fact.

Any unprejudiced reader of the evidence will be convinced that in the hundred years of activity, the maligners have not been able to controvert the testimony of the participants who certify positively to the proceedings. In examining the arguments of these controversialists, there need be no partiality, but every suspicion and surmise should be considered as to its comparative worth in offsetting the positive declarations of men who were present May 20, 1775, and whose statements have not been and can not be disproven. It should be borne in mind that the negative argument admits the authenticity of the Resolves of May 31, but contends that they were not equivalent to a Declaration of Independence and that there was no meeting or declaration of any kind May 20! We are now to see if either of the two contentions is substantiated.

Negative Contentions.

The foregoing review of the suppositious contentions against the authenticity of the Declaration, is perhaps the best that has ever been presented. The omissions, suppres-

sions and misrepresentations are so few as to raise the presumption that they are unintentional. With a rigid cross-examination, the friends of the Declaration could well afford to let the case go to the jury without further argument. The author omits nothing of consequence that has ever been or could ever be argued for the negative. His discussion includes all of various publications, and being in brief, is superior to any of them.

The one item omitted in the history of the controversy is the attempt to prove that May 20 and May 31 came on the same day on account of the eleven days' change in the calendar in 1752. For a long time this was the chief resource, but that the author here omits it is to his credit, as the fallacy is too apparent to engage the attention of any one who professes to be serious. He also does himself credit in not making the extravagant claim that his case is complete, knowing that surmises at their best can not outweigh direct, positive evidence of any kind. It is to be regretted that he allowed his production to be marred by the vulnerable points hereinafter mentioned, though otherwise he could have asked only for a verdict of "not proven," which indeed is the most he can hope for as it stands.

1. Reference is made repeatedly to the "Mecklenburg Myth" and the "May 20 fraud." This is not argument. It is *prima facie* evidence of malice. The "criminals" guilty of the fraud must go for comfort to Dr. Johnson:

> "Of all the griefs that harass the distrest,
> Sure the most bitter is a scornful jest:
> Fate never wounds more deep the generous heart,
> Than when a blockhead's insult points the dart."

Sincerely disclaiming any application of the last line to the other participant in this discussion, yet it certainly does apply to the originator of the insult to the Mecklenburg patriots of 1775 who afterwards gave their positive statements

in support of the so-called "myth" and "fraud." This is of course entirely apart from the merit of the question at issue, though that the Declaration has never been accepted as a "myth" is shown by its acceptance by Washington Irving in his biography of Washington; Rev. W. H. Foote, of Virginia, in "Sketches of North Carolina;" Alexander Garden, of Charleston; Andrew Jackson who in "The Hermitage" pointed with pride to a handsomely framed copy of the Declaration made in his native county of Mecklenburg; Force, Lossing, Swain and a host of others.

2. There is a continual nagging as to whether the Mecklenburg meeting was a committee or a convention. This is mere quibbling and has about as much to do with the question as the distinction between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee has with the bias of jurisprudence. The Declaration was made and it matters not what might have been the correct designation of the organization that made it. The national declaration was made by the continental congress, but the congress might with equal accuracy have been called a committee or a convention. By any other name its action would have been the same.

3. Attention is called to the petition from the North Carolina Provincial Congress of August, 1775, declaring allegiance to the King, and which had the approval of the Mecklenburg representatives, some of whom had signed the Declaration. The intended implication is that this proves that these men could not have signed the Declaration or have had anything to do with it. Was such an apparent inconsistency so wonderful at a time when Edmund Burke was charging Parliament with seeking fresh principles with every new mail from America? The continental congress were then discussing a similar petition with Thomas Jefferson as its sponsor, and the provinces were naturally expected to endorse it. That it was only an attempt to seize the last straw of hope and that Jefferson himself had no faith in it is known to all students

of history. To charge that North Carolina was submissive in the Fall of 1775 is indefensible in view of the fact that the Royal Governor never dared to set foot in the State after May of that year. So the act of Thomas Polk and his compatriots is not so very inconsistent after all. Besides, it is every bit as incompatible with the May 31 resolutions as with the Declaration, and if the petition argues against one, it argues against the other, and the authenticity of the resolutions is not denied.

4. "With the Alexander papers before him, Professor Philips, aided and abetted by Governor Swain, published in the North Carolina magazine for May, 1853, an exposition of the May 20 fraud. From an official supporter thereof, Governor Swain had now become temporarily a repudiater thereof."

The opinion of Professor Phillips is worth no more than the opinion of any of a hundred others (which fact is evidenced by the attempt to back it up with another) but the opinion of Governor Swain is entitled to more consideration than that of any one else for the reason that he studied the question more thoroughly and impartially than any one else ever has, and because of his known and admitted historical ability and his strength and fairness of mind. The implication of the quotation given is that he had been trying to prove the validity of the declaration but had finally been converted to the side of repudiation. The truth is that he had from the first been a doubter but when he finally was confronted with the overwhelming evidence, he was *then* converted and became a supporter of what he knew to be the truth.

This version of his conversion is founded upon his own statement in a letter written from Chapel Hill to Hon. George Bancroft, March 6, 1858 (five years after the date above given) and from which the following is a verbatim extract:

"I wish very much it was in my power to have a personal conference with you in relation to the Mecklenburg resolutions, and other events in our revolutionary history. I have held very free and full dis-

cussion with Dr. Hawks, after a minute examination of all the papers at my command, and we understand each other better, and are more nearly together in opinion than we were at the time we appeared before your historical society. I would like very much to go over the same ground with you. He never saw the evidence on which I rely as conclusive until his arrival here in June last, after the delivery of his lecture in Charlotte. At the close of the examination I gave him a paper copied below, and expressed the opinion that every fact set forth might be embodied in a special verdict, and established by the evidence before us, if an issue were made up and submitted to a jury.":

The "special verdict," also quoted from the letter, is as follows:

"The documentary evidence in my possession satisfies me that there was a meeting of the citizens of Mecklenburg, at Charlotte, on the 19th and 20th of May, 1775, and that resolutions in relation to independence were discussed and adopted. I entertain no doubt that the record of the proceedings of the Mecklenburg Committee was burned in the home of John McKnitt Alexander, in the month of April, 1800, and that the Davie paper contains what General Graham, Col. Wm. Polk, and other gentlemen of high character, whose certificates appear in the State pamphlet, believed to be a true narrative of the transactions of those two days. I entertain the opinion that the resolutions of the 31st, May, were the resolutions published in the *Cape Fear Mercury*, and that there was no contemporaneous publication of the proceedings of the 19th and 20th of May. That a copy of the records of these events was placed in the hands of Dr. Williamson, with the intent that they should find a place in history of North Carolina, I believe to be incontrovertible."

Was Governor Swain a man to say a thing like this of a "myth" after he had studied it for twenty years? Was he the kind of man to help perpetrate a fraud?" Instead of that, every one who knows anything about him, knows that he was one of the most broad-minded and conscientious of men, and a historian who sought the truth without prejudice or partiality. His verdict was formed with all the evidence before him for the negative that has ever been produced but without much of the positive evidence.

So this important witness for the doubters develops on cross-examination into a witness for the believers. It would

seem that the myth hunter was unmindful of the fable about Dædalus who constructed the famous labyrinth for King Minos of Crete only to find himself imprisoned in it.

5. Considerable space is taken up unnecessarily in proving that the *Cape Fear Mercury* sent by Governor Martin contained the resolutions of May 31; so far as is known, this is not denied, though there is no proof that it did not also contain the Declaration of May 20. Further, however, the erroneous statement is made that the records cited "show beyond refutation that on May 31, 1775, the committee of Mecklenburg County declared the laws of the province of North Carolina wholly suspended in Mecklenburg County," but "this action was not taken with any view of declaring absolute independence of Great Britain."

There is no occasion for quibbling over these resolutions of May 31. They are before us undisputed and can speak for themselves. In answer to the belittling imputation quoted, here is the first of the twenty resolutions: *"That all commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the Crown, to be exercised in these colonies, are null and void, and the constitution of each particular colony wholly suspended."*

This is an absolute declaration of independence and is not more formal only because of the previous Declaration. That this meeting was an adjourned one from the former is borne out by the purport of the resolutions, and by the obvious fact that this meeting was assembled to provide laws for the independent people "until laws shall be provided for us by the congress." The laws then adopted were "to provide in some degree for the Exigencies of the County in the present alarming period"; but to attempt to limit the declaration to the county requires unlimited imagination in the face of that first resolution. (See paragraph 19.)

6. The court records of Mecklenburg are cited to show that they were carried on in the name of the King after May,

1775, and that therefore there could have been no declaration of independence. This indeed does suggest legitimate doubt but no more than that, and it is of no weight when brought to bear against the positive testimony of the men who were present May 20, 1775, when the declaration was made. This is as much against the undisputed resolutions of May 31 as it is against the declaration, but it is in accord with both. The resolutions adopted after the Declaration constituted the law for Mecklenburg until the adoption of the State constitution December 18, 1776, and as no provision was made for the changing of the court customs and forms, it is but natural that they should have remained unchanged. As they remained so even after July 4, 1776, the logical inference from the argument would be that the people of Mecklenburg also refused to accept the national Declaration of Independence. It is clear that the custom was immaterial and was not changed except by the new constitution; but it is also well to note that there are but a few scattering instances of the practice and that the real affairs of Mecklenburg were in the hands of the independent committee. (See paragraph 3 preceding, and paragraph 12 of Positive Evidence.)

7. After the national Declaration, we are told:

"The home rule government which the committee had provided for Mecklenburg by the resolutions of May 31, 1775, now no longer acknowledged allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, but to the State of North Carolina."

This insinuation as to the allegiance of the May 31 resolutions to the Crown is answered by the sixteenth of the resolutions in the words "whatever person shall hereafter receive a commission from the Crown or attempt to exercise any such commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an enemy to his country." Is not this sufficient?

8. An exhaustive attempt is made to show that the resolutions of May 31 came to be known as a declaration of inde-

pendence (which was eminently proper) and that this accounts for the claim as to May 20. Every one who ever testified as to the declaration without mentioning the date is brought forward to strengthen this theory. There is "great argument about it and about, but evermore" he comes out by the same door wherein he went. No piece of evidence of any nature can be found to show that the declaration was *not* May 20, and there is before us the testimony of men who were there and who testified positively, after mature deliberation, that the Declaration was made as claimed, May 20, 1775.

9. "This production, however, is entirely inconsistent with the history of the time, both as to America in general, and North Carolina in particular."

The author of this remarkable statement answers it himself in the details of the Fayetteville and Wilmington committees. It is answered again in the admitted resolutions of May 31. It was answered by Thomas Jefferson in his letter to Adams wherein he said, "No State was more fixed or forward than North Carolina." It was answered at the battle of Moore's Creek bridge, February 27, 1776, and it is answered in every chapter of the history of North Carolina, which shows from beginning to end that the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence was a rational manifestation of the will of the people and in perfect harmony with the history of the State from the beginning to the end of the struggle for independence. (This part of the question was covered in the October number of the *North Carolina Booklet* in the contribution entitled "The Significance of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.")

10. "There is not one contemporary record in evidence to sustain it."

This is answered by the citation given from the Wachovian records in Salem (than which there are none more reliable) written during the revolution and which declares that "The

county of Mecklenburg declared itself free and independent" in 1775. This is a contemporary record, the correctness of which no one can question. (See paragraph 2 of Positive Evidence.)

11. "The traditionary references to a declaration of independence, heretofore quoted, are neither contemporaneous nor specific, and will apply as readily to the authenticated resolutions of May, 31, as to this alleged declaration of May, 20."

Now what can this mean in connection with the writer's continuous contention that there was nothing in the resolutions of May 31 to suggest the thought of independence? All of these "traditionary references" are concerning "a declaration of independence" and if this applies "readily to the authenticated resolutions," then the authenticated resolutions must have had something in them to suggest the thought, otherwise the suggestion could have come only from the reality of May 20. Verily, "he falleth into his own pit." His position is ominously suggestive of the great

> "Serbonian bog,
> Twixt Damiata and Mount Cassius old,
> Where armies whole have sunk."

12. "The resolutions of May 31, preclude the possibility of any such action having been taken on May 20. The resolutions provided for the organization of the people of Mecklenburg into a regiment of militia at a future date. It is evident that the colonel of the regiment could not have called a convention of two men from each company when there were, as yet no companies."

That Mecklenburg County was divided into militia districts or companies from its creation in 1762 is a matter of record. This is proven by innumerable items. In particular is the visit of Governor Tryon to Mecklenburg to review the militia companies in August of 1768, shortly after which time (September 12) each of the companies furnished a quota to march to Hillsboro to help preserve peace.

13. "It will be observed that parts of the 'declaration' bear close resemblance to parts of the national Declaration of Independence."

This is one of the stock arguments for the doubters, but it is not a strong one. There are some expressions in the two documents that are identical, but these same expressions were such as had been frequent in the public discussions for years before 1775. The "identical expressions" are in the resolutions of Richard Henry Lee, June 7, 1776, and some of them in the Bond of Union of the Scotch Presbyterians of 1670. That this reasoning is conclusive is demonstrated by Jefferson's letter to Adams of July 9, 1819, in which (though professing disbelief in the Mecklenburg Declaration), there is no intimation that it occurred to him that there was any undue similarity in the two papers. He brought to bear upon it every possible criticism, and it is not likely he would have omitted this if in his opinion there had been any reason in it. Jefferson was also careful to state that he did not positively assert that the declaration was a fabrication. Aside from this, the similarity is only in minor details. There is no similarity in the form and in the details where we would expect to find it, as for instance in the opening paragraph, "When in the course of human events," etc. If the Mecklenburg declaration had been a fabrication, it would have been fabricated by one familiar with all the papers concerned and who would have had before him the resolutions of May 31 and the national declaration. The fact that it is entirely different in structure and general content from both of these documents is proof that it could not have been founded upon either. If, as alleged, the idea of the May 20 declaration grew out of a confusion about the May 31 resolutions, then it would be supposed that the declaration would contain some expressions identical with the resolutions, but there is not one word of the kind. There is nothing in the remote resemblances of the two declarations (as against their greater differences) to raise a legitimate doubt of the positive and uncontroverted testimony. That the charge of plagiarism is

futile and that the principles and phraseology of professions of unalienable rights have been similar for hundreds of years, are statements amply confirmed by the fact that the Mecklenburg Declaration and the National Declaration are no closer in resemblance to each other than both of these documents are to the Declaration of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, July 26, 1581. The Dutch defiance of Spain and the American defiance of England (two centuries later) recite their grievances and one says "a Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant," etc., while the other says "he is no longer a Prince but a tyrant." Both outline the objects of government and the duties of rulers; the one says "when he does not behave thus, the subjects may not only disallow his authority but legally proceed to the choice of another Prince for their defense"; the other says "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government and to provide new Guards for their future safety." These similarities are of substance, and the similarities in exact phrases are the very things that plagiarism would have omitted.

14. The surmises and multitudinous hypotheses concerning the certificates published in the State pamphlet of 1831 are trivial and hardly worthy of mention, though much space is occupied with them. Concerning the certificate signed jointly by Graham, Hutchison, Clark and Robinson (given in full further on in this discussion) the captious criticisms are amusing."

"It is evident from the verbiage of that certificate, that those who gave it refreshed their memories to a considerable extent from the publication in the *Raleigh Register*." "They said that Colonel Polk was colonel of the militia regiment, and that Ephraim Brevard was the secretary of the meeting which they did not term a convention."

The critic does not go to the trouble of attempting to dis-

prove any of these things but expects us to accept his prognostications without question. That there was confusion as to whether Brevard or Alexander was secretary (because of the fact that Brevard did write the declaration) is but natural, but the question at issue is not affected by this. As to the innuendo about refreshing memory and not calling it a convention, we are again reminded of tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. However, they did refer to the members as *"Delegates"* several times, and delegates to a committee would have been an anomaly too odd doubtless even for a surmise. It would be interesting to know what is meant by the "verbiage" of the certificate; it is really concise and pointed.

"They said the delegates on the 20th again met. They did not remember an all-night session."

There is certainly no discrepancy here. The statement is made that they met the next day and the Declaration was then read. This is in accord with the general statement that the Declaration was read from the court-house steps at noon of the twentieth.

"They did not say that the resolutions in the *Raleigh Register* were what they heard read that day. They said that the resolutions went to declare independence, not that they declared it."

This lack of familiarity with the *Raleigh Register* does not agree with the theory that they "refreshed their memories" from it. If that had been true (which it is was not) is it not probable that they would have said whether or not they were the resolutions they were describing? The other statement is simply incorrect, as by reference to the complete certificate it can be seen that *the action is referred to four times as "the Declaration of Independence."*

This is all that can be said against that definite detailed statement of four men who were present when the Declaration was made, and who testified to the facts ("and on our honor

declare") and whose statement is supported by the strongest of corroborative and contemporary evidence. This certificate, after bearing "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" for nearly one hundred years, remains unshaken in its reliability and its accuracy, and so long as this holds true, the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence will be held as authentic by every one who is searching for the truth and who knows it when he sees it.

15. We are informed that notwithstanding Martin's statement to the contrary, the Declaration as published in his history, was obtained after he said it was. Up to this good time, no one had ever questioned the veracity of Francis Xavier Martin, who emigrated from France and settled in New Bern in 1782, was engaged by the State for a number of years in editing the Statutes, was several times a member of the General Assembly and associated with some of the Mecklenburg representatives who had signed the Declaration, and who was then gathering material for his history of the State. In 1809, he was appointed by President Madison to a position in the Louisiana territory. In the preface to his history dated July 29, 1829, he says:

"The writer imagined he had collected sufficient materials to justify the hope of producing a history of North Carolina worth the attention of his fellow citizens, and he had arranged all those that related to transactions anterior to the Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776,) when in 1809, Mr. Madison thought his services were wanted."

Further he states that he had hoped to get the time to give more attention to "the work he had commenced in Carolina" but the condition of his health made it necessary for him to put it to press without delay. This is absolutely conclusive evidence that the Martin copy of the Declaration (the one considered as genuine) was in existence long before the discussion arose in the *Raleigh Register* and hence could not have been manufactured for that purpose. More than this,

we have the testimony of Rev. Francis L. Hawks in his Charlotte speech in 1857 that *Judge Martin told him that "he had obtained the copy of the Declaration prior to 1800,"* and that he did not know Garden had printed a copy. Is it likely that this could have been done without the knowledge of John McKnitt Alexander or that Alexander after the destruction of the original, would have certified to an incorrect copy while knowing that the Martin exact copy was in existence? This requires too many ifs for the ordinary imagination. The Martin copy is undoubtedly a verbatim reproduction of the original which was destroyed by the burning of Alexander's house in April of 1800.

16. All that is said against the Garden copy published in Garden's Anecdotes of the Revolution in 1828, is that it is plainly a revision of the Guilford copy published in the *Charleston Mercury* of July 4, 1828. It happens, however, that the Garden and Martin copies are duplicates except for slight variations such as might well be made by the same copyist in copying from the original, and besides Garden acknowledges as his source of information Dr. William Read (a fellow-citizen of Charleston with Garden) who attended Ephraim Brevard in his last illness in 1777, at the home of John McKnitt Alexander. Neither Garden nor Martin knew of the other's publication until it appeared in print, so there could not have possibly been any comparison of their copies. Hence the only reason that can account for their similarity is that they were both verbatim reproductions of the original, as they were. There is no evidence whatever to the contrary.

17. The various suppositions as to how the certificates might not mean what they say, are aired at considerable length, and particular attention is given to an attempt to demonstrate the unreliability of the papers left by Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander who was a son of John McKnitt Alex-

ander. Governor Swain is here brought in again to testify, and he undoubtedly did not attach much importance to the papers; but as Governor Swain said that (without these papers) the documentary evidence was sufficient, it is apparent that the case is complete even without this bit of corroborative evidence. The point raised regarding Dr. Alexander's custom of signing his name to his notes as "J. McKnitt" is of no consequence one way or the other, as he afterwards over his full name accepted the signature as his own.

18. * * * "There was no such person as Richard Harris, Sr." * * * "John Davidson was probably left out because his memory had not been clear." * * * "Captain Jack *could* not have told William S. Alexander all that they certify that he told them Jack said."

These are samples of unsupported and unsupportable statements. Just how any one would go about proving that "there was no such person as Richard Harris, Sr.," presents a subject for speculation, as does also the statement about Captain Jack. As for John Davidson, he was not "left out" but is accredited as one of the signers of the Declaration and his name is inscribed on the Declaration monument in Charlotte. Why should he have been discriminated against because of defective memory when all of the Mecklenburg people are supposed (by the doubters) to have been similarly afflicted?

19. "But the Alexander 'declaration' had now become a reality with, a part of the Presbyterian religion, of, and a test of patriotism with many North Carolinians and reliable evidence, and logical deductions could not throw it down from the pedestal upon which myth-worshiping idolators had placed it."

This is the last stroke and immediately follows the introduction of the celebrated historian, Peter Force, as a witness for the prosecution. No sentence of equal length ever contained more errors. The relation between the faith in the Declaration and the doctrine of predestination is too remote for discussion here, and the reflection on the Presbyterians generally is in part due to the false assumption that all the

inhabitants of Mecklenburg from the earliest times have been Presbyterians. What is there to prove that the inhabitants of Mecklenburg were "myth-worshipping idolators?" To be sure it is a mouth-filling phrase, but it is too far from truth to be passed over in silence. No people in history have been further from fulfilling that description than the ones to whom it is meant to apply. It is much better to let the facts speak for themselves, and the facts with regard to Peter Force prove the doubter a Dædalus again.

December 11, 1841, Colonel Force wrote from Washington to John Vaughan in Philadelphia, a letter in reply to an inquiry as to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. At that time, Colonel Force did not have the complete resolutions of May 31 and was in doubt as to the date of the resolutions, though he had the Davie copy of the Declaration of May 20 as published in the *Raleigh Register*. He refers to the May 20 Declaration as the "manuscript" and his views (as a witness for the prosecution) are especially interesting in declaring that *the resolutions are the more important* even if both are considered authentic. The following is the main part of his letter:

"The manuscript (May 20) does not declare the entire dissolution of the laws, government and Constitution of this country. It applies to Mecklenburg County alone; that county only is declared independent—'a sovereign and self-governing association' by itself, separated alike from the Crown and the province, and leaving North Carolina and all the other colonies in subjection to the Crown. The declaration in the printed copy (May 31) is of an entirely different character. It does declare 'the entire dissolution' in that the whole country is declared independent. The declaration (May 31) is not for one county of one colony; it is for all the colonies. It is a Declaration of Independence of the United Colonies, and made by men who saw far into the future—whose patriotism was not limited by the boundaries of their own county. At that early day, the men of Mecklenburg marked out the true course to be pursued by the whole continent for a redress of grievances; this was afterwards found to be the only course. When they took their ground, they stood alone—their own province of North

Carolina did not join them. They did not ask their fellow subjects to unite with them in so daring an enterprise without first encountering the peril themselves. They did not wait for others to take the first step—they did not stand at ease until the whole were prepared to advance in line; but they boldly and fearlessly marched out to the front, inviting by their example all the rest to follow. These men were the first to declare that the authority of the King and Parliament over 'their colonies' was annulled and vacated. They were the first to incur the responsibility, whatever it might be, of making such a declaration, and publishing it to the world. If I have succeeded in establishing a single truth, or in removing a single doubt—if I have cleared away one of the many clouds of error, that for twenty years have thrown so much darkness around this brilliant star in our history, I shall be entirely satisfied."

Colonel Force was a native of New Jersey, but lived for the greater part of his life in Washington where he died January 23, 1868. For many years he was among the foremost of writers and historians, and his published works are invaluable. There is no record that he ever visited North Carolina, and he certainly had no cause for partiality, yet from the letter, it might be supposed that he had been one of the leaders among the "myth-worshiping idolators" of the Mecklenburg Presbyterians. Moreover, the long-desired conclusive contemporary record was found among the Moravians who were neither Presbyterians, myth-worshipers nor idolators. No "myth" ever sustained such persistent and bitter opposition as has been for a hundred years directed at the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence; and the real reason the Declaration grows in favor is not idolatry but that truth that makes doubters and traducers wince: *"Facts are stubborn things."*

20. With apologies to Disraeli for using some of his words in a certain celebrated saying, it may be said that the concluding paragraph of this latest attack on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, is a spectacular manifestation of the idiosyncrasies of a disputatious carper and historical apostate inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity.

The paragraph fulfills the requirements of a maximum of error in a minimum of space.

The doubter claims priority in labeling as a forgery the alleged lost copy of the *Cape Fear Mercury* published by one S. Millington Miller in *Collier's Weekly* for July 11, 1905. *Facts speak louder than words.* July 14, 1905, this humble scribe (who has never yet believed in a myth) declared in a brief letter to the *Charlotte Observer* that the Miller publication was a forgery and entirely indefensible. August 23, 1905, this same humble contributor published in the same *Charlotte Observer* a lengthy communication (based on an investigation made in the meantime in the British Public Record office) which according to an editorial in the *Charlotte Observer* was conclusive. In a letter to this same humble writer August 3, 1905, Miller made this interesting statement: "I can not see why you friends of the Declaration oppose this paper when the public is willing to accept it." Miller could not see that to be a friend of the Declaration is to be a friend of the truth.

December 30, 1905, Miller was interviewed in a Baltimore hotel by Prof. Alexander Graham, Dr. George W. Graham and Mr. R. O. Alexander. This committee had much difficulty in finding Miller and only secured this interview on the strength of an offer of five thousand dollars for the paper if proven genuine. Upon inspection the forgery was self-evident, and it was found to be a reproduction in large part of a document surreptitiously purloined by Miller from the private papers of Dr. Graham while making a "friendly" call some months before. The conclusion of this committee was published in the *Charlotte Observer* of January 1, 1906, and the case was settled. The committee, however, had secured from Miller his written consent to show his paper to S. Worthington Ford, and hence by their courtesy Mr. Ford January 5 saw the paper which otherwise he certainly would

not have seen. Mr. Ford's verdict was published January 12, and later he made himself ridiculous by claiming that he and Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., had done it all. It is perhaps worthy of notice that all the members of the committee were Mecklenburg Presbyterians and Miller was an Episcopalian. Just what the aforesaid doubter was doing all that time is for him to tell, but whatever it was, it most assuredly had nothing to do with proving the forgery. The fact that this publication was rejected and proven false by the most ardent defenders of the Declaration shows that they were sufficiently sure of their ground to resent any false testimony; and such is the truth. (See "That *Cape Fear Mercury*," by Alexander Graham, 1906.)

The doubter confesses that at one time he was a believer in a myth, which in itself ought to disqualify him from giving expert testimony in a matter of fact. This humble scribe not only never believed in myths but he never had any faith in myth-hunters.

The doubter says that he was convinced of his error by the late Edward McCrady, who was indeed a true historian and who did great service for the history of the great State of South Carolina without finding it necessary to attempt to pull down the history of another State. McCrady, on page 579, volume 1, of the History of South Carolina in the Revolution, does not discuss the Declaration but says that the *Resolves "provided for an independent government."* Now if the doubter was open to conviction about May 20, why did he not accept McCrady's view of May 31? The setting up of an independent government is a *de facto* declaration of independence, while the doubter in the foregoing discussion says in direct contradiction of McCrady that the Mecklenburg government "acknowledged allegiance to the Crown."

Thus endeth the evidence for the State—of uncertainty. The doubter might well have taken for his motto for that con-

cluding paragraph *"Ir por lana y volver trasquilado"*—which is Spanish, and being interpreted, means in effect "To go for wool and get shorn."

* * * * * * *

Is there left a "hinge or loop to hang a doubt on?" Where is any reasonable basis for legitimate doubt? Is the negative proof conclusive on either of the points at issue—that there was no meeting May 20, and that the Resolves of May 31 did not declare independence? Have not the allegations failed completely in their own presentation?

For many years the doubters charged that the argument for the Declaration was "manufactured" to support an untenable theory. No charge was ever more capable of complete self-application. No one can truthfully say that any of the following evidence is "manufactured," misrepresented or not authentic, but the opposition seems to have as many lives as the "mythical" cat. Ninety years ago they staked their life on opposition to the Resolves and lost. Likewise they lost in the claim that the Resolves were of no consequence. They clamored for the evidence of eye-witnesses as final proof, and received it in abundance. They demanded contemporary evidence and it was produced. They said North Carolina history did not bear out the independent spirit, though any chapter in it proves the contrary. This unashamed brazenness of the doubters suggests the story of the gourd-vine which ran out beyond the top of a stately palm tree and boasted that in a few days it had grown higher than the palm, to which the latter replied: "Yes, and every year of my century of life, a vain hopeless thing like you has made that same boast only to fade away within a few days and be forgotten."

Driven to the last ditch, the enemy now can only "suppose" that the evidence (that they know to be overwhelming) really referred to May 31 in spite of its specific reference to May 20.

Note.—(This is the whole of the argument of William

Henry Hoyt in his recent book "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," of which no contention is omitted in the foregoing discussion.) This line of reasoning, on which the doubters now found their last hope, if applied to the biblical account of creation, would give us something like this: "The first chapter of Genesis mentions the creation of only one planet; there is nothing in it that can not by skillful imagination be made to describe Mars; we know that Mars was created; therefore the story of the creation of the earth is a myth and Michael Angelo's statue of Moses is a fraud." There is nothing deficient in the reasoning except the omission of all evidence proving the existence of the earth, and the fact that the description not only "might refer" but *does refer* to the earth.

The whole controversy "in a nutshell" is the opinions, deductions and surmises (wholly without evidence) of a few modern "historians" for the negative; and for the affirmative is the specific evidence of men who were present May 20, 1775, and the contemporary records that can not be questioned. Which is the more worthy of credence?

Even without the positive evidence of the action of May 20, 1775, there is not sufficient cause for denial of the document that was accepted as authentic among the people who made it. *With* the documentary evidence (given in the following pages) there is no unbiased jury that could fail to return the verdict claimed by Governor Swain fifty years ago—that the facts as to the Declaration of May 20 are incontrovertible.

Positive Evidence.

The proposition is that the people of Mecklenburg County, assembled in Charlotte, May 20, 1775, declared independence of Great Britain. This proposition depends for proof upon testimony of men who were present, and contemporary documents. The corollary to the proposition is that an adjourned

meeting was held May 31 when the formal declaration was extended to apply to the whole country, and rules and regulations were adopted for independent government in the county.

The proof is conclusive that there were two different declations made on two different dates in May of 1775.

This fact is denied by certain disputatious critics who have never been able to agree among themselves even as to their own negative hypotheses or the alleged demonstration of them. On the other hand, there is no difference of opinion on the side of the proposition as above stated, and which is amply proven by documentary evidence of unquestioned authenticity.

The resolutions of May 31, 1775 (printed, and held in tradition as "the Resolves") are admitted as authentic in words and date.

These "Resolves" constitute a declaration of independence, in that the first of them declares: "That all commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the crown, to be exercised *in these colonies,* are null and void, *and the constitution of each particular colony wholly suspended.*"

The Resolves were so-called because all of them except the first were concerned with laws for the government of the independent county; and they were never referred to as "the declaration" because the action of May 20 was more formal (though limited) and were concerned almost entirely with declaring independence.

These unquestioned "Resolves" were nevertheless ample justification for any "popular tradition" about a declaration of independence, as their scope was even wider, and there could therefore have been no motive for "manufacturing" another declaration.

The Davie copy, made from memory by John McKnitt Alexander, could not have had any possible reference to the "Resolves" as there are no points of resemblance in either form or words in the two documents.

This radical difference between the documents (except for the first of the Resolves) is evidence that the one was supplementary to the other.

Alexander was undoubtedly familiar with the Resolves (which had been printed) and he would not have "manufactured" a false copy of an original he knew to be in existence.

He could have had no motive for misrepresentation in the Davie copy of 1800, as at that time and for many years afterward there was no question raised as to the authenticity of either of the declarations.

That there was no misrepresentation is proven by the close resemblance of the Davie copy to the Martin copy (direct from the original) obtained before 1800, according to the statement of Martin to Hawks as given in an address by Dr. Hawks in Charlotte in 1857.

The Resolves needed no proof and there was therefore no occasion for mention of them by the witnesses called on to testify as to the Declaration, and who doubtless remembered the Resolves as the subsequent laws that were based on the Declaration, but *"two meetings" are mentioned.*

The Resolves were not mentioned as a declaration in the newspapers and hence the "tradition" referred to the other meeting.

The witnesses necessarily knew the Resolves were in print, and therefore would not have testified to another meeting different in organization and results without certainty that their statements were correct in every detail.

Their descripion of the two-days' meeting could not apply to the meeting of May 31, which was described in the published account in the *Charleston Gazette* with the words: *"This day* the committee of this county met and passed the following Resolves."

The committee could not have met and adopted all these laws based on a Declaration of Independence in one session

except for the fact that the more formal Declaration with the attendant discussion had been attended to at a previous meeting.

Also the description could not have referred to the meeting of May 31, because the witnesses who remembered with distinctness the principal participants and the various details must have also remembered the document at least well enough to distinguish between the two.

The witnesses testified to the Declaration of Independence with the Davie copy before them and knowing that that was the Declaration under discussion; and if it had not been the one they remembered, they would have had no reason for not saying so.

That the proceedings of May 31 were printed is but natural, as any editor of the time with both documents before him would have chosen the later one as being of the more general interest in that it applied to all the colonies.

The theory of a confusion of the two dates on account of the eleven days change in the calendar in 1752 (ten years before the county was created) is entirely untenable. There was no section of America where such error would be less likely to exist than among the scholars of old Mecklenburg. The theory has not one particle of evidence to sustain it. It is pure presumption. In the thousands of private and public records of those times, there is not another instance of such confusion. In the certificate of Joseph Graham, the Declaration date is given as May 20 and that of the battle of Lexington as April 19, this being conclusive that there could have been no confusion.

The theory as to the defective memories of seven witnesses, all of them defective in exactly the same way, demonstrates its fallacy by an automatic application of *reductio ad absurdum*. Examination of the testimony shows that the details were remembered with distinctness so that there was no dis-

crepancy in the evidence of witnesses who had not consulted together.

Hence we have positive concrete evidence of meetings and declarations on two different days in May of 1775; and there is no positive evidence to the contrary.

The documentary evidence demonstrating these conclusions is here given, and they who desire the fuller details for reference, are referred to "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence and its Signers," by Dr. George W. Graham; "The History of Mecklenburg County," by D. A. Tompkins; and "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," (Moravian Records) by Miss Adelaide L. Fries.

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THE JOINT CERTIFICATE.

1. The first testimony is the joint certificate (published in the *Raleigh Register,* February 18, 1820) signed by George Graham, William Hutchison, Jones Clark, and Robert Robinson, all of whom were present when the Declaration was made. (For their biographies see the publications above mentioned.) They were prominent men at the time the certificate was made, and no question has ever been raised as to their character and reliability. Their testimony can be impeached only by positive evidence as to their defective memory or fraudulent intent, and either imputation bears its condemnation on its face. They considered the matter carefully and were in such perfect accord in their recollections that they signed the same certificate. No conceivable evidence could be stronger. There is nothing in refutation except surmise, and there is overwhelming evidence in corroboration.

CERTIFICATE.

State of North Carolina—Mecklenburg County.

At the request of Col. William Polk, of Raleigh, made to Major-General George Graham, soliciting him to procure all

the information that could be obtained at this late period, of the transactions which took place in the county of Mecklenburg, in the year 1775, as it respected the people of that county having declared Independence; of the time when the Declaration was made; who were the principal movers and leaders, and the members who composed the body of Patriots who made the Declaration, and signed the same.

We, the undersigned citizens of the said county, and of the several ages set forth opposite to each of our names, do certify and on our honor declare, that we were present in the town of Charlotte, in the said county of Mecklenburg, on the 19th day of May, 1775, when two persons elected from each Captain's Company in said county, appeared as Delegates, to take into consideration the state of the country, and to adopt such measures as to them seemed best, to secure their lives, liberty, and property, from the storm which was gathering, and had burst upon their fellow-citizens to the Eastward, by a British Army, under the authority of the British King and Parliament.

The order for the election of Delegates was given by Col. Thomas Polk, the commanding officer of the militia of the county, with a request that their powers should be ample, touching any measure that should be proposed.

We do further certify and declare, that to the best of our recollection and belief, the delegation was complete from every company, and that the meeting took place in the courthouse, about 12 o'clock on the said 19th day of May, 1775, when *Abraham Alexander* was chosen Chairman, and Dr. *Ephraim Brevard* Secretary. That the Delegates continued in session until in the night of that day; that on the 20th they again met, when a committee, under the direction of the Delegates, had formed several resolves, which were read, and which went to declare themselves, and the people of Mecklenburg County, Free and Independent of the King and Parlia-

ment of Great Britain—and that, from that day thenceforth, all allegiance and political relation was absolved between the good people of Mecklenburg and the King of Great Britain; which Declaration was signed by every member of the Delegation, under the shouts and huzzas of a very large assembly of the people of the county, who had come to know the issue of the meeting. We further believe, that the Declaration of Independence was drawn up by the Secretary, Dr. Ephraim Brevard, and that it was conceived and brought about through the instrumentality and popularity of Col. Thomas Polk, Abraham Alexander, John McKnitt Alexander, Adam Alexander, Ephraim Brevard, John Phifer, and Hezekiah Alexander, with some others.

We do further certify and declare, that in a few days after the Delegates adjourned, Captain James Jack, of the town of Charlotte, was engaged to carry the resolves to the President of Congress, and to our Representatives—one copy for each; and that his expenses were paid by a voluntary subscription. And we do know that Capt. Jack executed the trust, and returned with answers, both from the President and our Delegates in Congress, expressive of their entire approbation of the course that had been adopted, recommending a continuance in the same; and that the time would soon be, when the whole Continent would follow our example.

We further certify and declare, that the measures which were adopted at the time before mentioned, had a general influence on the people of this county to unite them in the cause of liberty and the country, at that time; that the same unanimity and patriotism continued unimpaired to the close of the war; and that the resolutions had considerable effect in harmonizing the people in two or three adjoining counties.

That a committee of Safety for the county were elected, who were clothed with civil and military power, and under their authority several disaffected persons in Rowan, and

Tryon (now Lincoln County,) were sent for, examined, and conveyed (after it was satisfactorily proven they were inimical) to Camden, in South Carolina, for safe-keeping.

We do further certify, that the acts passed by the committee of Safety, were received as the Civil Law of the land in many cases, and that Courts of Justice for the decision of controversies between the people were held, and we have no recollection that dissatisfaction existed in any instance with regard to the judgments of said courts.

We are not, at this late period, able to give the names of all the Delegation who formed the Declaration of Independence; but can safely declare as to the following persons being of the number, viz: Thomas Polk, Abraham Alexander, John McKnitt Alexander, Adam Alexander, Ephraim Brevard, John Phifer, Hezekiah James Balch, Benjamin Patton, Hezekiah Alexander, Richard Barry, William Graham, Matthew M'Clure, Robert Irwin, Zacheus Wilson, Neil Morrison, John Flenniken, John Queary, Ezra Alexander.

In testimony of all and every part herein set forth, we have hereunto set our hands.

GEO. GRAHAM, aged 61, near 62.
WM. HUTCHISON, 68.
JONAS CLARK, 61.
ROB'T. ROBINSON, 68.

MORAVIAN CHURCH RECORDS.

2. In the *American Historical Review* for April, 1906, Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., secretary of the South Carolina Historical Commission and who has made an exhaustive study of the wrong side of the Declaration controversy, said: "If the controversy over the 'Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence' is ever settled, it will have to be done by genuine contemporary documents." This from one of the most indefatigable

of those trying to keep history crooked, voiced the forlorn hope of the hosts of error. They had assured themselves (as they had previously of so many other theories now discredited) that this demand was the one that could not be satisfied and hence was the proper one on which to base their last stand. The demand, however, like all others, was fully met, though the doubters (as was expected) remained of the same opinion still.

"In September, 1904, Mr. O. J. Lehman, of Bethania, N. C., discovered among the Moravian archives at that place" a diary of the Revolution written in German by Traugott Bagge ("The most able man of affairs in Wachovia during the War") in the years from 1775 to 1783. The various events of the period are given in chronological order, and the "genuine contemporary record of the Declaration is here given in the original and in English:

"Ich kan zu Ende des 1775sten Jahres nicht unangemerkt lassen, dass schon im Sommer selbigen Jahres, das ist im May, Juny, oder July, die *County Mecklenburg* in *Nord Carolina* sich für so frey u. *independent* von England *declarirte,* u. solche Einrichtung zur Verwaltung der Gesetze unter sich machte, als jamalen der *Continental Congress* hernach ins Ganze gethan. Dieser *Congress* aber sahe dieses Verfahren als zu fruhzeitig an." *"I can not leave unmentioned at the end of the 1775th year, that already in the summer of this year, that is in May, June or July, the County of Mecklenburg in North Carolina declared itself free and independent of England, and made such arrangements for the administration of the laws among themselves, as later the Continental Congress made for all. This Congress, however, considered these proceedings premature."*

The most that critical ingenuity can bring against this "genuine contemporary document" is the unsupported hypothesis that because of the indefinite date, the reference is

not to May 20 but to May 31. The other items in the Bagge diary show the writer to have been not only well informed but uniformly accurate. It is not therefore within the proper bounds of inference to even suggest that perhaps he meant the Resolves when he said *"The County of Mecklenburg declared itself free and independent of England."* The Resolves were a declaration of independence, but they were not so known at that time and were not so called in the newspapers for the reason that their main purpose was to form laws for the independent government founded on the Declaration of May 20. The Resolves did not declare independence for "The County of Mecklenburg" but for all the colonies, while the Declaration did declare independence for "The County of Mecklenburg." The indefiniteness as to the date is therefore unimportant as without it the "genuine contemporary document" proves that there was a Declaration of Independence in Mecklenburg in 1775 which was not the Resolves of May 31.

That this document is of unquestionable merit and in itself proof of the Declaration, and with the certificates of participants conclusive proof of the date as being May 20, is evidenced by the following competent expert testimony:

* * * * * * * * * * * *

As merchant, financier, politician, as a sturdy, conscientious man, Traugotte Bagge ranks among the first in the history of the State."—*Miss Fries.*

* * * * * * * * * * * *

"I have been much interested in the revival of the discussion concerning the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and particularly gratified that through your researches among the Archives of Wachovia you have found records which substantiate the claims made for this important event. *I am thoroughly familiar with the records, particularly of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, of the Moravians in America, and esteem them, local and general, of the highest historical value."—John W. Jordan, Librarian Historical Society of Pennsylvania in a letter, January 21, 1907, to Miss Fries.*

* * * * * * * * * * * *

"The discovery of the 'Bagge Manuscript' effectually sets at rest the

question of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, except perhaps in the minds of those who are unwilling to consider the matter in a fair and unbiased light.

"The Wachovia Archives are a series of records made contemporaneous with the events themselves, and form an unbroken history of the leading events of our section, and of the principal events of the State, and even of the country at large from 1753 to the present day. *In no case has the reliability of these archives ever been brought into question.*"—*John H. Clewell, Archivist of Wachovia and President of Salem College. The Academy*, Jan., 1907.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

"I wish to express my enthusiastic appreciation of the extremely interesting piece of historical criticism that you have written. It is certainly most clear and convincing and seems to me to be the final word with regard to the document under examination."—*Waldo G. Leland, Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution of Washington, in a letter, May 9, 1906, to Miss Fries.*

Influence of Exciting News.

3. Joseph Graham, who was present when the Declaration was made, said "The news of the battle of Lexington, the 19th of April preceding, had arrived," and "There appeared among the people much excitement." This reference (corroborated by Rev. Humphrey Hunter) could not have meant the meeting of May 31 in the proceedings of which there is no indication whatever of excitement; in fact the first of the Resolves (declaring independence for all the colonies) is distinctly dispassionate and shows that that matter had already been settled. On the other hand, the Declaration of May 20 is of such a nature as to fulfill the description aside from the fact that various participants testify as to that date, and specific reference is made to the battle.

The Colonial records (Volume IX) demonstrate conclusively that the news of the battle of Lexington was received in Charlotte on or before the nineteenth of May, and hence it could not have excited the meeting of May 31 (in which there was no excitement.) The complete news of the battle was sent out from New Haven April 24 with instructions for for-

warding it to every committee in the colonies, and this instruction was carried out faithfully. The news was received at Edenton May 4, New Bern May 6, Wilmington May 7 (late), and at Charleston May 13. (It was printed in the *Charleston Gazette* of May 16.) From Edenton May 4 (with the note, "For God's sake forward this in haste") it was forwarded to the western counties in North Carolina, arriving at Halifax May 9, and at Hillsboro May 12. From the latter place the news spread rapidly and it undoubtedly was received in Charlotte within the following seven days, and this would have been on or before the nineteenth of May, as Graham and Hunter positively testify. This is cumulative evidence that there were two meetings.

The Martin Copy.

4. The Martin copy of the declaration, accepted as the authentic one, was published in the history of North Carolina, by Francis Xavier Martin, in 1829. Martin was then living in the Louisiana territory where he had gone from North Carolina in 1809, and according to his testimony (which is not open to doubt) all his manuscript was prepared before he left North Carolina and the copy of the declaration was obtained before 1800 before the original records in the possession of John McKnitt Alexander were destroyed. Obviously an incorrect copy would not have existed with the original, and hence the Martin copy must be accepted as genuine and accurate as no evidence has ever been presented to the contrary except the usual theorizing of the doubters—those sad, sad words "it might have been" otherwise. The Martin copy is here given in full, with the names of the signers as agreed upon by the witnesses:

Resolved, That whosoever directly or indirectly abets or in any way, form or manner countenances the invasion of our rights, as attempted by the Parliament of Great Britain, is an enemy to his country, to America, and the rights of men.

Resolved, That we the citizens of Mecklenburg County do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us with the mother country, and absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, abjuring all political connection with a nation that has wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of Americans at Lexington.

Resolved, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing people, under the power of God and the General Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual cooperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

Resolved, That we hereby ordain and adopt as rules of conduct, all and each of our former laws, and the Crown of Great Britain can not be considered hereafter as holding any rights, privileges or immunities amongst us.

Resolved, That all officers, both civil and military, in this county, be entitled to exercise the same powers and authorities as heretofore: That every member of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer and exercise the powers of a justice of the peace, issue process, hear and determine controversies according to law, preserve peace, union and harmony, in the county, and use every exertion to spread the love of liberty and of country, until a more general, and better organized system of government be established.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by express to the President of the Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia, to be laid before that body.

THOMAS POLK,
EPHRAIM BREVARD,
HEZEKIAH J. BALCH,
JOHN PHIFER,
JAMES HARRIS,
WILLIAM KENNON,
JOHN FORD,
RICHARD BARRY,
HENRY DOWNS,
EZRA ALEXANDER,
WILLIAM GRAHAM,
JOHN QUEARY,
ABRAHAM ALEXANDER,
JNO. M'KNITT ALEXANDER,
HEZEKIAH ALEXANDER,
ADAM ALEXANDER,
CHARLES ALEXANDER,
ZACHEUS WILSON, *Sen.*,
WAIGHTSTILL AVERY,
BENJAMIN PATTON,
MATTHEW M'CLURE,
NEIL MORRISON,
ROBERT IRWIN,
JOHN FLENNIKEN,
DAVID REESE,
RICHARD HARRIS, *Sen.*,
JOHN DAVIDSON.

DUPLICATE COPIES.

5. The Garden copy corroborates the Martin copy, though they could not have been compared in any way before publi-

cation. The Garden copy was published in Alexander Garden's Anecdotes of the Revolution in 1828, and it is identical with the Martin copy; but as the latter was then and had for many years been laid away among Martin's papers, there could not have been any conjunction in the two publications. Garden acknowledges as his source of information Dr. William Read who attended Ephraim Brevard (author of the Declaration) at his last illness in *1781 at the home of John McKnitt Alexander. There is no reason to doubt that the Garden copy was made from the original papers in the year *1781, and the identity of this with the Martin copy is conclusive that both of them were direct copies from the original, which fact is strengthened rather than weakened by some very slight and unimportant variations in the two copies. As neither of them has any resemblance in structure or detail to the Resolves, the inference is incontrovertible that they are authentic reproductions of another meeting—that of May 20. There is as much difference in the three printed and one manuscript copy of the Resolves as there is in the copies of the Declaration.

6. Another copy was published in the *Charleston Mercury* of July 4, 1828, which differed only in minor details from the Garden and Martin copies, but as it is not so exact in resemblance, no sound reasoning could claim any collaboration between the producer of it and either Martin or Garden. From the fact, however, that it is in substance the same as the others, it is evident that it must also have been a copy from the original, though a somewhat incorrect one. Garden's Anecdotes were published about the same time as the "Guilford" copy, but the manuscript had of course been completed before the publication, and as Garden gave another source for his information, there can be no justification for the claim that the Garden copy was made from the "Guilford" copy.

*In the manuscript copy, this date was given 1777. It was changed to 1781 by the author.—Editors.

7. In 1793, Dr. Hugh Williamson, who had announced his purpose to write a history of North Carolina, secured a copy of the Declaration from John McKnitt Alexander, which copy Governor Stokes testifies that he saw in Fayetteville in 1793 in the well-known handwriting of Alexander. This in itself is complete proof and this is completely proven. Governor Swain (editor of the State pamphlet of 1831) said in his letter to George Bancroft, March 18, 1858: "A note on page 5 of the State Pamphlet gives us the assurance of Governor Stokes that in 1793 he saw in the hands of Dr. Williamson, in Fayetteville, a copy of this record, together with a letter from J. McKnitt Alexander in relation to it. *I wrote the note myself* under the direction of Governor Stokes; and though I know he had an exceedingly retentive memory, did not at the time attach much importance to it. I have now before me a letter from Israel Pickens whom I knew familiarly from boyhood * * * represented my native district in Congress * * * first Governor of Alabama * * * died in Cuba after his election to the Senate of the United States * * * I know of no living man whose testimony is entitled to higher consideration than that of Governor Davie, Judge Cameron and Governor Pickens." The letter is then quoted to show that John McKnitt Alexander had many years before told him of sending the copy to Williamson as stated. Williamson did not complete the history as projected (stopping with the year 1771) and his papers were lost. (Judge Cameron had also testified that Alexander told him of the Davie copy in 1800.)

8. The testimony as to the genuineness of the Williamson and other copies is corroborated by John McKnitt Alexander in a statement the authenticity of which is not doubted. Immediately after the burning of his house and the destruction of the original documents in 1800, John McKnitt Alexander made from memory a copy of the declaration for Governor Davie. This copy varies from the Martin copy in some de-

tails but is the same in form and substance, and shows that Alexander was very familiar with the original. It is given in the past tense, but could not have had any possible reference to the Resolves nor have been founded on the national declaration from which it is wholly different except in the common phrases of the time. It must have been the record of an entirely different meeting, and as Alexander also gave the date as May 20, there can be no doubt that it was his recollection of that action; and as the paper is practically the same as the Garden and Martin copies, its accuracy is self-evident. Appended to it in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander is this conclusive statement: "It may be worthy of notice here to observe that the foregoing statement, though fundamentally correct, may not literally correspond with the original record of the transactions of said delegation and court of enquiry, as all those records and papers were burnt with the house on April 6, 1809; but previous to that time of 1800, a full copy of said records, at the request of Dr. Hugh Williamson, then of New York, but formerly a representative in Congress from this State, was forwarded to him by Col. William Polk, in order that those early transactions might fill their proper place in a history of this State then writing by said Dr. Williamson, in New York."

From this certificate of Alexander, with the corroborative evidence, there can surely be no doubt that a transcript of the original record was sent to Williamson, and Alexander would certainly not have appealed for corroboration of the Davie copy to a genuine original copy without being sure that he was "fundamentally correct." By this alone is fully proven that there were two declarations, and that the more formal one as given in the various copies mentioned was made May 20, 1775.

John McKnitt Alexander left the record of admitted authenticity that he had furnished copies of the Declaration to

Davie and Williamson. If he had been referring to the Resolves of May 31, he would not have mentioned these "copies" but would have referred to the fact that the Resolves were printed in various newspapers of the time.

9. The Resolves of May 31 (given elsewhere in this discussion) show for themselves that they constitute a declaration of independence, and that they are corroborative of the more formal declaration of May 20. There is no inconsistency to be found in the Resolves as supplementary to the Declaration, and as the two documents are available to all, they are their own argument. The first of the Resolves is invulnerable proof that Mecklenburg patriots declared independence in May of 1775.

Other Certificates.

10. Capt. James Jack, December 7, 1819, then living in Georgia, testified "respecting the Declaration of Independence by the people of Mecklenburg County, in May, 1775," that he was present "at the time they were adopted," that he was engaged as "the bearer of the proceedings" to Philadelphia, and he delivered "the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May, 1775, to Richard Caswell and William Hooper, the delegates to Congress from the State of North Carolina. Captain Jack's reliability is unquestioned, as is the fact that he did go to Philadelphia with the proceedings, and there is no proof that he meant something different when he said in plain English that it was "the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence." He further says that Rev. Francis Cummins was a student in Charlotte and present on the occasion mentioned.

11. Rev. Francis Cummins, a Presbyterian minister in Lexington, Ga., November 10, 1819, testified that he was present when the people of the county met in Charlotte in 1775 and "proclaimed independence on English Govern-

ment"; and that Capt. James Jack "was sent with the account of these proceedings to Congress." The certificates of Jack and Cummins are corroborative, but the authors did not consult together, as Jack suggests Cummins not knowing that his certificate had been made a month before.

11. Joseph Graham, whose biography is available to all and whose reliability is unquestionable, testified October 4, 1830, that he was present "on that occasion"; that he attended two meetings"; that Captain Jack carried a copy of the proceedings to Congress; that the news of the battle of Lexington had arrived; that "the committee appointed to draft the resolutions returned, and Dr. Ephraim Brevard read their report, as near as I can recollect, in the very words we have since seen them several times in print"; and that his statements were "all from personal knowledge." This last statement in connection with the reference to the battle of Lexington, leaves no room for doubt of the plain fact that Graham was testifying to the Declaration of May 20, and to the Davie copy or the Martin or Garden copy, all of which were then in print. The Declaration of May 20 contains an explicit reference to the battle of Lexington, while the Resolves do not refer to it in any way, so this witness could not have been describing the Resolves after having already connected the news of the battle with the meeting. This evidence is therefore conclusive not only of two meetings but of the fact that the formal Declaration as testified to by the witness, was a genuine document and was made on the date he gave—May 20.

12. John Simieson, of Providence in Mecklenburg County, testified January 20, 1820, concerning "our Declaration of Independence," that he was present when it was made, and "likewise heard Colonel Polk have two warm disputes with two men of the county, who said the measures were rash and unnecessary. He was applauded and they silenced. * * * *The courts likewise acted independently.* I myself heard a

dispute take place on the bench, and an acting magistrate was actually taken and sent to prison by an order of the Chairman."

13. Isaac Alexander, October 8, 1830, testified that he "was present in Charlotte on the 19th and 20th days of May, 1775, when a regular deputation from all the Captain's companies * * * met to consult and take measures for the peace and tranquility of the citizens of said county * * * who after due consultation, declared themselves absolved from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and drew up a Declaration of their Independence, which was unanimously adopted; and employed Capt. James Jack to carry copies thereof to Congress."

14. Samuel Wilson, of Mecklenburg County, in 1830, testified that he was present when "in May, 1775, a committee or delegation from the different militia companies in this county met in Charlotte, and after consulting together, they publicly declared their independence of Great Britain."

15. John Davidson, October 5, 1830, testified "relative to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" that he "was a member of that Convention"; that he and John McKnitt Alexander were the delegates from his company; that "a motion was made to declare ourselves independent of the Crown of Great Britain, which was carried by a large majority. * * * James Jack was appointed to take it to the American Congress."

16. Rev. Humphrey Hunter, in his autobiography written in 1828, testifies specifically as to the Declaration of Independence of May 20 and the details of the meeting in accord with the foregoing testimony, and says that he was present and was twenty years of age, and he testifies as to the Davie copy being the record of the proceedings. The only thing in opposition to the correctness of the testimony of Hunter and the other witnesses is the unsupported surmise that they

might have been talking about the Resolves of May 31 and have gotten the dates and the facts wrong. This same mistake having (by hypothesis) been made by a dozen persons has been aptly described as "a marvelous involuntary error."

17. In the *Raleigh Register,* April 30, 1819, Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander published a detailed account of the proceedings of the convention of May 20, which he certified to as being a copy of the records left by his father John McKnitt Alexander, who had written this account from memory after the destruction by fire of the original papers in 1800. There is no reason to question the statements that John McKnitt Alexander left such a record and that the paper signed by F. McKnitt Alexander was a genuine copy of that record, and this direct testimony of John McKnitt Alexander who had kept the original records for twenty-five years is unimpeachable corroborative evidence. The only thing against it is that surmise as to the "marvelous involuntary error" that John McKnitt Alexander had confused the dates and facts, though why one person (to say nothing of a dozen) should mistake May 31 for May 20 has never been explained. The genuineness of the papers produced by Joseph McKnitt Alexander has been questioned but is accepted by Hoyt in his recent book attacking the authenticity of the Declaration. The copy of the Declaration as given by Joseph McKnitt Alexander is the same as the Davie copy found in Governor Davie's papers in 1820 and which is mentioned in the notes left by John McKnitt Alexander. This statement resulted in the discovery of the Davie papers which confirmed the genuineness of the statement in that the Davie copy made in 1800 was found to be the same in substance as the other copy furnished in the Alexander memory record.

18. *The testimony of Governor Josiah Martin in his official papers is a contemporary record that is final with regard to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.* Here surmises

are of no avail. The authenticity of the documents is undisputed, and it is the privilege of every one to examine them and perceive their meaning. June 25, 1775, Governor Martin addressed his Council at Fort Johnston and referred to "the late most treasonable publication of a Committee in the County of Mecklenburg explicitly renouncing obedience to his Majesty's government and all lawful authority whatsoever." June 30, Governor Martin in a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, said: "The Resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburg which your Lordship will find in the enclosed newspaper, surpass all the horrid and treasonable publications that the inflammatory spirits of this Continent have yet produced, and your Lordship may depend its Authors and Abettors will not escape my due notice whenever my hands are sufficiently strengthened to attempt the recovery of the lost authority of Government."

This is the contemporary record left by Governor Martin, and the only suspicion against it is that it referred to the Resolves of May 31. When Governor Martin made the above statements, he had before him the Resolves of the general committees of Wilmington of June 20 in which he was described as "an enemy to the happiness of this colony in particular and to the freedom, rights, and privileges of America in general." Is it likely that he would have passed over that personal thrust and have described the dispassionate Mecklenburg Resolves of May 31 as "most treasonable." It is not likely, and the denunciatory words apply with more exactness to the Declaration than to the Resolves, though plainly there are references to both. The Resolves did not "explicitly *renounce* obedience" but state the dissolving as having been already accomplished, while the Declaration says explicitly "we hereby dissolve the political bonds" * * * "and absolve ourselves from all allegiance."

Why did Governor Martin June 25 refer to the "late pub-

lication?" The Resolves were published in the *Charleston Gazette* of June 13, in the *New Bern Gazette* of June 16, and in the *Cape Fear Mercury* of June 23 (?) and doubtless Martin had all these papers, as his connection with New Bern was as friendly as with Wilmington and that with Charleston much more so. Then why did he choose the *Cape Fear Mercury* as best expressing the "most treasonable" publication? There could be no reason except that the *Cape Fear Mercury* had more treason in it than the other papers. Also, the only excuse for saying that the *Cape Fear Mercury* was June 23 instead of June 30 is that if it were the latter, it would indicate that it did contain more treason and hence would account for the difference of Martin's temper June 23 and June 30. These are indications that the *Mercury* contained some reference to the Declaration in addition to the Resolves; but from any standpoint, the Martin documents afford irresistible contemporary evidence of Mecklenburg's "most treasonable" action in May of 1775, and in connection with the other equally reliable evidence, points definitely to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence of May 20.

* * * * * * *

For full details of the documents cited in the preceding paragraphs, reference may be had to the publications previously mentioned (and to Moore's Defense of the Declaration, 1908,) which give biographies of the witnesses with their certificates and letters in full, with others in corroboration. All of the testimony taken together proves other details of the meetings not here mentioned; the purpose in this argument was to prove that the Resolves of May 31 were in themselves a declaration of independence, and that a more formal declaration was made May 20. The first part of the claim is proven by the document itself in its first resolution, and by the comment on that resolution by Force and others. The second claim has in its support the positive statements of

men who were present, and contemporary documents of unquestioned authenticity. *That there were two meetings in May of 1775, and that the two existing documents are both authentic, are facts proven beyond possibility of controversion.* The positive evidence is not hypothetical. Every item is authentic and undisputed. The negative surmises can not shake them. They are clear, strong, definite, detailed, specific. They demonstrate every claim conclusively, and leave no palliation possible for slurs on the monument that stands in Charlotte commemorative of "this brilliant star in our history." All who reverence history should glory in it. It is not narrow. It is American, and as the Mecklenburg patriots showed their broadness of spirit by "not standing at ease until the whole were prepared to advance in line, but boldly and fearlessly marched out to the front," so every true citizen of the nation for which that example was set, should not try to increase "the clouds of error," but should turn from prejudice and face the truth, and as a true American take pride in the manifestation of that fierce spirit of freedom that could not be held and true to the prophecy of Mecklenburg has realized the ambition of a great and free people. The case is complete, and "this brilliant star" shall continue to shine undimmed by the hazy theories of those unable or unwilling to accept the truth.

MR. SALLEY'S REPLY.

The reader is requested to examine the evidence quoted or cited in both of the foregoing papers before accepting the conclusions of either of the writers. Selected quotations from Hawks, Swain, Force, Bancroft, or any one else, should not be accepted as evidence unless the whole article from which a quotation has been taken is read.

The truth-seeking reader will discover a wide difference between the import of the statements of the "seven witnesses of most unexceptional character", and that ascribed to them by Dr. Hawks and Mr. Craven. He will find that a little quotation taken from Mr. Force is turned to account to show that Mr. Force believed in the alleged declaration of May 20th. All of Mr. Force's writings on the subject show that he held only the resolutions of the 31st authentic. Bancroft held the same views. McCrady held the same views, and although Mr. Craven tries to turn a quotation from McCrady against the writer, the writer is satisfied that no impartial reader will agree that there is any inconsistency between what he has written and what McCrady wrote. There are witnesses who will corroborate the writer as to General McCrady's views.

On pages 235 and 236 there are some quotations from letters bearing on Bagge's reminiscences. These must not be misunderstood. Mr. Waldo G. Leland, who has been one of the writer's earnest collaborators on this subject, and to whom I am indebted for several very valuable points and authorities, agrees with me that only the resolutions of May 31st are authentic and that all the evidence is against the alleged declaration of May 20th, and he can not be quoted as favoring it. Mr. Craven could have found some equally apt quotations from the writer's own statements in reference to Miss

Fries's paper. Bagge's reminiscences were not contemporaneous with 1775. They were written in 1783 and critical readers will appreciate the value which I have given them.

Mr. Craven says (205) that the resolutions of the 31st "are not now disputed." He has not carefully read the book by Dr. George W. Graham. He says (211) that so far as is known" it is "not denied" that "the *Cape Fear Mercury* sent by Governor Martin contained the resolutions of May 31." He has evidently not seen the communication of Dr. George W. Graham in *The American Historical Review* for January, 1908. Mr. Craven himself (245-246) tries to create the impression that Governor Martin referred to the alleged declaration of May 20th in some of his contemporaneous records. There is not a scintilla of evidence to show any such thing and Mr. Craven does not offer any.

He tries to make light (208) of the writer's distinction between the use of "committee" and "convention." The writer pointed out that those witnesses who naturally knew the most about affairs of 1775 always said committee but that the fabricated declaration contained the word convention. Critical readers will appreciate the differentiation.

He tries to show that the 31st resolutions are equally as inconsistent with the action of the Provincial Congress in August, 1775, and the proceedings of the county courts, as is with the alleged declaration. The critical reader can pass upon that matter with better judgment than can Mr. Craven.

He tries to create (212) the impression that the court records show that court was still held in the name of the crown after July 4, 1776. No court was held in October, 1776, showing that the national Declaration of Independence put an end to the "crown docket."

He insists that Mecklenburg County was divided into militia companies from its creation in 1762. That is not confirmed by *Wells's Register* for 1775, which contains the mili-

tary establishment of North Carolina. If there was a full regiment in the county why was one organized under the 31st resolutions, and why were the companies directed to "provide themselves with proper Arms and Accoutrements?"

Mr. Craven takes a different view of the 31st resolutions from that held by any previous advocate of the alleged declaration. He claims that those resolutions constituted a declaration of independence and quotes an extract from them (211) to sustain his view. That extract *must* be construed with the whole document. Critical readers will observe the distinctions the writer has drawn.

He wants to know why Joseph McKnitt Alexander did not use the 31st resolutions in his fabrication if such it was. Because he did not have a copy; otherwise he would not have fabricated at all when Representative Davidson called for a copy of the traditional declaration. If he had ever had a copy we may be sure he would have dragged it into the controversy with the same claim Mr. Craven makes—that they were secondary to the declaration and an outgrowth thereof. An opinion that no critical observer not afflicted with Mecklenburgomania will ever accept.

Mr. Craven says (218): "Up to this time, no one had ever questioned the veracity of Francis Xavier Martin." Take a look at Note 2 on pages 32-33 of *Southern Quakers and Slavery* by Stephen B. Weeks, of North Carolina. In a private letter to the writer Dr. Weeks says: "When he did not pervert facts he was careless in the collection of facts and his work is worthless when unsupported." That is confirmed by the work itself. Attention is further invited to the account of Martin by Charles Gayarre, some time United States Senator from Louisiana, in *Fernando de Lemos* (246-249). It is there made evident that Martin was in his dotage when he told Dr. Hawks that he got that copy in Western North Carolina before 1800. Is it not probable that

Dr. Hawks asked him the leading question: "Before 1800"? The writer has shown where he got it. Murphey's correspondence with him is sufficient. Murphey had its prototype and shows that it came from Joseph McKnitt Alexander. Martin's copy contains no signers. Why does Mr. Craven add them to it in his work? Readers are asked not to take Mr. Craven's statement as to John Davidson (220) but to examine the State pamphlet the writer was discussing and see if the name is there given as a "signer."

Mr. Craven denies that Garden's account is the counterpart of Guilford's. Readers are asked to compare them. Mr. Craven states that Garden got his information from Dr. William Read. Garden nowhere says so. Dr. Read did not attend Dr. Ephraim Brevard "in his last illness in 1777", for Dr. Read joined Washington's army in the North in 1776 and served with it as Deputy Surgeon-General until 1780 when he was detached to the South with Gates's army, and Dr. Brevard had no last illness in 1777 for he was at the siege of Charles Town in 1780. Dr. Read told Garden an anecdote about General Lock of North Carolina and of course that makes him authority for the Mecklenburg story that Garden published. Dr. Read was not a "fellow-citizen of Charleston with Garden", but resided on his plantation in Georgetown District about seventy-five miles from Charleston.

As to the writer's part in showing up the fraud of Millington Miller the reader is invited to examine his paper in *The State* (Columbia) of July 30, 1905; Mr. Craven's of August 27, 1905, in the *Charlotte Daily Observer;* Professor Alexander Graham's paper in the same for October 4, 1905; the writer's pamphlet *The True Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence* published in October, 1905, and hundreds of criticisms from all over the United States and see whose work has counted for the most. And if any one has any curiosity to know the inside history of how Millington Miller was forced

to "show-down" the writer is willing to display the private correspondence whereby that result was obtained and he has no fear that any one will agree for a moment that Mr. Craven's efforts, or those of the pompous committee from Charlotte that tried to ridicule a man of Worthington Ford's position in American historical literature, had much to do with bringing that event about. But that matter has nothing to do with this discussion, even if it does show the credulity of a Mecklenburg myth worshipper.

The writer has not the slightest fear that any impartial reader of recognized critical ability will find in his paper *any* "omissions, suppressions and misrepresentations." He is equally confident that crtical readers will find his own words not only misconstrued, misrepresented and garbled, but improperly quoted. The effort to make this writer reflect on the Presbyterians generally of North Carolina is a gross misrepresentation. The reader is asked to carefully compare Mr. Craven's excerpts from the writer's paper and his own comments on those excerpts with the paper itself.

The quotation from Disraeli (222) is apt—for a man lacking originality. It is cumulative evidence on what is apparent throughout Mr. Craven's paper: that memorized quotations constitute his chief source of originality. The use of "words, words, words" (203-204) is the second time he has availed himself of that identical argument in controversy with this writer. The injection of such personalities into a discussion of an historical question is unhistorical and inethical, but it has invariably been the favorite method of those who can not rebut the evidence and can not refute the arguments of those who have from time to time contradicted the authenticity of the alleged Declaration of Independence of May 20, 1775.

MR. CRAVEN'S REJOINDER.

"A little nonsense now and then is relished by the best of men," and I fully appreciate the concluding paragraph of the foregoing reply. I respectfully plead guilty to the charge of repetition in using the famous quotation, "words, words, words," with regard to certain frequent incursions into the rich field of North Carolina History. My only defense is my inability to find another quotation that is sufficiently accurate and appropriate. As to the further charge of "unhistorical and unethical" conduct in the use of personalities, I demur, and cite the fact that in my lengthy reply to Mr. Salley, his name is mentioned twice, and in his fifteen brief paragraphs replying to my reply my name is mentioned seventeen times.

In paragraph number two of the reply, a personal opinion is expressed as to the views of Force, Bancroft and McCrady, and the statement is made: "There are witnesses who will corroborate the writer as to General McCrady's views." As I gave the "views" themselves, the readers have as much right to opinions as any one else.

Dr. George W. Graham is brought forward to confound my argument, but it happens that Dr. Graham has carefully read all of the preceding discussion and endorses my position.

The "crown docket" is again brought into court with the claim that "the national Declaration of Independence put an end to the crown docket." In this point I have the authority with me, as can be seen by reference to the bottom of page 167 preceding, where Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., says "and at their July, 1776, term, continued the 'crown docket' to the next term."

"It is there made evident that Martin was in his dotage

....." This was one of the few friends of the Declaration who had not been declared defective in memory, and in the last days it seems that even he is not to be spared. He told Dr. Hawks that he obtained the copy of the declaration "before 1800", and the baseless insinuation of "dotage" is of no consequence whatever. Furthermore, the unsupported and unsupportable statement "in a private letter" of Dr. Stephen B. Weeks (who is a near neighbor in my home town) is not sufficient to even raise a question as to the reliability of Francis Xavier Martin.

It is true that Dr. Ephraim Brevard died in 1781 and not in 1777 as stated. At the time of his death, General Gates had his headquarters in Charlotte, and Dr. William Read was with him. Dr. Read attended Dr. Brevard in his last illness at the home of John McKnitt Alexander and there secured the information given later to Alexander Garden.

The "committee from Charlotte" was not "pompous" and made no attempt to ridicule Worthington Ford. The committee's report was printed January 1 and Mr. Ford's twelve days later, and hence Mr. Ford ridiculed himself by claiming that he exposed the Miller forgery.

Regarding the reflections on the Presbyterians, this depends upon whether or not it would be considered a compliment to be called a "myth-worshiping idolator". The writer's *animus* is also shown by the coinage in the reply of the amorphous word "Mecklenburgomania." Instead of mania on his part there is simply a paretic condition of an otherwise able mind with regard to May 20, 1775, and incidentally to March 15, 1767. Concerning the real evidence as to facts on these dates he sticks to his contention: "I didn't see it; therefore it isn't so".

In conclusion, I hold these truths to be self-evident:

1. Personal opinions and surmises and hypotheses are not entitled to any consideration in this discussion.

2. The testimony of eye-witnesses is the strongest of all testimony, and there are seven for the Declaration of May 20 and none against.

3. Contemporary evidence is next strongest, and there is such evidence for the Declaration and none against.

4. Corroborative evidence is next in importance and there is an abundance of it for the Declaration; and corroborative evidence is not admissible without previous positive direct evidence of which there is none against the Declaration.

5. The Resolves of May 31, 1775, are undisputed and are their own argument as to whether or not they constitute a Declaration of Independence.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

BRUCE CRAVEN.

A biographical sketch of Professor Bruce Craven appeared in the Booklet for October 1908 with his contribution entitled "The Significance of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence." Among his recent writings (besides various newspaper contributions) are the following: The Modern Schoolmaster, in *Educational Foundations* of New York for September; The Value of Words, in *The Boston Journal of Education* for November 12; Testing the Teacher's Efficiency, in *Educational Foundations* for December; Religious Education, in *American Education,* of Albany, for January; and Non-Religious Moral Training, in the *New York School Journal* for January.

ALEXANDER SAMUEL SALLEY, JR.

Alexander Samuel Salley, Jr., son of A. M. Salley, was born in Orangeburg County, S. C., June 16, 1871. He was prepared for college at Sheridan's Classical School of Orangeburg, S. C., and afterwards was graduated from the South Carolina Military Academy in 1892. He studied law and in 1889 was admitted to the bar. He is the author of History of Orangeburg County, S. C., 1704 to 1782; and compiled and edited Marriage Notices from the South Carolina Gazette and its Successors, 1732-1801; Marriage Notices from the South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal (1765-1775) and from the Charlestown Gazette (1778-1780). He has also edited the following: Register of St. Philip's

Parish, Charlestown, S. C., 1720-1758; Journal of the General Assembly of South Carolina, Mar. 26, 1776-April 11, 1776; Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina, 1671-1680; Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina, April 11, 1692-Sept. 26, 1692; and Vols. 1-8, South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, 1900-1907. He is likewise a frequent contributor of historical, biographical, and bibliographical articles to various publications. He is now Secretary of the South Carolina Historical Commission.

NOTE.—The Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, Raleigh, N. C., has recently published "Defence of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," by James H. Moore, of Macon, Ga. This scholarly work has been well received by historical critics, and the reviews of it given in leading northern and southern periodicals have been, with but few exceptions, favorable to the author's contention. We hope to secure from Mr. Moore an article, summarizing the evidence in favor of the Mecklenburg Declaration, to be published in the BOOKLET.

To the Readers of the North Carolina Booklet:

It is the intention of the "North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution" to give a detailed account of the unveiling of the Bronze Tablet which they caused to be erected in the State Capitol on Oct. 24, 1908. This will appear in a future number or in an extra issue of the BOOKLET.

This tablet represents the first patriotic effort that the Society has made. It commemorates the heroism of the women of the Edenton Tea Party of 1774, "who by their patriotism, zeal, and early protest against unjust taxation by British authority, helped to make this Republic and our Commonwealth possible."

Since the organization in 1896 of the North Carolina Branch of the "General Society Daughters of the Revolu-

tion," its endeavor has been to carry out the tenets of the Constitution, the objects of which are "to perpetuate the patriotic spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence; to commemorate prominent events connected with the War of the Revolution; to collect, publish and preserve the rolls, records and historic documents relating to that period; and to encourage the study of the country's history."

The first four years of the life of the organization, was given principally to the reading of State history, endorsing patriotic movements in this State and other sister States, and the writing of sketches of the patriots through whom members became lineally eligible to membership.

The requirements were that these sketches should be historically correct, and embodying such traditions as would render them more interesting and acceptable. Many of the members complied with these requirements, and these sketches after being read and approved were deposited with our Librarian, in the archives of this Society.

While continuing in the work of perpetuating the deeds of our ancestors, a wider field was opened, that of erecting memorials, as object lessons to posterity. At a meeting of the Society in December 1900, Mrs. Spier Whitaker, then our wise patriotic and zealous Regent, suggested a *memorial* to the patriotic ladies of the "Edenton Tea Party of Oct. 25, 1774," as an object especially appropriate for a Woman's Society. This suggestion met with the most hearty approval of the members, and a resolution adopted to make this the *first* event for commemoration.

Pertinent to the above, our honored late Regent (1902), Mrs. Daniel Harvey Hill, made the following clear, concise and authoritative statement in a preface to the BOOKLET:

"These stout-hearted women are every way worthy of admiration. On Oct. 25, 1774, seven months before the defiant

farmers of Mecklenburg had been aroused to the point of signing the Declaration of Independence, nearly twenty months before the declaration made by the gentlemen composing the vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, nearly two years before Jefferson penned the immortal National Declaration, these daring women solemnly subscribed to a document affirming that they would use no article taxed by England. Their example fostered in the whole State a determination to die, or be free."

To accomplish this purpose, various schemes were devised for raising the required funds without calling on the public for contributions. It was then decided to publish in convenient form "Sketches of Great Events in North Carolina History" with the twofold object—the one to raise from the yearly subscriptions a fund for this memorial, and the other to place in the hands of the reading public interesting sketches relating to the past history of the State, Colonial and Revolutionary, and that the most painstaking and competent scholars and educators in the State be requested to write the articles.

The enterprise first took form in May, 1901, under the modest title of the "North Carolina Booklet" and continued as a monthly publication for four years, and was changed to a quarterly in 1905, containing three articles instead of one.

The work still continues as a quarterly, "supported by the cordial sympathy and cooperation of many of the best equipped scholars and writers of the State, who have so cheerfully contributed numerous articles, free of cost."

The tablet which now adorns the walls of the Rotunda represents over five hundred dollars, the profits of four years arising from the publication of the BOOKLET, and the profits of one entertainment given by the blind pupils of the State Institution who cheerfully aided with their talents in this patriotic undertaking.

There yet remains in bank a creditable fund, which stands as a nucleus to which subscriptions to the BOOKLET will be added with which to erect other memorials.

There were similar movements to that of the "Tea Party," which history has not recorded. Women in other counties of the State met to declare their determination to stand by principles resisting tyranny, and leading to Independence, which should be commemorated.

In order to do this a larger subscription list to the BOOKLET will become necessary. Therefore we appeal to the patriotic citizenship of the State, to aid the Daughters of the Revolution in a venture that has proved thus far successful.

The eighth volume is well advanced, and the outlook is encouraging. The Editors still continue to admit to its pages such articles of historical investigation as will aid the already awakened spirit of the people, viz, the claim of North Carolina to a high place in the history of the United States.

INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past seven years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication on great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

Bronze Tablet Unveiled in State Capitol of North Carloina, October 24, 1908.

Vol. VIII APRIL, 1909 No. 4

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of the BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITORS.

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*Died December 12, 1904.

Unveiling of Memorial Tablet, State Capitol North Carolina, October 24, 1908.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. VIII APRIL, 1909 No. 4

THE UNVEILING AND DEDICATION OF THE EDENTON TEA PARTY MEMORIAL TABLET.

The autumn of 1908 will be recorded in the history of the Daughters of the Revolution as a notable one. Our President-General, Mrs. Adeline F. Fitz, has just cause to be proud of the achievements of her Daughters, and it is to be hoped that the brilliant beginning of her able administration will be followed by even greater efforts and larger attainments.

On October the seventeenth the New York Society laid the corner stone of the granite arch that is to mark the entrance to Stony Point Park, amid fitting ceremonies. That same month the Daughters of the Pennsylvania Society placed two bronze memorial tablets in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. The New Jersey Society suggested and aided extensively in erecting the monument to the "Tea Burners," unveiled October the fourth at Greenwich, New Jersey, while the Long Island Society contributed six thousand of the twenty-five thousand dollars expended on the beautiful column to the memory of the Prison Ship martyrs, November the fourteenth in Fort Greene Park, Brooklyn. The Massachusetts Society remembered her heroic Paul Revere in furnishing a room to bear his name. Last, but by no means least with us, the Daughters of North Carolina, was the placing in the rotunda of our capitol on Saturday, October the twenty-fourth, the handsome oval bronze tablet "to the memory of the fifty-one ladies of Edenton" who on October

twenty-fifth, 1774, signed the resolves that had been adopted by the Provincial Congress recently held at New Bern.

This had been a day long anticipated by the Daughters of the Revolution in this State. More than seven years have passed since the idea was first contemplated of undertaking this definite patriotic work. The result has been satisfactory, for we worked cautiously, fully realizing history requires careful dealing, substantiating every statement with well authenticated facts.

This is the most representative monument ever placed in North Carolina, for the funds were raised by dimes, quarters and dollars—coming literally "from Murphy to Manteo"—"from Carolina to California." It is also the only one erected by women to the memory of heroic women in the State.

As much care was bestowed on the design of the tablet itself as has been required for the raising of the necessary funds. To Dr. Dillard and Mr. John J. Blair we are indebted for the original suggestions. Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey, of New York, showed great interest in the work, shipping a rare piece of his Colonial silver to Gorham's works in Providence, R. I., from which the tea pot in the center of the tablet was drawn. The cut of the lady's hand emptying the tea caddy was taken from the cover of the pamphlet concerning the Edenton Tea Party by Dr. Dillard, and presented to the North Carolina Historical Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition for distribution, and was the work of Miss May Beverly Dixon.

One thousand invitations were issued for this event. The exact date of the anniversary falling on Sunday caused the selection of the 24th. Out-of-town guests from our sister society, the D. A. R., as well as members from our own order, honored us with their presence.

The day dawned bright and clear after a night of heavy

rainfall, seemingly an auspicious omen. A large and representative audience filled the floor and galleries of the Hall of Representatives. The managers were: Mrs. Hubert Haywood, Miss Martha Helen Haywood, Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, assisted by Colonel Bennehan Cameron, representing the Society of the Cincinnati, and Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood, representing the Sons of the Revolution. Thirteen pages were chosen, representing different Daughters of the Revolution, and the Revolutionary ancestors upon whose services eligibility in the Society was based. Each manager and page wore a badge of buff and blue—the Society's colors. Mrs. Moffitt, the State Regent, presided, announcing each subject in order. The music was furnished by the band of the Blind Institution and the High School chorus.

After the exercises the audience descended to the rotunda below, where the thirteen little children (typifying the thirteen original States) unveiled the tablet, each pulling a tiny ribbon. These also were descendants of Revolutionary pariots.

Two photographs were taken in the rotunda—one before and one after the flag had been drawn from the tablet. Around and on the monument in the golden autumn sunshine, forming a pretty pyramid of unveilers, pages, Daughters and guests, an effective group was formed and the photographer a third time used his camera successfully.

That afternoon from four to six the halls and music room of the Yarborough Hotel were graciously tendered the Daughters of the Revolution for a reception. To this anniversary of the Edenton Tea Party informal invitations were extended to about one hundred persons—the members of the patriotic organizations, the officers of the Woman's Club and historians—who had so generously given their time and labor in our cause.

MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

1774—1908

Programme

of the

Unveiling and Dedication of the Tablet

in Memory of the

Fifty-one Signers

of the

Edenton Tea Party Resolves

in the

Capitol, Raleigh, North Carolina

Erected by the

North Carolina Society

of the

Daughters of the Revolution

October the twenty-fourth

Nineteen Hundred and Eight

Eleven-thirty a. m.

Pages

Descendants of Revolutionary Patriots

VAN DALEN STRONACH
FLEMING BATES SHERWOOD
BRANDON BRUNER
EUGENIA GRAHAM CLARK
EVELYN HYMAN JACKSON
JEAN THACKSTON
PAULINE HILL
BELLE MAYO CAMERON
BESSIE CAIN HINTON
EMILY BROWNING ADICKES
BETSY JOHN HAYWOOD
ANNIE CAROLINE WOOD
REBECCA BENNEHAN WOOD
NELLY BATTLE LEWIS
MARY BRYAN HOLLISTER
BESSIE HOLLISTER

Tablet to be unveiled by thirteen descendants of Revolutionary Patriots representing the Thirteen Colonies

KATHARINE HAYWOOD BAKER
JOHN BENBURY HAYWOOD
HARDY MURFREE RAY
BANKS DANIEL WITHERS
WILLIAM ISAAC PROCTOR
W. N. HARRELL SMITH, JR.
JONATHAN WORTH DANIELS
SAMUEL SPENCER JACKSON
ANNIE MOORE PARKER
LUCY HAWKINS HIGGS
ELIZABETH MURRAY CROSS
RANDOLPH HILL
GENE GRAY HECK

Managers

MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD
MISS MARTHA HELEN HAYWOOD
MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON
COLONEL BENNEHAN CAMERON
Representing the Society of the Cincinnati.
MR. MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD
Representing the Sons of the Revolution.

PROGRAMME.

Music—Star-Spangled Banner.

Prayer—Rev. Robert Brent Drane, D.D.,
Rector of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, North Carolina.

Introductory Address—Mrs. Patrick Matthew,
Regent Penelope Barker Chapter, D. R.

Music—Carolina, by High School Chorus.

Presentation of Tablet—Mrs. E. E. Moffitt,
Regent North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution.

Address of Acceptance—Hon. Francis D. Winston,
Lieutenant-Governor of North Carolina.

Address—Hon. Walter Clark,
Chief Justice Supreme Court of North Carolina.

Benediction—Dr. Benjamin F. Dixon.

Music—America, by High School Chorus.

Unveiling of Tablet in Rotunda of the Capitol.

Music.

PAGES

REPRESENTING MEMBERS OF N. C. D. R. DESCENDANTS OF REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOTS.

(Compiled by the Regent and the Genealogist.)

ADICKES, EMILY BROWNING. Raleigh, N. C.

Daughter of Henning F. Adickes and wife, Emily Browning (Clawson) Adickes. Representing Mrs. H. F. Adickes, member of N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Maj. Robert Crawford a soldier of the Revolution of Waxhaw, S. C.; under Sumter at Battle of Hanging Rock, S. C. Equipped a whole company and served during the whole of the Revolutionary War.

BRUNER, BRANDON. Raleigh, N. C.

Son of Thomas Kincaid Bruner and wife, Belle (Boyden) Bruner. Representing Mrs. Thomas K. Bruner, member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Col. James Martin (brother of Governor Alexander Martin), appointed Colonel of Guilford County, April 22, 1776. Commanded at Battle of Guilford Court-house—"the most important to the cause of America in the whole South."

CLARK, EUGENIA GRAHAM. Raleigh, N. C.

Daughter of Judge Walter Clark and wife, Susan Washington (Graham) Clark. Representing Mrs. Walter Clark, member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Gen. Joseph Graham, of Lincoln County, N. C.; Adjutant and afterward Major of the 4th Regiment of the N. C. Continental Line. May 1778, Major-General of 5th Division of N. C. Militia. Commanded in fifteen engagements in the Revolutionary War.

HINTON, BESSIE CAIN. Raleigh, N. C.

Daughter of Charles Hinton and wife, Bessie Cain Hinton. Representing Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton (her aunt), a member of the N. C. D. R. Descendant of Col. John Hinton (Patriot ancestor), delegate from Wake County to Provincial Congress held at Hillsboro, August 1775. Colonel of Minute Men of Wake County; member of Provincial Congress at Halifax April 4, 1776; served at Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. Died 1784. Also descendant of Col. Jonas Johnson, Patriot of Edgecombe County, N. C.

HOLLISTER, BESSIE HOOVER. New Bern, N. C.

Daughter of Charles Slover Hollister and wife, Mary (Bryan) Hollister. Representing Mrs. Charles Hollister, member of N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Gen. William Bryan, Lieutenant-Colonel of Minute Men, Craven County, N. C., 1775; member of Provincial Congress at Halifax April 4, 1776; served as General in the Revolution.

HOLLISTER, MARY BRYAN. New Bern, N. C.

Daughter of Charles Slover Hollister and wife, Mary (Bryan) Hollister. Representing Mrs. Charles Hollister, member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Gen. William Bryan, Lieutenant-Colonel of Minute Men, of New Bern District, 1775; member of Provincial Congress at Halifax, April 4, 1776; served as General in the Revolution.

HAYWOOD (BETSY JOHN), ELIZA EAGLES. Raleigh, N. C.

Daughter of Dr. Hubert Haywood and wife, Emily Ryan (Benbury) Haywood. Representing Mrs. Hubert Haywood, member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Col. William Haywood, appointed on Committee of Safety, Halifax District, 1775; Provincial Congress at Halifax April 4, 1776; member of Constitutional Convention, Halifax, April 13, 1776. Also descendant of Gen. Thomas Benbury, Brig.-Gen. William Skinner and Col. John Pugh Williams.

HILL, PAULINE, Raleigh, N. C.

Daughter of Daniel Harvey Hill and wife, Pauline (White) Hill. Representing Mrs. D. H. Hill (her deceased grandmother) and former Regent of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of William Hill, Colonel of South Carolina Militia, Hill's Iron Works, York District, S. C.; participated in battle of Hanging Rock, S. C., August 6, 1780. Also descendant of Gen. Joseph Graham, of Lincoln County, who served in fifteen engagements in the Revolutionary War.

LEWIS, CORNELIA BATTLE, Raleigh, N. C.

Daughter of Dr. Richard Henry Lewis and wife, Mary Long Gordon, of Virginia. Representing the Secretary of the "Edenton Tea Party of 1774." Lineal descendant of Winifred Wiggans Hoskins, of Edenton, N. C., the wife of Richard Hoskins, a brave and zealous Patriot who served in the Revolution until its close.

JACKSON, EVELYN HYMAN, Raleigh, N. C.

Daughter of Herbert Worth Jackson and wife, Annie Hyman (Philips) Jackson. Representing Mrs. E. E. Moffitt (her grandmother), member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Col. Archibald Murphey, Major and Lieutenant-Colonel N. C. Militia, member of Committee of Safety, 1776, Orange County, N. C. Also descendant of Col. William Burt, of Nash County, and Judge Samuel Spencer, of Anson County, N. C., (Revolutionary Patriots).

PICKELL, VIRGINIA BOLLING HOLLADAY, Raleigh.

Daughter of J. M. Pickell and wife, Julia Bolling (Holladay). Representing her grandmother, Mrs. A. Q. Holladay (deceased), former Vice-Regent of N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Bollings, Holladays, Lewises, etc., of Virginia, also of Col. Richard Randolph, of "Curles," on the James, Virginia.

SHERWOOD, FLEMING BATES, Raleigh, N. C.

Son of Francis Webber Sherwood and wife, Mary Priscilla (Bates) Sherwood. Representing Mrs. F. W. Sherwood, member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Maj. James Moore, of Pennsylvania. Was first Captain 7th Co., 4th Battalion, under Col. Anthony Wayne (1776); participated in the battles of Brandywine, Trenton, Princeton, etc. Was promoted Major 1777. Fought at Valley Forge, Yorktown, serving through the whole war.

STRONACH, VAN DALEN, Raleigh, N. C.

Son of Alexander Barron Stronach and wife, Mary Augustine (Cooke) Stronach. Representing Mrs. A. B. Stronach, member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Capt. Richard Donaldson Cooke, Captain in the 9th Regiment N. C. Continental Line from November 28, 1776, to January, 1778.

THACKSTON, JEAN, Raleigh, N. C.

Daughter of John W. Thackston and wife, Annie (Beckwith) Thackston. Representing Mrs. J. W. Thackston, member of N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Sergt. John Beckwith of the Connecticut Continental Line (1776); Lieutenant, 1777; Captain, 1778.

WOOD, ANNIE CAROLINE, Edenton, N. C.

Daughter of John Wood and wife, Bessie Martin Wood. Representing Miss Sophie Wood, member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Gen. Isaac Gregory, of Pasquotank County, member of Committee of Safety, 1776; member of Constitutional Convention at Halifax, November 12, 1776; Colonel of 2d Regiment, afterwards promoted to General.

WOOD, REBECCA BENNEHAN, Edenton, N. C.

Daughter of Frank Wood and wife, Rebecca Bennehan (Collins) Wood. Representing Mrs. W. D. Pruden (her aunt), member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Charles Moore, Secretary to Military Organizations of Perquimans County, N. C.; member of Provinical Congress at Halifax, N. C., April 4, 1776.

UNVEILERS.

BAKER, KATHERINE BOYLAN HAYWOOD. Born March 24, 1901.

Daughter of Benjamin Whiteley Baker and wife, Katherine Boylan (Haywood) Baker. Representing Martha Helen Haywood (her aunt), member of N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Col. William Haywood, member of Committee of Safety of Halifax County, N. C., 1775; of Provincial Congress at Halifax, April, 1776, also November, 1776, which formed the Constitution.

CAMERON, BELLE MAYO. Born 1900.

Daughter of Bennehan Cameron and wife, Sallie (Mayo) Cameron. Representing Mrs. Annie (Shepherd) Graham, member of the N. C. D. R., descendant of Capt. John Daves, of the Second North Carolina Continentals. Active at Battle of Stony Point, New York, etc.

CROSS, ELIZABETH MURRAY. Born July 3, 1901. Raleigh, N. C.

Daughter of John William Cross and wife, Carrie (Murray) Cross. Representing Mrs. John W. Cross, member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Capt. Richard Donaldson Cooke, Captain in 9th Regiment N. C., Continental Line from November 28, 1776 to January, 1778. Also surgeon in the army.

DANIELS, JONATHAN WORTH. Born April 26, 1902.

Son of Josephus Daniels and wife, Adelaide Worth (Bagley). Representing Mrs. Adelaide Bagley, member of N. C. D. R. Descendant of Col. Archibald Murphey (Patriot ancestor), Maj. and Lieut. Col. N. C. Militia; member of Committee of Safety for Orange County, N. C.

HECK, GENE GRAY. Born July 24, 1897. Richmond.

Daughter of George Callendine Heck and wife, Eugene (Gray). Representing Mrs. Mary Louise (Heck) Pace, member of the N. C. D. R. Descendant of Johan Yost Heck, born in Berks County, Penn., 1754, served in Pennsylvania Rifles 1776, fought at Long Island, White Plains and Brandywine. Also descendant of Mrs. Kerenhappuch Turner, the heroine at Guilford Court-house, N. C.

HAYWOOD, JOHN BENBURY. Born December 12, 1895. Raleigh, N. C.

Son of Dr. Hubert Haywood and wife, Emily Ryan (Benbury) Haywood. Representing Mrs. Hubert Haywood, member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Gen. Thomas Benbury, member of Provincial Congress, New Bern, Aug. 25, 1774 and 1776, Committee of Safety of Edenton District. Delegate to Congress at Halifax Nov. 12, 1776. Also descendant of Col. Wm. Haywood of Edgecombe, Brig.-Gen. William Skinner and Capt. Jacob Turner of 3d Regiment.

HIGGS, LUCY HAWKINS. Born October 3, 1896. Raleigh, N. C.

Daughter of Sherwood Higgs and wife, Lucy (Hawkins) Higgs. Representing Mrs. Sherwood Higgs, member of the N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Col. Philemon Hawkins, of Bute (afterwards divided into Warren and Franklin counties in 1799). Member of Provincial Congress at Halifax April 4, 1776; member of Constitutional Convention, Halifax County, N. C., November 12, 1776.

HILL, RANDOLPH. Born August 21, 1903. Raleigh, N. C.

Daughter of Daniel Harvey Hill and wife, Pauline (White) Hill. Representing Mrs. D. H. Hill (deceased). Lineal descendant of

William Hill (1740-1816), of Hills Iron Works, York District, S. C., Colonel of S. C. Militia. In battle of Hanging Rock, S. C., Aug. 6, 1780. Also descendant of Gen. Joseph Graham, of Lincoln County.

JACKSON, SAMUEL SPENCER. Born January 26, 1902.

Son of Herbert Worth Jackson and wife, Annie Hyman (Philips). Representing Mrs. Elvira E. Moffitt, a member of the N. C. D. R. Descendant of Judge Samuel Spencer, of Anson County, N. C. (born 1738, died 1794). Member of the Provincial Council of Safety 1775, Provincial Congress, New Bern, 1774. Also descendant of Col. Archibald Murphey (1742-1817), of Orange County, N. C., Major and afterward Lieutenant-Colonel of N. C. Militia.

PARKER, ANNIE MOORE. Born May 10, 1905.

Daughter of Bartholomew Moore Parker and wife, Elise (Stamps). Representing Mrs. Annie Moore Parker, member of N. C. D. R., descendant of Nathan Boddie, of Edgecombe County; member of Provincial Congress at Halifax April 4, 1776.

PROCTOR, WILLIAM ISAAC. Born March 12, 1895.

Son of Ivan Mariott Proctor and wife, Lucy (Biggs) Proctor. Representing Mrs. Ivan M. Proctor, member of N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Elisha Battle, of Edgecombe; member of Assembly 1771; Provincial Congress, Halifax, April 4, 1776, and delegate to Constitutional Convention at Halifax, N. C., November 12, 1776.

RAY, HARDY MURFREE. Born July 22, 1900.

Son of John E. Ray and wife, Finie Carter Ray. Representing Mrs. John E. Ray, member of N. C. D. R. Descendant of Lieut.-Col. Hardy Murfree, of Hertford County, N. C., who served in 2d Regiment N. C. Continental Troops. Prominent at Stony Point, N. Y., and founder of the town of Murfreesboro, Tenn.

SMITH, WILLIAM NATHAN HARRELL. Born February 10, 1898. Raleigh, N. C.

Son of Edward Chambers Smith and wife, Annie Badger (Faison) Smith. Representing Mrs. Ed. Chambers Smith, member of N. C. D. R. Lineal descendant of Col. Richard Cogdell, of Craven County, N. C.; member of Provincial Congress, New Bern, N. C., Aug. 25, 1774; member of Committee of Safety for New Bern District 1775.

WITHERS, WILLIAM BANKS. Born October 2, 1901.

Son of William Alphonso Withers and wife, Elizabeth Witherspoon Daniel. Representing Mrs. W. A. Withers (deceased), member of N. C. D. R. Descendant of Rev. John Witherspoon, "The Signer" from New Jersey.

DR. DRANE'S PRAYER

AT THE DEDICATION OF THE EDENTON TEA PARTY TABLET.

Dr. Robert Brent Drane, of Edenton, pronounced the dedicatory prayer at the dedication and unveiling of the Edenton Tea Party Tablet in the State Capitol Saturday. His prayer was as follows:

O God, whose days are without end and whose mercies can not be numbered, we humbly and heartily thank Thee that, although Thou hast made our days as it were a span long and our age is even as nothing in respect to Thee, yet to us Thou hast given an inward honor of falling into naught and hast promised, through Thy Son, an endless life and a glorious immortality. Thou hast taught us that Thou requirest the past: it is because Thou dost promise a future. We confess that we are too often content to live in a sordid present; that Thy people of this commonwealth have done amiss in neglecting the history of this land to which our forefathers came as strangers and pilgrims with charters of civil and religious liberty, and with the high purpose of acknowledging Thee alone as Lord and Master.

We praise Thee, Lord God, that Thou hast not forsaken us; that Thou hast put it into the hearts of an ever increasing number of Thy people to learn and to publish to the world the noble deeds of the fathers. Inspire us more and more with a zeal according to knowledge in their behalf, and we pray Thee, before whose eyes all history is open, to reward all seekers after truth and give us grace to profit by their labors.

We invoke Thy special blessing upon Thy Daughters who, this day, are blazoning to North Carolina, and to the world the patriotism of those Edenton women who were brave in troublous times, and self-denying in the great cause of American Independence.

O, Thou, who didst publish in all the world, wheresoever the Gospel is preached, the good deed of that woman who anointed the Saviour's feet, grant that the memorial of those women whom we now commemorate by this tablet, may be more enduring than brass; that our people may accord to them the high praise, "They did what they could and did it well," and may we all be moved to go and do likewise, as Thy providence may direct.

That these memories of the past may enrich our present and make us do better service of our country and of our country's God; and that at last we may be gathered into the company of the great good, Thy martyrs and saints of all ages and all lands, we pray, through Jesus Christ our Lord. **Amen.**

PENELOPE BARKER

ADDRESS BY MRS. PATRICK MATTHEW AT THE UNVEILING OF THE EDENTON TEA PARTY TABLET.

Madame Regent of the North Carolina Society and Daughters of the Revolution, Ladies and Gentlemen:

An exquisite compliment was tendered me with the invitation as Regent of Penelope Barker Chapter to participate in the ceremonies attending the unveiling of a memorial commemorative of one of the most important political and patriotic events connected with the Revolutionary period.

Through the untiring efforts of the ladies of the Raleigh Chapter, inspired by State pride and supported by their love of historical perpetuation, to-day the Old North State will receive a priceless gift, and the walls of our Capitol be decorated with an ever-enduring tablet of bronze, a silent teacher of the greatness of our women more than a century ago and to point to each succeeding generation that in extremity of need to "go thou and do likewise."

It is with great pride I tell you that among the members of the Penelope Barker Daughters, eight are descendants of the signers of old St. Paul's and with (I do not think there is an exception) all are connected with the signers of the Tea-party Constitution.

"My heart swells with gladness whenever I name them."

It is also my privilege to dwell upon a few instances in the life of one of America's greatest patriotic lights, a leader and teacher of loyal womanhood, wife, mother, and with these elements of Christian love and obedience she became a jewel among her sex, a womanly woman of strength and vigor,—blessed be the memory of Penelope Barker.

PENELOPE BARKER.

June 17, 1728. October 15, 1794.

When the Georges ruled all England,
And England ruled the seas,
She thought to weight her treasury
With tax from the colonies.

No home rule did she give to them,
In Parliament no seat,
She never thought, perhaps,
From England they'd retreat.

The time soon came, the men to war
Marched forth to win the siege.
We shall be free from king and crown!
From haughty, lordly liege.

The women said, "God bless you!
Where'er you fight and roam,
We will bear our burdens,
With our children here at home."

In the Province of Carolina,
In Edenton the town,
There lived Penelope Barker,
A woman of renown.

Of Samuel and Elizabeth Paget
She was one of daughters three,
And to add to the family circle,
Three brothers also had she.

In seventeen hundred and twenty-eight,
The summer montn of June,
The seventeenth day, Penelope
Raised her first infant tune.

Elizabeth, her sister, was
Oldest of the three
Daughters of said parents,
Of the Paget family tree.

Penelope married Craven
In her youthful age;
He died leaving her no issue
To inscribe on the record page.

Elizabeth Paget married
Mr. Hodgson, the same
Whom Penelope afterwards
Took his suit and name.

Two children blessed this union,
She was not a mother before;
Thomas died in Halifax,
November 20th, 1774.

Together these two children
Under the chancel of St. Paul's
Lie waiting to join their mother
When the Heavenly Father calls.

Mr. Hodgson she survived.
Left a widow, and alone,
She married Thomas Barker,
And graced his stately home.

Thomas Barker was a lawyer
Of repute and ability,
And a grand woman did he wed
When he married Penelope.

Nathaniel, Thomas, Penelope,
Were the infants born to them;
But soon the Shepherd took them
To His own holy realm.

Her home was on Broad street,
To the southeast corner of Queen,
Extending through to Court,
Thence south'ard to the Green.

How far south I can not say,
Yet this I know quite well—
On the spot where's now the Woodard House
Is where she once did dwell.

Her house was built of brick and wood,
And bears this early date,
On record in the structure,
Seventeen hundred forty-eight.

Long years of stern oppression
By kings across the sea
Wore out the strength of sire and son,
They would fight and thus be free.

Mrs. Barker called a meeting
To abandon drinking tea;
The picture of the party
Is here for all to see.

In the house of Elizabeth King
This political body met,
Of ladies numbering fifty-one,
An independent set.

They drew a constitution
  Worthy of a judge;
They'd drink no tea, they'd give it up!
  Without a pang or grudge.

October 25th, 1774,
  Was the night without a murmur.
They did their names inscribe,
  As has been said before.

They told the men of valor
  That they were women true;
They'd see the Revolution
  To victory fought through.

Mrs. Barker was the leader
  Of the Revolution band
Of women, which antedated
  Old Boston's noble stand.

The men to arms! The guns were fired!
  The British entered Edenton;
They found no quarter and no men,
  Only women's frowns.

They sought for booty far and wide
  For cattle and for steed,
Anything to satisfy
  England's tyrant's greed.

They boldly took her horses
  And to her coach did hitch,
But Penelope espied them
  And, as mad as any witch,

She snatched a keen-edged blade
  And to the stables ran,
And with a slash she cut
  The traces like a man.

Her coach was white,
  Emblazoned with arms,
In which the fair Penelope
  Had graced with many charms.

The soldiers were but human,
They could not her resist;
So, we conclude, her horses
Her acceptance they did insist.

But like the fragrant flowers,
All things sweet must fade;
She died leaving a record
Of glory she had made.

The fifteenth of October,
Seventeen hundred ninety-four,
She passed away to her reward
For the noble life she bore.

* * * * * * *

For authority of these records,
Beyond doubt they are true,

* * * * * * *

Two Daughters of the Revolution
Searched the Paget Bible through.
"Old Time shall end our story,
But no time, if we end well,
Will end our glory."

* * * * * * *

By courtesy of Miss Margaret Bond,
Descendant of the same
Paget family from whom Penelope,
Though times changed her name.

Edenton, N. C., October 25, 1907.

PRESENTATION OF TABLET.

ADDRESS BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT, REGENT OF NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Friends and Citizens:

We have met together to-day to commemorate an event that took place one hundred and thirty-four years ago, October 25, 1774. It was the time when the Colonies were suffering from oppressive taxation and bound by such stringent laws that endurance ceased to be a virtue, that the people arose in their might and power determined to throw off the

British yoke. Even the women of the time exercised such influence as they possessed to give weight to the cause. Many instances of their daring and heroism have been recorded or handed down by tradition. Of one especial incident we have undoubted authority, which took place in *Edenton*, North Carolina, when fifty-one of those high-metaled dames of that historic town met together on October 25, 1774, to endorse the resolutions that had been passed by the Provincial Congress the previous August, (Colonial Records, Vol. IX, p. 1041,) declaring against the unjust taxation forced upon them by England.

This Congress which met at New Bern, N. C., was the first assemblage independent of royal authority. "It was not a conflict of arms or force, but it was the first act of that great drama in which battles and blood formed only subordinate parts" (Wheeler). These fifty-one heroic women of the Province met to testify their "sincere adherence to such resolves as appeared to affect the peace and happiness of their country for the public good and subscribing to a paper as 'a witness of their fixed intention and determination to buy no more tea or wear any more British cloth' until the tax was removed from these necessities." This daring and heroic stand, so interesting and even so fascinating, the wonder is that it has not held a place on the page of every Revolutionary history. But has nót this been the case in America that the lives of the generality of women are not deemed important enough to trace even in the histories of their distinguished sons? But it is not yet too late to blazon the patriotism of these ladies beside that of the heroes of the Revolution, and with this end in view the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, have bent their efforts for several years past to raise sufficient funds wherewith to erect a memorial tablet in their honor. This bronze tablet which will be unveiled to-day, and presented to the State of North Carolina, recites the legend of the Edenton Tea Party. The inscription as it stands on the imperishable bronze reads thus:

ERECTED BY THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF THE
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
TO
THE FIFTY-ONE LADIES OF EDENTON,
WHO, BY THEIR PATRIOTISM, ZEAL AND EARLY
PROTEST AGAINST BRITISH AUTHORITY
ASSISTED OUR FOREFATHERS IN THE MAKING OF THIS
REPUBLIC AND OUR COMMONWEALTH

The authorities proving the incident to be true beyond doubt have been verified by a London paper, the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* of January 16th, 1775, in the British Museum, and the American Archives, 4th series, Vol. 1, 891.

It may be admissible to digress from my subject for a few moments to give a short account of the beginnings of the patriotic organizations which led to the establishment of the North Carolina Society. It will be recalled by many who are here to-day that the idea of forming patriotic societies was conceived during the great Centennial of American Independence at Philadelphia in 1876 and held in a city so full of historic memories of the struggle for liberty. The eyes of the nation were opened to the great strides made in a century and the possibilities for greater progress. The need of organizations for the preservation of relics was most apparent, and from the inception of this idea has grown The Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, and Daughters of the Revolution, which to-day are carrying out the aims of their respective constitutions. The general Society was founded October 11, 1890, and organized August 20, 1891, under the name "Daughters of the American Revolution," and was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members becoming dissatisfied with a mistake made regarding the terms of entrance, withdrew from it, and in 1891 formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been lineal descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence. Though the mistake made was adjusted in 1905, these organizations have not yet united, but continue their patriotic work with the utmost unanimity of feeling, still pursuing and still achieving the objects that lie nearest and that call for their help and influence. The headquarters of the General Society, Daughters of the Revolution, is in New York, and has branches in many States.

The objects of the Society, as stated in the Constitution, are "to perpetuate the patriotic spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence; to commemorate prominent events connected with the War of the Revolution; to collect, publish and preserve the rolls, records and historic documents relating to that period; to encourage the study of the country's history and to promote sentiments of friendship and common interest among the members of the Society."

The North Carolina Branch was organized in Raleigh, October 19, 1896, the anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis; and a constitution and by-laws adopted on April 6, 1897, its declaration upon honor being that "if admitted to membership in this Society, I will endeavor to promote the purpose of its institution and observe the constitution and by-laws."

Mrs. Spier Whitaker, a lineal descendant of William Hooper, a signer of the National Declaration of Independence, was most fittingly chosen

as Regent, and she with her co-workers steadily labored with unabating interest to promote the objects stated in the constitution, especially to commemorate the revolutionary events connected with North Carolina. The first four or five years were given over to the study and reading of State history; by sketches by the members of the ancestors in right of whose services they derived their eligibility; memorializing Congress in behalf of the Nash and Davidson monuments; also for the government ownership of Fort Ticonderoga; petitioning the State Legislature to erect a fire-proof building as a Hall of History in which to deposit and preserve the State Library and other priceless records now continually in danger of destruction by fire; the offering yearly a medal for the best article on North Carolina history by a student of the public schools. These and other matters germane to the Society claimed its attention, trusting to a prosperous future to bring to pass these ideals.

At the December meeting in 1900 an article from the pen of Dr. Richard Dillard was read concerning the "Edenton Tea Party of October 25, 1774," and our Regent, Mrs. Whitaker, suggested as an object peculiarly appropriate to an association of women that this Society erect some worthy memorial to these "too much ignored ladies of the historic Tea Party." Surely what event in our history was more worthy of commemoration than this heroic act of women which took place seven months before that of Mecklenburg; nearly twenty months before that of St. Paul's Vestry in Edenton, and nearly two years before the immortal National Declaration?

This suggestion, supported by such vital facts, met with enthusiastic approval by the Society. The ways and means for creating a fund for this purpose were discussed and a conclusion arrived at to publish "important events in our State history," and publish these monographs under the name and title of the "North Carolina Booklet" at $1.00 the year. The idea of publishing these monographs, which originated with Miss Martha Haywood, met with unanimous approval, and she, with Mrs. Hubert Haywood, (so nearly related to the early settlers of Edenton and conversant with its history,) consented to undertake the management of the BOOKLET, the Regent and members of the Society standing as sponsors for them in this patriotic movement. The Society furnished the necessary equipment of stationery and postage and other expenses necessary, and each member lent a willing hand in securing subscriptions. The editors met with most flattering encouragement from the best historians in the State, who generously responded to their request in furnishing sketches on important events which took place in North Carolina before and during the Revolutionary War. To-day the BOOKLET has a fine collection of as many as eighty-five sketches printed on its pages, treating of many different phases of our State's history.

After two years of arduous labor these editors retired from the management, but not until they had placed the BOOKLET on a good basis. They turned into the treasury $217.00, the profits of two years work, giving their services entirely without remuneration, and placed this in bank as a nucleus for the memorial fund. Their resignation was regretfully granted by the whole Society, who felt a deep sense of gratitude for the work they had carried on so successfully. The Society then elected Mrs. E. E. Moffitt and Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton as editors, who have continued the work under the same conditions and have labored assiduously to keep it up to the standard achieved by the former editors, and to-day it is yet spreading its history and biography in this and other States. Though the subscription list is not as satisfactory as one could wish, yet it justifies its continuance, and while our contributors continue in the generous mood that has characterized them through the seven and a half years of its existence, we will be encouraged to still achieve and still pursue.

To-day we have the proud privilege of presenting to the State of North Carolina the profits of the first four years realized from the publication of the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, at a cost of four hundred and fifty dollars; in the form of a bronze tablet of exquisite workmanship, which will ornament the rotunda of our beautiful Capitol building.

'Tis to the writers of articles on State history we owe the greatest debt of gratitude, for it is through them that the BOOKLET has commanded the attention it has received. These writers have culled from ponderous volumes, rare documents and other authentic sources, and put in convenient and readable form much history not easily available to the general public. All of which was done to aid the Society in its endeavor to inspire greater State pride.

To our advertisers we also owe a debt of gratitude, for through their combined help the rough places have been made smoother. Our past Regents, Mrs. Whitaker, Mrs. D. H. Hill, deceased, of blessed memory, and Mrs. Thomas K. Bruner, whose names are inscribed in the publication, have been important factors in the success of the BOOKLET and other important undertakings of the Society.

Voicing the sentiments of our organization, the administration of these ladies was entirely and happily satisfactory, besides the honor reflected on it by its founder, Mrs. Whitaker, who so largely inherited the patriotism, daring and zeal of her lineal ancestor, Hon. Wm. Hooper, "the signer," and to her successor, Mrs. Daniel Harvey Hill, a lineal descendant of Gen. Joseph Graham, the famous Revolutionary soldier of brave old Mecklenburg. Mrs. Hill's demise was a sad stroke to our organization and mourned by us all; truly can it be said of her that "homeward serenely she walked with God," leaving a benediction sensibly felt by us all to this day. This vacancy was then filled by

Mrs. T. K. Bruner by the unanimous vote of the members; earnest and faithful to her duty, this with her eloquence won our esteem and applause. Mrs. Bruner inherited naturally great patriotism from her lineal ancestor, Col. James Martin, distinguished at Guilford Court-house. Mrs. Bruner resigned in 1906 on account of feeble health, to the sincere regret of her co-workers, both here and by the General Society, who had learned to appreciate her talents.

The field for historic research is broad and widening each day, and the great search for the truth in history is now world-wide. It will be the endeavor of the editors of the BOOKLET to receive for its columns only such articles that can be substantiated by a wise advisory board.

To-day the unveiled tablet will bear silent testimony to the combined effort of writers, advertisers, subscribers, and a concert, given by the boys of the Blind Institution, who so cheerfully aided with their talents (under the supervision of Mrs. John E. Ray, a zealous member of our Society,) in raising funds for its erection. There is still in the treasury a substantial surplus to be devoted to such other patriotic purpose as may best commend itself and that may bear witness to North Carolina's part in the great strife for independence, and to memoralize the deeds of men and women whose lives should be held up as fit subjects for emulation by coming generations. Momentous problems await this nation. The strides of science and the passing of the dark ages of strife demand the thought of strong men, of strong minds, and true hearts.

And while endeavoring to rescue from the past great events, the questions of the present must not be ignored.

Shall we not lend our energies and influence to the Great Peace and Arbitrament Movement that is endeavoring to induce the nations to war no more? Looking forward to that glad day when "He shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE

BY LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR FRANCIS D. WINSTON AT THE UNVEILING OF THE EDENTON TEA-PARTY TABLET.

In the absence of the Governor, in the name of the people of North Carolina, I accept your tablet.

In assuming the duties of his position, one of the able presidents of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, delivered an interesting and stirring address on the subject, "A Plea for a Larger State Pride."

You have opened the way for stimulating a larger State pride in placing here a permanent memorial of one of our most pointed Revolutionary events.

The Daughters of the Revolution are most happy in the striking incident they have selected, to mark their first contribution to the tablets that will adorn these walls.

Heretofore, on the very spot in that historic old town, where your Revolutionary sisters passed those bold resolves, so momentous in the cause of liberty, patriotic citizens have set up a bronze "tea kettle," properly inscribed.

In a corner of a brick store not a hundred yards distant a marble tablet records the fact that Joseph Hewes, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was for many years a merchant there. In any direction one may look in Edenton the eye will fall upon some spot memorable in Colonial times.

The county of Bertie, unusually rich in historic tradition and Revolutionary and Colonial facts, takes marked interest in the occasion. The illustrious lady who presided over the Edenton Tea Party was not native and to the manner born in the old precinct, yet she did the next best thing a woman can do who is not born there, and that is to marry a son of the county. Penelope Eelsback first married John Hodgson, a leading attorney of Bertie County. Upon his death she married James Craven, a descendant of the Earl of Craven, one of the Lords Proprietors, who at the May term, 1744, of Bertie Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions produced "to this court a license from His Excellency, the Governor, licensing and empowering him to practice as an attorney and plead the law in any court of judicature in the Province." His death occurring, this patriotic lady again looked to Bertie County for a helpmeet and defender, and married Thomas Barker, of near old St. John's, Bertie Precinct, a distinguished lawyer, a student of the Middle Temple, London, and one of the four Commissioners appointed by the General Assembly at New Bern in 1746 "to revise and print the several Acts of Assembly in force in this Province." With this matrimonial training it is not surprising that Penelope Barker should lead her sisters in drafting those resolutions so directly antagonistic to royal authority. Theirs was not the frantic heroism of the Crusader, nor the blind zeal of the Maid of Orleans responding to the whisper of her voices; but they were calmly adding to the mighty volume of protest that ended in free America. Their deed must not pass away. Their names must not wither.

This tablet at this central point will give larger evidence of their patriotism and daring.

I do not need to recite the important and daring part taken by our women in the Revolutionary drama.

I can only urge you and those whose purposes and plans are alike patriotic to put forth greater efforts to mark these pivotal points in our State life.

Of late we have erected many monuments in different sections of our State in memory of our mighty dead and of a dear and imperishable cause. But our good State has so many historic places, that a thousand monuments and tablets scarce would mark them all.

I repeat again that the work of properly perpetuating these glories devolves on your honorable Society and others of like character; and under your sympathetic and wise guiding the people of North Carolina and the world will come not only to know who we are, but will come to know why we are who we are.

In May last it was my privilege to attend in pilgrimage with the Diocese of East Carolina, a memorial celebration of the First Christian Baptism on our shores.

The meeting was held on Roanoke Island at old Fort Raleigh, where the landing of the English in 1585 occurred.

The patriotic Society—the Roanoke Colony Association—which owns this historic site, has erected a suitable memorial and has set up markers around the boundaries of the fort.

There, too, it is the purpose of the Bishop and clergy of that Diocese to erect a cross to commemorate the first baptism had there.

Permit me to assign you a duty in connection with the first landing on our shores. Our people have not impressed the nation with the importance of this first landing of the Anglo-Saxon in America. The celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing at Jamestown was fittingly and successfully had last year; the event then celebrated was no more significant than these landings on Roanoke Island.

Raleigh's colony was the first planting of the English race in America. It came for that purpose. The dream of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, stepbrother of Sir Walter Raleigh, was a commercial and an agricultural state. Others had come before, but not to plant a race.

The Norsemen had come across frozen seas with the daring and endurance of demigods. They sought only adventure and conquest. The Spaniard had come, but only for love of gold. Cortez had conquered Mexico and Pizarro Peru.

The Spanish flag waved and the Spanish cross glistened on the peaks of the Andes and the shores of the Pacific, but nowhere in the New World, until Raleigh sent his colony to Roanoke Island, was heard the cry of an infant child of pure Caucasian blood, proclaiming the birth of the white race on the Western Hemisphere.

The Norsemen and the Spaniards came with sword and cannon, with cross and crucifix, to conquer and plunder. Soldiers and sailors, priests and friars, adventurers and plunderers, pirates of the sea and robbers

of the land, forsaking wives, children and home, they sought in the New World new fields for lust, avarice and conquest. They left their women behind and took to wife the savage women of America. Behold the result to-day in the hybrid races of Mexico, and of Central and South America! Spanish fathers! Indian mothers! Hybrid children! Homes of lust and tyranny! Immeasurable inequalities between father, mother and children!

Raleigh knew better; scholar, soldier, orator, statesman and philosopher, he knew that the English race, with its splendid civilization, could be transplanted to America by transplanting the English home. He knew that civilization everywhere is built upon the home and that every home is what the mother makes it.

He filled his ships with women as well as men; he sent out colonies, not pirates; he planted in America, not English forts, but the English race. The governor of the colony set the example of taking his wife and family, among them a grown daughter, Eleanor, a young wife and expectant mother. Here was life in all its gentleness and fullness. What need for guns and cannon here! When the infant cry of Virginia Dare was heard on Roanoke Island, it sounded around the world, and called across the seas all the millions who since have come to build the American nation. It was a new cry in a new world; a mightier sound than the clash of sword, or the roar of cannon; a sweeter call than the vesper bell of hooded priest with his vows of celibacy.

That baby cry sounded the death-knell of Spanish power in the universe and the final overthrow everywhere of kingcraft, priestcraft, and lustcraft. It told anew the old story of life; how every life, not only of the individual human being, but also of races, nations and civilizations, must begin with and be dependent on a little child; a little child born in lawful wedlock, a pledge of holy love between man and woman, equally matched and equally sharing the joys and responsibilities of life.

This was the lesson of Raleigh's colonies; the lesson that the Spaniard never learned in all his heroic efforts to conquer and possess the New World. In Spanish conquest and colonization no part was played by women and children. It was a jungle struggle for the mastery between human animals.

In English conquest and colonization, women and children went hand in hand with men. Wherever the English race has gone, to Roanoke Island, to Lucknow, to Gettysburg, a little child has led them; led them in affection, in memory, in inspiration to deeds of daring and fortitude. Among all the little children of our race, none stands out more pathetic, more dramatic, more significant of mighty events than the child of Raleigh's colony, the first Anglo-Saxon born in America, little Virginia Dare, native of North Carolina.

I urge your Society to arrange for placing here a suitable tablet to commemorate her birth.

And I will go further and impose on you a greater duty in a wider field. The outside world knows but little of this landing on North Carolina shores. The vast importance of it can not be over-estimated. It was a scene worthy of the poet's pen, and the artist's brush.

At your next meeting I urge that you begin a movement for giving the birth of Virginia Dare its proper world-wide significance. I shall not go into particulars. In this movement you should enlist your sister societies of the nation. As the event was of national importance, so should its commemoration receive national encouragement and support.

A picture of her christening should hang in our nation's capitol, with mother and babe and minister of God as the central figures, and around them grouped the little colony, standing on the shore of the island; to the east the deep blue ocean stretching far away, on its ever restless bosom an endless procession of ships bringing races and nations from the old world to new life, liberty, freedom; to the west endless multitudes of Anglo-Saxons peopling the continent and making indeed a new world; and underneath this inscription,

"And a little child shall lead them."

CHIEF JUSTICE CLARK'S ADDRESS

AT THE UNVEILING OF THE TABLET TO THE LADIES OF THE EDENTON TEA PARTY IN THE STATE CAPITOL.

Mrs. Regent and N. C. Daughters of the Revolution, Ladies and Gentlemen:

After the two admirable speeches we have had from the ladies, it is perilous for a mere man to attempt to follow.

Beautifully located upon Edenton Bay, where the noble Chowan River and the Albemarle come together, the historic city of Edenton is no less famous for the patriotism, intelligence and culture of her people. And it has always been so. When the great struggle for the right of a free people to govern themselves, in their own way, was beginning, liberty had no more ardent supporters upon the continent than in Edenton. The British newspapers of that day universally declared that Great Britain could manage the men but for the independent spirit of the rebel women. And among the high-spirited independent ladies of America, none are entitled to precedence over the fifty-one ladies of Edenton who, on the 25th of October, 1774, enacted the patriotic scene which we have met to commemorate.

Among the men of Edenton were Joseph Hewes, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Governor Samuel Johnston, one of the first Governors of the State under the Republic, and many another whose name deserves preservation at the hands of posterity, but none more deserve it than these fifty-one ladies to whose memory we this day unveil this tablet.

Lord Byron said that fame depended less upon what a man does than upon his historian's style. There is this much truth in the sarcasm, that it is not sufficient to do great deeds, but they must be sufficiently and properly recorded. There was of a surety "many brave men before Agamemnon," but we know not who they were, nor what they did. The pen of Homer makes Agamemnon, king of men, the wise Nestor, the crafty Ulysses, the swift-footed Achilles, rash Hector, railing Thersites, venerable Priam, and many another essentially better known to us than most of the men whom we meet on our streets. The characters of his women, too, stand out as clear and individual as those drawn by Shakespeare. Who does not recall Andromache, her tender parting from Hector, and Cassandra, and that fair face,

> "Which launched a thousand ships
> And sacked the topmost towers of Troy."

But for the blind old bard, these would, as it were, have never lived for us. They would have gone down to dusty death unhonored and unknown.

North Carolina has known how to make history grandly. She has been careless to record it. Years before the Boston people, disguising themselves as Indians, threw the tea into the harbor, the people of Wilmington, in broad daylight, defied a British war vessel, refused to let the stamps be landed, and made the stamp officer take an oath not to exercise his office. Every history has pictures and an entertaining account of the Boston transaction, but what is ever said in a Northern history about our Wilmington patriots?

North Carolina at Halifax, April 12, 1776, was the first State to instruct its delegates in the Continental Congress to vote for independence. Only after the lapse of ninety-four years, in 1868, our Legislature bethought itself to put the date on our State flag. And to this day most of the histories give Virginia that credit, though she did not move instructions for independence till May 5, 1776, nearly a month later than this State.

The first victory in the Revolution won by the patriots was won at Moore's Creek, N. C., February 27, 1776, and solely by North Carolina troops. But so little care did we take of the fame of our gallant soldiers, that in recent years when a North Carolina Senator in Congress referred to Moore's Creek, Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, an

exceedingly well-informed man, and himself an historian, denied the fact and said that he had never heard of such a battle. Yet it was an important victory and had a decided effect upon the result of the great struggle.

And there was the immortal Declaration of Independence at Charlotte, more than a year before that at Philadelphia. We allowed more than fifty years to pass before we moved to vindicate our claims. Fortunately, many of the participants and witnesses were still alive and could substantiate the facts. Though the General Assembly put that on our flag in 1861, not till 1889, after one hundred and fourteen years had passed, did the State think to fix it in the minds of all by engraving the date upon our Great Seal. In these matters North Carolina has moved slowly indeed.

One would have thought, however, that the gallantry of the men of the State would have made them more mindful to put on record the patriotic event which we have met to commemorate. On 25th October, 1774, one hundred and thirty-four years ago to-morrow, fifty-one patriotic ladies of Edenton met and adopted resolutions to abstain from using not only tea on which the stamp tax was laid, but any British goods until the unjust and odious tax was repealed. It was a bold act, a brave act. It was treason, for it defied a law of Parliament. It was even more dangerous, for it assailed the profits of the British manufacturers for whose profits the Colonies were governed. It was an early use of the power of boycott, though that word was then unknown.

But a grateful State and people made no record of the event, though it attracted prompt attention in London. We owe to the files of the London newspapers the recovery of the resolutions and the names of the fair signers. In one only of these, the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, of 16 January, 1775, are the names of the fair and patriotic signers set out, though the incident itself is given and commented on in several of the London papers of that date. The names published are: Abigail Charlton, Mary Blount, F. Johnstone, Elizabeth Creacy, Margaret Cathcart, Elizabeth Patterson, Anne Johnstone, Jane Wellwood, Margaret Pearson, Mary Woolard, Penelope Dawson, Sarah Beasley, Jean Blair, Susannah Vail, Grace Clayton, Elizabeth Vail, Frances Hall, Anne Anderson, Mary Jones, Sarah Matthews, Anne Hall, Anne Haughton, Rebecca Bondfield, Elizabeth Beasley, Sarah Littlejohn, Mary Creacy, Penelope Barker, Ruth Benbury, Elizabeth P. Ormond, Sarah Howcott, M. Payne, Sarah Hoskins, Elizabeth Johnston, Mary Littledale, Mary Bonner, Sarah Valentine, Lydia Bonner, Elizabeth Crickett, Sarah Howe, Elizabeth Green, Lydia Bennett, Mary Ramsey, Marion Wells, Teresia Cunningham, Anne Horniblow, Elizabeth Roberts, Mary Hunter.

The number of signers is given in the paper as fifty-one, but the

above list has only forty-seven names; four of the fifty-one given were duplicated to make the number. Dr. Richard Dillard in his article on the Edenton Tea Party in that most valuable publication, the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, for August, 1901, supplies from tradition three of the omitted names, Elizabeth King, Isabella Johnston, Winifred Wiggins Hoskins.

Isabella Johnston was the sister of Governor Samuel Johnston, and was affianced to Joseph Hewes, a signer of the American Declaration of Independence. She died before marriage and he followed her broken-hearted to the grave. These fifty-one ladies constituted probably very nearly the entire female society of Edenton of that day, and their descendants are to be found scattered now throughout North Carolina and in many other States.

The house in which this historic event occurred passed through the Civil War, and was still standing as late as 1875 and was pointed out to visitors. It is a great misfortune that some patriotic society or the town itself did not think to buy the building and preserve it.

Some sixty-six years later, two-thirds of a century after the event, about 1830, W. T. Muse, a North Carolina officer in the United States Navy, found, by chance, a copy of the engraving of the memorable scene, in the Island of Minorca, while cruising in the Mediterranean. An oil painting made therefrom is in our State Library.

Proud as we are of the event itself, and proud as we are of this commemoration of it, there is this humiliation that the men of the State were not gallant enough to erect this memorial more than a century ago. The ladies, seeing that the memorial was more than a century overdue, were well justified in taking this step themselves. We owe the inception of this movement, of which this day is the successful culmination, to those two patriotic and public spirited ladies, Mrs. Dr. Hubert Haywood and Miss Martha Helen Haywood, the first editors of the BOOKLET. They have reflected added honors upon the distinguished families to which they belong. When they laid the burden down by resignation, it was taken up by the present distinguished Regent of the Society, Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, and her patriotic associate, Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, and others, and carried on to the successful completion of the work.

To the ladies of this Society, all of historic lineage and worthy of their lineage, North Carolina owes the placing of this bronze tablet in the rotunda of our capitol in perpetual memorial of this brave and fearless act of the noble women of Edenton in 1774.

In the rotunda are four niches for busts and eight spaces for bronze plaques. This plaque to the ladies of Edenton is not inappropriately the first to be placed. The State Historical Commission will next year place, with appropriate ceremonies, a marble bust of William A. Graham

in one of the niches. In the course of time, as I understand it, the commission will place in the other three niches busts of distinguished sons of the State. But seven spaces for bronze plaques remain unfilled. Is it not an appropriate time and place to suggest that the Cape Fear section, always patriotic, might well bestir itself to fill two spaces with bronze plaques, respectively to commemorate the destruction of the stamps at Wilmington in 1765, and the victory at Moore's Creek in 1776? Charlotte and Mecklenburg should certainly place a bronze tablet in memory of her immortal declaration. And Halifax might well follow with a tablet to the memory of the resolutions of 12 April, 1776. This would leave three spaces for other events deserving commemoration—one might commemorate the landing at Roanoke Island.

The Daughters of the Revolution have led the way with this tablet. As long as this Capitol shall stand on its foundations, as long as this tablet of bronze shall abide, there will be honor to the women of Edenton in 1774 who did this deed and to the women of North Carolina in 1908 who knew how to fitly commemorate it.

The patriotism that appreciates and records brave deeds falls short only of the patriotism that performs them and needs only opportunity to imitate and equal them.

THE ANNIVERSARY TEA.

By Mary Hilliard Hinton.

The afternoon of October 24th from four to six the halls and music room of the Yarborough were graciously tendered the Daughters of the Revolution by Mr. Howell Cobb for a tea. To this celebration of the one hundred and thirty-fourth anniversary of the Edenton Tea Party informal invitations were extended to about one hundred persons, which included the members of the following patriotic organizations: The Colonial Dames, Society of the Cincinnati, Sons of the Revolution, the officers of the Woman's Club and the Daughters of the Confederacy; also the historians who had so generously given their time and labor in our cause.

The music room was tastefully dressed with cut flowers, there being a predominance of yellow blossoms. On the large table at one end of the room the center-piece was of superb yellow chrysanthemums, around which were grouped

Some Who Were Present at the Unveiling, October 24, 1908.

silver candelabra and cut glass dishes filled with bonbons, etc. At the head was a handsome silver service, where Mrs. Helen DeBerniere Wills poured the tea. Around the room were placed treasures bearing on this event from the Hall of History that Colonel Olds had loaned for the occasion, chief among them being the very quaint little *replica* of the Edenton Tea Party House. It was in the original house, the home of Mrs. Elizabeth King, which faced the village green that the famous gathering was held on that autumn day in 1774. This unique design was a gift from Dr. Dillard, of Edenton, to the North Carolina Historical Exhibit at Jamestown Exposition, where it was exhibited and later was presented by him to the Hall of History at Raleigh. Pictures of the Cupola House, "Hayes," St. Paul's Churchyard, the Court-house and the Burying Ground at "Hayes" were among the relics.

A most attractive feature of the tea was the secretary. Miss Betsey John Haywood* officiated in that capacity, representing Mrs. Winifred Hoskins, secretary of the tea party. In the spacious hall she sat at a table and invited the guests as they filed into the music room to register. The book and a pen used will be preserved among the annals of the Society. She was becomingly attired in a Colonial gown of peach-blow silk, embroidered satin, heelless slippers to match, and a collar of rare old lace. Her coiffeur was arranged in puffs, powdered (the style being copied from a very old minature of her ancestress) through which was stuck an exquisitely carved tortoise shell comb owned by Winifred Hoskins.

The guests were received in the hall by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, who presented them to the secretary. After registering Mrs. Cross introduced them to the receiving line which was composed of Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Regent of the North

*Miss Betsy John Haywood's picture appears in this number of the BOOKLET.

Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution and Second Vice-president General; Mrs. Patrick Matthew and Mrs. William D. Pruden, of Edenton, Regent and Vice-regent of the Penelope Chapter D. R.; Mrs. J. E. Erwin, of Morganton; Mrs. Julian Wood, of Edenton; Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem, Vice President-General Daughters of the American Revolution; Mrs. W. O. Shannon, of Henderson, Regent Whitmell Blount Chapter D. A. R.; Mrs. J. Allison Hodges, of Richmond, and Mrs. A. B. Andrews, Chairman of Raleigh Circle of Colonial Dames. The Daughters of the Revolution who assisted in receiving were: Mesdames W. H. Pace, Mary B. Sherwood, Hubert Haywood, John Ray, Adelaide Bagley, Ivan Proctor, H. F. Adickes, Miss Grace Bates.

Some of the pages who officiated at the unveiling exercises in the morning aided in serving the light, dainty refreshments. Those present were: Misses Eugenia Clark, Evelyn Jackson and Jean Thackston, who are members of the Junior Daughters of the Revolution; Misses Mary and Bessie Hollister, Browning Adickes, Gene Gray Heck, Julia Pickell, Pearl Heck, Lucy Haywood, Ruth Ray and others.

The moments sped rapidly by in pleasant conversation and drinking the cup of tea so heroically renounced by the daring fifty-one signers.

Before the hour of departure arrived our Regent called on some of the eloquent guests for a few words of greeting. Dr. D. H. Hill spoke delightfully of the dames of the long ago and the dames of to-day. Colonel Benehan Cameron, Mrs. Patrick Matthew, Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, Mr. Clarence H. Poe, Mr. F. M. Harper, Colonel Fred A. Olds each were called upon for brief remarks. To the toast to Dr. Dillard, whose efforts revived this fading historic event—the Edenton Tea Party—and whose absence was so keenly felt, Dr. Drane, beloved rector of the Colonial church of St.

ELIZA EAGLES ("BETSY JOHN") HAYWOOD, PERSONATING THE SECRETARY OF THE EDENTON TEA PARTY OF 1774.

Paul's, Edenton, and chaplain of the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the Revolution, responded most charmingly.

The dear little maids who received the cards at the door of the reception room won all hearts—Catherine Haywood Baker and Elizabeth Cross.

Adieux came all too quickly, and it is hoped other similar purposes may gather together from various parts of our State the men and women who are giving their valuable time for the preservation of her noble history.

The Daughters are deeply grateful to Mrs. Pace for bringing this entertainment to such a successful finish by her untiring efforts.

CAROLINA.

BY BETTIE FRESHWATER POOL,
Author of "The Eyrie and Other Southern Stories."

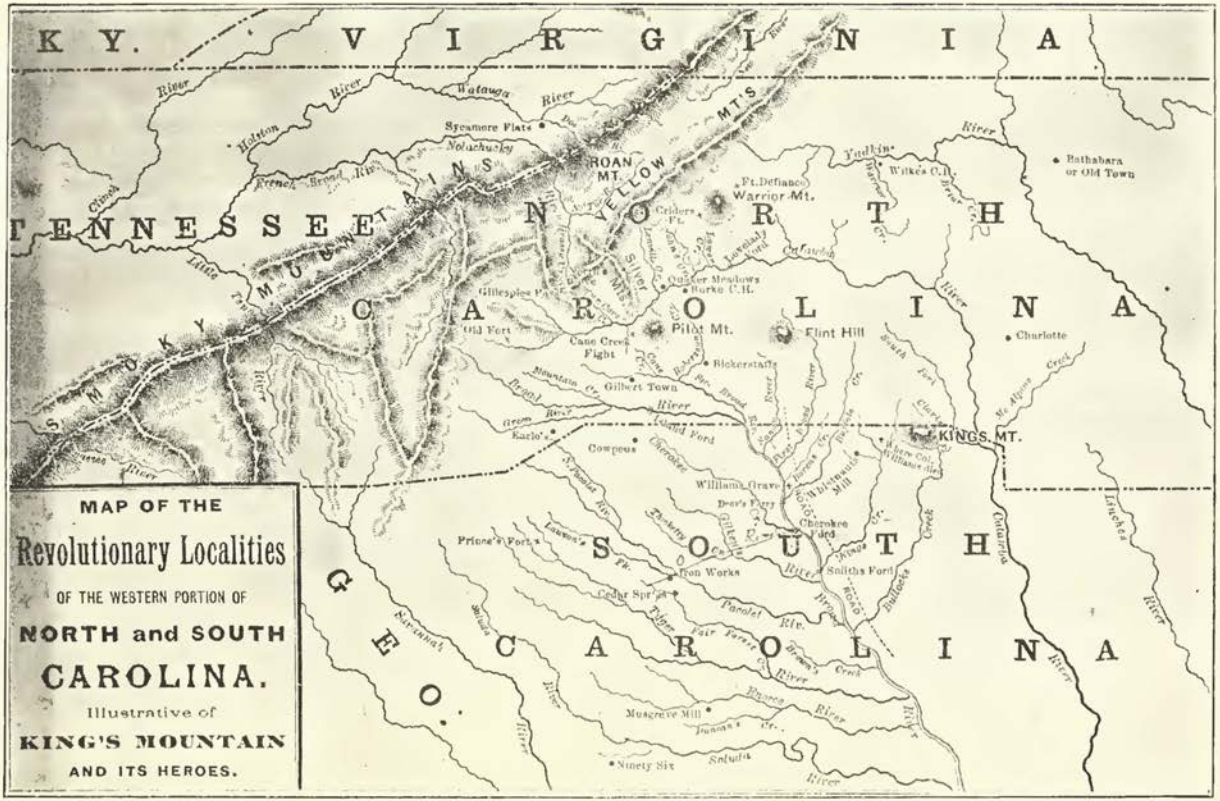
I love thee, Carolina!
Broad thy rivers, bright and clear;
Majestic are thy mountains;
Dense thy forests, dark and drear.
Grows the pine tree, tall and stately;
Weeps the willow, drooping low;
Blooms the eglantine and jasmine;
Nods the daisy, white as snow.

CHORUS:

Let me live in Carolina
'Till life's toil and strife are past!
Let me sleep in Carolina
When my sun shall set at last!
Where the mocking bird is singing;
Where my heart is fondly clinging;
I would sleep when life is o'er,
Sweetly on the old home shore.

I love thee, Carolina!
Peace and plenty there abide.
How bountiful thy harvest
Gather'd in at autumntide.
Fair thy fields where grows the cotton,
Light and fleecy, soft and white;
And the golden wheat doth ripple,
Like a sea of amber light.

I love thee, Carolina!
Land of story and of song;
Of patriot and hero—
How their deeds to mem'ry throng!
Great in peace, and great in battle!
Heart of fire to love or hate!
Brightest star of all the Union,
Is the glorious Old North State!


K Y.
V I R G I N I A
TENNESSEE
MOUNTAINS
ROAN MT.
YELLOW MTS
Watauga River
Sycamore Flats
Nolachucky
Holston
French Broad Rivers
Ft. Defiance
Warrior Mt.
Wilkes C.H.
Yadkin
Bathabara or Old Town
Gillespies
Old Fort
Cane Creek Fight
Pilot Mt.
Flint Hill
Charlotte
Gilbert Town
Bickerstaffs
KINGS MT.
Cowpens
Williams Grave
Cherokee Ford
Prince's Fort
Iron Works
Smiths Ford
Cedar Spring
Pacolet Riv.
Musgrove Mill
Ninety Six
Saluda
GEO.
C A R O L I N A
S O U T H
NORTH
MAP OF THE
Revolutionary Localities
OF THE WESTERN PORTION OF
NORTH and SOUTH
CAROLINA.
Illustrative of
KING'S MOUNTAIN
AND ITS HEROES.

THE BATTLE OF KINGS MOUNTAIN.

BY WILLIAM K. BOYD.

The Revolution in North Carolina has three distinct stages. First of these was a period of patriotic agitation which culminated in the instruction for independence in April, 1776, and the formation of a State Constitution in the following November. Then came years of reaction, when security from attack and division within the patriot party produced apathy and indifference toward the fortune of other colonies. Finally danger of British invasion in 1780, accompanied as it was by the rising of the loyalists, aroused new interest in the struggle for independence, and the British campaign in North Carolina proved to be the prelude to Yorktown. In this last phase of the war belongs the battle of Kings Mountain. In all the long conflict with the mother country no blow was struck more suddenly or effectively, and few had more important consequences. To appreciate its dramatic character as well as results the course of the Revolution in the South must be borne in mind.

The first attempt at Southern invasion in 1776 had failed. When Clinton and Cornwallis approached the coast of North Carolina in May of that year they learned of the defeat of the Royalists at Moore's Creek and found a military organization ready to resist invasion. They therefore diverted the expedition further south and laid seige to Charleston; there also fortune was against them, and in a few weeks they returned to New York. For two years the Southern colonies were practically unmolested. Then, in 1778, the British again undertook invasion. The movement was coincident with a crisis in the war. The attack by way of Canada had culminated in Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga, and the only result of the invasion of the middle colonies was the capture

of New York. Washington was still at bay, and expediency suggested a campaign far removed from his leadership. Political affairs also embarrassed the English government. Opposition to the political methods of George III caused sympathy for the colonies, and in June, 1778, a commission arrived in Philadelphia offering all the claims of the colonists except independence. These liberal terms were not accepted and during the remaining years of the war England had to reckon with the French, whose alliance with the United States had been concluded the preceding February. A commercial problem was now involved; the American products in greatest demand in European markets were from the South, especially those from the Carolinas and Georgia; indeed Southern products upheld American credit abroad. The French alliance made the control of this source of supplies more important than ever. Finally, a large proportion of the people in the Carolinas and Georgia were loyalists—the exact per cent will never be known. As the British, after the rejection of compromise, treated the patriots as traitors and conducted the war as a conflict against rebels, the cooperation of the loyalist element was necessary.

For these reasons an expedition was sent against Georgia in 1778. Soon Savannah was captured, Augusta taken, and in December, 1779, Charleston, S. C., was besieged. After a brave defense the city surrendered in May, 1780. An elaborate campaign was now planned, nothing less than a northward invasion, which would cut off the South from the other colonies and so limit Washington's resources. The leadership of the movement was given to Lord Cornwallis, and Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief, returned North. Cornwallis readily advanced to Camden, where he established his headquarters, and sent advance divisions of his army to Augusta, Ga., and Ninety-six, S. C. Many conditions favored him; the early leaders of the Revolution in

South Carolina were dead or in prison, and the offer of parole as military prisoners made to the people was widely accepted; some were willing for the revival of British administration in the interest of trade; others, believing that the Continental Congress had neglected the interests of the South, were apathetic. While these conditions favored the British, one fatal policy turned the scale against them; that was the decision to subdue one part of the people with the assistance of the rest, to make the war a civil conflict. To this end all who had taken parole were restored to their rights and duties as citizens and all who should fail in their allegiance to his Majesty were denounced as rebels. In order to enforce these demands and organize the people, as well as to collect supplies for invasion, Col. Patrick Ferguson was sent into upper South Carolina.

This officer, the central figure in the battle of Kings Mountain, was one of the most brilliant men in the British army. His defeat and tragic death have robbed him of the place in popular knowledge which he deserves. For his age and rank few men have won greater distinction. Born in 1744, he entered the army at the age of fifteen; at twenty-four he had reached the rank of captain and had seen service on the continent and in the West Indies. The possibility of war in America turned his energy to two aims: one, to invent a breach-loading, rapid-fire rifle which would enable the British soldier to be a match for the riflemen of the American frontier; the other, to collect a select band of men, instructed in the use of his rifle and the methods of frontier warfare. In 1777 he was assigned to the American service and with his chosen band of American volunteers, about 300 in number, he participated in the battles of Brandywine and Monmouth, made several predatory expeditions into New Jersey and New York, and in 1779 joined Cornwallis in the seige of Charleston.

His services as advance agent of the British army were eminently successful. His message to the people was one of conciliation. "We come not to make war on women and children, but to relieve their distresses." He had rare powers of persuasion. "He would sit for hours and converse with the country people on the state of public affairs and point out to them from his view the ruinous effects of disloyalty to the crown. This condescension on his part was regarded as wonderful in a king's officer, and very naturally went very far to secure the respect and obedience of all who came within the sphere of his almost magic influence." Ferguson was also an organizer of ability. Loyalists were soon formed into companies, and in the Ninety-six district seven battallions of about 4,000 men were soon organized, largely through his activity. Civil as well as military authority was conferred upon him, and as the people between the Saluda and the Broad rivers had never recognized the South Carolina State government, a good opportunity was open for the revival of the British administration.

While success attended the efforts of Cornwallis and Ferguson the revolutionary cause in North Carolina was disorganized. The State's entire quota in the Continental line had been captured and imprisoned at Charleston and the militia paroled. The Tories were active once again. No less than sixty-two officers were commissioned by Ferguson from the counties of Anson, Chatham, Cumberland, Orange, and Randolph. The notorious David Fanning was gathering his band of outliers. A new patriot army had to be organized. Its basis was a new draft of 4,000 militia, ordered by the Assembly of 1780, commanded by Richard Caswell, and reinforcements from the Continental army who arrived in North Carolina about the time of the surrender of Charleston. While Cheraw was chosen as the place of mobilization, Gen. Griffith Rutherford organized nearly eight hundred men

at Mallard's Creek, near Charlotte. A detachment under Col. Francis Locke defeated the loyalists at Ramsour's Mill on June 20; another under William L. Davidson inflicted defeat at Colson's Mill on the Pee Dee a month later, while William R. Davie, cooperating with Sumter, won another victory at Hanging Rock on August 5. The hope of effective resistance aroused by these minor victories vanished with the disastrous defeat of Gates at Camden on August 15. Cornwallis gradually approached the State; by September 8 he reached the Waxhaws; by the last of the month he was in Charlotte, where, on October 3, Governor Martin, once again on North Carolina soil, issued a proclamation calling all loyal men to unite with the army.

At this crisis, while Davie and Davidson were collecting militia in the neighborhood of Charlotte, the blow which checked the British invasion was made at King's Mountain. It was largely the work of mountaineers from the western slope of the Blue Ridge. In 1771 a migration to that region from the western counties began. Soon a form of self government, the first ever worked out by native born Americans, was established in the valley of the Watauga, and in 1776 representatives from Washington District, Watauga Settlement, were admitted to the Provincial Congress at Halifax, and later Washington, Greene, and Sullivan counties were created, under the sovereignty of North Carolina.[1] To the resistance to British invasion Watauga had already contributed over two hundred men under Maj. Charles Robertson and Col. Isaac Shelby who crossed the hills in July, and, cooperating with Col. Charles McDowell, made the Cherokee Ford of Broad River their headquarters. From that place expeditions were sent out against the loyalists at Thickety Fort, some twenty miles distant, Cedar Springs on the Pacolet, and Musgrove's Mill on the Enoree. But after the rout

[1] See Early Relations of North Carolina and the West, BOOKLET, January, 1908.

of the regular army at Camden, these militia and mountaineer recruits dispersed to their homes. They were followed by Ferguson as far as Gilbert Town, about three miles from Rutherfordton. The people of the country, believing that the struggle for independence was ended, flocked to the British standard and took the oath of allegiance. Detachments of Ferguson's troops engaged in skirmishes with the retiring patriots as far west as Old Fort.

The retreat of McDowell and Shelby, however, was temporary. It was their aim to renew the fight after the crops were gathered. This decision was hastened by a well authenticated threat of Ferguson. Through a paroled patriot he sent a message to the mountain men "that if they did not desist from their opposition to the British arms he would march his army over the mountains, hang their leaders, and lay their country waste with fire and sword." This was repeated to Shelby, Lieutenant-Colonel of Sullivan County. Perhaps with it came news of the loyalist expeditions between Gilbert Town and the mountains. Shortly after he rode from his home to Jonesboro, county seat of Washington County, and visited John Sevier, the county lieutenant. Both concluded that the time to assume the offensive had come. Sevier agreed to rouse the men of Washington County and those troops of McDowell who had taken refuge there, while Shelby undertook to enlist the cooperation of the neighboring Virginia settlements on the Holston as well as secure aid from his own county. Sycamore Shoals was chosen as the *rendezvous,* and there on September 25 came Sevier and Shelby with 240 men each, 160 of McDowell's scattered troops, and Col. William Campbell, of Washington County, Virginia, with 400 Virginians, who had been persuaded by correspondence with Shelby to aid the North Carolinians rather than march eastward and join the defense of Virginia.

The arrangements for the campaign were in keeping with that sense of individualism which characterized the early days of Watauga. Besides a few beeves which were slaughtered in the early part of the march, the only food was corn meal mixed with maple sugar, which each man carried in his wallet. The arms consisted of rifles, tomahawks, and hunting knives. There was no commander-in-chief; and during the battle fighting was by individuals rather than groups. Funds were provided by money from the land sales in the office of John Adair, the entry taker of Sullivan County. "I have no authority by law to make any disposition of this money," he said. "It belongs to the treasury of North Carolina and I dare not appropriate a cent of it to any purpose; but if the country is overrun by the British our liberty is gone. Let the money go, too. Take it. If the enemy by its use is driven from the country, I can trust that country to justify and vindicate my conduct." Nearly $13,000 was thus secured; it was later refunded by the State of North Carolina. Finally, after an address by Rev. Samuel Doak, pioneer minister of Watauga, which tradition says closed by invoking the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, the group of military bands took up their march in search of Ferguson on September 26.

The route lay across Roan Mountain. On the summit two members of the expedition were missed. Suspecting desertion the leaders turned from the more northerly route to the Toe River, thence up Grassy Creek through Gillespie's Gap, into the north branch of the Catawba. Here, on September 29, they were joined by Col. Charles McDowell, and the next day at Quaker Meadows, the McDowell home, by 350 men from Wilkes and Surry counties under Col. Benjamin Cleveland and Maj. Joseph Winston. On Sunday, October 1, they passed Pilot Mountain and camped just south of that famous beacon for travelers. On Monday, because of the rain, they

remained in camp and in the evening the officers gathered to choose some common authority, for absence of one head had fostered rivalry and disorder; moreover, it was believed that Ferguson was in the neighborhood of Gilbert Town, and common leadership in the hour of battle seemed especially desirable. Col. Charles McDowell was the ranking officer, but his leadership was not acceptable, and there was rivalry among the other North Carolina leaders. Shelby, therefore, suggested that a request be sent to General Gates, at Hillsborough, for a commander and that until such one should arrive, Colonel Campbell, a Virginian, assume the leadership of the expedition. This was accepted, and McDowell volunteered to act as messenger to Gates, the leadership of his men being assumed by his brother, Maj. Joseph McDowell, of Quaker Meadows.

On October 4 the little army reached Gilbert Town to find that Ferguson had fallen back. Indeed Ferguson does not seem to have given the mountaineers much consideration; his message was probably an idle taunt rather than a sincere threat. To him a more important patriot force was a small band under Capt. Elijah Clarke, of Georgia, which hovered around the Georgia-Carolina frontier. On September 27 he left Gilbert Town and went south in search of Clarke. Three days later, while at Broad River, the two deserters from the mountain army came to his camp and told of the enemy's approach.

Before this new and unexpected danger there were two alternatives: one to join Cornwallis at Charlotte, the other to remain in the borderland and meet the enemy if he approached. In making a decision three points had to be considered: the expediency of preventing a union of Clarke and the mountain army, the recall of many troops that had been given furloughs, and the desire to prevent a reversion from the loyalist cause among the people at large. These prob-

lems, as well as his own daring spirit, led Ferguson to hold his ground and meet the enemy. He therefore sent a message to Cornwallis for aid and issued the following statement to the people:

DENARD'S FORD, BROAD RIVER,
TRYON COUNTY, October 1, 1780.

GENTLEMEN:—Unless you wish to be eat up by an inundation of barbarians, who have begun by murdering an unarmed son before his aged father, and afterward lopped off his arms, and who by their shocking cruelties and irregularities, give the best proof of their cowardice and want of discipline; I say if you wish to be pinioned, robbed, and murdered, and see your wives and daughters, in four days, abused by the dregs of mankind—in short, if you wish or deserve to live, and bear the name of men, grasp your arms in a moment and run to camp.

The Backwater Water men have crossed the mountains; McDowell, Hampton, Shelby, and Cleveland are at their head, so that you know what you have to depend upon. If you choose to be degraded forever and ever by a set of mongrels, say so at once, and let your women turn their backs upon you and look out for real men to protect them.

PAT. FERGUSON,
Major 71st Regiment.

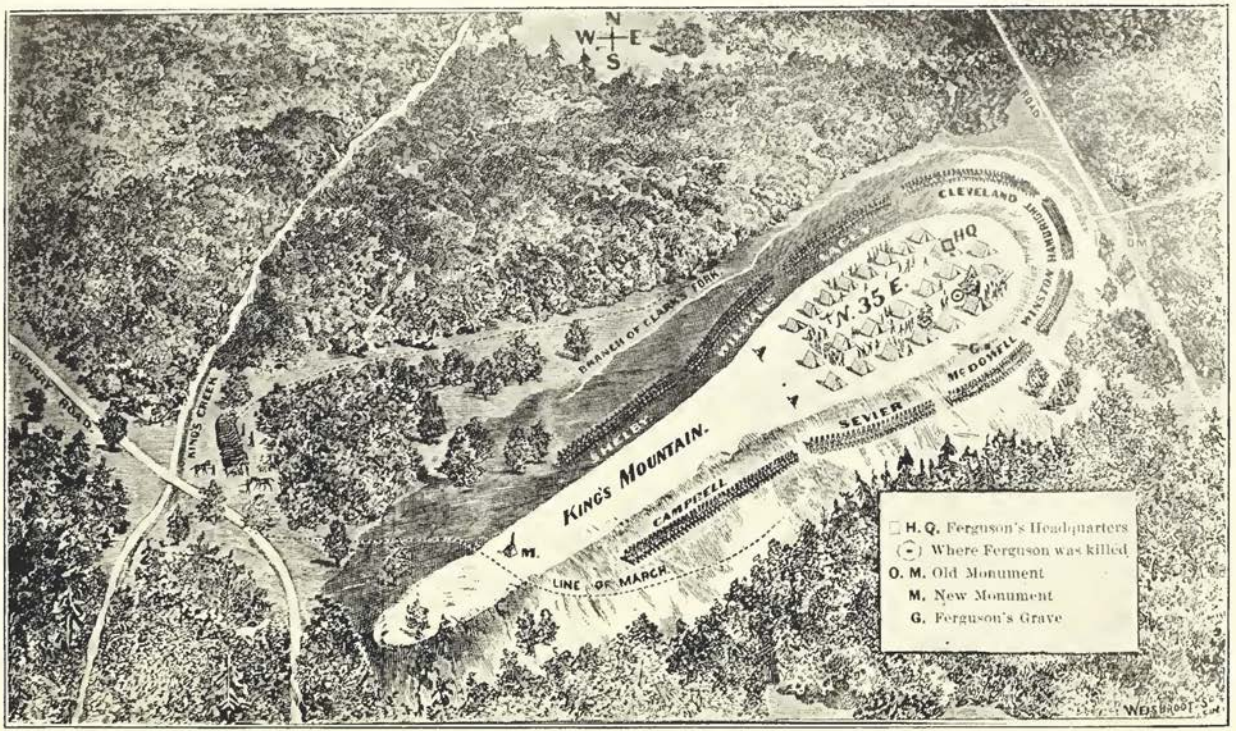
This message to Cornwallis was delayed because the carrier was pursued by some patriots, reached Cornwallis the day after the battle, and consequently no reinforcements ever reached Ferguson. Disappointed at lack of support and believing that Sumter and Clarke had joined the mountaineers, Ferguson decided to fall back toward Charlotte. On October 6 he reached the southern extremity of King's Mountain. This is a ridge about sixteen miles in length, running from a point in North Carolina southwest into York County, South Carolina. The spur now reached by Ferguson is in York County, about one and one-half miles from the North Carolina line, and about six miles from the highest elevation of the mountain. It is about six hundred yards in length and rises from a base of two hundred and fifty yards to a top

*There is no other evidence than this of violence being perpetrated by the mountain army. The first paragraph was probably intended by Ferguson to appeal to the fear of the people.

from sixty to two hundred and twenty wide, offering a commanding view of the surrounding country. On this summit Ferguson camped; his intention evidently was to await reinforcements and to let the enemy find him if he could. This decision, judged by European standards of warfare, was a wise one; the shrubbery and underbrush on the sides of the mountain made an assault *en masse* difficult, while Ferguson's troops, well trained in the use of the bayonet, could repulse those who might reach the summit. On the other hand, the mountaineers were skilled marksmen, and the top of the mountain was "so narrow that a man standing on it may be shot from either side." The patriots also fought individually, not collectively. These facts, with alternate charges on either side of the mountain, gave them an immense advantage.

In the meantime Campbell and his men, believing that Ferguson had retired to Ninety-six, had started south in pursuit. On the evening of October 5 they reached the ford of Green River. As some were discouraged and many exhausted, a band of 700 picked men, well mounted, was chosen to continue the pursuit. The next morning news was brought by Col. Edward Lacey of Ferguson's relative position and that a body of North and South Carolina militia was moving southward from Cherry Mountain and might be met at Cowpens.* By a hurried march a junction of the two forces was accomplished. A council was held, Campbell was again chosen leader, and two hundred and ten recruits were added from the militia. A few footmen probably increased the entire number to 993 men. Then, on the night of the 6th, the march in the direction of King's Mountain was begun. Rain and darkness caused the guides to lose their way, and by morning the army had advanced not more

*There was dissension among these militia about joining the mountain army. See McCrady, South Carolina in the Revolution, pp. 764–775.



Battlefield of Kings Mountain.

than five miles. The rain continued until noon; but by straining every nerve King's Mountain was reached about three in the afternoon, October 7.

Leaving the horses one mile from the base, a plan of attack in keeping with the methods of frontier warfare was adopted, viz: to surround the mountain and make alternate charges and retreats, fighting individually, each man for himself. Accordingly troops were arranged as follows: On the north side were stationed Shelby with Lacey's and Williams's militia; on the south Campbell, Sevier and Joseph McDowell, while Cleveland and Winston, with South Carolina militia under Hambright, were across the N. E. part of the hill. So quickly were these plans effected that Ferguson knew nothing of them until the fire of the attacking party was heard. The loyalists were then quickly arranged into two battle lines along the height, one to resist attack by volleys of musketry, the other to charge the enemy under the leadership of Ferguson. The patriot attack was led by Campbell's men, who ascended the most difficult part of the ridge, creeping from tree to tree and making targets of Ferguson's troops. They received the volleys from the firing line and when near the summit a bayonet charge. Before this counter attack they retreated down the mountain. But before Ferguson could regain the summit Shelby's men had ascended the opposite side of the mountain; they, in turn, retreated before a bayonet charge. When Ferguson had once more regained the summit, not only Campbell had returned to the fight but the right and left wings of the patriot army were in action. The engagement thus became general. Among the loyalists Ferguson was the commanding spirit. Riding along the ridge, making his presence known by a silver whistle, he led charge after charge against the mountain men, who simply continued the tactics with which the battle was begun. Finally, while leading an attack on Sevier's men, Ferguson

fell, pierced by half a dozen bullets. Capt. Abraham DePeyster, of New York, attempted to take the place of the fallen leader. In vain, for white flags were displayed at different points and DePeyster himself soon despaired and raised the symbol of surrender. Unfortunately not all the mountaineers seem to have understood the meaning of the signal and continued their fire. Campbell deserves most credit for ending the needless slaughter; he rushed among the troops exclaiming, "Cease firing; for God's sake, cease firing!"

Thus after an hour's engagement the loyalists were thoroughly defeated. The battle had important results. It was the first decisive check to the British invasion of the Carolinas, for Cornwallis, hearing of Ferguson's defeat, concluded that the patriot army numbered several thousand and therefore fell back from Charlotte to Winnsboro, S. C. Equally important was the time thus gained by the patriots in which to rally the militia and secure aid from the Continental army for resistance to invasion. The moral effect also should not be overlooked, well summarized by Bancroft: "The victory at Kings Mountain, which in the spirit of the American soldier was like the rising at Concord, in its effects like the success at Bennington, changed the aspects of the war. It fired the patriots of the two Carolinas with fresh zeal. It encouraged the fragments of the defeated and scattered American army to seek each other and organize themselves anew. It quickened the North Carolina Legislature to earnest efforts. It encouraged Virginia to devote her resources to the country south of her border."

The story of Kings Mountain does not end with the victory. The spontaneous and individualistic character of the campaign have given rise to several controversies. Of these claims for honors and leadership among the patriots stand foremost, and this controversial spirit still survives. The

services of Col. William Campbell were the earliest subject of dissension. The Legislature of Virginia voted him a sword in recognition of his part in the Kings Mountain campaign, and the North Carolina Assembly conferred a similar honor on Shelby and Sevier. None were immediately delivered; but after the death of Campbell Virginia presented a handsome sword, in commemoration of his services, to W. M. C. Preston, his grandson. This was in 1810. Shelby and Sevier then began a correspondence whose aim was to secure the swords promised but never presented by North Carolina. Comparisons of their own services with those of Campbell were made, as well as the claim that at the end of the battle Campbell was about one mile from the firing line. These questions were also discussed in the newspapers of Tennessee in 1812. Later Shelby's letters were published by Sevier's son after his father's death. They called forth a reply by W. M. C. Preston in 1822, and the next year Shelby's famous pamphlet of 1823 appeared. The general trend of the evidence seems to indicate that Shelby and Sevier were the promoters of the campaign and that Campbell, who opened the attack at Kings Mountain, left his horse in the rear with a servant, who was thus mistaken for Campbell.

A singular coincidence is a similar controversy among the loyalists. The descendants of Abraham DePeyster claim that to Ferguson does not belong the chief honor of defense, that he was killed early in the conflict, and that the command was then taken by DePeyster. While some evidence has been brought forward in support of this claim, the majority of the accounts of the battle are to the contrary and support the general view that the fall of Ferguson was almost immediately followed by tokens of surrender.

The relative importance of the McDowells in the campaign is another question full of controversy. Says one historian:

"To the brothers Charles and Joseph McDowell, of Quaker Meadows, and to their no less gallant cousin, Joseph McDowell, of Pleasant Garden, Burke County, N. C., are due more credit and honour for the victory at King's Mountain than any other leaders who participated in that decisive and wonderful battle." However, their names were not placed on the battle monument at King's Mountain.

Another problem of the battle is that of numbers. The patriot force can be estimated with some degree of certainty; it numbered about 993 men, as before stated. Not so Ferguson's command. It consisted of 100 Provincial Rangers, picked men from New York and New Jersey, and recruits from the Carolinas. The exact number is unknown. Tarleton fixes the Rangers at 100, the militia at 1,000; the diary of Allaire, the principal loyalist account of the battle, and the American official report also make the total number 1,100. Yet there is evidence that Ferguson's full strength was not in the battle; that a foraging party was sent out that morning; that it did not return until evening, when it had a skirmish with the patriots, and killed Col. James Williams. If this be true the numbers on both sides actually engaged were very nearly equal.

The losses are far more indefinite, for the official report of the patriots and private accounts differ; but a fair estimate is 300 killed and wounded and 600 prisoners for the loyalists. The losses of the patriots were insignificant; according to the official report 28 killed and 62 wounded; but these returns, tabulated by regiments, do not include Shelby's command.

By far the most delicate problem of the campaign was the treatment of the prisoners. Civil war is the most severe of all wars. During the battle kinsmen and neighbors were arraigned against one another and in some instances brother fought brother. Resentment and enmity naturally continued after the battle was ended. The march of the patriots home-

ward was begun the day after battle. On October 11 Colonel Campbell was constrained to issue the following order: "I must request the officers of all ranks in the army to endeavor to restrain the disorderly manner of slaughtering and disturbing the prisoners. If it can not be prevented by moderate measures, such effectual punishment shall be executed upon delinquents as will put a stop to it." However, there was another incentive to vengeance besides the cruelty and hatred of the conqueror, viz: the character of some of the captives. According to a statement submitted to Colonel Campbell, some were robbers, house burners, murderers and parole breakers. Moreover, news came of the atrocities committed by Tarleton's Legion. A desire arose to retaliate against British policy, to punish wrongdoers, and to warn loyalists everywhere. Therefore, while the army was encamped at Bickerstaff's, about nine miles from Rutherfordton, Colonel Campbell, on the advice of other leaders, ordered a court-martial to sit immediately, composed of field officers and captains, who were ordered to inquire into the complaints which had been made. For this hasty action a precedent was found in a North Carolina law which authorized two magistrates to summon a jury, conduct a trial, and even impose capital penalties. As most of the officers were magistrates at home, the tribunal hastily organized, had something of the character of a civil as well as military court. According to Shelby "thirty-six men were tried and found guilty of breaking open houses, killing the men, turning the women and children out of doors, and burning the houses." Naturally the rules of evidence which protect the prisoner were not strictly observed. The number condemned is variously reported, ranging from thirty to forty. Fortunately all were not executed; after nine had been hanged, the sense of mercy was aroused, and either by Campbell's orders or a reconsideration by the court, the sentence of the remaining

prisoners was rescinded. Circumstances helped to bring a kinder fate to most of the captives. Many were paroled, as many as 100 on the second day after the battle. The mountain men were anxious to reach their homes as quickly as possible, and the hasty march and the wet weather helped many to escape. As there was no prison at hand, the Moravian village of Bethabara was chosen as a place to house and keep the captives until orders should be received from the proper authorities. There they were led by Campbell to await orders from the American army. Gates ordered them to be taken to the Lead Mines in Montgomery County, Virginia. But the commanding officer there objected, as the loyalists were strong in the neighborhood. Governor Jefferson, of Virginia, was then consulted; he referred the matter to the Continental Congress, and Congress referred the care of the prisoners to the States from which they came. This was impractical and Gates finally ordered them to be transferred to Salisbury, N. C., for imprisonment. In the meantime conditions at Bethabara favored the prisoners. The Moravians were friendly and the civil authorities, under guise of binding over to court, took 187 from the camp. Others enlisted in the patriot militia; some faithfully, others as a means to get back to the British lines. So when the prisoners arrived at Salisbury the original number of 600 had been reduced in various ways to 60.

The sources of the material for the study of the battle are of course responsible for these controversies. The patriot leaders drew up an official report shortly after the conflict but private accounts written by them differ from it in many details. The official report, some nonofficial descriptions, and the diary of Anthony Allaire, the principal loyalist source, are given in Draper's *Kings Mountain and Its Heroes.* But a large number of manuscripts in possession of the Tennessee His-

torical Society and the Gates collection in the New York Historical Society remain unpublished.

Bibliography. Draper, *Kings Mountain and Its Heroes* is by far the most important study of the battle and its problems. Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* contains a well written and critical chapter on the subject. McCready, *South Carolina in the Revolution;* DePeyster, *The Affair at Kings Mountain* (Magazine of American History, vol. 5), and Schenck's *North Carolina,* 1780-81, are of interest and value. From these references to magazine articles and pamphlets are easily traced. See also Bailey, Sketch of the Life and Career of Col. James D. Williams (Cowpens, S. C.)

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION IN COLONIAL TIMES.*

BY CHARLES LEE SMITH.

During the colonial period but few schools were established in North Carolina. Compared with New England there is a marked difference in this respect, and historians, without considering all the facts in the case, have unduly criticised this colony for want of zeal in educational matters.

It should be remembered that New England was peopled by colonies, and the establishment of schools was coeval with the settlements. The people were forced by circumstances to live together. This strengthened the bonds of union between them and tended to unite them in all objects relating to the common welfare. Then, too, the people of each community were generally of the same religious faith, and their preachers were at the same time the teachers of their schools.

In North Carolina conditions were radically different. This province was occupied by individual families, and although the first permanent settlement was made about 1660 there was no town until Bath was located in 1704. The population was chiefly confined to the territory north of Albemarle Sound, west of the Chowan River, and the territory between the two sounds, Albemarle and Currituck. The people were scattered sparsely here and there along the shores of the sounds and on the banks of the water courses. As late as 1709 the Rev. William Gordon, writing to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, referring to the settlement on the Pamlico River, has this to say of the only town in the province: "Here is no church, though they have begun to build a town called Bath.

* For a fuller account of the colonial schools, see the writer's History of Education in North Carolina. Bureau of Education: Washington, 1888.

It consists of about twelve houses, being the only town in the whole province. They have a small collection of books for a library, which were carried over by the Reverend Doctor Bray, and some land is laid out for a glebe." [1] About this time Beaufort was laid out for a town, and a little later New Bern was settled by the Swiss. The settlers represented many nationalities and religious sects: "Scotch Presbyterians, Dutch Lutherans, French Calvinists, Irish Catholics, English Chuchmen, Quakers and Dissenters." Scattered settlements and religious dissensions not only made impossible the village schools of New England but prevented any comprehensive social educational development.

During the proprietary period schools were neglected, the government making no provision for their maintenance. But it must not be understood that the inhabitants were in dense ignorance and wholly devoid of educational facilities for, as Vass shows, "there were many highly educated citizens scattered throughout the province who lived with considerable style and refinement." [2]

The first public library in North Carolina was established at Bath. It was the gift of Doctor Bray, who was appointed commissary by the Bishop of London in 1692.[3] The earliest account of teachers is the report of John Blair, who came as a missionary in 1704. He states that the settlers had built small churches in three precincts and had appointed a lay reader in each, who was supplied by him with books from the library.[4] We infer that these lay readers were schoolmasters from a statement by John Brickell, who visited the various settlements in the early part of the eighteenth century and published in Dublin in 1737 the Natural History of North Carolina, with an Account of the Trade, Manners and

[1] N. C, Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 715.
[2] Vass's Eastern North Carolina, p. 21.
[3] N. C. Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 571 et seq.
[4] N. C. Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 601.

Customs of the Christian and Indian Inhabitants. Noting the scarcity of clergymen he adds that "the want of these Protestant clergy is generally supplied by some schoolmasters who read the Liturgy, and then a sermon out of Dr. Tillotson or some good, practical divine every Sunday. These are the most numerous and are dispersed through the whole province." [5]

About 1705 Charles Griffin came from some part of the West Indies to Pasquotank and opened a school which was patronized by all classes. Rev. William Gordon, who came from England as a missionary in 1708, in a letter to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, written in 1709, alludes to the fact that the Quakers in Pasquotank were sending their children to the school of a lay reader of the church named Griffin.[6] About this time Rev. Mr. Gordon established a church in Chowan Precinct, at the head of Albemarle Sound, in the settlement which afterwards became Edenton. Rev. James Adams having settled in Pasquotank, the school in that settlement was transferred to him. Mr. Griffin was now, at the instance of Mr. Gordon, elected lay reader of the church and clerk of the Chowan vestry. He opened a school in that parish, text-books for the pupils being furnished by the rector.[7] In a letter dated "Chowan, in North Carolina, July 25, 1712," the Rev. G. Rainsford, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, tells of conferences with Thomas Hoyle, King of the Chowan Indians, who was inclined to embrace Christianity "and proposes to send his son to school to Sarum to have him taught to read and write by way of foundation in order to a farther proficiency for the reception of Christianity," and adds: "There's one Mr. Washburn who keeps a school at Sarum, on the frontiers of Virginia, between the two govern-

[5] Brickell's North Carolina, p. 35.
[6] N. C. Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 714.
[7] N. C. Colonial Records, Vol. I, pp. 684, 712, 714.

ments and neighboring upon two Indian towns who, I find by him, highly deserves encouragement, and could heartily wish the Society would take it into consideration and be pleased to allow him a salary for the good services he has done and may do for the future. * * * The man upon a small income would teach the Indian children gratis (whose parents are willing to send them could they but pay for their schooling) as he would those of our English families had he but a fixed dependency for so doing, and what advantage would this be to private families in particular and the whole colony in general is easy to determine." [8]

A careful examination of the records of the colony while under proprietary government shows but one instance in which help was afforded to literature. This was an act[9] for the preservation of the library given by Doctor Bray, to which reference has been made. This act provided that a librarian should be appointed, that catalogues should be prepared, and that, under certain conditions, books might be taken from the library, fines to be paid if not returned within a specified time. The only author in the colony during this period, so far as is known, was the Surveyor-General Lawson, who wrote a history of the colony which was first published in 1709.

The above account represents the state of education under the rule of the Lords Proprietors. While the school advantages of the masses were limited, the governors, judges, councilors, lawyers and clergy, who were educated in England, furnish evidence from their letters and other documents that there was no deficiency of learning among the higher classes. Such men as Gale, Moseley and Swann were fit associates for the most intelligent men in any of the English provinces of their day. Libraries at Bath and Edenton contained

[8] N. C. Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 859.
[9] Laws of North Carolina, Davis's Revisal (New Bern, 1752), p. 203.

many valuable books, showing that those who read them had cultivated minds.

At the date of the transfer of authority from the Lords Proprietors to the Crown the population numbered about thirty thousand, and during the first twenty years of royal rule the educational condition of the masses was but little changed. Families of means maintained tutors, while some sent their sons to Harvard and other colleges in the Northern colonies. The early governors of the province had little desire to promote popular education, but Gabriel Johnson, appointed in 1734, was an exception to the rule. He was the first to recommend that the Assembly make provision for schools, but his efforts were without avail.

The first legislative enactment for the promotion of schools was the bill to erect a schoolhouse in Edenton, passed by the General Assembly which met in New Bern April 8-20, 1745.[10] The first act to establish a free school was passed in 1749,[11] but the first school really established by the government was the one located at New Bern in 1764. The New Bern school was incorporated in 1766, being the first incorporated academy in the province. It was provided that the master should be a communicant of the Established Church of England, and that "a duty of one penny per gallon on all rum or spirituous liquors imported into the river Neuse" should be collected from the importers for seven years after the passage of the act, this fund to be used for the education of ten poor children and to enable the master to keep an assistant.[12] Prior to the Revolution this school was under the control of the Established Church, and for that reason it was not favorably regarded by dissenters, many of them preferring to send their sons to the Presbyterian schools of the

[10] N. C. Colonial Records, Vol. IV, pp. 783, 788, 790.
[11] N. C. Colonial Records, Vol. IV, p. 977.
[12] Davis's Sec. Revisal (New Bern, 1773), p. 359.

Piedmont section. In 1770 the Edenton Academy, under the control of the Established Church, was incorporated.

During the colonial period two noteworthy bequests were made for schools: that of James Winwright, in 1744, to establish a free school in Beaufort, and that of James Innis who, by his will made in 1754 and duly proved before Governor Dobbs in 1759, made provision for a free school for the benefit of the youth of the province.[13] From this last bequest the Innis Academy, of Wilmington, had its origin. This school was incorporated in 1759 with Samuel Ashe, A. McLain, William Hill and others as trustees.

Of the thirty thousand Germans who left their country in the early part of the eighteenth century to find homes in America eighteen thousand are said to have eventually settled in North Carolina. Baron DeGraffenried with his Swiss and Palatines settled in New Bern. Later German immigration settled principally in the Piedmont section.

In 1751 the religious sect known as the Unitas Fratrum, commonly called Moravians, purchased one hundred thousand acres of land in Western Carolina, and in 1753 began their settlement, which from that time to this has been noted as one of the most moral, prosperous and intelligent communities in the commonwealth. Salem, their principal town, was laid out in 1765.

These Germans, as a class, were men of fair education and refinement, especially the Moravians. The latter, even before homes for all had been provided, erected a church and schoolhouse. One of the most noted of these early Moravian immigrants was John Jacob Fries, who came in 1754. He was a native of Denmark, where, previous to his coming to America, he had officiated as an assistant minister and was widely known as an accomplished scholar. He was one of

[13] Coon's Public Education in North Carolina, Vol. I, pp. 1-7.

the pioneer teachers of North Carolina, in which vocation he continued until his death in 1793.

No marked educational advancement became manifest until the arrival of the Scotch-Irish who began to settle in the Cape Fear region, in large numbers, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. This immigration continued till the Revolution, the newcomers bringing with them in great measure the same spirit that prompted the establishing of Icolumkill and Lindisfarne. From their arrival dates the impulse for the establishment of schools throughout the colony. For the most part they were disciples of John Knox, and about 1745 the New York and Pennsylvania Synods of the Presbyterian Church began to send missionaries to this colony.

It is to the Presbyterian Church that North Carolina owes the establishment of her first classical schools, and it is to that denomination and Princeton College that the higher education in this State owes its first impulse. The Presbyterian missionaries, usually graduates of Princeton, became both pastors and teachers. They gathered the scattered families of their faith into churches, and by the side of the church was planted a school.

During the second half of the eighteenth century the following, who were graduated at Princeton before 1776, were influential in the educational development of North Carolina: Hugh McAden, Alexander Martin, Alexander McWhorter, Samuel Spencer, Joseph Alexander, David Caldwell, John Close, Waightstill Avery, Ephraim Brevard, Adlai Osborne, Thomas Reese, Isaac Alexander, James Templeton, Andrew King, Stephen Bloomer Balch, James Hall, David Witherspoon, John Ewing Calhoun and Thomas B. Craighead. In 1776 Nathaniel Macon was a student at Princeton, but owing to the war he abandoned a college course that he might actively serve his country.

In 1760 Crowfield Academy was opened in Mecklenburg

County, about two miles from where Davidson College now stands. It is probable this was the first classical school in the province. About this time the Rev. James Tate, a Presbyterian minister from Ireland, established a classical school at Wilmington. Other well-known Presbyterian schools of this period were Rev. Henry Patillo's school in Orange County and Clio's Nursery, taught by Rev. James Hall, D.D., in Iredell County.

The most illustrious name in the educational history of the province is that of Rev. David Caldwell, D.D. In 1766 or 1767 he established a classical school in Guilford County, at that time the northeastern part of Rowan County, about three miles from where Greensboro now stands. It soon became one of the most noted schools in the South, and for many years "Dr. Caldwell's log cabin served North Carolina as an academy, a college and a theological seminary."

The most noted school for higher education in North Carolina during the colonial period was Queen's College, also known as Queen's Museum, located at Charlotte, and its history is interesting as a bold and vigorous effort for the promotion of learning under the most discouraging circumstances. The beginnings of this institution are found in the classical school established in 1767 by the Rev. Joseph Alexander and a Mr. Benedict at the Sugar Creek Presbyterian Church near Charlotte. The community in which this school was located was noted for its intelligence. The school flourished, and to meet the demands of a growing and prosperous community it was decided to enlarge its scope. Queen's College became the successor of Alexander's school. An act entitled "An act for founding, establishing and endowing of Queen's College, in the town of Charlotte, in Mecklenburg County" was passed by the Assembly which met in New Bern on December 5, 1770. It was twice chartered by the Legislature and twice repealed by royal proclamation. The royal government as

a rule favored no institutions not under the control of the Church of England, but notwithstanding royal disfavor Queen's College continued to flourish. It is probable the name was changed to Liberty Hall Academy in 1775, as the trustees did not care to continue the royal name where British authority had refused a charter. The coveted recognition came at last, but it was under the blessings of liberty and not by the King's favor. In the first year of American independence the Legislature of North Carolina, as the representative of the sovereign authority of a free State, granted a charter to Liberty Hall Academy.

SOME NORTH CAROLINA HEROINES OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY RICHARD DILLARD, M.D.

Honore de Balzac wisely remarks that "every man should dissect at least one woman." She stands in direct antithesis to man, and how little even yet does he understand the delicacy of her tissues, the quality and temper of her nerve ganglia, the gentleness and generosity of her impulses, the beauty and strength and depth of her devotion; her voice is as the sweetest lute, her place her home; her shrine is the heart of man.

We all admire the character of Deborah who led the Israelitish hosts to battle, and her song of victory and thanksgiving still remains one of the most beautiful specimens of ancient Hebrew poetry. At break of dawn Mary Magdalene sought the sepulcher, and it was her commission to announce the glad tidings of the resurrection; her joyful cry, "He is risen! He is risen"! has come rolling down the ages, and woman is still bringing us messages of joy and peace and hope. We love to read of the devotion of Ruth to Naomi, and how Rizpah watched and guarded the bodies of her dead kinsmen for six long months under the skies of Palestine, "from the beginning of the barley harvest until water dropped upon them out of heaven"; and there was Artemissia, too, who, dazed by grief and in the anguish of despair, ate the heart of her dead husband that his love might be buried forever in her. All history and every age resounds with her deeds of heroism, her prowess, her beauty and her virtues.

The honor belongs to woman for the discovery of the arts of drawing and painting, for when Debrinades, the Sycionian, was taking leave of her lover, about to start for war, with the aid of a candle and a piece of charcoal she sketched

his profile upon the wall of her father's house; this she afterwards perfected to comfort her in his absence, and it became the first picture. Then there are Iphigenia, Irene of Constantinople, Semiramis the wonderful, Zenobia the beautiful, Joan d'Arc the heroic, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the benefactress of mankind, and Angustura the maid of Saragossa, immortalized by Byron in Childe Harold who, snatching a crucifix from a priest and a sword from the hand of her dying lover, rallied the wavering Spanish legions and led them on to victory. These, all these, shall live as long as noble deeds and human records last! So much by way of introduction, let us now shift the scene to the women of the American Revolution, and particularly to those of our own State.

Beginning at the barren sand dunes of Currituck listen to my story of "Betsey Dowdy's Ride."

The bright lightwood fire from Joe Dowdy's cottage gleamed far out across the marshes in the chill December air, the cold north wind moaned like a wraith under the low built eaves, and the surf thundered ponderously along Currituck beach. It was an unfriendly night, and Joe Dowdy sat with his pipe in the chimney corner looking vacantly into the fire, now and then kicking it with his coarse boots and sending meteoric showers of dancing, gleeful sparks pell-mell up the chimney.

Betsey Dowdy and her mother sat silently carding wool for their winter clothes. The furniture of the room was entirely incongruous with the surroundings, and was evidently treasure trove from the sea; the easy chair in which Joe Dowdy was sitting had evidently been plundered from the grand salon of some ship, which unhappy fate had driven upon the inhospitable beach.

Joe Dowdy was a wrecker, and lived principally upon his salvage from the sea, and a rough, jolly fellow he was, broad-

shouldered and ruddy-cheeked—the most daring of all who dwelt along the coast.

His only daughter, Betsey, was of his same heroic mould. In her isolated home she had but little contact with the outside world, but was passionately fond of books and greedily devoured every one which chance threw into her hands, most of which were of a romantic character. No wonder then that she early developed and cherished the idea that she was the child of Fate, and destined to perform some great heroic deed. Already, during a storm, had she plucked a tiny life from the fury of the downpouring seas.

There was a sharp knock at the door, and without ceremony in stalked old Sam Jarvis, long-haired and bearded like a saint, he had come from the mainland in his canoe to fetch the news, and Betsey listened eager-eyed to his story, as he told in detail of Colonel Howe's badly equipped, poorly drilled troops; of Captain Benbury's delay in sending forward supplies, and of Captain Vail's company composed of those fine dressed fellows from Edenton, whom he did not believe would fight at all; that a battle was imminent at Great Bridge, and if Dunmore were successful he would immediately invade Eastern North Carolina; their homes would be destroyed, their goodly lands laid waste, and they would be nothing but British slaves again. And then the conversation turned to old Nick Lindsay, the infamous Tory of the neighborhood, for everybody was indignant at the way he made fun of the Patriot army and carried news to the British commander on the sly; and besides, he lived on the mainland very near the highway, and kept a pack of dogs just to annoy everybody who passed, and when Betsey heard all that her cheeks burned and she hated him in her heart.

And her father agreed with Sam Jarvis that the situation was very desperate, and unless something was done immediately, all would be lost; and they both said, too, that Gen.

William Skinner, of Yeopim, was the man of the hour, and if only he could be communicated with at once the invasion might be checked, but he lived over fifty miles away, and that would be impossible on such a night, either by land or by water. Betsey finally went off to bed—but not to sleep, for something urged her to go to General Skinner that night; she felt that the supreme moment of her destiny had arrived; so after thoroughly maturing her plans she crept to the door; all was still and silent in the house; she raised her only window, and in a moment more had saddled her pony and was galloping off down the beach to a ford across Currituck Sound to the mainland.

Good St. Agnes protect such a child, on such a mission, on such a night! Now Betsey knew it would be high tide about 12 o'clock, and it was her object to reach the ford before the water was too deep to cross. It was a full half-hour of suspense and anxiety as she swept all unheeded by fishermen's huts, sand dunes and across the heath to her goal. She halted at the water's edge; she had miscalculated; the tide was at half-flood and rising rapidly! A girlish dread came over her; a moment's hesitation, but 'twas no time to waver, down she rode into the water up to her pony's knees. The night hung like a darksome pall over horse and rider; she spurs her pony and he plunges forward, now up to his haunches, now the saddle skirts drag in the water—he swims—she shivers, leans forward, and firmly grasps his mane. Now Betsey knew the sagacity of these wiry little banker ponies; it was a natural instinct in them to swim, so she gave him loose reins, and as he was bearing her bravely she lifted her eyes above and thought how the children of Israel had passed through the Red Sea, and her purpose and her faith forsook her not, for she knew that the Lord of Hosts was with her. The pony reels and flounders; but no, he is in the shoal water of the other side. A few moments more they stood upon the

mainland, dripping and cold. Another difficulty now beset her way, another dragon was to be passed. Old Nick Lindsay, the Tory, lived but two miles further up the road, and she dreaded that he might interrupt her in some way and thwart her purpose, for he was always on the watch to see what the Patriots were doing; so just before she reached his gate she made a dash with her pony—just then over the fence bolted the whole pack of curs after her—old Nick threw open his door and hailed. Speed Betsey, speed, like Roderick's henchmen to Lanric Mead! Speed Betsey, speed! Down the road they went, rider and horse and dogs. You would have thought John Gilpin was repeating his famous turnpike ride that very night. Old Nick discharged his musket, and the lead showered all over them, but she sped on, and it was not until a turn in the road had been reached a mile further on did she hear old Nick harking back his dogs, for she had beaten the race. She and her pony were now dry, and warm and comfortable. All during the night she would halt and listen, sometimes she would seem to hear the booming of a cannon afar off, but she swerved not in her purpose. The air was crisp and clear, and the frozen road fairly resounded beneath her pony's hoofs as she galloped past houses dark and gray and silent, through cornfields white with frost, and dismal woodland, through endless swamps and over long bridges, and sometimes she heard strange noises and thought she saw figures crouching in the road to seize her; but when she reached the county of John Harvey she gave a sigh of relief, for she knew he had inspired the whole neighborhood with patriotism. Many a time she came to a fork in the road and knew not which one to take, but she gave her pony the reins and let him decide, and he was always right for Fate was guiding them. Day was now beginning to dawn in the east, the morning star grew pale, and when the sun arose she was crossing the float bridge at Phelps's Point, now called Hertford. She

fell into a pleasant reverie as she thought how General Skinner would thank her and welcome her to his house, and then she fancied just how the old warrior would look in his gaudy uniform with gold epaulets upon his broad shoulders and of the comfort and the warmth, and she leant over, and tenderly caressing her pony said, "Go on—go on, my pet, we'll be there soon." Another hour brought her to General Skinner's headquarters. Her message was delivered, immediate relief was promised—seven hours of hunger, fatigue, suspense—more than fifty miles had been bravely covered. Her mission was ended, and Betsey Dowdy's fame soon rang through the land.

All along the route as she returned home the next day she heard guns and saw bonfires, and flags waving, and her heart sank at first, for she thought the British invasion was surely at hand; but the people were rejoicing, the battle of Great Bridge had been fought and won, and Dunmore was rapidly evacuating Norfolk.

For many a day the people along the road, which Betsey Dowdy traversed, talked about the wild-mad horseback rider who sped by their houses like the Erl King after midnight. Old Nick Lindsay the Tory died suddenly that very night, and as for Tom Bob Ansell he declared to his dying day "'Twan't no horseman at all, only Old Nick's spirit a-flying away with them durned Britishers."

And this is the story of Betsey Dowdy, and how she carried the news to General Skinner, and that was how they brought the good news from Ghent to Aix: "The news which alone could save Aix from her fate."

The daring exploit of Mrs. Mary Slocumb is dear to the heart of every North Carolinian. She dreamed one night that she saw the Patriot army defeated, and the mangled body of her husband lying uner a certain tree upon the battle-field; the scene was so vivid that she determined to go to her husband that night at all hazard; so, leaving her only child in

the care of a slave, she rode all that night and a part of the next day, but when she arrived upon the field of battle the British had been defeated, and her husband wounded in a charge, but not seriously. All that day she nursed the dying and the wounded, and returned home in safety. Mrs. Slocumb and her gallant husband lie buried beneath modest slabs on their old plantation, but in the summer of 1907 a splendid monument was unveiled to her and other heroic women of the Revolution, near the very spot where she nursed and cared for the wounded patriots.

It is a handsome base of blue granite surmounted by a statue of a beautiful heroic woman, in Italian marble, the inscriptions on the different sides of the monument are as follows: "This monument was erected by the Moore's Creek Monumental Association in the year 1907." "Most honored of the names recorded by this historic association is that of Mary Slocumb, wife of Lieut. Slocumb, riding alone at night sixty-five miles to succor the wounded on this battlefield. Her heroism and self-sacrifice place her high on the pages of history, and should awaken in successive generations true patriotism and love of country." "To the honored memory of the heroic women of the lower Cape Fear during the American Revolution—1775-1781." "Unswerving in devotion, self-sacrificing in loyalty to the cause of their country, their works do follow them, and their children rise up and call them blessed."

The name of Flora MacDonald must not be omitted from the list of North Carolina heroines of the Revolution. Foote tersely remarks that "Massachusetts had her Lady Arabella, Virginia her Pocahontas and North Carolina her Flora MacDonald." Had Flora MacDonald espoused the cause of the Patriots, as she should have consistently done, instead of aiding the British cause, she would have written her name higher than any woman in our history; but to use her own words,

after she returned to Scotland, referring to the failure of the two great enterprises of her life, she said: "I have hazarded my life for the House of Stuart, and for the House of Hanover, and I do not see that I am a great gainer by either." It is to the British historian therefore that she must look for the glorification of her name.

A complete roster of the Revolutionary heroines of North Carolina is beyond the scope of this short sketch, and the reader must be content with the bare mention of many of the most prominent names, such as Mrs. Robin Wilson, the heroine of Steel Creek, Rachel Caldwell, Elizabeth Steele, Margaret Caruthers, Ann Fergus, Sarah Logan, Margaret McBride and Mrs. Willie Jones.

The Virginian points with pride to the stone which marks the site of the Colonial Capitol at Williamsburg, upon which is inscribed the resolution of Jefferson and others declaring they would drink no more tea, or use any stuffs of British manufacture. Both the men and women of Boston signed similar resolves, but the "Edenton Tea Party"—where will you find its parallel? Published and discussed in the English newspapers, cartooned by the most famous caricaturists of the day, ridiculed by the Tories as "Edenton Female Artillery"; I have said it once and I say it again, we can not eulogize too highly the action of those brave women, and particularly Penelope Barker, one of the most unique and interesting figures which masqueraded in our past. A maker of history, herself a great political character, she inaugurated and led a movement which takes a prominent place along with those acts of unselfishness, self-denial and patriotism which led up to the American Revolution.

Very few people know that the first martyr of the Revolution was on account of tea. After those patriotic outbursts at Boston on account of the "Tea tax" there were a few who defied public opinion. Among them was a man named The-

ophilus Lillie and his associate, one Richardson, who continued to import and sell tea. This came near producing a riot, and Richardson was attacked by boys in the street, pelting him with dirt and stones. He discharged his old musket into the crowd, killing a lad named Snyder. Young Snyder's death produced a profound impression all over the country, and he was at once proclaimed the first martyr to the cause of liberty. His funeral was the largest ever seen in Boston. Upon his coffin was the inscription "Innocence itself is not safe," and was borne by six of his fellows, followed by a procession of five hundred school children and fifteen hundred citizens. All this is by the way.

A public-spirited and patriotic citizen of Edenton, Mr. Frank Wood, has marked with an appropriate memorial (a huge bronze teapot surmounting a Revolutionary cannon), the site of that "Edenton Tea Party, Oct. 25, 1774"; a monument to those fifty-one women who helped to make our commonwealth possible. There it stands a perpetual inspiration to noble deeds and virtuous actions, and thither, as to a fountain, future generations repairing from its brazen urn shall draw light and liberty, for "To the souls of fire I, Pallas Athene, give more fire, and to those who are manful I give a might more than man's."

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

MISS BETTIE FRESHWATER POOL.

Miss Bettie Freshwater Pool, who wrote the poem "Carolina," which appears in this issue of the BOOKLET, was born at the Pool homestead in Pasquotank County, near Elizabeth City, and was the ninth child of George D. and Elizabeth (Fletcher) Pool. This old Colonial home had been in that family for generations and was a beautiful place. "The building of spacious dimensions" was surrounded by extensive grounds shaded by a variety of magnificent trees.

The Pools were for many years among the most prominent citizens of Pasquotank and have given many brilliant and useful sons and daughters to North Carolina. They came from England early in the eighteenth century and settled in that county. Patrick Pool in 1760 took up a large grant of land from his kinsman, John, Earl of Granville, which was situated in both Virginia and this State. He was the great-great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch.

Miss Pool at the early age of eight surprised her father by her remarkable verses, which she repeated as she sat on his knee. Her vivid imagination revealed itself in the composition of stories and rhymes before she could even read or write. Her unusual gift, displayed by reciting these, won for her the name of "The story teller" among youthful companions.

A severe accident when a child rendered her an invalid for twenty years, during which time she was unable to attend school; hence she is almost entirely self-educated. Stories were written to while away the tedious hours. These appeared later in a little volume entitled "The Eyrie and Other

Southern Stories." They are well written and full of interest.

Besides this work Miss Pool has written and published "Under Brazilian Skies," a love story of the tropics. Several songs, among them "My Love is All Around Thee," "The Banks of the Old Pasquotank" and "Carolina," have been composed by her and set to music.

During the last session of the General Assembly a bill was introduced to adopt this as a State song. It was read by one of the members in the Senate amid hearty applause, and the poem was recorded in the journal of the Senate. It has been pronounced by some to be superior to the other two State songs. We publish the entire poem in this issue.

Sketch of Prof. W. K. Boyd, author of "Battle of Kings Mountain," in this number of the BOOKLET, appeared in Vol. VII, No. 3, January, 1908.

Sketch of Dr. Richard Dillard, author of "Some North Carolina Heroines of the Revolution," in this number of the BOOKLET, appeared in Vol. VI, No. 2, October, 1906.

CHARLES LEE SMITH.

For the following sketch of the writer of the article on *Schools and Education in Colonial Times,* which appears in this issue, we are indebted to *Who's Who in America.*

Charles Lee Smith, son of Louis Turner Smith, M.D., and Nannie Green Smith, neé Howell, was born at Wilton, Granville County, N. C., August 29, 1865; graduated from Wake Forest College, 1884; teacher in Raleigh Male Academy and associate editor of *Biblical Recorder,* 1884-1885; graduate student at Johns Hopkins University (Ph.D., 1889) and in Germany, 1885-89; at Johns Hopkins, was successively University Scholar, Fellow in History and Politics, instructor in

History, and lecturer on Sociology; while a member of the faculty of Johns Hopkins (1888-1891), was also secretary of the Baltimore Charity Organization Society (1889-91) and secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (1889-90); married, October 24, 1889, to Sallie Lindsay Jones, High Point, N. C.; professor of History and Political Science in William Jewell College, 1891-1905; Gay Lecturer in Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1901; president of Mercer University, 1905-1906; in 1906, Wake Forest College conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D.; since 1906, he has been a member of the Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, Raleigh, N. C.

Dr. Smith is a contributor to leading periodicals and the author of *The History of Education in North Carolina, The Money Question, etc.* Governor Kitchin recently appointed him a member of the Library Commission of North Carolina, which was created by Act of the last Legislature.

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INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past seven years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication on great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

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The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

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Mrs. THOMAS K. BRUNER.

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*Died December 12, 1904.

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INDIANS, SLAVES AND TORIES: OUR 18TH CENTURY LEGISLATION REGARDING THEM.

By Clarence H. Poe,

Editor of *The Progressive Farmer*, and author of "A Southerner in Europe," and "Cotton: Its Cultivation, Marketing, Manufacture, Etc."

I have been very much interested recently in a bulky, leather-bound volume of 700 thick and yellowed pages, with old-fashioned f-like s's, an equally old-fashioned style of capitalization, and besprinkled here and there with typographical ornaments that have since gone out of use, its title page reading as follows:

"Laws of the State of North Carolina,
Published according to Act of Assembly, by
James Iredell,
now one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.
Edenton;
Printed by Hodge & Willis, printers to the State of North Carolina,
M, DCC, XCI."

This book, giving in full the more important "Acts of the Assembly" of North Carolina from 1714 to 1791, has, I repeat, interested me greatly, and it is, perhaps, not unnatural to assume that it would be of interest to other North Carolinians. And while there are other copies of the book extant, the number is so very small as to make it practically out of the question for five Booklet readers in a hundred to learn directly from it the nature of our eighteenth century statutes. A summary of its more notable features therefore may be not wholly without merit.

The book, as I have suggested, does not give in full all the laws passed from 1714 to 1791; this, of course, would be impossible in a work of 700 pages. The careful threshing of Judge Iredell eliminated nearly all the laws obsolete in 1791 or repealed before that time, and all the private Acts of the Assembly. Of these acts only the titles are given, followed by the word "obsolete" or "private" or the date of repeal. It is to this manner of sifting that the elimination of many of the laws of the 1714-1715 Assembly is due, or as the book has it:

"Laws of North Carolina. Anno Regni Georgii I, Regis Magnæ Brittanniæ, Franciæ and Hiberniæ, Secundo. At a General Biennial Assembly, held at the house of Captain Richard Sanderson, at Little River, begun the 17th day of November, 1714, and continued by several adjournments, until the 19th day of January, 1715."

Among the acts marked "obsolete" we note the first, "An Act Concerning Marriages"; the fourth, "An Act Prohibiting Strangers Trading with the Indians" and the sixth, "An Act Exempting New-comers from Paying Levies for One Year." Chapter 7, "An Act for the Better Observing the Lord's Day, Called Sunday, the 30th of January, the 29th of May, and the 22d of September; and also for the Suppressing Prophaneness, Immorality and Divers Other Vicious and Enormous Sins," was repealed in 1741, and only the title is here given; this is also true of chapter 8, "An Act for Establishing the Church, and Appointing Select Vestries." It is also interesting to note that the ninth act was one "for Liberty of Conscience" and for accepting the affirmation of Quakers, and that the tenth, "An Act Relating to the Biennial and other Assemblies; and regulating Elections and Members," was "repealed by His Majesty's order."

But of course we can not go through the book in this haphazard fashion, noting on page after page the things that most impress us. Instead let us take up some of the sub-

jects most likely to interest the reader. For my part I have searched out with especial zest all the legislation bearing on those three extinct classes of our population—slaves, Indians and Tories—and it is of the legislation affecting these that the editors of the Booklet have kindly asked me to write. It will, perhaps, be just as well to consider first the statutes regarding slaves and slavery.

I.—Legislation Regarding Slaves and Servants.

The first statute regarding servants and slaves that I have noticed is chapter 24 of the Acts of the Assembly of 1741, which met at Edenton. The first section of this act declares that "no person whatsoever, being a Christian or of Christion parentage * * * imported or brought into this Province, shall be deemed a servant for any term of years" unless by indenture or agreement. This is followed by other regulations regarding "Christian servants." If disobedient or unruly, they might be carried before a justice of the peace and sentenced to not more than 21 lashes; if they ran away and were recaptured, they were to serve double the time so lost. This law also provided that if any person should "presume to whip a Christian servant naked," without an order from a magistrate, such person should forfeit 40 shillings, proclamation money, to the party injured. Servants might carry complaints to magistrates who might bind masters or mistresses "to answer complaint at the next county court." If any master discharged a servant while sick, before the servant's term of service expired, the county court was to levy on the master for enough to enable the church wardens of the parish to care for the sick servant until death or recovery. If he recovered, the servant was free. Free persons, for minor offenses, were punished by fine, servants by whipping, not exceeding 39 lashes. Free persons trading with slaves were fined "treble the value traded for," or if

unable to pay this, themselves sold as servants. Any free person brought over as a slave could recover twice his value and compel his abductor to return him to his own country.

Runaway slaves, acknowledging no owner, were committed to jail and advertised for two months; then, if the owner did not appear, hired out by the authorities. An iron collar was put about the necks of all slaves so sold.

Masters could designate one slave on each plantation to carry a gun. No other slave was permitted to carry any kind of weapon. Only slaves wearing liveries were permitted to leave the plantations without passes. No slave was allowed, "on any pretense whatsoever to raise any horses, cattle or hogs." Runaway slaves could be outlawed.

Negroes, mulattoes or Indians, giving false testimony in courts, were severely punished:

"Every such offender * * * shall have one ear nailed to the pillory, and there stand for the space of one hour, and the said ear to be cut off, and thereafter the other ear nailed in like manner, and cut off at the expiration of one other hour."

The offender might also be sentenced to "thirty-nine lashes, well laid on, on his or her bare back, at the common whipping post."

No slave could be set free except for meritorious service, "judged and allowed by the county court." Any "negro, mulatto or Indian slave, otherwise set free" could be taken up and sold by the Church wardens, and the money applied to the use of the parish. (Speaking of Indian slaves, it would be interesting to know how many of this class there were.)

During the Revolutionary War it was asserted that Tories liberated slaves and turned them loose for the purpose of disturbing the peace, so that in this period emancipation was made more difficult than before. No one could free slaves except for meritorious service and by express permission of

the county court. Slaves otherwise emancipated were turned over to the sheriff and sold to the highest bidder, the person delivering them to the sheriff getting one-fifth of the selling price. The 1777 statute says that "the evil and pernicious practice of freeing slaves in this State ought at this critical and alarming time to be guarded against by every friend and well-wisher to his country."

The Assembly of 1779 went even further, since many negroes were "going at large to the terror of the good people of the State," and directed that all slaves liberated before the passage of the act of 1777 could be taken up and sold in the same manner as those liberated after its passage. This law—which, by the way, seems to me to savor strongly of the *ex post facto* principle—has this interesting proviso: "Provided, that nothing herein contained shall deprive of liberty any slave, who having been liberated, and not sold by order of any court, has enlisted into the service of this or the United States previous to the passing of this act." It may surprise some readers to learn of negroes fighting in the Revolution, but there are records of pensions paid black Revolutionary soldiers yet to be seen in the State Treasury Department.

The General Assembly of 1753, which met at New Bern, amended the law of 1741 so as to prohibit any slave carrying a gun unless the master gave bond for the slave's good behavior, and even then no slave could carry a gun after the housing of the corn crop, and not more than one slave on each plantation in crop season. Slaves discovered hunting with dogs could be whipped, not exceeding thirty lashes.

The Assembly of 1774 passed an important statute setting forth the penalty for killing slaves. For the first offense, the guilty man or woman was to suffer one year's imprisonment; for the second offense, the death penalty was prescribed. This act did not apply in the case of outlawed or

rebellious slaves or slaves "dying under moderate correction."*

A peculiar statute is that of 1777 making it unlawful for any slave in Halifax, Northampton, Bute, Granville, Edgecombe or Wake, to grow any tobacco for his own use. The next session of the Assembly, which first met at New Bern and then at Halifax, passed a rigorous law against slave stealers. The death penalty was prescribed for all such criminals and for all persons carrying free negroes out of the State for the purpose of selling them into slavery.

Chapter 5 of the Laws of 1786 recites that "the importation of slaves into this State is productive of evil consequences, and highly impolitic"; it, therefore, imposes the following import duties on all slaves brought into the State whether by land or water:

Negroes under 7 and over 40 years of age, 50 shillings; between 7 and 12, or between 30 and 40, 5 pounds; between 12 and 30 years, 10 pounds. Slaves imported directly from Africa, whatever their age, were subject to a tax of five pounds each. The sixth section of this chapter also provides that "every person who shall introduce into this State any slave or slaves" from any of the free States should "enter

*It is interesting to observe, by the way, that this Assembly of 1774 is the last whose acts are introduced by Latin references to George III. Its acts begin: "Anno Regni Georgii III, Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, and Hiberniæ, Decimo Quarto. At an Assembly begun and held at New Bern the 20th day of March in the fourteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., and in the year of our Lord," etc.

How very differently reads the introduction to the very next section of this book: "A Declaration of Rights. At a Congress of Representatives of the Freemen of the State of North Carolina, assembled at Halifax the 17th day of December, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-six, for the purpose of establishing a constitution or form of government for the said State."

into bond with sufficient surety in the sum of fifty pounds, current money, for each slave, for the removing of such slave or slaves" to the State from whence they were brought, within three months thereafter.

It is also set forth in chapter 17 of the Acts of 1786 that "many persons by cruel treatment of their slaves, cause them to commit crimes for which many of the said slaves are executed, whereby a very burdensome debt is unjustly imposed on the good citizens of the State; for remedy whereof" all former laws providing for reimbursing masters of executed slaves at the public expense were repealed.

The next year (1787) an act was passed making it unlawful for any negro or mulatto to "entertain any slave in his or her house during the Sabbath or in the night between sunset and sunrise" on penalty of 20 shillings for the first offense and 40 for each subsequent offense.

In 1788 it was found necessary to enact a more stringent law against trading with slaves. All free persons trading with any slave without written permission from the master specifying the articles in question, were to be fined ten pounds for each offense. Slaves selling articles without permission were to be reported to the justice of the peace and given not over thirty-nine lashes.

II.—Legislation Affecting the Indians.

Let us next take up the laws regarding the Indians. Many of these, of course, were obsolete when Judge Iredell made his collection of laws, and are, therefore, excluded from the book. It is very creditable to our ancestors that the first Indian law of special note, that on page 119 (Laws of 1748), is "An act for ascertaining the bounds of a certain tract of land formerly laid out by treaty to the use of the Tuskarora Indians, so long as they or any of them shall occupy and live upon the same; and to prevent any person or persons

taking up lands, or settling within the said bounds, by pretense of any purchase or purchases made, or that shall be made from the said Indians"—"it being but just," as the preamble says, "that the ancient inhabitants of this province shall have and enjoy a quiet and convenient dwelling place in this their native country."

But the next law regarding Indians, passed in 1760, is of very different tenor. It was adopted near the end of the great French and Indian War, and is of sufficient importance to justify the republication in full of the two most striking sections:

"13. And for the greater encouragement of such persons as shall enlist voluntarily to serve the said companies, and other inhabitants of this province who shall undertake any expedition against the Cherokees and other Indians in alliance with the French; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that each of the said Indians who shall be taken a captive during the present war by any person as aforesaid, shall, and is hereby declared to be a slave, and the absolute right and property of who shall be the captor of such Indians. * * * And if any person or persons, inhabitant or inhabitants of this province not in actual pay, shall kill an enemy Indian or Indians, he or they shall have and receive ten pounds for each and every Indian he or they shall so kill, and any person or persons who shall be in the actual pay of this province, shall have and receive five pounds for every enemy Indian or Indians he or they shall so kill, to be paid out of the Treasury, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

"14. *Provided, always*, that any person claiming the said reward, before he be allowed or paid the same, shall produce to the Assembly the scalp of every Indian so killed, and make oath or otherwise prove that he was the person who killed, or was present at the killing, of the Indian whose scalp shall be so produced. * * * And as a further encouragement, shall also have and keep to his or their own use or uses all plunder taken out of the possession of any enemy Indian or Indians, or within twenty miles of any of the Cherokee towns, or any Indian town at war with any of his Majesty's subjects."

Two thousand pounds was appropriated for the purchase of Indian scalps in the manner indicated in this statute.

In 1778 it appeared that "divers avaricious and ill-disposed persons" had been defrauding and abusing the Chero-

kees and stirring up much bad feeling, and a law was passed making it unlawful to trade with this tribe of Indians without license, or to trespass on their grounds. The penalty for violation was a fine of 500 pounds; failing to pay this, says the law, the offender "shall stand in the pillory two hours, and receive thirty-nine lashes upon his bare back, and shall stand committed to the gaol of the district until such sums shall be completely discharged and paid."

The first law passed at the session of 1786, held at Fayetteville, was one providing defense against Indians for the citizens of Davidson County, "frequent acts of hostility rendering it necessary that some measures be taken for their protection." A company of 201 men was to be raised and to stay in service two years, unless sooner disbanded by the Legislature. I think, however, that this Davidson County was in what is now Tennessee, as the Davidson County now existing was not formed until 1822.

III.—How the Tories Were Treated.

And now let us consider some of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary laws regarding Tories. Immediately after framing the Constitution, the Halifax Congress of 1776 adopted an ordinance requiring all citizens to take the oath of allegiance to the State, the "whereas" being as follows:

"*Whereas*, divers persons within this State have been in actual arms against the liberties of the United States of America, or have adhered to the King and Parliament of Great Britain against the same, * * * with design to weaken and obstruct the necessary efforts of the said States against the wrongs and hostilities of the said King and Parliament of Great Britain; and it being hoped that such persons are now become sensible of the wickedness and folly of endeavoring to subject their country to misery and slavery, and are penitent for the same—"

free pardon and protection were to be granted all persons taking oath to bear true allegiance to the State and to "do no act willingly whereby the independence of the said State may be destroyed or injured."

All persons refusing or neglecting to take this oath within ninety days from that date "shall be and are hereby declared incapable of bringing any suit or action, real, personal or mixed, before any court, judge or magistrate within this State; or being sued, plead or make defense; or of prosecuting any indictment; or of purchasing or transferring any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, the same shall be and are hereby declared to be forfeited to this State, being first found by inquest of a jury."

Nor was the General Assembly which met at New Bern in April, 1777, in a mood to deal lightly with those who stood in the way of American independence. The anti-Tory laws were almost Draconian in their severity. "Every inhabitant of the State owes and shall pay allegiance to the State of North Carolina." The second section continues, redundant words and phrases omitted:

"And if any person residing within this State * * * shall take commission from the King of Great Britain: or knowingly and willingly aid or assist any enemies at open war against this State, or against the United States of America, by joining their armies, or by enlisting or procuring or persuading others to enlist for that purpose, or by furnishing such enemies with arms, ammunition, provision, or any other article for their aid or comfort, * * * he shall be adjudged guilty of high treason, and shall suffer death without the benefit of clergy, and his or her estate shall be forfeited to the State. *Provided*, that the judge may appropriate so much of the traitor's estate as may appear sufficient for the support of his or her family."

By the third section of the act, imprisonment during the war and confiscation of half his property is prescribed as the punishment for any person who "shall convey intelligence to the enemies of this State, or speak publicly against our public defense, or excite the people against the government of this State, or persuade them to return to a dependence on the Crown of Great Britain, or maliciously discourage the people from enlisting into the service of the State, or dis-

pose the people to favor the enemy, or endeavor to prevent the measures carrying on in support of freedom."

All late officers of the King, and all persons who had "traded immediately to Great Britain or Ireland" were to give up North Carolina citizenship or abjure allegiance to England. Failing to depart they could be shipped at their own expense to Europe or the West Indies, not to return on pain of death.

When the Assembly met again in November of the same year, the ardor of the members had in no wise cooled. They divided the counties into districts, in each of which a magistrate was to administer the oath of allegiance to "all free male persons above 16 years of age," who had resided for one week or longer in that district. Names of persons refusing to take the oath were to be listed, and they were to be dealt with in the manner noted in the last paragraph regarding officers and traders refusing to take the oath.

A few weeks later the Assembly of 1777 took another step forward and declared the forfeiture to the State of all property belonging to any person who had left the State or "attached himself to or aided or abetted the enemies of the United States," unless such person should appear before the 1778 Assembly and be by it restored to citizenship. That Assembly, which met in New Bern, proceeded to put into effect the act of its predecessors and appointed commissioners to sell the confiscated property. The second chapter of the 1779 legislation names a number of those whose estates were confiscated in accordance with this act, among the names being William Tryon, Josiah Martin, Sir Nathaniel Duckinfield, Edmund Fanning, Thomas MacKnight, and many others.

Very naturally these confisaction laws excited the greed and strengthened the audacity of the baser sort of Whigs, and it is not surprising to find the 1780 Assembly acknowledg-

ing that "many acts of violence and barbarity have been lately committed under pretense of seizing the property of disaffected persons, these unwarrantable depredations being carried so far as to deprive some poor persons of house and kitchen utensils and wearing apparel, and many persons have unlawfully seized upon and carried away negro slaves, and other valuable effects [for] their own use, and slaves * * * conveyed to distant parts, or publicly sold in violation of law and justice." To remedy this, the Assembly again directed that while the property of all persons who had then or should thereafter join the Royalists, should be confiscated, only the sheriff or confiscation commissioner should take possession of property by virtue of this act; others seizing property should repay the owners three-fold.

The sixth section of the act also recites that evil-disposed persons, under pretense of distressing Royalists, had been plundering South Carolinians indiscriminately. The sheriff was directed to seize all such property, returning that belonging to American sympathizers, and selling all belonging to Tories. The seventh section, curiously enough, exempted from taxation for that year all refugees from Georgia.

This Hillsboro Assembly of 1780 also suspended the sale of confiscated property, the reason assigned being that the nearness of the British army (and the consequent gloomy outlook for independence) caused the property to sell at much less than its true value. The sales were revived next year.

* * *

Peace came at last, however, and the Assembly of 1783, recognizing the fact that "it is the policy of all wise States, on the termination of civil wars, to grant an act of pardon and oblivion for past offenses," directed that "all manner of treasons, misprision of treasons, felony or misdemeanor committed or done since July 4, 1776, by any person or per-

sons whatsoever, be pardoned, released, and put in total oblivion." Only officers in the King's army, Tories then out of the State, persons who had committed capital crimes, and those especially offensive Tories singled out by name—Peter Mallette, David Fanning and Samuel Andrews—were excepted from the provisions of this act. Both by the letter of its statute and the spirit of its people, North Carolina resolved to forget the bitterness (but not the heroic deeds) of a struggle in which, as in all great wars by men of our blood, the main body in each side had fought "for the right as God gave them to see the right."

With that same broad spirit of tolerance, therefore, which caused our people in the first chapter of our book to provide "for liberty of Conscience," we leave them in this last quotation, forgetting and forgiving (even so early as 1783) those with whom they had differed in "the late unpleasantness" and setting to work, all together, for the upbuilding of the State. Thus North Carolina entered upon a long period of healthy and untroubled development, while defeated England, with a like tolerance, came to find pride in the heroism of the men she had once faced in deadly conflict, Lord Tennyson speaking both for and to the nation when he wrote:

"O thou that sendest out the man,
To rule by land or sea,
Strong mother of a lion-line,
Be proud of those strong sons of thine,
Who wrenched their rights from thee!"

THOMAS PERSON. *

By Stephen B. Weeks.

The Person family represents one unit in that great English voelkerwanderung which began from the older American colonies almost before they were themselves out of swaddling clothes and has gained more and more force as newer settlements grew in strength until it has over-run and conquered the American continent for the men of Anglo-Saxon blood. Virginia had been planted little more than a generation when hardy pioneers pushed out from her settled centers and in the wilderness of Carolina carved out new homes for themselves, redeeming them from the wilderness and the savage. These frontiersmen in their turn sent others to the new and fertile lands of the old Southwest and old Northwest, and these have again sent out conquering hosts to the shores of the calm Pacific and to the naked plains and savage mountains of the arid mid-region. Thus it follows that the real F. F. V.'s are found as often in the far West, in the old Southwest or in Carolina as in Virginia herself.

The Person family was one of those which thus left Virginia with that great migration that swept over her southern border for a hundred years after the first settling of North Carolina. It had been settled in Brunswick County, Va., and had for its neighbors the Mangums, who were soon to follow it to North Carolina. I find in the Quaker records of southeastern Virginia a John Persons, the son of John Persons (who spelled his name Passons), marrying Mary Patridg on the tenth of the first month, 1691/2. I have no records to prove my supposition, but it is possible that these two Quakers, father and son, were the immediate ancestors

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Raleigh

of that William Person who was the head of the family at the time of its coming into Halifax County, N. C., about 1740. William Person (born 1700, died November 11, 1778) took up land in Halifax, but seems to have soon passed on into what is now Granville, for on its organization as a separate county, in 1746, he became its first sheriff, an office which he filled for a number of years. He was often a justice of the peace, a county commissioner, a vestryman, and in general a man of prominence and a leader in his county. He married Ann ———, and his son, Thomas Person, commonly known as General Person, and whose name in his own day was indifferently written and pronounced Person, Persons, Parson, Parsons, and Passons, was born January 19, 1733, probably in Brunswick County, Va. He grew up in Granville County, N. C., and there his life was spent. He began life as a surveyor for Lord Granville, was noted for the accuracy of his surveys and the faithfulness of his work generally, and as his work made him acquainted with the best lands, he thus accumulated a handsome estate. In 1788 he listed for taxation 82,358 acres, lying in Halifax, Warren, Franklin, Orange, Caswell, Guilford, Rockingham, Anson, and Wake counties, N. C., and in Davidson, Sumner and Greene counties, Tenn. (State Rec., Vol. XXVI, 1275).

The first definite record of his appearance in public life is on July 6, 1756, when he was recommended as a justice of the peace for Granville (Col. Rec., Vol. V, 592). In 1762 he was sheriff of that county (*ibid.*, VI, 895). His appearance in the Assembly was at the October session, 1764, as the representative of Granville, and he won even in this his first service sufficient recognition to give him a place on the committee to settle the public accounts (VI, 1222). He was not again in the Assembly so far as I have been able to

learn until November session, 1768, and October session, 1769, when he again served on the Committee on Public Accounts and on that of Privileges and Elections. It was during this last session that his connection with the Regulators began to have its influence on his fortunes.

The "Regulation" was one of a series of efforts made by the people of North Carolina at various times to secure a redress of grievances. It began as early as 1759 with the Enfield riots, which were directed against the land officers of Lord Granville. A little later extortion began to grow up among the county officers in various sections of the province. Because of the lavish expenditure of Tryon's government, provincial taxes were high, and, being levied on the poll, bore unduly on the poor and thinly settled communities of the middle section. In 1765 discontent became acute, and was manifest as far east as Pasquotank. It broke into violence in the present counties of Granville, Orange, Alamance, Guilford, Rockingham, Surry, Chatham, Randolph, Rowan, Davidson, Anson, Cabarrus, Mecklenburg and Iredell. The discontented element called themselves "Regulators." Under the leadership of Husband, Howell, Hunter, Butler and others they published numerous addresses on the condition of affairs. The organization gained headway. Its purpose was to "regulate" the grievances of which they complained; these were excessive taxes, dishonest sheriffs and extortionate fees. Their agreement, or articles of association, show that their purpose was peaceful in character and that they were willing to pay legal taxes and legal fees. They petitioned the government often for redress. This was often promised but never granted. This failure to receive the redress asked no doubt irritated many and led them to commit indefensible acts of license and violence. A rupture was narrowly averted in 1768, and in September, 1770, occurred the riots in Hillsboro when Fanning, John Williams, Thomas Hart and others

were beaten, property destroyed and the court insulted and broken up.

In the Assembly of 1769 John Ashe, of New Hanover, had reported that Thomas Person, the member for Granville, was frequently charged with perjury (Col. Rec., VIII, 118). He was tried at December session, 1770, after the Hillsboro riots, for perjury and extorting illegal fees, and there came before the Assembly to prosecute that same Richard Henderson whose court had been insulted and broken up. The committee of investigation, through John Campbell, its chairman, reported that "there is not any one of the charges or allegations * * * in any manner supported," but that they were exhibited "through malice and envy, with design to injure the character and reputation of the said Thomas Person," and it was ordered that this report be published in the newspaper of the day (VIII, 448, 449, 461). Henderson, the prosecutor, was thereupon mulcted in the costs (VIII, 467), which he failed to pay (IX, 717, 718). Tryon claimed that the resolution to put the costs on Henderson was clapped up by Person's friends; at any rate, that resolution was repealed at the next session (IX, 196).

In an anonymous letter printed in the Colonial Records (VIII, 643 *et seq.*) it is said that Person was expelled from this session of Assembly:

"After this the General Assembly of the province was called, and an election ensued, at which Herman Husband and Thomas Parsons were chosen by the country party as members of the house; their enemy, Fanning, was also chosen. When the house met their first step was to expel Husband and Parsons from their seats; Husband they sent to jail; Parsons, home. They then passed a Riot Act, the substance of which was that any person or persons being guilty of any riot, either before or after the publication of this act, within the jurisdiction of any court within this province, shall and may be indicted, and when so indicted shall appear and stand trial before the expiration of sixty days; and in case he, she, or they do not appear, noticed or not noticed, within the term aforesaid, they shall and are hereby declared to be outlawed, and shall suffer death without benefit of clergy, etc., and his lands, goods and chattels confiscated and sold at the end of eight days."

This letter was no doubt the work of Rednap Howell, one of the Regulation leaders, as it is from "a gentleman in North Carolina to his friend in New Jersey," and Howell came from that State to North Carolina. The statements made in other parts of the letter seem to be essentially correct, but I confess that I am unable to reconcile this expulsion of Person with the favorable report which was made in his behalf to this same Aisembly, and with his appearance again as a member of the same Assembly at its session in November, 1771.

But the Assembly of 1770-71 did pass a Riot Act which anticipated some of the essential features of the "five intolerable acts" of the British Parliament of 1774. It was so brutal, so tyrannical and subversive of all liberty of the subject that it was condemned even by the English Government as "irreconcilable with the principles of the constitution, full of danger in its operation and unfit for any part of the British Empire." But in the meantime this act, more commonly known as the Johnston Act, from its author, was put into execution against the Regulators, and goaded them to further resistance. Tryon collected an army from the eastern counties, although in many sections the spirit of resistance was almost as pronounced as in the Regulation country. On May 16, 1771, with his army of 1100 men, organized, trained and armed, Tryon came up with some 2000 Regulators at Alamance Creek, now in Alamance County. The Regulators were unorganized, without officers, untrained and in part unarmed. There was much parleying, the Regulators even to the last petitioning for redress. Tryon forced a battle, defeated the Regulators, took some prisoners, and with more than Jeffreys' bloodthirstiness hanged James Few on the field. Six others were hanged a month later, after having received the form of a legal trial.

Person's service to the Regulation was evidently in the

council, not in the field, for he was not present at the Alamance battle, and it does not clearly appear in what form his service was rendered beyond that he was a member of their committee to whom the people were to give in their claims for overcharges which the officers guilty of extortion, under the pressure of popular indignation, had agreed to refund. The committee was to have met for this purpose on May 3, 1771, but it is probable that events were then moving too fast for peaceful methods (Col. Rec. VIII, 521, 535; Caruthers' "Caldwell," 143). But it is certain that Tryon recognized Person as a leader in this movement and did him the immortal honor to include him in the list of those excepted from the benefit of pardon. Tryon's exceptions included the four leaders who had been outlawed, Husband, Howell, Hunter and Butler, the prisoners, the young men who blew up Waddell's ammunition train, and sixteen others mentioned by name, of whom Person is the last (Col. Rec., VIII, 618).

How Person escaped trial and further punishment for treason and how he secured his release do not clearly appear, although tradition says it was through the personal friendship between him and Edmund Fanning (*ex rel.* Peter M. Wilson). Tradition says also that by permission of his jailer Person made an all night ride to his home at Goshen to see or destroy certain incriminating papers there, and returned to jail before the break of day. It is said that Tryon's troops visited his home looking for plunder as well as papers, but found nothing, and this failure may have forced his release (Col. Rec., VIII, xxvii).

It is usually said that the Regulators were Tories in the Revolution. It is certain that few of them were enthusiastic supporters of the Whig principles of 1776. But it is hardly reasonable to expect this much of them. They were mostly simple, honest, ignorant men who had grown restless under official oppression; they had been defeated and forced to take

an oath to the king by the very men who in 1776 sought to make them break the oath taken in 1771. In that struggle the Regulators for the most part maintained a sullen neutrality. Unlike their sympathizers of that day, Caldwell and Person, they were unable to see that the principles of 1776 were but those of 1771 writ large; that official oppression was the same, whether exercised by petty despots at their doors or by high lords and Parliament over sea; and that the Johnston Act of 1770 was but the prototype of the five intolerable acts of the British Parliament of 1774, which set all America aflame.

But the Regulators were not allowed to go their way in peace. Numerous efforts were made to win them to the cause of independence, and to these efforts Person lent his influence. The Hillsboro Convention of 1775 appointed him member of a committee to confer with such of the inhabitants of the province "who entertain any religious or political scruples with respect to associating in the common cause of America, to remove any ill impressions that have been made upon them by the artful devices of the enemies of America, and to induce them, by argument and persuasion, heartily to unite with us for the protection of the constitutional rights and privileges thereof" (X, 169).

Again, the Council of Safety, on August 3, 1776, resolved that General Person and Mr. Joseph John Williams "do each of them agree with a proper person for the purpose of instructing the inhabitants of Anson County and other the western parts of this colony in their duty to Almighty God, and for explaining to them the justice and necessity of the measures pursued by the United States of America" (X, 693).

But that the Provincial Convention of 1775 knew little of the character of the Regulators in particular, or of human nature in general, is shown by their making Richard Caswell,

Maurice Moore and Henry Pattillo members of this committee to win them to the American cause. Nothing shows more clearly the greatness of Thomas Person than his participation in the Regulation and his subsequent part in the Revolution. Other Regulators, by reason of narrowness of vision, or from personal spite, or from littleness, might hang back or even join the Tory interests, to which they were invited and urged by the successor of the brutal Tryon, but not Person. As Colonel Saunders has well said, the most ardent friend of the Regulation might be willing to stake the reputation of the cause on the character of Thomas Person, Church of England man though he was, friend of education, wealthy if not aristocratic, patriot and democrat of democrats.

Person was again in the Assembly in November, 1771, in January and December, 1773, March, 1774, and April, 1775. Although he was a commissioner on public buildings in Hillsboro district in 1771, he seems nevertheless to have suffered somewhat from his participation in the popular uprising; but as time passed on and efforts were made by Martin to quiet the feelings of the Regulators, Person comes more and more into prominence, and by sheer weight of character made himself a necessity to the colony.

As the struggle with Great Britain drew on he became one of the foremost advocates of separation. On February 12, 1776, he writes to his father of the "advocates of liberty" (X, 450); on the 14th, his friend, Penn, a neighbor, citizen of the same county, possibly a sympathizer with the Regulators, now in the Continental Congress, perhaps in great measure through his influence, surveys the situation and writes: "Matters are drawing to a crisis. They seem determined to persevere and are forming alliances against us. Must we not do something of the like nature? * * * The consequence of making alliances is perhaps a total separation from Britain" (X, 456). This letter was received, perhaps, about March

1st. On the 3d the Provincial Council, of which Person was a member, ordered the next session of the Provincial Congress to be held at Halifax on April 2d. The delegates met on April 4th; on the 8th, Harnett, Allen Jones, Burke, Abner Nash, John Kinchen, Person and Thomas Jones were appointed a committee to take into consideration "the usurpations and violences attempted and committed by the king and Parliament of Britain against America, and the further measures to be taken for frustrating the same and for the better defense of this province" (Col. Rec., X, xvii-xviii, 504); on the 12th, the committee brought in a resolution empowering the delegates from North Carolina in the Continental Congress "to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independency, and forming foreign alliances."

And thus on April 12, 1776, North Carolina became the first of the colonies to make a formal proposal for a declaration of independence.

Was not this proposal as much or more the work of Thomas Person than of any other man? Perhaps we shall never find evidence that will settle this point beyond dispute, but no student of our history will dare claim that such an honor could belong by right of work done to any other man more than to Person or that any other citizen of our State was more worthy of this great and signal honor.

Person was a member of all the provincial conventions and congresses which took the place of the Assembly and of the governor from 1774 to 1776.

1. New Bern, August 25-27, 1774 (C. R., IX, 1042).
2. New Bern, April 3-7, 1775 (C. R., IX, 1179).
3. Hillsboro, August 20 to September 10, 1775 (X, 164.)
4. Halifax, April 4 to May 14, 1776 (X, 499).
5. Halifax, November 12 to December 23, 1776 (X, 914).

He served on their important committees and in the last

was on the committees which drafted the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. So satisfactory was the latter to the people of North Carolina that it remained in force for fifty-nine years without change; of the Declaration of Rights it is sufficient to say that of its twelve clauses for the protection of individual rights eleven were embodied in the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States (Col. Rec., X, xxiii, xxv).

He had been chosen a member of the Provincial Council, September 9, 1775 (X, 214). This body was the executive head of the State and had Samuel Johnston as a member. Johnston and Allen Jones represented the more conservative element. They favored a strong government, a sort of representative Republicanism, modeled on Great Britain. The more progressive or radical wing, led by Willie Jones and Person, favored a simpler government and one more directly responsible to the people. The Provincial Council under the influence of the conservatives was slow, while the mass of the congress was with the radicals. As a result for the Provincial Council was substituted a Council of Safety, Person still a member (X, 581), with no practical change in its functions further than in name; but with the radical Willie Jones as the representative of the congress, instead of the conservative Johnston who was not a member.

On April 22, 1776, Person was elected brigadier general of the militia of Hillsboro district (X, 530) and was succeeded in this office in 1777 by John Butler. This was not the time when to be a militia general meant ease and quiet. It meant work, the raising of troops for active service, drilling, collecting supplies and actual fighting in suppression of Tory marauders. It was no sinecure, but Person was never, so far as I know, in actual battle. His service to the State, like that to the Regulators, was in the cabinet, not on the field.

He was made by the last Provincial Congress a justice of the peace for Granville (XXIII, 993) and a member of the Council of State (X, 1013), his fellow-councilors being William Dry, William Haywood, Edward Starkey, Joseph Leech and Thomas Eaton. He was nominated for the same office in 1781, but failed of election (XVII, 810, 894), and again in 1789, but at the latter period asked to have his name withdrawn (XXI, 389, 390, 704). In May, 1782, he was nominated for the Continental Congress but failed of election (XVI, 90; XIX, 57); on May 11, 1784, he was elected to the Continental Congress, but it was a time when there was more expense and labor in being a member of the congress than money and honor. Person never took his seat and his name nowhere appears in the list of North Carolina Congressmen (XVII, 79, 139, 143; XIX, 583).

In January, 1787, he was elected along with William Green and Matthew Locke chief commissioner for receiving the certificates of the Board of Commissioners of Army Accounts (XVIII, 451, 459). It was their duty to receive and correct the proceedings of the commissioners appointed to settle the accounts of the North Carolina troops in the Continental Line (XX, 630; XXI, 551) and thus bring to a final settlement the accounts of North Carolina with the United States. It was a delicate duty and one requiring the highest degree of honesty. Many frauds had been committed in the preparation of these accounts. These were discovered and were followed by a long investigation, the trial and punishment of the guilty parties (State Rec., XVII and XVIII, *passim;* McRee's "Iredell," II, 155-6).

One of Person's most important services to the State was as a leader of the anti-Federal party in the convention of 1788; but before proceeding to discuss that convention, which was called to consider the Federal constitution, it is necessary to review briefly the alignment of political parties. From

1776 there were two clearly defined parties in the State. They were a unit as to resistance to the aggressions of Great Britain, but in domestic matters the lines of party cleavage were sharply defined. One party we may call the Conservative; it was strongest in the east; was led by Johnston, Iredell, Hooper, Maclaine. It was aristocratic and wealthy, stood for the slaveholding, commercial and mercantile interests; it preferred a strong central government and was slow to advocate democracy. The other party we may call Radical. It was stronger in the north and west. It was nearer the soil and the people. Its leaders were Willie Jones, Person, the Bloodworths, Spencer, Locke, Sharpe, Rutherford, and others. They were ultra-democratic, even radical in their tendencies and ardent advocates from the first of an extremely democratic government. The struggle began in the first Halifax congress, April, 1776, or earlier, and was won by the Radicals as is shown by the substitution of the Council of Safety for the Provincial Council. The question of the new constitution also developed differences and the April congress deferred its adoption to a later congress to be elected for that particular purpose out of deference to the wishes of the minority. Johnston stood as a candidate for this congress from Chowan County and was defeated (McRee's "Iredell," I, 238, 281) and this left him sulking in his tent. He refused to serve as treasurer and Iredell bitterly resented his defeat by writing his "Creed of a Rioter" (McRee, I, 335-336); Iredell later resigned as attorney-general and Hooper left the Continental Congress. But the Radicals were liberal and patient and kept many of the Conservatives in office as the price of their support (*cf.* Dodd's "Macon," 30; and Saunders, Pref. Notes, Col. Rec., X).

In 1780-81, as the tide of war surged into North Carolina and went against her, the Conservatives grew in numbers and power; after the war ended they championed the Tory in-

terests and continued to grow. Johnston was their perennial candidate for governor, but Caswell was agreed on as a sort of compromise. When the time for considering the Federal constitution drew near each exerted itself to the utmost to win control of the convention. The Radicals, whom we may now call Anti-Federalists and who became the nucleus of the first Republican party, demanded: (1) A free and absolutely independent state, for a few years at least; (2) a genuinely democratic administration; (3) a general improvement in educational advantages for the people. In accord with the last of these demands the State actually entered on a plan of public improvements which anticipated that urged in the State thirty years later by Murphey and in the Union fifty years later by Clay (Dodd, 14-90).

The Anti-Federalists won control of the convention. It met in Hillsboro, July 21, 1788. Person was a member from Granville; on his motion Samuel Johnston was made president (XXII, 6). He was himself a member of the committee on elections (XXII, 7). It is evident from the journals that he took a leading part in the business, but he does not seem to have been a frequent speaker. The first trial of strength came on August 1, when the convention considered the report of the Committee of the Whole House on a proposed Bill of Rights and certain amendments. The preamble to the report of the Committee of the Whole reads:

"Resolved, That a Declaration of Rights, asserting and securing from encroachment the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the unalienable rights of the people, together with amendments to the most ambiguous and exceptionable parts of the said constitution of government, ought to be laid before Congress and the convention of states that shall be called for the purpose of amending the said constitution, for their consideration, previous to the ratification of the constitution aforesaid, on the part of the State of North Carolina." (XXII, 16.)

Iredell moved that all of this report be stricken out, that the constitution be adopted and that certain amendments be

then proposed. This motion brought out the strength of the respective parties: For the motion, 84; against, 184; on August 2d, the report of the Committee of the Whole was again taken up and concurred with: yeas, 184; nays, 84.

After the Report of the Committee of the Whole was adopted Willie Jones moved:

"*Whereas*, this convention has thought proper neither to ratify nor reject the constitution proposed for the government of the United States; and as Congress will proceed to act under the said constitution, ten states having ratified the same, and probably lay an impost on goods imported into the said ratifying states:

"RESOLVED, That it be recommended to the legislature of this State that whenever Congress shall pass a law for collecting an impost in the states aforesaid, this State enact a law for collecting a similar impost on goods imported into this State, and appropriate the money arising therefrom to the use of Congress." (XXII, 31.)

This resolution, passed by 143 yeas to 44 nays, the Federal leaders voting in the negative, shows as clearly as words can show that the desire of Jones, Person and other Anti-Federalists was for a Federal government of limited powers and that their purpose was not to establish an independent republic as has been recently claimed by Professor Dodd (see his "Macon," p. 54), but to protect the interests of the states against the centralizing tendency which was even then clearly visible in the new constitution to those who had eyes to see. Davie reports that both Person and Jones were holding out the doctrine of opposition for four or five years at least. Jones feared the Federal judiciary and Person the Federal power to tax (McRee, II, 178, 239).

It was thus that North Carolina declined to either ratify or reject the Federal Constitution by a decided majority of 100 votes. Whether it was the wiser policy to adopt first and then ask for amendments or wait till the amendments were adopted, a child can tell. As to which of these parties could read the book of the future aright is equally easy of discernment.

Many public men in the State desired that a second Federal convention be called to revise the new constitution in the light of the criticisms upon it, and Person, along with Johnston, Iredell, Tim Bloodworth, Jos. McDowell, Sr., Dupre, Locke, Alfred Moore, Spencer and Allen Jones were chosen by the Assembly on November 24, 1788, to attend such a convention of the whole United States "should one be called" (XX, 538, 544; XXI, 94, 100). Their desire was for a constitution more in accord with the will of the Radicals and that a constitution acceptable to Bloodworth and Person would have been decentralized there can be no doubt.

The constitutional convention held in Fayetteville in November, 1789, was a small affair. The government of the United States had been organized under the constitution and was working well. The Anti-Federalists had received assurances that the substance of the amendments proposed by them would be incorporated into the constitution; eleven states had accepted the instrument and North Carolina and Rhode Island alone remained out. The convention met November 16, 1789. Willie Jones failed to be returned by his county. Johnston was again made president and Person was again on the committee on elections. The convention went into a Committee of the Whole to consider the constitution and sat three days. The Anti-Federalists moved that its report be rejected and that certain amendments be proposed. These forbade interference with the election of senators and representatives, dealt with the levying of direct taxes, the redemption of paper money by the states and the introduction of foreign troops. But the amendments were defeated by 187 nays to 82 yeas, Spencer, Caldwell, Bloodworth, Person and others voting yea (XXII, 45, 46). The convention then proceeded to adopt the constitution, 195 yeas to 77 nays. Person, true to his convictions and game to the last, voted nay (XXII, 48, 49).

On November 24, 1789, when the Federal constitution had been formally adopted, the Assembly proceeded to elect senators to Congress. Person was nominated by the house of commons, but the Federalists were in power and such radicals as Person and Bloodworth went down before Johnston and Hawkins (XXI, 253, 614). When his party again came into power in 1794-95 Person's race had been run, but he had the pleasure of seeing his radical comrades Alexander Martin and Timothy Bloodworth succeed Johnston and Hawkins.

But, after all, Thomas Person's most important and valuable service to North Carolina was not as an Anti-Federalist member of the conventions of 1788 and 1789, nor as a military man, nor as a philanthropist, but as a member of the General Assembly. There he was always active, generally a radical, always an argus-eyed guardian of the rights of the people, an advocate, ardent, insistent and constant of the interests of the masses, and consequently hated and always feared by the representatives of the aristocratic, conservative interests.

Person represented Granville County in the Assembly in the house of commons almost continuously from 1764 to 1785; he was defeated in 1786; was in the senate in 1787; again in the house in 1788, 1790, 1793, and 1794. (It is believed that the Thomas Person in the house in 1795 and 1797 was his nephew). In all, he represented his county some thirty years, a length of service which in itself is a most eloquent proof of his usefulness and of the appreciation of his people. It does not require a long or an extended examination of the legislative journals to show his prominence and usefulness. He served on the most important committees: public accounts, military matters, privileges and elections, propositions and grievances, finance, defence, depredations of Tories, location of capital, affairs of North Carolina Line,

manufacture of iron, raising regular troops and regulating commissary department, on bill of attainder, paper money, debts due to and from the public, Indian affairs, land grants, on vesting power in Continental Congress to levy duties, claims and depreciation, trial of impeachments, revenue, proposed revision of the constitution, Virginia boundary, confiscated property, etc. He was usually chairman of his committee and presented many reports to the house; in 1784 he was chairman of the whole; never seeking the honors of the house, he was an active working member, bringing in many bills, serving on many special committees, presenting many petitions and memorials from sections of the State remote from his own. It is evident, too, that he was a fighter. No form of what he thought injustice, illegality or graft could escape his quick eye or pass without a protest. Thus in 1782, on petition of O'Bryan, Duncan and Pittman, who were being held as military deserters by Sumner, he recommended that they be discharged from the Continental army (XVI, 137). In 1783 he voted against the seating of his political friend, Bloodworth, as it seemed to him illegal (XIX, 292). In 1784 he protested against the cession of Tennessee to the Federal Government (XIX, 714), and had his protests been heeded the troubles coming from the abortive state of Franklin would have been avoided. He was particularly vigorous in protest against whatever savored of injustice or class legislation. Thus in 1785 he protested against the salt tax and the uniform tax on lands because they placed undue burdens on the poor, and against the confiscation act because it was illegal, unjust and *ex post facto* (XVII, 409, 410, 419, 421).

There is plenty of evidence also that Person was a man of strong feeling and made personal enemies. Thus Maclaine writes bitterly of his political methods, which were never to produce "his budget till he is pretty certain he has sufficient strength to support it" (XXI, 504); and when the constitution question was uppermost Thomas Iredell runs to

his brother with a tale that Person had said in substance that Washington was a damned rascal and traitor to his country, for putting his hand to such an infamous paper as the new constitution (McRee, II, 224, 225).

The feeling of the conservative and aristocratic party toward him may be seen in a letter of Johnston to Burke, dated June 26, 1777:

"The few good men, or men of understanding and business, who had inclination or intend to be either of the legislature or executive departments, are by no means sufficient to counterbalance the fools and knaves who by their low arts have worked themselves into the good graces of the populace. When I tell you that I saw with indignation such men as G—th R—d, T—s P—s—n [Griffith Rutherford and Thomas Person], and your colleague Penn, with a few others of the same stamp, principal leaders in both houses, you will not expect that anything good or great should proceed from the counsels of men of such narrow, contracted principles, supported by the most contemptible abilities." XI, 504.)

Even Caswell, with whom he had fought many battles and whose personal ambitions he had so often advanced, was not always true. He writes to Hawkins, September 29, 1786:

"I can not say it gives me great pain to hear my old friend, the general, was disappointed in the late election for Granville, or that he is much mortified at being left out, as I flatter myself his country will derive advantage from his absence from the legislature, which his jealousy prevented when present, and kept her from. However, he may yet succeed in his favorite scheme of appointing a new governor for the next year, as his pernicious opinions and false suggestions are gone forth and he very likely will still have effrontery sufficient to endeavor to support them when the governor, conscious of the rectitude of his own conduct, and his friends, careless about the matter, may take no pains to contravene his attempt. (XVIII, 751.)

From these extracts it is not hard to see that Person was not one to fawn on those in power or to ask favors of the great. It is also evident that his political life had in it much of storm and stress and that he was a man who delighted in the joy of battle. He was a man of wealth, but not penurious. During the war his property was at the service of the State. We find the State in 1781 repaying him for a loan of salt (XVII, 971, 974) and between June,

1781, and April 25, 1782, he loaned Governor Burke $50,000 "to be replaced or paid by warrant which I did not issue" (XVI, 299). He assisted in securing the charter for the University of North Carolina in 1789 and was a member of its first board of trustees, 1789-95. But this was not all. While the University had been chartered no support had been provided for it by the State. An effort was being made to open its doors to students, but the trustees and faculty had no money. Its fortunes were at the lowest ebb. The trustees could or would do nothing in their private capacity, when Person came forward, and on April 20, 1796, gave the infant institution £500, and in April, 1797, £25 more. This sum, aggregating $1050 in our money, was paid in silver dollars at a time when hard money was almost unattainable. The gift, for the time and section, a very large one, perhaps saved the institution and started it on a career of usefulness. Person Hall, known after 1837 as "the old chapel" and used in more recent years as a chemical laboratory, was named in his honor, and until the reopening of the University in 1875 all its diplomas were dated from Aula Personica. A street in Raleigh, another in Fayetteville, and Person County, erected in 1791, recall his name and fame.

General Person married his cousin. Tradition says her name was Johanna Philpot, of Granville (b. September 15, 1739). She died insane and without issue. He had two sisters, Martha, who married Major Thomas Taylor, of Franklin County, and Mary Ann (b. May 6, 1736), who married Major George Little, a son of Chief Justice Little, and a Revolutionary patriot of Hertford County. General Person adopted his nephew, William Person Little, who was a son of this marriage, educated him at Sprig's College, near Williamsboro, in Granville County, gave him much of his property, and it is in his honor that Littleton is named. He also had a brother, William Person (b. November 30, 1734), and a brother, Benjamin (b. February 13, 1737).

Person's family seat was at Goshen in Granville County. The sycamore trees planted by him are still standing, but in a decayed condition. He died in Franklin County, at the home of his sister, Mrs. Taylor, on November 16, 1800, (not 1799, as Wheeler says) while on his way from Raleigh to Goshen, and is buried at Personton on Hub Quarter Creek in Warren County.

The *Raleigh Register* for Tuesday, November 25, 1800, has a notice of his death and character. It is reproduced here, for it shows the esteem of his own generation.

"Died. At the house of Major Taylor, in Franklin County, on Sunday, the 16th inst., Thomas Person, of Warren, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

"This gentleman was long a member of the General Assembly of North Carolina, as well before as since the Revolution, and at all times conducted himself in such a manner as to manifest a proper and steady regard, not only to the interests of his immediate constituents, but likewise to the welfare and happiness of the people of the State at large.

"He was a member of the first convention and of all the subsequent conventions had in this State. * * *

"He died as he lived, a firm believer and fixed Republican; and although he left no children, * * * he has raised up for himself a name which will neither be forgotten nor cease to be respected. * * *"

Archibald Henderson, a younger contemporary, congressman, and great lawyer, pronounced Person one of nature's noblemen, and Colonel William L. Saunders, a Democrat after Person's own heart, says of him: "Wherever devoted, intelligent, efficient patriotism was required, Person was promptly put on duty. * * * And to-day North Carolina bears in her bosom the bones of no purer patriot than those of Thomas Person" (Col. Rec., VIII, xxx).

Sources: Private information from representatives of the Person family for use in my "Life of Mangum"; the Colonial and State Records, *passim*, where Person's public life is fully portrayed, with many useful suggestions as to the complexion of political parties in that day from Saunders' "Prefatory Notes" and Dodd's "Life of Macon."

SKETCH OF FLORA McDONALD.

By Mrs. S. G. Ayer.

Flora McDonald was the daughter of Ranald, who was the son of Angus, youngest son of Milton. She was born in Milton in island of Uist, Argyleshire, Scotland, in 1726. I have never yet learned the exact date. Her earlier years were spent in her native Uist, where she could hear the roar of Corrievrecken, and see the mountains of Currada and Skye rise in solemn grandeur toward heaven; or at her brother's home at Corrodale, where she had a commanding view of Loch Boisdale and Loch Skipport, which separate Uist from the main land and the Isle of Skye. Midst scenes of grandeur and sublimity, the earlier years of Flora passed away; but, her father having died, in a few years after Flora's mother married Hugh McDonald of Armadale, in the Isle of Skye.

Skye seems to have been more favored with schools and seminaries than other portions of the Highlands at that time and Flora having the advantage of the ancient institutions was at an early age quite well educated and was deeply imbued with a veneration for the system of clanship, and loyalty to the house of Stuart.

In her teens she was sent to Edinburgh to complete her studies and to acquire the grace and polish suited to her station in life. That she succeeded most admirably may be gathered from the way in which Dr. Johnson in his "Tour of the Hebrides" speaks of her, as a "woman of middle stature, soft features, gentle manners and elegant presence." Mr. James Banks in his "Life and Character of Flora McDonald" also says, "years ago I heard Malcomb McKay, who had been in early life a Cornet in the British Army, remark, that he had seen the Queen of England and many of her attendants,

but for grace and dignity Flora McDonald excelled all the women he ever beheld and that it was worth a day's ride to see her graceful manner of sitting or rising from a chair, that there was a perfection of ease and grace in that simple act that could be felt but not described." This sounds extravagant to a nineteenth century woman though we are all ready to admit Flora a most extraordinary woman.

Flora McDonald was related to the Clanranald branch of the family of that name, and was consequently descended from a family of heroes, whose deeds of valor had afforded themes for the immortal Ossian and whose prowess nearly prevented the removal of the Scottish capital from Dunstaffanage (Flora was imprisoned here) the palace of the ancient kings of Scotland, whence the chair of Scone was brought to crown the royal Bruce, and now forms an appendage to the regalia of Britain.

Perhaps I have said enough of the lineage, personal appearance and general characteristics of Flora McDonald. Sir Walter Scott speaks beautifully of her in "Waverly." Her loyalty to the House of Stuart is represented as the ruling passion of her life. Those who have read Waverly remember Flora McIvor. When Prince Charlie landed in Scotland and raised the royal standard on the hills of Moidart and called the chiefs of McDonald, Lochiel and Glengarry to uphold that banner, the young and enthusiastic Flora in her Highland home was heard to exclaim:

"Yes. Up with that banner.
Let forest winds fan her.
It has waved o'er the Stuarts ten ages and more;
In sport we'll attend her,
In battle defend her,
With hearts and with hands like our fathers before."

Ah! but when that banner was trailed in the dust at Culloden, and her prince seeking an asylum and a hiding place in the glens and mountains, over which his ancestors had so

long exercised control, when he was persecuted and hunted like a wild animal, hemmed in by the Duke of Cumberland, (victor of Culloden) as by a wall of fire on the little Island of Uist, sentinels stationed at every possible place of escape, patrols were at every ferry and at every pass, even a fleet of British cruisers had surrounded the island, false friends had deserted him, and the timid ones shrunk away in despair, a *price* was set upon his head, his enemies believed his destruction certain, men of iron nerve quailed and were unable to effect his escape. Now a woman comes to do what brave men dare not, she releases Prince Charles Edward from his island prison.

> Oh, woman, in our hours of ease
> Uncertain, coy and hard to please;
> When pain and anguish rack the brow,
> A ministering angel thou.

And truly "a ministering angel" was Flora McDonald to the poor, despairing Prince. When she was asked by Captain Neal and Lady Clanranald to help the Prince to escape she said that the McDonald (her step father's), McLeod and Campbell militia commanded every pass, the Prince was known to be on the island, a price of thirty thousand pounds was on his head, Loch Skipport and Loch Boisdale were covered with English sails cruising about towards France so that a sparrow could not go beyond their lines without their knowledge. But with her ready wit she devised a plan. She was shown the Prince in a miserable "shieling" on the estate of her brother at Corrodale. She was so overcome, to see her Prince, his clothes in tatters, half famished, preparing his frugal meal, that she knelt before him declaring her readiness to die in the attempt to save him. The Prince raised her from her kneeling posture and assured her "he would always retain a deep sense of so conspicuous a service." On the same day she returned to Milton to make ar-

rangements to take the Prince from Uist to Skye. The next day, June 21, 1746, as she was trying to cross over to Ormaclade, the seat of Clanranald, she was taken prisoner, having failed to provide herself with a passport. On being arrested she refused to answer any questions, and demanded to be taken to the officer in command. This she was denied and was committed to prison for the night. In the morning she was taken before the Commander, who proved to be no less a person than her stepfather, Hugh McDonald of Armadale, to whose house in Skye she expressed a strong desire to go, that she might avoid unpleasant and annoying encounters with the soldiers on the island of Uist. Her request seemed so natural, that he readily consented to give her a passport for herself and Neill McEachin McDonald who acted as her servant. (He was the father of Marshal McDonald, Duke of Tarentum, one of Napoleon's ablest generals). Another passport was also obtained for "Betty Burke," an Irish girl whom she had met on the island, and wished to carry to help her mother spin flax and to keep them company while the master of the house was absent. So unsuspecting was her father that he even wrote to his wife giving reasons for sending Flora from the island and recommending Betty Burke for spinning, and giving leave to hire and employ her till his return. After getting the passport Flora sent a message to the Prince telling him that all was well, asking him to meet her at Rasimish in Benbicula. In the meantime she went to Lady Clanranald's and told her her scheme. Lady Clanranald complimented her and supplied the necessary dress to disguise the Prince as an Irish servant girl. The dress consisted of "a flowered linen gown, sprigged with blue, a light quilted garment, a cap and apron, and a mantle of dun colored camlet, made after the Irish fashion with a hood." She hired a six-oared boat to take them across to Skye, telling the men when and where to meet her. With

Lady Clanranald and her servant boy McNeill she went to meet the Prince who had gone by her directions to the wilds of Benbicula. They found him preparing his own dinner which was of the humblest fare. "At dinner Flora occupied a seat on the Prince's right hand and Lady Clanranald on his left." After dinner much to the Prince's astonishment Flora told him he was to go with her as her servant girl and showed him the disguise she had procured for him. The Prince appreciated the ingenuity of the plan and, to the merriment of the ladies, was soon transformed into a rather awkward maid. Scarcely was this done when a messenger came to announce that Captain Furgison had quartered at Ormaclade, making it positively necessary that Lady Clanranald should hasten back that any suspicion might be averted. She took an affectionate farewell of the Prince and left her brave kinswoman alone and comparatively unaided to work out the escape of their dearly loved Prince. It must have been most trying, indeed, to one so young, but she seemed equal to the emergency. When Captain O'Neill, who had up to this time been the inseparable companion of the Prince, refused now to be separated from him, she stood firm and told him if he did go all was indeed lost as she had passports for only three. Both O'Neil and the Prince were obliged to yield and took a most affectionate leave, embracing each other. That evening when they reached the seashore, wet and weary, imagine their distress at not finding the boat which they expected. They were obliged to pass the night on the rock anxiously waiting, but as it did not come they ventured to kindle a fire to dry their dripping clothes and warm themselves. No sooner had they begun to feel somewhat comfortable than "four wherries filled with armed men were seen approaching," this obliged them to put out the fire and look for shelter among "the bonnie blooming heather." Fortunately they did not land or make any search, but, in a

short time, the wherries tacked and passed within gunshot of the place where they were concealed. All of the next day they were obliged to seek shelter, these three, among the mountains of that "rock-girt sea," but in the evening their boat came, and immediately set sail for Skye. The evening was "calm, clear and serene" and a gentle favorable breeze rippled over the water, but soon the sky began to lower, the wind rose, the billows rolled mountain high and threatened to engulf their little boat. The even temper of the Prince seems not to have been ruffled by any reverse of fortune; it is related of him that "he was superior to the elements, and to cheer and animate the sailors he narrated incidents of naval valor, and sung songs of the British Isle." Flora feeling that her watchful care was not then necessary to her Prince, closed her eyes and restored tired nature, and prepared for the next day's trials. While she slept the Prince kept watch that she might rest undisturbed. Judge of their anxiety, when day dawned, no land was in sight, and not having a compass they could not tell where they were, or which way to steer. "There is a Divinity that shapes our ends rough hew them as we may." The seamen steered at random, and in a short time were cheered by seeing the headlands of Skye, in the dim distance. What must have been their feeling! When at Waterwish they were fired upon by McLeod's militia. As the bullets fell thickly around them, the Prince tried to persuade Flora to get in the bottom of the boat. She refused to do so but insisted that he should do so. Seeing that she was determined, the matter was compromised by both taking shelter in the bottom of the boat until they had gone beyond danger. About the middle of the next day the boat entered a little creek near Moydhstat in Skye, the seat of Sir Alex. McDonald who was at that time with the Duke of Cumberland at Fort Augustus making plans for the capture of the fugitive Prince, who was on his way to

Lady Margaret McDonald's, Sir Alexander's wife; she being a strong Jacobite was anxious for the Prince to escape. She was a daughter of the celebrated Susana, Countess of Alinton, whom Dr. Johnson has immortalized as a beauty and a wit and to whom Allan Ramsey dedicated his pastoral, says: "When Flora reached the castle with the Prince she was surprised to find Captain McLeod quartered there fully empowered to examine and arrest all suspected persons. She intuitively discovered that he suspected her, so instead of avoiding a meeting with him she sought his society and by her easy, pleasant manners so won him that he escorted her to dinner and paid her much attention." As soon as the "Mountain Dew" (I wish I could recollect the formula of this famous drink; Mrs. Furgison gave it to me but with other papers was lost in the fire) was brought on Lady McDonald and Flora retired leaving the gentleman to their *"cup."* They went immediately to the private apartments of Lady McDonald where the Prince was waiting for them. While they were discussing means for his escape, Captain McLeod knocked at the door. Flora sent the maid "Betty Burke" to open the door, which she did and slowly retired from sight. This little ruse disarmed the Captain of any suspicion he may have entertained, and apologizing for the intrusion returned to the hall. Lady McDonald called to their counsel her husband's factor, Alex. McDonald of Kingsboro (afterwards Flora's father-in-law). He asked that the Prince might pass the night with him, at his home fourteen miles away. To this they readily consented. While Kingsboro (Alex. McD.) was getting the Prince away, Flora took leave of her mother publicly and her manner was so self-possessed that *all* of Captain McLeod's suspicion was allayed. They walked from Moydhstat to Kingsboro in the pouring rain. The mountain streams were full to overflowing and the Prince came near betraying himself by the awkward way in which

he managed his skirts, but after a good many narrow escapes they reached the hospitable mansion of Kingsboro about midnight. The lady of the house was very much alarmed. She feared that Flora had been imprudent in letting the boat which brought them to Skye return to Uist, nor were her fears long in being realized. The men on their arrival at Uist told their suspicions and royal troops set out immediately in purusit. The Prince at a late hour retired and enjoyed the first refreshing sleep he had had for months past. In the morning the lady asked for a lock of his hair as a memento that he had passed a night under her roof; the Prince consented and Flora at his request cut a lock which she divided between Mrs. McDonald and herself. On another occasion the Prince came near being discovered but Flora's self-possession and ready wit saved him. Turning towards him she commanded "Betty Burke" to put on the kettle, "Betty" went to do as bidden and so escaped again, but Flora was afraid to venture to hide him again in her mother's house so determined to put off female attire and disguise him as a farmer. This she did and he made his escape into the country of the Laird of Raasay, who was then outlawed, and in his mountain home bid defiance to the troops of Hanover. The McLeods of Raasay met Flora, the Prince and Neill McEachin at Portree and carried them into their own territory, not only at the risk of their lives, but knowing that their daring act would operate as an excuse for the confiscation of their entire estates. On July 1, 1746, the Prince bade Flora "a tender and affecting farewell, ardently thanked her for her protection during the past ten days, and for having enabled him to escape from the wall of fire by which she had found him environed, and which he could never have passed without her aid and intrepidity. In affecting tones he told her that he yet hoped to meet her at the Court of St. James, when he would be able to reward her heroic devotion

to her unfortunate Prince Charles Edward. History tells us though he was denied this privilege he never mentioned her name except in the highest terms of respect.

The Prince escaped from Raasay to France and Flora returned to her brother's home in Uist. Soon after reaching there she was called to appear before McLeod at Tallisker, and answer to the charge of helping the Prince to escape. Her friends entreated her to hide herself for awhile, but she refused to do so and started unprotected and alone to answer the summons. On her way to Tallisker she was met and arrested, not being allowed to take leave of her friends, was carried on board the sloop "Furnace," Captain Furgison commanding. Three weeks later under an escort of soldiers she was allowed to bid her mother adieu, and was much hurt to learn from her that her stepfather was implicated in her offense, and that the people generally believed that he knew when he gave his daughter the passport for "Betty Burke" it was intended for the Prince. Flora bravely denied this charge on her stepfather, saying that she only was to blame. At her earnest request Kate McDonald was allowed to go with her as her maid. She was again taken on board the Furnace, but was soon considered a state prisoner of so much importance that she was exchanged to a vessel commanded by Commodore Smith, who was kind-hearted and very much sympathized with his fair captive in her distress. By his position and influence he was enabled to have her temporarily transferred as a prisoner to Dunstaffage Castle. In September, she was again put on shipboard and carried to Leith Roads, where she was tossed in one of England's naval palaces until some time in November. During this time her name had become famous, as the lass who helped Prince Charles Edward to evade his foes and hundreds came from Edinburgh to see and talk with its Scottish heroine. Among the number were Bishop Forbes, Lady Bruce, Lady Cochran

and Lady Clarke, the latter of whom was so eager to do her honor that she was "willing to wipe her shoes." On the 27th of November, having been kept in captivity in Scotland four months, she was placed on board the "Royal Sovereign" and taken to London to await her trial on charge of treason. Government discovering that the people so deeply sympathized with her, that it was thought best not to put her in a common prison or in the tower, but determined to place her in the care of friends, who would be responsible for her appearance, and yet allow government an oversight and knowledge of her correspondence and actions. "In this mitigated imprisonment Flora remained a State prisoner in London about twelve months" until in 1747 an act of indemnity was passed, which set her free, and permitted her to return to her "native Highland home." It is said that during her long imprisonment, she was ever cheerful, her address easy, elegant and winning, while "a subdued and modest gravity deepened the interest excited by her simple, artless character." Upon one occasion, Frederick, Prince of Wales, demanded of her how she dared to aid a rebel against his father's throne? With great simplicity she replied that she would have done the same for him had she found him in like distress. The answer conquered his resentment and made him a lifelong friend.

After her liberation she was a guest of Lady Primrose, and crowds of the nobility came to pay respects to the heroine. Her picture was painted for Commodore Smith and copies were soon scattered throughout the kingdom. One of these copies I have often seen and handled, it being the property of the old lady before referred to—Mrs. Cathrine Furgison; since her death copies have been made from it (she most positively refused to have any copies made during her life) and I now have one of my own which I prize highly.

Flora soon tired of the attentions shown her in London and longed for the quiet of her own home and the mother's love which she knew was waiting her there. In after life Neill McDonald (the same for whom she got the passport as her servant) was accustomed to say that he went to London to be hanged, but, instead was honored by being sent home with Flora McDonald in a coach and four.

In 1750 in the thirtieth year of her age she was married to Alexander McDonald of Kingsboro, son of Kingsboro who had helped in the Prince's escape. We learn from Boswell that Flora's husband "was completely the figure of a gallant highlander, exhibiting the graceful mien, and manly looks, which our popular Scotch songs have justly attributed to that character. He had his tartan plaid thrown around him, a large blue bonnet with a knot of black ribbon like a cockade, a brown short coat, a tartan waistcoat with gold buttons, and gold button holes, a bluish philibeg and tartan hose. He had jet black hair tied behind, and was a large stately man, with a steady sensible countenance." Soon after her marriage her husband's father died and they moved to the Kingsboro estate, the home where she had found one night's rest for the Prince, and here they entertained Dr. Johnson and his friend Boswell. Writing to Mrs. Thrale, Dr. Johnson says: "Flora told me she felt honored by my visit, and I am sure whatever regard she bestowed on me, was liberally repaid. If thou likest her opinion thou wilt praise her virtues." He slept in the same room and on the same bed which the Prince had occupied on that memorable night in 1746. In the morning he (Johnson) left a strip of paper with these words written with a pencil: *"Quantatum cedat virtutibus aurum."* Boswell translated it: "With virtue weighed, what worthless trash is gold." Kingsboro's estate was in an embarrassed condition, which during his father's lifetime had suffered in consequence of his exertions in the cause of the Prince, having

lost his position as Factor in the management of his chief's estate. As is the custom in the *"old country"* Flora had a marriage contract which gave her all of her maiden property beyond her husband's control; Sir Walter Scott had this document in his possession at the time of his death. She sacrificed her rights hoping to help her husband to repair his losses, and he thinking to better do so decided to try his fortune in the "New World." Accordingly in 1774, they sailed from Cambleton, Kintire, for Wilmington, North Carolina, on board the ship "Baliol."

The fame of Flora had crossed the water in advance of the heroine and when she arrived at Wilmington a ball was given in her honor, which she attended and "took much pleasure in the attention paid her eldest daughter, Anne, who was just then blushing into young womanhood, and bore a striking resemblance to her mother."

When she came to Cross Creek her old neighbors and kinsfolk who had preceded her a few years gave her a truly Highland welcome. "The strains of Pibroch and the martial airs of her native land greeted her on her approach to the capital of the Scotch settlement. "In this village she remained some time, visiting and receiving visits from friends, while her husband went to the western part of Cumberland, looking for land." One day she went to Mrs. Rutherford's, after Mrs. McAustin, (she occupied the house at that time known as the Stuart place just north of the Presbyterian church) and while there she saw a picture of "Anne of Jura" assisting the Prince to escape. Looking at it she said to her hostess: "Turn it to the wa, turn it to the wa, never let it see the light again, it is na true. Anne of Jura was na there and did na help the bonnie Prince." She lived on Cameron's Hill in Cumberland for a short while, and attended "preaching" at Longstreet and Barbecue, two Presbyterian churches. The minister at that time was Rev. Mr. McLeod.

Her daughter Anne married Alex. McLeod of Glendale, Moore County, in 1775. He afterwards distinguished himself in European wars and rose to the rank of Major-General in the British service. She died in Stein, Scotland. In the year 1775-76, Governor Martin, of North Carolina, determined to raise a body of men from among the Scotch Highlanders to be sent to Boston and mustered into the "Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment" to help General Gage to break down all opposition there. He accordingly selected Flora's husband and granted him the commission of Brigadier-General. In order to assemble the Scotch, balls were given in different parts of the settlement. Flora attended some, accompanied by her daughter Anne (now Mrs. McLeod) and a younger daughter Fanny. "Upon these occasions Anne and Fanny reigned supreme and bore off all the honors of the ball." January, 1776, "Kingsboro" McDonald bought a piece of land from Caleb Tuchstone on the borders of Richmond and Montgomery counties, and named it "Killiegray." Here two of Flora's children died and were buried. The road runs near the graves, which now are enclosed by a plain rail fence, by the present owner, a Mr. McLeod. I visited the spot during the winter of 1886 and was impressed by the surroundings. They did not befit the last resting place of Flora's children—simply a rail fence (true in good condition and probably the best Mr. McLeod could afford) around them, all overgrown with brush and weeds; not even the name or date could be deciphered on the decayed headboard. I felt had I the means how I should love to put some mark there by which future generations might know whose dust lay there, if it were nothing more than this. "These are the children of Flora McDonald, the Flora whom all admirers of feminine courage love to honor, she who risked life, fortune and that which every woman holds most sacred, reputation, to save her Prince, the unfortunate Charles

Edward." These words inscribed on a marble slab would cost so little and yet would be sufficient to tell to all who read it, whose graves they were. In the field a short distance from the graves the remnant of what seemed to have been a neat four-roomed cottage, my friend told me it had been the home of Flora. I did not see any of the family, they having gone to attend "the meeting" so the neighbors told us. In this I was disappointed hoping to have gathered some information from them in regard to the date of the children's death, their names, etc. I hoped too to get the date of the transfer of the property from the McDonalds to the McLeods, having been told that the present owner was a descendant of the McLeod who bought the property from the McDonalds, and, ah! flattering hope whispered perhaps they treasured the old deeds and I might see them too.

"When the royal banner was unfurled at Cross Creek in 1776, and the loyalist army marched towards Brunswick, under the command of Brigadier-General Donald McDonald, an officer sent by General Gage, who ranked Kingsboro (Flora's husband,) she, with the true devotion of a wife, followed her husband, and encamped one night on the brow of Haymount, near the site of the U. S. Arsenal. In the morning when the army took up its line of march, midst banners streaming in the breeze and martial music floating on the air, Flora embraced her husband, and tears dimmed her eyes as she breathed a fervent prayer for his safe and speedy return to their new home at Killiegray. In company with Malcom McKay (then sixteen years of age) she retraced her steps home, and spent the first night with McKay's mother at Longstreet." After the defeat of the loyalists at Moore's Creek, and the capture of her husband Flora's health seems to have broken. Her husband was kept a prisoner in Halifax, N. C., jail and she was not allowed to visit him at all,

so at his earnest request she decided to return to their home in Scotland. She remained a year or two at Killiegray, making frequent visits to Cross Creek where a hearty welcome always awaited her. After many difficulties with the Whig scouts, she succeeded in getting a pass from Captain Ingram (a Whig) in 1779. This enabled her to reach Fayetteville, N. C., and Wilmington, N. C., from which place she made her way to Charleston, S. C. From there she sailed to her native land. "On the passage the vessel was attacked by a French cruiser; during the engagement Flora refused to go below, and remained on deck urging the men to deeds of daring. Her arm was broken in the fight, and she was accustomed to say she had fought for the House of Stuart and for the House of Hanover, but had been worsted each time." Her three sons, Charles, James and John, were in the British army, and Ranald and Sandy were in the naval service of England. Fanny was the only child with her and she seems to have been too young to give her mother the sympathy and comfort she so much needed at this trying time.

Two letters written by Flora McDonald, one in 1780, the other in 1782, were published in the "Jacobite Memoirs," and have since been republished, I think, in *Blackwell's Magazine,* some time during the forties of the last century.

After peace was restored, her husband was liberated and returned from North Carolina to Skye, where he lived with his family till his death and was buried in Kingsboro burying ground. On the 5th of March, 1790, Flora died and was buried in the church yard of Kilmuir in Skye "within a square piece of brick wall, which encloses the tombs of the McDonalds of Kingsboro," at the age of seventy (70) years. It is said that at least four thousand persons attended the funeral. "A great number of pipers assembled and simultaneously played the usual lament for departed greatness.

Three hundred gallons of the purest 'mountain dew' was served out to the assembled multitude."

Her son, Colonel McDonald, provided a marble slab with a suitable inscription, but it was broken when being carried to the cemetery and every piece of it has been taken away by tourists, anxious to possess some relic of the heroic woman.

Up to seventy years ago there was not even a simple marble stone to mark her grave.

In 1898 one of the Scottish towns, (I do not remember which) elected to have a monument to Flora McDonald. It was a woman in Highland dress. When the statue was brought to the city, the woman was barefoot and the people were so indignant that they refused to accept it. The last accounts it still had not been unveiled.

Flora, by request, when buried was wrapped in the sheet on which the Prince slept when at Kingsboro that memorable night in 1746. It had twice passed through Wilmington and Fayetteville, N. C., as she never allowed it out of her possession.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

CLARENCE H. POE.

The following sketch of Mr. Clarence Hamilton Poe, of Raleigh, N. C., the author of the article on "Indians, Slaves and Tories: our early Legislation regarding them," is revised from the 1908-09 edition of "Who's Who in America":

"Clarence Hamilton Poe; journalist; author; born in Chatham County, North Carolina, January 10, 1881; son of William B. and Susan (Dismukes) Poe; educated in the public schools, and at home (his mother having been a teacher) till 16 years of age when he began newspaper work. Editor-in-chief of the *Progressive Farmer* since 1899; he is now president of the Agricultural Publishing Company; secretary-treasurer of the Mutual Publishing Company; president of the Southern Farm Gazette Company; secretary-treasurer State Literary and Historical Association; chairman of the N. C. State Anti-Saloon League; acting chairman N. C. Child Labor Committee. Baptist. Democrat, unmarried. Author: (in collaboration) "Cotton; Its Cultivation, Marketing and Manufacture," published by Doubleday, Page & Co., 1906, "A Southerner in Europe," Mutual Publishing Co., 1908. Contributor to *World's Work, Review of Reviews, North American Review, Atlantic Monthly,* and other magazines."

Mr. Poe has two marked qualities that hardly ever fail to make a man worth much to himself and his country: first, he is a persistent and systematic worker; second, he has the analytical faculty which enables him to see the real significance of things and to grasp the essentials. He thinks easily and rapidly, and his energy enables him to carry his thoughts into execution. No man is doing more to advance the interests of the South than he, especially in the line of Agri-

culture. Endowed with tremendous industry, genuine patriotism, and lofty ideals, in time to come he will be widely known as one of the rebuilders of the South. He has so enlarged his activities that his editorial range stretches from Maryland to Texas. His two papers, the *Progressive Farmer,* of Raleigh, N. C., and the *Southern Farm Gazette,* of Starkville, Mississippi, have a combined circulation of about 70,000, weekly, and these lists are increasing at a great rate.

He is not only a remarkable editor but a man of fine business capacity. He is a man of unusual talent and has to his credit many successful magazine articles. He is devoted to the history of North Carolina and serves as Secretary and Treasurer of the State Literary and Historical Association, the purpose of which is "the collection, preservation, production and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation."

Mr. Poe is a man of versatile talents, methodical and painstaking, and withal an excellent citizen. Reared on a farm in the country he sees the need of educating the masses in the best modes of agriculture. He has inherited the patriotism of a patriotic father who was a Confederate soldier and served his country faithfully. He has inherited those traits from an ambitious mother that have made him progressive and painstaking in whatever he undertakes.

That he merits the confidence of his fellow-citizens is attested by the numerous places of honor and trust that he fills.

STEPHEN B. WEEKS.

Stephen Beauregard Weeks, the author of the article on General Thomas Person, belongs to the new school of histori-

cal writers who came to the front at the close of the last century. It is composed of the younger men who have been trained in the science of historical investigation. To-day Dr. Weeks stands among the foremost of North Carolina historians.

The Weeks family was of Devonshire, England, and appeared in North Carolina in 1727, when Thomas Weeks settled in Pasquotank County, N. C. The subject of this sketch is of the fifth generation. Dr. Weeks's mother was Mary Louise Mullen (formerly Moullin), of Huguenot ancestry from Virginia. He was left an orphan at the age of three years and was reared by an aunt, Mrs. Robertson Jackson, of Pasquotank County, who taught him habits of industry, economy and sobriety. He attended the country school and prepared for entering the T. J. Horner School at Henderson at the age of fifteen years. From Dr. Horner he received his first real intellectual impulse.

In the year 1886 he entered the University of North Carolina, where he took the degre of A.B. During two years of post-graduate work there in English language, literature, German and Latin he took A.M. in 1887 and Ph.D. in 1888. The three following years, 1888-91, were spent as honorary Hopkins scholar at Johns Hopkins University in the study of history, political science and political economy, and by what he called "invincible attraction" he turned to history and has made that his life work.

In June, 1888, he was united in marriage with Miss Mary Lee Martin, daughter of the Reverend Joseph B. Martin, of the North Carolina Methodist Conference. Mrs. Weeks died in 1891, leaving two children.

Dr. Weeks's second marriage was with Miss Sallie Mangum Leach in June, 1893. She is granddaughter of Honorable Wiley P. Mangum, who was Representative and Senator from North Carolina in the Congress of the United

States, and from 1842-1845 President of the United States Senate. His career was highly distinguished and altogether honorable to the State.

Dr. Weeks has held many important positions. He was Professor of History at Trinity College; established the Trinity College Historical Society at Durham, N. C.; was Fellow by Courtesy in Johns Hopkins University; and has spent much time in original investigations along historical lines. He was appointed by the Philanthropic Society of the University of North Carolina to edit its register of members. This gave him acquaintance with the great men of the University, and he branched out from this into his life work. He has the most complete collection of books on North Carolina history, and the largest collection of autographs, pamphlets, and original letters bearing on our State history from the Lords Proprietors to the present time. He is an untiring collector of everything pertaining to North Carolina. He has contributed to the public many monographs on historical matters based on undoubted facts. In July, 1894, Dr. Weeks accepted a position with the United States Bureau of Education, which opened to him a broader field for his chosen profession. He was one of the organizers of the Southern History Association, which has issued ten volumes of high historical value.

In the fall of 1899, his health requiring a change of climate, he obtained a transfer to the Indian service of the National Government, and was stationed at Sante Fé, New Mexico, as principal teacher in an Indian school. Later he served as Superintendent of the San Carlos Agency School in that Reservation. Though far removed from his native State, his interest has not abated, but he was diligent in the use of his spare time in giving the service of his pen for the forward advancement of history.

In 1902 the degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by Wake Forest College.

After a few years in the far West, his health becoming restored, he returned to North Carolina. He resides at Trinity, in Randolph County, and is engaged in the preparation of an Index to the Census Records for 1790, an Index to the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina, a Bibliography of North Carolina, a History of Education in the Southern States during the Civil War, and other matters of history. Dr. Weeks's service to North Carolina is invaluable—and while yet in the prime of life no one can foresee what this active student of our history may yet search out and spread before his fellows.

Facts for the above were obtained from T. M. Pittman's sketch of Dr. Weeks in the Biographical History of North Carolina, Vol. VII.

MRS. S. G. AYER.

Mrs. S. G. Ayer, daughter of Captain Charles Betts Cook and Mary Langdon O'Hanlon, his wife, was born in Fayetteville, N. C., just as the war cloud burst on the fair Southland. The first recorded act of her childhood was knitting a pair of socks for a Confederate soldier at the early age of four and a half years. James Gee, who fought with General Marion in South Carolina, was her great-grandfather. Mary Gee, his wife, by her wit and coolness, saved the lives of two patriots during the Revolution. Mrs. Ayer served as chairman for Cumberland County in 1907, an appointment bestowed by the Jamestown Historical Committee of North Carolina. She rendered most efficient aid and collected many valuable and interesting relics for the North Carolina historical exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition. She married in 1883 Samuel Gee Ayer. She is President of the Liberty Point Monument Association, Fayetteville, N. C. She inherits the spirit of her heroic Revolutionary ancestors.

ABSTRACTS OF WILLS PREVIOUS TO 1760.

FROM SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE.

Will of Peter Shrouck, July 15, 1750, July 10, 1751; brothers Michael and George Capehart; brother John Capehart; father George Capehart, Executor. Test: Edy Citer, John Cricket (Bertie).

Will of Stephen Stevens, Currituck, Apr. 20, 1748, Oct. Court, 1748. Son Michael O'Neal, daughter Thomazin Taylor, Sarah Fanshaw, son John Stevens, daughter Mary Stevens, all my children. Thomas and John Stevens, Executors. Test: Thomas Taylor, Gilbert Portwood, James Mercer.

Will of William Stevens, Beaufort, Feb. 22, 1750, March Court, 1750. Sons James and William, John Barrow and wife Penelope, Executors. Test: Ezekiel Dickenson, Salathiel Mixon.

Will of Joseph Sanderson, Currituck, January 13, 1743. Oct. Court, 1746. Wife Julia, sons Rowland and Thomas, sons Samuel, William, Joshua, Benjamin and Joseph. John Lurry (Leary?) Executor. Test: John Woodhouse, William Bagley, Samuel Jarvis.

Will of James Shirley, Cape Fear, Feb. 10th, 1837-8. Son Desminiere, daughters Susannah and Ann. Wife Ann, Exrx. Test: Dan Campbell, Armand D'Rossett, M.D., Roger Rolfe.

Will of Charles Stevenson, Northampton, July 4th, 1748. Nov. Court, 1751. Sons Benjamin, William, George and Jesse, wife Mary, daughters Elizabeth, Martha, Susannah and Olive. Test: John Dawson, Abram Hood, Edward Streeter.

Will of John Sharee, Craven Co., Oct. 25th, 1730. Dec. Court, 1730. John Thomas, Thomas Blake, Thomas Flybas, Mehitable Rutledge, also my Exrs. Test: Jacob Hover, R. Atkins.

Will of Robert Shearer, Bertie, Oct. 22, 1727. Sons Robert, Arthur, John and William, wife Elizabeth, daughters Prudence and Susannah. Wife, John Dew and Arthur Williams, Exrs. Test: Henry Gray, Joseph Boon.

Will of Daniel Shine, Craven, March 9th, 1757. August Court, 1757. Sons John, Thomas and William, daughter Elizabeth Vaughn. Son James, Tamer Shine and John Oliver, Exrs. Test: Furnifold Green, Charles Williamson, Charles Shine Wolf.

Will of Thomas Smithson, Pasquotank, Nov. 2d, 1742. Jan. Court, 1743. Son Joshua, daughter Marian, sons Joseph and John, daughter Dorcas, daughters Mary Murden and Tamer Morris. Wife Ann and son John, Exrs. Test: Richard Pritchard, Edmund Jackson.

Will of William Sitgreaves, Beaufort, July 5th, 1741, March Court, 1742. Stephen Ford and my aunt Mary Lingard, of Philadelphia, Exrs. Test: Michael Paquinet, Michel Paquinet, Mary Paquinet.

Mrs. Helen DeB. Wills,
Genalogical Department.

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Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

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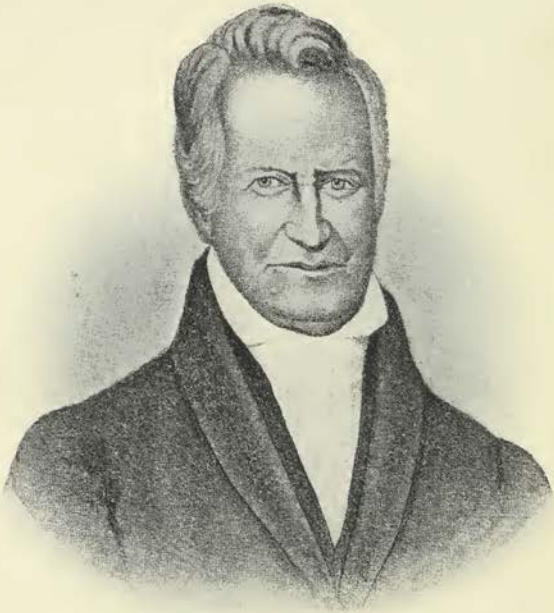

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Mrs. LEIGH SKINNER.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:
Mrs. PAUL H. LEE.

TREASURER:
Mrs. FRANK SHERWOOD.

REGISTRAR:
Miss MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

GENEALOGIST:
Mrs. HELEN De BERNIERE WILLS.

Founder of the North Carolina Society and Regent 1896-1902:
Mrs. SPIER WHITAKER.

REGENT 1902:
Mrs. D. H. HILL, Sr.*

REGENT 1902-1906:
Mrs. THOMAS K. BRUNER.

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*Died December 12, 1904.

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GENERAL JOSEPH GRAHAM.

BY MRS. WALTER CLARK.

If, as Pope declares, "the proper study of mankind is man," where can be found more ennobling and inspiring subjects for this study than our Revolutionary patriots? Where can the youth of the present day find characters more worthy of emulation, or a greater stimulus to bravery, honor and loyalty than in the lives of those who, like the subject of this sketch, risked their all in defense of their country, gave her their best services in peace, and laid the foundation of our present liberty?

Joseph Graham was born in Berks County, Pennsylvania, October 13, 1759. His father, James Graham, was of Scotch-Irish descent, and came from near Carlingford Bay, County Down, on the eastern shore of Ireland. The tide of emigration was at its flood in 1729, and the years immediately following, as many as 6,000 coming in one year from Ireland alone. Many of these settled in Pennsylvania, and we can well understand how an adventurous youth of nineteen would be led to cast in his lot with them, to try his fortunes in this new world.

He was twice married, the first wife leaving six children. The second wife was a widow, Mrs. Mary McConnell Barber, who became the mother of five children, Joseph, the subject of this sketch, being the youngest. At the time of James Graham's death, in 1763, affairs had become very unsettled in Pennsylvania, political dissensions had arisen, and general dissatisfaction existed. The "Land of Brotherly

Love" was proving an unpleasant abiding place. The climate, too, was severe, and the Indians still aggressive. All these causes combined to induce the sturdy Scotch-Irish to seek again to better their condition. From about the year 1745 there had been a tide of emigration from that section to the South, and reports of a milder climate and more fertile lands and the hope of better political conditions had led many to follow. Soon after James Graham's death a party of these emigrants came to the Carolinas, and the plucky little widow with her fatherless children accompanied them, and came to try her fortune in this Southern country, as her husband had done, leaving the Old World for the New, thirty years before. As we picture in our imagination this emigrant train, and follow it on its toilsome journey, as it winds its slow way along, over hills, through valleys, following the rough and often almost impassable trail, through Virginia and North Carolina to its ultimate destination in Lancaster County, S. C., we can form some idea of the feelings of Mary Graham as she left the old home and the old life behind and with five children, the oldest not more than fourteen years of age, journeyed many hundreds of miles to seek a home in a new and untried country. And the little Joseph, what impressions must have been made upon his childish mind, and how wild and strange it must all have seemed to the child, as the shadows lengthened and, weary with the long, rough journey of the day, they gathered around the camp-fire in the wilderness and prepared the evening meal, keeping a vigilant watch, both for the wild animals of the forest and the cruel savage whose blood-curdling war-whoop was the incarnation of all that was evil and horrible.

At last their destination was reached, but not to find a permanent abiding place, for in a few years Mary Graham removed to Mecklenburg County, N. C., and purchased a

home about four miles from Charlotte. Here she rested at last, and continued to reside until her death.

Small of stature, modest and unassuming, she must yet have possessed many of the sterling traits which form the character of the ideal woman. Widowed and alone in a strange country, except for the few friends and perhaps relatives who had accompanied her in the removal to the South, she had soon succeeded in purchasing a home where she gathered her little flock around her, and with her indomitable spirit still unbroken, devoted herself to training them for lives of usefulness. She instilled in them habits of industry, endurance and self-control, with strict adherence to duty and a love and reverence for religion. She gave them the best education the times afforded, fortunately having the advantage of being near one of the best schools in the State, located at Charlotte and called Queen's College. The name was afterwards changed to Liberty Hall, as being more consonant with Revolutionary ideas. The diploma of John, the oldest son, at this college is still preserved, and is perhaps the only one now in existence. It is a worthy ambition to strive that the world may be better because we have lived in it, and nobly in her narrow sphere did Mary Graham fulfill this ambition. Her contribution to its betterment and progress was the lives of these children, and well was she rewarded for her loving care. Her daughters became women of fine character and honored heads of families. Each of her three sons served his country well, holding offices of trust and responsibility and enlisting under her banner in time of war. John, the oldest, studied medicine under Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, and was a surgeon in the Revolutionary army, and George bore an active part in the Continental line, and participated in many engagements until debarred by a severe attack of illness. He was present at Charlotte, Cowan's Ford, Hanging Rock, etc. He was Sheriff of Meck-

lenburg County for many years, and afterwards Clerk of the Superior Court till forced by ill health to resign.

Joseph grew to manhood living on his mother's farm and attending school in Charlotte, where he "was distinguished among his fellow-students for talents, industry and a most manly and conciliatory deportment." "He took part in the manly sports of the day, was an expert swordsman, a man of much nerve and considerable surgical knowledge, which on many occasions he used for the benefit of those in need. He had also a practical knowledge of civil engineering and surveying. His interest in learning was great, and when grown to manhood he was ever ready to aid the boy of limited means in obtaining an education. He took great delight in reading history, especially, which he perused always with a geography and dictionary at hand, saying that 'every reader should know just *what* the writer said and *where* he was.'"

While still a youth he was eye-witness to a momentous event which marked an epoch in his life. He was a youth of thoughtful habits and alert mind, and took a keen, active interest in the political situation, which became more and more alarming as events succeeded each other. Two or more meetings of indignation and protest had been held during the spring of that year in the county of Mecklenburg, but it was not until the 20th of May, 1775, after news of the battle of Lexington was received, that affairs reached a climax. On the 19th of May a committee, composed of two men from each militia company in the county, met in the court-house at Charlotte, and after a session lasting far into the early hours of the 20th formally renounced allegiance to the British Crown.

Resolutions were passed declaring:

"That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg County, do hereby dissolve the political bonds which have connected us with the

mother country, and absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown; abjuring all political connection with a nation that has wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of Americans at Lexington." These resolves were six in number, one declaring that "The Crown of Great Britain can not be considered hereafter as holding any rights or privileges or immunities among us," etc., all breathing a spirit of defiance and determination to be free and independent. This was the first absolute declaration of independence in America, and all honor to the brave men who dared to throw down the gauntlet in the struggle for freedom!

Joseph Graham was present, an intensely interested spectator, and the event made so deep and ineffaceable an impression that he was able many years later to write a full and detailed account of the transaction at the request of his friend J. Seawell Jones, who was then preparing a history of the State. It was through the instrumentality of Joseph Graham, about the year 1816, that this great historic event was rescued from oblivion. Among the papers of an aged German neighbor, whose will he was requested to write, he found an old contemporary newspaper, the *Cape Fear Mercury,* containing the proclamation of the royal Governor, Martin, August 8, 1775, denouncing "a set of resolutions purporting to be a Declaration of Independence by Mecklenburg County." This discovery of Joseph Graham was the only copy of Governor Martin's proclamation then known to exist, and to Joseph Graham alone belongs the honor of rescuing from oblivion this long past occurrence.

On May 20, 1835, a notable celebration was held in Charlotte, and a newspaper account says, "General Graham gave an interesting historical sketch in response to the sentiment 'Our honored guest.'" In 1832 at the close of Joseph Graham's personal recapitulation of his military

services, made under oath when applying for a pension, he states: "Was present in Charlotte on the 20th day of May, 1775, when the committee of the county of Mecklenburg made their celebrated Declaration of Independence of the British crown, upwards of a year before the Congress of the United States did at Philadelphia." Is it surprising that those who believe in the truth and honor of Joseph Graham, who was eye-witness to what he describes, should believe *also* in the *Declaration of Independence of May 20, 1775?* Like other claims made by North Carolina to precedence in things military and historic, many years had elapsed before this was formally set up. But does any true North Carolinian believe the less in "First at Bethel, Farthest at Gettysburg, Last at Appomattox" because years had elapsed, many of the participants had passed into the Great Beyond, and crops of waving grain had covered the erstwhile battle-fields, for many an autumn before the claim was formally made. It has been said that "North Carolina has been too busy making history to write it," and it seems that these sons of Mecklenburg resumed their daily avocations when once they had boldly made their "Resolves" and dispatched them by a trusted messenger to the representatives in Philadelphia who, blind, it would seem, to their true value and deeming them premature, gave them scant recognition. But soon the time came to prove these words by deeds, and then right nobly did they come up to the mark.

Before appending the interesting enumeration of Joseph Graham's services given by R. H. Morrison it may not be amiss to say a word as to the military regulations of that day. Among the N. C. troops much of the service was largely voluntary. Their term of enlistment and mode of support were unique, and differed greatly from that of soldiers of the line to-day. Though enrolled for a certain term of months, the agreement was that when not in active service they should re-

turn to their homes, ready for an instant response to the call to arms. Thus it was with Joseph Graham and his fellow-patriots, and thus were his military services performed. Modestly retiring to his farm and occupations there when his services were no longer needed in the field, he bravely went forth again at the call of duty, on more than one occasion when enfeebled by recent severe illness, or partial recovery from dangerous wounds, or, as at the battle of Charlotte Cross Roads, when by the terms of enlistment his services could not legally be required, he rallied around him his friends and neighbors, and when their homes and loved ones were threatened by a hostile invasion led them in the resistance which they made so bravely and persistently as to earn for that section the soubriquet of "Hornets' Nest," as they, a little handful of determined men, annoyed, harassed and delayed the British army on its march through the State. Again at Cowan's Ford he had scarcely recovered from almost fatal wounds, when he raised a company of cavalry and took a prominent part in this engagement.

Dr. Morrison says:

"He enlisted in the Continental army in May, 1778, at the age of eighteen years. He joined the 4th Regiment of North Carolina regular troops under Col. Archld. Lytle, acting as an officer in Captain Gooden's company. They were ordered to rendezvous in Maryland, but just at this time occurred the battle of Monmouth; the British retreated to New York, and the services of these troops were not needed, so they returned to their homes on furlough. He was again called into service on November 5, 1778, in the command of General Rutherford, was with the troops under General Lincoln in the trying and painful struggles against General Prevost, and took part in the battle of Stono, June 20, 1779. During this campaign he acted as quartermaster. In July, 1779, he had a severe and dangerous attack of

fever, and after an illness of two months was compelled to accept a temporary discharge.

"While at his home he received intelligence of the surrender of Charleston and the defeat of Colonel Buford at the Waxhaw, and feeling that his services were needed he at once rejoined the army, and was appointed adjutant of the regiment from Mecklenburg, which was engaged in opposing the British troops under Lord Rawdon.

"When it was understood that the British were marching to Charlotte he was commanded by General Davidson to repair to that place, take command of the American force which should collect there, and join Colonel Davie, which he immediately did. The British army entered Charlotte on the 26th of September, 1780. Joseph Graham was assigned to the command of those troops which sustained the retreat of General Davie, and harassed and opposed Tarleton's cavalry and a regiment of infantry for four miles on the road leading to Salisbury. Finding his numbers inadequate to oppose their progress he withdrew his men and, forming again on an adjacent farm, made another gallant but ineffectual attack on the advancing enemy. Again at Sugar Creek another bold stand was made, on a hill just above the stream, but all in vain as reinforcements joined the already far superior British forces, and the Americans were compelled to retreat. Col. Francis Locke, of Rowan County, was killed just beyond this point, and Joseph Graham soon after was cut down and severely wounded. He received nine wounds, six with the saber, and three with lead. Four of these were deep saber cuts over his head, one in the side, and three balls were afterwards removed from his body; a large stock buckle, which broke the violence of the stroke on his neck, alone saved his life. Being much exhausted with loss of blood he was left for dead on the field, but afterwards, reviving during the night, crawled with infinite difficulty

and suffering to the house of Mrs. Susannah Alexander, where he received every attention, and when somewhat improved was taken to the hospital.

"Thus, at the age of twenty-one, we see this gallant officer leading a band of as brave men as ever faced a foe to guard the ground first consecrated by the Declaration of American Independence, and when the foot of tyranny was treading it, and resistance proved unsuccessful, leaving his blood as the best memorial of a righteous cause and of true heroism in its defense.

"Thus, while the whole country was in distress, its property pillaged, its houses forsaken and its defenseless inhabitants flying from the shock of arms, a few noble sons of Mecklenburg compelled Lord Cornwallis to designate Charlotte as the Hornets' Nest of America.

"As soon as his wounds were healed he again entered the service of his country. Having raised a company of fifty-five men in two weeks, he was placed in command by General Davidson. It showed not only his energy of purpose but his great influence, that in this difficult and hazardous period of defeat and depression he could accomplish this. This company was composed of mounted riflemen, armed also with swords and pistols. They furnished their own horses and equipments, and entered the field with every prospect of hard fighting and little compensation.

"At this time the plan of opposing Lord Cornwallis in crossing the Catawba River was arranged by General Greene, and its execution assigned to General Davidson. Feints of passing were made at different places but the real attempt was made at Cowan's Ford. The company commanded by Joseph Graham was the first to commence the attack on the British as they advanced through the river, but in spite of such brave opposition they as bravely advanced, gained the opposite bank, and returned a galling fire upon the Ameri-

cans. Two of Graham's men were killed. General Davidson had fallen at the beginning of the action as he was standing sword in hand cheering on his handful of brave men, so valiantly opposing the advance of the enemy. The North Carolina troops under General Pickens continued to pursue the British as they advanced toward Virginia. Joseph Graham with his company and some troops from Rowan County surprised and captured a guard at Hart's Mill, one and a half miles from Hillsborough, where the British army then lay, and the same day joined Colonel Lee's forces. The next day they were in an engagement with Colonel Pyles in command of 350 Tories on their way to join Tarleton. Shortly after Graham's company took part in the battle of Clapp's Mill, on the Alamance, and within a few days also in that of Whitsell's Mill, under the command of Colonel Washington.

"During the summer of 1781 but little military service was performed in North Carolina, as the British had retired to Wilmington. In September General Rutherford, who had been a prisoner, was released and immediately gave orders to Joseph Graham, in whose military prowess and great influence he had unbounded confidence, to raise a troop of cavalry in Mecklenburg County. The legion being raised, Robert Smith was appointed colonel and Joseph Graham major, and at once set out for Wilmington, the present headquarters of the British. South of Fayetteville an attack was made near McFall's Mill on a body of Tories who were signally defeated and dispersed, though headed by four colonels opposed to the youthful major. Next a band of Tories on Mr. Alfred Moore's plantation opposite to Wilmington was surprised and defeated. On the next day he with his troops made a resolute attack on the British garrison near the same place, and soon afterwards commanded the party

which defeated the celebrated Colonel Gainey near Lake Waccamaw.

"This campaign closed Joseph Graham's services in the Revolutionary War, as it was soon terminated by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

"He had commanded in fifteen engagements, with a degree of courage, wisdom, calmness and success surpassed perhaps by no officer of the same rank. Hundreds who served under him have delighted in testifying to the upright, faithful, prudent and undaunted manner in which he performed the duties of his trying and responsible station. Never was he known to shrink from any toil however painful, or quail before any danger, however threatening, or stand back from any privations or sacrifices which might serve his country. To secure her liberties he spent many toilsome days and sleepless nights; for her he endured much sickness, fatigue and suffering without a murmur; for her his body was covered with wounds; to her welfare he consecrated his time and treasure and influence during a long, unblemished life."

At the close of the Revolutionary War Joseph Graham returned to life on the farm with his mother, and resided there until his marriage, in 1787, to Isabella, daughter of John Davidson, one of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. She also was of Scotch-Irish lineage, her ancestors settling first in Pennsylvania, and then removing to North Carolina in 1740. They came first to Rowan County and afterwards to Mecklenburg, where the old homestead is still in the hands of descendants. After Joseph Graham's marriage he removed to what was then known as the Red House, near the Catawba River, and lived there for four years. He then engaged in the manufacture of iron with his brother and father-in-law in Lincoln County, where Vesuvius Furnace was erected, and his residence built near by. This was the family homestead where his children were

reared. It was located near the main line of road, and he had many visitors, men of letters with whom he delighted to converse, and others. The situation was very attractive at the head of three terraces, and approached through an avenue of cedars.

His marriage was most fortunate. His wife possessed not only great beauty of person but loveliness of character, and was a devoted wife and mother. Her true kindness of heart was shown in the motherly care and consideration she gave to the orphaned son of Gen. Wm. Lee Davidson, who married her sister, and fell at the battle of Cowan's Ford. The characteristics which had made Joseph Graham the stay and comfort of the brave little mother as years advanced upon her, made him now the excellent husband and father. Tradition says that when her useful life was nearly spent, and she became too feeble to walk, he would lift her in his strong arms and tenderly place her out on the old-fashioned "settle" (as the wooden bench or lounge of that day was called) under the shade of the trees where she loved to lie during the long summer days.

Joseph Graham's wife died in 1807, leaving a large family of children: Mary, who afterwards became the wife of Rev. R. H. Morrison, D.D., and William, only three years old, being the youngest. To them especially he was both father and mother, and showed the greatest tenderness and care. When he left home to command the brigade against the Creek Indians little William rode with him on his horse as far as a certain rock which is still pointed out. Here the motherless child bade him adieu and gave him up to the uncertain fortunes of war. This war was unexpectedly ended, however, and the father's absence was not long protracted. This was in 1814. The Creek Indians in Alabama had become so aggressive that more troops were needed, and President Madison made a requisition on the Governors

of North and South Carolina each for a regiment. These formed a brigade to the command of which Joseph Graham was appointed by Governor Hawkins, with the rank of brigadier-general. By exasperating delays of the War Department in furnishing supplies this brigade did not reach the seat of war until the battle of Horse Shoe had forced the Indians into submission, and after this there were only a few skirmishes and the final surrender of these hostile Indians. This was his last military service. He served several terms as major-general of the State militia. At that period these officers were elected by the Legislature for a term of three years. Joseph Graham led an active life, interested in all public questions, always a patriot, with the welfare of his country at heart in peace as in war. He was Sheriff of Mecklenburg County after the war and several times a member of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, which was composed of five members elected by the justices of the peace. He was a member of the first convention of the State to consider the proposed Constitution of the United States, which met at Hillsboro July 21, 1778. In November of that year we find him a member of the State Senate which met at Fayetteville. This was the last Legislature in which the members wore their hats, the Speaker alone being uncovered, and they laying aside their hats only while addressing the Chair. He served several terms in the Legislature and was much interested in all bills in favor of internal improvements and general education. He voted for the establishment of the State University in 1788-9, and was made a member of the first board of trustees of this great State institution, as he had been of the first academy established in Lincoln County. At the request of a mass-meeting of the citizens of Morganton he presented a memorial urging the establishment of a military academy in the State and proposing a plan therefor which

was favorably received and complimentary resolutions passed, but no final action taken.

His contributions to literature were mainly on military matters, many of them written at the request of Judge Murphey. The correspondence between them, which is reproduced in "Joseph Graham and his Revolutionary papers," is full of interest. Judge Murphey, about the year 1820, decided to write a history of North Carolina, and with that intention, corresponded with those he thought competent to furnish information. His first intention seems to have been to cover only the Revolutionary period, and to correct mistakes concerning North Carolina troops. But on Joseph Graham's suggestion that he make it a complete history of the State he changed his plan. He had collected much material for this purpose, but died before completing the work. Murphey wrote him: "I have been kindly aided by a few of the officers and soldiers of the North Carolina line, but by none so liberally as yourself." In 1827 Joseph Graham writes a correction of various misstatements which had found a place in history regarding North Carolina troops. Major W. A. Graham says: "The fact that the troops which gained such distinction under the command of General Pickens were from North Carolina, and mainly from Mecklenburg and the adjoining counties in North Carolina, had until recently like the Mecklenburg declaration escaped the attention of our best informed writers. For the preservation of this and other interesting events in our Revolutionary history we are indebted entirely to the careful pen of General Graham."

If the testimony of Joseph Graham is to be accepted on all these points of history which he was requested to settle, mainly from his own personal knowledge and recollection after the lapse of many years, and if his decision was received as the *ultimatum* by Judge Murphey and other stu-

dents of history of acumen and discrimination where dates, figures and numbers of troops engaged were in question, then why should the testimony of the same witness be discredited when the Mecklenburg Declaration of the 20th of May is the point in question? Why should it be imagined he would "mix" the dates of the 20th and 31st of May more than those of the days on which the battles of King's Mountain, Pyle's Massacre or Moore's Creek occurred? Why one "style" of reckoning for them and another for the 20th of May just before? Is it credible that he could not discriminate between two separate and distinct events of such different tenor, occurring on such different dates as the 20th and 31st of May?

Joseph Graham's writings comprise, first, a chronology of military events beginning with the battle of Ramseur's Mill, 20th June 1780 (as he was too young to have participated in any campaign previous to that time); second, Hanging Rock; third, expedition against the Tories in the forks of the Yadkin; fourth, affair at Colson's Mill; fifth, engagement at Rocky Mount; sixth, engagement at Charlotte Cross Roads and events preceding and following; seventh, McIntyre's farm; eighth, Royal Governor Martin's proclamation; ninth, retreat of Cornwallis to Winnsboro; tenth, Cowan's Ford; eleventh, Shallow Ford; twelfth, Hart's Mill; thirteenth, Pyle's massacre; fourteenth, Dickey's farm; fifteenth, Clapp's Mill; sixteenth, Whitsell's Mill; seventeenth, closing scenes of the Revolution in North Carolina. Many of these were accompanied by maps drawn by himself from personal observations made at the time, as in the battle of Cowan's Ford and others; or by careful measurements under the supervision and direction of actors in the scene, as in that of King's Mountain, from which he was absent on account of severe and almost fatal wounds

recently received. Like the Confederate veteran of to-day his greatest joy was in recalling the deeds of the past, and this literary work was to him a great pleasure.

In the year 1834, as age advanced upon him, he gave up to his two sons the business of manufacturing iron in which he had been engaged for many years, and which had proved very lucrative, and built a residence on an adjacent farm about a mile distant. His daughters were by this time all married, and he resided here with his unmarried son James, who for several years represented this district in Congress until his death, November 10, 1836. This place is now the family homestead of Maj. W. A. Graham, and called "Forest Home." The original house was burned some years ago and has been replaced by a modern and commodious structure. Joseph Graham is buried in the cemetery of Machpelah Church, which he and others of the family like Abraham of old "purchased for a possession of a burying place" soon after his removal to Lincoln County.

In closing I can give no better summary of his character than that made by one who had known him long and intimately, Rev. Robert Hall Morrison, D.D., himself a man of most exalted character. In the obituary printed immediately after Joseph Graham's death he thus describes him:

"His intercourse with others was marked by great dignity of deportment, delicacy of feeling, cheerfulness of spirit, and equability of temper. Men of learning and high standing have often expressed much gratification of his company and surprise at the extent and accuracy of his knowledge. In the circle of private friendship his excellencies were strikingly displayed. He was far—very far—removed from all those feelings of selfishness, vanity, suspicion or envy which unfit men for the duties and joys of social life. His eye was always open to the virtues of his friends; his heart was always ready to reciprocate their kindness, to sympa-

thize with their sorrows and overlook their infirmities. His hand, his time, his counsel and his influence were all at the command of those who shared his confidence and deserved his affection.

"But there was another circle nearer to his heart in which he was still better prepared to shine and in which true excellency displayed is a brighter and surer evidence of worth. Justice could not be done to his character without being known in the family circle. As a husband, a father and a master those alone who were the objects of his attachment, forbearance and tenderness could duly appreciate his conduct and demeanor.

"His life was a bright pattern of those virtues which are essential to the purity and peace of society. He possessed a lofty and delicate sense of personal honor and virtuous feeling. His presence was always a rebuke to the arts and abominations of evil speaking, profanity and defamation. If he could not speak well of his fellow-men he was wise and firm enough to say nothing. He regarded the reputation of others as a sacred treasure, and would never stoop to meddle with the private history or detract from the good name of those around him. He felt that the sources of his enjoyment and the causes of his elevation were not to be found in the calamities of his fellow-men, and hence his lips were closed to the tales of slander and his bosom a stranger to the wiles of calumny. Did all men act on the principle which governed him in this respect a hideous train of evils which mar the purity and disturb the peace of society would cease to exist.

"But General Graham did not believe when he had served his country, his family and his friends, his work on earth was finished. With an unwavering conviction of the truth and importance of religion, he professed to serve God and to seek for salvation by faith in Christ. For a long period

of time he was a member of the Presbyterian church, and for ten or twelve years previous to his death he was a Ruling Elder of Unity under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Adams. He cherished a most profound respect for the ordinances and duties of Christianity, and attended with deep interest and uniform punctuality upon the means of grace. He delighted much in reading the word of God and in hearkening to the instructions of ministers of the gospel, for whom he always manifested the greatest regard. In selecting his library he proved how high an estimate he placed upon Christian instruction, and in his most unreserved intercourse with pious friends his deep and pervading concern for *true and undefiled religion* was apparent. No circumstances would deter him from manifesting the most decided contempt for the groveling spirit of infidelity and irreligion.

"By a life of temperance and regular exercise, with the blessing of God, he enjoyed remarkable health and vigor of constitution. On the 13th of October, 1836, he made the following minute in his day-book, 'This day I am seventy-seven years of age and in good health, *Dei Gratia.*'

"As the disease which terminated his life was apoplexy, its paralyzing stroke was sudden and unexpected. He rode from Lincolnton on the 10th of November, and on the evening of the 12th closed his eyes upon the cares and trials of a long, useful and honorable life."*

* It gives me pleasure to acknowledge here the invaluable assistance I have found, in the preparation of this sketch, in "The Life and Revolutionary Papers of Gen. Joseph Graham," by Maj. W. A. Graham; and also in the excellent obituary by the Rev. R. H. Morrison, D. D.

STATE RIGHTS IN NORTH CAROLINA THROUGH HALF A CENTURY.

BY H. M. WAGSTAFF.

North Carolina emerged from the Revolution with two distinct factions in her Whig party, factions that had been held in partial harmony during the war by the necessity of presenting a solid front to the British and Tories. One of these factions was led by Willie Jones, and may be known as the popular, democratic, or radical party. It had sought to enthrone democracy in the State Constitution in 1776. It emphasized State individualism and stressed the principle of decentralization in the relation of the States to the government of the Confederacy. The other faction was directed by Samuel Johnston, and showed a tendency toward class government in State politics. It was duly appreciative of the benefits arising from common action between the States and desired proper deference from the States to the authority of the Confederate government. With the pressure of war and Toryism removed, these factions became separate parties, animated by strongly opposed sentiments.

The first issue of large interest between them was the treatment to be accorded the defeated Loyalists, this, by its nature, leading to the larger question of the amount of authority the Congress of the loosely-jointed Confederacy was to be allowed to exercise. Congress's peace treaty with England had provided for the rights of return to Loyalists and the restitution of their confiscated property. Jones and his followers held that Congress had exceeded its authority in incurring such an obligation and on this account it need not be respected.

On the other hand the party under Johnston was suffi-

ciently imbued with ideas of international honor to demand the execution of the treaty. The party was now in the minority, however, despite the fact that in its ranks were found Johnston, James Iredell, Alexander Maclaine, Wm. R. Davie and Wm. Hooper, the men most state prominent during the Revolution. All these deprecated the tendency to individualize the State and place its interests paramount to those of the Confederacy. It was this party, therefore, that in 1786 eagerly supported the movement to reform the Articles of Confederation. A demand was growing strong throughout the Confederacy for a closer union of the states as a means of ending the confusion into which the whole country was falling.

But in North Carolina the movement for creating a more effective union gathered force slowly. Despite the chaos in finance, in justice, in interstate commercial relations, and a general failure to realize the blessings that independence had seemed to promise, the majority party in North Carolina by no means despaired of the state or showed signs of a loss of faith in independent state democracy. State politics absorbed all its interests. Delegates were chosen to Congress but their seats for the most part remained vacant,[1] the State being totally unrepresented a number of times between 1783 and 1786.

Nevertheless, despite the indifference manifested by the majority party in North Carolina and other of her sister states, the American Confederation was now on the eve of a radical political change, a change the more significant in that it was not generally demanded by the thirteen independent sovereignties affected. The action which proved to be the first step in the reorganization of the Confederation was the call by Virginia of a trade convention to meet at

[1] Chairman of Congress to Governor Caswell. N. C. Colonial Records, XVIII, 515, 659, *et seq.*

Annapolis in September, 1786. Though public opinion in North Carolina appeared indifferent Governor Richard Caswell, standing midway in state politics between the radicals and conservatives, appointed five delegates to represent the state at Annapolis. Only one of the number, Hugh Williamson, made an effort to attend, he reaching the Maryland capital on the day the convention adjourned. But before adjournment the body had recommended to Congress the call of a constitutional convention for the purpose of amending the Articles of Confederation in the interest of more perfect union. Congress, already convinced of the imperfections of the Constitution and its own impotency, acted upon the suggestion within the same month.

The North Carolina General Assembly responded to the call by the appointment of a delegation of five, consisting of Governor Caswell, Willie Jones, Alexander Martin, Richard Dobbs Spaight and Wm. R. Davie. It was understood[2] that three of these, Caswell, Jones and Martin, were state rights men. Davie and Spaight were avowedly favorable to the idea of greatly strengthening the Federal government.[3] The preamble to the act[4] of appointment, however, embodied the sentiment of the conservatives and seems to have been due to their exertions. It was perhaps as much on this account as for his lack of sympathy with the whole movement that Jones at once declined to serve. The Governor, so empowered by the act, filled the vacancy by the appointment of Hugh Williamson, and also named William Blount in his own stead. Both these classed as advocates of stronger union, hence the political complexion of the delegation was entirely changed. Only one radical, ex-Governor Martin, remained in the delegation.

[2] McRee's Life of James Iredell, II, 151. Iredell to Mrs. Iredell, Sept. 30, 1786.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 168. Spaight to Iredell.

[4] Public Acts of N. C., 1786, 412.

The delegation as completed was in full attendance upon the Philadelphia convention soon after its organization in May, 1787. Martin showed himself pliable. Practical harmony prevailed among them and the delegation bore its proportionate part in making the great instrument of government that was produced. The views of the North Carolina delegates as to the nature of the government in process of formation are clearly indicated in their attitude upon the various compromises that were found necessary between conflicting interests in the convention. In advocating the choice of senators by the state Legislatures Mr. Davie said that the government forming was partly federal, partly national: "It ought in some respects to operate upon the States, in others upon the people." [6] Alexander Martin said: "United America must have one general interest to be a nation, at the same time preserving the particular interests of the States." [7] The delegation stoutly supported the southern demand that at least three-fifths of the slaves should be counted in apportioning representatives to the states, Davie saying, in the debate, that "If the Eastern States mean to exclude them altogether then the business (of confederation) is at an end." [8] As to the continuation of the slave trade the delegation was lukewarm, but finally voted with South Carolina and Georgia, apparently from a fear that those states would reject the Constitution if the trade was abolished at once.

When the Constitution was completed only three members signed for North Carolina, Davie and Martin having re-

[5] N. C. State Records, XX, 637, 683.

[6] Madison Papers, Supplementary to Elliot's Debates on the Federal Constitution, V, 265.

[7] N. C. Records, XX, 753. Martin to Governor Caswell. With Martin, however, the political pendulum had swung so far away from particularism that events were soon to prove he had lost the confidence of his party.

[8] Madison Papers, Sup. Elliot's Debates, V, 303.

turned home near the end of the convention to meet business engagements. Both, however, would very probably have signed had they been present.

The great struggle in North Carolina, as in a number of the other states, was yet to come over the question of ratification. Apparently the trend of public opinion in the latter part of 1787 was toward a sanction of the new Constitution. This was due to the effective campaign carried on by Johnston's party followers, now calling themselves federal men, or federalists. The party was determined to win a majority in the General Assembly, to elect their party chief as Governor, and call a state convention to pass upon the Constitution. The program was carried out. The new Legislature on joint ballot was able to elect Johnston and call a state convention to meet at Hillsboro in July of the following year (1788).

But the battle was not yet half won. Early in 1788 Jones, aided by such able lieutenants as Timothy Bloodworth, David Caldwell, Judge Samuel Spencer and Maj. Joseph McDonnell, of King's Mountain fame, began to marshal the forces of the opposition. North Carolina has probably produced no abler party strategist than Jones. The party cue was given by him at Halifax.[9] The federal judiciary, he said, would play havoc with the authority of the state's courts; the poor were to be ruined by money collections and federal taxation; there was no provision for freedom of conscience, the states were to be absorbed by the central government. These ideas and others of like tenor were potent arguments to the average North Carolinian against surrendering his dearly-bought liberties to an untried form of government. The anti-federalist propaganda rapidly began to have effect. The State judiciary was practically unani-

[9] McRee, II, 217. Davie to Iredell, outlining Jones's position. Davie was neighbor to Jones at Halifax.

mous[10] in its opposition to the Constitution. Party lines were closely drawn in the election of delegates to Hillsboro. On account of his compliant attitude at Philadelphia, Alexander Martin was now rejected by his former constituents for a seat in the convention. The eastern counties, where most of the federalist leaders resided, were closely contested, the Cape Fear country was generally favorable, and the western country decidedly opposed to the Constitution. The elections were very exciting in many places in the east, but took place generally without fraud or violence, scoring a heavy victory for the antis or state rights party.

So clear a verdict from the voters at first decided the antifederal leaders to reject the Constitution absolutely and finally. But before the Hillsboro convention met, July 21, 1788, ten states, among them influential Virginia, had ratified. This had a certain weight with the opponents of the Constitution in North Carolina. Jones, therefore, announced[11] his purpose of procuring rejection in order to give weight to the amendments which the states generally were preparing as they ratified. This program was altered slightly toward the end of the convention under pressure from the strong array of federalist leaders who found seats in the convention. But the utmost concession the antifederal majority would make was non-adoption instead of direct rejection. To the final resolution,[12] referring the question to a possible later convention, was appended a declaration of rights and a list of twenty-six amendments[13] to be laid before Congress at its first session. The first of these guaranteed the reserved rights of the states; the remainder were for the most part restrictions upon the federal executive

[10] *Ibid.*, II, 183. Maclaine to Iredell.

[11] McRee, II, 230. Davie to Iredell, July 9, 1788.

[12] Elliot's Debates, IV, 242.

[13] Elliot's Debates, IV, 244.

and judiciary and an enlargement of the powers of Congress at the expense of the other two branches. The decisive vote showed the opponents of adoption an even hundred in the majority. The convention adjourned *sine die* on August 4.

But the example of the other states began at once to work like leaven. News of New York's ratification came immediately after the adjournment at Hillsboro. This left only Rhode Island and North Carolina without the federal pale. Public opinion grew uncertain. The federalist leaders renewed their activity, determined to secure a majority in the new Assembly that would meet in November. Governor Johnston also aroused the friends of the Constitution everywhere to prepare petitions[14] to lay before the Assembly for a new convention.

The swing of the political pendulum was now toward federalism. Jones exerted all his powers to stay its momentum, but the opposition made large gains everywhere except in his own district. When the Assembly met, its membership was found to be almost evenly divided between the parties. The petitions came in in large numbers. It was evident that public opinion now demanded that the Constitution should be considered anew. North Carolina, completely out of relation with the other states, evidently felt lonely. Moreover, she feared trade discrimination by the new-formed Union. A convention bill was, therefore, prepared and passed; but the anti-federalists were strong enough to fix its date of meeting six months later than that upon which the first Congress of the new Union was to convene.

When the first Congress met, in April, 1789, there was some disposition manifested to treat North Carolina and Rhode Island as actual foreign States. Impost and tonnage bills introduced early in the session contained proposals to

[14] These petitions are in manuscript in the N. C. Archives, office of Secretary of State, Raleigh.

lay discriminatory duties upon their trade with the Union. Hugh Williamson, accredited agent of North Carolina to the government of the Union, memorialized Congress against such a course and urged forbearance.[15] Only a little time, he said, was needed to bring his state into the Union. The proposed hostile clauses, however, were never pressed, the attitude of the Union toward the states outside being one of courteous invitation. Some of the states already in perhaps felt as did the fox in the fable: having lost their own tails they wished others to dispense with brushy adornment. Already southern public men had begun to recognize a "southern interest" as opposed to northern interests and now devoutly wished for the accession of North Carolina as a means of preserving the balance of power.[16]

The second North Carolina convention called to consider the federal Constitution met November 16, 1789, and five days later passed an ordinance of ratification by a majority of 118 votes. The journal[17] of the six days session contains the bare outline of the proceedings, hence it is impossible to determine the spirit of the debates unless extant correspondence of federalists be accepted. Governor Johnston wrote that the opposition was "still violent and virulent," and Davie upon the first day was doubtful whether ratification could be effected.[18] But Davie had signally failed to correctly estimate the rapidity with which sentiment for union had ripened since the adjournment at Hillsboro, now more than a year past. Moreover, the position the federalist leaders themselves had taken in defense of the Constitution had labeled them as thorough State rights men provided they had the state once inside the Union. Their speeches in the

[15] Williamson to Congress. Ms. State Archives.

[16] Pierce Butler, of S. C., to James Iredell. McRee, II, 263.

[17] Journal of the Fayetteville Convention, 1789, in N. C. State Records, XXII, 36-53.

[18] McRee, II, 271. Davie to Iredell.

Hillsboro convention, the propaganda they had industriously circulated after the convention, and their general attitude toward union conclusively shows that they regarded the Constitution as a mere federal compact and the general government as but the agents of the states creating it. With this view held persistently before the anti-federalists, enough of them bowed their heads to enable the state to give sanction to the Constitution.

Whatever form of government the logic of subsequent events may have shown the Constitution to have created, no one could become familiar with the spirit prevalent in both parties in North Carolina in 1789 without reaching the conclusion that adoption there was based on a belief that it created a governmental compact with powers given superior to the old Articles of Confederation only for the purpose of efficient administration. Though North Carolina entered the Union only after hesitancy and mature deliberation, yet her subsequent history conclusively proved her loyalty to it as long as its government represented her original interpretation of the Constitution.

Ratification in North Carolina had been effected during a surface reaction from the tendencies toward state individualism represented by Willie Jones. It was inevitable that a moderate reaction in the opposite direction should now occur. Adjustment to the new order of things could not be without certain jars and friction between federal and state authority. The anti-federalists soon formed themselves into the Republican party and assumed the role of critic. When excitement arose in the last months of 1790 over Alexander Hamilton's scheme for federal assumption of state debts, the popular branch of the North Carolina General Assembly, much opposed to assumption, refused[19] by a vote of 55 to 26 to take the oath to support the

[19] Journal of the House. N. C. State Records, XXI, 1021.

Constitution prescribed by Congress for such state officers as governors, members of legislatures and others. A second incident concerned the adjustment of the federal judiciary. A *writ of certiorari* was issued from the federal district court of North Carolina by direction of three of the United States Supreme Court Judges (Blair, Rutledge and Wilson), directed to the Court of Equity in North Carolina, for bringing up an equity case.[20] The state judges denied the Supreme Court's authority in the case and refused obedience to the *writ*. The General Assembly at once passed a vote of thanks to the judges for their defiance. The case was allowed to rest by the federal authorities and with the early reform of the judiciary was thrown out.

The General Assembly passed strong resolutions[21] against the assumption and funding measures of Hamilton and peremtorily instructed the state's senators, Samuel Johnston and Benjamin Hawkins, to oppose any excise or direct tax by the federal government. It so happened that North Carolina's delegation to Congress, arriving late, was found to hold the balance of power relative to these measures. Hence the assumption program was laid aside for the time. Later it was brought forward and yoked with the question of a site for the federal capital, the well-known compromise resulting.

The federal excise laws of 1791, from which the assumptionists purposed to derive the funds to carry out their measures, occasioned great ferment in all the frontier regions of the United States. The greatest storm center was western Pennsylvania, the trouble there culminating in 1794 in the "Whiskey Rebellion." In western North Carolina, if resistance to the excise laws was less organized, it was none the less effective; federal collectors were powerless and dis-

[20] Dallas, U. S. Supreme Court Reports, II, 412.
[21] N. C. State Records, XXI, 1054.

creetly remained out of the excited localities.[22] The spirit of resistance spread also to the eastern counties[23] and the ferment did not abate until the excise laws were amended.

A general discontent with the measures Congress had deemed necessary for adjustment of the new regime now developed in North Carolina. The first political victim of the reaction was Samuel Johnston, who, regarded as the most uncompromising advocate of strong national powers, failed to secure reelection to the United States senate when his term expired in March, 1792. Alexander Martin, again in the confidence of the Republican party, was chosen as Johnston's successor. In the congressional elections of 1793 this party was successful in every district save one, the Scotch district in the Cape Fear region. With Johnston retired to private life the remaining federalist leaders now quietly supported the same state rights principles as the Republican party. James Iredell, whom Washington had appointed to the Supreme Court bench, set them the example in his dissenting opinion in the case of *Chisholm v. Georgia.*

This famous case sharply brought the states to consider anew the question of just what powers they had given up to the federal government. The issue involved, the right of suit of a state by a citizen of another state, was decided affirmatively, only one justice, James Iredell, dissenting. In his cogently reasoned opinion[24] Iredell argued that the individual states were successors to the sovereignty wrenched from the British crown. Upon this premise he built up his theory of divided and delegated sovereignty, holding that every state in the Union, in every instance where its sovereignty had not been delegated to the United States, was as completely sovereign as were the United States in respect

[22] McRee, II, 330, 335. Davie to Iredell, Aug. 2, 1791.

[23] Johnston to Iredell, April 15, 1791.

[24] Dallas, U. S. Supreme Court Reports, II, 419-480.

to the powers conferred upon them by the federal compact. A state, therefore, remaining sovereign, could not be sued. Georgia acted upon Iredell's theory and defied the federal authority. The judgment remained unenforced until the eleventh amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1798, removed such questions from the cognizance of the court, thus sanctioning Iredell's view.

The Republican party throughout the country had received Iredell's argument as an exposition of its own theory of a definite line of demarcation between the rights reserved by the states and those delegated to the federal government. The opinion is the more interesting in this connection because of Iredell's influence upon the ratification of the Constitution by North Carolina. His interpretation of the Constitution in the *Chisholm v. Georgia* case was in the same state rights spirit with which he had defended it in 1788-89.

The Alien and Sedition acts, passed by Congress in June and July, 1798, gave the Republicans their next opportunity to raise the state rights issue. Virginia and Kentucky protested vigorously in legislative resolutions characterizing the acts as a usurpation of power on the part of the federal government and therefore void. Wm. R. Davie, a federalist with mild state rights proclivities, was Governor of North Carolina at the date of reception of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions. His zeal for the safety of the Union caused him to take the ground that at this juncture the Union's existence was in more danger than the rights of the states.[25] He therefore threw all his influence against any legislative cooperation with Virginia and Kentucky. Feeling ran high throughout the state. In a sharp party fight in the lower branch of the state legislature Davie's followers were successful in preventing action.[26] But the attitude of North

[25] McRee, II. Davie to Iredell, June 17, 1799.

[26] Journal of the N. C. House of Commons, 1798, p. 78.

Carolina toward the "doctrine of 1798" was one of friendliness. Her non-action was due to disinclination on the part of the state administration to encourage dissension at a time of such high party feeling.

The federalist party in North Carolina practically expended the last of its strength in the presidential election of 1800. General apprehension for the safety of the Union aroused by the Jay treaty, the Alien and Sedition Acts, and the "Resolutions of '98" enabled them to carry four electoral districts, but after this election the party became disorganized and had no leaders of note. The Republican party now had practically uncontested control of the state with indications predicting a long tenure of power. Nathaniel Macon, a worthy disciple of Willie Jones and with even more ultra-democratic principles than his preceptor, became the party chief. His position in national politics as speaker of the House of Representatives from 1801 to 1806 did not lessen his interest in state party affairs. Through the decade of national humiliation at the hands of England and France he held the state in firm support of the Republican administration. When the New England federalists met at Hartford in 1814 and threatened to secede as a protest against the war with England, North Carolina republicanism, mindful of its cardinal doctrine, state rights, conceded their right to speak. But the concession was coupled with the demand that they should speak through their legislatures and at a time when all were not endangered by a public enemy; in short, that "they should speak like Americans." [27]

From 1815 to 1820 North Carolina, in common with the rest of the Union, enjoyed a period of political quiet. The Union, now that it had stood the test of a foreign war, became

[27] *Raleigh Register*, Dec. 8, 1814, and Jan. 27, 1815. This paper was the official organ of the Republican party in N. C.

a fixture in the political conceptions of the people. Sentiment, as well as political wisdom and experience, was beginning to form a bulwark for its protection.[28]

The period of calm was soon broken, however, by the development of a serious political contest between the North and the South over slavery extension. The issue was joined over the admission of Missouri as a slave state, ending in the well-known Missouri Compromise. Though the North Carolina legislature gave no official utterance to the state's sentiment upon the question, the newspapers earnestly thrashed the matter over and thus we are able to learn the general state of public opinion. The *Raleigh Register,* official mouthpiece of the Republican state organization, decidedly opposed as unconstitutional any restrictions upon Missouri.[29] The *Minerva,* claiming no party affiliations but representing the known sentiment of certain detached groups,[30] and undoubtedly a respectable minority, assumed a very different attitude. It said, January 28, 1820: "We doubt whether it be possible to answer Mr. King's speech of the last session against granting to this new State (Missouri) the privilege of holding our fellow-men in bondage. Yet our Northern brethren will generously remember that it is not always possible for the most honest to be just." A month later the same paper asserted the constitutionality of restriction,[31] and added: "It is equally certain that true policy forbids the *extension,* as it submits to the *toleration* of slavery." Two weeks later the *Minerva* declared an open and definite

[28] 17 *Nile's Register,* 31, has a very interesting account at this date of a fervent prayer for the preservation of the Union, uttered by a North Carolina Revolutionary patriot upon his death bed.

[29] *Raleigh Register,* March 3, 1820, *et seq.*

[30] These groups were the Quaker counties—Guilford, Randolph, and Chatham; the Moravian center at Salem, and much of the mountain country.

[31] Minerva, Feb. 11, 1820.

hostility to slavery extension and began to advocate[32] some form of gradual emancipation in the states.

Such sentiment, however, was unorganized and ineffectual and by no means represented the controlling forces within the state. Nathaniel Macon, now in the United States senate, represented as always the state rights republicanism of the eastern North Carolina slaveholder. He opposed to the end the whole plan of the compromise on the ground that it would mean an admission on the part of the South that Congress could set metes and bounds to slavery.

During the tariff and nullification controversy of 1828-33 North Carolina pursued the course she felt best fitted to secure a repeal of the obnoxious tariff and at the same time preserve her original attitude toward state rights, without endorsing the radical activity of South Carolina. Just after the tariff bill of 1827 so nearly became a law, Governor Iredell, anticipating that the protectionists would again bring forward their measure at the next session of Congress, recommended[33] to the North Carolina General Assembly to put on record some form of protest. Accordingly at this time a resolution[34] was passed which declared that any increase of import duties by Congress was inexpedient and unwise. That this simple resolution might the more effectively gain the ear of Congress a preamble was attached which admitted the constitutionality of such duties but declared nevertheless that "interest, either pecuniary or political, is the great point of union from the smallest association up to the Confederacy of American States: that whenever a system is adopted by the general government which does not equally conserve the interests of all the states, then the right rests with any state

[32] *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1820.

[33] Message, Nov. 29, 1827, Executive Letter-book. Governor Iredell was the son of Judge James Iredell, of the U. S. Supreme Court. The father had died in 1799.

[34] Journal of N. C. Gen. Assy., 1827-28, p. 101.

or States to question whether the benefits of the Union are not more than counterbalanced by its evils." This had the ring of Hartford convention doctrine, but was unavailing, Congress passing the "tariff of abominations" one month later.

A storm of protest was raised at once throughout the South. But with Adams's defeat by Jackson in November, 1828, the belief became current in North Carolina that the tariff would be repealed almost immediately.[35] Events drifted, however, and nothing was done. The Hayne-Webster debate occurred in January, 1830, and intensified interest in the strained situation. Though not yet quite ready for action, the course South Carolina would pursue was a foregone conclusion. The question before the Union, therefore, was how far that state would be supported by the other southern states.

For North Carolina this question was answered directly by the people on Independence Day, 1830. Fourth of July celebrations were held in nearly every county in the state and were made the occasion of a plebiscite on the South Carolina doctrine. At Asheboro the following theme inspired the orator of the day and evoked the applause of the people: "The union of the States—united we stand, divided we fall! He who wantonly engenders a feeling of hostility between the States instead of soothing it to harmony is a traitor to his country. Let no such man be trusted." At Hillsboro: "State Rights and Federal Powers—if the line of demarcation between them, as drawn by the framers of the Constitution, be preserved unobscured by the refinements of construction, our Union will stand throughout time as the proud monument of a free people to govern themselves." At Fayetteville: "Our Sister State—South Carolina. We

[35] This view was expressed by the newspapers, and in Governor Owen's message to Assembly, Nov. 19, 1829. Ms. Letter-book.

esteem her worth but deprecate her example. We therefore hold her *in union* a friend, in *disunion* an enemy to our political institutions." [36] Speaker vied with speaker everywhere in expression of dissent from South Carolina's doctrine of nullification, though at the same time care was taken to soundly rap the tariff. Calhoun's reasoning might be without a flaw, but just now the blessings of union seemed dearer to North Carolina than statesmen's logic.

When the annual Assembly met in November it was expected to register officially the will of the people upon the subject of nullification. Accordingly resolutions[37] in the following form were introduced by Jonathan Worth, a Quaker member, and, after heated debate and slight amendment, passed the lower branch by a vote of 87 to 27: "Resolved, by the General Assembly of North Carolina: That although the Tariff Laws as they now exist are in the opinion of this Legislature unwise, unequal in their operation, and oppressive to the Southern States, yet this Legislature does not recognize as constitutional the right of an individual state to nullify a law of the United States." The twenty-seven members who opposed this resolution were extreme state rights men and were actuated by a fear that the repudiation of nullification might mean the first successful assault upon particularism. They therefore preferred to make no concession, even as to the questionable doctrine of nullification. The senate agreed with the house minority and refused to commit itself. The larger freehold qualifications required for membership in the senate made this branch of the legislature less responsive than the house to popular sentiment, therefore, more representative of the old par-

[36] These toasts are chosen as typical of a great many reported by the press throughout the State. See *Raleigh Register* and *Carolina Watchman* of July 12, 1830.

[37] House Journal, Dec. 31, 1830, p. 257.

ticularism of the east. The senate favored resolutions which emphasized the reserved rights of the states and condemned the tariff as a usurpation of power by the Federal government.[38] But it was not prepared to antagonize the popular branch and public sentiment further than to remain silent.

The famous Nullification Ordinance of South Carolina, the result of a state convention in 1832, brought the controversy to a crisis. The North Carolina legislature was in session when the ordinance was received. The senate could no longer stay the tide of dissent. The pressure for anti-nullification resolutions was too strong to be resisted. Some attempt was made by the senate to link the tariff with the question of internal improvements and make the two together a cause for requesting all the states to meet in a federal convention for the purpose of giving an authoritative interpretation of all the constitutional questions in dispute. This plan failed, however, and the two houses then came to an agreement and passed anti-nullification resolutions.[39] These resolutions contained both the declaration that the tariff was unconstitutional and that nullification was revolutionary and subversive of the Constitution. They were thus a compromise between the senate and the house, between the old state rights dogma and the new sentiment.

But the repudiation of the doctrine of nullification by North Carolina can in no sense be interpreted as a repudiation of the doctrine of state rights as held at the time of the formation of the Union. Numerous mass-meetings in the counties attest the people's endorsement of the legislature's final action, but only one has been discovered by the writer in which the sentiment was expressed that the United States constituted one great political society and the govern-

[38] The Senate favored the "Sawyer Resolutions." These were of a strong state rights tone. See N. C. House Journal, 1830, 175.

[39] N. C. Senate Journal, 1832-33, 99; and House Journal, 1832-33, 224-225.

ment thereof essentially a national government.[40] On the other hand, there was abundant evidence in mass-meetings, in the press, in the correspondence of public men, and in the Legislature which shows a spirit anxious to find a way to repudiate nullification and at the same time save the original state rights doctrine. A letter to a party friend from the aged Nathaniel Macon, now in voluntary political retirement, probably expresses as accurately as could be done the attitude of the thinking public. He said: "I have never believed a State could nullify and stay in the Union, but have always believed that a State might secede when she pleased, provided she would pay her proportion of the national debt; and this right I have considered the best safeguard to public liberty and public justice that could be required."[41] It was in consistency with this theory and under its impulsion that North Carolina left the Union in 1861.

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[40] Such resolutions were passed in the town of Wilmington, which, strange to say, was later the strongest secession center in the State. For resolutions see *Raleigh Register*, Jan. 4, 1833.

[41] Dodd. Life of Nathaniel Macon, 385. Macon to Samuel P. Carson, Feb. 9, 1833.

THE NAG'S HEAD PICTURE OF THEODOSIA BURR.*

BY BETTIE FRESHWATER POOL.

The sand dunes of North Carolina have long been famous as the scene of marine tragedies. The bleaching ribs of some of the stateliest craft that ever plowed the deep bear testimony to the ravages of old ocean. The English merchantman, the Portuguese galleon, the Dutch brigantine, the Spanish treasure ship, the French corvette, the Norwegian barque, representatives of every maritime nation on the globe, are scattered over the beach, from Hatteras to Cape Fear, their grisly skeletons protruding from the sands like antediluvian monsters in some geological bed.

This narrow strip of sand winding like a yellow ribbon between the inland sounds and the sea, presents a curious study to the geologist. For years it has been gradually sinking, and at the same time becoming narrower, until now its average width is not more than a mile, and the libertine waters of the great sea not seldom rush across the frail barrier to embrace those of the Albemarle.

The slender divide has not always been able to withstand the matchless flood, which has, in times of unusual commotion, literally cut a pathway through the yielding sands. These form inlets, of which Oregon, Hatteras and New are the most important. Through the first Burnside's fleet of warships defiled on its way to the bombardment of Roanoke Island. The channels are constantly changing, and skillful pilots are required to guide vessels safely over the bar.

*This article from "The Eyrie and Other Southern Stories," by Bettie Freshwater Pool, is published by permission of the author.

Supposed Portrait of Theodosia Burr Alston.

The ornithologist may here find much to interest him, and the conchologist revel in a paradise of shells. But the nautilus, pale and pearly, and the delicate blush of the sea conch, have small influence on the rude nature of the native "banker." Isolated from the world on his barren waste of shifting sand the "banker" of a hundred years ago was almost a barbarian. His savage instincts not only made him consider all flotsam and jetsam his lawful property, but induced him to use every means to lure vessels ashore for the purposes of plunder. And when a wreck occurred, the wreckers held high carnival. The sparse population turned out *en masse,* and with demoniac yells, murdered without remorse the hapless victims who escaped the raging surf. Nag's Head, a favorite summer resort along the coast, was named from a habit the "bankers" had of hobbling a horse, suspending a lantern from its neck and walking it up and down the beach on stormy nights, impressing the mariner with the belief that a vessel was riding safely at anchor. Through this device many a good ship has gone down and much valuable booty secured to the land pirates.

The "bankers" of to-day are different beings from their ancestors of a century ago. Fellowship with enlightened people has had a humanizing influence, and they are now good and useful citizens. The North Carolina coast is provided with three first-class lighthouses—Hatteras, Whale's Head, and Body's Island. Body's Island is no longer an island, Nag's Head Inlet, which formed its northern boundary, having been completely closed up by the encroaching sands.

The dunes, for most part barren of vegetation, have in some places a stunted growth of forest trees, and in others large marshes covered with a rank growth of coarse grass, on which herds of wild cattle and "banks ponies" graze.

In the winter of 1812 there drifted ashore at Kitty Hawk, a few miles below Nag's Head, a small pilot boat with all sails set and the rudder lashed. There was no sign of violence or bloodshed; the boat was in perfect condition, but entirely deserted. The small table in the cabin had been spread for some repast, which remained undisturbed. There were several handsome silk dresses, a case of wax flowers with a glass covering, a nautilus shell beautifully carved, and hanging on the wall of the cabin was the portrait of a young and beautiful woman. This picture was an oil painting on polished mahogany, twenty inches in length and enclosed in a frame richly gilded. The face was patrician and refined: the expression of the dark eyes proud and haughty; the hair dark auburn, curling and abundant. A white bodice, cut low in the neck and richly adorned with lace, revealed a glimpse of the drooping shoulders, and the snowy bust, unconfined by corset.

Those who boarded the boat possessed themselves of everything of value on board. The picture, wax flowers, nautilus shell and silk dresses fell into the possession of an illiterate banker woman, who attached no especial value to them.

This picture, which has since attracted so much attention, hung on the wall of a rude cabin among the North Carolina hills for fifty-seven years. In the year 1869 it fell into the possession of the late Dr. William G. Pool, a prominent North Carolina physician. Dr. Pool was a man of marked individuality. He had the tastes of an antiquarian, was literary, cultured, and noted for his remarkable conversational gifts. While summering at Nag's Head, he was called upon to visit professionally the old banker woman referred to above. He was successful in his treatment of the case, and knowing the circumstances of his patient, would accept no payment for his services. In her gratitude for his kindness, the old woman insisted upon his accepting, "as a gift,"

the portrait hanging on the wall of her cabin. When questioned concerning its history, she related the facts above mentioned. This she did with apparent reluctance, possibly suppressing many interesting details that might have thrown more light upon the subject. Her husband had been one of the wreckers who boarded the pilot boat, and the picture and other articles referred to had been his share of the spoils. Her story was that the wreckers supposed the boat to have been boarded by pirates and that passengers and crew had been made to "walk the plank." The picture and its strange history became a subject of much interest and conjecture to Dr. Pool. Artists pronounced it a masterpiece, and the unmistakable portrait of some woman of patrician birth.

Chancing one day to pick up an old magazine in which appeared a picture of Aaron Burr, Dr. Pool was forcibly struck by the strong resemblance between it and the portrait in question. Like a flash it occurred to him that this might be a likeness of Theodosia, the ill-fated daughter of Aaron Burr. Eagerly he compared dates and facts until he became thoroughly convinced that he had found a clue to that mysterious disappearance, which is one of the most awful tragedies of history. A brief account of this discovery was published in the New York *Sun,* and immediately letters innumerable were received by him asking for more particulars.

Photographs of the portrait were sent to the numerous members of the Burr and Edwards families, and almost without exception the likeness was pronounced to be that of Theodosia Burr. Charles Burr Todd, the author, and Mrs. Stella Drake Knappin, descendants respectively of the Burr and Edwards families, visited Dr. Pool's residence on Pasquotank River for the purpose of examining the portrait. They were both convinced that it was a likeness of Theodosia Burr.

The wife of Colonel Wheeler, of Washington, D. C., who is a daughter of Sully, the famous portrait painter, and is herself an artist, compared a photo of the Nag's Head picture with a likeness of Theodosia Burr in her possession. She at once perceived that both features and expression were identical.

There was probably no woman in America at the time of Theodosia Burr's death more universally known and admired than she. Her high social rank, her beauty, her genius, her accomplishments, as well as her heroic devotion to her father in the dark days of his disgrace and banishment, had made her a prominent figure and had won for her the admiration of thousands.

When Aaron Burr, upon his return from exile, sent for his daughter to visit him in New York, she decided to make the voyage by sea. Her health had been almost completely wrecked by grief over her father's disgrace, and the recent death of her only child, Aaron Burr Alston. It was thought that a sea voyage might prove beneficial. She accordingly set sail from Georgetown, S. C., in the *Patriot,* a small pilot boat, December 30, 1812. Days and weeks passed, but Aaron Burr waited in vain for the arrival of his daughter. Months and years rolled away and still no tidings came. The *Patriot* and all on board had completely vanished from the face of the earth, and the mystery of its disappearance remained unsolved for more than half a century.

Governor Alston did not long survive the loss of his beloved wife, and Aaron Burr, in speaking, years afterwards of his daughter's mysterious fate, said that this event had separated him from the human race.

Let us now compare dates and facts: A pilot boat drifts ashore during the winter of 1812 at Kitty Hawk, a few miles below Nag's Head. There were silk dresses in the cabin

and other indications that some lady of wealth and refinement has been on board. There is a portrait on the wall of the cabin that has been pronounced by artists and members of her family to be a likeness of Theodosia Burr.

The *Patriot* was lost during the winter of 1812. On the voyage from Georgetown, S. C., to New York it would pass the North Carolina coast. The sea at this time was infested by pirates. A band of these bold buccaneers may have boarded the little vessel and compelled passengers and crew to "walk the plank." Becoming alarmed at the appearance of some government cruiser, they may, from motives of prudence, have abandoned their prize.

This theory is not mere conjecture. Years ago two criminals executed in Norfolk, Va., are reported as having testified that they had belonged to a piratical crew who boarded the *Patriot* and compelled every soul on board to "walk the plank." The same confession was made years subsequently by a mendicant dying in a Michigan almshouse. This man said he would never forget the beautiful face of Theodosia Burr as it sank beneath the waves, nor how eloquently she pleaded for her life, promising the pirates pardon and a liberal reward if they would spare her. But they were relentless, and she went to her doom with so dauntless and calm a spirit that even the most hardened pirates were touched.

I can not vouch for the truth of these confessions which have appeared from time to time in print. I only introduce them as collateral evidence in support of the banker woman's story. The *Patriot* was supposed to have been wrecked off the coast of Hatteras during a terrific storm which occurred soon after it set sail. This, however, was mere conjecture which has never been substantiated by the slightest proof.

It is not improbable that the *Patriot* during a night of

storm was lured ashore by the decoy light at Nag's Head, and that passengers and crew fell into the hands of the land pirates in waiting, who possessed themselves of the boat and everything of value it contained. This also, of course, is mere conjecture, but the all-important fact remains that a pilot boat went ashore at Kitty Hawk during the winter of 1812, and that in the cabin of this boat was a portrait of Theodosia Burr.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

MRS. WALTER CLARK.

The sketch of General Joseph Graham is written by his granddaughter, Mrs. Susan Graham Clark, who is the wife of Chief Justice Clark, one of the foremost historians of our State. She is the only daughter of the late Honorable William Alexander Graham, the learned lawyer and ripe scholar, who filled so many positions of honor and trust, notable among them being that of United States Senator in 1840, Governor in 1845, and Confederate States Senator in 1864. Mrs. Clark was born in Washington, D. C., while her father was Secretary of the Navy during the administration of President Fillmore. A suggestion made by Governor Graham to fit out an expedition to Japan resulted in one of the greatest events of the nineteenth century—the opening of the ports of that country to the world. Had he done nothing else, this alone would place him on the highest roll of fame.

Mrs. Clark received her primary education at the Misses Nash and Miss Kollock's School in Hillsboro, N. C., and afterwards at Mlle. Rostand's in New York City. She lived in Hillsboro, N. C., until her marriage in 1874, since which time she has resided in Raleigh, where she exerts a potent influence in her church and in other associations.

Mrs. Clark is Vice-Regent of the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution, filling the place most acceptably, holding the meetings in the absence of the Regent, conducting and furthering with zest and conservatism such movements as are made for the preservation of our State history or the commemoration of important events.

Mrs. Clark has been repeatedly called to the office of Regent, the highest office within the gift of the Society, but a frail constitution forbade such active work as this position

would entail. Mrs. Clark belongs to such organizations as the Associated Charities, the Civic Department of the Woman's Club, and the Rescue Circle of King's Daughters.

"True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home," Mrs. Clark's daily life is an exponent of her character. She claims as her jewels five sons and two daughters.

HENRY McGILFERT WAGSTAFF.

Author of "State Rights in North Carolina Through Half a Century."

Born at Olive Hill, Person County, North Carolina, January 27, 1876.

Attended the public schools; was prepared for college at Roxboro Academy and by private instruction. Entered the University of North Carolina in 1895, and graduated 1899.

Taught three years (1899-1902) in high schools of the State.

Entered Johns Hopkins University in 1903 for graduate work in History. In 1905-6 was fellow in History at the Hopkins and received PhD. degree in latter year. 1906-7 was Acting Professor of History in Allegheny College, Pennsylvania. 1907-9 was Associate Professor of History in University of North Carolina, and in 1909 became Professor of History in this institution.

Professor Wagstaff has always taken a lively interest in all history, but has made an especial study of the history of North Carolina from a love for his native State. His ability and industry in this line entitle him to be grouped with those historians of the past and present who have made and are making "God and their country's right their battle cry."

MISS BETTIE FRESHWATER POOL.

Author of Article on "Nags Head Picture" Biographical Sketch.

Biographical sketch may be found in No. 4 of Vol. VIII, page 334.

ABSTRACT OF WILLS PREVIOUS TO 1760.

FROM SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE.

Will of Lawrence Arnold, Dec. 14, 1690. Son John, wife, Lawrence Godfrey.

Will of Richard Ashell; executed Sept. 15, 1695. Wife, daughter Mary, child *in esse*, all my children, Wm. Privett and Wm. Charlton. (Note—Chowan names.)

Will of Peter Avelin, March 14, 1710; probated Nov. 1, 1712. Sons Henry, Peter and John, daughter Anne.

Will of Abraham Adams; Dec. 18, 1734. Son James Adams, son Joseph, daughter Sarah, wife Anne.

Will of James Adams; Feb. 17, 1733; probated July, 1734. Son Abraham, son James, son Emanuel, son John, son Thomas, daughter Martha, daughter Rachel, daughter Mary, child of Rachel.

Will of Abraham Adams; March 27, 1734. Son Abraham, son Richard, son William, son Willoby, wife Barthia.

Will of John Battle of Bertie County; probated May Court, 1740; son William, son Jesse, daughters Priscilla and Sarah, brother William Battle, wife Sarah Battle, John Brown, brother to my wife.

Will of James Burns, Bertie County; January 8, 1733; probated March 31, 1735. Wife Elizabeth, son-in-law John Wynn, grandson George Augustus Wynn, son-in-law Culliner Sessoms, daughter Mary Wynn, daughter Elizabeth Early, grandson James Early, James Burke, William Burke, John Askew, goddaughter Martha Davis.

Will of William Boge; Dec. 20, 1720; probated April 11, 1721. Sons William and Josiah, wife Ellendor, daughter Elizabeth Hill, daughter Jane Boge, daughter Miriam Boge, daughter Rachel Boge, grandson William Hill, son Robert; Wm. Boge and Janet Hill, executors.

Will of John Bennett, of Currituck; Dec. 10, 1710. Sons Joseph and Benjamin, cousin Wm. Jones, of Northamptonshire, wife's grandfather Richard Nescut of South Pedecton in Somersetshire, adopted son Sampson Goddard, wife Mary executrix.

By Mrs. Helen deB. Wills,
Genealogist for N. C. Daughters of the Revolution.

INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication on great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

Some Booklets for Sale

Vol. I

"Greene's Retreat," Dr. Daniel Harvey Hill.

Vol. II

"Our Own Pirates," Capt. S. A. Ashe.

"Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War," Judge Walter Clark.

"Moravian Settlement in North Carolina," Rev. J. E. Clewell.

"Whigs and Tories," Prof. W. C. Allen.

"The Revolutionary Congresses," Mr. T. M. Pittman.

"Raleigh and the Old Town of Bloomsbury," Dr. K. P. Battle.

"Historic Homes—Bath, Buncomb Hall, Hayes," Rodman, Blount, Dillard.

"County of Clarendon," Prof. John S. Bassett.

"Signal and Secret Service," Dr. Charles E. Taylor.

"Last Days of the War," Dr. Henry T. Bahnson.

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"Trial of James Glasgow," Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.

"Volunteer State Tennessee as a Seceder," Miss Susie Gentry.

"Historic Hillsboro," Mr. Francis Nash.

"Colony of Transylvania," Judge Walter Clark.

"Social Conditions in Colonial North Carolina," Col. Alexander Q. Holladay, LL.D.

"Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, 1776," Prof. M. C. S. Noble.

"North Carolina and Georgia Boundary," Mr. Daniel Goodloe.

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"Battle Ramseur's Mill, 1780," Major Wm. A. Graham.

"Quaker Meadows," Judge A. C. Avery.

"Convention of 1788," Judge Henry Groves Connor.

"North Carolina Signers of Declaration of Independence, John Penn and Joseph Hewes," by Mr. T. M. Pittman and Dr. E. Walter Sikes.

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"Changes in Carolina Coast Since 1585," Prof. Collier Cobb.

"Highland Scotch Settlement in N. C.," Judge James C. McRae.

"The Scotch-Irish Settlement," Rev. A. J. McKelway.

"Battle of Guilford Court-house and German Palatines in North Carolina," Major J. M. Morehead, Judge O. H. Allen.

"Genesis of Wake County," Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood.

Vol. V.—(Quarterly).

No. 1.

"St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C., and its Associations," Richard Dillard, M.D.

"N. C. Signers of the National Declaration of Independence, Part II, William Hooper," Mrs. Spier Whitaker.

No. 2.

"History of the Capitol," Colonel Charles Earl Johnson.

"Some Notes on Colonial North Carolina, 1700-1750," Colonel J. Bryan Grimes.

"North Carolina's Poets," Rev. Hight C. Moore.

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"Celebration of the Anniversary of May 20, 1775," Major W. A. Graham.

"Edward Moseley," by Dr. D. H. Hill.

No. 4.

"Governor Thomas Pollok," Mrs. John W. Hinsdale.

"Battle of Cowan's Ford," Major W. A. Graham.

"First Settlers in North Carolina Not Religious Refugees," Rt. Rev. Joseph Blount Cheshire, D.D.

Vol. VI—(Quarterly.)

No. 1.

"The Indian Tribes of Eastern North Carolina," Richard Dillard, M.D.

"History Involved in the Names of Counties and Towns in North Carolina," Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.

"A Colonial Admiral of the Cape Fear" (Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland), Hon. James Sprunt.

"Biographical Sketches: Introduction; Maj. Graham Daves." By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

October, No. 2.

"The Borough Towns of North Carolina," Mr. Francis Nash.

"Governor Thomas Burke," J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Ph.D.

"Colonial and Revolutionary Relics in the Hall of History," Col. Fred. A. Olds.

"The North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution and its Objects."

"Biographical Sketches: Dr. Richard Dillard, Mr. Francis Nash, Dr. J. G. de R. Hamilton and Col. Fred A. Olds," Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

January, No. 3.

"State Library Building and Department of Archives and Records," Mr. R. D. W. Connor.

"The Battle of Rockfish Creek, 1781," Mr. James Owen Carr.

"Governor Jesse Franklin," Prof. J. T. Alderman.

"North Carolina's Historical Exhibit at Jamestown," Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton.

"Biographical Sketches: Mrs. S. B. Kenneday, R. D. W. Connor, James Owen Carr and Prof. J. T. Alderman," Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

April, No. 4.

"Lock's Fundamental Constitution," Mr. Junius Davis.

"The White Pictures," Mr. W. J. Peele.

"North Carolina's Attitude Toward the Revolution," Mr. Robert Strong.

Biographical Sketches: Richard Benbury Creecy, the D. R. Society and Its Objects, Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

Genealogical Sketches: Abstracts of Wills; Scolley, Sprott and Hunter, Mrs. Helen de B. Wells.

Vol. VII. (Quarterly.)

July, No. 1.

" North Carolina in the French and Indian War," Col. A. M. Waddell.

" Locke's Fundamental Constitutions," Mr. Junius Davis.

" Industrial Life in Colonial Carolina," Mr. Thomas M. Pittman.

Address: "Our Dearest Neighbor—The Old North State," Hon. James Alston Cabell.

Biographical Sketches: Col. A. M. Waddell, Junius Davis, Thomas M. Pittman, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt; Hon. Jas. Alston Cabell, by Mary Hilliard Hinton.

Abstracts of Wills. Mrs. Helen DeB. Wills.

October, No. 2.

"Ode to North Carolina," Miss Pattie Williams Gee.

" The Finances of the North Carolina Colonists," Dr. Charles Lee Raper.

" Joseph Gales, Editor," Mr. Willis G. Briggs.

" Our First Constitution, 1776," Dr. E. W. Sikes.

"North Carolina's Historical Exhibit at Jamestown Exposition," Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton.

Biographical Sketches: Dr. Kemp P. Battle, Dr. Charles Lee Raper, Willis Grandy Briggs, Pattie Williams Gee. By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

January, No. 3.

" General Robert Howe," Hon. John D. Bellamy.

" Early Relations of North Carolina and the West," Dr. William K. Boyd.

" Incidents of the Early and Permanent Settlement of the Cape Fear," Mr. W. B. McKoy.

Biographical Sketches: John Dillard Bellamy, William K. Boyd, William B. McKoy. By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

April, No. 4.

" St. James's Churchyard " (Poem), Mrs. L. C. Markham.

"The Expedition Against the Row Galley 'General Arnold'—A Side Light on Colonial Edenton," Rev. Robt. B. Drane, D.D.

" The Quakers of Perquimans," Miss Julia S. White.

" Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry," Judge James C. MacRae.

Biographical Sketches: Mrs. L. C. Markham, Rev. R. B. Drane, Miss Julia S. White, Judge James C. MacRae. By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

Vol. VIII.—(Quarterly)

July, No. 1.

"John Harvey," Mr. R. D. W. Connor.

"Military Organizations of North Carolina During the American Revolution," Clyde L. King, A.M.

"A Sermon by Rev. George Micklejohn," edited by Mr. R. D. W. Connor.

Biographical and Genealogical Sketches: R. D. W. Connor, Clyde L. King, Marshall DeLancey Haywood, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

"Abstracts of Wills," Mrs. Helen DeB. Wells.

October, No 2.

"Convention of 1835," Associate Justice Henry G. Connor.

"The Life and Services of Brigadier-General Jethro Sumner," Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.

"The Significance of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," Prof. Bruce Craven.

"Biographical and Genealogical Sketches: Judge Henry G. Connor, Kemp P. Battle, LL.D., Prof. Bruce Craven," by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

January, No. 3.

"The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr.

"The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," Prof. Bruce Craven.

"Mr. Salley's Reply."

"Mr. Craven's Rejoinder."

"Biographical and Genealogical Sketches: Prof. Bruce Craven, Mr. Alexander, S. Salley, Jr.," by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

"Patriotic Objects."

"Information Concerning the Patriotic Society D. R."

April, No. 4.

"Unveiling Ceremonies."

"Carolina," by Miss Bettie Freshwater Pool.

"The Battle of King's Mountain," by Dr. William K. Boyd.

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The North Carolina Booklet

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. IX JANUARY, 1910 No. 3

THE HISTORY OF LINCOLN COUNTY.

BY ALFRED NIXON.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

Lincoln County was born mid the throes of the American Revolution, and christened for a patriot soldier, then battling for independence. Prior to that time, while Carolina was a Province of Great Britain, in the bestowal of names there was manifest a desire to please royalty: New Hanover was called for the House of Hanover; Bladen, in honor of Martin Bladen, one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations; Anson, set up in 1749 from Bladen, derived its name from Admiral Anson, of the English Navy, who in 1761 was charged with the mission of bringing to her marriage with George the Third, Charlotte of Mecklenburg. So, when the western part of Anson was set up into a county in 1762, it was called Mecklenburg, with county seat the Queen City of Charlotte, in compliment to the wife of His Majesty, George the Third. As the settlements extended westward from the Atlantic seaboard new counties were formed to meet the convenience of the inhabitants. In 1768, Mecklenburg was divided "by a line beginning at Earl Granville's line where it crosses the Catawba River and the said river to be the line to the South Carolina line, and all that part of the county lying to the westward of the said dividing line shall be one other distinct county and parish, and remain by the name of Tryon County and Saint Thomas Parish." The name Tryon was given in honor of His Excellency, William Tryon, Royal Governor of the Province.

William Tryon, an officer in the regular army of Great Britain, landed at Cape Fear October the 10th, 1764, with a commission as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. His administration as Governor of North Carolina lasted from the death of Governor Dobbs, 28th March, 1765, to the 30th day of June, 1771, when he was appointed Governor of New York. In the rupture with Great Britain he was a Major-General in command of American Loyalists, vainly endeavoring to re-establish Royal Rule. He remained nominally Governor of New York until March 22, 1780. The name of Governor Tryon appears at the head of the list of names enumerated in the confiscation acts of both North Carolina and New York, and the county of Tryon in each of these States was enpunged from the map. Tryon Mountain and Tryon City in the county of Polk, and one of the principal streets in the city of Charlotte yet preserve his name. Shortly after relinquishing the government of New York, he sailed for England, where he rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General. He died in London, the 27th of January, 1788, aged 58 years.

The War of the Revolution rages. The patriots are battling for independence. Oppressions of the Royal Governor have made his name odious. "The large extent of the county of Tryon renders the attendance of the inhabitants on the extreme parts of the said county to do public duties extremely difficult and expensive. For remedy whereof," the General Assembly in 1779, instead of setting the western part off into a new county, as had been its custom, blotted the name of Tryon from the list of counties and divided its territory into two counties, "by a line beginning at the south line near Broad River, thence along the dividing ridge between Buffalo Creek and Little Broad River to the line of Burke County"; and to the two counties thus formed were given the names of two patriotic soldiers. The western portion was

named Rutherford in honor of Griffith Rutherford, of Rowan County, a Brigadier-General in the Revolution; and the eastern portion Lincoln, in compliment to Maj.-Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, of Rhode Island, commander of the Southern armies.

Benjamin Lincoln was born January 23d, 1733, at Hingham, about thirteen miles from Boston. In February, 1777, he was appointed Major-General in the Revolutionary Army and served with gallantry throughout the struggle. At the request of the delegation in Congress from South Carolina, he was assigned to command the Army in the South. In 1780 General Lincoln was forced to surrender to the superior force of the British at Charleston. When exchanged he resumed the service, and was at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, where the generous Washington designated him to receive the conquered arms of the British. He was appointed Secretary of War in 1781, with permission to retain his rank in the army. He died in the house of his birth 9th of May, 1810.

When Tryon was divided the Tryon court-house fell in Lincoln County, and the courts of Lincoln were held there until April, 1783, and the Tryon records are still in Lincolnton. The pioneers came into what is now Lincoln County between the years 1745 and 1749, when it was Bladen County; they continued to come until the American Revolution. So the pioneer history of Lincoln County is covered by Bladen, Anson, Mecklenburg and Tryon counties. The Tryon records cover ten years of the Colonial history of Lincoln County, 1769 to 1779. When Tryon was formed, the first settlers had not been here more than a score of years. The Tryon records contain many quaint things, mingled with matters of grave public concern, and a glance at them is of interest to the student of Lincoln County history.

TRYON COUNTY.

In a letter of Governor Tryon of date December 12th, 1768, he describes Tryon County as "forty-five miles in breadth due north and south and eighty miles due east and west it having been found to be that distance from the Catawba River to the western frontier line which was run last year between the Cherokee hunting grounds and this Province." The site for the public buildings was not fixed until 1774. As there was no court-house the courts during this time were held at private residences that happened to be convenient and suitable for the purpose.

The Tryon records begin with these words: "North Carolina, Tryon County. Pursuant to Act of Assembly of the Province aforesaid bearing date the fifth of December, 1768, in the ninth year of his Majesty's reign, for dividing Mecklenburg into two distinct counties by the name of Mecklenburg County and Tryon County and for other purposes in the said Act mentioned." His Majesty's commission under the great seal of the Province appointing certain justices to keep the peace for the county of Tryon is read. Ezekiel Polk, Clerk, John Tagert, Sheriff, and Alexander Martin, Attorney for the Crown, produce commissions and take oaths of office. Waightstill Avery produces license of attorney and takes oath of office.

The court records, beginning at April Sessions, 1769, are in the handwriting of Ezekiel Polk, the first clerk, who lived near King's Mountain. Ezekiel Polk removed to Mecklenburg County, and afterwards became famous through his grandson, James K. Polk, president of the United States.

The Tryon Courts were styled the "County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions." In this court deeds and wills were probated, estates settled, land entries recorded, guardians appointed, orphans apprenticed, highways opened, overseers appointed, and many other matters attended to. There were grand and petit juries and an "attorney for the crown."

These courts convened quarterly and continued without material change until the adoption of the constitution of 1868.

The courts of Oyer and Terminer, corresponding to our Superior Courts, were District Courts, several counties comprising one district. Tryon County was in the Salisbury District, and each County Court appointed its quota of jurors to attend the Salisbury Court. In 1782 the Salisbury District was divided, and Lincoln and other western counties were declared a separate district by the name of Morgan, where the Judges of the Superior Courts shall sit twice every year and hold a Superior Court of law. Lincoln County remained in the Morgan District, the courts being held at Morgan Town, until 1806, when a Superior Court was established in each county of the State to be held twice every year.

The Tryon Court was organized at Charles McLean's, and the Quarter Sessions for the years 1769, 1770, and 1771, were held at his house. He lived in the southern part of what is now Gaston County, on the headwaters of Crowder's Creek, near Crowder's Mountain. Charles McLean was an early, active, and zealous friend of liberty. At January Sessions 1770 he produced his Excellency's commission appointing him captain in the Tryon Regiment of Foot, and took the oath of office. In 1774 he was one of his Majesty's justices, and chairman of the committee appointed to select a permanent site for the court-house of Tryon County. He was a delegate from Tryon County to the Provincial Congress at Halifax, 4th April, 1776; also representing Tryon County in Assembly during the years 1777 and 1778. Between sessions, as colonel of the Tryon Regiment, he was actively engaged against western Tories.

The criminal docket of Tryon is marked "Crown Docket," and the indictments are brought in the name of the "King" or "Rex," as we now use "State." The minutes of a few cases tried at the first term will serve to show the administration of justice: "The King v. John Doe. Petty Larceny.

Jury empaneled finds the defendant guilty of the charge against him. Judgment by the Court that the defendant be detained in the Sheriff's custody till the costs of this prosecution be paid, and that at the hour of one o'clock of this day the said defendant on his bare back at the public whipping post receive thirty-nine lashes well laid on. "Rex. v. Thomas Pullham. Profane swearing. Submitted and fined five shillings." "The King v. John Case. Sabbath breaking. Defendant pleads guilty, fined ten shillings and the cost." "The King v. John Carson. Neglect of the King's Highway. Submitted and fined one shilling and sixpence." Letters testamentary granted Nicholas Welsh on the estate of John Welsh, deceased. William Wilson, appointed overseer of the road from the South Fork to Charles Town in that part between King's Mountain and Ezekiel Polk's; Charles McLean in that part between Ezekiel Polk's and the head of Fishing Creek. The road orders extend to the "temporary line between So. and No. Carolina." At October Sessions the claims against Tryon County for the year 1769, include a charter, twenty pounds expenses in sending for charter, eight pounds; Charles McLean, to two courts held at his house, five pounds; other items swell the amount to seventy-one pounds, sixteen shillings, and ten pence; and a tax of three shillings and two pence was levied on each of the 1221 taxable persons in Tryon County to meet the same.

At July Term, 1770, "Thomas Camel came into court and proved that the lower part of his ear was bit off in a fight with Steven Jones, and was not taken off by sentence of law; certified to whom it may concern." At a later term, "James Kelly comes into open court of his own free will and in the presence of said court did acknowledge that in a quarrel between him and a certain Leonard Sailor on the evening of the 2d day of June, 1773, he did bite off the upper part of the left ear of him, the said Leonard Sailor, who prays that

the same be recorded in the minutes of the said court." This confession gave James Kelly such standing in the esteem of his Majesty's Justices that at the same term it was "Ordered by the Court that James Kelly serve as constable in the room of George Trout and that he swear in before Thomas Espy, Esq." From the court entries biting off ears was a popular way of fighting, but whole ears were at least an outward sign of honesty.

An old parchment, yellowed with age, labeled "Charter of Tryon County," encased in a frame, with great wax seal appended hangs on the court-house walls. It is addressed in the name of his Majesty, "George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith, and so forth, To All and Singular our Faithful Subjects, Greeting," and is officially attested by "our trusty and well-beloved William Tryon, our Captain-General, Governor and Commander-in-Chief," at Wilmington, 26th June, 1769. It authorized Tryon County to elect and send two representatives to sit and vote in the House of Assembly.

The Quarter Sessions of 1772 were held at Christian Reinhardt's. The site of his house is now in the northern corporate limits of the town of Lincolnton, on the Ramsour Battle Ground. The Tories were encamped around his house, and after the battle it was used as a hospital. His house was built of heavy hewn logs, with a basement and stone foundation, that served some of the purposes of a fort both during Indian troubles and the Revolution. Some evidence of its strength is furnished by this item from the record of July Sessions, 1783: "Ordered by the Court that Christian Reinhardt's loft be the public gaol of said county until the end of next Court, October Term, 1783."

The courts of 1773 and 1774 were held at Christopher Carpenter's. He lived in the Beaver Dam section. There were some half-dozen Carpenters among the pioneers. Their

signatures to all early deeds and wills are written in the German, Zimmerman.

The commissioners appointed by Act of Assembly to select the place whereon to erect and build the court-house, prison and stocks of Tryon County, on 26th July, 1774, reported their selection of the place "called the cross-roads on Christopher Mauney's land, between the heads of Long Creek, Muddy Creek, and Beaver Dam Creek in the county aforesaid as most central and convenient for the purpose aforesaid." The county court adjourned to meet at the "house of Christy Mauney or the cross-roads in his land." The site of the old Tryon court-house is eight miles southwest of Lincolnton, in Gaston County. October Sessions, 1774, were held at the house of Christian Mauney, and a room in his dwelling was used as a jail.

The old county of Lincoln, with its fine farms and beautiful homes, dotted with towns and villages, and musical with the hum of machinery, the pioneers found a wild, luxuriant with native flora, the habitat of the red man and wild animals. There were herds of fleet-footed deer; there were clumsy brown bears and fierce wild cats and panthers; there were droves of buffalo, and countless beavers building their dams on the creeks. The early settlers waged a relentless war on these animals and set a bounty on many of their scalps. The scalps on which a price was set were the wolf, panther, wild cat, and such other as preyed on domestic animals. For killing a grown wolf the price was one pound; a young wolf ten shillings; a wild cat five shillings. The claims filed in court were for "scalp tickets." As late as October Sessions, 1774, there were audited in favor of various individuals forty-nine "wolf scalp tickets." We still retain Indian, Beaver Dam, and Buffalo Creeks, Bear Ford, Wolf Gulch, and Buffalo Mountain, Buffalo Shoals, and the

Indian names Catawba and Tuckaseegee, memorials of these primeval days.

In Tryon County there were many loyal subjects of the king, and there was likewise a gallant band of patriots who as early as August, 1775, adopted and signed the following bold declaration:

"The unprecedented, barbarous and bloody actions committed by British troops on our American brethren near Boston, on 19th April and 20th of May last, together with the hostile operations and treacherous designs now carrying on, by the tools of ministerial vengeance, for the subjugation of all British America, suggest to us the painful necessity of having recourse to arms in defense of our National freedom and constitutional rights, against all invasions; and at the same time do solemnly engage to take up arms and risk our lives and our fortunes in maintaining the freedom of our country whenever the wisdom and counsel of the Continental Congress, or our Provincial Convention shall declare it necessary; and this engagement we will continue in for the preservation of those rights and liberties which the principles of our Constitution and the laws of God, nature and nations have made it our duty to defend. We therefore, the subscribers, freeholders and inhabitants of Tryon County, do hereby faithfully unite ourselves under the most solemn ties of religion, honor and love to our country, firmly to resist force by force, and hold sacred till a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America on Constitutional principles, which we most ardently desire, and do firmly agree to hold all such persons as inimical to the liberties of America who shall refuse to sign this association. (Signed) John Walker, Charles McLean, Andrew Neel, Thomas Beatty, James Coburn, Frederick Hambright, Andrew Hampton, Benjamin Hardin, George Paris, William Graham, Robt. Alexander, David Jenkins, Thomas

Espey, Perrygreen Mackness, James McAfee, William Thompson, Jacob Forney, Davis Whiteside, John Beeman, John Morris, Joseph Harden, John Robison, James McIntyre, Valentine Mauney, George Black, Jas. Logan, Jas. Baird, Christian Carpenter, Abel Beatty, Joab Turner, Jonathan Price, Jas. Miller, John Dellinger, Peter Sides, William Whiteside, Geo. Dellinger, Samuel Carpenter, Jacob Moony, Jun., John Wells, Jacob Costner, Robert Hulclip, James Buchanan, Moses Moore, Joseph Kuykendall, Adam Simms, Richard Waffer, Samuel Smith, Joseph Neel, Samuel Loftin.

In 1777 an act was passed establishing State courts, providing that all suits and indictments instituted and fines imposed "in the name or the use of the King of Great Britain, when this territory was under his government, and owed allegiance to him, and all breaches on penal statutes directed to be prosecuted in the name of the king shall be prosecuted and proceeded in the name of the State." This act terminated the "Crown Docket," and the King or Rex as prosecutor. The "State Docket" begins at October Sessions, 1777.

The change of government from royal to state in Tryon County was consummated without a jar. The last Tryon court was held in January, 1779. During this year Tryon is blotted from the list of counties and the War of the Revolution is in progress. Lincoln County became the scene of many thrilling Revolutionary events.

THE BATTLE OF RAMSOUR'S MILL.

The Tories were embodied at Ramsour's Mill through the efforts of Lieut.-Col. John Moore and Maj. Nicholas Welch. These officers left the victorious British on the march from Charleston and arrived at their homes early in June, 1780. Moses Moore, the father of Colonel Moore, was a native of

Carlyle, England, married a Miss Winston, near Jamestown, Virginia, and came to this section with the pioneers. Esther, a sister of Colonel Moore, married Joshua Roberts, a patriot soldier. The late Capt. John H. Roberts, a grandson, lived on the Moore homestead. It is situate on Indian Creek, eight miles southwest of Ramsour's Mill. Colonel Moore was an active partisan throughout the Revolution. Major Welch was a son of John Welch, and was reared next neighbor to Colonel Moore on Indian Creek. He was of Scottish descent, of great fluency of speech and fine persuasive power. They bore English commissions, were arrayed in splendid official equipments, and made lavish display of British gold. By the twentieth of June, these zealous loyalists collected at Ramsour's Mill a force of 1,300 Tories, and were actively engaged in their organization and drill preparatory to marching them to unite with the British in South Carolina. They occupied a well-chosen and advantageous position for offense and defense. It was on a high ridge that slopes three hundred yards to the mill and Clarke's Creek on the west, and the same distance to a branch on the east.

Col. Francis Locke collected a force of Rowan and Mecklenburg militia to engage the Tories. His detachments met at Mountain Creek, sixteen miles from Ramsour's, on Monday, the 19th, and when united amounted to four hundred men. They marched at once to the assault of the Tory position. At dawn of day on the morning of the 20th, in two miles of Ramsour's, they were met by Adam Reep, a noted scout, with a few picked men from the vicinity of the camp, who detailed to Colonel Locke the position of the enemy, and the plan of attack was formed. The mounted men under Captains McDowell, Brandon and Falls, marching slowly, were to follow the road due west to the camp, and not attack until the footmen under Colonel Locke could detour to the south, and reach the foot of the hill along the Tuckaseegee

road, and make a simultaneous assault. They proceeded without other organization or order, it being left to the officers to be governed by circumstances when they reached the enemy.

The mounted men came upon the Tory picket some distance from the camp, were fired upon, charged the Tory camp, but recoiled from their deadly fire. The firing hurried Colonel Locke into action, a like volley felled many of his men, and they likewise retired. The Tories, seeing the effect of their fire, came down the hill and were in fair view. The Whigs renewed the action, which soon became general and obstinate on both sides. In about an hour the Tories began to fall back to their original position on the ridge, and a little beyond its summit, to shield a part of their bodies from the destructive fire of the Whigs, who were fairly exposed to their fire. In this situation the Tory fire became so effective the Whigs fell back to the bushes near the branch; and the Tories, leaving their safe position, pursued half way down the hill. At this moment Captain Hardin led a company of Whigs into the field from the south and poured a galling fire into the right flank of the Tories. Some of the Whigs obliqued to the right, and turned the left flank of the Tories; while Captain Sharpe led a few men beyond the crest of the ridge, and, advancing from tree to tree, with unerring aim picked off the enemy's officers and men, and hastened the termination of the conflict. The action now became close and warm. The combatants mixed together, and having no bayonets, struck at each other with the butts of their guns. When the Whigs reached the summit they saw the Tories collected beyond the creek, with a white flag flying. Fifty Tories, unable to make the bridge, were taken prisoners. Those beyond soon dispersed and made their escape. One-fourth of the Tories were unarmed, and

they with a few others retired at the commencement of the battle.

Seventy men, including five Whig and four Tory captains, lay dead on the field, and more than two hundred were wounded, the loss on each side being about equal. In this contest, armed with the deadly rifle, blood relatives and familiar acquaintances and near neighbors fought in the opposing ranks, and as the smoke of battle occasionally cleared away recognized each other in the conflict.

Moore's defeat destroyed Toryism in this section. When Lord Cornwallis marched through the county the following January, and encamped at Ramsour's Mill, he lost more men by desertion than he gained by recruits.

THE BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN.

Col. Patrick Ferguson pitched his camp on the summit of King's Mountain, the 6th of October, 1780. So well pleased was he with his position that he gave vent to the impious boast that God Almighty could not drive him from it. In his army were eleven hundred men, brave and well disciplined, every one of whom knew what actual fighting meant. The patriot army aggregated a like number of eleven hundred men. Their only weapon was the long-barreled rifle in whose use they were experts. Ferguson had out foraging parties, and some of the patriots on foot could not keep up with the march, so it is probable the combatants on each side numbered nine hundred men.

To Colonel Shelby is due the inception of the campaign and much of the mobilization of the patriot army. To its successful culmination the little band of Lincoln men, sixty in number, contributed their full share. They united with the mountain men in pursuit of Ferguson at the Cowpens about sunset on October the 6th. Between 8 and 9 o'clock of the same evening the army set out toward King's Moun-

tain in quest of Ferguson. Enock Gilmer, an advance scout, dined at noon of the 7th with a Tory family. From them he learned that Ferguson's camp was only three miles distant, on a ridge between two creeks, where some deer hunters had a camp the previous fall. Major Chronicle and Captain Mattocks stated that the camp was theirs and that they well knew the ground on which Ferguson was encamped; whereupon it was agreed that they should plan the battle. They rode a short distance by themselves, and reported that it was an excellent place to surround Ferguson's army; that the shooting would all be uphill with no danger of destroying each other. The officers instantly agreed to the plan, and without stopping began to arrange their men, assigning to each officer the part he was to take in surrounding the mountain. To the north side were assigned Shelby, Williams, Lacey and Cleveland, and on the south side Campbell, Sevier, McDowell and Winston, while the Lincoln men, under Lieut.-Col. Frederick Hambright, were to attack the northeast end of the mountain. It was three o'clock in the afternoon when the patriots reached their position, and Campbell's men were first to fire into the enemy. His column was charged by Ferguson's men with fixed bayonets, and driven down the mountain side. Shelby was advancing in quick time from the other side, so the enemy found it necessary to give attention to Shelby's assault, when Campbell's men returned to the fight, and Shelby and his men were forced to retreat before the dashing charge of Ferguson's bayonets. Thus back and forth, Campbell, Sevier, McDowell and Winston on the one side, Shelby, Williams, Lacey and Cleveland on the other, charged up the mountain and were driven back, only to renew the charge, until the mountain was enveloped in flame and smoke, and the rattle of musketry sounded like thunder.

The South Fork boys marched to their position with quick

step, Major Chronicle ten paces in advance, and heading the column were Enock Gilmer, Hugh Ewin, Adam Barry and Robert Henry. Arriving at the end of the mountain, Major Chronicle cried, "Face to the hill!" The words were scarcely uttered when they were fired upon by the enemy's sharp-shooters, and Major Chronicle and William Rabb fell dead. But they pressed up the hill under the leadership of Lieutenant-Colonel Hambright, Maj. Jos. Dixon, Capts. James Johnston, Samuel Espey, Samuel Martin, and James White. Before they reached the crest, the enemy charged bayonets, first, however, discharging their guns, killing Captain Mattocks and John Boyd and wounding William Gilmer and John Chittim. As Robert Henry, a lad of sixteen, raised his gun to fire, a bayonet glanced along the barrel, through his hand and into his thigh. Henry discharged his gun, killing the Briton and both fell to the ground. Henry observed that many of his comrades were not more than a gun's length in front of the bayonets and the farthest not more than twenty feet. Reaching the foot of the hill, they reloaded, and fired with deadly effect upon their pursuers, in turn chasing their enemies up the mountain. William Caldwell, seeing Henry's condition, pulled the bayonet out of his thigh, kicked his hand from the bloody instrument and passed on. Thus the battle raged on all sides. No regiment, no man failed to do his duty. The unerring aim of the mountain men from behind every tree and every rock was rapidly diminishing the brave fighters under Ferguson, who began to despair. At the end of an hour Ferguson was killed, and a white flag was hoisted in token of surrender. Three hundred of his men were dead and wounded, and six hundred prisoners. The Americans suffered a loss of twenty-eight killed and seventy-four wounded.

Thus was fought one of the decisive battles of the Revolu-

tion. It was the enemy's first serious disaster and turned the tide of war. Ferguson and his army were wiped out of existence. Its immediate result was to check the enemy's progress until the patriots could muster strength for his final overthrow.

The Lincoln County men, considering their small number, suffered considerably in the engagement: Maj. William Chronicle, Capt. John Mattocks, William Rabb, John Boyd and Arthur Patterson were killed; Moses Henry died soon thereafter in the hospital at Charlotte of the wound he received in the battle; Capt. Samuel Espey, Robert Henry, William Gilmer, John Chittim, and William Bradley were wounded. The Tories, shooting down the steep mountain side, much of their aim was too high. Lieutenant-Colonel Hambright's hat was perforated with three bullet holes, and he received a shot through the thigh, his boot filled and ran over with blood, but he remained in the fight till the end, gallantly encouraging his men.

CORNWALLIS IN PURSUIT OF MORGAN.

Morgan defeated Colonel Tarleton in a signal victory at the Cowpens, South Carolina, 17th January, 1781. In less than an hour five hundred of Tarleton's Legion were prisoners, the remainder slain and scattered, and he scampering in mad haste to Cornwallis, then but twenty-five miles distant. General Morgan, anxious to hold every one of his prisoners to exchange for the Continental line of North Carolina captured at Charleston, and then languishing on British prison ships, immediately began his famous retreat toward Virginia, while Cornwallis, in command of 4,000 well-equipped veterans, gave pursuit. Colonel Washington's cavalry, with the prisoners, safely crossed the Catawba at the Island Ford; the prisoners were sent on, while Washington rejoined General Morgan, who had crossed with the main army eight or

nine miles farther down at Sherrill's Ford, where they tarried awhile on the eastern bank.

The British came by way of the old Tryon court-house. Cornwallis says "I therefore assembled the army on the 25th at Ramsour's Mill on the south fork of the Catawba, and as the loss of my light troops could only be remedied by the activity of the whole corps, I employed a halt of two days in collecting some flour, and destroying superfluous baggage, and all my wagons except those loaded with hospital stores, and four reserved in readiness for sick and wounded." Steadman says that Lord Cornwallis, "by first reducing the size and quantity of his own, set an example which was cheerfully followed by all the officers in his command, although by so doing they sustained a considerable loss. No wagons were reserved except those loaded with hospital stores, salt and ammunition, and four empty ones for the accommodation of the sick and wounded. And such was the ardour, both of officers and soldiers, and their willingness to submit to any hardship for the promotion of the service, that this arrangement, which deprived them of all future prospect of spirituous liquors, and even hazarded a regular supply of provisions, was acquiesced in without a murmur."

Cornwallis crossed the South Fork River at the Reep Ford, one mile from Ramsour's Mill, and pitched his marquee on the Ramsour battle-ground; O'Hara remained on the west bank of the river at the Reep place; Webster occupied the hill west of the Ramsour Mill; while Tarleton, who had crossed the river three miles lower down, between the Laboratory and the present railway bridge, in rejoining his chief, camped on the hill south of Cornwallis. Foraging parties were sent out in different directions to collect grain, and Ramsour's Mill was kept running day and night converting the grain into flour to replenish his Lordship's commissary.

In the destruction of baggage, Cornwallis first ordered his

splendid camp chest burned. His mahogany tea chest with the remainder of his tea, and six solid silver spoons, he sent to Mrs. Barbara Reinhardt, wife of Christian Reinhardt, with a note requesting that she accept them. These presents were treasured and carefully preserved. At the breaking out of the Civil War they belonged to a granddaughter, whose sons were Confederate volunteers. Believing an old saying that whoever carries anything in war that was carried in another war by a person that was not killed, will likewise be unharmed, she gave each of her sons one of the silver spoons, and the others to neighbor boys, and in this way the spoons were lost and Federal bullets shattered faith in their charm. The chest is yet preserved. After the conflagration many irons were tumbled in the mill-pond while others left on the ground were picked up by citizens. The milldam was taken down the next summer and much iron valuable to the farmers taken out. A few defective muskets were found; also one piece of artillery, so damaged it was not removed from the mud. Where the whiskey and rum bottles were broken the fragments lay in heaps for years. These were afterwards gathered up and sold to the potters for glazing purposes.

To this destruction of his whole material train and necessary outfit for a winter campaign Judge Schenck attributes the final discomfiture of Cornwallis at Guilford Court House. The supplies he burned could not be replaced short of Wilmington, and thither he was compelled to go when a reverse met his arms.

While here Cornwallis requested Christian Reinhardt to point out Colonel Moore's position, and describe the battle of Ramsour's Mill. At the conclusion his only observation was that Colonel Moore had a fine position, but did not have the tact to defend it; that he ought not to have risked a battle but should have fallen back to Ferguson.

Early on the morning of the 28th the British broke camp

and marched toward Beattie's Ford, a distance of twelve miles, to Jacob Forney's. The moving Britons, in scarlet uniforms, with glittering muskets, made an impressive sight, and tradition still preserves their route. Jacob Forney was a thrifty farmer and well-known Whig. Here they encamped three days, consuming his entire stock of cattle, hogs, sheep and poultry, and taking his horses and forty gallons of brandy. Some state that Cornwallis approached the Catawba on the evening of the 28th, and found it considerably swollen and impassable for his infantry and this caused him to fall back to Jacob Forney's plantation.

THE BATTLE OF COWAN'S FORD.

The tardiness of Cornwallis was not altogether due to the flushed condition of the Catawba, however much the swollen waters of the Yadkin and the Dan may have later impeded his pursuit. The prime cause of delay was the vigilance of the Whigs in guarding the several fords. On the approach of the British, Gen. William Davidson placed guards at the Tuckaseegee, Tool's and Cowan's fords; with his greatest force and Capt. Joseph Graham's cavalry troops, he took position himself at Beattie's Ford; while Morgan and Washington were at Sherrill's Ford. Cornwallis kept posted on these dispositions. Cowan's was a private ford, guarded only by Lieut. Thomas Davidson with twenty-five men. After getting the best information he could obtain, Cornwallis resolved to attempt the passage at Cowan's Ford. Each army was keeping close watch on the movements of the other. On the 30th Captain Graham's cavalry was dispatched across Beattie's Ford and ascertained that the British were encamped within four miles, and in two miles they discovered one hundred of the enemy's cavalry, who followed them to the river but kept at a respectful distance, evincing fear of an ambuscade. Green, Morgan and Washington came to

Davidson's headquarters at Beattie's Ford on the afternoon of the 31st and held a consultation. The British vanguard of four or five hundred men appeared on the opposite hill beyond the river and viewed the American position. After General Green's departure, leaving a portion of his force at Beattie's Ford, under Colonel Farmer, General Davidson, with 250 men and the cavalry, marched down the river four miles to Cowan's Ford, where he arrived after dark.

The river at Cowan's Ford is one-fourth of a mile wide. The wagon ford went directly across the river. The horse ford, entering at the same place, obliqued down the river, through an island, and came out on the Mecklenburg side a quarter of a mile lower down. The latter was the shallower and most used, and the one the British were expected to follow, so General Davidson took position on the hill overlooking this ford. Above the coming-out place of the wagon ford was a narrow strip of level bottom, and then an abrupt hill. Lieutenant Davidson's picket remained at their post on this level strip, fifty steps above the landing and near the water's edge.

Cornwallis broke camp at one in the morning of the first of February, and detached Lieutenant-Colonel Webster with that part of the army and all the baggage to Beattie's Ford, where General Davidson was supposed to be posted, with direction to make every possible demonstration by cannonading and otherwise of an intention of forcing a passage, while he marched to Cowan's Ford, arriving at the bank of the river as day began to break. The command of the front was given to Colonel Hall of the Guards. Under the guidance of Frederick Hager, a Tory living on the west bank, employed by Cornwallis on account of his familiarity with the ford, the bold Britons plunged into the river, with the firm determination of encountering the small band of Americans on the eastern bank. When one hundred yards in the

river they were discovered and fired upon by Lieutenant Davidson's picket which aroused the guard, who kept up the fire, but the enemy continued to advance. No sooner did the guide who attended the light infantry to show them the ford, hear the report of the sentinel's musket than he turned around and left them. This, at first seemed to portend much mischief but in the end proved fortunate for the British. Colonel Hall, forsaken by his guide, and not knowing the true direction of the ford, led his column directly across the river to the nearest point of the opposite bank. The picket fire alarmed Davidson's camp, who paraded at the horse ford, then Graham's cavalry was ordered to the assistance of the picket. By the time the cavalry were in position on the high bank, and ready for action the British were within fifty yards of the Mecklenburg shore. The cavalry poured a destructive fire into the advancing columns. The British did not fire a gun while in the water; as they landed they loaded their guns and fired up the bank. The firing was kept up some minutes, but the Whigs soon retreated from the unequal contest.

By the time his Lordship crossed the river Webster had his force in array on the face of the hill fronting Beattie's Ford, and was making demonstrations of attempting a passage. His front lines were firing by platoons, a company went into the water fifty steps and fired; while four cannon were booming for half an hour, the flying balls cutting off the limbs of trees and tearing up the opposite bank, the sound rolling down the river like peals of thunder. All this, however, was only a feint. Colonel Farmer, being notified by an aide of General Davidson, that the enemy had crossed at Cowan's Ford, retired. The pickets at other points were notified and all united at John McKnitt Alexander's that afternoon, eight miles from Charlotte; while Cornwallis united his forces two miles from Beattie's Ford at Given's farm.

In this action, the Americans lost General Davidson, a gallant, brave and generous officer, and three others. Of the British, Colonel Hall and another officer and twenty-nine privates were killed and thirty-five were wounded. The horse of Cornwallis was shot and fell dead as he ascended the bank. Lord Cornwallis on the 2d of February returns his thanks "to the Brigade of Guards for their cool and determined bravery in the passage of the Catawba, while rushing through that long and difficult ford under a galling fire."

IMPORTANCE OF THESE ENGAGEMENTS.

On the 18th June, 1780, General Rutherford, in command of the Mecklenburg and Rowan militia, marched to attack the Tories at Ramsour's Mill. At the Catawba, Col. William Graham, with the Lincoln County Regiment, united with General Rutherford, swelling his command to twelve hundred. He encamped at Col. Joseph Dickson's, three miles from the Tuckaseegee, twenty miles from Ramsour's, and about the same distance from Colonel Locke on Mountain Creek. General Rutherford dispatched a message directing Colonel Locke to join him at the Dickson place on the evening of the 19th or the morning of the 20th. Colonel Locke likewise dispatched James Johnston to inform General Rutherford of his intention to give the Tories battle on the morning of the 20th. However, no junction was formed and after a hard and well-fought battle Colonel Locke defeated the Tories. General Rutherford followed the Tuckaseegee road and arrived at Ramsour's Mill two hours after the battle. The dead and most of the wounded were lying where they fell. General Rutherford remained here two days sending Davie's Cavalry and other troops in pursuit of the Tories, thus accenting the victory and making the defeat crushing and complete, subduing the loyalist spirit, with consequent encouragement of the patriots.

Three days after the battle Allaire, who was with Ferguson, referring to the battle of Ramsour's Mill, recorded in his dairy: "Friday, 23d. Lay in the field at Ninety-six. Some friends came in. Four were wounded. The militia had embodied at Tuckaseegee, on the South Fork of the Catawba River. Were attacked by a party of rebels, under command of General Rutherford. The militia were scant of ammunition, which obliged them to retreat. They were obliged to swim the river at the milldam. The Rebels fired on them and killed thirty." Col. John Moore with thirty men reached Cornwallis at Camden, where he was threatened with a trial by court-martial for hastening organization in advance of Ferguson.

The Battle of Ramsour's Mill was fraught with important results. It was fought at a gloomy period of the Revolution, when the cause of liberty seemed prostrate and hopeless in the South. The victorious British considered South Carolina and Georgia restored to English rule and were planning the invasion of North Carolina. It marks the turning point in the war. But for this battle Moore and Welch could have reinforced Ferguson with an army of 1,500 or 2,000 men, and there might have been no King's Mountain, or King's Mountain with a different result. But instead of aid to Ferguson, the Lincoln Regiment with the South Carolinians under Hill and Lacey were again encamped on the Catawba, and when Colonel Williams crossed the Tuckaseegee, and united with these troops, the entire force encountering no opposition, followed the Tuckaseegee road, via Ramsour's Mill, the Flint Hill road to Cherry Mountain, later uniting with the mountain men at the Cowpens, the next day helping to destroy Ferguson, and gain the glorious victory, that makes the name of King's Mountain famous in our country's history, of which the Battle of Cowpens, Guilford Court House and the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown were the direct consequences.

LINCOLN COUNTY PENSION ROLL.

On the pension roll as late as 1834, more than fifty years after the Revolution, the following is the Lincoln County list of soldiers yet living and drawing pensions: Robert Abernethy, Vincent Allen, Christian Arney, Matthew Armstrong, Robert Berry, Jonas Bradshaw, Caspar Bolick, Alexander Brevard, Samuel Caldwell, William Carroll, John Chittim, Michal Cline, Samuel Collins, Martin Coulter, Thomas Costner, George Dameron, Joseph Dixon, Peter Eddlemon, William Elmore, Samuel Espey, James Farewell, Abraham Forney, Robinson Goodwin, Joseph Graham, William Gregory, Nathan Gwaltney, Nicholas Hafner, Simon Hager, John Harman, John Helm, James Henry, James Hill, John Kidd, John Kincaid, Robert Knox, Shadrack Lefcy, Tapley Mahannas, Marmaduke Maples, Samuel Martin, Thomas Mason, William Mayes, William McCarthy, William McLean, Nathan Mendenhall, Alexander Moore, John Moore, William Moore, Jeremiah Mundy, Humphrey Parker, Hiram Pendleton, Jacob Plonk, William Potter, William Rankin, Charlie Regan, Adam Reep, Michael Reep, Joshua Roberts, James Robinson, Henry Rumfeldt, Peter Scrum, John Stamey, Bartholomew Thompson, Charles Thompson, Phillip Tillman, Conrad Tippong, Robert Tucker, John Turbyfill, Charles Whit, John Wilfong, Joseph Willis, James Wilkinson, and Elisha Withers.

LINCOLNTON AND LINCOLN COUNTY.

When Tryon County was divided the Tryon Court-house fell in Lincoln County, but too near its western border for public convenience. The courts for part of the years 1783 and 1784 were held at the house of Capt. Nicholas Friday. His residence stood on the east side of the river, seven miles south of Lincolnton. The courts of July and October sessions, 1784, were held at the house of Henry Dellinger, and

his spring house was designated as the "gaol." This spring house was a two-story affair, the lower stone, the upper logs; the upper story was used as the public jail. Some of the prisoners escaping, the sheriff was ordered "to make use of a room in Henry Dellinger's house to be strengthened for the purposes of a common gaol." The sheriffs, for protection against the escape of prisoners from these very odd jails, always had entered on the court record their "protest against the sufficiency of said gaol." The site of Henry Dellinger's home is Magnolia, six miles southeast of Lincolnton, where the late John B. Smith lived.

While the location of the county seat remained an open question, the map of the county changed. In 1753, the western portion of the Granville domain was set up into the county of Rowan. Rowan in 1777, was divided by a line beginning on the Catawba River at the Tryon and Mecklenburg corner, thence up the meanders of the said river to the north end of an island, known as "the Three Cornered Island," etc., and the territory west and south of said line erected into a new county, by the name of Burke, and the county seat, Morganton, located fifty miles from the southeast part of the county on the Catawba. It being represented to the General Assembly that "certain of the inhabitants of Burke labor under great hardships in attending on courts and other public meetings from their remote situation from the court-house," in 1782 it enacted that all that part of Burke from Sherrill's Ford to the Fish Dam Ford of the South Fork, "and from thence a southwest course to Earl Granville's old line," be taken from Burke and added to Lincoln County. In 1784 a greater slice of Burke was added to Lincoln. The line separating the counties began at the Horse Ford on the Catawba and ended at the same point in the Granville line. This is now a noted point, known as the "Three County Corner," the corner of Lincoln, Burke

and Cleveland, and is the only established point in the old Granville line west of the Catawba River.

The act of 1784 appointed Joseph Dickson, John Carruth, John Wilson, Joseph Steele and Nicholas Friday, commissioners to locate the county town, which they did by entering for the purpose three hundred acres of "vacant and unappropriated land, lying between the lines of Christian Reinhardt and Phillip Cansler in our county of Lincoln on both sides of the wagon road leading from the Tuckaseegee Ford to Ramsour's Mill and including the forks of the road leading to Cansler's sawmill." The grant for same was made December 14th, 1785, to "Joseph Dickson in trust for the citizens of Lincoln County." The General Assembly, in 1786, granted a charter for Lincolnton, reciting that the place is "a healthy and pleasant situation and well watered." The same year the town was laid off into lots. At the intersection of Main and Aspin streets, the two principal streets of the town, was left a public square on which the court-house was erected. The first hundred lots laid off the commissioners disposed of by a town lottery, the draft of which and the papers connected therewith are yet on file. Chances were taken by the prominent men of that day and also by many ladies. A specimen ticket reads: "This ticket entitles the bearer to whatever number is drawn against it in the Lincoln Lottery, No. 86, Jo. Dickson." The corporate limits have been twice extended in the last decade, and the western boundary now rests on Clarke's Creek and the South Fork River.

In the history of Lincolnton and Lincoln County the name of Joseph Dickson stands conspicuous. The site of his homestead is two miles northwest of Mount Holly, on the line of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad. General Rutherford, en route to attack the Tories at Ramsour's Mill, encamped at Dickson's the night before the battle. He accom-

panied General Rutherford next day, passing over the ground then vacant land, where five years later, the grant was made to him as proprietor in trust for the citizens of Lincoln County. He was one of the immortal heroes of King's Mountain. With the rank of major he was one of the officers that led the South Fork boys up the rugged northeast end of the mountain, facing with undaunted spirit the lead and the charge of the enemy's bayonet. In 1781 he opposed the British invasion of North Carolina, serving with the rank of colonel. During this year he was elected county court clerk, which office he held the next ten years. He was chairman of the committee that selected the site of Lincolnton, and the grant for the land on which the town was built was made to him. The grantor to all the original purchasers of lots is, "Joseph Dickson, Esq., proprietor in trust for the commissioners appointed to lay off a town in the county of Lincoln by the name of Lincolnton." He was chosen Senator from Lincoln County in 1788, and continuously succeeded himself until 1795. In 1789 he was one of the forty great men of the State selected by the General Assembly to constitute the first trustees of the University of North Carolina. He then served as a general in the militia. From 1799 to 1801 he was a member of Congress. December 27th, 1803, he sold his plantation of twelve hundred acres, and removed to Rutherford County, Tennessee, where he died, April 24th, 1825, aged eighty years, and was buried with military and Masonic honors.

Lincolnton is situate 869 feet above sea level in the hill country of the great Piedmont belt. In the county are Reece, Clubbs, Daily, Rush and Buffalo Mountains; they are small peaks not larger than Hog Hill in the northern part of the county. From Lincolnton mountains are visible in almost every direction. On the northeast is Anderson's Mountain; in the southwest looms up King's Mountain, on whose his-

toric heights was fought the memorable battle that broke the power of the British crown; in line with King's Mountain to the south can be seen Spencer, Crowder, and Pasour Mountains; in the north and northwest are Baker's Mountain, Carpenter and Ben's Knobs, and numerous peaks of the South Mountains; while in the distance in solemn grandeur lies the upturned face of the Grandfather; and yet still farther away rise the far-distant peaks of the great Blue Ridge. The Carolina and Northwestern Railway comes in from Chester, South Carolina, and runs northwesterly into the heart of the mountains of North Carolina; while from the east comes in the Seaboard Air Line, and extends westwardly to Rutherfordton.

Lincoln thus remained a large county until 1841, when the first slice was taken to form, with a portion of Rutherford, the county of Cleveland. In 1842, Catawba was set up from Lincoln by an east and west line passing one and a half miles north of Lincolnton. In 1846, the southern part was set off into the county of Gaston, by a line to pass four and a half miles south of Lincolnton, and four miles of Catawba ceded back to Lincoln. The formation of these new counties reduced Lincoln to a narrow strip, ten miles in width with an average length of thirty miles, and it is with this strip that the remainder of this narrative will deal. Lincoln County is bounded on the north by Catawba County; on the east by the Catawba River, which separates it from Iredell and Mecklenburg; on the south by Gaston; on the west by Cleveland, and one-fourth mile of Burke.

FIRST SUPERIOR COURT CLERK.

Lawson Henderson was long an influential citizen, filling the offices of county surveyor, sheriff, and clerk of the county and Superior Courts. He was a son of James Henderson, a pioneer settler, and was appointed Superior Court clerk

for life under the Act of Assembly of 1806 establishing a Superior Court in each county of the State. He served from April term, 1807, to Fall term, 1835, when he resigned. At Fall term, 1833, John D. Hoke applied for the clerk's office, having been elected pursuant to act of 1832. Then followed the suit of "Hoke vs. Henderson," in which Mr. Henderson was the winner. This was a famous case. It decided that an office is property, and was not reversed until 1903, and then by a majority opinion, two justices dissenting.

PLEASANT RETREAT ACADEMY.

This school occupied four acres in the northern part of Lincolnton. From its institution it bore the attractive name of Pleasant Retreat Academy. The older students delighted to speak of its refreshing shades—the oak and the hickory interspersed with the chestnut and the chinquepin—and the spring at the foot of the hill. It was chartered by the General Assembly, 10th December, 1813, with the following trustees: Rev. Philip Henkle, Rev. Humphrey Hunter, Lawson Henderson, Joseph Graham, John Fullenwider, John Hoke, Peter Forney, Robert Williamson, Daniel Hoke, J. Reinhardt, Vardry McBee, David Ramsour, Peter Hoyle, Henry Y. Webb, George Carruth, William McLean, Robert Burton, John Reid, and David Reinhardt. In this school were trained a long roll of men whose names adorn their county's history. Of its students—

James Pinkey Henderson, son of Maj. Lawson Henderson, sought the broad area of the "Lone Star State" for the full development of his giant intellect and won fortune and fame. An eminent lawyer, Attorney-General of the Republic of Texas, its minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to France, England and the United States, Major-General of the United States Army in the War with Mexico, Governor of Texas, and at the time of his death United

States Senator, he adorned the positions his courage and talents won.

William Lander, brilliant, impetuous and chivalric, was one of the foremost advocates of the bar and member of the convention from Lincoln County that passed the Ordinance of Secession. Afterwards his splendid eloquence found congenial fellowship amid the fiery spirits of the Confederate Congress. Lawyer, solicitor, legislator and member of the Confederate Congress, he has a monument of love and affection in the hearts of those who knew him best. His brother, Rev. Samuel Lander, was a man of broad scholarship, an educator of note, and a preacher of wide repute.

Thomas Dews, when a mere lad, entered the State University, graduated in the class of 1824, taught awhile in Pleasant Retreat, and began the practice of law. He was drowned in Second Broad River, August 4th, 1838, aged 30 years, 2 months and 25 days. His remains lie in honor beneath a marble shaft, the tribute of a noble-hearted woman to the man who adored her while he lived, and marks the spot where rests her lover and her love. Judge William H. Battle knew Mr. Dews at Chapel Hill and often spoke of his talents and his genius. Toward the close of an address before the literary societies at the commencement of 1865, growing reminiscent, Judge Battle said: "I will occupy a few more moments of your time in recalling from the dim recollections of the past the names of a few men, each of whom was regarded as a college genius of the day, and who with well-directed energies, and a longer life might have left a name the world would not willingly let die. In the year 1824 Thomas Dews, a young man from the county of Lincoln, took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, dividing with Prof. Sims, Judge Manly and ex-Governor Graham the highest honor of the class. His parents were poor, and it is said resorted to the humble occupation of selling cakes for the purpose of

procuring means for the education of their promising boy. After graduation, he studied law and commenced the practice with every prospect of eminent success, when unhappily, a morbid sensitiveness of temperament drove him to habits of intemperance, during one of the fits of which he came to an untimely end. His name, which ought to have gone down to posterity on account of great deeds achieved by extraordinary talents, will probably be remembered only in connection with a happily-turned impromptu epitaph." Yet it has gone down in history immortalized by his neighbor and friend, Col. James R. Dodge, a distinguished practitioner for many years at the Lincolnton bar. Colonel Dodge was a son of Gen. Richard Dodge and Sarah Ann Dodge, his mother being a sister of Washingtnn Irving, of New York. Those acquainted with the playful writings of Washington Irving will not be surprised at the spontaneous retort of his nephew. But one residence separated the Dews home from that of Colonel Dodge in Lincolnton. At April term, 1832, of Rutherford Superior Court, David L. Swain, afterwards Governor, was on the bench and in the bar were Samuel Hillman, Tom Dews and Mr. Dodge. While Mr. Dodge was addressing the jury, Judge Swain recalled a punning epitaph on a man named Dodge, wrote it on a piece of paper, and passed it around to the merriment of the bar; and when Colonel Dodge had finished his speech, he found lying on his table:

"EPITAPH OF JAMES R. DODGE, ESQ., ATTORNEY-AT-LAW.

"Here lies a Dodge, who dodged all good,
And dodged a deal of evil,
Who after dodging all he could,
He could not dodge the Devil."

Mr. Dodge read the paper, turned it over and wrote on the other side:

"EPITAPH OF THREE ATTORNEYS.

"Here lies a Hillman and a Swain,
Whose lot let no man choose;
They lived in sin and died in pain,
And the Devil got his Dews" [dues].

Among the post-bellum students are Hoke Smith, lawyer, journalist, Secretary of the Interior, and Governor of Georgia; William Alexander Hoke, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina; William E. Shipp, Lieutenant Tenth United States Cavalry, killed on San Juan Hill, Battle of Santiago, July 1st, 1898; T. H. Cobb, Beverly C. Cobb, David W. Robinson, Charles E. Childs, Charles C. Cobb, and Lemuel B. Wetmore, lawyers; Silas McBee, Editor of the *Churchman;* Rev. William L. Sherrill of the Western North Carolina Conference; William E. Grigg, banker; Blair and Hugh Jenkins, Charles and Henry Robinson, merchants; William W. Motz, architect and builder; William A. Costner, Thomas J. Ramsour, Charles M. Sumner, farmers, and a long list of others.

The Pleasant Retreat Academy property has been transferred to the Daughters of the Confederacy for a Memorial Hall. In this there is eminent fitness, for among its students were William A. Graham, Confederate States Senator; William Lander, member of the Confederate Congress; Maj.-Gen. Stephen D. Ramseur; Maj.-Gen. Robert F. Hoke; Col. John F. Hoke; Col. William J. Hoke; Maj. Frank Schenck; Capts. James F. Johnston, Joseph W. Alexander, George W. Seagle, George L. Phifer, James D. Wells, and others, making an honor roll of more than a hundred Confederate soldiers.

Lincolnton Female Academy was chartered by the General Assembly December 21st, 1821, with James Bivings, Vardry McBee, David Hoke, John Mushatt, Joseph E. Bell, and Joseph Morris, trustees. Four acres on the south side of

the town were conveyed to the trustees for school purposes, and the two school properties were connected by Academy street. The Female Academy likewise had a long and useful career. It is now the site of the Lincolnton graded school.

EARLY SETTLERS AND CHURCHES.

The early settlers of Lincoln were of Scotch-Irish and German origin. There were but few of other nationalities. They came in swarms, by "hundreds of wagons from the northwards." About the year 1750, the Scotch-Irish settlement covered both banks of the Catawba, so the eastern portion of Lincoln was populated by this race, while the South Fork and its tributaries—the remainder of the county—were contemporaneously settled by Germans.

The Scotch-Irish are stern and virile, noted for hatred of sham, hypocrisy and oppression. The Germans are hardy and thrifty, characterized by love of home and country, tenacious of custom and slow to change. Both were a liberty-loving, God-fearing people, among whom labor was dignified and honorable. A charm about these pioneers is, that their heads were not turned by ancestral distinction. They were self-reliant and mastered the primeval forest, with its hardships and disadvantages. They became adepts in handicraft and combated the foes of husbandry in an unsettled region. They were the silent heroes who shaped destiny and imbued unborn generations with strength of character and force of will. The early Scotch-Irish preachers taught the creed of Calvin and Knox, and the first place of worship on the east side was Presbyterian. The pioneer Germans were followers of the great central figure of the Reformation, Martin Luther, and the Swiss Reformer, Ulrick Zwingle, and the oldest place of worship on the west side is Lutheran and Reformed. To-day the county is dotted with churches which, according to numerical strength, rank in the following order:

Methodist Episcopal, Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist Protestant, Presbyterian, Reformed and Protestant Episcopal.

When churches were few camp meetings were held by the Presbyterians, Baptists, Reformed, Protestants and Methodists. They have all been discontinued except one, the celebrated Rock Springs Camp Meeting of the Methodists in east Lincoln. There a great arbor is surrounded by three hundred tents, and the meeting has been held annually since 1830. It is incorporated after the style of a town, and governed much the same way. It is held on forty-five acres of ground, conveyed 7th August, 1830, by Joseph M. Mundy to Freeman Shelton, Richard Proctor and James Bivings, trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Lincoln circuit. The estate an owner has in a lot is conditional, and ceases upon failure to keep and maintain a tent on it. The meeting continues one week and embraces the second Sunday in August. It is attended by all denominations from the surrounding counties by from ten thousand to fifteen thousand people. Deep religious interest is manifest and many date their conversion from these meetings. Viewed from a social standpoint this is also a great occasion. The old camp ground combines the best elements of social life in the country, city and summer resort. Rock Springs is the successor of an older camp ground called Robey's, which was situate near the Catawba Springs.

The memory of the old people runs back to the time when the printing press had not filled the churches with hymn books, when there were no church organs, nor organists to lead the choir. In those days the congregations sung, being led by a precentor called the clerk, a man of importance, and the minister lined out the hymn. Four young men from Lincolnton attended a camp meeting. When the minister lined out a couplet of a familiar hymn, the congregation followed the clerk, sung the couplet and paused for the next

The four boys, filled with the spirit of John Barleycorn, paused not, but in well-trained musical voice, carrying the several parts finished the stanza; then the second and the entire hymn to the dismay of the minister, the clerk, and dumbfounding of the congregation. A charge of disturbing public worship was preferred in the courts, conviction followed and the offenders sentenced to sit one hour in the stocks.

Most of the people in North Brook, the western township in the county, are Methodist Protestants, and they have one church, Fairfield, near the Catawba River on the eastern side of the county.

Long Creek was the first Baptist church established in Lincoln County, either in 1772 or 1777. It is on Long Creek, one mile from Dallas. Hebron was organized at Abernethy's Ferry on the Catawba about 1792. Six miles from Beattie's Ford was Earhardt's church, constituted in the 18th century. Abraham Earhardt, upon whose land the church was located, was an ordained minister and preached at his church and elsewhere. He married Catharine Forney, sister of Peter, Abram and Jacob Forney, and owned more than a thousand acres of land, on which he operated a flouring mill, tan yard, blacksmith shop and a distillery. The Earhardt place is now the home of Maj. W. A. Graham. To-day the Baptists have churches in every section of the county.

The act of the Provincial Assembly in 1768, erecting that portion of Mecklenburg County west of the Catawba into a separate county by the name of Tryon, also created Saint Thomas Parish; and, according to the custom of that day, county and parish were coterminous. While nominally under a church establishment, no clergyman of the Church of England exercised any pastoral care in colonial days. In 1785 Robert Johnston Miller, afterwards known as Parson Miller,

came to Lincoln, and became the religious teacher, lay reader, and catechist of the Episcopalians he found in the county. While avowing himself an Episcopalian, he received Lutheran ordination. In 1806 he resigned his Lincoln charge to David Henkel, a Lutheran licentiate, and removed to Burke. From 1785 to 1823, Parson Miller was almost the only Episcopal minister in this region. In 1823 John Stark Ravenscroft was elected Bishop, Parson Miller, being in the chair. The Bishop visited Lincoln County in 1824, and in the three parishes of Smyrna, White Haven and St. Peter's confirmed forty-one persons. In 1828 he again visited Catawba Springs and endeavored to collect the remains of the three old parishes in that neighborhood, but found it a hopeless task. While at the Springs he preached at Beattie's Ford and "on Sunday in the public room at the Springs to such of the company as a very rainy day detained from visiting a camp meeting in the vicinity." In the year 1835 Dr. Moses A. Curtis, the noted botanist, was stationed at Lincolnton. The year 1837 found him in another field. On the 2d of March, 1842, Col. John Hoke conveyed to "E. M. Forbes, Jeremiah W. Murphy, T. N. Herndon, Michael Hoke, Leonard E. Thompson and Haywood W. Guion, vestry and trustees of the Saint Luke's church in Lincolnton, the lot on which Saint Luke's church yet stands. Its rectors have been Rev. E. M. Forbes, Rev. A. F. Olmstead, Rev. J. C. Huske, Rev. T. S. W. Mott, Rev. H. H. Hewitt, Rev. C. T. Bland, Rev. G. M. Everhart, and Rev. Dr. W. R. Wetmore for forty years—from 1862 until his death.

Rev. Robert Johnston Miller was born in Scotland July 11th, 1758. His parents designed him for the ministry, and sent him to the Dundee classical school. Before he entered the ministry he migrated to America, arriving in Charlestown, Massachusetts, A. D. 1774. Soon after the colonies declared their independence and young Miller at once

espoused the cause of liberty, and when General Greene passed through Boston, he enlisted as a Revolutionary soldier. He participated in the battles of Long Island, where he was wounded in the face, of Brandywine, White Plains, and the siege of Valley Forge. With the army he traveled south, where he remained after peace was restored and the army disbanded. He began his work as a licentiate of the Episcopal Church without authority to administer the sacraments. His people of White Haven church, in Lincoln County, sent a petition to the Lutheran pastors of Cabarrus and Rowan, with high recommendations, praying that he might be ordained by them, which was accordingly done at St. John's church, Cabarrus County, on the 20th of May, 1794. His ordination certificate reads: "To all to whom it may concern, Greeting: Whereas, A great number of Christian people in Lincoln County have formed themselves into a society by the name of White Haven church, and also have formed a vestry: We the subscribers having been urged by the pressing call from the said church to ordain a minister for the good of their children, and for the enjoyment of ye gospel ordinances among them, from us, the ministers of the Lutheran Church in North Carolina, have solemnly ordained," etc., * * * "according to ye infallible word of God, administer ye sacraments, and to have ye care of souls; he always being obliged to obey ye rules, ordinances and customs of ye Christian Society, called ye Protestant Episcopal Church in America," etc. This White Haven was situated near the Catawba, on the opposite side of the great highway from Castanea Presbyterian church. The Lutherans subsequently built a White Haven three miles north on the same highway. Rev. Miller attended the Episcopal Convention, held in Raleigh, April 28th, 1821. His object was to connect himself fully with the Episcopal Church, to which he really belonged. As there was no Episcopal diocese at the time of his ordination

in the State, he felt it his duty to form a temporary connection with the Lutheran Church, was admitted a member of the Lutheran North Carolina Synod at its organization in 1803, and labored for her welfare twenty-seven years, until 1821, when he severed that connection, and was ordained to deacon's and priest's orders in the Episcopal ministry. Mr. Miller likewise attended the Lutheran North Carolina Synod in 1821, and from its minutes the following is quoted: "The president now reported that the Rev. R. J. Miller, who had labored for many years as one of our ministers had been ordained by the Bishop of the Episcopal Church as a priest at a convention of that church; that he had always regarded himself as belonging to that church, but because the Episcopal Church had no existence at that time in this State, he had himself ordained by our ministry, with the understanding that he still belonged to the Episcopal Church. But as the said church had now reorganized itself (in this State) he has united himself with it, and thus disconnected himself from our Synod, as was allowed him at his ordination by our ministers. Rev. Miller then made a short address before Synod and the congregation then assembled, in which he distinctly explained his position, so that no one should be able to say that he had apostatized from our Synod, since he had been ordained by our Ministerium as a minister of the Episcopal Church. He then promised that he would still aid and stand by us as much as lay in his power. With this explanation the whole matter was well understood by the entire assembly, and was deemed perfectly satisfactory. Whereupon it was resolved that the president tender to Rev. Miller our sincere thanks, in the name of the Synod, for the faithful services he had hitherto rendered our church. This was immediately done in a feeling manner." Mr. Miller died in 1833. One of the last acts of his ministry was to marry in that year Col. Michael Hoke and Miss

Frances Burton, daughter of Judge Robert H. Burton. The marriage took place at Beattie's Ford. A carriage was sent to bring Mr. Miller from Burke to solemnize it. Some time after marriage Colonel and Mrs. Hoke were confirmed. One of their sons is the distinguished Confederate General, Robert F. Hoke.

Col. W. L. Saunders, eminent authority, pays the State a tribute (Col. Records, IV, Pref. Notes), that applies to Lincoln County: "Remembering the route that General Lee took when he went into Pennsylvania on the memorable Gettysburg campaign, it will be seen that very many of the North Carolina boys, both of German and Scotch-Irish descent, in following their great leader, visited the homes of their ancestors, and went thither by the very route by which they came away. To Lancaster and York counties in Pennsylvania, North Carolina owes more of her population than to any other part of the known world, and surely there was never a better population than they and their descendants—never better citizens, and certainly never better soldiers."

As the waters of the Catawba, that lave its eastern border, and the South Fork, that flows through its center, united as they left old Lincoln in their onward sweep to form the Great Catawba, so have the settlers on the Catawba and the South Fork merged into a Scotch-Irish-German people, preserving the virtues, and mayhap the weaknesses, of a noble ancestry. These settlements will be noticed separately.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH SIDE.

Early in the eighteenth century the Scotch-Irish emigrated to Pennsylvania, and from thence some came direct, while others, and their descendants settled in Virginia before coming to this section. A few of these settlers may have been of other nationalities, but a careful writer has referred to this part of the country as "one of the areas of North Caro-

lina, dominated by the sturdy Scotch-Irish strain; where the thistle and the shamrock were planted toward the close of the eighteenth century; where they throve and flourished, and unaided produced results marvelous for the place and time. The Scotch gumption and Irish ardor, finely blended, was the patrimony of this section."

On the early maps the Great Catawba marked the tribal division between the Catawbas and the Cherokees. East of the river dwelt the Catawbas, once a numerous and powerful people. This nation "writ its name in water," the Catawba embalms it and it will be perpetuated while its majestic waters flow

> "To where the Atlantic lifts her voice to pour
> A song of praise upon the sounding shore."

As the white settlements extended, the Cherokees receded toward the setting sun, and occupied the peaks of the Blue Ridge. Roving bands raided the settlements. One of the Beattys went into the range in search of his cattle. He was discovered and pursued by the Indians. When within a mile of home he concealed himself in the hollow of a large chestnut tree. The bark of his little dog disclosed his hiding place and cost him his scalp and his life. The old chestnut disappeared long since, but the place where it stood is yet well known.

Jacob Forney and two of his neighbors were attacked by a band of Cherokees. One of them, Richards, was wounded and scalped. Forney, though shot at many times by the Indians, reached his log fort in safety. The neighbors buried poor Richards where he fell.

> "No useless coffin enclosed his breast,
> Nor in sheet nor in shroud they wound him."

The site of his lone grave in the depth of the wildwood is yet pointed out, situate near the old log fort where Jacob Forney first settled.

Among the settlers on this side occur the names, Allen, Anderson, Armstrong, Baldridge, Ballard, Barkley, Barnett, Beal, Bell, Beatty, Black, Bradshaw, Brevard, Bryant, Cherry, Childers, Cooper, Cox, Daily, Davis, Derr, Duncan, Edwards, Graham, Hunter, Hutchinson, Jetton, Johnston, Kelly, Kincaid, King, Knox, Little, Long, Lowe, Luckey, Lynch, McAlister, McCaul, McCombs, McConnell, McCormick, McIntosh, McLean, McMinn, Nixon, Proctor, Regan, Reid, Robinson, Shelton, Stacy, Thompson, Wilkinson, Wingate, and Womack; while in the western part, are found, Alexander, Baxter, Blackburn, Cobb, Goodson, Henderson, Hill, McBee, McCaslin, Potts, Ramsey, Williamson, Wilson, and others.

The first pale-face to set foot on the soil of Lincoln was the bold pioneer, John Beatty. One of his land grants bears date July 17th, 1749. He settled on the west bank of the Catawba. The shoal at this point, over which the river tumbles with a gentle murmur, forms a splendid ford. It was at this ford John Beatty crossed, and it yet bears his name, Beattie's Ford. As the soil of Lincoln at Beattie's Ford felt the primal tread of Anglo-Saxon, Beattie's Ford deservedly figures largely in the recital.

The old pioneer, John Beatty, located his home above the ford, in the shade of the hillside, overlooking the beautiful Catawba. Near by gurgled a limpid spring, its waters trickling off in a sparkling brooklet to the river. John Beatty had two sons, Thomas and Abel, and one daughter, Mary, the wife of Matthew Armstrong. It is always interesting to hear the last words of the departed. John Beatty's will bears date 5th January, 1774. In this he gives to Margaret Beatty certain items of personalty and his homestead to William Beatty. These were his grandchildren, the children of Thomas Beatty. Marked traits of his character are apparent in this document. A short quotation will exhibit his love

for rectitude and obedience, and desire to keep his homestead in the line of his own blood: "And if y^e^ above named Margaret or William Beatty or either of them does misbehave or be disobedient when come to y^e^ years of maturity, either going against their parents will in the contract of marriage or any way remarkable otherwise, that legatee is liable to y^e^ loss of his part of this legacy, and to be given to y^e^ other, the offending person entirely cut off at their parents discretion, or those that it may please to have the guardian and care over the above-mentioned persons William and Margaret Beatty. And further I do not allow the said lands that is left to y^e^ above named William Beatty to be ever sold or disposed of by any means or person whatsoever, but to firmly remain and continue in the line and lawful heirs of the above named William Beatty's body and to continue in that name as long as there is a male heir on the face of the earth, and after for the lack of a male heir to y^e^ nighest female heir."

Thomas Beatty died in 1787, leaving three sons, John, Thomas, and William. The inventory of his estate exhibits in minute detail the entire possessions of a well-to-do man of the pioneer period. A few items ranging between his broad acres and a fine-toothed comb will indicate the extent and variety of his possessions: "944 acres of land, ten negroes, seventeen horses, sixty-six cattle, eighteen hogs, thirteen sheep, thirty-four geese, five ducks, lot poultry, five pewter dishes, sixteen pewter plates, twenty-four pewter spoons, one pewter basin, one pewter tankard, one crook and two pot hooks, one dutch oven, and griddle and frying pan, one dough trough, one chest, two spinning wheels, and one big wheel, three pair cards, cotton, wool, and tow, one .check reel, one weaving loom, twenty-three spools, for spooling cotton, five reeds for weaving, nine sickles, one foot adze, one thorn hack, one hackel, two iron wedges, two bleeding lances, one hair sifter, two riddles, three gimlets, thirteen bushels flax

seed, six bushels buckwheat, one slide, two bells and collars, 750 clapboard nails, four pair half worn horse shoes, one redding comb, one fine-toothed comb, three coats and one great coat, two jackets, one pair buckskin breeches, one pair trousers, three hats and two linen shirts," constitute about one-fourth of the articles enumerated.

In the pioneer stage every man was his own carpenter, and the women knew how to card, spin, weave, and sew. The men wore linen shirts and buckskin breeches; the women, arrayed in their own handiwork, were beautiful in the eyes of the forester. The patrimony of the son was broad acres; the dowry of the daughter was a horse and saddle, cow and calf, a spinning wheel and check reel. The young men were gallant, and the young maids charming. The young men learned the art of horsemanship not only in the chase, but by the constant habit of traveling on horseback, and every woman was an expert horse-rider. The horse sometimes served as a tandem, the man riding in front, the woman behind; and, if trustworthy tradition is given credence the young men sometimes augmented the pleasure of this system of equestrianism by making their steeds caper, thereby frightening their innocent companions into a firm embrace to retain their positions.

Most of the early Scotch-Irish were Presbyterians, and the religious center was Beattie's meeting house. This place of worship was established by the pioneer, John Beatty, one mile west of Beattie's Ford. The meeting house stood on a level plat of ground in a beautiful grove of oak and hickory near a spring. Beattie's meeting house was built of logs. In 1808, it was decided to erect a more commodious edifice, and a plat of several acres was conveyed for the purpose by James Little to "James Connor, Alexander Brevard, John Reid and Joseph Graham, trustees." The kirk is named in the deed, Unity. In 1883 another church was erected and

additions to the former church lands made by conveyances from Robert H. Burton, W. S. Simonton, and Mary King to "John D. Graham, D. M. Forney, and John Knox, trustees." This is the conventional structure of that period with its gallery and large pulpit.

From the first settlement this was a place of worship. The headstones date back to 1776. Dr. Humphrey Hunter, a native of Ireland, and soldier in the Revolution, was pastor from 1796 to 1804. Next came Rev. Henry N. Pharr. He was succeeded by Patrick Sparrow. Mr. Sparrow's father was a potter in Vesuvius furnace. When lads the future Governor Graham was hard put to it to keep pace with Patrick, and the members of the Governor's family ascribed some of his success to this auspicious rivalry in the old-field schools. General Graham, thus having the lad's aptitude brought to his attention, interested others with him in giving Patrick an education. When he became pastor of Unity an old negro servant of General Graham's expressed her surprise at his rise of fortune, by exclaiming that the boy who ate ash cakes with her children had become her master's preacher. Mr. Sparrow was the first professor of languages at Davidson College, and afterwards President of Hampden-Sidney. The present pastor is Rev. C. H. Little, descended from a pioneer family.

About the year 1790 Maj. John Davidson, with his sons-in-law, Maj. Joseph Graham and Capt. Alexander Brevard, crossed from the Mecklenburg side into Lincoln, and with Gen. Peter Forney engaged in the manufacture of iron. These were all Revolutionary soldiers. The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed civilization progress with leaps and bounds. Then followed years of plenty. The virgin soil brought forth bountifully. Herds of cattle and droves of swine ranged at large unrestrained by any stock law. Deer, turkey, wild geese and duck abounded. The

Catawba was filled with shad, trout and red horse. A trackless wilderness had been transformed into a moving, populous community. Instead of the wigwam, was the homestead dwelling. Instead of the Indian war-whoop, was to be heard the furnace blast breathing forth actual and potential energy, and the stroke of the great trip hammer at the mighty forge as it beat the heart throbs of commercial activity. They were years of peace and growth, of marriage and home-building, of quiet domestic happiness.

The different grants to the Beattys approximate three thousand acres. William and John Beatty sold to John Fullenwider, an early iron master; and Thomas Beatty to Alfred M. Burton. Mr. Fullenwider divided his purchase between his sons-in-law, Alfred M. and Robert H. Burton; they settled on their splendid estates and became potent influences in the community. Alfred Burton settled above the ford, the old John Beatty house constituting one wing of the residence he erected. Robert H. built a spacious mansion below the ford. They were learned lawyers and elegant gentlemen. Their dust reposes in Unity graveyard, beside that of their kinsman, Hutchings G. Burton, once Governor of the State. Robert H. Burton filled the office of Superior Court Judge. After Judge Burton's death his homestead was purchased by Col. John H. Wheeler, the genial historian. Colonel Wheeler filled the office of State Treasurer and many positions of trust, but is best known for his great work, "Wheeler's History of North Carolina." This he compiled at Beattie's Ford, devoting to it about ten years' time. The preface bears date, "Ellangowan, Beattie's Ford, N. C., 1st July, 1851."

Three brothers—Charles, James and Henry Connor—from Antrim, Ireland, settled near Beattie's Ford. James was a captain in the Revolution. Henry, the youngest, a patriot soldier, located near Cowan's Ford. Colonel Wheeler

sold out at Beatty's Ford to Maj. Henry W. Connor, the son of Charles. Major Connor derived his title for service under General Graham in the campaign against the Creek Indians. He was a man of great popularity and represented his district in Congress twenty-three years. His homestead was identical with Judge Burton's.

Skilled physicians of sweet memory are William B. McLean and Robert A. McLean, father and son. The elder was a son of Dr. William McLean, a continental surgeon, resident in the forks of the Catawba.

Jacob Forney first settled on the creek near the present town of Denver, the scene of his Indian troubles. This farm passed to his son, Capt. Abraham Forney, a soldier of the Revolution, and yet belongs to his descendants. Gen. Peter Forney, son of the pioneer, was a patriot soldier, member of the House, Senate and Congress. As presidential elector, he voted for Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson. He erected a forge at his home and Madison furnace on Leeper's Creek, that was afterwards owned by J. W. Derr. He obtained possession of valuable ore beds, and commenced building his iron works in 1787, and recorded that he produced hammered iron in his forge 26th August, 1788.

Maj. Daniel M. Forney, eldest son of Gen. Peter Forney, received his title in the war of 1812, also served as Senator from Lincoln County, and member of Congress. He erected a palatial residence, modeled after a house at the national capital. The site chosen is an eminence between two creeks, where Jacob Forney lived when the British quartered on him. This picturesque old mansion, with its long white columns, surrounded by a grove of original oaks, yet retains the charms of its ancient architecture. Major Forney sold to Alexander F. Gaston, a son of Judge Gaston. It next passed to James Anderson, and is now owned by Mrs. W. E. Hall. Henry Y. Webb, Bartlett Shipp, William Johnston, C. L.

Hunter, and Christian Reinhardt, married daughters of Gen. Peter Forney. Henry Y. Webb was a lawyer and represented Lincoln County in the House of Commons. Bartlett Shipp was a lawyer, a member of the Legislature, and of the constitutional convention of 1835. His son, William M. Shipp, was a member of the House of Commons, Senator, Superior Court Judge, and Atttorney-General of the State. W. P. Bynum married Eliza, daughter of Bartlett Shipp, and settled on the Henry Y. Webb homestead. He was an eminent lawyer, Colonel in the Confederate Army, Solicitor of his district, and Justice of the Supreme Court. His son, William S. Bynum, was a Confederate soldier, lawyer and Episcopal clergyman.

William Johnston, a physician, married Nancy Forney, and located at Mt. Welcome, General Forney's homestead. His five sons were gallant Confederate soldiers. William H., Robert D., and James F. entered the service in the Beatty's Ford Rifles, which was mustered into service as Company K, 23d Regiment; William H. and James F. won captains' commissions; while Robert D., by promotion became a distinguished Brigadier General; Joseph F., late Governor of Alabama and now United States Senator from that State, was Captain of Company A, 12th Regiment; Bartlett S. Johnston served in the Confederate States Navy. Dr. William Johnston was a son of Col. James Johnston, a soldier of the Revolution, one of the heroes of King's Mountain, the first Senator from Lincoln, and elder at Unity. When Gaston County was set up from Lincoln, Colonel Johnston's homestead on the Catawba fell in Gaston County. Dr. C. L. Hunter was a scientist and historian. He was the son of Rev. Humphrey Hunter, a soldier in the Revolution. Mary, daughter of Gen. Peter Forney, married Christian Reinhardt, a planter, and they migrated west.

Joseph Graham attained the rank of major in the Revolution and his title as general in 1814, when commissioned Brigadier-General and sent in command of North Carolina troops to aid General Jackson in the Creek War. To his narratives of the battles of Ramsour's Mill, King's Mountain and Cowan's Ford is largely due the preservation of the Revolutionary history of this section. John D. Graham, his eldest son, retiring from Vesuvius furnace, erected a brick residence on the Catawba below Beattie's Ford, now the home of his son, Clay Graham. James was a lawyer and politician, representing his district in Congress sixteen years. William A., the general's youngest son, read law and located at Hillsboro for the practice of his profession. He was twice Governor, United States Secretary of the Navy, and Confederate States Senator, and candidate for Vice-President on the Scott ticket. Pure and spotless in private life, a learned lawyer, a ripe scholar, a statesman of ability and clear judgment, he is esteemed by many as the greatest man produced by the State of North Carolina. William A. Graham, son of the Governor, Major and Assistant Adjutant-General, historian and author, the present Commissioner of Agriculture, resides at Forest Home, the ancestral homestead.

Robert Hall Morrison, D.D., the first President of Davidson College, an eminent divine, was the honored pastor of Unity for forty years. He married Mary, daughter of Gen eral Graham. Cottage Home, his homestead, is intimately associated with the Confederacy, for it was there that J. P. Irwin, Lieut.-Gen. D. H. Hill, Lieut.-Gen. Stonewall Jackson, Brig.-Gen. Rufus Barringer, Maj. A. C. Avery, and Col. John E. Brown, respectively married Harriet, Isabella, Anna, Eugenia, Susan, and Laura, daughters of Dr. Morrison. His sons were Maj. William W. Morrison, Joseph G. Morrison, A.D.C., on General Jackson's staff, Robert H. Morrison, A.D.C. to General Barringer and General Hill.

His youngest son, Alfred J. Morrison, was a lawyer, politician, and Presbyterian minister.

Alexander Brevard early received a captain's commission in the Continental Army. He built Mount Tirzah and Rehoboth furnaces. Captain Brevard's homestead passed to his son Robert A. Brevard, then to his grandson, Alexander F. Brevard, and upon his death to Brevard McDowell, a great-grandson. Captain Brevard and General Graham were honored elders at Unity, but were buried in a private cemetery of their selection where Macpelah Church was afterwards built. Vesuvius furnace passed into the hands of J. M. Smith, a man who by his own initiative and endeavor rose to position and influence and left a name distinguished for good sense, kindness of heart, and business tact. He built Stonewall furnace, on Anderson Creek.

On the post road between Beattie's Ford and Vesuvius furnace are the Catawba Springs, a famous resort in ante-bellum days. This was formerly Reed's Springs, owned by Capt. John Reed, a soldier of the Revolution and Senator from Lincoln County. Valuable factors of this community are the Asburys and Mundys, descendants of Rev. Daniel Asbury and Rev. Jeremiah Mundy, pioneer Methodist ministers. Rev. Daniel Asbury, when a youth, was taken by a band of Shawnee Indians, carried to the far northwest and held in captivity five years. In 1791 he established in Lincoln County the first Methodist church west of the Catawba River. Rev. Jeremiah Mundy was a native of Virginia and located in Lincoln County in 1799. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War three years and a minister for thirty-five years.

As one thinks of the old country 'squire who settled disputes between his neighbors, of the kind-hearted physician, and the "lords of the manor," it seems "there were giants in those days." But life was not all serious; it had its great

sunshiny side. They were apt at repartee, fond of the innocent joke, and in social intercourse, peals of laughter went the merry round; for, has not the wisest of men said, "there is a time to laugh"? And, alas, in those halycon days, they loved not the flagon to excess, but indulged a morning horn to ward off the rising vapors, and the invitation to sample the liquid contents of the sideboard was a mark of hospitality. The sweet women, the embodiment of all that is true, charming and good, raised high the standard of social purity. The blushing bride became the uncrowned queen of the home, around which the husband entwined the noblest affections of his heart. In this genial clime the pioneers found a fertile land, undulating with hills and vales, chequered with creeks and rills, and bountifully supplied with springs. One mile west of Beattie's Ford, and flowing for some distance parallel with the river, is a large branch. On this they found a maritime city, with streets of water through meadows green, the habitation of the beaver. This animal had felled trees, builded a great dam, ponding the waters over many acres, so it was called Beaver Dam Branch. The Burton mill was situate on the site of the old beaver dam. The water from the pond was conducted through a race to the great overshot wheel, the motive power of the mill. On the ridge between the Ford and Beaver Dam Branch three highways came together. At their convergence was situate the village of Beattie's Ford with its mercantile establishments. One of these roads was the great stage line via Lincolnton and Salisbury connecting far distant points. The post-office of Beattie's Ford supplied a wide extent of country. The approach of the stage was announced by winding blasts from the long tin horn of the driver.

Exhaustless iron beds were discovered in other sections in connection with limitless coal veins, and the fires of the charcoal furnace were quenched, and the furnace blast and

forge hammer were heard no more. Some of the leading spirits opposed the entrance of railroads, and their tracks were laid over other routes. Trade centers sprang up on their lines, and the stores at Beattie's Ford were closed. The long interregnum of peace came to an end. The noise of war was again heard in the land, and this section suffered in blood and treasure and shattered homes.

THE DUTCH SIDE.

The German settlers came from Pennsylvania. Their ancestors and some of them came from Germany. Their settlement covers the whole of the county, except the eastern portion bordering on the Catawba, and in this portion among the Scotch-Irish were the German families of Cloninger, Earnhardt, Forney, Hager, Lockman, Keever, Killian, Nantz, Sifford and others. The names of the German pioneers deserve special mention, and many follow: Aderholdt, Anthony, Arndt, Bangel, Benick, Beisaner, Beam, Bolinger, Boyles, Botz, Coulter, Dellinger, Detter, DeVepaugh, Dietz, Eddlemon, Finger, Freytag, Gantzler, Gross, Haas, Hafner, Helderman, Hallman, Hartzoge, Houser, Heedick, Heil, Heltebrand, Henkel, Hoke, Huber, Hull, Jared, Jonas, Jundt, Keener, Kizer, Kistler, Klein, Kneip, Krauss, Kuhn, Lantz, Leeper, Lehnhardt, Leonard, Lingerfelt, Link, Lohr, Loretz, Lorentz, Lutz, Michal, Miller, Mosteller, Plonk, Propst, Quickel, Ramsauer, Rein, Reinhardt, Rieb, Rinck, Rudisill, Sain, Scheidel, Schenck, Schufordt, Scronce, Seigel, Shrum, Seitz, Shoup, Shull, Sigmon, Speigel, Strutt, Summerrow, Troutman, Tutherow, Warlick, Weber, Weckesser, Wehunt, Weiand, Weiss, Wetzstein, Wisenhunt, Workman, Yoder, Zimmerman.

Many of the American names have been anglicised, and the spelling changed. To be a Zimmerman when one could be a Carpenter was too unprogressive. Likewise Weber be-

came Weaver, Kruss, Crouse; Huber, Hoover; Freytag, Friday; Gantzler, Cansler; Heil, Hoyle; Jundt, Yount; Kuhn, Coon; Klein, Cline; Rieb, Reep; Weiss, Wise; Wetzstein. Whetstone; and so with many others.

They selected the finest lands and settled along the streams. Their first dwellings were log cabins, then followed the red-painted mansion. A few of the old red-painted houses, built near the spring, yet stand, monuments of a bygone age. They have always built large barns. Sweet memories of the pioneers, and many valuable papers linger among their descendants. To give some illustration of pioneer times and conditions a few notes of one family will be made.

Derrick Ramsour came with the pioneers about 1750. He erected a mill on Clark's Creek, near its junction with the South Fork River, that was a noted industry and place in colonial days. The subjects of the king often divided their estates to prevent the oldest son becoming sole heir under the English law of primogeniture. In April, 1772, impelled by natural love and affection, he conveyed his property to his two surviving sons, Jacob and David; first, however, requiring them to enter into a bond in the sum of one thousand pounds proclamation money for his support, conditioned that they pay unto him every year during his natural life, "fifteen pounds proclamation money, twenty-five bushels clean, sound wheat, twenty-five bushels Indian corn, fifty-two pounds of good butter, four hundredweight of good wholesome beef, one-sixth of the net profits of the fruit trees, thirty pounds sugar, three pounds Bohea tea, two pounds coffee, twelve gallons of whiskey, four bushels of malt, one bushel of salt." They also engaged to erect "a commodious and convenient residence for him, the said Derrick Ramsour, in order to live retired with a sufficient store and store room, and furnish the same with the necessary furniture sufficient for his accommodation which building is to be erected on such a part of

the premises as he, the said Derrick Ramsour, pitches upon." Also to find for him "one good feather bed and decent and necessary furniture, and find and provide for him sufficient firewood, ready hauled to his dwelling, to be cut a foot length as often as occasion or necessity shall require; and also to supply him with a gentle riding horse, saddle, and bridle to carry him wheresoever he may require to go, together with a sufficient and necessary stock of wearing apparel both woolen and linen, warm and decent, and becoming one of his circumstances to wear, together with the proper food and washing during his natural life."

Then by bill of sale he conveys to his sons Jacob and David his "whole stock of black or neat cattle running on the said lands whereon I now live, or to be found in the woods or range, whether in my own proper mark, or the mark of those from whom I might heretofore have purchased; also all and singular my horses, mares, colts, yearlings, etc., which of right doth or ought to belong to me, whether at this time in my actual possession, or running their range at large, also all my stock of hogs and sheep, be the same more or less in number, wherever to be found, together with my wagons, gears, plows, harness, still and vessels, plantation and carpenter tools of every kind whatsoever."

To Jacob he conveys the plantation situate in the forks of the South Fork River and Clark's Creek and adjoining tracts, in all 960 acres, including the mill. This tract adjoins the western limits of Lincolnton. The residence erected for Derrick stood beside that of Jacob on the slope of the hill a few hundred feet to the west of the mill that was destined to become historic during the Revolution. The South Fork River, in a great bend, forms its junction with Clark's Creek. In this bend are three hundred acres of fertile bottom. Jacob Ramsour died in 1787, and was buried in a private burying ground, on the highest part of the ridge west of his house.

To David Ramsour he conveyed six hundred acres lying three miles farther up the river. This tract is likewise situate in a great bend of the river including a broad sweep of level bottom. On this farm to-day is the one-story cabin, built of immense hewn logs, erected by David Ramsour, a relic of pioneer days and architecture. The great stone chimney is built entirely inside the house with fireplace seven feet across, over which is the mantel nine feet long hewn out of a log. In the chimney are cross bars from which the pot-hooks were suspended to hold the cooking utensils in position over the fire. This cabin occupies a knoll, commanding a fine view with picturesque surroundings. It slopes toward the south forty yards to the river. Near by is the rock-walled spring, with stone steps leading down to its cool waters, shaded by giant white oaks. Next stands the old red-painted mansion characteristic of the early Dutch, built by his son, John Ramsour, every part of which is put together with hand forged nails. A little way out in the bottom is the brick mansion of Jacob Ramsour, son of John. These, with the modern residence of Thomas J. Ramsour, in view of each other, standing in a radius of half a mile, represent four generations of the Ramsour family. On a gentle knoll in the great bottom is the family burying ground, where rests Jacob Ramsour, who died in 1785, and many of his descendants.

The Germans encountered many hardships incident to the settlement of a new country, but one of their most trying ordeals was the change of their language from their native German to English. They called themselves Dutch and their language Dutch, and so are called to this day both by themselves and others. The pioneer Germans were Lutherans and Reformed, and they usually occupied the same house of worship, where on alternate Sabbaths they worshiped, and this is still the case in a number of churches. Four miles northwest of Lincolnton the pioneers established a place of

worship and a schoolhouse called Daniel's, on a tract of fifty acres, but did not take a grant. In 1767 a grant was issued to Matthew Floyd for the tract of fifty acres including a "schoolhouse." In 1768 it was purchased by Nicholas Warlick, Frederick Wise, Urban Ashehanner, Peter Statler, Peter Summey and Deter Hafner, who conveyed it to the "two united Congregations of Lutherans and Calvinists." The services were in German, and the records written in German script until 1827. On this tract each has a brick church and by them stands the brick schoolhouse. Eleven miles east of Lincolnton, on the great highway is the site of the "Old Dutch Meeting House." The deed is from Adam Cloninger to the "German Congregation of Killian's Settlement." The first church lot in Lincolnton was conveyed June 10th, 1788, to Christian Reinhardt and Andrew Hedick, trustees for the "socicties of Dutch Presbyterians and Dutch Lutherans" of the town and vicinity, "for the intent and purpose of building thereon a meeting house for public worship, schoolhouses, both Dutch and English, and a place for the burial of the dead." This was called the old White church and occupied the site of the present Lutheran church. The reference in title deeds to "Calvinists," and "Dutch Presbyterians" is to the German Reformed or, as now known, the Reformed Church.

The pioneers brought with them Luther's German translation of the Bible. No dust was allowed to gather on this precious volume. These have been handed down from generation to generation, and in almost every family to-day can be found the Dutch Bible of the pioneers printed in a language now considered foreign, yet justly esteemed precious heirlooms.

Rev. Johann Gottfried Arndt came from Germany as a school-teacher in 1773, and was ordained into the Lutheran ministry in 1775. He died in 1807 and was buried beneath the old White church in Lincolnton. The inscription on his

tombstone is in German, above it an eagle and thirteen stars, and the motto of the new republic, *E pluribus unum*. The Reformed preacher of this time was Rev. Andrew Loretz, a native of Switzerland. He died in 1812 and was buried at Daniel's. On the gable of his mansion, outlined in colored brick, are the initials of his name and the date, A. L. 1793. Only the German was used during their pastorates. Living in the same county, and preaching in the same churches, these godly men were devoted friends, and engaged that whichever died first should be buried by the survivor. The Lutheran pastor at Daniel's is Rev. Luther L. Lohr, and in Lincolnton Rev. Robert A. Yoder, D.D., descendants of the Dutch settlers. While Rev. William Ramsour Minter, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Lincolnton, is a grandson of Jacob Ramsour, and great-grandson of David Ramsour, both elders in that church; David Ramsour was a son of Jacob Ramsour, owner of the historic Ramsour's Mill.

The North Carolina Synod held an historic meeting in the "old White church" in May, 1820. Then occurred the first rupture in the Lutheran Church in the New World. The president maintained his position in a long discourse in the German, the secretary followed in a longer one in English. This church and others withdrew and, July 17th, organized the Tennessee Synod. At its first meeting German was made the business language and all its transactions were to be published in German. In 1825 the minutes were published in both German and English. In 1826 David Henkle was appointed interpreter for the members who did not understand the German, and it was ordered that "the business of Synod shall be transacted in the German language during the first three days, afterwards the English shall be used."

But perhaps the greatest hindrance was in the State. The English was the dominant language. The laws were written and expounded in English, and all public affairs con-

ducted in that language, and this prevented many from active participation in public affairs. The change was gradual, but was perhaps most marked between the years 1820 and 1830. The entire German population outgrew the use of the German tongue. In their pulpits no longer is it heard, nor have they German schools. Now the Pennsylvania Dutch is seldom ever heard, and even the accent and idiom remain on but few tongues; yet it is sometimes observed in the use of the letters v and w, b and p, t and d. This is seen in some of the family names; Bangel and Pangle are the same name; likewise Boovey and Poovey, Tarr and Darr; David Darr was called Tavy Tarr. A venerable elder of fragrant memory, when the preacher ascended the pulpit to begin service, was accustomed to step to the door and proclaim to those outside, "De beobles will now come in, te breaching is reaty."

The Pennsylvania Dutchman had his humorous side, for

> "A little nonsense now and then
> Is relished by the best of men."

They had their sports and amusements, their holidays and gala days, their Easter fun and Kriss Kringle frolics. Many of their sports and amusements partook more of skill and labor than dissipation and debauchery, such as corn-shuckings, choppings, log-rollings, house-raisings, spinning-matches, quiltings and the like, tending to manly vigor and modest womanhood, and brightening the links of friendship and brotherly love. By hunting deer and turkey, the squirrel and other game they became expert riflemen. In the fall of the year shooting-matches were common, the usual prize a quarter of beef or a turkey. A witness at court, when asked to fix the date of a certain transaction, replied "at shooting-match time." They were great fanciers of fine stock, and the old Dutch farmer never felt more lordly than

when hauling great loads with his sleek team of horses. The race track also had its devotees. Two prominent Germans were once called to the bar of the church for some cause resulting from a noted race run on the Warlick path. The one who lost expressed proper contrition. The other was incorrigible. Proud of his horse, the stakes, and exulting in the plaudits of the community, he promptly responded "I not sorry. I von. Mr. H. werry sorry, he loss."

On the Dutch side are many signs and folk lore of interest. The Dutch farmer is a close observer and is often governed by signs. The moon is a powerful potentate. Its phases are closely watched, and there is a time to plant every seed, cut timber and do many things. A champion turnip grower used an incantation of virtue in casting the seed, resulting in a fourfold quantity. Each time he threw the seed with his hand he repeated a line of the following:

"Some for the pug,
Some for the fly,
Some for the Debil,
And in comes I."

Michael Schenck, in 1813, erected the first cotton factory, run by water power, south of the Potomac. It was a small affair located on a branch, one mile east of Lincolnton, but proving profitable, attracted Col. John Hoke and Dr. James Bivins, and they became partners of Michael Schenck. The firm in 1819 erected the Lincoln Cotton Mills, with three thousand spindles, on the South Fork, the beginning of the cotton mill industry in this section. This mill was burned in 1863.

There are situate in Lincolnton and within four miles along the South Fork, thirteen cotton mills controlled by descendants of the Dutch. The only cotton mill in the county at the close of the war was the Elm Grove, owned by John F. Phifer, now operated by Robert S. Reinhardt. The Confederate

States government, about 1864, erected a laboratory for the manufacture of medicines on the site of the old Lincoln factory. In 1887, J. A. Abernethy and D. E. Rhyne erected the Laboratory Cotton Mills on the site of the Confederate laboratory, R. E. Costner, J. A. Anthony, L. J. Dellinger, John M. Rhodes, and W. A. Rudisill are mill men. Daniel E. Rhyne is proprietor of three of these mills. Other successful mill men are J. A. Abernethy, Edgar Love, and J. M. Roberts. The late Capt. Joseph G. Morrison erected the Mariposa Mills, at the old Forney forge on Leeper's Creek. Paper mills were operated for many years on the South Fork. Among the noted manufacturers of paper were William and Rufus Tiddy.

One of the noted pioneers was Daniel Warlick. His entries approximate three thousand acres. In 1769 he made division of it among his five sons and four daughters. The oldest enterprise in the county to-day is the mill he established on a branch five miles west of Ramsour's. It was once destroyed by the Cherokees. This property has passed from father to son, and is to-day owned by Jacob R. Warlick, a great grandson. It is now a modern roller-mill, the motive power a waterfall of sixty-two feet.

The old highway from Ramsour's Mill to Warlick's Mill crossed the South Fork River at Reep's Ford, just below the present Ramsour bridge. Here lived Adam Reep and his brothers, Adolph and Michael, all Whig soldiers. Just to the west, in a private burying ground, rests Nicholas Heamer, a patriot soldier and one of the last survivors of the Battle of Ramsour's Mill.

The subject of dress properly occupies large space in woman's thought. In the olden time there were no stores near with heavily laden shelves from which to select, but they knew how to color, then combine the colors in beautiful fabrics, and were experts in fine weaving. They perhaps

were not bothered with gores and biases, frills and puffs, yet they had their trouble in cutting, fitting, and arranging the trimming as do those of the present with the latest magazine and fashion plate. It is certain that in the vigor and strength of perfect development they were fair to look upon, equally at home, in the parlor or in the kitchen alive to the wants of humanity and duty to God. Much of this inspiriting record is due the examples, counsels and prayers of pious mothers; and while the songs of the nursery mingle with lessons of peace and love, and tender hearts are impressed with religious truth the result will be men and women of high type.

As the century waned the German citizens were becoming prominent in public affairs. In 1797, John Ramsour represented Lincoln County in the House of Commons and twice afterwards. Then follows John Reinhardt in 1799, Peter Forney in 1800. Peter Hoyle was elected in 1802 and fourteen times afterwards; Henry Hoke in 1803; David Shuford in 1806. Then follows Loretz, Killian, Cansler and others.

Henry Cansler was long an influential citizen. He filled the offices of county surveyor, sheriff, clerk of the court and member of the General Assembly. His father and grandfather each wrote his name in the German, Philip Gantzler.

Jacob Costner was one of the first justices of Tryon County, sheriff of Tryon 1774 and 1775, major of the Tryon Regiment in 1776, died in 1777. Ambrose Costner, his great-grandson, planter and financier, was often the popular representative of Lincoln County in the House and Senate.

John F. Reinhardt, Confederate soldier, planter, commoner and senator, is a great-grandson of Christian Reinhardt, "agent of the Dutch Presbyterians." He owns the Bartlett Shipp homestead. His father, Franklin M. Reinhardt, operated the Rehobeth furnace.

Andrew Hedick, a great-grandson of Andrew Hedick, "agent of the Dutch Lutherans," resides on the ancestral

homestead. He lost his right arm in the fearful struggle at Chancellorsville. After the war he attended Pleasant Retreat, and prepared himself for school teaching. For many years he filled the office of county treasurer and is one of the county's honored citizens. Andrew Hedick is likewise the survivor of the usually mortal wound of a musket ball passing entirely through his body, as are also Abel Seagle and David Keever.

David Schenck, grandson of Michael Schenck, was a great advocate and lawyer, a judge of the Superior Court and historian. He removed to Greensboro in 1882 and has a monument in the Guilford Battle-ground.

John F. Hoke, son of Col. John Hoke, won a captain's commission in the Mexican War, and commanded his company with gallantry in the battles of Cerro Gordo, Tolema and National Bridge. He was adjutant-general in North Carolina, and colonel in the Civil War. He was an able lawyer and often the representative of Lincoln County in the General Assembly. His son, William A. Hoke, as citizen, lawyer, legislator, judge of the Superior Courts, and now Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, occupies a large space in public esteem.

Michael Hoke, son of Col. John Hoke, was an eminent lawyer and an accomplished orator, whose brilliant career added luster to his county and Commonwealth. The campaign of 1844 justly ranks among the famous in the history of the State. There were many causes contributing to its intensity. It was a presidential election. Henry Clay, the Whig nominee, a matchless orator and the idol of his party, made a speech in Raleigh on the 12th day of June of that year. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, a native of Mecklenburg and graduate of our State University, was the nominee of the Democrats, and his party hoped to carry the State.

The Republic of Texas was seeking annexation to the United States, and this was a burning issue. Each political party was on its mettle, and marshaling its forces for a battle royal. Standard bearers must be selected with care and the very best. Each party named a son of Lincoln County as its candidate for Governor. The Democrats nominated Michael Hoke, a gentleman of fine person, fine address, of long legislative experience and high position at the bar, whose ease of manner and brilliancy of oratory won for him troops of friends. The Whigs were equally fortunate in the selection of William A. Graham, a man of exalted character and ability; and, like his competitor, the fairness of his conduct, his open, generous temper, and elevated mode of argument met the highest expectation of his most ardent admirers. Never in any campaign were two political antagonists more evenly matched. Both were in the prime of life. Hoke was only thirty-four, and Graham forty years of age. Both were strikingly handsome men, tall, well-formed and graceful, of polished manner and placid temper, pure of character and free from guile. While possessing all these amiable qualities when it came to the advocacy of the principles of their respective parties, or assaulting those of the other, they exhibited the courage of a Washington and the aggressiveness of a Jackson. The dignified and majestic presence of Graham was formidably rivaled by the matchless manner and ready humor of Hoke. Their joint canvass was a battle of giants. Graham was elected Governor, Clay carried the State and Polk was elected President. Hoke scarce survived the campaign. He died September 9, 1844, at the youthful age of 34 years, 4 months and 7 days.

Among the record of baptisms at Daniel's is this, "George Kuhn, und desen frau ihr sohn George Gebohren den 31 ten December, 1809, Taufzeugen sind Johnannes Rudisill und desen frau," which being translated reads, "George Coon and

his wife, their son George was born the 31st December, 1809, sponsors John Rudisill and his wife." The infant George grew into a man full of years and honor. An old Frenchman in Lincolnton, Lorenzo Ferrer, often bought farm products from Mr. Coon, and so admired his perfect integrity, and "full measure of potatoes," that one of his bequests was: "I will and bestow to honest George Koon one hundred dollars."

Lorenzo Ferrer, having been introduced, shall have place in this history. He was a native of Lyons, France, but spent his long life from early manhood in Lincolnton. He died August 16th, 1875, aged ninety-six years. He had his coffin made to order and gave directions concerning his grave. It is marked by a recumbent slab, supported on marble columns. The first paragraph of his will is in these words:

"I, Lorenzo Ferrer, here write my last will and testament whilst I am in possession of my faculties, as I have shortly to appear at the tribunal of St. Peter at the gate of eternity; when St. Peter is to pronounce according to my merits or demerits: for our Lord Jesus Christ entrusted the key of Heaven to St. Peter and enjoined him to admit the deserving to enter into Heaven and enjoy an eternal happiness, but to condemn the undeserving defrauders to the everlasting sulphurious flames in the Devil's abode. Therefore, I am endeavoring to comfort myself in such a manner in order to merit an eternal happiness in the presence of God, and his angels, and in company with St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Titus and the other saints. For I am anxious to converse with those happy martyred saints and rejoice with them at the firmness, patience, and willingness they endured at their martyrdom for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. I am also in hope to see and embrace my kind friends Michael Hoke, William Lander, and other good and honest friends with whom I hope to enjoy an eternal felicity," etc.

Adam Springs approached the dark river with no such beatific vision. In the confident possession of a sound mind and good judgment he likewise wrote his own will, the first part of which follows: "North Carolina, Lincoln County,— Know all men by these presents, that I, Adam A. Springs, believing himself of sufficient judgment of mind do now set about making my will in hopes that my surviving fellow-citizens will aid me in the disposal of my wish. If it should lack form, I call upon our Constitution. Then I ordain this my last will and testament as follows: As to my soul or finer part, whatever it may be, I surrender it to its author without any impertinent and intrusive requests against the immutable laws of Deity. In the first place, I will to be buried alongside of James Henderson on the hill on the east of the shoals formerly called Henderson's Shoals," etc.

Mr. Springs was one of the first students at the State University, a graduate in the Class of 1798, a large real estate owner, including among his possession the Henderson Shoals on the South Fork, afterwards known as the Spring Shoals, now McAdensville, where his dust reposes beside James Henderson. The paper-writing was propounded for probate, a caveat entered, the issue, *devisavit vel non,* submitted, the will established, and executed by his surviving fellow-citizens according to the true intent and meaning thereof.

A will of marked conciseness and brevity, and the shortest in the county is that of the late V. A. McBee. Mr. McBee was a University graduate, lawyer, three times clerk of the Superior Court, and left a considerable estate in North and South Carolina. His entire will with date and signature contains but twenty-three words: "I will all my estate, real and personal to my wife, Mary Elizabeth McBee, this 31st day of March, 1888. V. A. McBee."

Robert F. Hoke and Stephen D. Ramseur, twin soldiers of destiny, became distinguished Major-Generals in the

armies of the Confederacy. Their gallant deeds and noble services added luster to their home and country. The one survives, honored and loved; the soil of Virginia drank the precious blood of the other.

The laudable principles, liberty of conscience, health of state, and purity of morals, the Dutch hold in sacred esteem; the great virtues of the home and the common duties of the good citizens have ever charmed most their ambitions. Of persistent energy, high purpose, and sturdy inclination, they have made and are making indestructible footprints of nobly performed deeds in the varied sands of life that will remain a memorial to them for all time.

THE CIVIL WAR.

The men of Lincoln County bore an honorable part in the American Revolution, and were in evidence in the second bout with the mother country; they helped to win Texan independence and fought in the Mexican War; at the outbreak of the great Civil War, they presented a solid front in defense of their Southland.

Stephen D. Ramseur, a graduate of West Point, and a lieutenant in the United States Army, resigned his commission, tendered his service to the Confederacy and was appointed captain of artillery; by promotion he passed through the grades to the rank of Major-General, and met the death of a hero at Cedar Creek, on the 19th of October, 1864.

Alvin DeLane was a soldier in the United States Navy, whose flag was endeared to him by many years service. When the war clouds gathered a decision was to be made. He hesitated not; the battle-cry of the South expressed his sentiment and his resolve:

> "In Dixie land I'll take my stand,
> And live and die for Dixie."

In the darkness of the night he scaled the walls of Fort Sumter with a ladder, which served him many hours as a float on the briny deep, was rescued, became the hero of Charleston, and for the next four years a gallant Confederate.

William S. Bynum, the soldier boy, September 25th, 1862, at the age of fourteen years, enlisted in Company K, 42d Regiment, and was a gallant Confederate until the surrender.

Lincoln County furnished the Confederacy eight full companies: (1) The Southern Stars, Company K, Bethel Regiment, William J. Hoke, Captain; (2) Company I, 11th Regiment, A. S. Haynes, Captain; (3) Company K, 23d Regiment, Robert D. Johnston, Captain; (4) Company E, 34th Regiment, John F. Hill, Captain; (5) Company K, 49th Regiment, Peter Z. Baxter, Captain; (6) Company G, 52d Regiment, Joseph B. Shelton, Captain; (7) Company H, 52d Regiment, Eric Erson, Captain; (8) Company G, 57th Regiment, John F. Speck, Captain; besides members of other companies.

Many of the Bethel soldiers won commissions of honor. Capt. William J. Hoke became Colonel of the 38th Regiment; Second Lieutenant Robert F. Hoke was promoted through the grades to the rank of Major-General; Eric Erson was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 52d Regiment; William R. Edwards, Sidney Haynes, John F. Speck, Benjamin F. Grigg, Peter M. Mull, Lauson A. Dellinger, and James D. Wells won captains' commissions; while David A. Coon, Ed. D. Sumner, W. A. Summerow, and George M. Hoke were first lieutenants, and Lemuel J. Hoyle, Charles Elmer, Josephus Houser and Oliver A. Ramsour, second lieutenants.

John F. Hoke was Brigadier-General and Adjutant-General of the State. Through him the volunteer regiments were organized. He was the first Colonel of the 23d Regiment, and at the surrender was Colonel of the 73d Regiment.

William Preston Bynum entered the service as first lieutenant of the Beattie's Ford Rifles; this company was mustered in as Company K, 23d Regiment; he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, and Colonel of the 2d Regiment.

Robert D. Johnston, second lieutenant of the Beattie's Ford Rifles, rose by promotion for gallantry to the rank of brigadier-general. He was wounded at Seven Pines, Gettysburg and on the Catawba River.

Other commissioned officers: Colonel—Samuel D. Lowe. Lieutenant-Colonels—Hiram W. Abernethy and Charles J. Hammarskold. Majors—Sidney M. Finger and William A. Graham. Captains—James T. Adams, Phillip W. Carpenter, A. H. Houston, G. W. Hunter, James F. Johnston, William H. Johnston, Joseph F. Johnston, James M. Kincaid, Milton Lowe, Joseph G. Morrison, George L. Phifer, Benjamin H. Sumner, Woodberry Wheeler, and C. C. Wrenshall. First Lieutenants—Peter S. Beal, John H. Boyd, John P. Cansler, William H. Hill, Wallace M. Reinhardt, Daniel Reinhardt, and Thomas L. Seagle. Second Lieutenants—Thomas Abernethy, William Arndt, William H. Hill, Wallace M. Reinhardt, Daniel Asbury, George W. Beam, Caleb Bisaner, John Caldwell, Eli Crowell, Henry Eaton, Henry Fullenwider, John F. Goodson, Emanuel Houser, Bruce Houston, Lee Johnston, Thomas Lindsey, William M. Monday, John Rendleman, Samuel Rendleman, David Rhodes, Alfred Robinson, Samuel Thompson, W. A. Thompson, Henry Wells and Rufus Warlick. Chaplains—Robert B. Anderson and Eugene W. Thompson.

Summary—Two major-generals, one brigadier-general, four colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, two majors, two chaplains, twenty-eight captains, sixteen first lieutenants, thirty-three second lieutenants and 1,219 non-commissioned officers and privates, a grand total of 1,311 Confederate soldiers.

AUTHORITIES:—Counties of North Carolina, by K. P. Battle; Governor William Tryon, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood; Colonial Records of North Carolina; State Records of North Carolina; Public Laws of North Carolina; Public Records of Tryon County, N. C.; Public Records of Lincoln County, N. C.; General Joseph Graham and His Revolutionary Papers, by W. A. Graham; History of North Carolina, by John H. Wheeler; Reminiscences and Memoirs, by John H. Wheeler; Sketches of Western North Carolina, by C. L. Hunter; Manuscript of Wallace M. Reinhardt; King's Mountain and Its Heroes, by L. C. Draper; Narratives of the Battle of King's Mountain, by David Vance and Robert Henry; North Carolina, 1780-81, by David Schenck; German Settlements in North and South Carolina, by G. D. Bernheim; History of the Reformed Church; South Fork Association, by W. A. Graham; The Broad Axe and the Forge, by Brevard McDowell; Old Lincoln Homes, by Brevard Nixon; Roster of Confederate Soldiers of Lincoln County, by A. Nixon.

OUR STATE MOTTO AND ITS ORIGIN.

BY CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK.

The General Assembly of 1893 (chapter 145) adopted the words *"Esse Quam Videri"* as the State's motto and directed that these words with the date "20 May, 1775," should be placed with our Coat of Arms upon the great seal of the State.

The words *"Esse Quam Videri"* mean *"to be rather than to seem,"* and are a suitable recognition of the honest, sturdy, unpretending character of our people. Beside the motto of the Union, *"E Pluribus Unum,"* nearly every State has adopted a motto. With few exceptions these mottoes are in Latin. The reason for their being in Latin and not in English is not far to seek. Owing to the Latin tongue expressing the different forms of the verb and of the noun by a mere change in termination, and not, as in English, by the addition of particles and prepositions, it is far more condensed and terse. The three words, *"Esse Quam Videri,"* require the use of at least six English words to express the same idea. For this reason mottoes are most usually in Latin.

Curiosity has been aroused to learn the origin of our State motto. It is found in Cicero in his Essay on Friendship (Cicero de Amicitia, chap. 26) though it is not there used in the same sense now ordinarily attached to it. He says, *"Virtute enim ipsa non tam multi prediti esse quam videri," i. e.* "Virtue is a quality which not so many desire to possess as desire to seem to possess," or, translated *literally,* "For indeed not so many wish *to be* endowed with virtue *as* wish *to seem to be.*"

But in reality the phrase can be traced much farther back. It was used by the Greek poet Eschylus in the famous tragedy

"The Seven against Thebes." In line 592 of that play, it is said (not using the Greek letters for want of proper type) *"ou gar dokein aristos, all' einai thelei."* Truly this is the identical sentiment of *"Esse Quam Videri."* Plutarch, in his Life of Aristides, chap. 3, says that when this line was pronounced in the theater all eyes were turned upon Aristides "the Just," who was present.

Socrates expressed nearly the same idea in his Apologia, 36 E, where he says that the victor of Olympia "makes you seem to be happy, but I make you so."

The phrase is a striking one and Cicero's version of it has been caught up and often used as a motto. In that best collection of mottoes extant, the "Coats of Arms of the British Peerage" no less than three noble houses have adopted it, to wit: the Earl of Winterton, Earl Brownlow and Lord Lurgan.

It has been adopted by many associations, especially literary societies. In this State it is the motto of Wilson Collegiate Institute and, with some modifications, of one of the societies at Wake Forest College.

The sentiment and its expression are good enough. It is appropriate to North Carolina, and her sons will make it memorable and distinguished. Among our sister States it can proudly take its place between the *"Sic Semper Tyrannis"* of Virginia and the *"Animis, Opibusque Parati"* of South Carolina.

The figures on our State Coat of Arms are Liberty and Plenty. It has been objected that the motto has no reference or application to the figures on the Coat of Arms. It is very rarely that such is the case. The national motto, *"E Pluribus Unum,"* has no reference to the Eagle and Shield and the Thunderbolts on the national Coat of Arms. Nor has the *"Excelsior"* of New York, the *"Dirigo"* of Maine, the *"Qui Transtulet, Sustinet"* of Connecticut any application

to the figures above them. Indeed Virginia's *"Sic Semper Tyrannis"* is one of the very few instances in which the motto bears such reference. But, in fact, is our motto so entirely without reference to the Coat of Arms as is usually the case? The figures are, as just stated, Liberty and Plenty. Is it inappropriate to say we prefer *to be* free and prosperous than *seem to be* so? There have been States that had all the appearance of liberty and prosperity, when in truth having lost the reality of both, they were tottering to their fall.

Indeed, as the learned and accomplished president of one of our State colleges has observed, "The motto has a deep philosophical meaning; one might evolve a whole system of metaphysics from the two basal ideas in it, that of being (*esse*) and that of phenomenality (*videri*) on which two poles the whole of modern theories of knowledge have hung."

It is a little singular that until the act of 1893 the sovereign State of North Carolina had no motto since its declaration of independence. It was one of the very few States which did not have a motto, and the only one of the original thirteen without it. It is very appropriate too that simultaneously with the adoption of the State motto, there was also placed on the State Seal and Coat of Arms, the date of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence—the earliest of all American Declarations—the ever-memorable 20 May, 1775.

It may be noted that up to the time it became a "sovereign and independent State" the Colony or *Province* of North Carolina bore on its great seal *"Quae sera tamen respexit."* This was taken from the first Eclogue of Virgil (line 27) and, referring to the figure of Liberty, meant "Which, tho late, looked upon me"—the full line in Virgil being "Liberty, which tho late looked upon me indolent." No wonder that this was dropped by the new State. Nothing could possibly have

been more inappropriate. Liberty came not to her late, but the *first* of all the American States. And it came not to a people inert or unseeking her rewards. To such, liberty never comes. But she came to North Carolina, to a people energetic, earnest, devoted, seeking her smiles as a lover wooing a beauteous maiden, and in the pursuit tireless, as a sleuth hound seeking its quarry. Here first she came. As Burns said of Summer, on the banks of bonnie Doon, Liberty

> "Here first unfolds her robe,
> And here may she longest tarry."

It may be mentioned, to prevent any misunderstanding as to the scope of the Act of 1893 (now Revisal, sec. 5320) that it does not apply to County Seals. Each county is authorized to adopt its own seal, Revisal, sec. 1318 (24). Many counties now have on their county seals the appropriate phrase, *"Leges Juraque Vindicamus."* Some have adopted the State motto. But this is a matter left to the discretion of the county commissioners in each county.

It might be well to go further and, following the example of many States, adopt a State tree and flower. As appropriate to our State the writer, with diffidence, suggests the adoption of the *White Oak* as emblematic of the sturdy vigor of the manhood of North Carolina and the *Violet* as typical of the beauty, modesty and sweetness of its women.

NOTE BY THE EDITORS.—The bill which was passed in 1893 to adopt our State motto was introduced by Senator Jacob Battle, of Nash, afterwards Judge of the Superior Court. We have before us a letter from him in which he states that the motto was selected by Judge—since Chief Justice—Walter Clark, who also drew the bill and requested him to present it. He adds that the words "20 May, 1775," secured the hearty cooperation of Senator Brevard McDowell, of Mecklenburg, and by their joint efforts the bill passed by the unanimous vote of both houses of the General Assembly and without amendment.

THE WORK DONE BY THE D. R. IN PASQUOTANK COUNTY.

The Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution was organized in Elizabeth City a little over two years ago. Since then the members of the Chapter have been working quietly, and faithfully, studying the Colonial and Revolutionary history of the Albemarle section and locating points of historic interest in this and adjoining counties, with the purpose of some day having their sites marked with suitable tablets.

Pasquotank County is rich in such landmarks. Near Nixonton at Hall's Creek Church, there still stands the stump of an old oak, under whose branches there met on February 6, 1666, 244 years ago, the first law-making assembly ever convened in our State. At this spot the Daughters of the Revolution hope to place a handsome granite tablet, commemorating the event, early in the spring.

Through the efforts of the Chapter the following interesting places have been located, and with the help of the patriotic citizens of Pasquotank County the ladies hope to preserve these landmarks from oblivion.

The first school in the State was in Pasquotank County, near Salem. This school was taught by Mr. C. Griffin in 1705. The first house of worship, a Quaker meeting house, was built in Pasquotank on Symond's Creek in 1706.

The first court held in the State was held under an old tree, which is standing near Flatty Creek. Winslow's farm, called in Colonial days Winfield or Enfield, was the scene of the historic "Culpepper's Rebellion," and in one of the rooms still in good condition, Governor Miller was confined by the brave revolutionists.

On the banks of the Pasquotank at Brick House Point, stood Elmwood, the old Swann home, in which, as our Secretary of State, Hon. Bryan Grimes, stated in his speech

before the State Literary and Historical Association last year, more distinguished men lived than ever occupied one residence in North Carolina. At Elmwood lived and with it were identified two speakers of the Assembly, five Congressmen, one United States Senator, a candidate for Governor, and a President of the University. Farther up the river is another old brick house reported to have been one of the homes of Teach, the pirate. Pasquotank County furnished two regiments to the Revolutionary army and two of its bravest generals, Gen. Isaac Gregory and Gen. Peter Doughe. The former was distinguished by his brave stand at the disastrous battle of Camden and later, at the close of the war, drove the Tories out of the State. Gen. Peter Doughe distinguished himself and did his country noble service at the battle of Great Bridge in Virginia. The graves of these two heroes have been located, as has also been the resting place of John Harvey, "The Father of the Revolution," and over these now unmarked graves the Daughters of the Revolution have determined to place suitable stones.

Through the instrumentality of this patriotic organization a North Carolina History Society of twenty members has been organized among the ladies of the town, and this society has agreed to cooperate with the Chapter in its work of preserving our landmarks. The Chapter has also organized among the children of the Primary, Grammar and High Schools a Carolina Memorial Association, the members of which have agreed to contribute a small sum each year to be used in placing these tablets at suitable spots throughout the county. The Regent of the Chapter hopes to interest the teachers in the county schools in this work also, and to have all the school children in Pasquotank help in this patriotic task. The Chapter numbers only eight members so far, but hopes to add more names to its roll before the close of the year 1909. C. F. S. A.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

ALFRED NIXON.

Alfred Nixon, the author of the "Sketch of Lincoln County, North Carolina, is the son of Robert Nixon and Millie (Womack) Nixon. He was born at his father's farm on the 28th day of May, 1856. He is of Scotch-Irish and German descent; was reared on his father's farm in Lincoln County. His earliest education was acquired in the public schools; attended Rock Spring Seminary and prepared for the University of North Carolina, where he graduated in the class of 1881. After returning to his county he filled many important positions—county surveyor, sheriff, superintendent of public instruction, and at the present writing is clerk of the Superior Court of Lincoln County. Living in an old historic county, a student of history by taste and cultivation, these positions have afforded him extensive opportunities, not only for acquaintance with the people of every part of the county but with its past. The following estimate of Mr. Nixon is given by a prominent judge of his county: "Some time after leaving the University he served as sheriff of his county, to which he was elected several terms, and no doubt could have continued to hold it if he had so desired. He made a most excellent officer, kindly in manner, merciful in disposition, but throughout firm and efficient. He was elected clerk of the Superior Court and has been continued in that office, and has filled this important place most acceptably, showing good judgment, diligence and capacity. As a man and citizen he holds and deserves to hold the esteem and confidence of all of his neighbors and fellow-citizens."

GENEALOGY.

Alfred Nixon, son of Robert Nixon and Millie (Womack) Nixon. Grandson of Robert Nixon and Catherine (Luckey) Nixon. Catherine Luckey was the daughter of Robert Luckey and Dorcas (Armstrong) Luckey. He is the great-grandson of William Nixon and Elizabeth (Black) Nixon. William Nixon came to Lincoln County from Charlotte County, Va., in 1780. His ancestors came from Ireland to New Jersey and from thence to Virginia; descendants of an old English family whose history runs back to the thirteenth century. An early member of which was Sir William Nykson, who was granted a coat of arms in 1416.

Womack: Millie (Womack) Nixon, the mother of Alfred Nixon, was the daughter of Archibald Womack and Sallie (Huger) Womack, who emigrated from near Richmond, Va., and from where he inherited valuable property.

Huger: Sallie (Huger) Womack, the grandmother of Alfred Nixon was the daughter of John Huger and Sallie (Stacey) Huger. The Hugers came to Lincoln County prior to and during the American Revolution; are of Huguenot descent, a noble sect of whom Mr. Winthrop said "has furnished to our land blood every way worthy of being mingled with the best that ever flowed in the veins of either Southern Cavaliers or Northern Puritans."

Nixon, Womack, Luckey, Armstrong and Black came to Lincoln County from Virginia soon after the Revolutionary War, and many of their descendants reside in this and other States.

WALTER CLARK.

Walter Clark, the distinguished Chief Justice of the State, the author of the article on the "Great Seal of North Caro-

lina," was born in Halifax County, North Carolina, on August 19, 1846, and since 1873 has been a resident of Raleigh, N. C. The first of the name Colin Clark came to North Carolina from Fifeshire, Scotland. His son, David Clark, was a prominent man of Halifax County; one of the board of internal improvements, one of the originators and a director of the Roanoke Navigation Company, which was such an important factor in the trade of Roanoke River before the era of railroads. He had a son named for himself, David Clark, who was the father of the subject of this sketch. David Clark, though a man of fine education, entered neither professional nor public life. He was one of the wealthiest planters on the Roanoke, a man of wide reading, and with a great landed interest; he found ample occupation in superintending his estates and among the books in his large private library. During the war between the States he was commissioned by the State of North Carolina as a brigadier-general, and in January, 1862, was assigned to the command of the defenses of Roanoke River. Other important military appointments were assigned him on account of his capabilities, his superior intelligence and his influence over the militiamen of that section. General David Clark married Miss Anna M. Thorne, of Halifax County, who became the mother of the subject of this sketch, and through the Thornes Judge Clark is connected with the well-known families of Hilliard, Davis, Alston and Williams, and through the Thornes is also related to General Warren, the distinguished corps commander of the United States Army. Through the Clarks, Judge Clark is descended from the Blounts, Grays, Norfleets, McKenzies and other prominent families of northeastern North Carolina, and the Bryans of Southampton, Va.; the same family as that from whom William Jennings Bryan is descended.

Through the Williams Judge Clark is descended from Gilbert Johnston, a brother of Governor Gabriel Johnston.

At an early age Walter Clark became a student, first, under Prof. Ralph H. Graves, in Granville County, and in 1860 at Colonel Tew's Military Academy near Hillsboro, N. C. In the spring of 1861, before he not yet fifteen years of age, being proficient in the drill, he was among the cadets of that institution who, on recommendation of its officers, were appointed by the governor to drill the troops assembled at Camp Ellis near Raleigh. Upon the organization of the Twenty-second North Carolina Regiment in July, he was assigned to duty as drill-master for that regiment, commanded by Col. J. Johnston Pettigrew, and proceeded with it to Virginia. He continued to act in that capacity in its camp at Evansport, on the Potomac, until November, when he returned to Camp Mangum, at Raleigh, where the Thirty-fifth North Carolina was being organized. In February, 1862, resigning, he returned to the military academy and resumed his studies. On August 1, 1862, he was appointed, upon the solicitation of its officers, who had known him at the camp of instruction, first lieutenant and adjutant of the Thirty-fifth North Carolina, of which Matthew W. Ransom had then become the colonel, and joining his regiment he participated in the first Maryland and Fredericksburg campaigns, and was wounded at Sharpsburg (Antietam). In the latter battle his brigade held Marye's Heights and drove back, among others, Meagher's Irish brigade.

Being then just sixteen years of age and rather small, in spite of this he performed his duties with great acceptability, and became a general favorite, enjoying the esteem and respect of both officers and men. He behaved in the battle of Fredericksburg with coolness and distinguished intrepidity.

In February, 1863, the regiment having returned to North Carolina to recruit, there seeming to be no early prospect of

further active service, Adjutant Clark resigned with the purpose of completing his education, and entered as a student at Chapel Hill, where he graduated with first distinction on June 2, 1864. The day after he graduated he was elected major of the Sixth Battalion of Junior Reserves, then organized for active service by Lieutenant-General Holmes, and under his command the battalion did service at Goldsboro, Weldon and at Gaston, protecting the railroad bridge from a threatened cavalry raid.

On July 4th his battalion and the First were consolidated into a regiment that became the Seventieth North Carolina Regiment of State troops, and in the election of officers Major Clark was elected lieutenant-colonel.

Lieutenant-Colonel Clark was then seventeen years of age, and the youngest officer of his rank in either army. At the request of his colonel later he relinquished this position temporarily (which eventually failed of its purpose) and he was elected major, in which position he contined to serve during the remainder of the war. In October this regiment was ordered to Boykin's Depot, Va., and to the defense of Plymouth, and to Hamilton to guard the approaches to Martin, Edgecombe and Pitt counties whence large supplies were drawn for the support of Lee's army.

Early in November he with four companies were dispatched to Williamston where Major Clark took command of the post, embracing cavalry and infantry as well as artillery. For one so young this was an important command, but Major Clark bore himself so well as to justify the confidence reposed in him at that time. Captain Moore, speaking of him at that time, says, "he had the bearing and command of a born soldier and displayed the executive talent which he has since shown."

On Dec. 25, 1864, the regiment was at the repulse of the

gunboats at Poplar Point and in other minor encounters. About the middle of Feb., 1865, it was ordered to Kinston, N. C., where it engaged in battle on March 8th and from thence to Smithfield, N. C., to join General Johnston, and from thence to Bentonsville where it engaged the advance corps of Sherman's army, which was held in check three days—the 19th, 20th and 21st of March—during which time the skirmish line of Major Clark gallantly held its position the entire period. No brigade made a finer appearance on that field than the Junior Reserves, and it bore itself with such bravery as to win the highest encomiums from General Hoke and all the veterans on that field of battle.

While Sherman was resting at Goldsboro, General Johnston remained at Smithfield, but on April 10th began to retire before Sherman's advancing army. On the 12th the Seventieth Regiment passed through Raleigh and then to High Point in Randolph County where, on the afternoon of May 2d, Major Clark, with his associates in arms, were paroled; and then they dispersed to their respective homes.

As soon as order was restored, Major Clark, who had studied law under Judge William H. Battle, while a student at the University, became a student in a law office in Wall street, New York. Later, completing his course at the Columbian Law School in Washington, D. C., he obtained license to practice in January, 1867. He located at Scotland Neck, but subsequently removed to Halifax, where he entered into partnership with Hon. J. M. Mullen, and soon established a lucrative business. He removed to Raleigh in 1873, where larger opportunities would be opened to him professionally, and became one of the leading influences in the Democratic party.

In April, 1885, was appointed by Governor Scales judge of the Superior Court for the metropolitan district and was elected by the people to succeed himself the next year.

In November, 1889, he was transferred to the Supreme Court bench and subsequently elected to that position in 1890. In 1896, while still on the Supreme Court bench, he was virtually tendered the nomination of governor, but did not accept it, preferring at that time to remain on the bench.

In 1896 his name was presented by the North Carolina delegation to the National Democratic Convention for the vice-presidency. In 1902 he was nominated for the office of chief justice and was elected to that position. His opinions to date appear in forty-eight volumes of North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, beginning with 104 N. C.

Judge Clark is an indefatigable worker, and his contributions to literature have been numerous and notable. Besides the preparation of his judicial opinions he has annotated and edited one hundred and fifteen volumes North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, He is the author of numerous other works of national importance. Many of his articles are of historical character, relating to espisodes in North Carolina history; his chief work in this line has been the preparation of the "State Records," a continuation of the valuable publication begun by Col. Wm. L. Saunders, the "Colonial Records," running through sixteen quarto volumes, which entailed on him vast labor and is of the highest historical value. Another great work of still higher interest is that known as the "Regimental Histories" embraced in five volumes, in which is preserved the record of each North Carolina regiment, battalion and division during the war between the States. To Judge Clark is due the conception as well as the compilation of this memorial of the courage and patriotic service of the soldiers of North Carolina in that great war. The method employed in executing the design is admirable, recording the story of each organization, while the articles prepared by some competent member of each regiment are themselves of unusual merit. In accomplishing the pub-

lication of these two great works of the State, Judge Clark has rendered a most important service to the State and to posterity. Both of these works have been executed by him as a labor of love without any pecuniary compensation whatever.

During his whole career he has been astute to place the State on a high plane and promote such action as would redound to the credit of North Carolina. Indeed there has been no man of more versatile gifts and unremitting labor than Judge Clark, nor has any other of North Carolina's sons done more to preserve the memorials of her people and to perpetuate a remembrance of the glorious deeds that have "adorned them by his learning, virtues and character."

In all the positions which have been tendered him he has adorned them by his learning, virtues and character.

On January 28, 1874, he had the good fortune to marry Miss Susan Washington Graham, the only daughter of Hon. William A. Graham, of Hillsboro, N. C., and they have reared a most interesting family of five sons and two daughters. His family is as follows: Mrs. J. Ernest Erwin, of Morganton; Capt. David Clark, of Charlotte; W. A. Graham Clark, special agent of the Department of Commerce and Labor of the United States government; Walter Clark, Jr., City Attorney of Raleigh; John W. Clark, of Concord; Thorne M. Clark, of Halifax County, and Eugenea G. Clark.

To the North Carolina Booklet Judge Clark has been an unfailing friend, not only by his contributed articles of historic value but by his continued interest in this work undertaken by the "North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution." He contributed an article on the "Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War" in No. 3 of Vol. II. "Colony of Transylvania," No. 9, of Vol. III. "Expedition to Cartagena in 1740," No. 6, Vol. IV, and the "History of State Seal," in this number, Vol. IX, No. 3, Jan., 1910.

The writer is indebted to Capt. Samuel A. Ashe for the facts of the above sketch, taken from his article on Judge Clark in Vol. VII of the "Biographical History of North Carolina" (1908). There is no doubt of the authenticity of these facts since they were obtained from Captain Samuel A'Court Ashe, a "citizen" of commanding individuality and one of the best equipped editors and historians of the South in the last thirty-five years.

WILLS FROM THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, RALEIGH, N. C.

Will of John Clark, of Perquimans. Wife Anne, sons John and Thomas; in case of their death property to go to Simos and Thomas Trumbell. Sarah Trumbell. Sept. 6th, 1716; Nov. 14, 1717.

Richard Evans, of Perquimans; Sept. 7th, 1692; Oct. 2, 1693. Wife Elizabeth, four children, Jonathan, Richard, Rebecca and Ann Evans. Wife and Alexander Lillington, Exrs.

Will of John Fendall, of Perquimans; Dec. 17, 1695, April 8th, 1696. Brother Robert Fendall, wife Elizabeth, father-in-law Alex. Lillington.

Robert Fendall. Nov. 30, 1711; Isaac Wilson; Thomas Levy Exor.

George Fort, May 15, 1719; prob. October 20, 1719. Son Elias Fort, son George Fort, sons John and Samuel Fort; daughter Phillis Fibath, daughter Catherine Fort. Wife Elizabeth; Elias Fort Exr.

John Fort, August 6, 1745; March Court, 1745-6. Sons John and Moses, daughter Ternshaw's son, Denby, Arthur Fort.

John Gorbe, 17th, 6th mo., 1693. Wife, son John, daughter Sarah; cousins Samuel and Joseph Nicholson Exrs. Test. Rich'd. Dorman.

Adam Gambell, of Glasgow, Scotland. Nov. 14th, 1694. John Land living in London; Adam Hill in London; John Argy in France; Robert, Thomas and John West, sons-in-law of Thomas Pollock; John Hunt, brother James Gambell of Glasgow. Thomas Pollock and John Hunt Exrs. Test. Henel Gregory, Elizabeth Hunt, W. Lynch.

Will of Joshua Grainger of Wilmington, June 1741; wife Elizabeth, daughter Ann, son Joshua, grandson Wilmington, son of Joshua; son Caleb.

Caleb Grainger, New Hanover; October 5, 1765, (main body of will dated 1763), probated October 31st, 1765. Wife Mary, daughter Mary Grainger, son Caleb, son Cornelius Harnett Grainger, son William, child *in esse,* Maurice Moore, Cornelius Harnett, Samuel Ashe, Alexander Duncan, Exrs. Test. Mary Granger, Margaret Douglass, Edward Trogerin, Samuel Gidden, Anthony Ward, Joseph Stockley.

John Hill, of Bath; March 27, 1731. Sons Joshua and John; friend Thomas Tison, my children. Wife and Edward Peads Exrs. Test. Thomas Tison, Harmon Hill, William Nicholls.

John Hill, Northampton, June 15, 1747. Sons Nathaniel, Daniel Lewis and Peter. Sons Nathaniel and Daniel Exrs. Test. William Floaryday, Hosea Tapsley.

William Hill, Chowan, 10th, 1st mo., 1750-51. Grandson Aaron, son of Moses Hill; my father-in-law, Thomas Spivey; son Moses, grandson Robert Hill, son of Aaron, daughter Rachel Hill, son William, daughter Sarah Barrow, wife of Joseph; wife Mary, daughter Mary Nicholson, daugh-

ters Susannah White, Leah Moore, and Ruth Davis. Son Aaron and son-in-law Thomas Nicholson Exrs. Test. James Griffin, Jethro Rabey, Ann Peters.

Harman Hill, Beaufort, Dec. 4, 1752; Mch. Court, 1755. Wife Sarah, son Harman, daughter Elizabeth Hancock, her children James and William; Sarah Rice, daughter Ann Slade, her husband Joseph Slade, daughters Mary Smit and Rachel Hill. Wife, Joseph Slade and John Barrow Exrs. Test. Edmund Pierce, Griffith Howell, Joshua Pierce.

(Signed) Mrs. Helen deB. Wills.

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INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

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The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

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"Governor Thomas Burke," J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Ph.D.

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"The North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution and its Objects."

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January, No. 3.

"State Library Building and Department of Archives and Records," Mr. R. D. W. Connor.

"The Battle of Rockfish Creek, 1781," Mr. James Owen Carr.

"Governor Jesse Franklin," Prof. J. T. Alderman.

"North Carolina's Historical Exhibit at Jamestown," Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton.

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April, No. 4.

"Lock's Fundamental Constitution," Mr. Junius Davis.

"The White Pictures," Mr. W. J. Peele.

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Biographical Sketches: Richard Benbury Creecy, the D. R. Society and Its Objects, Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

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Vol. VII. (Quarterly.)

July, No. 1.

"North Carolina in the French and Indian War," Col. A. M. Waddell.

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Abstracts of Wills. Mrs. Helen DeB. Wills.

October, No. 2.

"Ode to North Carolina," Miss Pattie Williams Gee.

"The Finances of the North Carolina Colonists," Dr. Charles Lee Raper.

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"A Sermon by Rev. George Micklejohn," edited by Mr. R. D. W. Connor.

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January, No. 3.

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"Mr. Craven's Rejoinder."

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"Patriotic Objects."

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GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET.

Vol. IX APRIL, 1910 No 4

DER NORTH CAROLINA LAND UND COLONIE ETABLISSEMENT.

BY ADELAIDE L. FRIES.

How could the Moravian Church, small in numbers, and at a time of great financial stress, purchase 98,985 acres of land in North Carolina, and successfully colonize and develop it?

American historians of the present day are searching European archives for information concerning more or less obscure events in American history, and it was natural to expect that the collection of papers in Herrnhut, Germany, would contain much of interest relating to the Moravian settlement in North Carolina, since Herrnhut was the center from which Moravian activity in the Eighteenth Century radiated. A visit of some weeks last summer enabled the writer to spend many an hour in the little Arbeit Zimmer, set apart for the convenience of those making researches in the Herrnhut "Archiv Haus," and the following sketch presents such part of the information gained as relates to the "Etablissement."

Perhaps the simplest way to begin is with Jonas Paulus Weiss's account of the circumstances surrounding Der North Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement—that is, "The North Carolina Land and Colony Enterprise" (commonly called Wachovia),—in the days when the purchase and development of the property were made possible by the formation of the "North Carolina Societaet," or Society. Weiss was a merchant of Nuremberg, who had joined the Moravian Brethren,

had contributed most generously to their various undertakings, and at this time was one of their financial leaders. He was the man of all others to whom the success of the North Carolina Societaet was due, and the account of it which he wrote in the spring of 1758 is full of interest.

On March 25, 1752, Count Zinzendorf signed a contract with Earl Granville, in which, as "Lord Advocate, Chancellor and Agent of the Unitas Fratrum," he agreed to purchase from Granville 100,000 acres of land in North Carolina, "in behalf of the Unitas Fratrum." The land was to be selected by Zinzendorf's agents in that section of the State which had been retained by Earl Granville when the seven other "Lords Proprietors" sold their shares to the Crown in 1744; and in the fall of 1752, August Gottlieb Spangenberg and several companions, including one of Granville's surveyors, made a long and at times dangerous tour of Northern Carolina, seeking land suited to the Moravian purpose. Ten tracts here and there were selected and plotted, and at last the party reached "Gargales Creek," where they first surveyed fourteen tracts, which, with the ten already chosen, would make up the desired 100,000 acres, and then surveyed five more, adjoining the fourteen, so that if it proved desirable, the Brethren could have all their purchase in one block. With the maps and all the information he had gathered, Spangenberg returned to England and made full report to Zinzendorf and other leading Brethren there. It was, however, a time of great financial stress in the German and English Moravian Church, and it appeared simply impossible to raise the money for the purchase, and for necessary expenses in developing the land. Moreover, the pieces of good land lay widely scattered, and it was estimated that the large tract was "one-third poor land." The Brethren, therefore, decided to abandon the project, and asked Granville to release them from the contract. Granville refused, but made the conditions easier, and a new contract was prepared, and signed by the

Earl, and James Hutton, "Secretary of the Unitas Fratrum," in the presence of Arthur Dobbs, next Governor of North Carolina, and of Benjamin Wheatley. It was decided that the Brethren should take the contiguous tracts of land (Nos. I to XIX on accompanying map), as it was thought best to have the property all together, even if some of it was not fertile. On account of the expense of having nineteen deeds prepared, the Brethren suggested that it be all included in one deed, but their attorney advised against this, for if at any time they failed in their payment of quitrents, and Lord Granville was forced to take back part of the land, it could be more easily arranged if there were a number of smaller tracts, of which some could be surrendered without disturbing the rest. To-day this seems a useless precaution, but it looked otherwise to men who were facing a financial crisis in their affairs, and now in addition must arrange to pay £193 Sterling for having the deeds prepared, £223 more for expenses of the survey, £500 purchase-money, and £148:9:2½ annual quitrent, plus all that might be needed for establishing a settlement on the frontier of civilization.

Several plans were suggested for raising the necessary funds, and that proposed by Weiss was adopted. It was neither more nor less than a land company, in which each shareholder was to pay a definite proportion of these initial expenses and the annual quitrent, and was to receive 2,000 acres of land in the "Etablissement" in return. A temporary loan was obtained from a Swiss gentleman, Rudolph Oehs by name, to cover immediate needs, and then plans for the land company were energetically pushed. Spangenberg and Cornelius van Laer were elected directors of the Society, the former as corresponding secretary and the latter as treasurer. Formal instructions were drawn up, and full powers of attorney for both were signed in London, December 18, 1753, by Count Zinzendorf, Count Henry 28th Reuss, James

Hutton, and Weiss. Spangenberg wished to have Weiss also as a director, but he declined "for good reasons, and because he could serve the cause and the shareholders better" in other ways. An office was opened in Zeist, Holland, with Weiss in charge, and members and friends of the Unitas Fratrum were asked to subscribe.

The first response came from Johann Christoph Sack, of Koenigsberg, who, with hearty approval of the plans, took the first share, and sent his £68. Others followed, until twenty-six shares had been sold, and by the end of 1757 the purchase-price and other initial expenses had all been paid, and certain sums advanced by the Unity or borrowed in 1754 had been covered by gifts from generous members of the Unity.

As each share was taken two papers were issued—a "Contract" and a "Certificate." The wording was not always identical, but so similar that a translation of No. 1 of each will serve to represent all.

CONTRACT No. 1.

"I, the undersigned, request that a lot of 2,000 acres may be granted to me in the settlement which the Unity of Brethren has undertaken in North Carolina. I promise to pay my yearly contingent thereto. I will moreover comply with any regulations which may at any time be made regarding it. To this end I have hereunto set my hand and seal, and have also sent ____ Sterling to be entered to my credit. Koenigsberg, Nov. 13, 1753.

"JOHANN CHRISTOPH SACK."

CERTIFICATE No. 1.

"Herr Johann Christoph Sack, in Koenigsberg. Whereas, he, in due form, has taken a share of one lot in the Brethren's settlement in North Carolina in America, and has paid his promised quota—

For purchase-money	£18:
For the expenses of selecting and surveying the tracts, and preparing the general deeds	15:
For first expenses in developing	30:
For quitrent for the first year to Michaelmas, 1754	5:

a total of Sixty-eight Pounds Sterling, to Herr Cornelius van Laer in Amsterdam, authorized agent of the Society; therefore, to him above mentioned, in consideration of this and future regular payments, in order that he may be entitled to one lot of Two Thousand Acres belonging to the Brethren in North Carolina, this Certificate is issued and delivered in the name of the Society.

London and Amsterdam,

J. Spangenberg,* mpp. Kornelis van Laer."

Registered Book A, page 13.

Jonas Paulus Weiss.

In 1755 each shareholder's proportion of expense for development was £30; in 1756, £25; in 1757, £25. In addition, there was an annual payment of £5 toward the quitrent for Lord Granville, but as this was more than the actual amount due from each 2,000 acres, it was, in 1765, reduced to £3 per annum for each lot.

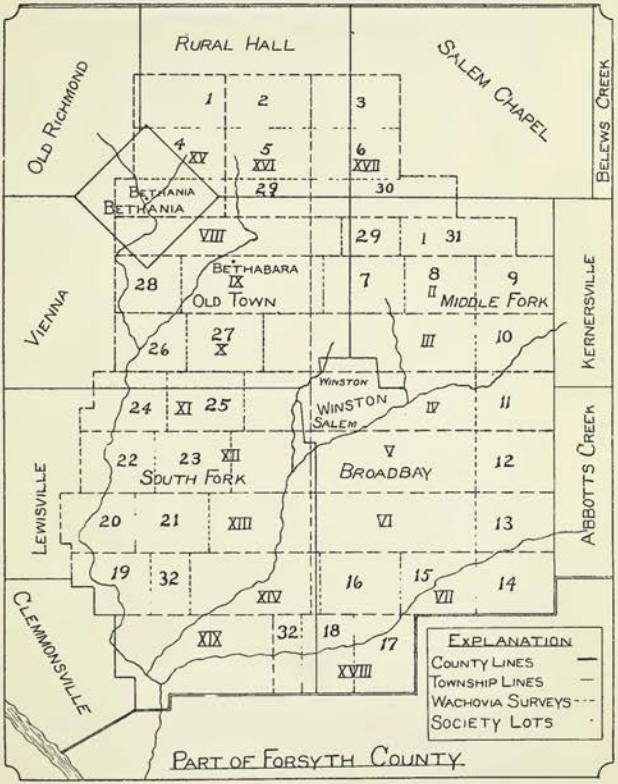
Strangely enough, almost all the contracts and certificates issued by the Society are preserved in the Herrnhut Archives, and after the lapse of more than a century it is possible to compile a complete list of the original shareholders, to note their places of residence, and the order in which they subscribed:

1. 1753. Johann Christoph Sack, Koenigsberg, Germany.

*August Gottlieb Spangenberg frequently used the name "Joseph"—why, is uncertain.

2. 1753. Reinhold Gerhard Georgi, Koenigsberg, Germany.
*3/1. 1754. Georg Gottfried Gambs, Strassburg, France.
3/2. 1754. Johann Leonard Roederer, Strassburg. France.
4. 1754. Hans Ernst von Zezschwiz, Herrnhut, Saxony.
5. 1754. Johann Steinhauer, Riga, Russia.
6/1. 1754. Traugott Bagge, Gottenberg, Sweden.
6/2. 1754. Benjamin Bagge, Gottenberg, Sweden.
7. 1754. Cornelius van Laer, Zeist, Holland.
8. 1754. Abraham Duerninger & Co., Herrnhut, Saxony.
9. 1754. Johanna Sophia von Schweinitz, Herrnhut, Saxony.
10. 1754. Johann Caspar Rosenbaum, Dantzig, Prussia.
11. 1754. Heinrich Giller, Herrnhut, Saxony.
12. 1754. Madtz Jensen Klein, Drammen, Norway.
13. 1754. Johann Steinhauer, Riga, Russia.
14. 1754. C. F. Martens (for Single Brethren's Diaconies), Herrnhut, Saxony.
15. 1754. Johann Hartmann, Hirschberg, Silesia.
16. 1754. Jean Jacque de Schwarz, Coire, Switzerland.
17. 1754. Christian Schmidt, Stettin, Prussia.
18. 1754. Jean Henri de Planta de Wildenberg, Coire, Switzerland.
19/1. 1754. Michael Zellich, Riga, Russia.
19/2. 1754. Johannes Andreas Schmutz, Strassburg, France.
20. 1754. Friedrich von Wiedebach, Herrnhut, Saxony.
21. 1754. Gottfried Clemens, Barby, Saxony.
22. 1754. Johann Christoph Sack, Koenigsberg, Germany.
23. 1754. Johann Erhardt Dehio, Herrnhut, Saxony.

*1,000 acres—½ lot.


RURAL HALL
SALEM CHAPEL
OLD RICHMOND
BELEWS CREEK
VIENNA
KERNERSVILLE
LEWISVILLE
ABBOTTS CREEK
CLEMMONSVILLE
BETHANIA
BETHANIA
BETHABARA
OLD TOWN
MIDDLE FORK
WINSTON
SALEM
SOUTH FORK
BROADBAY
1
2
3
4
XV
5
XVI
6
XVII
29
30
VIII
29
1
31
28
IX
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XII
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32
XIV
16
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VII
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XIX
32
18
17
XVIII
EXPLANATION
COUNTY LINES
TOWNSHIP LINES
WACHOVIA SURVEYS
SOCIETY LOTS
PART OF FORSYTH COUNTY

24. 1754. Friedrich Justin von Bruiningk, Livonia, Russia.
25/1. 1754. Hans Hermann von Damnitz, Guettau, Saxony.
25/2. 1755. Johann Gustav Frey, Errestfer, Russia.
26. 1759. Fredrich Heinrich von Bibra, Modlau, Silesia.

A map of Der North Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement, dated 1754, shows the Wachovia Tract as divided into "Societaets Land" and "Unitaets Land." The former consists of thirty-two long, narrow lots, running east and west, arranged in three sections, six across the north end of the tract, fifteen on the east side, and eleven on the west. A strip across the south, up the middle, and out to the west border was reserved for the Unity, and included the sites of Bethabara ("Old Town"), Bethania, and Salem. That this Unity land was reserved with a definite purpose appears from a letter written by Peter Boehler in March, 1752, before Spangenberg started on his surveying tour: "In picking out a 100,000 acres of land they should lay it out four square; * * * in the center also, the town or Ort Gemein could be built. And so the inhabitants of the farthest limits of that land would not be above two hours' moderate walk, and one hour's moderate ride from the Ort Gemein." For the time being it was considered that each certificate carried with it the lot bearing the corresponding number, though an actual award of the lots was not made until 1767, as will appear later.

Cornelius van Laer resigned his office as director of the Society in the fall of 1763, his formal release bearing date of October 3d; and Spangenberg, who had many other duties and responsibilities, felt that he could not properly attend to the matter alone, so tendered his resignation also as director. This caused a thorough discussion of Wachovia af-

fairs in the Directorial Conference, a board created by the Synod of 1756 to care for the temporal affairs of the entire Unitas Fratrum. It was decided, July, 1763, to drop the organization of the North Carolina Societaet, as such, and to let the management of the North Carolina settlement revert to the Directorial Conference. Jonas Paulus Weiss, who was a member of the Conference, was put in full charge of the office, being already familiar with its details through his service as bookkeeper. Weiss was directed to notify the shareholders of this change, and to inform them that Frederick William von Marshall had been appointed agent for the Unity in North Carolina, and that on arrival there he would look into the question of the proper plotting of the Society lots, with the intention of their being soon transferred into the possession of the shareholders. The map of 1754 had been pronounced unsatisfactory, on account of the odd shape of the lots, already described; a newer map, 1759, showed the lots more or less square, and seemed far better. After further deliberation it was noticed that the lines of the lots did not coincide with those of the nineteen surveys, and in view of the ever-present danger that failure to pay quitrents might work the forfeiture of part of the land, it was deemed wise to have another map drawn, with due attention to this point. This third map bears date of February 19, 1765, and was like the one finally accepted, except that there were only twenty-two lots, the numbering was different, and there were no lots on the west, but three additional ones on the east, which were later dropped to give more free ground for the central town, Salem, the site for which had been selected just five days before this map was drawn. The Conference minutes of 1765 state that the value of land in North Carolina at that time was £10 to £15 Proclamation money, or £5 to £7:10 Sterling per 100 acres; that is, from 25 cents to 37½ cents per acre. Further, that it was very difficult to lease or rent land, for industrious men wished to own their

farms, and had no trouble in getting them, and those who were content to rent were apt to be poor pay. In this year, also, it was decided to put the owners of the Societaet lots into actual possession, but the distribution was postponed until Marshall, who was then in America, could come to Europe and give them the benefit of his personal observations there. The Unity did not wish to run any risk of the lot owners letting their property pass into strange and possibly unfriendly hands, so it was resolved that in case any man wished to sell, the Unity should have the refusal of the lot, at such price as the owner might be able to secure from others.

By this time various changes had occurred in the ownership of the shares. Six had been given up entirely, for various reasons; Gambs (3/1) had died in 1756, and, according to his previously expressed desire, his share was returned to the Unity. This share was reissued to Peter Drews and Johann Nuescke, of Stettin, in 1758, but the latter died, and the former found it difficult to keep up the payments, so in 1763 it was for a second time returned. Zezschwiz (4) gave up his because of the death of the son for whose benefit he had subscribed. Van Laer seems to have dropped his lot (7) because his son was not interested. Rosenbaum (9) returned his in 1755, but after his death Johann Heinrich Koeber took it up again for the benefit of the family. Clemens (21) sold half to Johann Leonard Weinel, Herrnhut, but both found the payments too heavy, and surrendered the shares. Damnitz (25/1) became dissatisfied, and gave up his. Only in the last-named case was there any claim for the money already paid in, which had ranged from £21 to £193. Sack (1 and 22) arranged with the Conference that his lots should be held for the benefit of Mrs. Schiffert and her children, the shares thereafter being entered as "Sack and Schiffert." Georgi's share (2) had passed by will to his two sons-in-law, Bujak and Hojer. The former had died, but his widow

and son inherited his half. Zellich's lot (19/1) had passed to his widow, and Schwarz's (16) to his partner, Conradin von Perini. Mrs. von Schweinitz had also died, and one-half of her share (10) was held by her heirs, and one-quarter each by Rennekampf and Walther. Dehio (23) had sold one-half to George Kandler in 1761. Giller (11) had presented his share to Nathaniel and Anna Johanna Seidel, who had given it to the congregation of Bethlehem, Pa., which had sold it to John Leinbach, who took possession of his lot, built a house, and moved into it, June 27, 1765. In February, 1767, Benjamin Bagge and his wife transferred their half share (6/2) to Traugott Bagge, who was going to Salem to live.

At last, on June 30, 1767, the actual distribution of the lots took place, and July 17th, a circular letter was sent out to the shareholders. It explains that the somewhat lengthy delay had been caused by war, and by the death of Count Zinzendorf, and other circumstances affecting the Unity. Hearty thanks are expressed to the "Interessenten" for their aid in promoting this good work, and for their patience through all difficulties and delays. The establishment of the central town, Salem, and the erection of the first houses there, is noted with pleasure. The map of the Societaet lots (see cut, Nos. 1 to 32,) is explained in detail, and also the method by which the lots had been apportioned, so that no question of partiality could be raised. The annual quitrent for 2,000 acres is fixed at £3; and option reserved to the Unity, in case any lot owners wish to sell. The advantage of going in person to settle the lots, or inducing others to go, is set forth; but if any can not do this, the services of Frederick William von Marshall—who is about to return to America and settle in Wachovia as the representative of the Unity—are offered, and it is suggested that owners write direct to him, authorizing him to sell or rent their land as occasion may offer. The circular is dated from Herrnhut,

and signed by the Unitaets Vorsteher Collegium" (Board of Wardens), which had succeeded the Directorial Conference in the management of the Unity's financial affairs.

Marshall returned to Wachovia in 1769, and many of the lot owners authorized him to sell their land on the most favorable terms he could secure. At first this was no easy matter. From letters he sent home to the "Collegium" it appears that there was no great demand for land, and that prices were low. Nor could he do anything toward pushing one or another lot whose owners were pressing for sale, for newcomers wished to be near friends and acquaintances, or near a mill, or a schoolhouse, and he must of necessity sell what and where they wished to buy. Gradually the growth of population produced increased demand and increased value of land, and whereas £20, North Carolina currency, per 100 acres was deemed high in 1768, he was able to secure £32, North Carolina currency, per 100 acres in 1772. In the Salem archives there is a small, brown, leather-covered memorandum book, in which Marshall noted various things which he wished to have convenient for reference. There are plots of small tracts bought and sold; items concerning the water supply in Salem; the wages paid surveyors, etc., etc.; but especially pertinent to this sketch is the rate of exchange between the various kinds of currency then in use. This varied from time to time, but in 1772

£—: 15:1 Sterling = £1:6:9 Proclamation, or,
£11:5:6½ Sterling = £20:—:— Proclamation.

An elaborate table of comparative values is not dated, but other entries show that it was written in 1774. By that time Proclamation money, or North Carolina currency, had fallen off a little:

50 hard dollars or pieces of eight =
£18:15:—Pennsylvania currency =
£20:—:— North Carolina currency =
£11:5:— Sterling.

According to this table, the price of land had increased from $50 to $80 per hundred acres, in four years.

As opportunity offered, Marshall sold land belonging to the Unity or to the Societaet; while in Germany the U. V. C. bought lots from those Societaet members who did not care to hold for Marshall's disposal to actual settlers. As the books of the Societaet are not at hand, it is not always possible to tell whether land was sold *through* the Unity or *to* the Unity, but the following list gives the names of those who received lots in the distribution of 1767, the number of the corresponding stock certificates, and as accurate a statement of the final disposition of the lots as it has been possible to procure. For the sake of convenience the price, where known, is given in dollars. Not all the lots plotted were required for distribution, and numbers not assigned are here omitted.

Lot No.	Certificate Number.	Name.	
1	11	John Leinbach	Deeded to five of his sons, four parts in 1770, one in 1771.
2	26	Baron F. H. von Bibra	Purchased by "Unitaets-Vorsteher-Collegium."
3	6	Traugott Bagge	Deeded to Bagge in 1770.
5	18	Jean Henri Planta de Wildenberg.	Purchased by U. V. C. 1774, for $1022.22.
6	2	Mrs. Bujak and Son; Daniel Heinrich Hojer	The latter transferred his half interest to Mrs. Schiffert in May 1768. Entire lot sold to U. V. C. 1772, for $900.00.
8	16	Conradin von Perini	Sold to Jac. Ulr. Albertini, and by him to U. V. C. 1774, for $773.32.
9	1	Sack and Schiffert	Sold to U. V. C. 1772, for $900.00.
10	9	Von Schweinitz heirs ½; Mrs. Rennekampf, ¼; Walther ¼	Purchased by U. V. C.
12	13	Johann Steinhauer	Passed by will to his son Daniel. 411¼ acres sold to Frederick Miller, 1774; balance to Magdalene Rigelmann, of Riga, 1788. She sold to the U. V. C., 1789, for $1125.
13	15	Johann Hartmann	Given to the U. V. C. in 1768. In 1769 sold by Marshall for the Broadbay settlement.
14	20	Friedrich von Wiedebach	Passed to heirs. Sold to U. V. C. 1774.
15	5	Johann Steinhauer	More than half sold for his heirs. Remainder purchased by U. V. C., in 1789.
16	3½ 25½	Johann Roederer—½ John Gustav Frey, ½	Roederer sold his half interest to U. V. C. in 1773, for $430.92. Frey's half also bought by Unity.
18	17	Christian Schmidt	Passed to his heirs. Sold for them by Marshall, 1772, for $1600.00.
21	19½ 19½	Zellich's widow—½ Johann A. Schmutz ½	Both sold to U. V. C., the latter in 1773.
22	8	Abraham Duerninger & Co.	Sold to Traugott Bagge, Sept., 1774.
23	12	M. J. Klein	Purchased by U. V. C.
25	14	C. F. Martens (for single Brethren's Diaconies)	Part sold on their account; balance bought by U. V. C. in 1812.
26	22	Sack and Schiffert	Sold to U. V. C. 1772, for $900.00.
27	24	F. J. von Bruinmgk	Purchased by U. V. C.
30	23	Johann E. Dehio ½ George Kandler½	Purchased by U. V. C.

It will be noted that Traugott Bagge was the only one of the original shareholders who took a deed to his lot, and himself conducted its sale. Having settled permanently in Salem, he became one of the leading citizens of that central town, and the competency which he gradually gained was doubtless founded on the 2,000-acre lot which he took in the Society, and the additional 2,000 acres he bought from Abraham Duerninger. John Leinbach was the only man in the 1767 list who built a house on his lot and actually settled there.

Marshall's memorandum book states that the money ex-

pended by each Societaet lot owner to Michaelmas, 1772, amounted to £244 Sterling—$1,085.50. It is, therefore, evident that few if any of the lot owners received the equivalent of the sum invested, and had the Societaet been organized as a speculative scheme the shareholders would have had good cause to feel disappointed. It is quite certain, however, that most of the men and women interested cared more for the cause than for their pocketbooks. And "Der North Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement" was unquestionably a success. Made possible by the generous subscriptions of these friends, borne loyally on their shoulders through the early difficult years, liberally endowed with the lands which they allowed to slip back into its hands as it was able to receive them, the enterprise, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, was becoming so prosperous as to awaken the jealousy of less successful neighbors.

Marshall was called to Europe in 1775 to attend a General Synod of the Moravian Church, and the war which broke out between England and the Colonies prevented his return for four years. Of the trials and difficulties of those years for the Moravian settlers in Wachovia no mention need here be made. Under all circumstances they were wonderfully preserved, and they emerged from those trying times but little the worse for their experiences. The most serious danger came at the close of the war, when, under the Confiscation Act, many claimed that the Moravian title to Wachovia had been forfeited because it was vested in James Hutton, an Englishman, and therefore an alien. By order of U. V. C., Hutton transferred his title, by deed of lease and release, to Marshall, October 28, 1778, but the validity of the transfer was questioned on account of the date, although Marshall had become a naturalized citizen of North Carolina during his residence in Salem.

Marshall returned to Wachovia in the fall of 1779, and

the matter was brought before the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1782. There it was argued that Hutton held title only "in trust for the Unitas Fratrum," that title had been transferred to Marshall subject to the same trust, and that peaceful Moravians who had been living in Wachovia since before the war ought to be protected in their property rights. To this view the General Assembly agreed, and an act was passed, bearing date of April 13th, which confirmed to Marshall the title to Wachovia and certain other lands in North Carolina "in trust as aforesaid."

The custom of vesting title in an individual for the benefit of the Church continued for many years, as the Church was not an incorporated body. Each "proprietor" was required to make a will, whereby at his death the estate would pass to another Moravian, selected by the U. V. C. Sometimes the estates were transferred by deed, when the ruling Board thought the best interests of Wachovia required it. There were eight Proprietors of Wachovia between August 7, 1753, and December 1, 1877: James Hutton, London; Frederick William von Marshall, Salem; Christian Lewis Benzien, Salem; John Gebhard Cunow, Bethlehem; Lewis David von Schweinitz, Bethlehem; William Henry Van Vleck, New York City; Charles F. Kluge, Salem; Emil A. de Schweinitz, Salem. On December 1, 1877, the last named deeded to "The Board of Provincial Elders of the Southern Province of the Moravian Church," all the property remaining unsold in his hands, this Board having been incorporated, and therefore being able to take over the title, the land having been bought by the Southern Province from the Unity at large. To-day scarcely fifty acres of all the tract remains unsold.

And how great the change in one hundred and fifty-seven years! From the "Etablissement" with its Unitaet and Societaet lots, its few scattered settlers and three small villages,

to Forsyth County, with its townships, the bustling Twin City of Winston-Salem, the railways, macadam roads, thriving villages, well-tilled farms, and comfortable country homes. Surely the fathers planned more wisely than they knew, for the old "Etablissement" has become one of the centers of prosperity in the Old North State.

GEORGE DURANT.

BY CAPTAIN S. A. ASHE.

The events of the distant past in the forests of Virginia and Carolina are largely veiled in obscurity. In June, 1635, a grant was issued to Richard Bennett for land in Nansemond County, "due for the importation of forty persons," among the names of whom was that of William Durant. The actual settlement may have preceded the grant some years.

In 1644 a new law was passed in Virginia, requiring all persons officiating in any church service to use the Book of Common Prayer, and this led to the removal of Bennett and many of his colony to Providence, near Annapolis, in Maryland. Apparently Durant was of the number, although the name was sometimes erroneously written Durand, and Duren. At Providence he was a landowner, an "elder" and a "leading man." About 1656 the settlement of Independents at Providence was broken up, and the use of the Book of Common Prayer in any church being at that time prohibited by law in Virginia, many of Bennett's followers returned to that province.

The entry in George Durant's Bible is that he was born October 1, 1632; and it is surmised that he was a son of William Durant, and born in Nansemond County, Virginia; and that his youth was passed there and in Maryland. On January 4, 1659, being then 26 years of age, he married Ann Marwood, in Northumberland County, where the Potomac comes into Chesapeake Bay. The service was performed by Reverend David Lindsey; but whether Parson Lindsey was of the Church of England or not is now unknown.

Just about the time of this marriage—1659—a number of adventurous spirits settled on the great Sound of Carolina, buying their lands from the Indians. Among these first set-

tlers were John Battle, Dr. Thomas Relfe, Roger Williams, Thomas Jarvis, Captain John Jenkins and Samuel Pricklove. George Durant accompanied them, but did not at once locate. He spent two years in exploring the country and examining locations, and then bought from the Indian king a tract at the mouth of the Perquimans River, that has since been known as Durant's Neck, his deed bearing date March 1, 1661. He then purchased an adjoining tract for George Catchmaid, Gent., of Ipswich, who brought into the colony thirty dependents. Others brought in nearly as many; John Harvey seventeen, Dr. Relfe fifteen, Captain Jarvis fourteen—and so on.

Within a year after Durant had located, Governor Berkley, of Virginia, went to England to pay his court to the restored monarch; and while there he received instructions to require the settlers on Carolina Sound, who had purchased their land from the Indians, to take out grants from Virginia, although that region was in the territory granted many years earlier to Sir Robert Heath, under the name of Carolina.

Catchmaid, being in Virginia, became aware of this order, and promised Durant, while getting a grant for himself, also to get one for him. Instead, however, he took out a single grant in his own name for the two adjoining tracts which Durant had bought from the Indian king, but agreed with Durant to make him title for his part at some convenient season.

In the meantime Durant had built a home for his family on his new possessions, and thither had come Mrs. Durant and her children, for on December 24, 1659, she had borne to her husband a son, George, and on February 15, 1661, a daughter, Elizabeth. These first children were certainly born in Virginia, but perhaps their third child, John, born December 26, 1662, and the subsequent children, were native Carolinians. And also a home was built on Durant's Neck for

Catchmaid, Gentleman, who lived there with his wife, the nearest neighbors of the Durants. Being a man of great consequence, Catchmaid was at once chosen Speaker of the Assembly, and he had much business on hand; so much that he never settled his matters with Durant, and they were unsettled when he died. However, as he was Speaker and a leader, he may have been suddenly killed in an Indian war that broke out in 1666. At any rate, at his death there were accounts to be settled between his estate and Durant, and title to Durant's home passed to the heirs of Catchmaid. There being no children, his widow took possession of Catchmaid's estate, but soon married Timothy Biggs, who made up the account, and agreed to make the title to Durant, but likewise died without doing so. Many years afterwards, when Durant himself was dead, Edward Catchmaid, of London, claimed the property as nephew and heir of Catchmaid, and Durant's sons brought a suit in chancery to enjoin him. The evidence in this suit is preserved; and from it some of the above facts have been gleaned.

The historian John Lawson, who was in Albemarle forty years after the settlement, says that "the first who came found the winters mild and the soil fertile beyond expectation; that everything came by nature, and the husbandman lived almost void of care and free from the fatigues of providing necessaries; that they were men of substance, each attended by a considerable retinue of servants." As Durant quickly built his own house and appears to have been a man of substance when his family moved to Carolina, they had such comforts as an abode in the forest could afford. And as the settlement grew, his residence became one of the houses where the courts were held, and where the inhabitants met on public occasions. Although in the wilderness of a new country, he was by no means isolated, but enjoyed the association of congenial neighbors.

From the first the settlers were prosperous, and made good crops of tobacco, which found a ready market in Virginia and New England, yielding in return cloths and household goods and ample domestic supplies. Indeed, there was both a business and social connection with New England, as well as Virginia, some of the settlers coming from Massachusetts; and there was much trade between the two colonies. But this trade was in contravention of the English navigation laws passed to promote the commercial interests of the mother country. One of these laws forbade the importation of any manufactures except through the merchants of London, and another laid a tax on tobacco imported into England, for the private purse of the king; and another, passed in 1672, levied a tax on tobacco shipped from one colony to another. The first effort to enforce these laws in Albemarle was made in 1675. It raised a great commotion among the planters, as it lessened the value of their tobacco and interfered with their obtaining the manufactured articles they were supplied with by the Massachusetts traders. Durant himself was largely interested in tobacco, and the people, aroused by him and other leaders, were ready to rebel against the enforcement of these laws. Just then also a war broke out with the Meherrin Indians; and Captain Zack Gilliam brought his vessel, "Carolina," into Albemarle, well supplied with ammunition and firearms, at the very moment when needed.

The people first marched against the Indians and subdued them, and then they forced the Governor to let up somewhat in the enforcement of the navigation laws. Being "in arms, they were persuaded by George Durant, Valentine Bird, the collector, and one White, with others, to force the Governor to remit to the New England men three farthings per lb. The said Durant having then a considerable quantity of tobacco to receive, which he was to ship to New England."

Later, the Assembly deposed the Governor, and established a government after "their own model," and Durant was one

of the leaders in the matter. The next year, Speaker Eastchurch, being in England, the Lords Proprietors appointed him Governor, but Durant was himself in London* later, and declared to some of the Proprietors that Eastchurch should not be Governor, and threatened to revolt. (C. R. I., 287-8.) Captain Gilliam was also in Londan, and Durant returned on his vessel, then well armed. Whatever were the objections to Eastchurch, Durant was as determined as he was bold. He knew his people and had confidence that they would follow where he led. His purpose to revolt soon became known in Albemarle. On the first day of December, 1677, the "Carolina" again came into port, with Durant on board. A "New England Ambassador" had also been among the people, stirring them up on this very matter of the tobacco tax and the restrictive trade legislation that bore so hard on the colonists.

Eastchurch not having arrived, acting Governor Miller, aware of Durant's purpose to revolt, went on board the "Carolina," and putting a pistol to Durant's head, arrested him; but the revolutionists did not dally. All of the officers who did not fall in with them were speedily taken, and confined in log houses, ten feet square, specially built for their accommodation. Durant, Culpeper and their associates, having found the great seal of the colony, now carried on government in Albemarle in a regular and orderly administration, electing assemblies and establishing courts and mak-

* It is said that George Durant had a brother, John Durant, living in London. In D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature there is this statement: "There was a most bloody-minded 'maker of working balls,' as one John Durant is described, appointed a Lecturer by the House of Commons—the Long Parliament—who always left out of the Lord's Prayer, 'as we forgive them that trespass against us,' and substituted, 'Lord, since Thou has now drawn Thy sword, let it not be sheathed again till it be glutted in the blood of the malignants,' the malignants being the cavaliers." This person, or chaplain of the House of Commons, may have belonged to the same connection. As the name is found sometimes written "Duren," the emphasis would seem to have been on the first syllable.

ing laws as if they had the sanction of the Lords Proprietors. When at length Governor Eastchurch reached Virginia, a force was raised by Durant to oppose his entering into Albemarle, but the Governor unexpectedly died with fever, and the peace of the colony was not further disturbed.

In 1672, William Edmundson, a follower of George Fox, had visited Albemarle and found one Quaker there, Henry Phillips, but that faith then took root, and when these disturbances began there was quite a number of Friends, who refused to aid the revolutionists, and sympathized with Biggs, the tax collector, who was himself a Quaker. These complained bitterly of the treatment Durant gave them, and some of them fled to Virginia because of Durant's oppressions, as they alleged; and they sent a strong petition and remonstrance to the Proprietors against Durant's oppression and persecution.

In view of these facts, now well established by contemporaneous documents, it seems odd to read in some histories that Albemarle was originally settled by Quakers, and by others fleeing from Virginia to escape religious intolerance and oppression, and that Durant himself was a Quaker. The settlement, says Lawson, was by wealthy planters; but one Quaker was in Albemarle in 1672, and later Durant was regarded by the Friends as their persecutor and oppressor.

Eventually this revolt against Miller and Eastchurch was legalized by the Lords Proprietors, and Jenkins, who had cooperated with Durant and the other leaders, was appointed Governor, and Durant Attorney-General. But the Proprietors could not give immunity against the navigation laws, and the English government was too strong to be resisted; so it soon came about that the navigation laws and tobacco taxes were submitted to, although doubtless there were constant evasions. It was not until a century later, and then by a united continent, that the power of Parliament to tax America was definitely determined by force of arms. What was patriotism in 1776 would have been treason in 1676.

During the succeeding administrations, Durant doubtless exerted the influence that was inseparable from his character, talents and means. His residence was still a meeting place for the inhabitants, and there the court of "Berkeley Precinct" was held. By the commission of Governor Harvey, in 1679, "Georjius Durant vel Alexandrus, Lillington,"—justice, was to inquire into all offences, etc.; and Durant held the Court of Berkeley, afterwards Perquimans, precinct.

After some years, Seth Sothell, one of the Proprietors who had been appointed Governor, reached Albemarle, and soon began a course of oppression, seeking wealth at the expense of the people. Among other allegations made against Sothell was this: Richard Humphrey died, leaving a will in which Thomas Pollock was named executor. Sothell would not allow the will to be proved, but took Humphrey's property into his own hands. Pollock prepared to go to England to complain, and Sothell threw him into prison.

Another allegation was that he imprisoned George Durant upon pretense that Durant had said something reflecting on him, and then compelled him to give a bond while in durance, and afterwards, on pretense of the bond, seized on Durant's estate and converted it to his own use.

These high-handed outrages were more than the people would stand, and in the subsequent proceedings Durant certainly played a part with the spirit of his younger days. It was about the time of "the glorious revolution of 1688" in England, when the people modified their constitution, called in William to supplant James II, and limited the descent of the crown. In Albemarle, they were equally resolute. They seized the Governor, and, following the precedent of 1676, incarcerated him in a ten-foot log house, and proposed to send him to England for trial. Sothell, however, entreated them not to deport him to England, but, instead, to try him themselves, promising that he would submit to the judgment of the Assembly. The election was held, the Assembly met,

and on the trial he was found guilty on the above and other charges, and the Assembly gave judgment disqualifying him from ever holding the office of Governor, and banishing him from Albemarle for twelve months.

In this episode, as Durant was involved personally, he, as well as Pollock, doubtless was a chief actor, and the management and outcome of it are creditable not merely to his determined spirit, but to his wisdom and moderation. If there was an excess of turbulence ten years earlier, now the proceedings seem to have been conducted with decorum, as well as with energy and force. While the details have not been preserved, there must, first, have been an association, and a directory with power to manage, and an administration provided for. And it was this directory or administration that imprisoned the Governor and proposed to send him a prisoner to England; and it was this same body that entered into the agreement with Sothell to have the new General Assembly try him for his offenses. The preliminary steps, the conduct of the affair, the trial and the judgment, constitute an historical episode illustrative of the high capacity of the inhabitants of Albemarle to govern themselves, and with decorum and orderly administration to arrest oppression and maintain their liberties; and as Durant was necessarily a controlling spirit in the affair, the moderation of the proceedings reflect great credit on him for wisdom and prudence as well as for spirit and patriotism.

While Durant does not seem to have been employed by the Lords Proprietors in their government after this period, yet doubtless he continued to exert a personal influence during the remainder of his life. He died earlier than July, 1693, and his will was admitted to probate on February 6, 1694. He left descendants who have in every generation been among the most respectable and influential citizens of North Carolina.

HATORASK.

BY JAQUES BUSBEE.

As that mighty ocean river, the Gulf Stream, rushes hot from the straits of Florida around the corner of the continent, it meets full in the face the cold waters of the North Atlantic as they roll in an unbroken sweep from the frozen rim of the world.

With impact primordial the sands, swept along by the currents, shift, swirl and precipitate more slowly but not less surely than the vast cumulations of vapor forever hanging above the Diamond Shoals, and glorious as a vision of Walhallah. The three-mile stretch of flat beach forming the cape pushes twenty miles further to sea beneath the flood—a fringe of horror surrounding smiling, semi-tropical forests and sedges, like a necklace of scalps and skulls around some savage maiden. Yesterday, to-day and forever the quicksands of the Diamond demand their toll; human courage is unavailing, modern science is powerless to oppose it. A ragged end of the world in flux, to the cockle shells of commerce venturing within its dynamic circle, it is and ever will be "the graveyard of the American merchant marine."

In the year of grace, 1584, two barques, bearing the first English adventurers to set foot on the American continent, borne north on the current of the Gulf Stream, sighted land across the flashing breakers of the Diamond Shoals. A low-lying line of blue behind ramparts of sinuous golden sand hills, it seemed a strange and mysterious world to these English after two months of hardship and hope.

But no chance of landing presented itself. "The second of July we found shoal water, where we smelled so sweet and so strong a smell as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers,

by which we were assured that the land could not be far distant; and keeping good watch and by bearing slack sail, the fourth of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land, and we sailed along the same a hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance or river issuing into the sea." So writes Captain Barlowe. Six years later Hatorask is again the setting of the fifth and final act of Sir Walter Raleigh's tragedy of the first attempt to colonize America by Englishmen.

The story of Roanoke Island has been thrashed and rethrashed by historians till nothing remains to tell except the sphinx-like closing of the last chapter—the Lost Colony—and this remains an enigma to all, historian and poet alike. It is properly a part of Hatorask history also. Croatan, that mystic land and vanishing point of the Lost Colony is generally considered to be the mainland across Croatan Sound from Roanoke Island, but such is not the case—and John Lawson is responsible for the error. Let us see.

John White writes most vividly of his return to Roanoke and the desolation he found there. "* * * We let fall our grapnel near the shore and sounded with a trumpet call, and afterwards many familiar English tunes of songs, and called to them friendly, but we had no answer, * * * and as we entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree in the very brow thereof were curiously carved these fair Roman letters, C R O, which letters presently we knew to signify the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon between them and me at my last departure from them; * * * therefore at my departure from them in A. N. 1587, I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name a cross X in this form; but we found no such sign of distress. And having well con-

sidered this we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees with curtains and flankers very fort like; and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and five feet from the ground in fair capital letters was graven C R O A T A N, without any cross or sign of distress."

Then he goes on to describe the dismantled and deserted wreck of the fort, with rusted iron fowlers and lockershot scattered and overgrown with grass; and at length he comes upon his chests, buried and dug up, and you see the man's selfishness: "* * * where we found five chests that had been carefully hidden by the planters, and of the same chests three were my own, and about the place many of my things spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armor almost eaten through with rust; this could be no other than the deed of the savages, * * * but although it grieved me to see such spoil of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the *Island* our friends."

So with more rough weather and the loss of all but one anchor and some water casks, White suggests that they leave the colonists (his daughter and grandchild among them) to the savage friends at Croatan and winter in the West Indies, "with hope to make two rich voyages in one" and capture golden galleons.

So much for White—we have evidence of the colony at Croatan—but where was Croatan?

John Lawson was the first to set down as Croatan on his map the mainland across from Roanoke Island, and he no

doubt reasoned that as they had agreed to move fifty miles "into the main" before White departed for England, and as they left the word "Croatan" carved on a tree as their destination, that they had sought the nearest point on the continent, and that was of course Croatan.

But White did not so understand. To him the mainland across from Roanoke Island was Desamonquepenk and Secotan, the *Island* of Croatan lying some sixty odd miles to the south, for he had proposed to sail to it on the open sea. On White's own map, published by DeBry, he gives the name of Croatan to the banks from Cape Hatorask all the way down to Ocracoke Inlet (Wokoken next adjoining).

Hatorask was the home of Manteo's people, the friendly tribe to which he led the colony when supplies and help failed and treacherous Wanchese with his following pressed hard.

When White returned to England it was agreed that the colony was to move "fifty miles into the main," but when supplies ran short and no help came, what was the wisdom of going further away from possible aid? It would be madness!

The natural and sensible move would be to the banks, with the hope of sighting some English ship. Sir Francis Drake had sailed up the coast, and the first news of his arrival came to Ralph Lane from the man whom he had stationed seaward for the expected supply ships. To send a man to the Croatan of Lawson's map would be ridiculous, for the ocean can not be seen from there even with a modern field glass.

Drake had relieved and carried back to England the former colony under Lane when reduced to the last extremity. So the Lost Colony doubtless took their only chance, and let Manteo lead them to his own friendly people on Hatteras banks, where the opportunity of sighting some vessel was greatest. There lived the only friendly tribe, the only place of comparative safely in a wild and savage country. Furthermore, the inlets by which vessels entered the sounds lay on

either side of these banks. It was the point of vantage, the outlook where it would be impossible for a vessel to slip by without being seen. In Sir Richard Grenville's report of the diurnal of his voyage are these items: "The 26th we came to anchor at Wokoken. The 6th July * * * Captain Aubry and Captain Boniton, the same day were sent to Croatan where they found two of our men left there, with thirty others by Captain Raymond some twenty days before. The 8th, Captain Aubry and Captain Boniton returned with two of our men found by them to us at Wokoken. * * * The 21st, our fleet anchoring at Wokoken we weighed anchor for Hatorask (the present New Inlet), the 27th our fleet anchored at Hatorask and there we rested." Knowing the country, the time it would take sail or row-boats to make these trips, the dates given are most significant.

There is more land at Hatorask than at any other point along the banks, the forests covering some fifty square miles, to this day teeming with game. And it was undeniably here that the colony merged into the Indian tribe (the nursing mother of the Croatans), which afterwards, in accordance with Indian customs, moved farther south, and reaching the narrow and shallow waters of Core Sound, crossed over to the main land.

Hatorask is the vanishing point of the Lost Colony. They went there in 1587 or 1588, and a little more than a hundred years after, Lawson writes of them, in 1709: "A further confirmation of this we have from the Hatteras Indians (note that he calls them *Hatteras* Indians), who either then lived on Roanoke Island or much frequented it. These tell us that several of their ancestors were white people and could talk in a book as we do; the truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being found frequently amongst these Indians and no others. They value themselves extremely for their affinity to the English, and are ready to do them all friendly offices.

It is probable that this settlement miscarried for want of timely supplies from England; or through the treachery of the natives, for we may reasonably suppose that the English were forced to cohabit with them for relief and conversation; and that in process of time they conformed themselves to the manners of their Indian relatives; and thus we see how apt human nature is to degenerate."

On Hatteras banks to-day are disconnected scraps of evidence to lend color to this belief. Traversing the sandy roads, hedged with youpon and holly, palm and pine, with houses flamboyantly painted and prosperous with lightning rods, people pass with swarthy skins, high cheek bones, straight black hair, and with that peculiar modeling of nose and mouth distinctly Indian.

And if one should stop to talk with these friendly, hospitable people, the use of many old obsolete words and phrases of Chaucer's time would be noted; quaint turns of expression, words used with a significance they had long ago, but now spoken with a modern meaning.

Most houses are set in a clearing sufficient for a yard, but little attempt at beautifying is made. A garden is a rarity. Fishing, hunting, oystering—and a man lives well.

There is little land on the banks with a clear title. The best titles are possession. At Trent where some families lived who were known as "Red Men," but who strenuously objected to being called Indians, are examples of the puncheon fence—simply an Indian stockade made by driving down stakes close together.

All this is but indirect evidence, yet it forces belief and is probable. Still you go back to the thought that here on Hatteras, though the evidence is slight and circumstantial, the Lost Colony merged and blended with the Indian tribe that saved them from slaughter.

In the hook of the cape, leaning desperately away from the wind, in an attitude of hopelessly arrested flight, stands a giant live oak, with a copper spike driven deep into its dead trunk some four feet from the ground.

It is Teach's Oak; and back in the forest, on the summit of a high sand hill, defended by well-nigh impenetrable jungles, are three deep pits where ever-credulous cupidity has dug for buried treasure. Legend says that it was found, but by whom is still a mystery. Teach, whose stamping ground was Hatteras, lurked in the calm hook of the cape for vessels distressed by a northeast gale and the current of the Gulf Stream, unable to double the cape till the wind should shift. Many are the tales and traditions he has left on the banks, and to this day, in wild weather, his phantom ship is seen sailing safely over the mad waters of the Diamond Shoals, to send to everlasting doom some crew in dire distress. Who knows how many corpses he has added to the multitudinous drowned of many lands and times, who shriek with the wind at the horror of that moving, shifting sand, that lies in wait beneath the waves but never shows its hydra head!

Teache was finally captured and killed further down the banks, at Ocracoke Inlet, and his head, nailed to the mast of Lieutenant Maynard's boat, was carried in triumph to Bath Town and presented to his reputed friend, Governor Eden. Yet a guilty thrill of admiration rises in the heart (since Teache is at the safe distance of two hundred years) for a man of such strong personality, strength and initiative, and this North Carolina pirate will always be mentioned with deprecatory pride.

From cape to inlet, Hatteras is ten miles long, a series of high sand hills, densely wooded and combed with parallel sedges, running from east to west the entire length of the island. The woods disappear at Trent and the western end

is low and wet, the marsh dividing almost equally with the beach, which encroaches year by year—fifty years ago trees waving two miles to sea where now porpoise play. Houses are perched on any dry ground that remains, nestling among scrubby, stunted live oaks and water bushes and alive with mocking birds. Where beach and marsh converge to a bare point of sand at the inlet, are traces of Forts Clark and Hatteras. They were sand redoubts held in place by turf from the adjoining marshes, and pitifully inadequate to the attacking squadron of Butler's thirteen men-of-war. The force in Fort Hatteras was 718 men; the action lasted three hours and twenty minutes. Over three thousand shells were fired by the bombarding fleet during that time, twenty-eight in a minute falling within the fort.

The Confederate guns, old style smooth-bore pieces, were entirely out of range, and after a futile attempt, ceased firing altogether. This action occurred on August 29, 1861, and was the first naval victory, or victory of any sort for that matter, won by the Federals (if the pounding into destruction of a well-nigh helpless fort could be called a victory). This caused great rejoicing at the North, for it put the entire eastern section of the State at the mercy of the Federals.

One beautiful October day, tropically warm, we drove a shaggy little sun-burned beach pony and two-wheeled cart up to Trent to see the sand hills fantastically piled up by the wind, and changing shape more slowly but not less surely than the clouds of heaven, smothering the woods steadily and stealthily as they blow inland. The sea before us was oil-slick—only an undulation of white on the beach showed its breathing. We strolled over the wind-swept wastes of Trent, looked at tombs overturned, and bones exposed by the moving sands, and I picked up two teeth filled with gold.

"I can remember when these people were buried," said my friend; "they have not been dead over forty years; but when

I was a boy a skeleton blew out at King's Point that was over six feet long, and it had strips of metal all over the upper part of the body. No—it was not a coffin. It must have been armor. We boys sold it for junk. It was copper."

And uprises a vision of the Lost Colony, blended with Manteo's people, living on these banks, hunting among these forests the deer and game that still abound; fishing in the shallow waters of Pamlico Sound; and the old free life of man, before civilization threw her restraining arms around him, surging back through his blood, blended with the Indian, that made the call of the wild irresistible. You behold the old people, crushed by hope abandoned of ever sighting some English ship, and nursing memories of home forever lost, as they see their children growing up more Indian than English; of the bitter tears that fall upon their comrades in adventure and misfortune as they lay them down in the armor so long and bravely worn, in a hole scraped in the sand.

THE TRUTH ABOUT JACKSON'S BIRTHPLACE.

BY BRUCE CRAVEN.

"Living, Homer begged for bread;
A dozen cities begged for Homer, dead."

This quaint and true saying is apt in connection with the dispute regarding the birthplace of Andrew Jackson. Living, the seventh President was not partial to, nor loved by, either of the Carolinas. He was the bitter enemy of South Carolina's greatest statesman, and as President defied the Carolinas and Georgia in the Cherokee Indian land troubles when, in answer to a Supreme Court decision in favor of the States, he said: "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it." These things account for the fact that there was no discussion or investigation of the location of the birthplace during Jackson's life, and consequently he died with the false belief that South Carolina was his "native State," as he often said.

That he believed he was born in South Carolina is without doubt, and there is no dispute in the whole story except as to one detail. In 1765, six sisters, with their husbands and families, landed in Charleston from the old world, and settled in the "Waxhaws," an undefined section between the present towns of Monroe, N. C., and Lancaster, S. C. These sisters, whose maiden name was Hutchison, were related to many others of their own name who had settled in the same section, and their husbands were Andrew Jackson, Sr., who settled near the site now known as the old Pleasant Grove camp-ground, nine miles inside North Carolina; James Crawford, who settled on Waxhaw Creek, about a mile inside South Carolina; George McKemey, near the Crawford home, but in North Carolina; John Leslie, Samuel Leslie, and James Crow.

In February of 1767, Andrew Jackson, Sr., died, leaving his widow and two children. His body was buried in the old Waxhaw cemetery, in Lancaster County, though there is nothing by which his grave can be identified, and no evidence to prove he was buried there except the settled traditions of the neighborhood, which seem to be specific and reliable. Soon after his death, his widow, with her two sons, left their North Carolina home to go to make their home with the Crawfords, who were the wealthiest of all the families mentioned. The road they traveled passed in sight of the McKemey home, where lived her sister Margaret.

To this point there is no dispute, but right here is the dividing line.

THE NORTH CAROLINA CLAIM.

Mrs. Jackson stopped to visit her sister Margaret, and there, in the night of March 15, 1767, Andrew Jackson was born. Three weeks later they located at the Crawford home in South Carolina, where Jackson lived until grown, then studied law in Salisbury, and located in the western part of North Carolina, which was later made into the new State of Tennessee.

This statement of the case rests upon three pieces of evidence: First is the settled traditions of the families above mentioned, some living in one State and some in the other. Colonel S. H. Walkup gathered their testimony and published it in the *Wadesboro Argus* of September 23, 1858. There were fourteen statements, representing all the families, and all agreeing that Jackson was born in the McKemey house, and that there were present in the house at the time Mrs. Elizabeth McWhorter, Mrs. Sarah Leslie, Mrs. Sarah Lathen, Mrs. Covsar, and Mr. and Mrs. McKemey. All of these people died before 1800, and their accounts of the incident were given by their children and grandchildren, who remembered well the oft-repeated story. There was no discrepancy in any of the many accounts.

There is no denial of the Walkup evidence, and all that is said in rebuttal is that Colonel Walkup led his witnesses by leading questions to say just what he wanted them to say. The character of the witnesses, however, is proven, and this, with the fact that some of them were South Carolinians, is sufficient reply to the charge. The original publication is in my possession, and was well and carefully prepared. At the time of the publication there was some doubt as to whether or not the McKemey home was in North Carolina, and this was not finally settled until recent years, when the land records in Register's books 11 and 14, in the Mecklenburg court-house were investigated and the records found proving completely that the McKemey tract of land was deeded to him in 1766, and deeded by him to Thomas Crawford in 1792, and in each case the residence of McKemey was given as Mecklenburg County, North Carolina.

The other point in the evidence is the statement of Jackson that he was born in the McKemey house, though believing at the time that the house was in South Carolina.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S CONTENTION.

For the South Carolina side of the case, there has never been but one solitary bit of evidence, and that is that Jackson himself thought he was born in South Carolina. Various biographers, etc., are cited to prove the claim, but in each case it is plain that they relied solely upon Jackson's erroneous belief, and nothing has ever been cited that was not founded on that error. Nothing could more conclusively show the utter worthlessness of the claim than the dependence put in a map of that section, made by J. Boykin in 1820. A cross mark on the map is made to designate the birthplace of Jackson, on the testimony, of course, of Jackson's own statement; but in the same map the Waxhaw Creek is made to rise in South Carolina, though, as any one can find out for himself, it

rises three miles inside of North Carolina. If J. Boykin was not accurate as to the location of a considerable creek, the location of which was a certainty, how could he locate the birthplace, about which he knew nothing?

So there is no evidence whatever except Jackson's. He believed he was "a native of South Carolina," but his testimony, without any proof, would be worthless when opposed to the real evidence above set forth. Jackson, himself, knew he was born in McKemey's cabin, and said so to James Faulkner, when both were spending the night in the cabin. (See Parton's Biography, volume 1, page 55.) This leaves his own testimony, which is all South Carolina has, as being his belief that he was born "in the McKemey cabin in South Carolina." He said one time that he was born "on the Crawford place," and the McKemey place was a part of the Crawford place and was naturally so considered, as Crawford was prosperous and McKemey was not; and the place was sold by McKemey to a Crawford, so at the time Jackson made the statement, it was the Crawford place. He never said he was born in the Crawford home, in which he was raised, and his only definite statement as to his birthplace was that he was born in the McKemey cabin. That specific declaration outweighs all his various statements that he was born in South Carolina, for he believed the McKemey cabin was in South Carolina.

CONCLUSION.

This is the plain statement of the whole dispute about the much-discussed question. The North Carolina claim is based on documentary facts. The South Carolina claim is based solely on the unsupported opinion of Jackson, whose opinion alone would leave the presumption in favor of North Carolina. All else that has been written or will be written on the subject is vain repetition and "words, words, words."

BIOGRAPHICAL, GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMORANDA.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

ADELAIDE L. FRIES.

Miss Adelaide Fries, the author of "Der North Carolina Land und Colonie Etablissement," in this number of THE BOOKLET, was born in Salem, that quiet, quaint and charming old Moravian town in North Carolina, settled in 1765.

She is the daughter of John William Fries (1846) and Agnes S. de Schweinitz, daughter of Bishop Emil de Schweinitz, of the Moravian Church. She is the granddaughter of Francis Fries (1812-1863) and Lizzette (Vogler) Fries, daughter of John Vogler, Sr.

She is the great-granddaughter of William Fries (1775-), who emigrated from Germany to North Carolina in 1809 and here married Elizabeth Nissen. She is also a descendant on the maternal side of Count Zinzendorf, of Germany.

The Fries family is of German descent, and trace their lineage from the middle of the seventeenth century. They were distinguished types of the church of the "Unity of Brethren," the official name of which was "Unitas Fratrum," a body of earnest men who agreed to accept the Bible as their only standard of faith and practice, and established a strict discipline which should keep their lives in the simplicity, purity and brotherly love of the early apostolic church.

Miss Fries is a graduate of Salem Academy, is President of the Salem Alumnæ Association, and Chairman of the Literature Department. She has made extensive investigations in Moravian archives in America and Europe, and is well prepared to give with accuracy and fidelity the history of the Moravian Church in America, and the broader history

of our country, which it touches on every side. She has written extensively on the subject, and has published "History of Forsyth County"; "The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740"; "The Funeral Chorals of the Moravian Church"; "Salem Academy"; "Brief History of Moravian Church," and has been a faithful contributor to the Wachovia Historical Society. This cultivated and useful woman is a fine type of the German element that has been a blessing to every community in which it settled.

Miss Fries is a worthy descendant of a noble ancestry, and fully sustains the reputation won by them. She continues a close student of history and literature, and will fix her place securely among the historical writers of our time.

SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE.

THE BOOKLET is indebted to Captain Ashe for the article on George Durant, which is given in his usual readable and charming style. It goes without saying that Captain Ashe, the subject of this sketch, is an historical genius and one in line with the foremost writers in North Carolina. He was born at Wrightsville Sound, eight miles from Wilmington, N. C., on the 13th of September, 1840. He was the son of William Shepperd Ashe, of the Rocky Point family of that name, and his wife Sarah Ann Green, who in the maternal line was a Grange.

Captain Ashe is connected lineally and collaterally with the old families who settled the Cape Fear country—the Porters, Swanns, Moseleys and Lillingtons. At the age of nine years, this young and promising boy was placed at school in Macon, Ga. Afterwards, until the age of fifteen, he attended schools at Georgetown, D. C.; Rugby Academy, Washington, D. C.; Oxford Academy, Maryland; where he received such education as to enable him to enter the Naval

Academy at Annapolis. Here he was called one of the "star" members of his class until he resigned and returned to his father's home, at Rocky Point, where he devoted himself to the study of history and literature bearing on the profession of law, reading "Reeve's History of the Common Law," Sharon Turner's "Anglo-Saxons," Robertson's "Charles V," "Hallam's Middle Ages," and "Constitutional History," and such other works. From such a course of reading he was well prepared to take up a careful study of the law under Mr. William Ruffin, a man well endowed with great faculties and of a superior legal mind. About this time the Civil War broke out, and Mr. Ashe, like the other spirited young men, the flower of the South, laid aside his law books and responded to the call of his country. His first service was under General Whiting, at Wilmington. He was appointed lieutenant and assigned to duty at Fort Caswell. This fort, at that time, was entirely defenseless, and entailed upon young Ashe an immense amount of responsibility; but under the direction of Captain F. L. Childs, he was largely instrumental in putting it in condition for defense. He filled several other positions, serving with fidelity and valor any place to which he was assigned. In June, 1861, he accepted the appointment as captain and adjutant-general on the staff of General Pender. Later he enlisted as a private in Co. I of the regiment then known as the Eighth, but later the Eighteenth North Carolina Troops. Captain Ashe served the whole term of the war, with credit to himself and an honor to the cause. His life as a soldier has been fully written by his comrades in arms; therefore this writer will dwell principally on his career as student, lawyer, legislator, editor, historian, and citizen.

It was at Rocky Point that Captain Ashe spent his early childhood. This was formerly the home of Edward Moseley, that man among men; a defender of the people's rights, and

"who espoused the cause of religious freedom against the bigotry and narrowness of his age and country." Might it not be said that here Captain Ashe imbibed the spirit of Edward Moseley? For it can not be doubted that material surroundings ofttimes impart influences that have their effect for good or bad, as the case may be.

It was here at Rocky Point, far from "the crowds of madding strife," that the foundation strong and sure was laid by Captain Ashe, fitting him for the exigencies of life. The knowledge of military tactics, acquired in four years of service as a soldier; his intimate knowledge of law, his experience as a public official; his monumental work as an editor, and his innate love for the history of his native State, have been, and are, of incalculable advantage to him whose services are so often called into requisition. As a public official, his acts are recorded in the archives of State. As an editor, his name will descend to generations as one whose forecast, ability, judgment and discretion were of the best. By his editorials he led the party of the people from victory to victory. During the critical period after the war he directed his best efforts to save the State from vicious and dangerous rule.

Captain Ashe has given much time to the study of North Carolina history, and is looked upon and appealed to as authority on any disputed point. He was a valuable aid to Colonel William L. Saunders in the preparation of that gigantic work, the Colonial Records; and to Judge Walter Clark in the preparation of the State Records. He has prepared a school history of the State, which has not yet been published. He has made many valuable public addresses bearing on State literature and history. His last most valuable contribution is his "History of North Carolina from 1584 to 1783." Only Volume I has been published. The first volume has been characterized thus by an acknowledged critic:

"The greatest event that North Carolina has known was the publication of Captain Ashe's history." Every library in the State should have a copy of this book. It contains about 725 pages, and is full of interest from cover to cover. He states in the preface that the work is based almost exclusively on the State publications; nearly every statement relating to North Carolina has for its support contemporaneous documents. It is dedicated to Thomas Jordan Jarvis and Colonel William Laurence Saunders, and closes with this paragraph:

"I dedicate this volume to you and to the memory of my departed friend, it being an early fruitage of his important State publications, the preparation of which was made possible by your own cordial concurrance: and I inscribe your name on this page in recognition of your great service to the people of North Carolina and in token of my friendship.

"S. A. Ashe."

Captain Ashe has contributed several articles of historic value to The North Carolina Booklet. In Vol. II his article on "Our Own Pirates" is a story of those desperate robbers who infested the coast of Carolina in the early Colonial period.

In Vol. IV "Rutherford's Expedition Against the Indians" is told in a most interesting way and treated more fully than is done by any other writer.

In addition to many historical and biographical essays which he has written, he has frequently made literary addresses of great merit and popularity. The address made on General Lee in 1906, under the auspices of the Johnston Pettigrew Chapter, Daughters of the Confederacy, received the highest commendations from those who heard it. This address was printed in pamphlet form and distributed by the Daughters as a means of enlightening the young generation and keeping fresh in their minds the greatness of Lee.

The ability and success with which Captain Ashe has wielded his pen proves the verity of the assertion that "the pen is mightier than the sword."

Captain Ashe married, in 1871, Miss Hannah Emerson Willard, of Raleigh, whom he survives, and has eight children.

NOTE.—Credit is due to Dr. T. B. Kingsbury for facts contained in the above sketch, the Biographical History of North Carolina, and other sources.—EDITOR.

BRUCE CRAVEN.

Mr. Bruce Craven, author of "The Truth About Jackson's Birthplace," has previously contributed to THE BOOKLET two articles on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence; and a sketch of his life appeared in THE BOOKLET for January, 1909. Mr. Craven is Superintendent of the City Schools of Kinston, and besides his high standing in educational circles, is a lawyer and public speaker of ability, has had experience in newspaper work, and is a frequent contributor to leading newspapers and magazines. His writings are characterized by conciseness and precision.

RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. SUSAN GRAHAM CLARK, WHO DIED DECEMBER 10, 1909.

IN MEMORIAM.

WHEREAS, God in His infinite love and wisdom, has seen fit to remove from earth to heaven our loyal member, our beloved Vice-Regent, Mrs. Susan Graham Clark:

Therefore be it resolved, That the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, deplore the great loss they have sustained in her death.

That they are thankful for the influence and inspiration of her noble life, and feel that they have lost a faithful and highly esteemed member, beloved of all other members, ever devoted to the work of the Society and ready to contribute to the success of all its undertakings.

That they mourn the absence of her personal charm, and will ever lament the loss of her wise counsel.

That we tender to the afflicted husband and family our heartfelt sympathy in this great bereavement.

That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Society and a copy sent to the family.

MRS. JOHN E. RAY,
MRS. LEIGH SKINNER,
Committee.

TRIBUTE FROM A FRIEND.

In Memoriam Mrs. Susan Graham Clark.

The North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, has sustained a loss in the removal to a higher, brighter life of one of her most prominent officers and loyal members, which will be felt not only in the present but through the coming years. Our beloved Vice-Regent was ever wise in counsel, true to the Society, just to her co-workers, and faithful to every duty that was hers, always anxious to assume even more than was her share. Those who were so fortunate as to have known her through this organization, feel that in knowing her they were amply compensated aside from other advantages.

Mrs. Susan Graham Clark was the only daughter of the late Honorable William Alexander Graham and Susan Washington, his wife. Her father was one of the greatest men of his time, and he lived in an age in which intellectual giants were not exceptions. Of noble lineage, reared amid an uplifting environment, where lofty ideals and brilliant intellects were guides to the moulding of a grand character, she maintained the standards established by her progenitors in this and other lands. She was ever the unconscious leader of every circle honored by her presence. To few it has been given the privilege to dwell under the influence of greatness which she keenly appreciated as well as inspired.

The gift of intellectuality is to be prized and admired, but nobility of heart is to be cherished even more. With both Mrs. Clark was richly endowed. Her sympathy and kindness to those in sorrow knew no bounds.

Another bright star has passed beyond our horizon, though the radiance will linger, a sweet reminder of the precious friend whose place will ever remain an empty void that can not be filled.

INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication on great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

Some North Carolina Booklets for Sale

Address, EDITOR, Raleigh, N. C.

Vol.

"Greene's Retreat," Dr. Daniel Harvey Hill.

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"Our Own Pirates," Capt. S. A. Ashe.

"Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War," Judge Walter Clark.

"Moravian Settlement in North Carolina," Rev. J. E. Clewell.

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"Colony of Transylvania," Judge Walter Clark.

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"North Carolina and Georgia Boundary," Mr. Daniel Goodloe.

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"Battle Ramseur's Mill, 1780," Major Wm. A. Graham.

"Quaker Meadows," Judge A. C. Avery.

"Convention of 1788," Judge Henry Groves Connor.

"North Carolina Signers of Declaration of Independence, John Penn and Joseph Hewes," by Mr. T. M. Pittman and Dr. E. Walter Sikes.

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"Rutherford's Expedition Against the Indians," Capt. S. A. Ashe.

"Changes in Carolina Coast Since 1585," Prof. Collier Cobb.

"Highland Scotch Settlement in N. C.," Judge James C. McRae.

"The Scotch-Irish Settlement," Rev. A. J. McKelway.

"Battle of Guilford Court-house and German Palatines in North Carolina," Major J. M. Morehead, Judge O. H. Allen.

"Genesis of Wake County," Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood.

Vol. V.—(Quarterly.)

No. 1.

"St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C., and its Associations," Richard Dillard, M.D.

"N. C. Signers of the National Declaration of Independence, Part II, William Hooper," Mrs. Spier Whitaker.

No. 2.

"History of the Capitol," Colonel Charles Earl Johnson.

"Some Notes on Colonial North Carolina, 1700-1750," Colonel J. Bryan Grimes.

"North Carolina's Poets," Rev. Hight C. Moore.

No. 3.

"Cornelius Harnett," Mr. R. D. W. Connor.

"Celebration of the Anniversary of May 20, 1775," Major W. A. Graham.

"Edward Moseley," by Dr. D. H. Hill.

No. 4.

"Governor Thomas Pollok," Mrs. John W. Hinsdale.

"Battle of Cowan's Ford," Major W. A. Graham.

"First Settlers in North Carolina Not Religious Refugees," Rt. Rev. Joseph Blount Cheshire, D.D.

Vol. VI—(Quarterly.)

No. 1.

"The Indian Tribes of Eastern North Carolina," Richard Dillard, M.D.

"History Involved in the Names of Counties and Towns in North Carolina," Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.

"A Colonial Admiral of the Cape Fear" (Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland), Hon. James Sprunt.

"Biographical Sketches: Introduction; Maj. Graham Daves." By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

October, No. 2.

"The Borough Towns of North Carolina," Mr. Francis Nash.

"Governor Thomas Burke," J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Ph.D.

"Colonial and Revolutionary Relics in the Hall of History," Col. Fred. A. Olds.

"The North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution and its Objects."

"Biographical Sketches: Dr. Richard Dillard, Mr. Francis Nash, Dr. J. G. de R. Hamilton and Col. Fred A. Olds," Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

January, No. 3.

"State Library Building and Department of Archives and Records," Mr. R. D. W. Connor.

"The Battle of Rockfish Creek, 1781," Mr. James Owen Carr.

"Governor Jesse Franklin," Prof. J. T. Alderman.

"North Carolina's Historical Exhibit at Jamestown," Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton.

"Biographical Sketches: Mrs. S. B. Kenneday, R. D. W. Connor, James Owen Carr and Prof. J. T. Alderman," Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

April, No. 4.

"Lock's Fundamental Constitution," Mr. Junius Davis.

"The White Pictures," Mr. W. J. Peele.

"North Carolina's Attitude Toward the Revolution," Mr. Robert Strong.

Biographical Sketches: Richard Benbury Creecy, the D. R. Society and Its Objects, Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

Genealogical Sketches: Abstracts of Wills; Scolley, Sprott and Hunter, Mrs. Helen de B. Wells.

Vol. VII. (Quarterly.)

July, No. 1.

"North Carolina in the French and Indian War," Col. A. M. Waddell.

"Locke's Fundamental Constitutions," Mr. Junius Davis.

"Industrial Life in Colonial Carolina," Mr. Thomas M. Pittman.

Address: "Our Dearest Neighbor—The Old North State," Hon. James Alston Cabell.

Biographical Sketches: Col. A. M. Waddell, Junius Davis, Thomas M. Pittman, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt; Hon. Jas. Alston Cabell, by Mary Hilliard Hinton.

Abstracts of Wills. Mrs. Helen DeB. Wills.

October, No. 2.

"Ode to North Carolina," Miss Pattie Williams Gee.

"The Finances of the North Carolina Colonists," Dr. Charles Lee Raper.

"Joseph Gales, Editor," Mr. Willis G. Briggs.

"Our First Constitution, 1776," Dr. E. W. Sikes.

"North Carolina's Historical Exhibit at Jamestown Exposition," Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton.

Biographical Sketches: Dr. Kemp P. Battle, Dr. Charles Lee Raper, Willis Grandy Briggs, Pattie Williams Gee. By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

January, No. 3.

"General Robert Howe," Hon. John D. Bellamy.

"Early Relations of North Carolina and the West," Dr. William K. Boyd.

"Incidents of the Early and Permanent Settlement of the Cape Fear," Mr. W. B. McKoy.

Biographical Sketches: John Dillard Bellamy, William K. Boyd, William B. McKoy. By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

April, No. 4.

"St. James's Churchyard" (Poem), Mrs. L. C. Markham.

"The Expedition Against the Row Galley 'General Arnold'—A Side Light on Colonial Edenton," Rev. Robt. B. Drane, D.D.

"The Quakers of Perquimans," Miss Julia S. White.

"Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry," Judge James C. MacRae.

Biographical Sketches: Mrs. L. C. Markham, Rev. R. B. Drane, Miss Julia S. White, Judge James C. MacRae. By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

Vol. VIII.—(Quarterly.)

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THE CHASE.

Freed from the lingering chase, in devious ways
Upon the swelling tides
Swiftly the Lillian glides
Through hostile shells and eager foemen past;
The lynx-eyed pilot, gazing through the haze,
His engines straining, "far hope dawns at last."

Now falls in billows deep the welcome night
Upon white sands below;
While signal lamps aglow
Seek out Fort Fisher's distant answering gleams,
The blockade runner's keen, supreme delight,—
Dear Dixie Land, the haven of our dreams!

JAMES SPRUNT.

The Confederate Steamer "Lillian," commanded by Captain John Newland Maffitt, and laden with war material from Bermuda for Wilmington, in the early part of 1864, had been hard pressed all day by a swift Federal cruiser which Maffitt ultimately baffled by using coal dust in his furnaces, raising a dense black smoke, under cover of which he closed his dampers and changed his course, while the cruiser continued to chase the trail of smoke. Maffitt then drove his vessel at full speed for New Inlet Bar and on the rising tide in the haze of the early evening ran a gauntlet of fire from fourteen blockaders while coursing down the beach towards Fort Fisher. A welcome darkness then enveloped the little fugitive. A signal officer called Fort Fisher's assistance by masked lights, and as the Fort responded, it also opened fire upon Maffitt's pursuers, and the goal was won.

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BY JAQUES BUSBEE.

Descriptions never describe—or only to the extent that they correspond with visual experience already possessed. Could a man from the mountains who had never seen the ocean ever be told how it looked? Would not the actual first sight of it come as a soft shock and a total surprise?

However well we may know the actions of the past, however well we may know the personal traits of historic personages, we gain an added knowledge, a clearer appreciation of men and events when we can look upon their features fixed in paint or marble; when we can see the pageant of the past spread upon some great canvas. What we would know of Greece without her marbles would be vague and intangible. How many people have ever read Greek literature, Thucydides, Æschylus, Euripides, yet few golden oak tables, book-cases or mantlepieces lack their plaster casts of the Venus of Milos, or the winged Victory of Samothrace.

The whole history of the Renaissance could be rewritten from the frescoes and paintings of the old Italian Masters—the growth and supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church, the subtle intrusion of pagan ideas, the beginnings of modern culture. Masquerading as Madonnas and Saints, they are nevertheless the features and costumes of the men and women of the period—marvelously vivid records of the times.

Holbein, Van Dyke, Reynolds have done the same thing for English history. What vivid searchlight spots on the English Reformation are Holbein's portraits, fat King "Harry," the shrewd, beautiful face of Anne Boleyn, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, sour and inhuman with religious zeal; Sir Thomas More, with utopia written on his

From John White's Painting

From DeBry's Engraving of White's Painting

benign features; sickly little Edward Sixth, and that dear old English matron, with her mediæval manners and intelligence, Lady Butts.

It has been said that the whole period of Charles Second could be rewritten from Pepy's Diary were all else lost, but incompletely written were it not for the portraits by Sir Peter Lely and Sir Godfrey Kneller. One look at the portrait of that shiftless, sensuous Monarch's features and we breathe the atmosphere of those degenerate times.

We long to see! a name is but a name, a face we never forget. Abstractions even we are compelled to visualize. In the Sargent room of the Boston Library is a fresco of the Trinity—three old men with long, gray whiskers, wrapt under one cloak.

We think mainly with our eyes.

One of the greatest educators of the times is the moving picture show. Its popularity illustrates the point and goes to prove this unconquerable desire to see. The possibilities of the motion picture are incalculable. Already many a famous picture has been arraigned, acted and photographed. Washington crossing the Delaware is a case in point. North Carolina history needs illustrating. Events abound, splendid and inspiring, but they lie invisible, buried in old books and forgotten pamphlets, known only to a few enthusiasts. Painted history is irresistible, unavoidable, for once the eye rests upon it, the thing is done—it is hypodermic teaching.

The pace has already been set, yet it remains a sporadic performance to this day, three hundred and twenty-five years afterward.

The Prologue to the first act of North Carolina history has been wonderfully illustrated by John White in seventy-six water color drawings preserved in the Grenville Collection of the British Museum, purchased by the Trustees in March, 1866, of Mr. Henry Stevens at the instigation of Mr.

Panizzi. When these paintings came to light, it dissipated the strong suspicion that DeBry had invented his illustrations. How these paintings first came to be made should be as interesting to North Carolinians as it is little known by them. The story of the French and Spanish occupation of Florida, the incident of their butchering each other in religious frenzy to the astonishment of the American Savages is not germain to our subject. Suffice it to say that Jaques Le Moyne, the painter and mathematician, survived the butchery, reached England and finally found shelter in the household of Sir Walter Raleigh, with his paintings of the Florida Indians, fruits, flowers and animals, together with his journal intact.

Sir Walter, with his usual sagacity, realizing the immense importance of illustrating his long meditated projects of colonizing in America, sent with his first colony to Roanoke Island John White, who in all probability was a pupil of Le Moyne: for certainly in every respect Le Moyne was his model. In the manuscript department of the British Museum is a volume of original drawings relating to Florida and Virginia (Sloan, No. 5270) manifestly a mixture of Le Moyne's and White's sketches. They are very valuable and show the intimate relation of master and pupil.

John White came to Roanoke with the first colony under Lane and remained a year drawing the Indians, the fruits and animals from life, and in surveying and mapping the country with his friend, Thomas Hariot.

Upon the return of the colony to England, some of the adventurers (London gentlemen no doubt, who did not find their Coca-Cola and Piedmont Cigarettes on sale at corner drug stores) cast aspersions and slanders abroad in certain influential quarters. So Hariot's book was put forth in hot haste to counteract the reports of those ignorant persons returned from Virginia, who "woulde seeme to knowe so much

as no men more," and who "had little understanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needful or requisite."

The book professes to be only an epitome of what was to come, for near the end the author says: "This is all the fruits of our labours, that I have thought necessary to advertise you of at present;" and further on, "I have ready in a discourse by itself in manner of Chronicle according to the course of times, and when time shall be thought convenient, shall also be published."

The Florida Journal of Laudonniere was published in Paris in 1586, and dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh. Falling under the eye of the celebrated engraver of Frankfort, Theodore DeBry, he conceived the idea of issuing a luxurious edition of it illustrated with the exquisite paintings of Jaques Le Moyne. DeBry went to London in 1587, to see Le Moyne and arrange with him the illustrations; but Le Moyne, it seems, was contemplating some such scheme himself, and so DeBry failed in his mission. Le Moyne died in 1588, and DeBry succeeded in buying a portion of the artist's work from his widow, together with his version of the French Florida Expeditions. While in London he fell in with the geographer Richard Hakluyt, who at that time was seeing his first folio collection of voyages of the English through the press.

Seizing the psychological moment, Hakluyt introduced DeBry to John White, Governor of Virginia, then in London. White had done for Raleigh's Colony in Virginia what Le Moyne had done for Laudonniere in Florida. The enthusiastic Hakluyt impregnated DeBry with his hobby and induced him to abandon his plan of a separate publication and make a series of illustrated voyages, laying aside Le Moyne for the present and beginning with White. Le Moyne was dead, but White, Hariot and others were then in London to aid with eyewitness accounts and descriptions. Hakluyt

suggested reprinting Hariot's "Virginia" just coming out in February, 1589, illustrated from the portfolio of White. He himself engaged to write descriptions of the plates, and his geographical touches are easily recognized. Thus DeBry was induced to make Hariot's "Virginia" the first part of his celebrated "Peregrinations," with a dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh.

Full of Hakluyt's ideas, DeBry returned to Frankfort and in an incredibly short time (in 1590) issued his famous book in four languages, Latin, French, German, and English.

Thus we see that this book, the blending and interdependence of several men and interests leads up to Thomas Hariot. It is necessary to refrain from giving title page, dedication, etc., to this fascinating folio, as it would extend this account to undue length. A fragment of the Latin Edition (the plates without Hariot's "Virginia") is in the State Library. As to the engraved plates taken in connection with the eighteen copies in color from White's original paintings in the Hall of History, they are of exceeding interest.

Considering the state of art in England at the time, White's pictures are wonderful. Despite the inadequate technique, the crude drawing and color, nevertheless there shines out the truth of things actually *seen*. Discounting the certain conventionalties of art, the translations and transpositions it is necessary to make in art, in White's pictures of the Indians the aboriginal Savages are before us. That strange unbridged gulf that separates them from civilization is felt and wonderfully rendered. However poorly they are painted from the technical standpoint of to-day, they carry with them the conviction of reality, of things actually seen and rendered from life—easy to reconstruct with our present knowledge.

Out of the seventy-six paintings in the British Museum, only eighteen copies have found their way to North Carolina,

fourteen figures of Indians, three of villages and one of fish. They are in the Hall of History. Undoubtedly the State should own perfect copies of the entire collection.

Theodore DeBry engraved twenty-three of the paintings for his book. With his academic training he has so Dutched the figures by fattening them up and perfecting the drawing that they have lost all trace of Indian characteristics. True he had never seen an Indian, but all the subtle suggestiveness of White's paintings is lost. With that unconquerable desire to see he has supplied us with reverse views of many of the figures like modern fashion plates. Also the figures are reversed from the exigencies of engraving. Some of his fat Dutch ladies, masquerading as Indian women are quite laughable, with rotund breasts and sugar-cured hams.

Compare plate IV by DeBry with White's original drawing. The Indian woman of the drawing stands with folded arms, a small deer-skin apron around her loins and lavishly tatooed. Although rather heavy, she is long of limb, stolid of countenance, with an abundant suggestiveness of savagery in her unblinking gaze. The figure is painted in water-color on a background of white paper.

DeBry has engraved this plate showing also a reverse view, with her deer-skin apron tied in a coquettish knot behind, both views exhibiting a very rotund lady with tiny feet and smirking countenance. He has also added a landscape background, filled with men spearing fish and poleing canoes. He has perfected his described landscape with here and there the addition of a few dock leaves, the nearest approach in his experience to tropical vegetation. In other plates he shows Indian gardens that seem to be laid off with the neat precision of a Dutch horticulturist.

Plate VIII shows a greater liberty taken by DeBry than in any other, perhaps. A long-limbed, big-footed Indian woman stands with her weight equally on both feet, one hand

resting in a necklace of shells, the other holding a large water gourd. An Indian child follows her with a doll dressed in Elizabethan costume. The child is particularly Indian in character. DeBry shows us this lady fattened on Frankfurters, tipping herself archly, her weight on one foot, her beads very much finer, and with deep dimples in her elbows. The child is beyond all recognition, with fat, cherubimic limbs, curled hair, one arm held aloft with a rattle in the hand and the doll (an Elizabethan doll; DeBry had seen such dolls) the only thing in the picture better done than the original, held in the other hand. But, oh the feet!—nothing but angels that seldom perch could find them of any use. These two figures are placed much further apart than in White's picture, to satisfy DeBry's sense of balance and composition.

The book has an ornamental title page with five Indian figures very skillfully adapted to a decorative design.

Sir Walter Raleigh's coat of arms and the dedication to him by DeBry follow; then Hariot's dedication and preface; then his reprinted book, "Virginia." Following this is an engraving of Adam and Eve tempted by the serpent, then "To the gentle reader."

The plates begin with White's map of Virginia and the arrival of the English, twenty-three plates in all, followed by five pictures of aboriginal "Pictes," to show that the British descended (or ascended more properly) from ancestors no less savage than the Indians. DeBry waives all claim to the authenticity of the five pictures by adding a preface to them in which he says: 'The painter of whom I have had the first of the Inhabitants of Virginia, gave me allso theese 5 figures following, fownd as he did assure me in a oolld English cronicle, the which I wold well sett to the ende of thees first Figures, for to showe how that the Inhabitants of the great Bretannie have bin in times past as sauuage as those of Virginia."

In White's report of his last visit to Roanoke Island, the colony vanished, the wreck and desolation of Fort Raleigh, he drops a word about his pictures that is interesting. "Presently Captain Cook and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made two years past by Captain Amidas, where we found five chests that had been carefully hidden by the planters, and of the same chests three were my own, and about the place many of my things spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armour almost eaten through with rust."

Oh! that he had taken these pictures and maps back to England with him when he returned. Some more invaluable Caroliniana gone forever with Hariot's "Chronicle" that up to the present has remained unpublished. North Carolina is allowing to remain unpublished and unpainted her glorious past and her great present. The widespread knowledge of, say, Massachusetts history, is due primarily to her illustrators. What child does not absorb it from the pictures in school histories, from the paintings of all her leading events?

Our own history is illustrated almost entirely from pictures of monuments erected on famous spots, but the actions remain lifeless like the monuments commemorating them. Until some appreciation of the usefulness of art shall arise among us, our history will remain inanimate. Then and not till then can we enforce our claims to events that should be the pride of the nation at large, and are the glory of the old North State.

SKETCH OF COLONEL FRANCIS LOCKE.

BY GEORGE McCORKLE.

How many men appear upon the stage of life, act well their parts, in many instances deserving the gratitude of coming generations, pass off the stage and are forgotten, what, though they have dethroned a tyrant, rescued a country from the heel of oppression, and saved to the people and coming generations the blessings of civil and religious liberty, yet their names perish from the earth seemingly, and often centuries come and go before a grateful posterity attempts to do them honor. This thought comes to me when I think of the subject of this sketch, Colonel Francis Locke, of Rowan, and the numerous heroes of that eventful period in the life of this great country of ours. Their names and their illustrious deeds of valor and heroism should not only live in bronze and marble, but in song and literature that coming generations may not fail to know how and whence came the blessings we enjoy, and knowing, render unto them that homage which is due from a grateful people. The histories of our State, and those outside so far as I have seen, are so conflicting and contradictory, with perhaps one exception, Dr. Rumple's, as to the relationship of Colonel Francis Locke to General Matthew Locke and Francis Locke, Jr., Judge and United States Senator, and as their relationship was so close and their activity so constant and unceasing for the cause of American Independence—lived side by side and buried side by side in old Thyatira Cemetery, hard by their broad plantations in Rowan County—I will state the facts as to their relationship, but first a word concerning the public services of General Matthew Locke.

The first of this once large, influential, and patriotic family in Rowan County came from the north of Ireland to America

in the 17th century and settled in Lancaster County, Penn. Tradition says the head of this family was Sir George Locke. He married Mrs. Richard Brandon, a lady of distinguished parentage. From Lancaster County, Penn., the three brothers, Matthew, Francis, George, and his sister Margaret, came to North Carolina and settled in Rowan County. The Lockes were of English descent and originally came from London. General Matthew Locke was born in the year 1730, and died in 1801, was an energetic, public-spirited, popular man, the determined foe of every form of oppression and fraud, and in 1771 sympathized with the Regulators in many of their just complaints and grievances. He was elected a member of House of Assembly in 1769, 1771 and 1773; and of the Provincial Congress at Hillsboro, August, 1775, and of the same body at Halifax in 1776, which formed the first Constitution for North Carolina. From 1777 to 1792 he was continuously a member of the Legislature and served on the most important committees. He was elected Brigadier General of State troops. In 1792 he was elected to the United States Congress and served continuously to 1799. He died September 7, 1801. He married Mary (Margaret), daughter of Richard Brandon, a name distinguished in the annals of those troublous times for courageous devotion to the cause of liberty and independence, and left a family of thirteen children, eight sons and five daughters, and among their descendants have been some of the most distinguished people in this and other States.

In his biographical sketch at Washington he states that four of his sons were in the Revolutionary army at one time. "It is said that in some emergency during the Revolution Colonel Francis Locke raised a strong company of minute men, composed mainly of Lockes and Brandons." One of General Locke's sons, Lieutenant George Locke, fell near Charlotte on September 25th, 1780, fighting for his country.

"While the British were in camp at Charlotte Colonel Davie ordered Captain John Brandon, Major Joseph Graham and Lieutenant George Locke with twenty-five men to reconnoitre their camp. When they marched within fifty yards of the enemy's lines Captain Brandon proposed to advance and deliver a volley, which they did with great precision. Tarleton's troops gave chase and pursued the Americans; Graham, Locke and others saw their capture was imminent and turned off from the main road. Graham fell with nine sabre wounds and three from lead and was left for dead, but marvelously survived. Lieutenant George Locke was literally cut to pieces in a most barbarous manner—two dead British were found near the spot where Lieutenant Locke was killed and Graham wounded. Captain Brandon owed his life to the fleetness of his horse. This testimony has come down from Colonel Alexander Work Brandon, a soldier in the War of 1812 and son of Colonel John Brandon."

The other sons of General Matthew Locke moved to other states. John, who married a daughter of General Griffith Rutherford, removed with him to Tennessee, where General Locke had large landed possessions. His daughters married in North Carolina, gentlemen noted in Revolutionary annals, and from them numerous descendants have adorned the history of our State. Strange as it may seem there is not a male descendant of the Locke or Brandon name in North Carolina to-day, once the two largest families in Rowan County. The head-stone in Thyatira graveyard where General Locke was buried contains the following inscription: "In memory of Matthew Locke, Esquire, died September 7, 1801, aged seventy-one. A promoter of civilization, a legislator and a patriotic friend of his country. In his private character, a tender husband, and an affectionate parent, and an indulgent master, ever a friend to the poor, and attentive to his happiness in that state where we contemplate his existence leaving memory to retain him here."

Colonel Francis Locke, the subject of this sketch as before stated, was the brother of General Matthew Locke and son of Sir George Locke. He also married a Brandon, daughter of Mrs. Richard Brandon, Anna by name, and sister of General Matthew Locke's wife, and settled on an adjoining plantation with his brother, Matthew, about five miles west of Salisbury on Grants or Sills creek, near Thyatira church. Here these two distinguished brothers lived and died proprietors of large landed estates and of numerous slaves. Colonel Francis Locke left four sons and three daughters. Among them was first John, who was a Major in the Revolutionary War, died in 1833, aged eighty-two years. The second and most distinguished of his sons was Francis Locke, Jr. He was born in Rowan County in 1776, was prepared for college in the school of Reverend Dr. McCorkle at Thyatira, who established the first Normal school in the United States. From thence he went to the University at Chapel Hill with his cousin Robert Locke, who graduated in the class of 1798. Francis Locke, Jr., studied law and achieved great eminence in his profession. He was appointed judge in 1803, which office he filled until 1814, when he resigned to accept his election to the United States Senate. This high office he shortly afterwards resigned never having taken his seat.

Colonel Francis Locke was a man of distinguished bearing and address, and was early, 1766, made sheriff of Rowan County. He succeeded Griffith Rutherford, afterwards General Rutherford, in this office which, owing to the wealth and area of Rowan County must have been the most lucrative and responsible in the State. In this trying position, when many of the crown officers were extortionate and dishonest, the popularity of Francis Locke and Griffith Rutherford and the confidence placed in them by the people is evidence of the honesty and uprightness of their official career. He was

among the first patriots to offer himself and his all to the cause of American Independence. At the April session of the Provincial Congress in session at Halifax, 1776, he was appointed Colonel of the first regiment of Rowan. In November following he was designated Colonel of the second batallion of volunteers when our State was going to the aid of South Carolina. In 1777-8, Colonel Locke was active in the cause of the Revolution, first organizing his companies, weeding out Tories, (it is said in one of his companies, Captain Johnson's, the Tories were about to elect all the officers), suppressing their activities when they became threatening in this part of the State and the following year, 1779, was with General Rutherford in his campaigns in South Carolina and Georgia —was prevented from participating in the battle of Bryar Creek, perhaps fortunately, and a few days later was engaged in the less strenuous duty of reviewing the errors of those who did, as a member of the court-martial requested by General Ashe.

The following year, 1780, gave to Colonel Locke the opportunity to make his name revered and honored as long as bravery, courage, and patriotism is esteemed among men. Ramsour's mill was the greatest victory for the patriots, and the bloodiest battle in all the Revolution, and Colonel Francis Locke was the chief commander of this great battle. A description of this battle will not be given here as it has been vividly described by General Joseph Graham in Wheeler's history, and lately by our present efficient Commissioner of Agriculture, Major William A. Graham in THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET. A word, however, as to the importance of this battle and its influence upon the cause of our independence. The opening of the year 1780 found the cause of the patriots at its lowest ebb. General Ashe had been defeated at Bryar Creek, General Lincoln had failed to take Savannah, and Charleston had fallen into the hands of the British.

Buford was defeated on the Waxhaw settlements, and the South was left destitute of any regular force to support the cause of the Revolution. There were no regular troops south of Pennsylvania to oppose the British, or keep the Tories in awe. The States of South Carolina and Georgia were under the yoke of British rule, and the hopes of the Revolution in the South, and largely in the whole country, rested upon the courage and bravery of the patriots of the then *Young* North State, and they were not in vain, and never have been when her sons have been put to the test, and to-day we love to think of her as the dear *Old* North State. On the 14th of June, 1780, General Rutherford having learned that the Tories were embodied in large numbers in Tryon and surrounding territory, directed Colonel Francis Locke, Major Wilson, Captains Falls, Brandon, and other officers to raise a sufficient force to defeat and disperse them. The Tories were emboldened by the accounts given them of the fall of Charleston and the success of the British generally in the South, and the early coming of Cornwallis to subjugate the State of North Carolina by Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, their leader, who had come from the British army; and by the 20th of June they were thirteen hundred strong at Ramsour's mill, and eager for battle. No less eager were the four hundred patriots who had traveled all night of the 19th without a halt until within three quarters of a mile of Ramsour's where a council was held and Colonel Locke gave directions as to the plan of attack. About sunrise the morning of the 20th the cavalry which led the patriots made a furious onslaught on the Tories and were followed by the infantry. The battle raged furiously all along the line—sometimes against the patriots. Colonel Locke gave but few orders during the battle—his brave captains and fervent soldiers needed none. It was death or victory. One by one his brave captains fell

until four lay dead upon the field and two others prostrate with wounds. At many places clubbing with their long rifles in a hand to hand encounter was the order of the hour. A grand charge of the cavalry on the flank of the Tories, led by Captain John Brandon and Major Joseph McDowell, supported by the old guard of infantry directly under Colonel Locke, put the Tories to flight and from that hour Toryism was dead in the west.

Abram Forney, who was in the battle told the writer's father that it lasted more than an hour and a half and that as many Tories were drowned in the mill pond in their rear, killed and wounded as were in the whole force of the patriots. Three months hence and only twenty miles away King's Mountain was to be fought. Think of a victory at Ramsour's and Ferguson at King's Mountain with two thousand more men flushed with victory. On the contrary this great rout of the Tories at Ramsour's completely conquered them in old Tryon and the country around it and the patriots became invincible. Major Graham in a sketch of the battle says: "I do not think in killed and wounded in proportion to the number engaged the battle is equaled in the Revolution * * * The defeat and rout of three times their number is certainly worthy of note."

"He that hath his quarrel just
Is thrice armed."

Colonel Locke showed his magnanimity as he saw three Tory captains dead on the field not far from each other. He had seen their valor in the struggle just ended and he said, "these men shall not be buried with the common soldier." He had them buried in the same grave on the crest of the hill, and a rude carving on a soapstone has marked their last resting place for over a hundred years. This great battle with much truth may be said to have been the turning point in that great struggle for liberty and the heroic victors are scarcely

mentioned in history, which neglect and ingratitude is said to have been occasioned by the influence of the Tories and their descendants in this section, many of whom were influential and well-to-do people.

After this battle Colonel Locke and his brave men returned to their homes for a short rest and Ferguson's reported invasion of the State was the next call to arms. September, 1780, General Davidson orders "Colonel Armstrong, Cleveland and Locke to unite their forces against Ferguson and stop his progress." September 23d, 1780, Colonel Locke writes to General Sumner: "I have ordered all the militia in Rowan to join me at Sherrill's Ford, where I was ordered by General Davidson to take post, and send him all the intelligence I could of the strength and movements of the enemy. I have now not more than sixty men in camp and from the first accounts of the enemy they are eight hundred, and some say fifteen hundred strong, lying at Burke Court and at Greenleafs. Lead we are in want of. Colonel Armstrong was to have sent on a quantity. If you have any part of your army you could spare to our assistance I think we could drive the enemy out of our State."

But Colonel Locke was not destined to meet Ferguson. The "over the mountain" patriots were to swoop down upon him like the eagle upon its prey and destroy him forever. The movements of Colonel Locke and his men for the few months following were confined to his immediate section until the spring of 1781, when he began his preparations to join General Greene in his campaign against Cornwallis, going into camp near Shallow Ford on the Yadkin, where the famous "contention" arose between the different Colonels of the regiments as to the seniority of their commission and their right to command. Here was patriotism placed above self and State, and General Pickens, of South Carolina, without any special claim or merit over these battle-scarred veterans was

generously placed by them in supreme command. The infantry was placed under the command of Colonel Locke and Major Caruth, and with loyalty and supreme devotion the splendid soldier followed General Pickens in his short but brilliant campaign. Setting out immediately for Hillsboro with Colonel Locke in command of the infantry and Graham, of the cavalry, Cornwallis had scarcely pitched his tent before Pickens' men were in sight of the town and preparing to attack him. After engaging in several dashing and brilliant skirmishes and marching and countermarching in the following weeks with a view to re-enforcing General Greene and bringing Cornwallis to mortal combat, Colonel Locke's regiment joined General Greene at High Rock Ford on the Haw River, where their term of service ended on the 3d of March before the battle of Guilford on the 15th. Notwithstanding they remained some days afterward hoping to engage in a general battle and by General Greene's order reluctantly marched in companies for Rowan, Mecklenburg, and Lincoln counties, where they were to hold themselves in readiness to hamper the progress of Cornwallis should he retreat in that direction.

I will not further trace the military services of Colonel Locke other than stating that prior to the Declaration of Independence he buckled on his sword and struck for his country's freedom and obeyed every call of duty to the end; never in all that great struggle did he lead his faithful men to defeat, or turn his back to the foe. After the war closed and the independence of his country was recognized he returned to his home near Salisbury and spent the remainder of his days in the peaceful and dignified pursuits of the Southern planter, where subsequent to the 27th day of June, 1796 (date of his will), he died and was interred in the old historic cemetery of Thyatira Church, in Rowan County, where he lies with many of his devoted comrades in an un-

known grave. His distinguished son, Judge Locke, made provision in his will for suitable monuments to be erected to his father and mother out of his large estate, but it was sadly neglected by his unrelated executors and to-day this hero of the Revolution has no stone to mark his last resting place; honored less than the three Tory captains whom he magnanimously and reverently buried on the crest of the hill at Ramsour's Mill and where the little soapstone slab over their graves is the only monument that marks this historic field.

I sincerely trust that in the near future the Daughters of the Revolution, of North Carolina, whose tender memory of the sacrifices and deeds of heroism of their noble ancestors is so vitalizing and encouraging, will see to it that Ramsour's Mill is duly marked and that due honor be paid to the heroes who there fought and died for their country's freedom.

UNVEILING OF MEMORIAL TABLET AT NIXONTON, N. C.

BY MRS. WALKER WALLER JOYNES.

After nearly a year of earnest endeavor on the part of the members of the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, their efforts and purposes were happily crowned with success by the erection on June 11, at Hall's Creek Church, near Nixonton, North Carolina, of a Memorial Tablet commemorative of the spot on which was held the "First Albemarle Assembly, February 6, 1665."

In pursuance of the avowed ideals of the Daughters as set forth in their constitution, "To perpetuate the patriotic spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence," the erection of this tablet was undertaken and successfully carried to completion.

The local Chapter, a mere handful of patriotic women, felt considerably handicapped in this comparatively novel undertaking on account of their limited financial resources, which would have been embarrassing, but for the cordial assistance of the citizens of this community.

The tablet stands close to the roadside, almost opposite Hall's Creek Church approximately, as near as can be ascertained, on the identical spot on which stood our sturdy forbears when they first enacted laws along the English lines for the preservation of freedom and liberty in this, the present State of North Carolina.

To Miss Catherine F. S. Albertson, Vice-Regent of the North Carolina Society and former Regent and Organizer of this Chapter, is attributable the inception of the idea to erect a suitable marker on this site and to her devoted and enthusiastic efforts the accomplishment of the project is largely due.

For the dedicatory exercises the Chapter was fortunate to secure as orator of the occasion the Hon. Francis D. Winston, of Windsor, a patriot whose extensive research in North Carolina history, intimate knowledge thereof and high educational attainments seemed to fit him particularly to officiate at this event.

After an informal luncheon at the hospitable home of the Misses Albertson, West Church street, at which were present Judge Winston, Windsor, N. C.; Mrs. W. D. Pruden; Mrs. Eugene Marriner, of the Penelope Barker Chapter Daughters of the Revolution of Edenton, North Carolina; Rev. Dr. Drane, Chaplain of the Sons of the Revolution, Edenton, North Carolina; Rev. C. F. Smith, pastor Christ Episcopal Church; Captain E. R. Outlaw and Miss Outlaw; Miss Sophie E. Martin; Professor Sheep, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Hon. I. M. Meekins, Assistant District Attorney Eastern District, North Carolina, all of this city; Misses Virginia Flora, Catherine Jones, Rose Smith, Mahala Meekins, members of the local chapter Junior Daughters and the members of this chapter, a start was made at 1 p. m. for the scene of the unveiling, under the most discouraging circumstances of lowering skies, frequent showers and muddy roads.

However, upon arriving at Hall's Creek Church, the spirits of the Elizabeth City delegation were quickly revived by the evidences of cordial appreciation and sincere sympathy exhibited on the part of the citizens, men, women and children of the surrounding community, who showed much interest in the object of our visit, introduced us to their church, which had been prettily decorated, and extended us every courtesy. Owing to the weather conditions it was decided to make a change in the program and to unveil the tablet prior to the other exercises. The stone had been previously draped with the North Carolina colors and a

National Ensign, to both of which were attached streamers of the buff and blue, held by four charter members of the Junior Chapter, Misses Meekins, Jones, Flora, and Smith, who, upon the conclusion of a brief address by the Rev. C. F. Smith, drew aside the colors, revealing the Memorial Stone in its simple though significant proportions, bearing the inscription, "Here was held the First Albemarle Assembly Feb. 6, 1665. Erected by the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, June 11, 1910."

Immediately afterwards the audience passed into the church, Rev. R. B. Drane offered the opening prayer and in the absence of the pastor, Rev. J. M. Jackson, who had consented to be present and bid us welcome, this latter office was most fittingly discharged by Mr. H. E. Stokely, of Nixonton. The program was then carried out as follows:

State Anthem.....Old North State.
Introduction of Speaker.....Rev. C. F. Smith.
Address.....Judge F. D. Winston.
Hymn.....My Country, 'Tis of Thee.
Benediction.....Rev. R. B. Drane, Chaplain Sons of the Revolution.

The scholarly address of Judge Winston was not only applicable to this particular occasion, but shed light on historical associations dear to the heart of the North Carolinian. It would be lacking in appreciation were the Daughters to record this happy event without expressing further their sincere thanks to the Rev. C. F. Smith for his hearty sympathy and invaluable services as chairman on the occasion. Upon the conclusion of the exercises the several participants dispersed to their respective homes, impressed with the profitable nature of the proceedings and grateful to those who made it a success. One of the most noticeable features of the whole function was the evident impression it made upon the citizens of this immediate vicinity and the great interest all of them took in the exercises. This, as

being directly in line of the intent of the Society, was most gratifying.

Later, at a meeting of the local Chapter, on Monday, June 13, resolutions of thanks were adopted to the citizens of Nixonton for their cordial sympathy and co-operation, and to Judge Winston for his timely and appropriate address, both of which were spread on the minutes of this Chapter.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT UNVEILING OF TABLET AT NIXONTON, N. C.

BY HON. F. D. WINSTON,
(Former Lieutenant Governor of North Carolina.)

Madame President—Ladies and Fellow Citizens:

For more than three centuries the spread of the English-speaking people, over the waste places of earth, has been not only the most striking feature of the world's history, but also the event of all others, most far-reaching in its effects and its importance.

The tongue which Lord Bacon feared to use in his writings, lest they should remain forever unknown to all but the inhabitants of a relatively unimportant insular kingdom, is now the speech of two continents.

The common law which Lord Coke jealously upheld in the lower half of a single European Island, is now the law of the land throughout the vast regions of Australia and of America to the north of the Rio Grande.

The names of the plays that Shakespeare wrote are household words in the mouths of mighty nations, whose wide domains were to him more unreal than the realm of Prester John.

Over half the descendants of their fellow countrymen of that day now dwell in lands, which, when these Englishmen were born, held not a single inhabitant. The race which, when they were in their prime, was hemmed in between the North and the Irish Seas, to-day holds sway over the world, whose endless coasts are washed by the waters of the three great oceans.

There have been many other races that at one time or another had their great periods of race expansion, as dis-

tinguished from mere conquest, but there has never been another whose expansion has been either so broad or so rapid.

Contemporary with the philosopher, with the judge, with the playwright, was the diplomat, the soldier, the discoverer, Sir Walter Raleigh.

It is fitting that this good company should meet under the authority of his name to mark the spot, not far remote from the sands upon which his keels first touched, where the earliest effort at representative government was inaugurated in our State.

We are fortunate indeed in having with us the Penelope Barker Chapter, for that name also recalls another scene in our life hardly less worthy of note than our discovery; for the discovery is in vain unless the subsequent deeds of the planted colony are in keeping with the ideals of the original planting.

The presence of our visitors reminds me that Thomas Barker, the husband of the Penelope Barker, after whom their Chapter is named, was for many years the leading citizen and lawyer of Bertie County. He was born in London, was college bred, and read law in the Inner Temple. He was a man of large affairs. In 1748 he was appointed one of the first Code Commissioners of North Carolina. He lived on his plantation near what is now St. Johns in Hertford County, then the county seat of Bertie County.

In 1742, the seat of government of Bertie County was moved to near Windsor, and it became inconvenient to the great lawyer to search records and attend courts. He therefore sought a wider field for his talents and located at Edenton, where he afterwards married Penelope Ellsbeck, who presided over the Edenton Tea Party.

And here I wish to call attention to the claim made by the descendants of Thomas Barker, that the oil painting in

Edenton, a copy of which appears in Dr. Richard Dillard's most interesting "Edenton Tea Party" article, is not the image of Penelope Barker, but is the picture of her step daughter, Betsy Barker. Dr. Edward Williams Pugh, of Windsor, himself a kinsman of the descendants of Thomas Barker, a man of wide genealogical research and splendid and discriminating literary taste, and a writer of note, received from the late John Buxton Willams, a great grandson of Thomas Barker, the statement that the painting is the likeness of his grandmother, Betsy Barker, who married Colonel William Tunstall, of Bertie County.

It will be recalled that Thomas Barker in his will was particular to prevent any of his property falling into the hands of Colonel Tunstall, and his gifts to Mrs. Tunstall were very cautiously guarded to prevent that occurrence.

Dr. Pugh also has in his possession a copy—protograph—of the painting which was sent to him by Mrs. Clement C. Clay, of Huntsville, Alabama. On the back of the picture is endorsed in Mrs. Clay's handwriting, "Betsy Barker, painted in 1760."

Mrs. Clay was the great-great-granddaughter of Thomas Barker and of course the great-granddaughter of Betsy Barker.

Betsy Barker was a daughter of Thomas Barker and his wife, Ferebee (Savage) Pugh, the widow of Francis Pugh, of Bertie County. Mr. John Buxton Williams informed Dr. Pugh that the painting was the work of Princeley, the celebrated English artist.

In tracing the development of a country there are two periods that engage the attention of the historian; the period of discovery and the period of colonization.

The period of discovery passes away with the record of its occurrence. From the period of colonization we estimate and sum up results.

The people who laid the foundations of colonization in this new world were nearly all refugees, exiles, wanderers, pilgrims. They were urged across the ocean by a common impulse; and that impulse was the desire to escape some form of oppression in the old world. Sometimes it was the oppression of the state. Sometimes it was the oppression of society. Sometimes it was the oppression of the church.

In the wake of the emigrant ship there was always tyranny. Men loved freedom; to find it they braved the perils of the deep, traversed the solitary forests of Maine, built log huts on the shores of New England; entered the Hudson, explored the Jerseys; found shelter in the Chesapeake; met starvation and death on the banks of the James; were buffeted by storms around the capes of the Carolinas; bravely dared Hatteras to disappear in mystery; built towns by the estuaries of mighty rivers; made roads through pine forests, and carried the dwellings of men to the very margin of the fever-haunted swamps of the South. It is all one story, the story of the human race seeking for liberty.

The first planting of the English race in America was on North Carolina soil. Raleigh's Colony came for that purpose. Others had come before but not to plant a race. The Norseman had come across frozen seas with the daring and endurance of demigods. They sought only adventure. The Spaniard had come, but only for love of gold. Cortez had conquered Mexico and Pizarro, Peru. The Spanish flag waved and the Spanish Cross glistened on the peaks of the Andes and the shores of the Pacific, but nowhere in the new world, until Raleigh sent his colony to this State, was heard the cry of an infant child of pure Caucasian blood, proclaiming the birth of the white race on the Western Hemisphere. The Spaniard came with sword and cannon, with cross and crucifix, to conquer and to plunder. Soldiers and sailors, priests and friars, adventurers and plunderers, pi-

rates of the sea and robbers of the land, forsaking wives, children and homes, they sought in the new world new fields for lust, avarice and conquest. They left their women behind, and took to wife the savage women of America. Behold the result to-day in the hybrid races of Mexico, and of Central America! Spanish fathers, Indian mothers, hybrid children, homes of lust and of tyranny! Immeasurable inequalities between father, mother and children!

Raleigh knew better. Scholar, soldier, orator, statesman, philosopher, he knew that the English race, with its splendid civilization, could be transplanted to America only by transplanting the English home. He knew that civilization everywhere is built upon the home, and that every home is what the mother makes it. He filled his ships with women as well as men; he sent out colonies, not pirates; he planted in America not English forts but the English race. The Governor of his colony set the example of taking his wife and family, among them a grown daughter, Eleanor, a young wife and expectant mother. Here was life in all its gentleness and fullness! What need for guns and cannon! When the infant cry of Virginia Dare was heard on Roanoke Island, it sounded around the world and called across the seas all of the millions who have since come to build the American nation. It was a new cry, in a new world, a mightier sound than the clash of sword or the roar of cannon; a sweeter call than the vesper bell of hooded priest with his vows of celibacy.

That baby cry sounded the death knell of Spanish power in the universe, and the final overthrow everywhere of king-craft, priest-craft, lust-craft. It told anew the old story of life, how every life not only of the individual human being, but also of races, of nations, of civilizations, must begin with and be dependent on a little child, a little child born in lawful wedlock, a pledge of holy love between man and woman,

equally matched and equally sharing the joys and responsibilities of life. This was the lesson of Raleigh's colonies, a chapter of which we read to-day; the lesson the Spaniard never heard in all his heroic efforts to conquer and possess the new world. In Spanish conquest and colonization, no part was played by women and children; it was a jungle struggle for the mastery between human animals. In English conquest and colonization women and children went hand and hand with men. Wherever the English race has gone, to Roanoke Island, to Lucknow, to Gettysburg, a little child has led them; led them in affection, in memory, in inspiration to deeds of daring and fortitude.

Among all the little children of our race none stands out more pathetic, more dramatic, more significant of mighty events, than the child of Raleigh's colony, the first Anglo-Saxon born in America, little Virginia Dare, native of North Carolina.

Upon our soil she received the rite of Christian baptism, without which basis the colonization of America would have failed.

I commend to your enterprising Chapter the placing of a picture of her christening in our nation's capital, with mother and babe and minister of God as the central figure, and around them grouped the little colony, standing on shore; to the east the deep blue ocean stretching far away, on its ever restless bosom an endless procession of ships, bringing races and nations from the old world to new life, liberty and freedom; to the west endless multitudes of Anglo-Saxons, peopling the continent and making indeed a new world; and underneath this inscription:

"And a little child shall lead them."

Many incidents have marked the growth of Raleigh's ideas into our present civilization, either one of which would be proper and profitable for our study at this hour. I leave them to abler hands.

You render your State a rich service in placing this tablet. It will commemorate, not only the first assembling of the people of North Carolina for law-making, but it will also mark their first coming to the State. They had been here but a few years when that first assembly was held here. I shall not enter into controversy with those who have sought special reasons for the settlement of North Carolina. The early settlers here have been on the one hand described as lawless and fugitives from justice, idle and thriftless and simply adventurous and migratory; on the other hand they have been held up as the victims of religious persecution, fleeing hither for conscience sake.

The real situation and facts do not bear out either theory, but both decidedly convince us that the first North Carolina settlers came at the instance of the agents of the Lords Proprietors to take up the valuable lands they then had for settlement.

You will recall that it was a gradual movement—so natural that the particulars are not recorded in the local annals of the time. The truth is that a few active spirits, perhaps more adventurous than their neighbors, resolved to make new homes in a more attractive locality, delightful climate, magnificent bottom lands, and bountiful products.

It was no great company that came from Nansemond through the wilderness and brought their supplies and implements for house building by water from some convenient point in Virginia.

They came not as conquerors, writing their names in blood on the scroll of fame, nor yet were they exiles from the habitations of mankind for conscience sake. It was a time of profound peace in Virginia, when the freemen still governed themselves, chose their own officers, made their own laws.

It was not oppression that drove these first settlers into the wilderness. It was a clergyman of the church of Eng-

land in Virginia, Roger Green, who was given the first grant of land in 1653 to be located on the Roanoke River in what is now Bertie County, as a reward for inducing settlements to be made.

These first settlers were not discontented with the Democratic-Republican institutions under which they were living. They were not fleeing from the ills of life, nor plunging into the primeval forest to escape the tyranny of their fellow-men. They were bold, enterprising, hardy Virginians, nurtured in freedom's ways, who were wooed to this summer land by the advantages of its situation. The movement involved no great change. It was merely a removal of a few miles beyond the outlying districts of Nansemond with water communication to the marts of trade on the Chesapeake. Nor did they come without the sanction of the Indians, who were to be their neighbors in these new plantations. They came in peace and were received as friends by the native inhabitants, who surrounded them. Lawless men would have made no such peaceful approach. Discontented men would not have been so friendly. Beggars and fugitives from justice could not have brought the means of buying homes and could not have bought them.

Some act of dishonesty, of double dealing, of attempted fraud inevitably follows the advent of the criminal, the vicious, the tramp. Neither history, nor tradition gives us any stain upon the characters of those founders of our State. When they had wrongs to be redressed they petitioned those in authority. The vicious would have had no such inclination; he would have righted his own grievances. Those fleeing from persecution would not have petitioned those of like life and aims and purposes with those from whom they had fled. They would have borne in silence the new wrong as a cherished privilege of again suffering for conscience sake. Within six years, at most, of their coming we find them in

lawful assemblage asking the Lords Proprietors for a redress of wrongs. Well authenticated tradition tells us that the meeting was on this spot.

"In Grandfather Tales," the late Colonel Richard Benbury Creecy tells of a ride to this spot with General Duncan McDonald of Edenton: "Towards evening we crossed Hall's Creek bridge in Pasquotank County, a mile from the Hecklefield farm, at Nixonton. On rising the hill at Hall's Creek the General stopped his horse and said to us, 'The first General Assembly of North Carolina met under that tree,' at the same time pointing to a large oak tree on the left-hand side of the road, that towered above the oaks that surrounded it."

As this meeting was in the month of January and the house of a neighbor and well wisher of the movement was near at hand, and as the matter involved careful consideration, doubtless so much of the tradition as places the meeting under the oak may well be ascribed to the romantic.

Had these people come to North Carolina for any other cause than that of better location, no doubt some mention of those causes would have been contained in the action taken, either as a protest against repetition, or as an evidence of their final escape from them and of their real joy in their new home with every form of freedom.

Two propositions were presented. The first was that they be granted the same quit rents as were paid in Virginia. The second was that they be permitted to pay the rents in kind, and not be compelled to pay in money.

Thomas Woodward, the Surveyor-general and a member of the Council when government was set up in Albemarle County, on June 2d, 1665, wrote to the Lords Proprietors, saying: "The people will not remove from Virginia upon harder conditions than they can live there, it being land only that they came for."

He also mentions that he has been "many years endeavor-

ing and encouraging the people to seat Albemarle and that those that live upon a place are best able to judge of the place, therefore, the petition of the General Assembly that was here convened will deserve your Honors' serious consideration."

That these people were not malcontents, lawless, complainers, irresponsible, is evidenced finally both by the reasonable requests they made and by the ready response received to their reasonable demands, for on the first day of May, 1668, the Lords Proprietors delivered to "Our trusty and well beloved Samuel Stephens, Esquire, Governor of our county of Albemarle, and of the Isles and Islets within ten leagues thereof; and to our trusty and well beloved counselors and assistants to our said Governor, the Great deed," in which the quit rents were reduced to the Virginia basis and might be paid in kind.

I have assumed that your program would otherwise provide for giving on this occasion such local historical matter as would give the State its first real view of this historic spot.

You will pardon another reference to the character of the men who settled our State. As a child it made my blood hot with indignation to read that they were indifferent citizens. There is no better way of judging a people than by a study of the laws they enact. Let us for a moment study our ancestors in the light of legislation.

We are not able to say definitely when the people of the colony here in representative assembly first submitted laws to the Lords Proprietors for their ratification. We at least know that it was soon after government was first organized here, for within ten years we find that on January 20, 1669, the Lords Proprietors ratified nine separate acts previously submitted by the Grand General Assembly of Albemarle, in North Carolina. These acts were again ratified and passed at an Assembly held October 15th, 1715, at the house of

Captain Richard Sanderson on Little River in Perquimans County. Mr. Francis Nixon, after whom this locality is named transmitted the laws to the Proprietors.

As we would expect much of these acts is devoted to the subject of encouraging immigration and settlement.

As an encouragement to persons to come into the county they stay the hand of the court and bill collector for five years during which time, "Noe person transporting themselves into this county shall be lyable to be sued for any debt contracted or cause of action given without the county and that noe person living in this county shall on any pretence whatsoever receive any letter of Attorney, Bill or account, to recover any debt within the time above mentioned of a debtor living here without the said debtor freely consent to it."

And for this reason mainly the statement is made that our early settlers were thieves, rogues and vagabonds. It is enough to say in reply that Dukes, Earls, Lords and men of eminence on the Board of Lords Proprietors ratified this act twice and gave it their sanction. It happens, however, that North Carolina was neither the pioneer, nor alone in this kind of legislation. Twice her sister state, Virginia, in 1642, and in 1663 re-enacted such a law, and in 1683 and 1696 South Carolina passed similar acts.

You will find similar provisions in the earliest regulations in every effort at colonization. Georgia was founded in opposition to the known law of England—imprisonment for debt.

And to further encourage "the transporting of persons and their families into this county to plant and here seat themselves, they shall be exempted from paying levies for one whole year after their arrival. Provided always there be noe emergent charge which the Vice-Pallatine, Council and Assembly shall judge extraordinary."

And to prevent speculation in lands, and to encourage actual and bona fide settlers, it was provided that "noe person

or persons whatsoever shall make sale of their right or rights to land until he hath binn two complete years at least an inhabitant in the county."

The adventurous, the land grabber, met with small favor and they passed an act preventing the taking up of more than 640 acres in any one dividend. And to more readily secure permanence of settlement an act was passed requiring all persons who had made small clearings and quit them, to repair to the land within six months, and actually use and occupy them. In default of this the Governor and Council were to take possession, rent them out and collect the rents, and out of them first to pay the party abandoning the land for any improvements put upon them. The free booter does no such act of justice and equity.

For their own security and for promoting and maintaining their friendly relations with the Indians, an act limited the number and character of people who could trade and truck with these natives. The lawless would have considered the Indian a proper subject of pillage. They also provided for paying the Governor and his Council reasonable compensation and expenses and placed the burden upon those most able to bear it, as a part of the court costs.

The marriage law passed at this session has also been the subject of bitter reproach, although it simply authorized civil officers to celebrate the rites of matrimony. The law, it was said tended directly to gross immorality and vice. Experience has proven otherwise; it made marriage easy, but not divorce. The Virginia law required the marriage rites to be solemnized by a clergyman of the church of England, but as there were no clergymen of any sort in Albemarle, the present law was a necessity, bearing in mind at least St. Paul's wise injunction that "it is better to marry than to burn."

It is divorce, not matrimony, that tends to licentiousness.

It was marriage, not divorce that this law made easy. At this distance of time we can confirm the wisdom of the act by pointing to a pure and holy family status that obtains in North Carolina, not surpassed by any in the civilized world.

Permit one more reference to an act which shows that whatever our first settlers were, we their descendants now are. They were against trusts and combines. Hear them:

"Whereas divers adventurers have transported commodyties into this country which hath binn engrossed by some particular persons to retail again at unreasonable rates to the Inhabitants of this county to prevent which inconvenience for the future. It is enacted and be it enacted by the Pallatine and Proprietors by and with the advice and consent of this present Grand Assembly and the authority thereof that any person whatsoever within this county shall after the publication hereof presume to engross any quantity of goods from any adventurer to sell and retail again at unreasonable rates to the inhabitants shall forfeit for every such offence tenn thousand pounds of tobacco, the one halfe to the informer, the other halfe to the use of the Lords Proprietors."

And to those who deny the right of our law-making power to change the burden of proof and make a presumption of guilt arise on certain academic facts let me commend the rule of evidence laid down. "And it is hereby further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid that any person or persons that shall buy goods of any adventurer and retail the same, except he cann in tenn days produce to the vallew of said goods so purchased of his own proper Tobacco or Estate according to the bargain in kind, he shall be deemed an Ingrocer and proceed against as in this act for that case is provided."

No, fellow-citizens, those men were the genesis of the present day North Carolina. Measure them by any of the standards that have obtained in estimating colonists, and we

are content. They were the first to firmly ask a redress of wrongs. They were the first to declare for freedom. They pursued with valor and ability every known method of men determined to establish an enduring government. Their descendants to-day are the purest Anglo-Saxons on the globe. The highest ideal of personal, mercantile and professional conduct still obtains among them. Now, as then, their legislation is responsive to the needs of the people. The source of this stream must have been pure.

A GLIMPSE OF HISTORIC YORKTOWN

BY MRS. HELEN DE B. WILLS.

On October 19, 1909, the one hundred and twenty-eighth anniversary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to General George Washington at Yorktown, Virginia, that historic town was the scene of a memorable celebration, conducted under the joint auspices of the Descendants of Signers and the Yorktown Historical Society of the United States.

The Yorktown of to-day is a village of about one hundred and twenty-five inhabitants, "a relic of antiquity as well as a monument to American patriotism," as it has been called.

A large crowd was present on the occasion above mentioned than has been in Yorktown since 1881, when the monument which overlooks the village and its picturesque surroundings was unveiled—erected in honor of the famous surrender on the centennial of that event. The message conveying the news of the surrender from Yorktown to Philadelphia, then the seat of Government, took four days to go. To-day it might be sent the length and breadth of the United States in less than four minutes.

Situated on a hill overlooking the York River, a broad winding stream of blue water, this historic village is a beautiful and picturesque spot. Unusually this stream is as barren of boats as the hillsides are of houses, but on this 19th of October, 1909, a flotilla of torpedo boats attached to the Maryland Naval Reserves rode at anchor on its bosom, appearing in gala decorations in honor of the occasion.

The lone dock at the foot of the hill swarmed with soldiers —five companies of artillery sent over from Fort Monroe to help in the celebration. These marched through the town,

House Where Cornwallis Surrendered, Yorktown, Va

colors flying and bands playing, while a procession of citizens led by a number of mounted horsemen and horsewomen with the Fort Monroe band and a parade of the school children of York County and town, made the streets lively. Lunch followed this demonstration, and at two o'clock the speakers' stand, erected in front of the historic old Nelson Mansion, was occupied by the orators of the day and members of the two patriotic societies.

Earlier in the day these societies had held business meetings in the Nelson house and elsewhere.

Now the school children gathered on the seats arranged for them, the military bands were also seated while banners representing the thirteen original States floated over the heads of the young singers. The children, with the band accompanying, sang "America" and other patriotic songs, at intervals, while the crowd of citizens of York County and elsewhere, stood patiently around listening to the speeches and the music.

A call to order by Dr. Henry Morris, of Philadelphia, President of the Descendants of Signers, was followed by an invocation by Rev. Donald C. MacLeod, of Washington, D. C.

An address by Dr. Morris was heard with marked interest and attention, and one by the Chairman, Hon. James G. Riddick, Mayor of Norfolk, Virginia, was also much appreciated.

After music by the children and the band, Colonel Oswald Tilghman, of Easton, Maryland, read the correspondence between General Washington and Lord Cornwallis concerning the surrender; also the articles of capitulation, and the official message from General Washington to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, which was carried on horseback by Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman, the ancestor of the speaker, Colonel Oswald Tilghman, who gave an interesting address.

Music, singing by the children with accompaniment by the band, was followed by an impressive address by Hon. J. Hampton Moore, M.C., of Philadelphia, President of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association.

The exercises concluded with a benediction by Rev. George Washington Dame, S.T.D., Chaplain of the Descendants of Signers.

Succeeding these exercises the pleasure was enjoyed by the members of the two societies of making each other's acquaintance, and also of meeting members of the Nelson family, of whom many were present. The historic Nelson Mansion is preserved and used as a museum for relics and other interesting material contributed by members of the family and others.

The Yorktown Historical Society decorated us with their badges for this memorable occasion.

Only want of time prevented our closer examination of all the interesting places and things to be seen at Yorktown, and we left with the resolve to go again, if possible.

COLONEL POLK'S REBELLION.

BY CAPTAIN S. A. ASHE.

The dramatic incidents in the proceeding of Mecklenburg County in May, 1775, were those in which Colonel Tom Polk was the chief actor. "Tom Polk has raised a pretty spirit in the back country," wrote the rebellious Sam Johnston to our Delegates in the Continental Congress; "He has gone farther than I would have chose to have gone," etc. Yes; certainly, it was Tom Polk, and well-known throughout the Province. The figure of the energetic Colonel, stirring up the people, and inciting them to rebellion, and, when all was ripe for action, calling for the election of two delegates from each of his militia districts, prepared to assert Independence and to ordain a rebel government, stands out boldly in the picture of that day, and challenges our admiration. In the scene, he is the central figure and around him cluster his lieutenants as he moves forward in the role of the rebel chieftain of his people. But in full sympathy with him are his patriot associates, among them being the scholarly Brevard who develops the system of government to supplant the cast-off British, and prepares the resolves to be ratified by popular action. At length the plan is evolved, the preliminaries arranged, the election held; the delegates meet, the Resolves are adopted. Independence is decreed, the old government is overthrown and a new one ordained; and the inhabitants with enthusiasm assent and ratify the action! As the occasion was great—so it was a great crowd that sent up a mighty shout when Tom Polk proclaimed Independence from the court-house door—for one-half of all the county were there, and their huzzas made the welkin ring, and hats were thrown high in the air.

And so the design was accomplished, and Colonel Polk's rebellion took form and shape, and a government by the people was ordained, which marked an advance far beyond the action of any other community.

In view of these known facts, is it not remarkable that in the account of the proceedings in Mecklenburg County, commonly accepted as a contemporaneous narrative of these proceedings, the name of Colonel Thomas Polk does not appear? Nor does that of Dr. Brevard appear; nor is there any mention made in that narrative of the great public meeting, or of the ratification by the inhabitants of the action of the delegation. Is it not remarkable that in that narrative of these proceedings there is nothing said about "Independence being proclaimed"? Surely these omissions remind one of "the play of Hamlet, with Hamlet left out." It is Tom Polk's rebellion with no mention of Tom Polk!

This first account, properly called the Alexander narrative, was published in the Raleigh Register in 1819. It was found in the papers of John McKnitt Alexander, who died in 1817; and his son, Dr. Joseph Alexander furnished it for publication. In it, the writer of it stated that Colonel Adam Alexander was colonel of the county and called the election; that Colonel Abram Alexander presided over the meeting, and that John McKnitt Alexander was clerk of the meeting. There was no mention of either Polk or Brevard. But the author of the narrative did not say that it was the original document prepared in 1775; nor did he say that it was even a copy of the original. On the contrary, he appended to it a certificate that the original was burnt in April, 1800, and that later during that year, he prepared this manuscript which therefore "might not literally correspond with the burnt original"—as it was written from memory. There was no mention in it of Colonel Polk's name; nor of Dr. Brevard's name; nor of any meeting of the inhabitants

and their ratification of the plan to establish a people's government founded on the will of the people.

How then has it happened that our literature has been enriched by some very eloquent descriptions of that remarkable scene—when the rebel Tom Polk proclaimed Independence? As portrayed by our historical writers we see Colonel Polk's stalwart form on the high steps of the famous courthouse—surrounded by a great concourse of hardy men, eager, excited, enthusiastic. We hear him read the resolves. We hear him proclaim Independence—we hear the shouts and huzzas of a thousand throats and witness a scene of remarkable enthusiasm—a scene for the brush of the painter, for the pen of the artist. But that dramatic episode—that great ending of the tense action of the leaders—that final accomplishment of their high purpose to start the ball of Independence—finds no mention in Colonel Alexander's narrative of these great and memorable proceedings. Certainly it is singular that what is commonly considered to be an account of the Mecklenburg Declaration omits the name of the chief actor, and also omits the important fact that the people endorsed, accepted, confirmed, ratified the proposed Independent government by a manifestation of their enthusiastic approval!

Among the many curious circumstances in our literature, this is indeed one of the most curious!

But notwithstanding these omissions in the Alexander narrative, it is now firmly fixed in our literature that Colonel Polk was the rebel chieftain, the patriot leader, and that he called the election, and, in one of the most dramatic scenes ever enacted, proclaimed Independence.

In view of these circumstances it is interesting to observe the changes which have taken place in the accepted version of these historical proceedings.

Immediately following the first publication of the Alexander narrative—1819—Colonel William Polk, then resid-

ing in Raleigh, wrote to old men in Mecklenburg to get their statements about these memorable events. In a general way they confirmed the statement that in May, 1775, Mecklenburg declared Independence. Some said that Colonel Polk was colonel of the county and called the election—and not Abram Alexander. Also they gave an account of the great meeting, at which Colonel Polk proclaimed Independence and of the popular ratification.

Judge Murphey was gathering material for a history of the State, and at his invitation Colonel William Polk prepared a narrative of the proceedings in Mecklenburg, in which he incorporated the Alexander narrative, published in 1819, altered, however, to make it conform to the statements of the other witnesses—that it was Colonel Polk who called the election; and also making reference to the great and enthusiastic ratification meeting.

Judge Murphey, who was an accomplished writer, dressed up Colonel Polk's narrative, slightly changing the language here and there, and introducing expressions of his own. And so it came about that in 1821 the historical version was modified making it conform in some details to the statements of the witnesses made in 1820. Eight years later, in 1829, Judge Martin published in his history of the State a document that followed closely the narrative prepared by Colonel Polk and dressed up by Judge Murphey. The fundamental basis of all was the Alexander narrative, but the Martin document differed from that in some particulars, and was copied from the Polk and Murphey narratives.

In 1830 other witnesses likewise made statements; and in 1833 the Legislative Committee published "The State Pamphlet." In this there was a reproduction of the Alexander narrative as published in 1819, modified by some verbal changes made Dr. Joseph Alexander, who held the manuscript papers of his father. And particularly is it

noted that in this publication, it is said that Colonel Polk called the election—not Adam Alexander as was stated in the narrative published in 1819. But the Legislative Committee did not stop there. They brought forward in the "State Pamphlet" all the testimony given by the witnesses in 1820 and 1830. And as the Legislative Committee corrected the "original proceedings" published in 1819, our historical writers have made further corrections and have interwoven into the account of the proceedings such facts and circumstances as the evidence of the witnesses warrants. Thus despite the fact that the Alexander narrative does not mention Colonel Polk's name at all, and that the account given in Martin's history does not mention that Colonel Polk proclaimed Independence—our historical writers brushing aside these accounts, give him all credit for both, and it is now firmly established that the proceedings in Mecklenburg were in truth and indeed Colonel Tom Polk's rebellion and that he was the leading actor in it.

WAS GEORGE DURANT ORIGINALLY A QUAKER?

*Duluth, Minnesota, April 23d, 1910.

Captain S. A. Ashe,
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Sir:—I was interested in your brief sketch of George Durant, which appeared in the current April number of North Carolina Booklet.

At page 215 you say that George Durant was married in Northumberland County, Virginia, by Reverend David Lindsay; "but whether Parson Lindsay was of the Church of England or not is now unknown."

If Durant were a Quaker and married by a "priest," he would have been "disowned" by the meeting of Friends to which he belonged. The Reverend David Lindsay was a "priest" within the meaning of the term as used by the Quakers, being an Episcopal clergyman of the original Wicomico Church of Northumberland County, Virginia. The first Reverend David Lindsay, Minister of Leith, suburb of Edinburgh, Scotland, was Bishop of Ross. He was the son of Alexander Lindsay, of Edzell Castle, who was the son of David Lindsay, eighth Earl of Crawford. Reverend David Lindsay, Bishop of Ross, was chaplain for King James I of England and VI of Scotland. He accompanied King James on his matrimonial voyage to Denmark and performed the marriage ceremony. Bishop Lindsay baptized King Charles I and his brother, Prince Henry. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Archbishop Spottswood, the King's Primate, and in the ministry at Leith he died in 1613.

*This letter from a subscriber of The North Carolina Booklet relates to the article in the April issue by Captain S. A. Ashe, and is of such value it is given here in full—Editor.

The Bishop of Ross left two children, a son and a daughter. The son was Sir Hierome (or Jerome) Lindsay. Upon the marriage of the latter with his cousin he became Sir Hierome Lindsay of the Mount and was appointed Lord Lion King at Arms, he being the fourth and last of the Lindsays to hold this office. The daughter of the Bishop of Ross married Archbishop Spottswood, the historian and divine. She was the grandmother of Governor Alexander Spottswood, of Virginia, ancestor of General Robert E. Lee, the Nelsons, etc.

The following record of the baptism of David Lyndsay, first son of Sir Hierome (Jerome) Lyndsay, will be found in the South Leith Church records at the Register House, Edinburgh, Scotland:

"Jerome (or Hierome) Lyndsay and Margaret Colville, their infant, baptized David, 2d January, 1603.

"Witness—1, David Lyndsay, of Edzell, Kt.; 2, George Ramsay, of Dalhousie; 3, Mr. David Lyndsay." (See "Lives of the Lindsays" by Lord Lindsay, published in London, 1849 and again in 1857; "The Lindsays of America" by Margaret Lindsay; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* and *Baltimore Sun,* 1906.)

On the plantation of Mrs. W. F. Basye, of Cherry Point, Northumberland County, Virginia, there is a burial place where the remains of the Reverend David Lindsay were laid to rest. A tombstone was raised to his memory bearing the following inscription:

"Here Lyeth Interred Ye Body of That Holy and Reverant Devine, Mr. David Lyndsay, Late Minister of Wicomico Church, Who Was Born in ye Kingdom of Scotland, First and Lawfull Sonne of ye Rt. Honorable Sir Hierome Lyndsay, Knt. of Ye Mount, Lord Liu King at Armes, Who Departed This Life in the 64th Year of His Age the 3d Aprill. Anno Dom. 1667."

A copy has been preserved in the family for several generations.

In 1702 his grandson, Captain Thomas Opie, was buried in the same grave. At a later date, because the former stone was beginning to crumble, the following inscription was carved on the slab which bore the name of Captain Opie:

"Here Lyeth the body of Mr. David Lyndsy, Doctor of Divinity, who departed this life the 3d day of April, 1667."

In 1906, a part of the stone first mentioned was discovered beneath the surface of the earth near the grave of the Reverend David Lindsay and upon being freed from soil was photographed disclosing much of the inscription first above quoted, and the family coat of arms.

The facts last stated can be verified by Mr. W. F. Basye, of Cherry Point, Northumberland County, Virginia, by Wm. S. Cralle, Clerk of Court and Notary Public, by Mr. A. B. Garner, Justice of the Peace for said county, and by Mr. W. Dade Hempstone, Clerk of the Circuit Court of Loudon County, Virginia, who saw and examined the older stone..

The will of the Reverend David Lindsay was dated 2d April, 1667, and was proved and recorded in Northumberland County, 8th of April, 1667. In it he refers to himself as follows:

"I, David Lindsay, Minister of God's word in Virginia."

It is quite clear from the antecedents of the Reverend David Lindsay and the inscription on his tombstone above quoted that he was an Episcopal clergyman and it is not improbable that George Durant was a member of the same church. It is extremely improbable that George Durant was a Quaker at the time of his marriage.

It would perhaps be difficult to say from what family our George Durant descended, but in 1627, the Reverend George Durant was incumbent of Blockley in Shropshire,

England, and Reverend Robert Durant, of Hagley, in 1706; the latter was succeeded in the rectory of Hagley in 1732 by the Reverend Josiah Durant and he, in 1764, by the Reverend John Durant.

In 1765, General George Durant, M.P., of Clent, in Shropshire, purchased Tong Castle in said county. His son, George Durant, of Tong Castle, was born in 1776.

The pedigree of the Durants was entered at the Visitation of Hants, England, in 1634, but terminates with Thomas Durant, 7 Edward III (1334). A pedigree of the same family was entered at the Visitation of Rutland in 1618. (The Heraldry of Worcestershire.)

In the eighth year of Henry VI (1430), one, John Durant, was Lord of the Manor of Barcheston in Warwickshire, England. He was succeeded by Thomas Durant and the latter by William Durant. The son of the latter, Henry Durant, disposed of the property by deed, 14th September, 23 Henry VII, (1508). Dugdale's "Warwickshire," first edition, pp. 455-6.

I trust that the foregoing notes may be of some assistance in solving the much-mooted question whether George Durant was or was not a Quaker.

It is to be regretted that there is not in each State of our country a society such as that publishing the William Salt Collections in Staffordshire, England. Every shred of information should be secured and preserved now for the future historians who will bitterly censure us for our neglect and loss of most precious materials.

Magazines of the character of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* and the *William and Mary Quarterly,* are of great value in this direction. Your State is rich in materials but I fear they are not being cared for properly. The suspension of the *North Carolina Register* was a public calamity.

Sincerely yours, WM. B. PHELPS.

INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication on great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

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The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by

THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of the Booklet is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. Editor.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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THE HISTORY OF ORANGE COUNTY—PART I

BY FRANCIS NASH.

Early History of the People of Orange County.

In its genesis, Orange County, like the earth, was without form and void. Created by an act of the Assembly in 1752, its outlines were so indefinite, that no man might know where they were, and for the next two or three years the Assembly was engaged in fixing or moving these lines, after all, to have the whole matter disallowed in England.

The original act (23 S. R., 383) made the county boundary commence "in the Virginia line at a point where Hyco Creek was nearest to it, thence directly to the Bent of the Eno river below the Occanechas, near to the plantation where John Williams now dwelleth," thus leaving what is now Hillsboro in Granville County. The line then ran down the south banks of the Eno and Neuse rivers to the mouth of Horse Creek, thence in a direct line to the intersection of Earl Granville's southern boundary with the Cape Fear River, 35° 34′; thence along said boundary to the Anson County line (half way between the Cape Fear and Yadkin rivers, 23 S. R., 343); thence northwesterly along the Anson line. The next year, 1753, the east boundary of the county was moved further east by running a direct line from the Virginia line 25 miles west of Harrisburg, the county seat of Granville, to the Neuse River. (23 S. R., 390-1.) At the same session, the west boundary of Orange was made more definite by the creation of Rowan County, and making its east boundary a direct line from Earl Granville's line, where the Anson line crossed

it, to the Virginia boundary. (23 S. R., 390.) Thus the original county of Orange contained parts of what are now Wake, Randolph, Guilford, and Rockingham counties, and the whole of what are now Durham, Person, Caswell, Alamance, Chatham, and Orange counties. The acts of the Assembly establishing the county of Orange (and others) were disallowed in England and repealed by proclamation as well as by act of Assembly (5 C. R., 1111, and 23 S. R., 446-7). They were, however, re-established in 1756. (23 S. R., 470-1.) In 1761 the east line of the county was straightened by beginning at the southwest corner of Granville and running thence a due south course to Johnston or Cumberland County, whichever line it may first intersect. (23 S. R., 547-8.) In 1771, Guilford (east line 25 miles west of Hillsboro 23 S. R., 823); Chatham (north line 16 miles due south of Hillsboro *Idem*, 827); and Wake (23 S. R., 819) were established. In 1777, all that part of Orange lying north of a point just 12 miles north of Hillsboro was erected into a county and called Caswell. (24 S. R., 24.) Even after all this pruning Orange remained still a large county, 28 miles north and south by 45 east and west. It is with this territory and its inhabitants that this sketch is principally to deal.

During all this period of doubt and confusion as to the corporate existence of the county, the County Court continued to meet and administer justice between man and man. The first court, Laurence Bankman, Andrew Mitchell, James Dickey, Mark Morgan, John Patterson, John Pittman, Marmaduke Kimbrough, and Joseph Tate, justices presiding, Alexander Mebane, sheriff, and Richard Caswell, clerk, met at the house of John Gray, on Eno, in June, 1752. The court-house was first located on the north bank of Haw River at Piney Ford, within fifteen miles of the west boundary of the county. Finding, however, that this was too far to the west, the court fixed its meeting place at the house of James

Watson, situated just east of where the present court-house stands in the town of Hillsboro. The Assembly, in 1754, reciting that the court-house had been located too far to the west, directed that it, with prison and stocks, should be located on, or near, where the western path crosses the Eno River on a piece of land on which James Watson then lived. (Martin Private Laws, 18.) This was the beginning of Hillsboro. In 1766 the Assembly required that the courts of the county, the offices of county officials and the election of representatives and vestrymen should always be held there. (*Idem*, 47.) In 1768 the Province was divided into six judicial districts, and of these was the Hillsboro district, composed of Granville and Orange counties, with the court to be held at Hillsboro on the 22d of March and September of each year.

The subject of the disagreement between the government in England and the Colonial Assembly in the creation and enfranchisement of the new counties is treated fully in Ashe, 284-8, and I need not elaborate it here. Suffice it to say, that the British Government insisted that the enfranchisement of counties and boroughs was one of the prerogatives of the King, and could not be assumed by the Colonial Assembly. That body finally yielded, and Orange County was enfranchised, with the right to send two members to the Assembly, in 1760. William Churton and Thomas Lloyd were the first representatives, and they appeared in March, 1761. William Churton, one of Earl Granville's surveyors, and the founder of Salisbury and Hillsboro, was Register of Deeds in Orange County. He afterwards returned to the eastern part of the province and, I believe, died there. Thomas Lloyd was a Welshman, and a man of culture and ability, who had recently settled on a place called the Meadows, nine or ten miles south of the county seat. Up to the Revolutionary War he was the most prominent man in the county. He died early in 1792, and to the present day has many descendants in Orange and elsewhere, Lloyds, Hogans, Osbornes, etc.,

including Mr. Stevenson, Vice-President during Mr. Cleveland's second administration.

The physical features of Orange County constituted it one of the most beautiful sections of North Carolina. Watered abundantly in its west by the Haw and its tributaries, in its north, center and east, by Eno, Little and Flat rivers, and their tributaries, and in its south, by New Hope Creek and its tributaries, it was an ideal range for the early settlers' horses and cattle and hogs. Speaking generally, it was a country of high hills and narrow valleys, with here and there gray, gravelly ridges, or elevated plateaus with much intermixture of sand with clay. The valleys were always fertile. The hillsides and tops and sandy uplands were only moderately so, while the gravelly ridges were generally poor and non-productive. Throughout all this territory, except on the poorer ridges, the forest growth was magnificent, with the oaks predominating. The soil seemed peculiarly adapted to the flourishing growth of all the hard wood, deciduous trees. Oaks four feet in diameter at their base were not uncommon, and occasional specimens six feet in diameter were found. Along the streams these oaks and hickories, birches, beeches, poplars and sycamores towered high, and the elm and the maple attained unusual size and unusual magnificence of foliage. There are remains of these forests to-day, which testify to their pristine grandeur. I have not seen anywhere finer specimens of the white oak, the beech, the cedar, and the maple, than we now have in Hillsboro. The large leaved elm, with fair opportunity the most perfect of shade trees, with its 100 feet spread of foliage, has, alas, been destroyed, in the past ten years, by an insect or blight. In the Dark Walk, too, on the south bank of the Eno, are stately oaks, hickories and poplars, which with their long, straight stems and crowns of foliage, lift themselves high in the air. On New Hope Creek in southeast Orange are acres and acres

of original forest growth, which if visited would prove a revelation to the city dweller. Astonishly straight, smooth boles of white oak, hickory or poplar, crowded together, elevate their fronds high in search of sunlight, the billows of their foliage making dense shade below. Nowhere else can one obtain so clear a conception of the immense toil that confronted the early settlers when they came to make a home in this wilderness. It involved more than a contact with nature. It was a wrestling with it, as Jacob wrestled with the Angel of the Lord, and would not let Him go until the blessing had been bestowed.

All this territory was a paradise for the hunter and trapper, abounding in bear, deer, beaver, wild turkey and all the smaller varieties of game. It was the habitat and hunting grounds of the Haw, the Enoee and the Occoneechee Indians. The latter tribe's principal village was located just south of the Occoneechee Mountains. Quite a pretty tradition is told as coming from that tribe. As it concerns a locality with which this sketch is to deal, I give it for what it is worth. It may be entitled "The Maiden and the Birds, or, How the Redbird Obtained His Coat, and the Wood Thrush His Song." The Occoneechees were really a sept or clan of the Cherokees, and not a distinct tribe. They were never warlike, relying when too hard pressed by the Tuscaroras on the east and the Catawbas on the west, more on the protection of their powerful kinsmen, the Cherokees, than on their own prowess. They cultivated the soil much more extensively than did the other Indians of the period, and their dwellings were more comfortable and their towns better situated. Hospitality to the stranger was a tenet of their religion, and they welcomed all who came in peace with open hands. Their women were famed for beauty, and their men, though somewhat contemned for their unwarlike spirit, were noted hunters. Long anterior to the coming of the white man, there

was a village of these people just south of the Occoneechee Mountains. In that village was a maiden celebrated in all the land for her modest and gentle beauty. Her name was Ulalee, or the Wood Thrush, and she was a daughter of the chief. From her childhood she seemed to have an almost miraculous control over all birds. She knew all their habits, could imitate all their notes and never went abroad without being attended by them. Instead of fearing her, they were all emulous to attract her attention and fought for the privilege of being first stroked or petted by her. Especially was this true of a brown-backed, gray-breasted, bird, of the same size and shape as our cardinal grosbeak, or red bird. This maiden had many suitors, but cared for none of them. Her father had, however, contracted her to Oneluskee, a young warrior of her own tribe. She did not object to this, because she liked him. She did, though, want further time before assuming her duties as wife. The marriage, then, was postponed for a year, and meantime she was to be free to go and come as she chose.

About a mile from the village was a spring, beautifully located and said to have healing qualities. Here was the favorite resort of this wood nymph of the Occoneechees. There she would sit for hours attended only by the birds that, at her call, came from all the neighboring trees and bushes.

A day in May, as she was seated near the spring, young Kanandagea, of the Tuscaroras, on his first warpath against the Catawbas, came suddenly upon her. Now this young Indian Apollo was as famous for manly beauty among the Tuscaroras, as Ulalee for the softer beauty of women among the Occoneechees, and the two tribes were at peace. The young girl was not then alarmed at his advent, but welcomed him with graceful courtesy, and the two talked long. It was a repetition of the old story, one in which man is never so

savage, or so civilized, that he may not be an actor in it. The young warrior washed the war paint from his face, and instead of outlying about a Catawba village for a scalp, he outlay about the Occoneechee town for love. At this spring they met day by day, and the birds became almost as fearless of him as of Ulalee. One day they were sitting there, he whispering into her ear some pleasing story, which she answered by a bright glance of her dark eye and low, rippling, musical laughter, when Oneluskee came upon them. With one glance he knew all, but he greeted them with calm, stately courtesy and passed on. For the first time the young girl realized the danger of her situation. She loved the Tuscarora, but was contracted to Oneluskee, and unfaithfulness to that contract, according to the laws of her tribe, was death. Kanandagea urged her to fly with him at once, but she was unwilling to leave her tribe and her home, which she loved, without bidding them, at least, a silent adieu. She would meet him at the spring the following day, and then his people should be her people, and his God her God. When she returned to the village she met Oneluskee. He made no allusion to what had occurred, but treated her with his usual deferential tenderness. Everything about her, her tribe, her home, her family, the woods and the birds, had become so much a part of the very being of this artless child of nature that it was hard for her to give them up even for love, but the next day she was at the spring an hour before the appointed time. Oneluskee followed her there, and she greeted him with a quiet smile as he took his seat by her side. She was glad that he had come, for she believed him to be magnaminous and generous and her true friend, and she wished to tell him that she loved the Tuscarora and was to be his bride. He heard her story to the end without interruption, then he made no protestations of his own love, did not urge her to give up the Tuscarora. Instead he told

her that, according to their customs, she was already his lawful wife; that he had given her respite for a year that she might better fit herself to become such; that she had been unfaithful to him, and therefore she must die. She looked appealingly into his face, but could see no relenting there, so, without a word, bowed her head as he plunged his knife into her heart. He left her there, and her heart's blood, mingling with the little spring stream, discolored it. The birds, frightened away by Oneluskee, returned as he departed, and instead of singing their sweetest songs, uttered their harshest cries of alarm as they fluttered about the dead girl, except the bird with a brown back and a grey breast. He bathed and slashed in the discolored water, while his mate put her feet and bill in it, and sprinkled a little on her breast and on the tips of her wings. That is why the red bird is red now and his mate is not.

An hour after, the Tuscarora came for his bride and found her bleeding corpse. He took it in his arms, carried it to the village, and demanded justice upon the murderer. Oneluskee, before the elders, confessed the deed, and justified it from their immemorial customs. They sustained the defense, but admitted the right of the Tuscarora to single combat. They fought in the presence of the whole tribe, a duel long remembered in tradition, and the Tuscarora conquered. At his request he was adopted into the tribe. Ever after, attended by the birds she had loved, he lived a hermit life in the forest where she had roamed. A huge, time-scarred oak once stood within a few hundred yards of this spring. It was blown down in a great September storm some years ago. There, it is said, was his wigwam, and there, after living to a great age, he died and was buried. And to the present day his spirit and her spirit haunt this spring, and all through the woods, in spring and summer. one may hear the wood thrush calling Ulalee-e-e.

I do not vouch for the historical verity of this tradition, but it is, perhaps, well to preserve it.

The hunter and trapper were the first white invaders of this wilderness. Then came, that ever moving advance guard of civilization, the pioneer, with his pack horse, his cooking utensils, his weapons, a little salt and his wife and children. A small clearing was made in the forest, a log hut built and corn planted. The abundant game would supply his family with meat, the corn patch with bread. One of the earliest of these pioneers was an Englishman, named Alleman, who settled on a creek in what is now Alamance County, and, the writer believes, gave his name to that creek, and hence to the county itself. Then the tide of settlers commenced to flow this way, until the county became dotted here and there with little communities, only to be found by following trails which they had blazed through the forest. All north of 35 degrees 34 minutes being Earl Granville's grant, his surveyors followed hard upon the footsteps of the pioneers.

Pioneers began to locate in Orange as early as 1740, but the great army of settlers began its inflow in 1750 and continued until 1770. Of these the more numerous were the Scotch-Irish, Quakers, Germans and Welsh from Pennsylvania, and the English from Virginia and the eastern counties of the province. As to the Scotch-Irish I take the liberty of reproducing what I wrote three years ago:

The Scotch-Irish.

"Buffalo,[1] Alamance,[2] Hawfields,[3] Eno,[4] Little River,[5] and New Hope[6] were the principal Scottish-Irish settlements of Orange County in the period extending from 1755 to 1770. Buffalo and Alamance are now in Guilford County, while Hawfields is in Alamance. New Hope is an offshoot from

[1] Organized in 1756; [2] 1762; [3] 1755; [4] 1755; [5] 1761; [6] by 1765. F. N.

Hawfields, and Little River from Eno. There were two or three smaller settlements in the territory then known as Orange, notably, one on Hyco Creek[7] and one on Country Line Creek, both in what is now Caswell County. The Eno settlement was, however, more distinctively a Scotch-Irish community than any of these. The predominating element in the population of the territory bordering on the Virginia line was settlers from Virginia. The Hyco and Country Line communities to a great degree, and the Alamance and Buffalo communities to some extent, were in the very midst of these Virginia-English. With Eno it was otherwise. That was made up almost exclusively of Scotch-Irish settlers from Pennsylvania. That community, then, furnishes the best example of the Scotch-Irish community in Orange County.

"The Eno River has its source in a spring near the northwest corner of the present county of Orange. It flows in a general southerly direction until it reaches the Occoneechee Mountains. These deflect it to the east. The distance from its source in a direct line to the mountains is less than fifteen miles, yet there we find it a tiny trickling rill, while here it is a rapid-flowing stream, forty feet wide by three or four deep. Numerous brooks, or brooklets, or spring branches have discharged their waters into it since it began its journey to the sea and have made of it a small river. This shows how well the section through which it flows is watered. It is a country of hills and valleys, too. In 1750 huge forests spread in billows across the tops of these hills and down their sides and over the valleys. Along the creeks and larger brooks were to be found rich bottom-lands, needing but to be cleared and planted to yield abundant harvests.

"This section, too, was exempt from Indian raids. The only tribes remaining in the limits of the province of North

[7] Organized as "Middle Hyco" in 1755. I am indebted to D. I. Craig, D.D., for these dates. F. N.

Carolina at this period (1750-55) who were at all formidable were the Cherokees and Catawbas. The latter tribe was fast disappearing, from disease and contact with the whites, and the Cherokees were formidable only to the scattered settlements outlying towards their own hunting-grounds. So safety, fertility, convenience and a mild and healthy climate all invited the adventurous Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania to this section.

"It is probable that one or two families had already settled there as early as 1745, but the migration was at its flood-tide from 1750 to 1775. These immigrants were by no means pioneers, blazing the way for permanent settlers to come after them, but they were citizens of one province moving to another to improve their condition. They had already accumulated some property, owned lands and horses, cattle and sheep. They came from Lancaster, Chester, York, Berks, or Bucks Counties, Pennsylvania.

"Let us take one family as a sample and follow them in their migration. The winter of 1750-51 had been severe in Berks. A killing frost had come unexpectedly early and had seriously damaged the crops of Mr. T. His oldest child had sickened and died with pneumonia, and his wife had been desperately ill. He had heard of the success of some of his neighbors in the beautiful and fertile Valley of Virginia, but the bloody-minded Shawnees were on the warpath and were threatening the outlying settlements. Some of his acquaintances in Bucks County, however, had pressed on further south to the province of North Carolina, had settled on the Eno River and had sent back glowing accounts of the climate and of the country. He determined to go himself and spy out the land with a view of moving his family to a less hostile climate. In the late fall or early winter he sets out on horseback for this distant land of promise. Bearing to the west that he might strike the streams and rivers

where they are fordable, he passes across Maryland and through the Scotch-Irish settlements in the Valley of Virginia, and, after the lapse of about thirty days, enters North Carolina, into what is now Caswell County. He pauses for a while, perhaps, with the scattered Scotch-Irish on Hyco Creek, but finally rides on to the Eno River.

"He is pleased with the country, selects his future home, sends for William Churton, one of Earl Granville's surveyors, and has it surveyed. After this is done he pays Churton his fees for the survey and also three shillings sterling,* consideration money for the deed which Churton is to procure for him from Francis Corbin, one of Earl Granville's agents, and have ready for him on his return with his family from Pennsylvania. Then, with the aid of the neighbors, he builds a log cabin on a suitable site, and, with the same aid, clears and fences a small parcel of land near it. The spring advancing, he plants corn in this little clearing, and, leaving it to care for itself, he returns to Pennsylvania for his family. There he sells all property which he can not carry with him to North Carolina, purchases three or four strong, sturdy horses, if he does not already own them, or, perhaps two yoke of oxen and a heavy, unwieldy but commodious wagon. In this are to be carried the household goods, and in it the wife and younger children are to sleep. A milch cow or two are to be tethered to its axle, and perhaps a small flock of sheep are to be driven by the larger children behind it. When all is in readiness for their departure there is a public meeting held in the school-house of the district, for the people are unwilling that they should leave without some testimonial of their regard. A paper drawn up by the school-master is adopted and delivered, signed, to the emigrants. This I copy from the yellow and time-stained original. It is preserved in the family as a precious heirloom:

*In addition an annual quit rent of three shillings sterling.

"'*To all persons whom these shall concern*—GREETING: Whereas, T. T. and Ann, his wife, the bearers hereof, are determined, God willing, to remove with their family in order to settle in some parts of his Majesty's new settlements, and as divers of us have been well acquainted with them from their early youth, we do certify you that they are of a sober, honest, peaceable and good behaviour and are about to depart in the good esteem of the neighborhood and acquaintances in general. Therefore, as such we commend them to the favorable reception of those among whom it may be their lot to sojourn and settle, heartily wishing their prosperity and welfare on all accounts.

"'In testimony whereof, we, their friends and neighbors, inhabitants of the township of Heidelberg and places adjacent in the county of Berks, in the Province of Pennsylvania, have hereunto set our hands, the 14th day of May, Anno Domini 1752.' Then the signatures follow.

"They commenced their long and tedious journey soon after this paper was given them. All along the way Sunday was to them a Sabbath of rest, and probably of praise and thanksgiving. During the week-days they made on an average ten miles a day, so they would arrive at their new home about the first of August. As they would pass through the settlements in Maryland and Virginia, they would be met with words of cheer, and there they could replenish their supplies of food. When, wearied and footsore, they arrived at the end of their long journey, the neighbors flocked to welcome them and to aid them in establishing their new home. That home was established about eight miles north of the present town of Hillsboro, and is still in the possession of some of the descendants of the original owners.

"This family is a type of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish settlers. Many others came in the ensuing five years, quite often several families joining in the migration, and Eno

soon became one of the most thickly settled sections of Orange County. By 1755 they had built a log school-house and church, seven miles north of Hillsboro. At this church, or rather school-house, for it was never dedicated as a church, Rev. Hugh McAden preached as he journeyed through the country in 1755. In the same year there was a regular Presbyterian Church organized there, and soon after a frame building was erected, the log house continuing to be used as a school-house. The church organization exists to the present day, being now 160 years old, but in the spring of 1895 a forest fire destroyed the old church building, and the new one was erected at the village of Cedar Grove, some miles off. At the old site, however, there is a very large and well-filled graveyard, in which four generations of Scotch-Irish have been buried.

"The church and the school-house have always been, and always will be, the mainstay of this admirable race. They realized, as few other races of men have realized it, that the church without the school-house was a fosterer of superstition, while the school-house without the church was a promoter of irreligion and infidelity. So, close by their churches they built their school-houses, and over the doors of both they inscribed in living letters, 'The Lord He is God.' This, it seems to me, is the key to their character and the secret of their greatness.

"The criminal records of Orange County, from its organization to the present day, show that there was less immorality and crime among the Scotch-Irish than among any other class of people within its bounds. At all periods of its history they have been most valuable citizens. But this is not all. Their sons have gone out into many other States, carrying with them the respect for law, morality and religion which characterized them at home. Many of them have attained distinction in the various walks of life, and all of them have been useful men and women."

Hawfields, or Haw Old Fields as it was at first called, had certain unique characteristics, which make it worthy of a more extended notice. Here had been the home of the Saxapahaw Indians. These Indians, like nearly all the tribes in central North Carolina, were less nomads and more agriculturists than the northern and western tribes. These old fields had been cleared by them and cultivated by them. Thirty thousand acres of these lands were patented by Edward Mosely. From him they passed to Governor Burrington, and from him to Samuel Strudwick in the manner set out in "Hillsboro, Colonial and Revolutionary," page 95 *et seq.* As early as July 20, 1731, Colonel Byrd wrote to Governor Burrington of them (3 C. R., 194), "But no place has so great a character for fertility and beauty of situation as the Haw Old Fields." The Scotchman had lost none of his canniness from his temporary abode in the Emerald Isle, or his pausing for a few years in the colony of Pennsylvania. When he came south, then, he generally selected the best lands in the section wherein he located. Hawfields early attracted his attention. The Mebanes and others located there certainly as early as 1745, and possibly earlier. The activity of the northern and western Indians, in the period commencing in 1750 and ending at Braddock's defeat in 1755 not only vastly increased the migration from Pennsylvania, but also from the Valley of Virginia, to North Carolina. It was during this period that the Hawfields and the region about it was settled. When Mr. Strudwick arrived in this country, October, 1764, he found much of the land obtained by him from Burrington already occupied. He immediately set up his claim, with the result that titles were so unsettled in the Hawfields, that many of the inhabitants, such as the Craigs, Blackwoods, Freelands, etc., removed to New Hope.

The Hawfields were on the east side of Haw River. The

Quakers and Germans, however, settled on its west side, the Quakers on Cane Creek and the Germans, in the region of Stinking Quarter, and Alamance Creeks. The Quakers had erected their meeting house on Cane Creek as early as October, 1751, there being thirty families in the settlement. (Records of Cane Creek Meeting at Graham, N. C.) The Quakers, however, were not confined to this locality. There was a settlement of them north of Hillsboro, and there was a number of families in the town and east of it. The German settlement, or Dutch, as it was universally called by others of the county, was not large, and it was segregated by its language and the habits of the people themselves. They took little or no interest in public affairs, had their own preachers, who preached to them in the German language, and their own church, which was situated on the neck of land between Stinking Quarter and Alamance Creeks.

Further west on Sandy Creek, the home of Herman Husband, Baptists from Virginia, under Shubael Stearns, organized a church and erected a meeting house in 1755. (5 C. R., 1167.) "These new comers found the inhabitants about their colony grossly ignorant of the essential principles of the Christian religion. They knew something of the form of godliness but nothing of its power. They thought that religion consisted only in the practice of its outward forms, they knew nothing of conviction and conversion, and to be able to ascertain the time and place of this wonderful miracle was to them equally wonderful. The new preachers' style of preaching was to them also very novel. They had acquired a very warm and pathetic address, accompanied by strong gestures and a regular tone of voice. Being often deeply affected themselves when preaching, corresponding affections were felt by their hearers, which was frequently expressed by tears, trembling, screams and exclamations of grief and joy." "Very remarkable things," said Morgan Edwards in

1775, "may be said of this church. It began with 16 souls, and in a short time increased to 606, spreading its branches to Deep River and Abbott's Creek, which branches are gone to other provinces, and most of the members of this church have followed them; insomuch that in 17 years, it is reduced from 606 to 14 souls." It is interesting to note that these early Baptists administered the following rites: Baptism, the Lord's Supper (once a week), Love Feasts, Laying on of Hands, Washing Feet, Anointing the Sick, Right Hand of Fellowship, Kiss of Charity and Devoting Children. The latter rite was thus performed: "As soon as circumstances would permit, after the birth of the child, the mother carried it to the meeting, when the minister either took it in his arms or laid his hands on it, and thanked God for His mercy, and invoked a blessing on the child, at which time it received its name. This rite, which by many was satirically called a dry christening, prevailed not only in the Sandy Creek Association, but in many parts of Virginia." (5 C. R., 1172.)

The Welsh settled in Orange, south of Hillsboro and between that town and the Chatham County line. The number of these was small, but they were unusually intelligent, and have still many descendants.

The English, however, constituted a majority of the settlers in 1755. Communities composed almost wholly of them could be found along the Virginia line and in the eastern part of the county, besides individual families nearly everywhere. There were 950 taxable white polls in the county in 1755, and 50 negro polls, indicating a population of about 5,000. The negro slaves were the property of the English. (5 C. R., 575.) It is interesting to note that at the same period Granville, settled almost wholly by the English, had 779 white polls and 426 black polls. So though the population of Granville exceeded that of Orange by 1,000,

that excess, and more, was entirely negro. Again, Granville had 734 militia out of her 779 white polls, while Orange had only 490 militia out of her 950 polls, thus indicating a large proportion of non-combatants, Quakers and others, in the latter county. (*Idem.*) It was, too, then, as it has always been, a country of small farmers. Of course social conditions were exceedingly primitive and crude, and, if we are to believe some of the itinerant Church of England missionaries who visited this people, in some sections, rough and rude. Especially was this true of the English population. The Scotch-Irish and Quakers have been at all periods of their history strictly upright, honest and moral.

With the organization of the county seat in 1754, its growth and change of name to Childsburg in 1759, and its continued growth and second legally authorized change of name to Hillsboro in 1766, and Governor Tryon's patronage, there was collected a body of men of sufficient culture and intelligence to make them distinctively the most influential class in the county—merchants, attorneys and county officials. The governing body of the county, however, that which not only administered justice between man and man, but managed its finances and controlled its internal affairs, was the County Court, and that was composed of justices selected from all sections of the county. So well did this system suit the genius of our people that it continued in force, with very little or no modification, until after the Civil War, when aliens, usurping the government, abolished it in 1868. The representatives in the Assembly were elected, too, by the freeholders, and land was so cheap and abundant that nearly every one was a freeholder. There is no period of our history in which the rights of the individual as opposed to community rights were so much respected and so vigorously defended, as in our colonial period. This was as much the result of the colonists' British antecedents and

British training as of the distance of settlement from settlement—a distance that prevented the mutual dependence of man upon man, out of which the community right springs. In the large view of it, then, the people of Orange embodied in themselves as advanced a democracy as could be found anywhere at that time.

In the decade, 1755 to 1765, the county filled rapidly. In the latter year there were 3,324 white polls and 649 negro polls, indicating a population of about 18,000. (7 C.R., 289.) A year later white polls were 3,573, an increase of 249, and black polls were 729, an increase of 80, indicating a population of over 21,000. (*Ibid.*, 539.) Perhaps the most important event that occurred in the county in 1765 was the location of Dr. David Caldwell there as pastor of Buffalo and Alamance churches, and of Rev. Henry Patillo as pastor of Hawfields, Eno, Little River and New Hope churches. All these churches had been before visited by Mr. Patillo and the Rev. Hugh McAden, and perhaps others, as missionaries; but no Presbyterian minister had been located in the county before 1765. The coming of David Caldwell and Henry Patillo then meant much more than a series of sermons at certain set and stated times. It meant the erection of schoolhouses where they had not been before, and the training of the youth of the country in all that would render them useful men and women. It meant the selection by the people themselves of a competent leader and adviser in all the higher and better things of life. Says Dr. Charles Lee Raper: "When these minister-teachers came to the hills of North Carolina they found only a few people, and these scattered far and wide; they found a very primitive stage of life—pioneers in a very wilderness; they found a people possessed of great ignorance, but with native good sense and vigor; they found a vast amount of the forces of nature to contend with and to conquer and a primitive people to develop into a higher life. And these Scotch-Irish minister-teachers were an energetic

body, a band of heroic missionaries. * * * These bright, vigorous and independent men brought with them ideas which have exercised the profoundest influence upon all the phases of our life and thought—upon our religion, our politics, our industry and our education. Their churches and schools soon became the centers of ideas—the places of their nourishment and their spreading * * * the fountains of intellectual vigor for a great portion of our own ancestors. * * * The Scotch-Irish Presbyterian minister-teacher deserves at the hands of the historian and at the hands of our people a thousand times more consideration and veneration than we have ever thought to pay him. * * * He possessed the ability to appreciate intelligence and culture as none other of our colonial ancestors did; he keenly appreciated the exceedingly great and permanent value of education, for the individual and the community alike. He gave his very life—its ideals, its energy, its enthusiasm—to the teaching of his fellow-men; his school was ever a shining and brilliant light. He stood out, and always, for the light of classical thought and culture, and proclaimed the power of knowledge, of character and refinement, in the midst of ignorance and crudeness."

Three years later, in 1768, Rev. Hugh McAden took charge of the churches in what is now Caswell County, and for thirteen years labored within their bounds both as teacher and preacher.

In the Act changing the name of Childsburg to Hillsboro, November, 1766, the Directors of the town were authorized to sell certain lots, excepting, however, among others, a lot or lots which they may or shall reserve for a church, a schoolhouse and a burying ground. The lot that had been, probably, already reserved, was lot 98 in the plan of the town, situated at the corner of Tryon and Churton streets. The building of St. Matthew's church was commenced soon after the enactment of this law, immediately on the corner of these streets. I wish to emphasize this fact, because it is said

by some, to the present day, that by some hocus-pocus the Presbyterians got possession of old St. Mathew's and converted it to their own use. Indeed it is constantly said that the Convention of 1788 met in the Presbyterian Church in Hillsboro, and engravings of that church as such meeting place have been printed in books. As a matter of fact, the Presbyterian Church is not even on the site of old St. Matthew's, was erected long after the Convention of 1788, and no political meeting, convention or other has ever been held in it. Old St. Matthew's was of wood, the Presbyterian Church is of brick. Old St. Matthew's stood immediately on the corner, with its front entrance and tower to the south, while the Presbyterian Church stands 100 feet west of the corner and facing west. There was no Presbyterian church organization in Hillsboro until 1816, and the present church building was erected after that time, with the consent of the town authorities who owned the lot on which it is situated, it being the lot reserved, as above stated, for a church, a school-house and a graveyard.

Rev. George Meiklejohn came to Hillsboro to minister in charge of St. Matthew's Parish in 1767. He, also, was a school master and established an academy in Hillsboro. He was something of a Dominie Sampson in appearance, but was far from being so impractical, and is said to have been, though somewhat stern and harsh, a good teacher of the classics.

There were other schools and teachers in the county, outside of Hillsboro and these Presbyterian communities, but it is impossible to ascertain with any certainty how many there were, and where located. Rednap Howell, of Regulator fame, was a peripatetic schoolmaster, and William Few, in his Autobiography, an extract from which I give below, tells of one in his own experience. The Quakers on Cane Creek certainly had a school of their own, and it is quite probable that there were others in the more thickly settled communi-

ties, supported by the better class of farmers. William Few gives so graphic a picture of the times in his Autobiography (*Magazine of American History,* November, 1881, pages 343 *et seq.*) that I feel justified in extracting the following from it. William Few was a younger brother of James Few, also of Regulator fame, and himself, later attained great prominence in the State of Georgia, and, after removing to New York, also in that State:

"I was born in Maryland, in the county of Baltimore, on the 8th day of June, 1748. My father was a farmer, and having lost the greater part of two or three crops by frost, determined that he would seek for a country more favorable to agriculture, and, having conferred with his neighbors on the subject, two of them agreed to accompany him in search of a more fertile country and a milder climate. Having prepared for their journey, they set out southwardly, and, after traveling about three hundred miles, found themselves near the middle of the province of North Carolina. There they halted in order to explore the country, and being pleased with the soil and climate, purchased lands on the banks of the Eno River in the county of Orange (about six miles east of Hillsboro). These lands were in their natural state. Not a tree had been cut. The country was thinly inhabited, and the state of society was in the first stage of civilization. My father employed a man to build a house on his lands, and returned to remove his family. After selling his lands in Maryland and such of his goods and chattels as were not movable, the remainder was placed in a wagon drawn by four horses and in a cart drawn by two. In the Autumn of 1758 he set out for North Carolina with all his family and property. There a new scene opened to us. We found a mild and healthy climate and fertile lands, but our establishment was in the woods and our first employment was to cut down the timber and prepare the land for cultivation. My father had taken with him only four servants, who were

set to work, and every exertion was made to prepare for the ensuing crop. Then it was that I commenced the occupation of farmer. An axe was put into my hands, and I was introduced to a hickory tree about twelve or fifteen inches in diameter, and was ordered to cut it down and to cut off its branches. There was novelty in the business with which I was at first pleased and I cheerfully began the operation, but soon found myself extremely fatigued. My hands blistered, and the business progressed very slowly; I thought my situation most deplorable, but I dared not to resist the order I had received to cut down the tree. I was obliged to proceed, and found that practice every day made the labor more agreeable, and I was gradually instructed in the arts of agriculture; for that was all I had to learn. In that country at that time there were no schools, no churches or parsons, or doctors or lawyers; no stores, groceries or taverns, nor do I recollect during the first two years any officer, ecclesiastical, civil or military, except a justice of the peace, a constable and two or three itinerant preachers. The justice took cognizance of their controversies to a small amount, and performed the sacerdotal functions of uniting by matrimony. There were no poor laws nor paupers. Of the necessities of life there was great plenty, but no luxuries. These people had few wants, and fewer temptations to vice than those who lived in more refined society, though ignorant. They were more virtuous and more happy. In the year 1760 a schoolmaster appeared and offered his services to teach the children of the neighborhood for twenty shillings each per year. He was employed, and about thirty scholars were collected and placed under his tuition. In that number I was enrolled. This was the second school I had been put to. When about six or seven years of age, I was sent to a country school of the lowest grade. The teacher was an ill-natured, arbitrary man, who punished with rigor, and enforced his

precepts with terror. The man was to me the most dreadful of all mankind. I detested the man, the school and the books, and spent six or eight months at that school in terror and anxiety, with very little benefit. I was now more fortunate. This schoolmaster was a man of mild and amiable disposition. He governed his little school with judgment and propriety, wisely distinguishing the obedient, timid child from the obstinate and contumacious; judiciously applying the rod when necessary. He possessed the art of making his pupils fear, love and esteem him. At this school I spent one of the most happy years of my life. I had the highest respect for my preceptor, and delighted in his society and instruction, and learned with facility. With him I finished my education, the whole expense of which did not exceed five dollars. In that simple state of society money was but little known; the schoolmaster was the welcome guest of his pupil, fed at the bountiful table and clothed from the domestic loom.

"In 1764 my father purchased a farm and removed his family near to Hillsboro, which was the metropolis of the county, where the courts were held and all the public business was done. It was a small village, which contained thirty or forty inhabitants, with two or three small stores and two or three ordinary taverns, but it was an improving village. Several Scotch merchants were soon after induced to establish stores that contained a good assortment of European merchandise, which changed the state of things for the better. A church, court-house and jail were built, but there was no parson or physician. Two or three attorneys opened their offices and found employment. Superior and Inferior Courts of Justice were established, and a fair field was opened for the lawyers. It was to me the highest gratification to attend the courts and hear their pleadings, and my ambition was excited to acquire the knowledge and ascend-

ancy they seemed to possess; but I had no other way or means of learning but by attending the courts and hearing the principles of law discussed and settled, until I had prevailed on a lawyer to lend me Jacobs' Law Dictionary, which I considered the greatest favor he could confer. I read the book attentively, but not with much benefit, for I was not sufficiently acquainted with the law terms to make much progress; notwithstanding it was believed that I had acquired some law knowledge, for my neighbors sometimes applied to me for my opinion on their matters of controversy, which was flattering to my vanity, and stimulated me to greater exertions. In that country at that time there was great scarcity of books. My father's whole library consisted of a folio Bible, Tillotson's Sermons, Barclay's Apology and a few other religious books, which I read over and over, for I was fond of every book I could get. About this time my father purchased Dyche's Dictionary and a set of the Spectators, with which I was greatly delighted, although I found the Spectators were wrote in a style different from those books I had been accustomed to, and contained many words I did not perfectly understand, which often made it necessary to apply to the dictionary for a definition. In this way I soon acquired a knowledge of these books and read them with additional pleasure and much improvement.

"About the year 1767 my father bought a farm seven miles distant, which was placed under my care, and it required my whole attention. It became my duty every Monday morning to go to the farm and remain until Saturday, and I was employed at the plow. It was my practice every Monday to take with me a book which I read at leisure hours, and took it with me to the fields, and when fatigued I retired to a shade and read. By those means labor became pleasant and agreeable, while the mind was amused and the understanding improved. Here I enjoyed the greatest part of one

year in uninterrupted peace and tranquillity. I had only two objects in view: reading to acquire knowledge, and the cultivation of the soil, which alternately exercised my corporal and mental faculties. I now experienced that the proper and equal exercise of body and mind insures the greatest portion of human happiness. I was successful in my labor; the season was favorable and I raised a good crop."

This is, no doubt, an accurate account of William Few's life in Orange County as boy and youth. His father, though, belonged to the better class of farmers, had more means and a better education than the average settler. He had been a Quaker, but had severed his relations with his Meeting by marrying out of the connection in Maryland, and though known as a Quaker in his new home, he was not one in good standing, for that reason.

At this period there was no industrial life of the people, except that depicted by Few. Agriculture was their only calling, to which both men and boys were devoted, while the women and girls looked after household affairs, spun and wove the wool, or cotton, out of which their own clothing and that of the men was made. While no doubt there were artisans in Hillsboro, carpenters and blacksmiths, weavers and hatters, out in the sparsely settled country districts nearly every one was his own carpenter and his own blacksmith. Every eligible stream in the county had somewhere along its course a grist mill, some of them two or more, while in a few instances a sawmill was connected with it. A little later, about 1769, brick were made in and about Hillsboro, but they were used only for chimneys, even then. Out of the town chimneys continued to be built of stone, with a pen of sticks on top daubed with clay.* The coming of the Scotch merchants to Hillsboro, of which Few speaks, William Johnston, James Thackston and Ralph Macuair, was a

*At this time there were two fulling mills on Deep River.

double convenience to the inhabitants of the county. They could get from them necessary supplies of salt, or powder or lead or agricultural implements for themselves and the equally necessary articles of needles, cards, etc., for their wives and daughters, by the exchange of their products, or peltries, for them, when otherwise they would have no market, or at best a very distant one, for these products. They could get from them, too, many other articles, not so essential, but adding very much to their comfort and to that of their families. These merchants kept wagons almost constantly running from Hillsboro to Cross Creek or New Bern, taking down loads of the country's products and bringing back loads of goods for their stores.

The amusements of the people were the usual rough sports of the frontier. As I have said elsewhere: "To it (the county seat) come the merchant, the lawyer, the tavern-keeper, the artisan and the court officials, adventurers all, in the perennial pursuit of gain. Rude in its beginnings, the town is, however, the emporium for the trade, and the head-quarters for the politics, the news and the fashions of all the country about it, and to it great crowds come at the quarterly courts for a holiday—a holiday that partakes of the strenuous character of the people themselves. The best shot of one community pits himself against the best shot of another; the cock of the walk of Haw River must try conclusions with him of Little, or Flat, River, while the friends of each look on, restrained from indulging in a free fight themselves only by their interest in the main event; and so on, wrestler with wrestler, runner with runner, race-horse with race-horse and game cock with game cock—a strong, free people as yet but half civilized, unconsciously preparing itself for a great career. Meantime the stock of drinkables at the various taverns is growing smaller and smaller, and the self-important Justices are sitting in the court-house try-

ing minor offenses or settling minor disputes between man and man, and puzzled occasionally by some astute lawyer, referring, in hope of enlightenment but in a helpless way, to Nelson's Justice, Cary's Abridgement of the Statutes, Swinborn on Wills, Godolphin's Orphans' Legacy, Jacobs' Law Dictionary, or Wood's Institutes—books required by law to be upon the court table." These people had, too, their neighborhood amusements—house-raisings, corn-shuckings, shooting-matches, at which there was much drinking of strong drink, and the two first of which were followed (out of Quaker, Baptist and Presbyterian communities) by rustic dancing with the music furnished by a neighborhood fiddler. This was one side of the people's life; but there is another which I wish to treat somewhat fully, so will put it under a heading to itself, in which I will use freely what I have heretofore written.

THE REGULATORS.

The Regulator disturbance beautifully illustrates the effect of agitation against real grievances, but grievances which can be best redressed under forms of the law, upon an ignorant, headstrong, lawless populace.

Solon likened the people to the sea and their orators and counselors to the winds, for the sea would be calm and quiet if the winds did not trouble it. The illustration is none the less happy because it may be turned and viewed from another side. There would be stagnation and death in the sea were it not troubled by the winds. So there would be the torpidity of slavery among the people, could they not be aroused to action by their orators. Eternal vigilance is indeed the price of liberty, and the abiding place of that liberty is in the hearts of the people. So much so, that a people fit to be free has been, and always will be, free. Continuing the illustration however, as there are great tidal movements in the

ocean, independent of winds or weather, so here and there in history are great popular uprisings not induced by the appeals of orators. They are caused by oppressive or disorderly government, and come not from a desire to attack, but from an impatience of suffering, as the Duke of Sully, one of the wisest of statesmen, said centuries ago. The French Revolution and the recent stir in Russia are instances. In a representative government, whether a constitutional monarchy or a republic, they have never occurred, and, from the nature of things can never occur. The people of our own country have never been aroused to determined action unless first stirred by their orators and organized by their leaders. A free people, conscious of their freedom, are inapt to see and, when seen, not prone to avenge by violence a minor infringement of their collective rights, sensitive though they are to any attack upon an individual right. It is the province of orators and agitators, those sentinels upon the watch towers of liberty, to warn the people of any approach of danger. This can be most effectively done, among a people volative or impulsive or ignorant or half educated, by a broad and misleading definition of their rights, an exaggerated and highly colored statement of their wrongs, and by vehement invectives against their alleged foes. In other words, such a people suffers from a species of political myopia, and things and persons and events must be magnified that they may see the better. Made thus to believe that they are oppressed, they, naturally inert, are aroused to action, not from an impatience of suffering but from a desire to attack. This was the method of Herman Husband, the agitator and organizer, of Rednap Howell, the orator and bard, and of James Hunter, the spokesman of the Regulators. It is not a new method. It is as old as freedom itself, and we see it exemplified in every presidential election to the present. Only the omnipresence of the law and its restraints and the greater

sensitiveness of the people to these restraints prevent each hard-fought campaign from becoming a series of bloody riots, if not a civil war. The absence of these restraints, or their ineffectiveness, made the Regulator movement culminate in the Hillsboro riot and the battle of Alamance. And herein, too, is found the soundest basis for that complete and perfect education of all the people, which is the dream of the most advanced statesmen of the day. The State may take a small portion of the property of A to assist in the education of B's children by way of tribute for the protection of the rest of A's property. This universal education will not only make the people more sensitive to any encroachment on their rights, but it will make them more intelligent and more self-controlled in pursuit of remedies for such encroachment. In other words, they will cease to be facile instruments in the hands of demagogs and selfseekers.

In popular movements, such as the Regulator movement, it is the office of the agitator and orator to stimulate action, and of the leader to organize, guide and control the strength of the people so that it may become effective in action. In this sense the Regulators had no leader. Herman Husband, the ablest of them, was a great agitator and an excellent organizer, but there he stopped short. He lacked the bold determination and dauntless courage required of a leader of the people in such a crisis. Rednap Howell, the orator and bard of the movement, was an active, energetic and shrewd agitator, but there he stopped short. He had neither the ability of an organizer, nor the courage of a leader. James Hunter was intelligent, honest and intrepid, but in the rare qualities necessary to manage and control bodies of unruly men, he was wholly deficient.

That the people had just cause of complaint against the officials is true beyond doubt. A loosely drawn and ambiguous fee bill gave opportunity for each man to put his own

construction upon it; and, as human nature was the same then, in general features, as it is now, the officials construed it liberally in their own favor and the agitators construed it strictly against them. Of course calculations made upon such a totally different basis resulted in a conflict which could not be reconciled. (8 C. R., pages 312, 322 and 388, and 23 S. R., 275 *et seq.*) If the act was ambiguous, it is manifest that the remedy therefor was to be found in an amendment by Assembly itself. If, however, the officers were using the ambiguity of the act as a cover for extortion, the remedy was by indictment in the courts. The Regulators went about securing this remedy, at first, in a perfectly legal way, and, if this method of securing redress had been pursued consistently, the evils would have been removed without the shedding of a drop of blood. These were their rules of conduct at first:

1st. Let us be careful to keep sober, nor to do nothing rashly, but to act with deliberation.

2d. Let us do nothing against the known, established laws of our land, that we appear not as a faction, endeavoring to subvert the laws and overturn the system of government; but let us take care to appear what we really are, free subjects by birth, endeavoring to recover our best native rights of reducing the malpractices of the officers of our courts down to the standard of law.

If then, in their subsequent career, they were not careful to keep sober and to do nothing rashly; if they disregarded the established laws of the land, they are convicted out of their own mouths of being factionists and subverters of the laws. Let us see how this was. Husband says that the organization of 1766 went to pieces, but was revived and made more efficient and strong the latter part of 1767. Some one informed them at that time, or the early part of 1768, that taxes were being paid to retire an issue of paper money

after that object had already been accomplished. Soon after, too, they were informed that £15,000 had been appropriated for the erection of a Governor's House at New Bern. So to the Regulators it was made to appear that they were being robbed not only by their local officials, but by Governor Tryon himself. They determined to pay no taxes: "We are obliged to seek redress by denying paying any more taxes, until we have a full settlement for what is past, and have a true regulation with our officers." Now this was an attempt to apply a remedy to existing evils by violence and force, by illegal means, and Husband knew this very well, for he excuses himself and others by saying that they protested against and never agreed to this plan. He says also, "That not one-third man on the west side of Haw River had yet concerned themselves, yet they were afterwards forced to join as one man in defense of their lives." (See Husband's Book in Wheeler, pages 307 *et seq.*)

The determination not to pay any taxes at all was persisted in until the latter part of 1768. It is perfectly manifest that this was not a justifiable means to remedy the evil complained of. If the sheriff, when he comes to collect taxes, had to convince every citizen that every item was legal, every item legitimate, else no taxes should be paid, and if he attempted to levy, he should be beaten, if not killed with impunity, then anarchy necessarily ensues. Government itself, if it permitted this, would abdicate its functions to a mob. It could be a state no longer. It was tried in the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania, and General Harry Lee, under President Washington's orders, crushed that. Shay tried it in Massachusetts, and General Lincoln crushed that rebellion. So this second movement of the Regulators, being a combination between two or more to do an illegal act, was in law, a criminal conspiracy. Now it was on this ground that Husband was acquitted on his trial at the September

Term, 1768, while William Butler and others were convicted. There was proof that he had been a prime mover in the first plan, but this was legal, while on the other hand there was none that he had encouraged the second and illegal plan. The others had, and they were convicted, while he was acquitted. What, then, was the consequence of the refusal to pay taxes? The sheriff of the county, Tyree Harris, had charged against him all the general and county taxes that had been listed, amounting to 10 shillings and 8 pence per poll, proclamation money, or stated in another way, legally about $1.75, but for purposes of trade, about $1.40. His account could not be credited with any sum that he failed to collect, unless allowed by the County Court for the county, or by the Assembly, for the province at large. So there he stood between two fires: the law compelling him to collect this amount and the Regulators threatening him with castigation or death if he attempted to do so. (7 C. R., 491, 772, 798-9.)

The amounts specifically objected to by the Regulators were 3 shillings for the retirement of outstanding paper money and 8 pence for Tryon's palace. Those who insist on canonizing these factionists as patriots invariably forget that no power short of the Assembly could remit this three shillings, and that the representatives of the people, including the Regulators, had expressly authorized the erection of the palace and the levy of the eight pence. In other words, they forget that the government was representative and that the Assembly held the public purse in its hands, and held it as firmly as ever did a reformed Parliament, or does now the State Legislature. In no aspect of the case could either of these taxes have been illegal, though both may have been unjust. Nor was there any inequality in the poll tax system between the east and west. All slaves above 12 years of age and under 50, male and female, were taxed at the same rate as the whites, while the white males, only, be-

tween 18 and 50 were taxed. The polls, white and black, in Mecklenburg, Rowan, Orange, Granville, Bute, Johnston, Cumberland and Anson were, in 1767, 18,102, while in the rest of the province they were 32,942. (7 C. R., 539.) This poll tax was the only tax the people were compelled to pay, and it was in no sense oppressive, either in amount or in its method of collection. Whether an *ad valorem* property taxation would not have been better is outside of the discussion.

It is true that the currency of the province was inadequate for the business of the province, and this was peculiarly hard upon those in the back parts of the country. But that is a condition common to all new settlements away from markets and navigable streams, with these markets only to be reached by a long land carriage over almost impassable roads.

All these conditions, however, were but fuel to the agitators' flame, and the people, banded together in an illegal combination, were made to hate lawyers, public officials and merchants with an intense and bitter hatred, and taxes were to them a cruel imposition and tax collectors agents of a tyrannical power. Taxes, even now, in the twentieth century, are regarded as a necessary evil, and perhaps a majority of the people of the whole country are tax dodgers in some form. It is certain, then, that those who, in the eighteenth century were scattered, here and there, in lonely settlements throughout the backwoods of North Carolina, not needing the protection of the government and caring nothing for its benefits, paid out with grudging hand the hard-earned pittance that the government wrung from them.

In April, 1768, Tyree Harris, pressed by the law on one hand and by the Regulators on the other, seized a horse of one of them while he was in the town of Hillsboro. The man disappeared, but soon returned with a band of a hundred horsemen. The sheriff was seized and tied to a tree.

the horse rescued, the citizens of the town were terrorized and insulted, Fanning's house was fired into and the horsemen vanished. Sheriff Harris, in making this levy, was strictly within the law, which was the same then that it was after the Revolution. (Compare 7 C. R., 487, with Potter's Rev., 498.) If any taxpayer failed to attend at the time and place fixed for the payment of taxes, the sheriff might distrain at any time thereafter for the taxes. So the sheriff was doing a legal act in a legal way, while the Regulators were carrying into effect their illegal combination by doing an illegal act. Suppose such an outrage as this should be perpetrated in North Carolina to-day, what would be done? Governor Kitchin would be bound by his oath to call out the State Guard, if the power of the county should prove insufficient, that such flagrant contemners of the law might be brought to justice.

A warrant was sworn out against Herman Husband and William Butler on May 1st. They were arrested and brought to Hillsboro, the intention being to commit Husband to the New Bern or Wilmington jail, but this was frustrated by the collecting of a mob for their rescue, and both prisoners were admitted to bail. (7 C. R., 742 *et seq.*). The mob dispersed on May 3d, after being assured by Isaac Edwards, Secretary to the Governor, that if they should petition Governor Tryon he would do all he could to remedy their wrongs. Tryon reiterated these promises in his letter of June 20th, in answer to their petition presented by James Hunter and Rednap Howell, but impaired the effect of this, among the Regulators, by demanding that they conform to the law, quit their illegal association and pay their taxes. (*Id.*, 792.) He, with his Council, was in Hillsboro, during August of that year, and then the Regulators handed him a letter. In answer he assured them that the officers should be prosecuted in the proper forum, the courts, and that their purpose to peti-

tion the Assembly met with his hearty approval, and that he would continue to do all he could to have their grievances remedied according to law, but warns them of the consequences of their illegal acts. Meantime they had refused to pay any taxes, and had sent Tyree Harris and Ransom Southerland back to town very thoroughly convinced that it was dangerous to distrain for them. (*Id.*, 698.) Meantime thousand-tongued rumor was busy throughout the section. Tryon was to bring the Indians down upon their settlements. At the coming court their leaders were to be tried and executed while the officers were to go scot free. The Regulators, then, while professing full and hearty allegiance to King George and perfect satisfaction with their form of government, must maintain their organization and be ever ready at an instant's warning to run together and protect themselves. (*Id.*, 810.) Tryon thought that they intended to rescue Husband and others at the coming court. He demanded that twelve of their leaders should execute a bond in the sum of £1,000, conditioned that no rescue should be attempted. At the same time he informed them that this was done to save the heavy expense of calling out the militia to defend the court. They replied that there was to be no rescue and refused to give the bond. The militia was called out, and the event justified the prevision of the Governor, for on the morning of the first day of court about 1,000 Regulators were encamped about a half mile north of Hillsboro. (*Id.*, 819.) Governor Tryon's course, in this regard, was endorsed by the best people of the west as well as of the east. The army was composed largely of Mecklenburg and Rowan Presbyterians. Rev. Henry Patillo, always an ardent patriot, on Sunday, September 25th, preached a sermon before them, for which he was thanked in general orders. (*Id.*, 835.) Nor was he alone among the preachers in condemning the Regulators and approving the Govern-

or's course. (See address to the Governor, and letter to their congregations by the Rev. Hugh McAden, James Creswell and David Caldwell. *Idem,* 813 *et seq.*) It was at this court, thus protected, that Herman Husband was acquitted and William Butler, Samuel Deviney and John Philip Hartso were convicted of a rout and rescue. The convicts were sentenced to imprisonment and a fine, but the imprisonment was immediately remitted by the Governor and they were given six months within which to pay the fine. (*Id.*, 885.) On October 3d they, with all other Regulators, with the exception of thirteen named, were pardoned of all offenses before that date. (*Id.*, 850.) It must be remembered that, at this time, the law was exceedingly technical. Three separate bills were at this court sent against nine other Regulators, and were quashed by the court for an irregularity in the return of the grand jury. We can imagine the eloquent indignation of some writers had these been bills against officers. Indeed to the present day they lash themselves into indignation over William Butler's fine and imprisonment and Fanning's penny and costs, when the record shows that such was not the judgment in Fanning's case (*Id.*, 844; 8 *Id.*, 27, 33 and 323), and that William Butler and the others were never imprisoned after their conviction and paid not a cent of their fines (7 *Id.*, 850), and that, indeed, on September 9th, 1769, the slate was wiped clean—all Regulator offenders, without exception, were pardoned. (8 *Idem.*, 67.)

Now I will examine briefly, and at the risk of being tedious, what was done in the Assembly to remedy the grievances of the people. At the session of November, 1766, Governor Tryon recommended that a better class of sheriffs be secured by increasing the fees of the office, and that the treasurer's accounts be overhauled and better provision be made for the keeping of his books. (7 *Idem,* 294.) This the Assembly did, and also gave relief to debtors when exe-

cutions were levied on land. (*Id.*, 433.) At the session of November, 1767, the Governor recommended further legislation in regard to the office of sheriff, and stricter regulations for the security of the public funds. (*Id.*, 551.) The House immediately appointed a committee on Public Accounts, with Cornelius Harnett, Chairman, and Thomas Person, Wiley Jones and Edmund Fanning among its members. (*Id.*, 571.) Joseph Hewes was added to this committee, and it was continued to the end of the next session. (*Id.*, 662.) At this session they legislated in regard to both sheriffs and the treasurer, and provided a method for appointing jurors. At the November session, 1768, the Governor again pledges himself to do all he could to remedy the grievances of the people, and in regard to the state of the public funds, he said: "It is not the labor of one session, but of many, to bring the public accounts into proper order"; and then he urged the Assembly to be persistent in the attempt. (*Id.*, 862.) Many bills were introduced in answer to the demands of the people, but some failed because the state of the public accounts had not yet been ascertained, others for reasons that do not appear, and still others because contrary to the Governor's instructions. The scarcity of a circulating medium was the evil which seemed most to require a remedy; but the Assembly was not willing to emit paper money without making it legal tender for all debts, and this could not be done, because prohibited in England. They did, however, direct sheriffs how to levy executions and how to dispose of the property taken thereunder. (*Id.*, 977.) This Assembly was dissolved and a new one elected in 1769. In this Herman Husband and John Prior, both Regulators, were the representatives from Orange. When it convened in October, Husband was placed upon the Committee on Public Accounts. (8 *Id.*, 111.) It should be noted that pages 303 and 304, in this volume, should be where pages 106 and 107 are, and *vice versa*.

Governor Tryon's health had been very bad since the fall of 1768. He lost his only son soon afterward. (Haywood's Tryon, 203.) His health continued bad during 1769. He was anxious to return to England or to be transferred to New York. (8 C. R., 54, 169, 191 and 212.) In the summer of 1769 he visited Williamsburg and there obtained from the Virginia treasurer, Mr. Nicholas, a system of keeping accounts, which, he thought, would prove a complete check upon treasurers and sheriffs. This he urged the Assembly of 1769 to adopt. (*Id.*, 94.) They, however, instead, resolved against taxation by Parliament and the removal of those charged with treason to England for trial and in favor of the right of petition. Tryon, then in a pet, which he afterwards explained was caused by his illness, dissolved that Assembly. (*Id.*, 169.) Before the dissolution, though, it adopted other good resolutions against those resisting officers and against officers who took illegal fees. (*Id.*, 139.)

The election for the new Assembly was held on March 12th, 1770, and Herman Husband and John Prior were again returned from Orange. The Assembly was to have met in New Bern in May, but on account of the heat of the summer and the unhealthfulness of the season it was prorogued to meet on November 30th. I have thus gone carefully over the Acts of the Assembly from the beginning of the Regulator agitation to the period immediately preceding the Hillsboro riot. It seems from this, that Governor Tryon, far from being deaf to the demands of the people, was doing what he could to meet them. (8 C. R., 140.) In the matter of stating the accounts of the public officers, Mr. Burgwin, the best accountant in the province, worked three years before he completed his work. That he had undertaken this work was perfectly well known to the Regulators, for Husband was a member of the Assembly at the time. (*Id.*, 139.) The neglect of the Assembly to make the fee bill more definite

and to divide the county of Orange into three counties sooner, is to be condemned. Bills to this effect were introduced two years before they became laws, but those were the two years in which conditions were most acute, and thus demanded prompt action. Legislative reform, however, is notoriously of slow growth, so slow indeed that two years is generally a very short period in which to perfect one, and there are very great practical difficulties in the way of revising a general fee bill.

Having stated thus what the Assembly did in answer to the people's demands, it remains to consider what the courts did in determining whether the officers had been guilty of extortion or not. We have already reviewed the proceedings of the Hillsboro Superior Court in September, 1768. At the ensuing term, March, 1769, nothing was done against the rioters at all. Husband said that bills of indictment were sent against the clerk, Francis Nash, but were ignored, the grand jury having been packed. That body taken from Orange and Granville counties, in ability and standing, seems certainly an average one. So far as can now be ascertained, no one seems ever to have been an officer, so there is no reason apparent why they should favor officers. At the following September term both juries were composed of excellent citizens, including at least two Regulators. (*Id.*, 97.) At the Salisbury court, immediately preceding this, indictments had been sent against the Clerk of Rowan County, John Frohock. These also had been ignored. According to the Regulators this grand jury, too, had been packed. (*Id.*, 68.) At the March Term, 1770, of the Hillsboro court, an action, James Hunter v. Edmund Fanning, was tried, with the verdict in favor of the defendant, and Husband's lawyers, at the September Term, 1768, obtained judgments against him for the fees earned at that term. His plea, duress, was found against him. Execu-

tion was afterwards issued upon James Milner's judgment for fifty pounds and levied upon Husband's land, but the sale thereunder was stopped by a mob. There is nothing in the constitution of the jury at this term to indicate that it was made of those who sympathized with the officers, and Regulators were of its number. (*Id.*, 184.)

Jurors for the Superior Court were appointed by the County Courts of the counties within the district, and the County Courts were composed of all the justices in the county. This method of appointing jurors remained practically unchanged until 1806. (Compare 23 S. R., page 704, *et seq.*, with Potter's Rev., 395 and 1055.) Under such a system it is possible to exclude all those obnoxious to the court itself, but it is not possible to select a jury with a view to packing it for a particular case. That presupposes collusion between the various County Courts of the district, as well as positive corruption in all these courts. Now they were composed of the best and most substantial men in the counties, appointed upon recommendation of the members of the Assembly, and John Lowe, Richard Cheek and Joab Brooks, all Regulators, were Justices in Orange. (*Id.*, 149.) So we can put aside as incredible the assertion of the Regulators that the jurors at the Salisbury and Hillsboro Superior Courts for 1769 and 1770, were corrupt. Some, no doubt were prejudiced against, and some in favor of, the Regulators, just as jurors would be now in the midst of any public excitement, but the indifferent and impartial members of the jury would be, in some instances, at least, the balance of power.

Now as to the Judges who presided over these courts. The Chief Justice, Howard, seems to have had more of the confidence of the Regulators than either of the others, Henderson and Moore. He was a good lawyer, of mild disposition and inclined to mercy—not at all a tyrant, though something of

a courtier. Henderson had great natural ability. He was a self-made man and, largely, a self-taught man. Of the people originally, he was the architect of his own fortunes, and there is nothing, so far as known, to cast any shadow upon his personal integrity. Maurice Moore, an aristocrat by birth, was politically a democrat. He was a man of culture and of strong character, though unquestionably an intriguer. There may have been, of course, individual miscarriages of justice in this court, just as there are in our courts now, but that the court was partial to officers, so as to make it its business to see that they were not convicted, is wholly disproven. All the established facts show this to be false and there is nothing to the contrary except the wild assertions of the Regulators, that is of one of the parties to a bitter controversy in the midst of a controversy, and that, too, without having adequate means of knowledge. Their charges against the court and juries may be utterly disregarded as not having any sufficient basis of probability. But smarting under their defeats, and as they conceived them, their wrongs, they came in force to the September, 1770, Superior Court to see that their sympathizers were placed upon the juries and they, themselves, should have justice administered to them. Their conception of justice, however, was that all the cases in which they were interested should be decided in their favor. The scenes at the riot which ensued are familiar to all readers, and I have not space to repeat the description. There was no immediate cause for it. Not a single Regulator had ever been punished for his illegal acts. There were no indictments pending in the court at that time against any of them. About one thousand of them in Orange and about seven hundred in Rowan were standing obdurate in their refusal to pay taxes, but no indictments had been found against them for this, and for their former offenses they had all been pardoned. There were suits pending against some

of the officers, with individual Regulators as plaintiffs, who were endeavoring to recover fees that they claimed were extorted from them. Besides, they wished to force indictments against these officers. When it is remembered, then, that they already had the two members of the Assembly, it must be apparent to the most prejudiced mind that this outbreak was wholly personal, directed solely against the lawyers and officials.*

After the Hillsboro riot, Alamance or submission was the only alternative. When, then Governor Tryon marched west at the head of his little army, he was coming not as a tyrant to oppress, but as a ruler to suppress and punish defiant criminals. In this he acted as any executive officer of any State, however free, must have done under similar circumstances. The attack at Hillsboro was not upon the existing state, but upon government in any form. Even the most primitive peoples respect their judges and do not profane their courts. It is there that earthly power doth show likest God's, and man's intuitive recognition of this truth is itself testimony to His divine origin. When, excited by passion, he attacks his courts, he is then attempting to uproot the very fundamentals of society. The men who followed Tryon, afterwards, with one exception, the Whig leaders of the State, knew that so long as the mob spirit was abroad in the land any government was impossible. Their primary object in going then was to save government itself, and not its form, so they were as much patriots at Alamance as they afterwards were at Moore's Creek or Guilford Court House.

After these disturbances and their tragic ending many people removed from the county. More than half of its territory, too, was erected into new counties. I can find nowhere any data upon which to make any estimate of the population of the dismembered county of Orange. During

*It must be noted, too, that Fanning had held no office in the county since Octobrer, 1768.

the year 1772, Governor Martin, who had succeeded Tryon, transferred to New York, visited Orange and the Regulator settlements in Guilford, spending the month of August in Hillsboro. James Hunter gives such a naive account of this visit in a letter to William Butler, November 6th, 1772, (Morehead's James Hunter, pages 44 and 45), that I reproduce what he has to say:

"Things have taken a mighty turn in our unfortunate country. This summer our new Governor has been up with us and given us every satisfaction we could expect, * * * and I think our officers hate him as bad as we hated Tryon, only they don't speak so free. He has turned Colonel McGee out of commission for making complaint against outlawed men, and he has turned out every officer that any complaint has been supported against. In short, I think he has determined to purge the country of them. We petitioned him as soon as he came, and when he received our petition, he came up among us and sent for all the outlawed men to meet him at William Fields; told us it was out of his power to pardon at that time because he had submitted it to the King, and the King's instructions was to leave it to the Governor, Council and Assembly to pardon whom they saw fit. But assured us he had given strict orders no man should be hurt or meddled with on that account, which made us wish for you all back again. Though some are of the opinion Harman will not be pardoned, I am of a different mind. * * * He came to see us the second time and advised for fear of ill-designing fellows, to go to Hillsboro and enter into recognizance till the Assembly met, which eleven of us did. He bemoaned our case and regretted that the indemnifying act had put it out of his power to give us full relief. Our enemies would, I believe, be glad to see you three pardoned, for some of them have gotten severely whipped about your being kept away, and I think the country is as much master now as ever. * * *

Morriss Moore and Abner Nash have been up to see me, to try to get me in favor again, and promised to do all they could for you."

It is evident from this letter that both the Governor, Martin, and the Whig leaders of the east had begun to realize that there was to be a contest between them, and each party was anxious to conciliate the Regulators. The Whigs could not afford to have at their back secret foes while they faced their open enemy in front, while Martin, looking about him for supporters in the coming contest and finding the Regulators already bitter foes of the leading Whigs, determined to attach them to his own service. It is believed that part of Maurice Moore's intrigue with these factionists was his publication of the Atticus letter, for, Ransom Southerland, who then lived in Guilford and was cognizant of the visit of Moore and Nash to James Hunter, thought Nash was the author of this letter, because he was with Moore on this trip into the Regulator settlements, and the letter was never credited to any one except these two, so far as is known. This courting of the Regulators by both sides continued until 1776, when the war was flagrant, with the advantage decidedly on Governor Martin's side. The name Regulator in 1776 had lost its old meaning and meant then a loyalist, or as they were afterwards called, a Tory. In that year the Cane Creek Quakers entered upon the minutes of their meeting that certain of the inhabitants of the province had approached them to ascertain how they were affected towards the colonists in the approaching struggle between them and the mother country, and that they had answered that the tenets of their faith required that they should remain neutral. A few pages afterwards they note that the Regulators had approached them with the same object, and they returned to them the same reply that they had returned to the inhabitants of the province. (Minutes at Graham.) Thus we

see how completely the Regulators had become identified with the Loyalists in the minds of the people. In fact all the Loyalists in Orange County at that period, probably one-third of the population, with a few individual exceptions, had been Regulators. It is a perfectly safe conclusion, then, that had it not been for the Regulator troubles, Orange County when war was flagrant would have presented a united front to the enemy. Apologists say, in explanation of their position, that they felt bound by the stringent oath that Governor Tryon had imposed upon them. Every one who knows human nature and the springs of human action, knows how prone men are to substitute a fair-seeming and high-sounding motive for the real one, when they are called upon for an explanation of their acts. In this, so seductive is the temptation, they quite frequently deceive themselves. The truth is, that no large body of men in all history was ever restrained from revolution by any oath of allegiance that they had taken, as Edmund Burke, with his luminous common sense and glowing reason, shows in one of his great speeches in defense of the American colonists. No, the reason why the Regulators were Tories is found in the fact that their ancient enemies, the lawyers and officials, were Whigs, and Governor Martin and his emissaries made most effective use of this personal element in the situation.

The center of the Whig influence was, from the beginning, in Hillsboro. There under the leadership of Francis Nash, Thomas Hart, William Johnston and others, a Safety Committee was organized in late 1774 or early 1775. Unfortunately the record of its proceedings has been lost. We know only that, in 1776, John Hogan was its chairman and James Hogg, its secretary. As early as 1773 an independent company had been formed at Hillsboro, with a former sergeant in the British army as its drill master. After the departure of Edmund Fanning for New York in

1771, Francis Nash had been appointed colonel of the county, and he seems to have entered actively and efficiently into the discharge of the duties of that office. From the standpoint of military equipment and effectiveness this militia no doubt was almost a farce. Martin, writing to the Earl of Hillsboro in 1772, said (9 C. R., 349): "In the course of my journey through the interior country, I received the militia of the three counties of Guilford, Orange and Chatham. Considered in a military light nothing can be imagined more contemptible in all respects but numbers, than those assemblages of people in arms. They were truly such a burlesque representation of soldiers, such a mockery of my beloved profession of arms as did not fail to excite in me some silent, indignant and painful emotions." These indignant and painful emotions, they continued to excite in the breast of that susceptible man for the next ten years, reaching an acute stage in 1781, when in company with Lord Cornwallis and his army, harassed by them after the battle of Guilford Courthouse, he retreated across the State.

At the beginning of the war, the settlements in the county containing the pleasantest homes and the best cultivated farms, were those in which the Whig sentiment was strongest—Hawfields, Eno, Little River, Flat River, and New Hope. There was an occasional Loyalist family among them, at that time, and some neutrals, men who from timidity or constitutional conservatism, had not made up their minds, yet these communities constituted the fighting strength of the county during the whole war. In one of these settlements was a Tory family, which to the present day, shows the effect of the isolation and repression of that period, in their silent, almost stern, self-sufficiency.

The first general meeting of delegates from the province at large that occurred in Orange County was the Provincial

Congress, which convened at Hillsboro, August 20, 1775. On that day, which was Sunday, a majority of the counties and towns not appearing, the Congress was adjourned until the next day. Then all the counties, 35, and all the towns, 9, were represented by 184 delegates. Probably never since in the history of North Carolina has a public body included in its membership so nearly all the prominent men of the State, as did this Congress. Its place of meeting was St. Matthew's Church, which never having been consecrated according to the ritual of the Episcopal Church, could be used for such purposes without desecration. Hillsboro at this time contained within its limits about seventy or eighty houses and three or four hundred inhabitants, while there were many farm houses in its immediate vicinity. Thomas Burke resided two miles northeast of the town, James Hogg just east of it and Ralph Macnair still further east on property formerly belonging to the Fews and now the Kirkland place. The well-to-do citizens had negro slaves and attendants; food supplies, including game, were abundant, and hospitality was a law of the period. It had then two taverns, one of which was described by Judge Iredell in 1778, as most elegant. Notwithstanding all this, it must have taxed the little town very heavily to entertain suitably fully two hundred visitors. Samuel Johnston, writing of this entertainment in a letter of August 22d, said: "The delegates are all in good health, and we are tolerably well provided with accommodations from the hospitality and obliging dispositions of the inhabitants of this town." After the organization of the Congress on the morning of the 21st, Rev. George Meiklejohn, upon request, attended and performed divine services. If the High Church, Tory, Parson had the courage of his convictions and a sense of humor, no doubt, he incorporated in his prayers the petition, "From all sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion, good Lord de-

liver us." The Representatives of the county in this Congress were Thomas Burke, John Kinchen, Thomas Hart, John Atkinson and John Williams. Three companies of minute men were required to be raised within the county, of the battalion to be raised within the district of Hillsboro, and James Thackston was appointed colonel. A regiment of militia was also required to be raised within the county, with John Hogan, colonel; John Butler, lieutenant colonel; William Moore, first major, and Nathaniel Rochester, second major. Of these, John Butler became much the most useful officer. In 1777 he was made brigadier-general of the militia. For twenty years he had the confidence of the people to a great degree. He, however, had no special aptitude for military affairs, and his failure to accomplish results in two or three instances has with some occasioned a doubt of his personal courage, and with all a lack of faith in his military capacity. The affair at Lindley's Mill, when Governor Burke would have been rescued had General Butler's stanchness equaled his activity in raising the militia for the pursuit of McNeill and Fanning, impaired his reputation as an officer materially. His residence was at Mt. Pleasant, an elevation near Haw river, about 16 miles west of Hillsboro. In his civil employments, and they were many, he was a very valuable and useful citizen. He was a moderator of the fury of, and an intermediary between, the contending factions in the Regulator troubles. He was one of the first and most outspoken patriots, and he made and kept his whole immediate section a Whig stronghold throughout the war. He was constantly employed in the public service, and seemed to respond to any demand upon his time and energies with the utmost cheerfulness and alacrity. He was, too, peculiarly efficient in inducing the militia of the county to embody for a special emergency. John Hogan was an active patriot, son-in-law of Thomas

Lloyd, and Senator from the county in 1779. Nathaniel Rochester was a merchant at Hillsboro, was made clerk of the county court in 1778, and at the end of the war removed to Maryland and still later to New York, where he was one of the founders of, and gave his name to, the city of Rochester.

The militia of the State was composed of all the effective men between the ages of sixteen and fifty. A brigade was composed of all the regiments within a judicial district, of which there were then six in the State. Counties, according to their size and population, had one or more regiments within their limits, and every regiment was divided into companies of fifty rank and file, at least, with two sergeants, two corporals, one drummer and one fifer. The companies were divided into four divisions, which were to draw lots for the first, second, third and fourth term to go on service, and were numbered accordingly. The accoutrements of individual militiaman were a good gun, shot bag, a powder horn and a cutlass or tomahawk. (24 S. R., 1.) In 1776 Orange was divided into two regiments, with John Cutler colonel of the Southern regiment, and James Saunders of the Northern. (10 C. R., 532.)

Besides innumerable skirmishes with the Tories in its own borders the Orange County militia participated in nearly all the important movements in the State and in South Carolina from Stono to Guilford Court House. After the surrender at Yorktown they were engaged solely in running down and capturing Tories, and in resisting the raids of the notorious partizan, David Fanning. The wise system under which the militia was called into active service, that is by turns in which only one-fourth of the working force of the people was diverted to military purposes at a time, enabled them after the disastrous drought of 1772, to make abundant harvests each year. This was the reason why

Hillsboro was made a concentration camp in 1779 and 1780 before and after Camden. This concentration of troops in their midst brought its own penalty to the people. There were many outrages committed upon them by these ill-disciplined troops in the way of illegal impressments and seizures. See Hillsboro, Colonial and Revolutionary, pages 75 and 76, for a description of these. After all the drafts thus made upon their patience by their own soldiery the people were to suffer still more from the coming of the enemy in February, 1781. The line of Cornwallis's retreat from the Dan was first southeast through Caswell, then almost due east, not far from what is now the Person county line, then southwest to Hillsboro. He entered that town February 20th, and made his headquarters there for six days. By the irony of fate he erected the King's standard in front of the court-house on February 22d, and the friends of Britain, most of them only nominally so, flocked into town to propitiate Cornwallis and his soldiers, and to see what was to be seen. A certain fearful looking for the judgment to come made nearly all of them content themselves with this and refuse to commit themselves further. Cornwallis soon found his position untenable. Greene had recrossed the Dan, Pickens had advanced from the west, and the British foragers were continually being harassed and cut off by parties of the Light Horse. Tarleton had failed in forming a junction with Colonel Pyle and his loyalists, and the latter's command had been cut to pieces by General Harry Lee at the famous Hacking Match. Besides the country about Hillsboro had been exhausted of supplies. Stedman, Cornwallis's Commissary, found some salt beef and pork and hogs in the town, upon which the army subsisted for a while, but he could get few cattle and those only by his cattle drivers going long distances. He was forced then to impress and kill the work oxen of the loyalists, and to make

a house to house visit in the town and to take from the inhabitants stores provided for their own sustenance, "many of whom," said he, "were greatly distressed by this measure." Lord Cornwallis was thus forced to depart from Hillsboro on the 25th. His route was the same as that taken by Tryon in 1771, and his next position was on the banks of the Great Alamance.

The Revolutionary War in the destruction of life and property seems very small when compared with modern wars, but its stupendous results give it a dignity and interest which no other contest, so small, has. I have not space to enter more fully into the share that the people of Orange had in it. At its end the population of North Carolina was at least 30 per cent greater than in 1770. See Century of Population Growth (recently published by the Federal Government), page 10. Probably in Orange County the increase was even greater. This came almost wholly from the excess of births over deaths, notwithstanding the destruction of life in the war. Nor is this all, the people came from the contest stronger, more energetic, more purposeful than when they entered it. Industrially, they were more efficient, while intellectually they were brighter and more resourceful. The period of their ancient prosperity extended from the end of the war to about 1795 or 1796, when Tennessee and Kentucky seemed to be attracting many of its most valuable citizens, while the period of its greatest depression extended from 1830 to 1840.

I shall conclude this sketch of the early history of the people of Orange with some account of an institution, about which little is known.

Even when the war was in progress and its outcome was necessarily doubtful to the most sanguine the minds of the Founders of the State were busily engaged upon schemes to advance the educational interests of the people of the State.

Among others was the incorporation in January, 1779, of Science Hall, an academy to be located at Hillsboro. (24 S. R., 250-1.) "Whereas," says the prelude to the act, "the proper education of youth in this State is highly necessary, and would answer the most valuable and beneficial purposes to this State and the good people thereof; and, Whereas, the neighborhood of Hillsborough from the healthfulness of its situation and the great plenty of provisions with which it abounds, is a fit and proper place to erect a seminary; and, Whereas, a number of gentlemen have, in order to promote and encourage such a valuable and beneficial establishment as the erecting of a seminary at the place, aforesaid, subscribed very considerable sums, which together with such sums as may be subscribed, will be sufficient to answer all the expense attending the same, therefore, be it enacted, etc." William Hooper, Alexander Martin, John Kinchen, Thomas Burke, Thomas Hart, Nathaniel Rochester, James Hogg and William Johnston, Esq., and Rev. Mr. Frazier were appointed trustees. Notwithstanding the subscriptions which were probably not collected, nothing of any moment seems to have been done in pursuance of the act, until November, 1782, when another subscription was started. It seems that commissioners under the confiscation acts were about to sell certain lands in the neighborhood, the property of the Loyalist, Andrew Mitchell, and the object of the subscription was to provide funds for the Trustees to invest in this land and hold for the benefit of the Academy. This scheme seems not to have been effective, so the subscriptions were renewed a year later. The list was headed by Alexander Martin with 30 pounds. Others subscribing £30 were John Penn, Thomas Burke, William Courtney, William Hooper and James Thackston. The other subscriptions, 67 in number, ran from the £1 of Richard Gott, through the £25 of John Hay and Richard Dobbs Spaight, to the

£40 of James Hogg and Joseph Hawkins, the grand total being £770 and 15 shillings. All of these subscriptions were payable on or before May 1, 1787. The following year, 1784, the charter of the Academy was amended. By section 6 of the amendatory act, old St. Matthew's Church was converted into a free church and academy. (24 S. R., 605-7): "By and with the consent of all persons having any right, title or interest in the church erected in the town of Hillsborough (already far gone to decay) such persons being of the Episcopal persuasion, and as such claiming an interest in the said church, such consent being first obtained by notice in writing promulgated in the most public part of the county, calling on such persons to object, if any objection they have upon such notice given, and no reasonable objection made, the said building with the ground upon which it stands shall be held and deemed to be invested in the said commissioners, for the uses and purposes following, to-wit: That the said church shall be, with as much economy and expedition as possible, put in decent repair; and so put in repair, shall on every Sunday in every year be open to the ministers of every sect and persuasion being Christians, there to inculcate the truths of their holy religion: Provided always, that every dispute relative to a preference to said church in officiating there by ministers of different, or the same, sects shall be determined by the said commissioners; and in any dispute between an Episcopalian and ministers of any other persuasion as to a preference to the pulpit, the former, circumstances being otherwise equal, shall be preferred, as the church was founded for the Episcopal persuasion, and to them by the constitution properly appertains." The surviving trustees or commissioners as they were called in the act of 1784, appointed in the act of 1779, were given authority to fill vacancies on account of death or removal. These survivors, James Hogg, William Hooper and William Johnston, met at the house of Mr. Hooper in

the latter part of the year 1784 and organized by the election of Mr. Hogg as Chairman, and Alfred Moore and Jesse Benton were elected trustees to fill vacancies caused by the death of Governor Burke and the removal of Thomas Hart. Mr. Benton was elected secretary and treasurer. The repairs upon the church, including securing the steeple, cost £120 and seem to have been completed by May, 1785. Solomon Pinto and Benjamin Perkins, graduates of the College of New Haven, were the first teachers, and among the first scholars were Thomas and William Hooper, A. DeRossett, Richard Quince, Roger Hall, Charles Blount and Gavin Alves. The latter part of 1786, Benjamin Perkins, having an opportunity to improve his fortunes, removed elsewhere, and in the attempt to secure a suitable successor for him, Mr. Hooper wrote the following letter to Dr. John Witherspoon, of Princeton:

EDENTON, NOV. 7, 1786.

Reverend Sir:

Availing myself of the acquaintance with which you honoured me during the time we spent together formerly in Congress, and well aware of the very friendly disposition you entertain to every institution for the encouragement of literature, I take the liberty to call your attention to the Infant Academy of Hillsborough, in the State of North Carolina.

This Academy more than twelve months past was begun, and has hitherto been supported under the auspices, and by the private subscription, of several private gentlemen. Its progress has been equal to their utmost expectations and they are led to hope that the advantage which the State at large must soon derive from it will make it an object worthy the patronage and support of our Legislature. The tuition has been hitherto conducted by two young gentlemen of the College of New Haven, one of whom has lately left us in

the pursuit of more active employment. It has been his proper business to teach mathematics in the various branches, English grammatically, natural and experimental Philosophy and Geography. The gentleman who continues with us teaches the Greek and Latin Classics. Upon this vacancy having taken place, the Trustees have empowered me to employ some gentleman to fill the place, and I now beg leave to commit this charge, in the most unreserved manner, to you after premising only that it would be agreeable to us that he should have passed that time of life which might lead him to idleness, levity or dissipation. I have in general terms described what was the line of his predecessor. There are other parts of academical instruction which will readily suggest themselves to you, and which we wish he might possess, a knowledge of the French language would make him an important acquisition to us. His salary will be one hundred pounds sterling per annum. He must find his own drink, meat, washing and lodging, which will cost him about twenty-five pounds, this currency, yearly. Hillsboro, where this Academy is situated, is in the western part of the State, about 110 miles from the Seacoast, and from a residence of several years in it, I believe it to be as healthy as any part of this continent. The Trustees of this Academy are Alfred Moore, Attorney-General of the State; Alexander Martin, late Governor; General John Butler, James Hogg, Esq. (whom you know); James Iredell, Esq., Jesse Benton and myself, and are all resident in Hillsboro, or near it, except Mr. Iredell. I would advise that the gentlemen whom you make choice of should be in Hillsboro some time in January next, as the school vacation will begin in the middle of December and end in the month of January. Should the gentleman take a water passage and land in Edenton, New Bern or Wilmington, he may easily transport himself from either of these to Hillsboro, by making his purpose known to Mr. Iredell or Mr. Samuel Johnston at Edenton, your son at

New Bern, or John Huske, Esq., at Wilmington. I have the subject of this letter devotedly at heart and beg leave most earnestly to press it upon your attention. In expectation of hearing from you by the earliest occasion, I am, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

Dr. Witherspoon. WILL. HOOPER.

There was considerable delay in securing the proper man on account of the difficulty of getting one to fill the specifications, and then after this difficulty was surmounted and one was selected and agreed to come, his salary was raised at Trenton, where he was, and he at the last moment declined the offer. At last, in February, 1787, Dr. Witherspoon secured a satisfactory young man and he was forwarded, via New York, care of Messrs. William Blount and Benjamin Hawkins, Members of Congress, to Judge Iredell at Edenton. Judge Iredell, upon the young man's arrival at the latter place, sent him on to Hillsboro, bearing the following letter to Mr. Hooper:

EDENTON, March 17, 1787.

My Dear Sir:

I congratulate you on the acquisition of the young gentleman to the Academy, who will deliver you this letter. His name is Squires, and besides the recommendations the inclosed letters give of him, he appears to me upon an acquaintance of a fortnight, during which I have seen him for the greatest part of every day, a very deserving young man—studious to a degree and though a little pedantic, as most young collegians are, lively and agreeable in his disposition, with (if I mistake not) a very excellent heart. I hope you will consider it a strong proof of my fidelity to the Hillsboro Academy that I have not attempted to intercept him. I am sure my whole family as well as myself will part with

him with great regret. It has given me extreme concern that he could not be despatched earlier, but this country, which never abounded in good horses, seems now worse off than ever. Would to God I could have supplied him clear of expense, I should have been most happy in doing it. I have advanced him $15, two-thirds in hard money to pay for his passage, and £15 in paper. The double chair is hired at 3 shillings for the journey. Mr. Macnair furnishes him with a horse as high as Mr. John Johnston's, in which neighborhood Mr. Johnston thinks he can get another. I could not hire one for him either here or at Ryans. The inclosed letters of Witherspoon and the Delegates I only received yesterday and have not answered."

The remainder of the letter does not concern the School.

The new teacher, who was burdened with the not very euphonious name of Zadoc Squires, remained with the Academy until his death late in 1789. The routine of the day's work was fixed by the Trustees. From April 1st to November 1st in each and every year, open at 7 A. M., study until 9, recess for an hour, study from 10 to 12:30 P. M., recess until 3 P. M., study until 5 P. M. The rate of tuition was £3, 6 shillings and 8 pence at the beginning, the same in the middle, and the same at the end, of the term. Though the Trustees when they first took charge of the church had it repaired at a cost of £20, in 1786 they found it necessary to have the steeple taken down. It was at this time that the clock, which had been in the steeple of the church was removed to the cupola of the market house.

Besides the fees from students and private subscriptions the Academy had occasional gifts, which showed the interest of the public in it. William Johnston, who died in 1785, bequeathed it £100 in his will, and Jesse Benton, who had come in contact with that firebrand, Colonel William Shepperd, very much to his injury, devoted the damages he

recovered in an action for the assault, £50, to the same good uses. It is quite probable, too, that both before and after his father's death Thomas Hart Benton attended this school. I have been unable to ascertain when it ceased to exist. It is probable that it did not long survive the death of Mr. Hooper in 1790 and that of Mr. Benton in 1791.

Having thus been dealing with the past, permit me for a moment, in conclusion, to say something of the present. If in this taking of stock we shall find that the past was more honest, more patriotic, more public-spirited than the present we shall know that there is something wrong at the core of our being. The present of a virile people is always better than its past. The people of North Carolina have nothing to fear from a comparison of their present with their past, great though that past is in some particulars. The public life of the State is freer from graft and from self-seeking, and is more singly directed towards securing the welfare of the people at large than it was in the Revolutionary or post-Revolutionary periods. Our public men, now, are as patriotic and wise as they were then, but, with a wider vision, they are much more sympathetic with the higher and nobler aspirations of the masses. To them equal opportunity for all is not a barren theory, but an ever-living, burning truth —an eternal principle that inspires all their acts. They are also cleaner, more sober, more moral, more honest, in their private life. And what a wonderful improvement there has been in the private life of the people themselves! Then, whole communities living in drunkenness and immorality and debauchery; now, the same communities, sitting clothed and in their right minds, regarding the future with calm and confident hope for themselves and their children, a church here and a schoolhouse yonder, and both open to them and to all of them, without money and without price. No, North Carolina has nothing to fear from a comparison of its present with its past.

INFROMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication on great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

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The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of the Booklet is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. Editor.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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THE CROATANS

BY HAMILTON McMILLAN.

Geologists tell us that running through North Carolina is an ancient coast line, stretching from Northeast to Southwest and nearly parallel with the present Atlantic coast. West of this line is the hill country, gradually rising in elevation till we reach the mountains. Beginning at the Catawba River, this ancient coast line runs north of Cheraw and Bennettsville in South Carolina, east of Laurinburg, north of Maxton, east of Red Springs, west of Hope Mills and Fayetteville, crosses the Cape Fear River at Averasboro and trends in a northeast direction to the Virginia State line.

In the remote past there was a time when the ocean covered all that part of North Carolina east of this line, when the waves beat upon Haymount at Fayetteville and great whales sported in the shallow ocean. The survey of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad developed the fact that the roadbed at Fayetteville and Hope Mills was about 176 feet above sea level.

That this ocean bed was once elevated and again depressed is abundantly proven by the buried forests on Rockfish Creek, and in Pender County at Rocky Point, and by a brick building found buried under many feet of stratified earth at Cronly, in Brunswick County. We once saw a human skeleton exhumed at Hope Mills at a depth of sixteen feet beneath stratified earth.

The elevation of the land was not sudden, as the lowlands

and second lands on the Cape Fear evidently mark great pauses in the elevation.

Along the beach of this ancient coast line runs what is known as the Lowrie Road. This road in the early settlement of this country was only a great Indian trail, which became the great route of travel towards the Southwest. This road was straightened in 1817 by General Bernard, who was employed by the United States to superintend the mail routes through North and South Carolina. The location of this road along the beach of this ancient coast line would indicate its great antiquity.

John Lederer, a German traveler in the employment of Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, after traveling across the western portion of our State and visiting the Saura Indians in South Carolina, on his return evidently traveled the Lowrie Road on his return to Virginia through the "pine barrens" of our State.

The Cherokee Indians, embracing numerous tribes, had their principal seats in the mountains, and various tribes, acknowledging their supremacy, occupied the eastern part of our State as hunting grounds, and in some instances made permanent settlements. These Indians had many roads leading from the mountains to the Atlantic coast. One of these roads extended from the mountains through the present counties of Buncombe, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Union, Anson and Robeson, and uniting with the Great Lowrie Road at or near Fayetteville, and from its junction extending towards "Roanoke," the region adjacent to Pamlico Sound. Another great road led from the mountains and united with the Lowrie at Fayetteville, and now known as the Yadkin Road.

Commencing with the Saura Indians, and extending along this ancient trail leading to "Roanoke," there were the Cheraws, Chickoras, Mellattaws, Croatans and Tuscaroras.

All the tribes along this line, so far as we can ascertain, acknowledged the supremacy of the Cherokee nation, with the exception of the Tuscaroras. The Mellattaws had also a great trail leading from the mountains towards the Southeast, coming down through the present county of Randolph, where a branch road led towards the Roanoke River and another passed through Moore, Cumberland and Robeson counties, crossing the Lowrie trail near the present town of Maxton, and reaching the coast near Lockwoods Folly in Brunswick County. This Mellattaw tribe emigrated to the Southwest and gave our army serious trouble about the time of the Fort Mims massacre. (*Vide* Pickett's His. of Ala.)

From the earliest settlement in Robeson County the Croatans have occupied a large territory, principally along the Lumber River. They are evidently of Indian origin, possess Indian traits, and claim that their ancestors were originally Cherokees, who dwelt in Eastern Carolina, or, as they express it, in "Roanoke, in Virginia." It was first supposed that they lived on Roanoke Island, but later developments show that the region they call *Roanoke* embraces all the territory adjacent to Pamlico Sound. It is worthy of note that the chronicles of the tribe call the sound Pamteeco, with the accent on the penult syllable. These people were known in the 16th and 17th centuries as Croatans from their occupation of Croatan Island, now a part of Carteret County, and were so designated in the act of the North Carolina General Assembly in 1885. When first known to the early white settlers in this region they spoke English, and in many instances had English family names identical with those of the "lost colony" of Roanoke. They have in common use many English words which are now obsolete in English-speaking countries, but which were used in the days of Chaucer. In addressing a stranger they use the old Saxon word, Mon. They speak of houses as housen and use mension for measure-

ment. They are familiar with the story of Virginia Dare, and they strenuously claim that the name was pronounced Darr; others claim that it was pronounced Dorr, and still others pronounce it Durr. The muster roll of a company from this tribe in the War of 1812 shows the name as Dorr. The Durrs of Lincoln County are claimed as descendants of Virginia Dare. The chroniclers who keep the traditions of the tribe speak of themselves as "Melungeans." This singular name is supposed to have been given them by the Swiss-French, who settled in the region adjacent to them, and as they were a mixed race they were called Melange, and the descendants of the Melange were called Melange-ans, and the change from Melange-an to Melungean would be easy.

The tribe in Robeson, according to the census of 1890, numbered 3,640. The census of 1910 will probably show an increased number.

The act of Assembly in 1885 gave this tribe separate schools and a separate school census, and in 1887 a Normal School for the education of teachers of their race was granted them, and this school, located at Pembroke, in Robeson County, is in a flourishing condition. A great change has occurred among these people during the past twenty years. Better farms, with better houses and with many improvements in their mode of living, are visible in all parts of their territory. Almost universally they are landowners, cultivate small farms, raise cotton, tobacco and corn principally, and give evidence of great improvement over their former modes of living. All their traditions point to the region west of Pamlico as the residence of their ancestors. They are very reticent as to their past history when approached by strangers, and it is only after persistent inquiry that desired information is obtained. They have traditions leading the inquirer to infer that they once had Christian churches at several points along the great roads leading from "Roanoke" towards

the Southwest. One of these churches, according to tradition, was located near the Lowrie Road, near Rockfish Creek, in Cumberland County. An aged citizen of Cumberland remembered seeing the walls of this church, known as the "Indian Walls," from 1812 till 1837, when the material was used in building the basement of the Rockfish cotton factory. In 1865 the factory was burned by General Sherman, but the present building was erected on the rock basement, which was not injured. The material used in building this church was red sandstone, but the quarry whence the material was obtained has never been discovered.

Colonel Byrd describes the caravans that left the Roanoke region as consisting of 150 to 200 horses loaded with guns, ammunition, cloth, iron tomahawks and other merchandise to trade with the Indians to the Southwest in exchange for peltries of various kinds. Ministers of the gospel frequently attended these expeditions and preached at intervals along the route.

One of these ministers was a Frenchman named De Richebourge; and ex-Governor Swain, who investigated the tradition concerning him, found that he died during one of these expeditions on the Catawba River, and that some of his descendants were then living in Buncombe County.

During the past century large numbers of Croatans have emigrated to the Southwest. A colony, consisting of about forty families, attempted to settle in Indiana, but the laws of that State did not permit "free persons of color" to settle there, and many returned to Robeson County, while others joined a tribe of Indians near Lake Michigan. Descendants of these Indians often visit their relatives in Robeson. There is communication also with the Cherokees in the Indian Territory. We have found only three family names among this people that are Indian, all others being English and French.

Along the Lowrie Road are many mounds, generally circular and raised a few feet above the general surface. Several have been examined, and in every instance the skeletons are those of adults and the skulls are Caucasian in type. Stone hatchets and flint arrowpoints are found in various places, but there is no evidence, by tradition or otherwise, that these Indians ever used them. Flint arrowpoints are found all over the American continent, in the British Isles, in the bone caverns of France and Germany, in Canada, in Italy and in China, similar to those found here. Clay pottery found here is of more recent date and was probably used by these Indians in former times. The Cherokees were an agricultural people, and it is certain that their clay pottery was ornamented by rolling ears of corn over the material when in a plastic state.

The Croatans have given Hiram R. Revels to the United States Senate. John S. Leary graduated at Howard University, and represented Cumberland County in the General Assembly, and for several years was Dean of the Law School at Shaw University at Raleigh. He was considered an able lawyer. Two natives of the Croatan tribe are now wealthy merchants in Florida, while another, who invested in mining property in New Mexico, is reputed to be a millionaire.

In matters of religion they are divided into Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians. They have a sect among them known as the Indian Mission. They have about twenty churches, which are supplied by their own ministers.

Up to the year 1835 the Croatans attended the schools with the whites, mustered in the militia and exercised the right of suffrage equally with white men, but to effect a political purpose it was contended that they were "free persons of color," and in Robeson County only they were disfranchised. They were not allowed to attend the schools, and in consequence hundreds of them grew to manhood and womanhood

in perfect ignorance of books. In 1868 the public schools were opened, but they preferred ignorance to association with the colored race. Since they have had separate schools they have shown great interest in the education of their children. They retain many customs handed down from their English and Indian ancestors. In an old medical work, brought to America by someone of the early colonists, and still preserved, are found many singular remedies for various diseases, and these same remedies are used at this time by these people. They have the old English cross-bow, and old-fashioned handmills for grinding corn, which have evidently been used for many generations.

In view of the great improvement of this tribe during the past twenty years we predict a bright future for the Croatans.

STATE AID TO TRANSPORTATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

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The Pre-Railroad Era (1776-1835)

CHAPTER I

Antecedents of State Aid (1776-1815)

The development of both the internal and the foreign trade of North Carolina, and the growth of commercial centers within the State, were retarded in the years immediately following the separation from England, as in the colonial period, by the peculiar topography of the State. Of its four principal rivers which do not flow through South Carolina—the Roanoke, the Tar, the Neuse and the Cape Fear—only the last empties directly into the ocean. At this time the inlet at the mouth of the Cape Fear, although superior to Ocracoke Inlet, through which the maritime commerce of the other three rivers had to pass, was greatly limited in its usefulness by reason of the "flats" which obstructed navigation between Wilmington and the Atlantic. And the latter inlet was too shallow to admit any save the smaller sea-going vessels, while its location was most unfavorable to the trade of the northeastern part of the State. The other inlets worthy of consideration—Old Topsail, at Beaufort, and Bogue—could only become important in connection with artificial waterways or with land routes.[1] Moreover, the navigation of all the principal rivers being obstructed by the granite ledge which crosses the State almost parallel with the coast line, and about one hundred and fifty miles distant,

[1]Cf. A. D. Murphy, Memoir on the Internal Improvements contemplated by the Legislature of North Carolina; and on the Resources and Finances of the State, 1819, pp. 21-30.

the western part of the State was in a large measure cut off from all ports within and without North Carolina.

It was evident, then, that the work of providing the necessary waterways in an efficient transportation system would be relatively expensive in any case, and to so relate the various trade routes as to confine the commerce of the State chiefly to home markets would be all the more costly.

Whether a task involving the expenditure of such large sums of money was to be left wholly to unaided private enterprise, or whether it would be undertaken by the State, either in co-operation with individuals and corporations or alone, was merely a question of expediency, there being no constitutional prohibition against the latter alternative.[1]

At first the State showed no disposition to make a radical departure from the policy which obtained before the Revolution. The colonial system of opening and repairing public roads, with only slight and unimportant modifications, was therefore retained.[2] Local overseers were appointed by the county courts of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, under whose direction the work in each locality was performed by the male citizens of certain ages; and under the same supervision was performed whatever work was undertaken for the purpose of keeping the rivers free from obstructions to navigation. All these were public highways.

Recognition of the inadequacy of this colonial system of providing transportation soon led to the demand for improved facilities. Scarcely was the independence of the State achieved when Governor Martin, in his message to the Legislature, declared: "The Trade and Navigation of this country is of lasting consequence, and requires your immediate interposition and patronage. It is necessary our rivers be rendered more navigable, our roads opened and supported."[3]

[1]Poore, Charters and Constitutions, Pt. 2, p. 1409.
[2]Laws, 1784, ch. 14 (State Records, Vol. XXIV, p. 674).
[3]House Journal, Apr. 20, 1784 (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 498).

* * * Just what was meant by the general terms legislative "interposition and patronage" may be a subject of dispute. But whatever their meaning, in his next message the Governor again presented trade and navigation as "great objects of legislative attention,"[1] while in his message of 1791 is found what is perhaps a more explicit statement of his views. "The internal Navigation of the State," he said, "still requires Legislative assistance, our sister states are emulous with each other in opening their rivers and cutting canals, while attempts of this kind are but feebly aided among us. Though laws are passed for this purpose, they are not properly executed."[2]

Although mention was made in this message of the need for competent superintendents, "with powers to draw forth the aid mentioned in the laws," it can scarcely be claimed that this was a reference to legislative appropriations.[3] The Governor's only unmistakable reference to public aid is found in his recommendation that criminals under capital condemnation and whose particular cases merited clemency might, with qualified pardons, be made to labor at the work contemplated.

For a decade thereafter, with a single exception,[4] the subject received but little, if any, definite recognition in the Governors' messages. But in 1802 Governor Williams again brought to the attention of the Legislature the need for better transportation, and this example was followed in nearly every message for the succeeding decade.[5] It was in 1806, about the middle of this latter period of renewed discussion, that the first definite recommendation of direct State aid to the cause was made by the executive, in these words: "The

[1]House Journal, Oct. 26, 1784, *Ibid.*, p. 726.
[2]House Journal, Dec. 6, 1791.
[3]The "aid mentioned in the laws" was the donations of individuals. *Infra.*, p. 126, footnote.
[4]House Journal, Nov. 16, 1792.
[5]*Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1802; Nov. 22, 1803; Nov. 24, 1804; Nov. 19, 1805; Nov. 19, 1806; Nov. 18, 1807; Nov. 23, 1808; Nov. 22, 1809; Nov. 18, 1812.

natural situation of the State being unfavorable to commerce, it is of the greatest importance that liberal provision should be made for the internal improvements, particularly for the establishment of good public roads, and the extension of our inland navigation. Nothing can be more congenial to the spirit of a republican government than the application of the resources derived from all to the benefit of all." [1]

The frequency with which the need for more adequate transportation was called to the attention of the Legislature in this period shows clearly that the matter had become one of grave concern to many of the leading citizens of North Carolina. But that the State was unable at this time to make, in response to Governor Alexander's recommendation, any very considerable appropriations to internal improvement undertakings, without involving the public credit or increasing the taxes, can scarcely be questioned.[2] And whether the small amount which might have been so devoted would have been wisely expended, it would be useless here to surmise. The unwillingness of the Legislature to appropriate any part of the State's revenue for such purposes is clearly enough shown by the fact that prior to 1815 the work of internal improvement was left wholly to private enterprise.[3] Nevertheless the most liberal franchises were granted

[1]Governor Alexander's Message, House Journal, Nov. 19, 1806.

[2]The total receipts of the Treasury in 1801 were £20,324, and in 1814 they were about two and a half times as large.—Comptroller's statement appended to Laws of 1802; Treasurer's Report, House Journal, Dec. 7, 1814.

[3]Memoir, *op. cit.*, p. 11. This statement is contradicted by C. C. Weaver, who has claimed that prior to 1815 the "State had given aid."—History of Internal Improvements in North Carolina previous to 1860, p. 1.

Cf. also, "The State * * * entered into co-partnership with individuals and with companies for the building of canals and the deepening of harbors, the improvement of public highways, and the advancement of public intercourse."—W. E. Dodd, Life of Nathaniel Macon, p. 52.

It is true that by an act of 1786 the Commissioners of Navigation and Pilotage of the Cape Fear River were authorized to prescribe fines for the violation of their regulations, which fines, when collected by the Commissioners, were to be expended on the improvement of the river.—Laws, 1786, ch. 50, sec. 2 (State Records, Vol. XXIV, p. 851). And fines imposed for the failure to perform on this river the work required of those whose duty it was to remove obstructions were similarly appropriated.—Laws, 1793, ch. 34, sec. 3. Somewhat similar fines were likewise appropriated in part to the improvement of the Neuse River.—Laws, 1811, ch. 26. And by the act of 1812 incorporating the Neuse River Navigation Company the State reserved till Jan. 1, 1814, the privilege of subscribing one-fifth of the authorized capital of $50,000.—Laws, ch. 89.

No records available to the writer show whether any fines were collected under these laws. But the authorized subscription of stock, it is well known, was not made.

to corporations, in an attempt thereby to make the construction of toll roads and canals and the improvement of river navigation attractive fields for the investment of private capital; and unstinted encouragement was extended to the numerous commissions appointed by the Legislature, whose duty it was to solicit and receive donations from public-spirited citizens, these gifts to be expended in the development of public highways.[1]

Just what were the results by 1815 of this early legislation it is impossible to say. Only a few of the companies seem to have succeeded in raising the subscriptions necessary for their incorporation. Of these the Neuse River Navigation Company, the Cape Fear Navigation Company, the Roanoke Company, and the Clubfoot and Harlowe's Creek and the Dismal Swamp Canal companies—the purpose of the former being to connect Neuse River with the harbor at Beaufort, the latter to connect Pasquotank River in North Carolina with Elizabeth River in Virginia—were the most important. The Dismal Swamp Canal had been opened, and one-fourth of the work to be done on the Clubfoot and Harlowe's Creek Canal was said to have been completed,[2] while the improve-

[1]There was an abundance of this private legislation. The construction of ten toll roads by individuals, in whom the property rights of the roads were vested for periods varying from twenty-five to ninety-nine years, was authorized.—Laws, 1784, ch. 66; 1787, ch. 25; 1792, ch. 46; 1794, ch. 77; 1804, ch. 4; 1807, ch. 28; 1809, ch. 34; 1812, ch. 27; 1813, chs. 21, 24.

Similar provisions were made for the building of toll bridges.—Laws 1782, ch. 33; 1784, chs. 64, 65; 1810, ch. 33; 1812, ch. 26.

Twelve canal companies were incorporated.—Laws, 1784, ch. 63; 1790, ch. 26; 1795, ch. 23; 1796, ch. 20; 1798, ch. 40; 1804, chs. 34, 39; 1805, ch. 23; 1808, ch. 33; 1810, chs. 25, 29; 1813, ch. 28. Eight Commissioners were appointed to receive donations for the purpose of constructing canals.—Laws, 1786, chs. 29, 70; 1792, ch. 27; 1800, ch. 31; 1810, chs. 29, 31; 1811, chs. 27, 29.

Fifteen charters were issued to navigation companies, in whom the property rights of the navigation concerned was vested.—Laws, 1787, ch. 37; 1788, ch. 16; 1790, ch. 32; 1796, chs. 13, 21, 26, 34; 1800, ch. 29; 1801, ch. 99; 1804, ch. 40; 1805, ch. 22; 1806, ch. 24; 1807, ch. 25; 1811, ch. 30. And a larger number of commissions were appointed for the purpose of improving the navigation of rivers. In some cases these were incorporated, but there was no vesting of property rights.—Laws, 1784, chs. 37, 38, 39, 42; 1788, ch. 22; 1791, ch. 40; 1794, ch. 94; 1796, ch 41; 1800, ch. 32; 1803, ch. 81; 1804, ch. 38; 1806, ch. 22; 1807, chs. 26, 31; 1810, ch. 28; 1811, ch. 23; 1812, chs. 90, 91, 92.

[2]Raleigh *Star*, May 19, 1815.

ments made in the navigation of the Catawba River, whatever these may have been, surpassed the achievements of any other company engaged in similar undertakings.[1]

CHAPTER II

Initiation of the Policy of State Aid (1815-1819)

The year 1815 marks the beginning of the abandonment of the policy of merely granting charters and relying on unaided private enterprise for the development of transportation. The principal reasons for this break with the past were: (1) The desire (a) to develop the resources of the State, and (b) to establish home markets; and (2) the failure of unaided private enterprise to achieve satisfactory results.

The joint select committee on inland navigation, in its report to the Legislature in 1815, said that to delay efficient provision for inland navigation was "to postpone that natural wealth, respectability and importance which follow only in the train of great internal improvements."[2] The committee estimated the number of persons emigrating from North Carolina to the West during the preceding twenty-five years to be more than two hundred thousand, and a member of the committee was of the opinion four years later that half a million North Carolinians had gone "to people the Wilderness of the West."[3] This notable emigration was attributed mainly to the lack of adequate transportation at home. "In this state of things," continued the committee, "our agriculture is at a stand; and * * * men are seeking the

[1]Report of Committee on Inland Navigation, Senate Journal, Dec. 6, 1815.

[2]*Ibid.*

[3]Memoir, p. 5. These estimates cannot be verified. Not until 1850 did the census begin to present statistics relative to interstate migration. At this time thirty-one per cent of the free natives of North Carolina living in the United States were residents of other States. The corresponding percentages for Virginia and South Carolina were twenty-six and thirty-six respectively.—Report of the Superintendent of the Census, Dec. 1, 1852, p. 15.

way to wealth through all the devious paths of speculation. * * * This perversion of things is gradually undermining our morality."

The exact nature and extent of the resources of the State were, of course, unknown, but North Carolina was not keeping pace with many other States in developing the resources known to be available. The evil was a growing one—the more the industries of the State suffered because of inadequate transportation or for other reasons, the larger became the tide of emigrants, whose departure thinned the ranks of those left behind to overcome the depression. There was, very naturally, most anxiety concerning agricultural interests. But mining and manufacturing were not wholly overlooked,[1] and some even considered manufacturing of first importance—manufactures, being less bulky comparatively than the products of farms and mines, would, it was claimed, require less extensive transportation routes.[2]

The dependence of North Carolina so largely on Virginia and South Carolina, especially the former, for markets had long been a source of regret. The inevitable growth of commercial towns within the State, which would follow the proper development of transportation, was now presented as an important reason why the Legislature should begin at once to prosecute the work of internal improvement.[3] This jealousy of rival markets in neighboring States was not new; it had been clearly exemplified in 1786, when the proposed charter of the Dismal Swamp Canal Company, having been authorized by the Legislature of Virginia, was first considered by the Legislature of North Carolina. Governor Cas-

[1]An interesting attempt to take a census of North Carolina's manufactures was made in 1810. The results were recorded in a "Report of Manufactures within the State of North Carolina, according to the returns made to Beverly Daniel by the persons appointed to take the late census in the several counties."—Raleigh *Register*, Feb. 14, 1811. The total value of the manufactures was given as $4,811,319, cloth being the most important product, valued at $2,591,817. The output of whiskey and brandy was valued at $700,105, and the iron output at $150,000.

[2]*Register*, March 14, 1811.

[3]Report of Committee on Inland Navigation. *Op. cit.*

well told this body that its assent to the Virginia act would be advantageous to the sister State at the expense of North Carolina.[1] Influenced, doubtless, by this suggestion, the Legislature refused its assent[2]; and it was not until 1790, after repeated rejections of the proposed charter, that North Carolina co-operated with Virginia in authorizing the construction of the canal.[3] Nor was Caswell the only Governor in this period to lament the commercial dependence of North Carolina on neighboring States.[4]

If private enterprise, however, had succeeded in accomplishing the ends for which the companies were chartered, or had promised to succeed with reasonable promptness, there is little reason to think the State would have chosen to supplant it. But it did neither. And even had the prospect of immediate gain been sufficient to attract the necessary private capital into these undertakings, each enterprise would have been prosecuted with regard, primarily, to the interests of those furnishing the capital, and not with the purpose of so relating the separate routes to one another as to constitute an effective State system.

Moreover, the restoration of peace after a war that had been costly to North Carolina, the lessening of party strife,[5] the fact that the receipts of the public treasury had trebled since the beginning of the century,[6] and the example of other States which were supplementing private enterprise in various internal improvement undertakings[7]—all these, it seemed, helped to make this a fitting time for the State to adopt the policy of aiding the work of its internal development, hitherto so feebly prosecuted.

[1]House Journal, Nov. 20, 1786.
[2]State Records, Vol. XVIII, p. VIII.
[3]Laws, 1790, ch. 26.
[4]House Journal, Nov. 18, 1802.
[5]A. D. Murphey, Report on Education, 1817 (C. L. Coon, Documentary History of Education in North Carolina prior to 1840, Vol. I, p. 123). Cf. Memoir, p. 6.
[6]Comptroller's Statement, 1802; Treasurer's Report, House Journal, Nov. 29, 1815.
[7]Memoir, p. 11.

While the forces favoring a direct participation by the State in the efforts to provide more adequate transportation were quietly increasing in potency, the newspapers of the period voiced no demand on the part of the people for a change in policy; nor was there any unusual emphasis on transportation in Governor Miller's message in 1815—he merely repeated the time-worn appeal.[1] To some leaders in the Legislature, however, the time seemed ripe for the State to come to the rescue. The most active and untiring advocate of the proposed policy was Archibald D. Murphey, Senator from Orange. Very early in the session, on Murphey's motion, the Senate resolved, "that it is expedient to provide more efficiently for the inland navigation of this State," and that the resolution be referred to a joint select committee,[2] the House concurring.[3] In the report of this committee, of which Murphey was chairman, was embodied a plan which contemplated the incorporating of companies, with unlimited franchises, for the purpose of improving the navigation of the principal rivers, the tolls to be restricted so as to yield no more than fifteen per cent on the capital invested; the State was to subscribe one-third of the capital stock of each company; and a board of commissioners should superintend the work of the companies, employ civil engineers, direct surveys and make annual reports to the Legislature.[4] This report, together with a resolution "that it is expedient to provide by law for carrying into effect the plan proposed," was adopted by the Senate and sent to the House, where after a lengthy discussion it was rejected by a vote of 52 to 73.[5]

Although the temper of the House, as shown in its rejection of the report, was not favorable to a comprehensive

[1]House Journal, 1815, p. 5.
[2]Journal, Nov. 22, 1815.
[3]Journal, Nov. 27, 1815.
[4]Senate Journal, Dec. 6, 1815. Cf. Memoir, p. 12.
[5]Journal, Dec. 12, 1815.

policy of State aid, the friends of the proposed plan were not ready to abandon it wholly. Almost immediately, again on Murphey's motion, the Senate proposed the appointment of commissioners who should have surveys made, at the State's expense, of the Tar, the Neuse and the Yadkin rivers,[1] for the purpose of ascertaining what part of each might be made navigable, and also a survey of a canal route between the Yadkin and the Cape Fear rivers.[2] This resolution met little opposition in the House.[3]

The friends of the new policy proceeded next to secure amendments to the charters of the Roanoke and the Cape Fear Navigation Companies and pledges therewith of State subscriptions of stock. The Senate bill concerning the former company provided for an increase in the authorized capital from $100,000, as allowed by the charter of 1812,[4] to $300,000, one-third of which was to be subscribed by the State. The House at first rejected bodily the provision for the State subscription but later agreed to a subscription of one-fourth the number of shares originally proposed, or one-twelfth of the whole.[5]

The Senate bill, which was intended to authorize an increase in the capital of the Deep and Haw River Navigation Company from $8,000[6] to $100,000, one-fourth of which was to be subscribed by the State, and to change the name to the Cape Fear Navigation Company, met no less opposition in the House than had been encountered by the bill concerning the Roanoke Navigation Company, and it became a law providing for a State subscription of only $15,000.[7]

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[1]Murphey includes also the Roanoke, the Cape Fear and the Catawba rivers.—Memori, p. 13.
[2]Journal, Dec. 16, 1815.
[3]Journal, Dec. 19. 1815.
[4]Laws, 1812, ch. 88.
[5]Journal, Dec. 19, 1815; Laws, 1815, ch. 13.
[6]Laws, 1796, ch. 21.
[7]House Journal, Dec. 19, 20, 1815; Senate Journal, Dec. 20, 1815; Laws, 1815, ch. 14. The section authorizing the State subscription was omitted by mistake from the printed laws of this session.—Senate Journal, Dec. 9, 1816.

By its rejection of the committee report the House had defeated the proposition for a general and systematic prosecution of the work of internal improvement under the direction of a State Board of Commissioners. But in the resolution authorizing surveys the committee secured perhaps all its plan had contemplated in this regard. Only two companies, however, were given the benefit of the proposed State subscriptions of stock, and the number of shares that might be subscribed was, in each case, much less than that originally proposed. Nevertheless, the Legislature of 1815 had made a beginning, and the advocates of State aid were encouraged, although their hardest work was in the future.

The report of the committee on inland navigation repeated, in 1816, the recommendation that a permanent supervisory board be appointed,[1] but nothing came of it at this session. State subscriptions of stock, however, to the amount of $65,000, in four other river navigation companies and one canal company, were authorized[2]; and the resolutions directing surveys at the State's expense were continued in force, only the surveys of the Tar and the Neuse rivers having been completed.[3]

When the Legislature reassembled in 1817 Governor Miller approved the policy of State aid,[4] but the Treasurer, in his annual report, gave an unfavorable account of the works already undertaken.[5] Nevertheless, the committee on internal improvement finding, it was claimed, "that the mere adoption of efficient measures by the Legislature for internal improvement (had) given to the lands of the State an additional value of more than $10,000,000," declared that every reason existed for proceeding with the work. "But the work will never proceed regularly," it continued, "until the State

[1] Senate Journal, Dec. 9, 1816.
[2] Laws, 1816, chs. 16, 23, 25, 35, 36.
[3] Senate Journal, Dec. 9, 1816; House Journal, Dec. 24, 1816. Cf. Memoir, p. 13.
[4] House Journal, Nov. 18, 1817.
[5] *Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 1817.

shall adopt a regular system of execution. The basis of this system must be a suitable fund and the application of this fund by a permanent board of commissioners." The committee therefore recommended the creation of a fund to consist of the State's stock in the Bank of New Bern and the Cape Fear Bank,[1] and in the several navigation companies, the proceeds of which should be applied by a board of commissioners to the work of internal improvement.[2] Whereupon, a bill embodying the provisions of this recommendation was introduced in the Senate. It passed two readings, but was defeated in the House by a close vote.[3]

In the following summer the committee in charge of the surveys, although unsuccessful in its efforts to engage the services of a civil engineer, having "secured the best talents possible," proceeded with the duties assigned it and reported the results to the Legislature at its next session.[4] The encouraging reports of several surveyors and the eagerness of the companies to proceed with the work made it all the more imperative, it was thought, that a special fund for the development of transportation be established. A renewal of the efforts to secure the establishment of such a fund followed, a bill for this purpose being introduced in the Senate by Murphey, of the committee on internal improvement.[5] It, as did the similar bill of 1817, passed the second reading by a small majority,[6] but was lost in the House.[7] Besides the authorizing of State subscriptions of stock in two canal companies, amounting to $7,500,[8] no gains were made in the Legislature of 1818 for the policy of systematic State aid.

[1]The State owned 1,250 shares in each bank, of a total par value of $250,000.
[2]Senate Journal, Dec. 5, 1817.
[3]*Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 12, 1817; House Journal, Dec. 12, 1817.
[4]Senate Journal, Nov. 28, 1818; *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[5]*Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1818.
[6]*Ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1818.
[7]Journal, Dec. 24, 1818. The details of this bill are unknown. It is not found in the files of "rejected bills."
[8]Laws, 1818, chs. 41, 50.

In the spring of 1819, after fruitless efforts to engage a civil engineer in this country, the commission in charge of the surveys, directed by the Legislature, employed Hamilton Fulton, an Englishman. In obedience to the instructions of this committee, Fulton and his assistant examined the principal rivers of the State and the works then in progress thereon. A detailed report of these observations was made to the commission, in which Fulton expressed the belief that efficient inland navigation could be obtained at comparatively small cost.[1] And it was now that the new policy began to be advocated by the press of the State.[2]

In the fall of this year, 1819, the committee on internal improvement again recommended the creation of a special fund and the appointment of a supervisory board.[3]

The bill embodying the provisions recommended in the committee report had, as was to be expected, a fairly safe majority in its favor in the Senate[4]; and at last the House, too, fell in line and the bill passed, but with amendments materially reducing the size of the proposed fund.[5]

This act provided that the proceeds of the sale of the State lands recently purchased from the Cherokee Indians should constitute the fund. A board, consisting of the Governor of the State and six other members elected annually by the Legislature, was authorized to employ an engineer and surveyors, the engineer to exercise general supervision of the public works. The board was charged also with the duty of making such disposition of the fund as the Legislature might from time to time direct, and annual reports of its operations were to be made to the Legislature.[6]

The fund thus provided was merely a prospective one; the

[1] "Report of the Commission appo nted to have Sundry Surveys made," Dec. 1, 1819.
[2] *Register*, Oct. 1, 1819.
[3] Senate Journal, Dec. 1, 1819; House Journal, Dec. 2, 1819.
[4] Senate Journal, Dec. 21, 1819.
[5] House Journal, Dec. 20, 22, 1819.
[6] Laws, 1819, ch. 2.

lands to be sold contained about one million acres, although no accurate survey of them had been made, and their definite boundaries had not been established.[1] The act prescribing the mode of surveying and selling these lands fixed a minimum price of four, three and two dollars per acre, according to quality.[2] Even had this fund promised to be large—and it did not—no part of it was immediately available.

It may safely be assumed that the measure of success attained by the friends of State aid in the Legislature of 1819 was very largely due to the appearance of Murphey's Memoir in November of this year. Besides reviewing the internal improvement undertakings thitherto contemplated by the Legislature, the author presented a number of statistical tables designed to prove the ability of the State at that time to contribute liberally to the development of transportation. Altogether, the Memoir is the most significant contribution to the literature of our period in this field.

All that had been accomplished so far came as a result of compromise at every point. As a reward for their efforts the friends of the new movement could claim, at the close of the four years' struggle for a comprehensive policy of State aid, the creation of a small prospective fund and the appointment of a permanent board for its management. And State subscriptions to the stock of navigation and canal companies, amounting to $112,500, had been authorized. Was this inadequate provision? Was it the outcome of unwise counsel that would have involved the State more deeply in expensive undertakings which were perchance, after all, the peculiar and rightful province of private capital? These questions may be best answered in the light of developments yet to be studied.

[1] These lands had been purchased in 1817, and title was to pass to the State by Jan. 1, 1821.—Memoir, p. 75.

[2] Laws, 1819, ch. 10.

CHAPTER III

Early Execution of the Policy of State Aid (1815-1835)

It was found desirable, for administrative purposes, when the initiation of the policy of State aid was being effected, to make the charters of the several companies in which the State was to become a shareholder as nearly uniform as possible. Consequently, the charters of the principal companies that had been granted prior to 1815 were amended. The Roanoke Navigation Company's charter of 1812,[1] as modified in 1815,[2] became a model after which other charters were patterned.[3] The earlier act vested forever in the company the property right in the works, exempted them from taxation, and fixed maximum tolls to be charged on goods carried through any of the company's works. The act of 1815 provided that the tolls should be so regulated from time to time as to prevent a larger annual return than fifteen per cent on the capital invested, and authorized the State Treasurer to vote on behalf of the State in meetings of the stockholders. The limitations now placed on the earnings of the company and the State's interest as a stockholder necessitated a more complete supervision of the company's accounts. It was required, therefore, that annual reports of the receipts and expenditures be made to the Secretary of State.

Early in 1820 the newly-created Board of Internal Improvement assumed its duties, but not under the most favorable conditions. As was to be expected, the fight between the friends and the opponents of the new policy was not abandoned with the achievement of partial success by the former in the years from 1815 to 1819. To achieve significant results under the new system, an increase of the internal

[1] Laws, 1812, ch. 88.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1815, ch. 13.
[3] *Ibid.*, chs. 14, 15, 23, 25, 35.

improvement fund was manifestly imperative; but for a time no general recognition of this fact, save by men in public positions, seems to have found expression. The Board of Internal Improvement, in its second annual report, recommended, since the fund was inadequate and not forthcoming, and since taxes were unpopular, that the State borrow a sum not exceeding $500,000, assigning productive funds for the interest and providing a sinking fund.[1] This recommendation only resulted in an act adding to the internal improvement fund the dividends from the State's stock in the Bank of New Bern and the Cape Fear Bank.[2] The same recommendation in substance was repeated four years later,[3] and a similar one in 1830,[4] while in 1833 the board recommended the borrowing of $6,000,000.[5] The Governors, too, repeatedly commended the policy of State aid after it had been in operation some years,[6] and even earlier the leading papers of the State gave it support, trying not only to encourage and to create in the public mind sentiments likewise favorable to the system, but to influence the Legislature as well.[7]

In the literature of the period favorable to State aid to transportation, the "Numbers of Carlton," by Dr. Joseph Caldwell, rank next in importance to Murphey's Memoir.[8]

The attitude of a few leaders towards such a question of State policy is less significant, however, than the popular interest which it arouses. Beginning in the late twenties and continuing through the rest of the period under discussion, in various parts of the State the advocates of a system of internal improvement met in conventions in which dis-

[1] Report of the Board, 1821, p. XXI.
[2] Laws, 1821, ch. 6.
[3] Report of the Board, 1825, p. 9.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1830, p. 8.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1833, p. 17.
[6] House Journal, Nov. 17, 1829; Nov. 22, 1831; Nov. 19, 1833; Nov. 18, 1834; Nov. 17, 1835.
[7] *Register*, Dec. 7, 1824; Dec. 10, 1824; June 13, 1826; Jan. 13, 1831; June 24, 1834; May 13, 1834; Dec. 9, 1834. *Star*, Feb. 21, 1833. *Carolina Watchman*, Aug. 31, 1833.
[8] A discussion of the "Numbers of Carlton" more properly belongs to a later chapter on railroads.

tricts, varying in size from a small rural community to an area embracing three-fourths of the State, were represented. Almost always these conventions commended the policy of State aid, in their resolutions or in their "addresses to the people." In 1833 it was claimed that all the numerous local meetings and the State conventions of the year advocated the proposed "two-fifths, three-fifths principle," whereby the State was to own forty per cent of the stock in the various companies engaged in the development of transportation.[1]

The more significant of these meetings were held towards the close of the pre-railroad era. In 1828, at a meeting in Chatham of delegates from four of the central counties, an address was issued in which, after noting the comparative backwardness of North Carolina in the provision for transportation, it was said: "To enter now the general market from our interior country, and cope with the prices, we must have railroads, or canals, or navigable rivers. * * * Cotton is now about the only article which bears transportation. But it is much to be apprehended that even cotton will not long remain a source of profit in our present manner of conveyance."[2] In January of the following year, at Raleigh, was held a meeting of members of the Legislature and others, the chief result of which was the appointment of a central committee, and an auxiliary committee in each county of the State, whose duty it was to organize the forces favorable to systematic internal improvement.[3] The next notable meeting was held also in Raleigh, July 4, 1833, twenty counties, none west of Orange, being represented. In the address issued by this convention it was the declared purpose to arouse the people, for, it was claimed, the Legislature would aid if the

[1]Legislative Documents, 1833, No. 23, p. 7. For reports of conventions advocating State aid see: *Register*, June 23, 1829; Feb. 8, 1830; Sept. 9, 1830; Aug. 27, 1833; Sept. 3, 1833; Sept. 10, 1833; Dec. 9, 1834. Also, *Star*, Dec. 16, 23, 1831; *Carolina Watchman*, Oct. 26, 1833; *Western Carolinian*, Sept. 30, 1833; *North Carolina Standard*, July 17, 1834; *Greensboro Patriot*, Sept. 25, 1833.

[2]Xenodochy, Vol. IV.

[3]*Register*, Jan. 13, 30, 1829.

people demanded it.[1] In the following November delegates from forty-eight counties assembled in Raleigh, and with four dissenting delegations the convention adopted a memorial to the Legislature in which the construction, exclusively by the State, of four transportation lines, at an estimated cost of $5,000,000, was advocated.[2]

The opposition to the policy of State aid also continued active throughout the period. But it found little expression in the newspapers. An open letter by "X," directed against schools and internal improvements, stands almost alone among such expressions of the conviction that the State should aid neither.[3] But however few were the newspaper contributions directed against the policy, its opponents made effective opposition in the Legislature to the scheme, both as it was and as its friends hoped to make it. When the board had been in existence but a year the House would have abolished it and turned the fund into the general treasury, but, as earlier, the Senate gave loyal support to the new movement, defeating the bill to repeal the act of 1819 by a vote of 36 to 21.[4] In the debate on this bill in the Senate the burden of the argument produced by the opponents of the policy was that the works were too expensive, and that their beneficial results would accrue very largely to the people of Virginia and South Carolina.[5] Similar efforts to repeal the act of 1819 creating the fund, and that of 1821 increasing it, were repeated and were similarly defeated, usually by the Senate.[6] Although these acts were not repealed, no further increase of the fund was possible. As a direct result of the policy of the obstructionists the Board suffered a marked

[1] *Ibid.*, July 30, 1833.
[2] *Ibid.*, Apr. 29, 1834; *Star*, Dec. 6, 13, 1833; Legislative Documents, 1833, No. 4.
[3] *Register*, Nov. 9, 1829.
[4] Senate Journal, Dec. 8, 1820.
[5] *Register*, Dec. 29, 1820; Jan. 5, 1821.
[6] Senate Journal, Dec. 29, 1821; Dec. 21, 1822; Dec. 30, 1825; Jan. 1, 1828; House Journal, Dec. 22, 1824.

change in its constituency, being reduced in 1824 to the Governor and three directors,[1] and in 1831 to the Governor, the State Treasurer and one elected member, who was to be known as the Superintendent of Public Works, and who alone was to receive pay for his services.[2] Moreover, in 1833, when the fund was low, even a proposition to appropriate $1,500 for surveys of proposed railway routes was defeated.[3] The committee to whom the memorial of the November convention had been referred, in its report thereon, and in introducing the bill just mentioned, gave expression to the disappointment felt by the friends of State aid and for which the Legislature was held responsible.[4] Never before had the press of the State been so unanimous in its condemnation of the Legislature as in 1834 for this failure to obey what seemed so clearly the will of the people. The *Elizabeth City Star,* the *Edenton Gazette,* the *North Carolina Journal,* the *Wilmington Free Press,* the *Fayetteville Observer,* the *Oxford Examiner,* the *Raleigh Register,* the *Hillsboro Recorder,* the *Salisbury Journal,* the *Western Carolinian*—all voiced a protest against the refusal of the Legislature to meet the expectations of the people.[5]

We have seen something of the forces that kept so limited the sources from which the internal improvement fund was derived. The receipts from the two sources—the sale of lands, and bank dividends—as shown in the following table, amounted in the years prior to 1835 to $184,747.47½, and at the close of this year about $45,000 was due the fund.

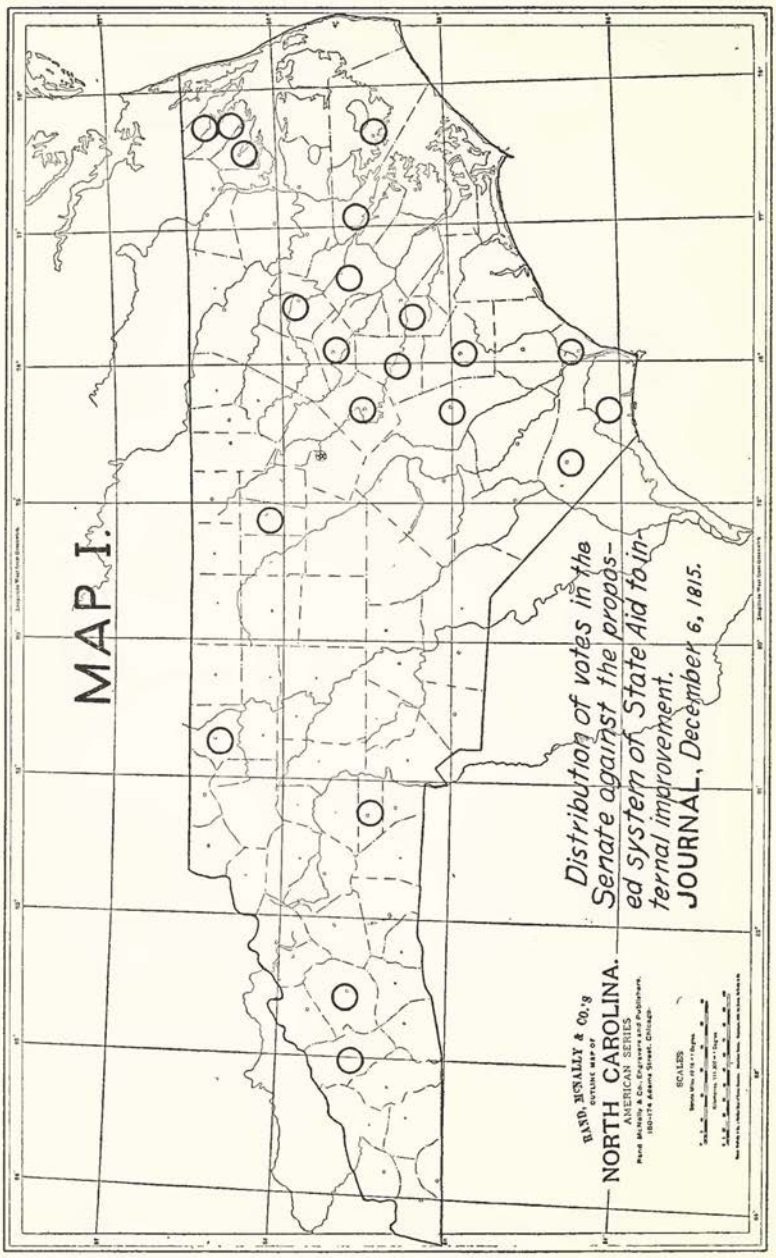
[1]Laws, 1824, ch. 5.
[2]*Ibid.*, 1831, ch. 21.
[3]House Journal, Jan. 8, 1834.
[4]Senate Journal, Dec. 24, 1833.
[5]*Register*, Jan. 11, 1834; Feb. 4, 1834.

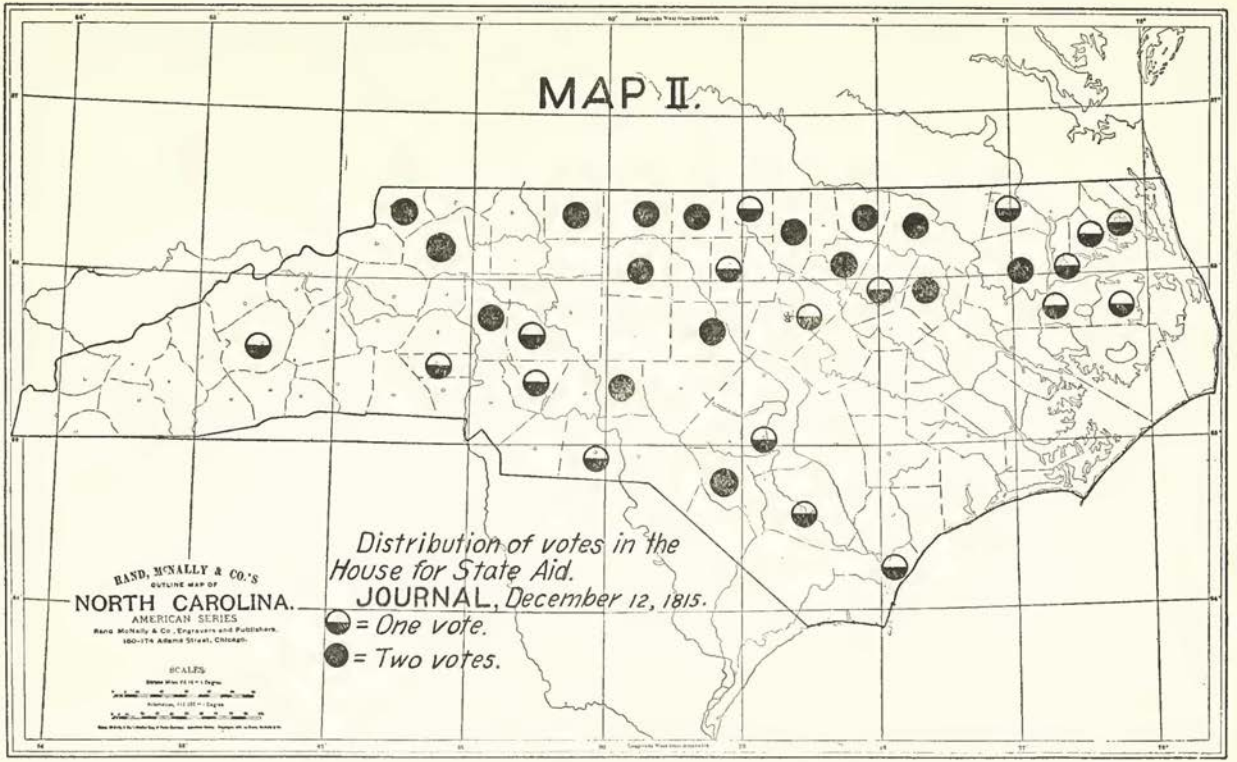
RECEIPTS OF THE INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT FUND, 1820-1835.[1]

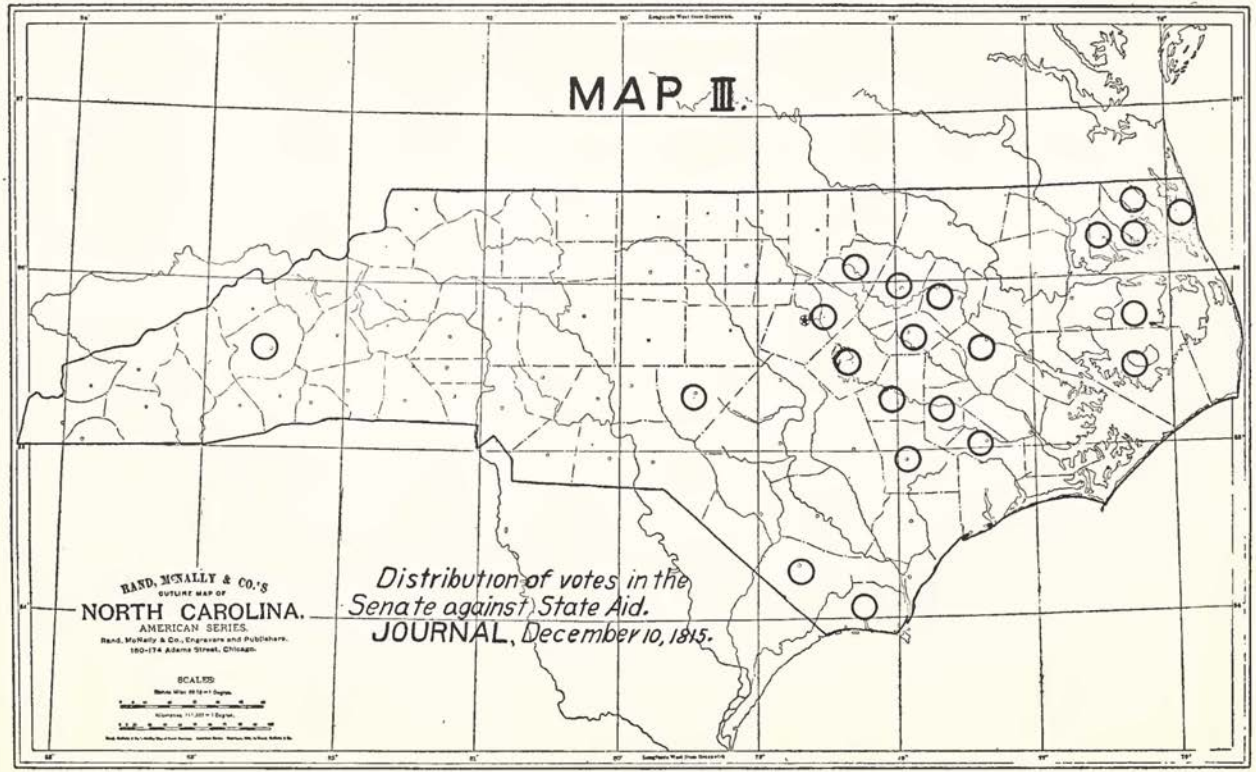
1820	$.....
1821	4,857.17
1822	1,519.41¼
1823	9,658.65¼
1824	25,614.03
1825	32,483.99
1826	15,657.47
1827	25,916.21½
1828	19,556.54½
1829	14,830.70½
1830	5,533.00½
1831	4,559.98
1832	2,601.36
1833	1,397.48
1834	5,807.23
1835	14,736.17
	$184,747.41½

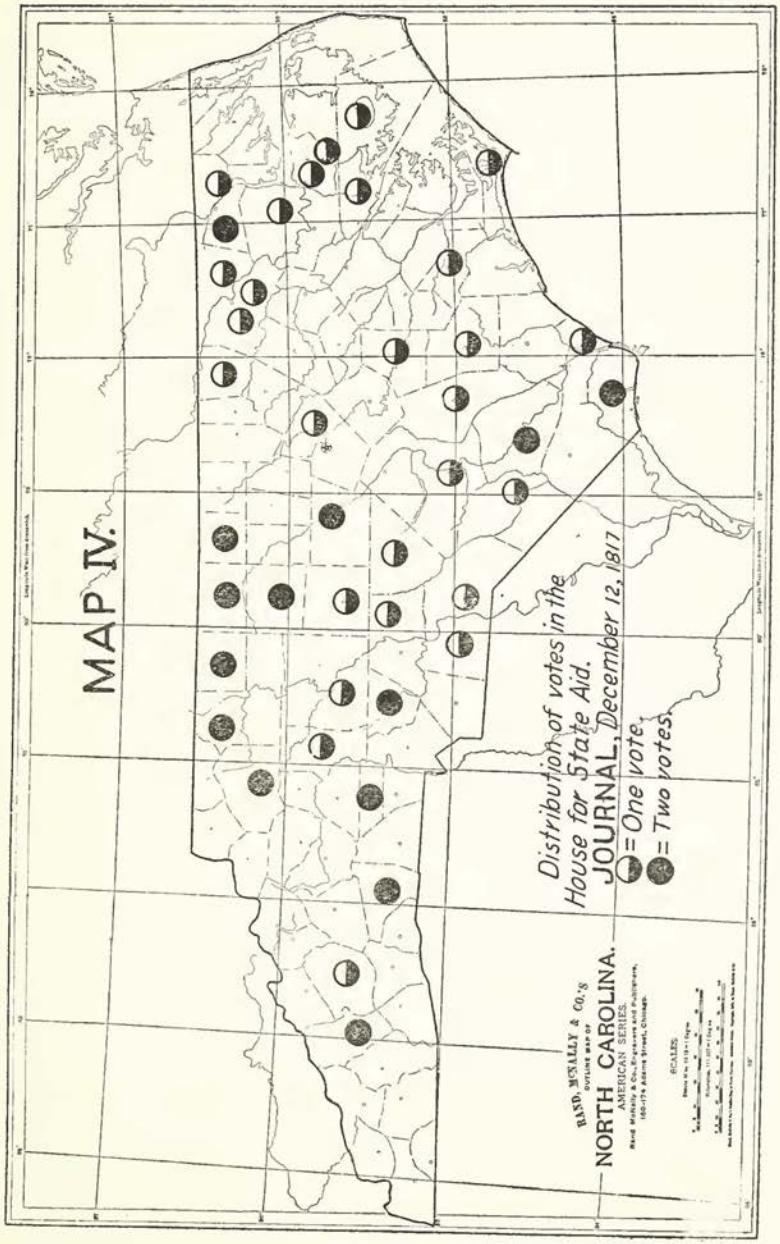
An examination of the votes in both houses of the Legislature on the more important bills and resolutions already mentioned, in an effort to understand the reasons for such a determined and powerful opposition to State aid, reveals the fact that, in the main, the opposition to the policy was centered in the eastern half of the State, while its chief support was given by the members from the west. The distribution of the votes for or against a few typical measures is represented in the accompanying maps.

[1]The annual reports of the Treasurer and of the Board of Internal Improvement are relied on for the statement of receipts by years. For the years 1824 and 1825, however, the two sources do not agree. In the receipts for each of these two years, $18,580, which the Treasurer did not include but which the Board reported, is included in this table.


MAP I.
Distribution of votes in the Senate against the proposed system of State Aid to internal improvement.
JOURNAL, December 6, 1815.
RAND, McNALLY & CO.'S OUTLINE MAP OF
NORTH CAROLINA.
AMERICAN SERIES
SCALES


MAP II.
RAND, McNALLY & CO.'S
OUTLINE MAP OF
NORTH CAROLINA.
AMERICAN SERIES
Rand McNally & Co., Engravers and Publishers,
160-174 Adams Street, Chicago.
SCALES
Distribution of votes in the
House for State Aid.
JOURNAL, December 12, 1815.
= One vote.
= Two votes.


MAP III.
RAND, McNALLY & CO.'S
OUTLINE MAP OF
NORTH CAROLINA.
AMERICAN SERIES.
Rand, McNally & Co., Engravers and Publishers.
160-174 Adams Street, Chicago.
SCALES
Distribution of votes in the
Senate against State Aid.
JOURNAL, December 10, 1815.


MAP IV.
Distribution of votes in the House for State Aid.
JOURNAL, December 12, 1817
= One vote.
= Two votes.
RAND, McNALLY & CO.'S
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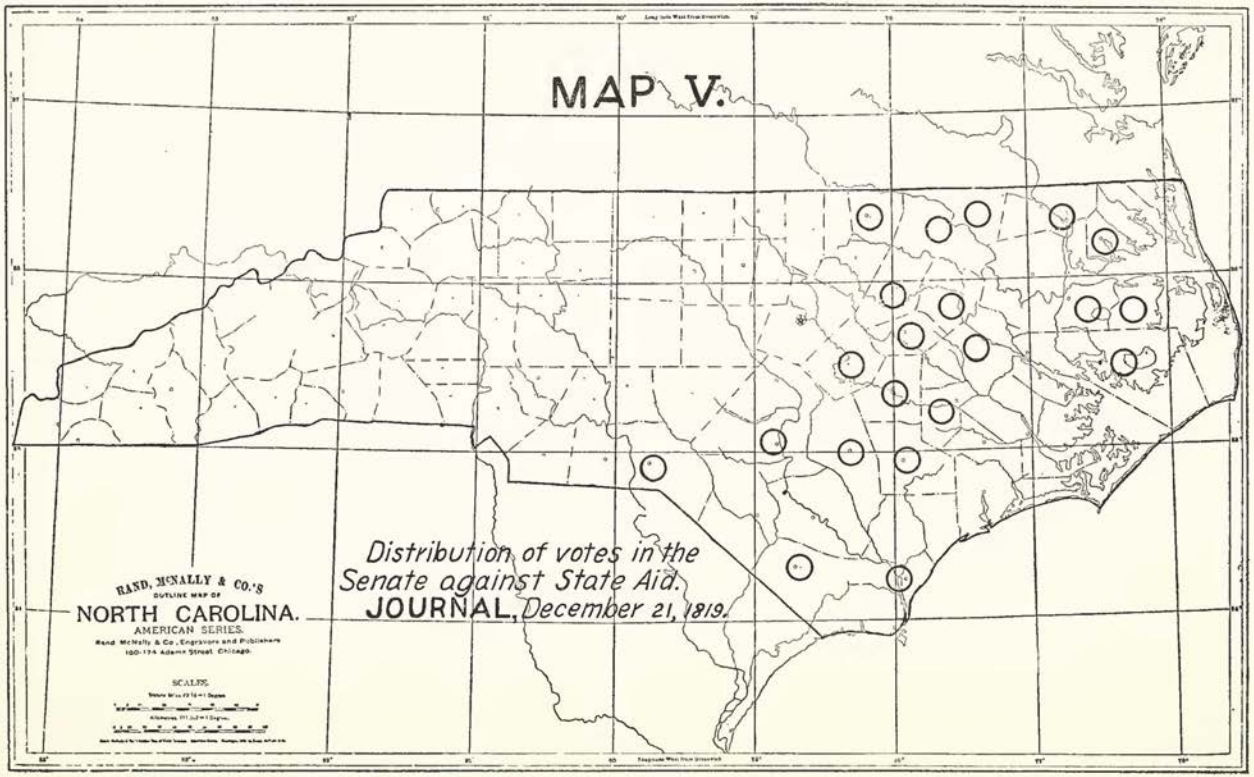
AMERICAN SERIES


MAP V.
Distribution of votes in the Senate against State Aid.
JOURNAL, December 21, 1819.
RAND, McNALLY & CO.'S
OUTLINE MAP OF
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AMERICAN SERIES.
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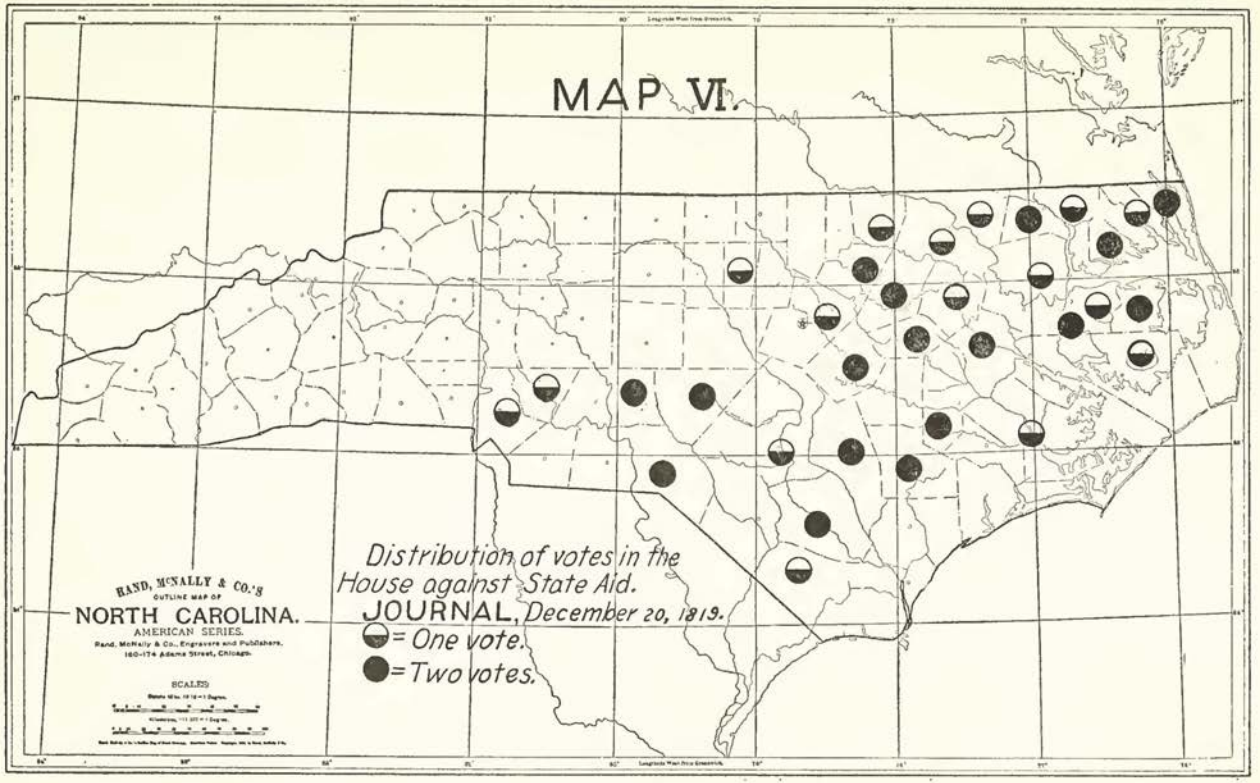
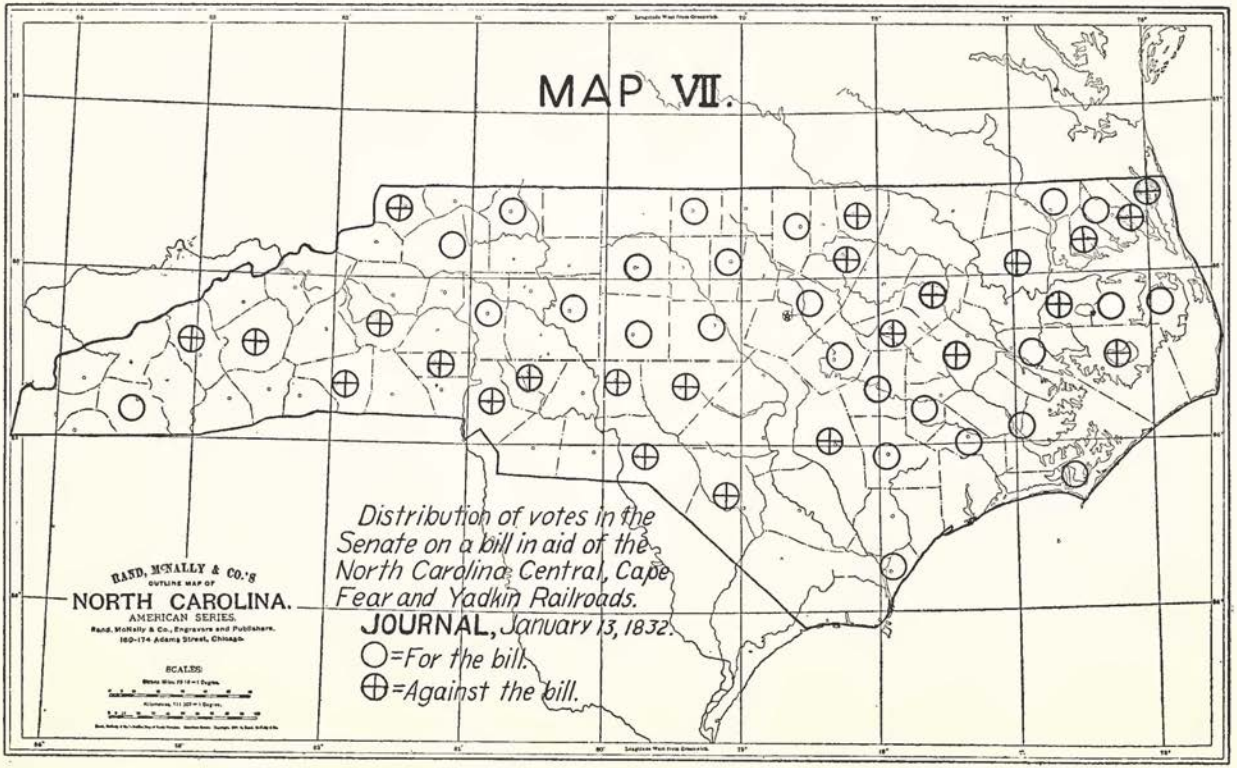
160-174 Adams Street, Chicago.
SCALES.


MAP VI.
Distribution of votes in the House against State Aid.
JOURNAL, December 20, 1819.
= One vote.
= Two votes.
RAND, McNALLY & CO.'S
OUTLINE MAP OF
NORTH CAROLINA.
AMERICAN SERIES.
Rand, McNally & Co., Engravers and Publishers,
160-174 Adams Street, Chicago.
SCALES


MAP VII.
RAND, McNALLY & CO.'S
OUTLINE MAP OF
NORTH CAROLINA.
AMERICAN SERIES.
Rand, McNally & Co., Engravers and Publishers,
160-174 Adams Street, Chicago.
SCALES
Distribution of votes in the Senate on a bill in aid of the North Carolina Central, Cape Fear and Yadkin Railroads.
JOURNAL, January 13, 1832.
◯=For the bill.
⊕=Against the bill.

Several explanations for such a sectional division may be adduced. First of all, the need for transportation was more nearly supplied in the east than in the west by natural inland waterways. Too, overland wagon routes were more cheaply constructed and maintained in the comparatively level east than in the hilly or mountainous west. Doubtless, also, many citizens of the east were unwilling that their section should bear half or a larger share of the burden of undertakings, the chief benefits of which would accrue to their neighbors of the west.

But such a motive was scarcely most responsible for the making of State aid a sectional issue. The system of representation in the Legislature, as fixed by the Constitution of 1776, soon resulted in a disproportionate representation of the two sections. If an imaginary line be drawn north and south across the State just west of Wake, the section to the west of this line embraced, in 1815, twenty-four counties and two boroughs, that to the east thirty-eight counties and four boroughs. Since these political divisions, without regard to population, constituted the basis of representation, there was a large majority of eastern men in the Legislature.[1]

When the question of State aid to transportation came up in 1815, the opposition of the west to the existing basis of representation had already become active.[2] And it was this system of representation that furnished the basis for the chief political issue in the State—the issue which overshadowed all others, and whose influence was manifest in the discussion of every question of general State policy—until the Constitution was revised in 1835. That the bitter struggle of the two sections over the constitutional issue should find expression in their division in a similar way on other issues, particularly one involving general State policy, is not surprising.

[1]Each county elected a senator and two representatives; each borough, a representative.
[2]W. K. Boyd, The Antecedents of the North Carolina Convention of 1835, South Atlantic Quarterly, April, 1910.

Perhaps, too, besides the broad sectional strife, the inability to agree on any large undertaking because of local jealousy and rivalry did more than all else to hinder the growth of sentiment in favor of State aid.[1] Again, towards the close of this period, the introduction in other States of the railroad, yet in the experimental stage, doubtless made men hesitate to involve the State in the expenditure of large sums of money either for the old forms of transportation which might be largely superseded by the new form, or for the new until it had been thoroughly tried elsewhere.

Whatever the cause or causes of the meagerness of the State's expenditures for transportation in this period, the total amount expended amounted to only $291,576.10. The following tabular statement shows in some detail the objects to which the money was devoted:

Engineering and incidentals[2]		$67,518.74
On rivers:		
Shares of stock—		
Roanoke Navigation Company[3]	$50,000.00	
Cape Fear Navigation Company[4]	40,000.00	
Yadkin Navigation Company[5]	25,000.00	
Tar River Navigation Company[6]	1,200.00	
Neuse River Navigation Company[7]	1,800.00	
North Carolina Catawba Company[8]	2,400.00	
		$120,400.00
Direct appropriations—		
Broad[9]	$2,548.00	
Cape Fear[10]	39,730.16	
Lumber[11]	427.20	
		$42,705.36
		$163,105.36

[1] See map VII, *supra*.

[2] In the Report of the Board, 1833, p. 4 ff., the expenditures for Internal Improvement to date are summarized.

The expenditures for surveys of swamp lands, amounting to $3,832.44, are not included here.

[3] Laws, 1815, ch. 13; 1823, ch. 17.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1815, ch. 14; 1823, ch. 16.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1816, ch. 35.

[6] *Ibid.*, ch. 23.

[7] *Ibid.*, ch. 16.

[8] *Ibid.*, ch. 25.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1820, ch. 38.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1822, ch. 16; 1825, ch. 8; 1826, ch. 18; 1827, ch. 34; 1828, ch. 36.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1822, ch. 28.

On Clubfoot and Harlowe's Creek Canal:			
Shares of stock[1]	$15,000.00		
Loan[2]	18,000.00		
			$33,000.00
On roads:			
Shares of stock—			
Buncombe Turnpike Company[3]	$5,000.00		
Plymouth Turnpike Company[4]	2,500.00		
		$7,500.00	
Direct appropriations—			
Various highways[5]	$16,452.00	$16,452.00	
Loans—			
Commissioners of road Old Fort to Asheville[6]	2,000.00		
Tennessee River Turnpike[7]	2,000.00		
		$4,000.00	
			$27,952.00
			$291,576.10

Within the limits of this paper no attempt can be made to discuss in detail the separate expenditures summarized above, or the specific object to which each was applied. It may be remarked in passing that at the close of the pre-railroad era, of the several navigation companies in which the State had become interested as a stockholder only the Roanoke and the Cape Fear companies remained active. The former, with which Virginia also co-operated through the holding of shares, was engaged throughout the period in attempts to improve the navigation of the Roanoke River and its tributaries in both States; and in 1835, having begun in 1831 to pay small dividends, the company was fairly prosperous.[8]

As early as 1819 the Cape Fear Navigation Company was

[1] *Ibid.*, 1818, ch. 50; 1821, ch. 37; 1824, ch. 25.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1826, ch. 24; 1828, ch. 37.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1824, ch. 28.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1823, ch. 20.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1820, chs. 34, 37; 1821, ch. 22; 1822, ch. 35; 1823, chs. 25, 26; 1824, ch. 27; 1825, ch. 34; 1826, ch. 25.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1829, ch. 14.
[7] *Ibid.*, 1831, ch. 36.
[8] The total stock subscribed was $412,000, of which North Carolina owned $50,000, and Virginia, $80,000. The total expenditures to 1834 were $410,958.65, and the tolls for that year amounted to $4,301.65.—Report of the Board, 1834, p. 20.

able to pay a 7½ per cent dividend,[1] and steamboats were ascending to Fayetteville.[2] An inquiry into the affairs of the company by a legislative committee in 1832 revealed the fact that $42,761.76 had been expended on the river, and net tolls amounting to $28,846.74 had been collected. It was the opinion of the committee, however, that the money expended had "not been judiciously and profitably applied."[3] The aggregate of dividends paid by the company from 1819 to 1833, inclusive, amounted to 45 per cent.

The other navigation companies in which the State was a shareholder were short-lived. For several years prior to 1830 the Board of Internal Improvements had received no reports from them, and little is known of the small amounts actually expended on the several rivers.[4]

The Clubfoot and Harlowe's Creek Canal Company, organized under a charter of 1795,[5] had begun operations within less than two years after the charter was issued.[6] In 1815, when the State was beginning to aid other companies, it had completed one-fourth of the work to be done;[7] but not until 1827 did tolls begin to be collected, and these aggregated in the next six years only $2,722.05, and were dwindling each year, work on the canal having been suspended for lack of funds.[8] Of the two turnpike companies in which the State was a shareholder, only the Buncombe Turnpike Company made a conspicuous success of its undertaking. The road, from a point on the South Carolina line by way of Asheville to the Tennessee line, proved a profitable investment, and by 1835 the company was paying an annual dividend of 11 per cent.[9]

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[1] Report of the Treasurer, House Journal, Nov. 23, 1819.
[2] Memoir, p. 37.
[3] Legislative Documents, 1832, No. 20.
[4] Report of the Board, 1830, p. 5.
[5] Laws, 1795, ch. 23.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1797, ch. 10.
[7] *Star*, May 19, 1815.
[8] Report of the Board, 1834, p. 7.
[9] *Ibid.*, 1835.

The most significant work undertaken by the State alone was the dredging of the Cape Fear River below Wilmington. At first the operations here, beginning in 1822, were attended with signal success, it was thought.[1] But in 1829, after much loss of money and time in attempting to use an unwieldy dredging machine, the work on this part of the river was taken in charge by the Federal government.[2]

In its report of 1833, the Board of Internal Improvement declared that the money expended in procuring information concerning the topography of the State would prove profitable or not according to the use to be made of the information thereafter. The expenditures on roads were regarded as clearly profitable, and the same was true of the sums expended on the Roanoke and Cape Fear rivers; while the investment in the Clubfoot and Harlowe's Creek Canal was of doubtful expediency, and the money expended on the Yadkin, Tar, Catawba, Neuse and Broad rivers was regarded as a total loss.

The causes which led to the failure to make more profitable these investments by the State are to be found in the lack of skill and experience, which was responsible for many useless expenditures, and in the scattering of efforts in order to gratify local preferences and jealousies, resulting in many unfinished operations which a concentration of expenditures would have avoided. "These and other circumstances contributed to disappoint expectations, perhaps too sanguine, and produced doubts of the success of any attempts at internal improvement in our State. The Legislature, apparently unwilling to give up the long-cherished idea of improving the State and yet fearful to embark in any public work of magnitude (had) retained the Board and continued the fund for internal improvement, without providing the means or

[1]Governor Holmes' message, House Journal, Nov. 17, 1824.
[2]Report of the Board, 1829, p. 3.

directing the undertaking of any new work, or the more vigorous prosecution of any which had been already commenced."[1] Therefore, had aid been more liberally given to transportation, it may be questioned whether the whole would not have been spent in equally fruitful or unfruitful undertakings. But without an increase in the taxes, or a curtailment of the ordinary government expenses, there remained only the credit of the State to be relied on for means sufficient for the completion of any works of significance, for the Literary Fund had been encroached upon repeatedly in the twenties in order to meet the general expenses of the State government.[2]

Whatever the causes of the failures of the early internal improvement policy, with the beginning of the next period it took on new life. In the succeeding chapters will be found some account of the zeal and enthusiasm with which the newly empowered west advanced the policy it had so long championed, and which found its fullest development in the building of important railways.

[1]Report of the Board, 1833, p. 7.
[2]Report of the Treasurer, 1834, p. 10 ff.

JOSEPH HEWES AND THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

BY R. D. W. CONNOR, SECRETARY OF THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

In his famous letter to John Adams, July 9, 1819, repudiating the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," Thomas Jefferson paid his respects to the North Carolina delegates in the Continental Congress, declaring there was "not a greater Tory in Congress than Hooper; that Hughes [sic] was very wavering, sometimes firm, sometimes feeble, according as the day was clear or cloudy"; and that their line of conduct was very uncertain "until Penn came, who fixed Hughes [sic], and the vote of the State."[1] When this letter was made public, "Jo Seawell Jones," as Dr. Alderman says, "choking with rage, rushed to the rescue in his celebrated 'Defence of North Carolina' and with an uncommon mingling of invective, passion, partisanship, critical power and insight, effectually disposed of his great antagonist."[2] Jones, however, directed his defence to Hooper alone, and although he shows the statement in regard to him to be a libel, yet the accompanying assertion characterizing Hewes's position on independence has been accepted even in North Carolina, and by Hewes's biographers, without dissent.

Hewes's attitude toward independence, as depicted by Jefferson, is so entirely out of harmony with his whole course, throughout the Revolution, and with the attitude toward independence displayed in his official and personal correspondence, as at once to raise a question of the accuracy of Jefferson's memory. Let us then examine his statement critically, and ascertain, if possible, how much of truth there

[1]Works. Memorial Edition. XV, 206.
[2]Life of William Hooper, p. 37.

may be in it. We may dismiss at once any notion that he intentionally misrepresented Hewes. It would have been remarkable, indeed, if Jefferson, writing in a fit of anger forty-three years after the events he describes, should have been entirely accurate in his statement. Whether his memory was accurate as to the position of Joseph Hewes on the question of independence, is the subject of the present inquiry.

Hewes was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress in August, 1774, and served in that body until the summer of 1777. He was, accordingly, in Congress during the period in which sentiment for independence was developing in the colonies, took part in the debates on Richard Henry Lee's motion for independence in June, being for most of the time the only delegate present from North Carolina, and signed the Declaration of Independence in July.

His attitude toward the Revolution during the year 1775 may be gathered from his letters written from Congress. In February of 1775, the two houses of Parliament presented an address to the king declaring the colonies in rebellion, and assuring his Majesty of their determination to support him in his efforts to suppress it; and the king returning his thanks for their loyal address, called for an increase of both the land and naval forces to be used in America. A few months later information reached the Americans that he was hiring Hessians for service against them; and in October came his proclamation declaring the colonists out of his protection. The effect of these measures on the development of sentiment for independence was marked. Writing, July 8, 1775, to Samuel Johnston, Hewes says:

"If the Governor attempts to do anything he ought to be seized and sent out of the colony; so should the judges; the powers of government must soon be superseded and taken into the hands of the people. * * * I hope by your influence and example you will drive every principle of Toryism out of all parts of your province. I consider my-

self now over head and ears in what the Ministry call rebellion. I feel no compunction for the part I have taken nor for the number of our enemies lately slain in the battle of Bunkers Hill. I wish to be in camp before Boston, though I fear I shall not be able to get there till next campaign."[3]

After the king's proclamation in October, Hewes declared:

"We have but little expectation of a reconciliation. I can assure you from all the accounts we have yet received from England we have scarcely a dawn of hope that it will take place"[4]; and he was of opinion that independence would certainly come soon "if the British Ministry pursue their diabolical schemes."[5]

These quotations reveal his attitude in 1775. During that year the policy of the colonies was to deprecate all discussion of independence, but Hewes's letters show that, consciously or unconsciously, he was moving calmly, steadily and continuously toward that goal. The events during the first half of 1776 served only to confirm him in his sentiments. There is no indication of wavering; there is no evidence of a fair weather politician who shrank from the storm which he knew his course would bring. On February 11, 1776, he wrote as follows to his friend Johnston:

"All accounts from England seem to agree that we shall have a dreadful storm bursting on our hands through all America in the spring. We must not shrink from it; we ought not to show any symptoms of fear; the nearer it approaches and the greater the sound, the more fortitude and calm, steady firmness we ought to possess. If we mean to defend our liberties, our dearest rights and privileges against the power of Britain to the last extremity, we ought to bring ourselves to such a temper of mind as to stand unmoved at the bursting of an earthquake. Although the storm thickens I feel myself quite composed. I have furnished myself with a good musket and bayonet, and when I can no longer be useful in council I hope I shall be willing to take the field. I think I had rather fall there than be carried off by a lingering illness. In this I am pretty much of the same opinion of the French general

[3]Colonial Records of North Carolina, X, p. 86.
[4]*Ibid.*, p. 315.
[5]Hazleton: The Declaration of Independence; Its History, p. 31.

who, confined a long time by sickness to his bed, on hearing the Duke of Brunswick was killed by a cannon ball, exclaimed: 'Great God! How unfortunate I am! Brunswick was always a lucky fellow.' * * *

"It is hinted in the papers that persons will be sent from England to negotiate with the colonies; many people do not believe it; those who do have but little expectation from it. They are to treat under the influence of a mighty fleet and army. What are we to expect from the mouth of a cannon or the point of a bayonet? See Lord North's motion in the House of Commons the 20th of November. What have we to expect from Parliament? * * *

"The only pamphlet [Paine's 'Common Sense'] that has been published here for a long time, I now send you; it is a curiosity; we have not put up any to go by the wagon, not knowing how you might relish independency. The author is not yet known; some say Doctor Franklin had a hand in it; he denies it."[6]

On the 20th of March he wrote to Johnston as follows:

"The act of Parliament prohibiting all trade and commerce between Great Britain and the colonies has been lately brought here by a Mr. Temple from London. It makes all American property found on the sea liable to seizure and confiscation, and I fear it will make the breach between the two countries so wide as never more to be reconciled. * * * I see no prospect of a reconciliation. Nothing is left now but to fight it out. * * * Some among us urge strongly for independency and eternal separation; others wish to wait a little longer and to have the opinion of their constituents on that subject. You must give us the sentiments of your Province when your Convention meets."[7]

The Convention of North Carolina met in April, and on April 12th adopted a resolution authorizing the North Carolina delegates in the Continental Congress to vote for independence.[8] A copy of this resolution was dispatched by an express the next day to Hewes, who alone represented North

[6]Col. Rec., X, pp. 446-47.

[7]State Records, XI, pp. 288-89.

[8]This resolution, after reciting the grievances which moved the Convention to its course, was as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the delegates for this colony in the Continental Congress be impowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independency, and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a Constitution and Laws for this colony, and of appointing delegates from time to time (under the direction of a general representation thereof) to meet the delegates of the other colonies for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out." Commenting on this resolution Bancroft declares: "North Carolina was the first colony to vote explicit sanction to independence."

Carolina at Philadelphia. In May, after he had received this resolution, Hewes wrote to James Iredell:

"We appear to have everything we want. We resolve to raise regiments, resolve to make cannon, resolve to make and import muskets, powder and clothing, but it is a melancholy fact that near half our men, cannon, muskets, powder, clothes, etc., is to be found nowhere but on paper. We are not discouraged at this; if our situation was ten times worse I could not agree to give up our cause."

And yet we are asked to believe that these are the words of a man who, on so momentous a question, knew not his own mind; that they proceeded from a spirit feeble, wavering, and uncertain; that they expressed the sentiment of a time-server and a trimmer!

But Penn, it is said, "fixed" Hewes, and the vote of the State on independence. When Jefferson wrote these words he was angry, and justly offended at being practically charged with plagiarism in the greatest act of his life, and he was chagrined that John Adams apparently believed him guilty. Moreover, he wrote from memory, forty-three years after the event under discussion. These circumstances were certainly not conducive to accurate historical statements; and in another connection, while engaged in the preparation of his "Autobiography," writing calmly in his study from notes taken contemporaneously with the events described, Jefferson refutes his own assertion. Writing to a grandson of Samuel Adams, Jefferson enclosed "some extracts from a written document" on the subject of independence,

"for the truth of which," he says, "I pledge myself to Heaven and Earth; having, while the question was under consideration before Congress, taken written notes, in my seat, of what was passing, and reduced them to form on the final conclusion."[9]

These notes were taken, June 8 and 10, 1776, during the debates on Richard Henry Lee's motion for independency.

"It appearing in the course of these debates," says Jefferson, on the authority of his notes, "that the colonies of New York, New Jersey,

[9]Works. Memorial Ed., XV, pp. 195-6.

Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait awhile for them, and to postpone the final decision to July 1st."[10]

North Carolina is here recorded as being favorable to independence, and yet Joseph Hewes was the only delegate present from that State, and had been the only one present since March. When, then, did Penn "fix" Hewes and the vote of the State? It must have been before he left Philadelphia in March. But up to that time Congress had never taken a vote on the question of independence, but had carefully avoided even the appearance of so doing. And Hewes, as shown by the letters quoted, was one of those "among us" who in private "urged strongly for independence."

Afterwards, in a letter to Madison, referring to certain statements that John Adams had made with regard to the debates on the subject, Jefferson said:

"In some of the particulars, Mr. Adams' memory has led him into unquestionable error. At the age of eighty-eight, and forty-seven years after the transaction of independence, this is not wonderful. Nor should I, at the age of eighty, on the small advantage of that difference only, venture to oppose my memory to his, were it not supported by written notes taken by myself at the moment and on the spot."[11]

Taking issue with Adams' statement that the question had been long under consideration by Congress before July, 1776, Jefferson appeals to history to say whether the statement was true, "or this dictum also of Mr. Adams be another slip of memory."[12]

It is therefore difficult to say just when John Penn "fixed" Hewes and the vote of the State, and the conviction grows upon one that the memory of the "Sage of Monticello," unsupported by his "written notes," is no more trustworthy than the memory of the "Colossus of Independence."

[10] *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 196-7.
[11] *Ibid.*, XV, p. 460.
[12] *Ibid.*, XV, p. 462.

There are reasons, too, for believing that Adams suffered a "slip of memory" when, in reply to a question whether every member of Congress who signed the Declaration of Independence cordially approved of it, he wrote the following paragraph:

"The measure had been upon the carpet for months, and obstinately opposed from day to day. Majorities were constantly against it. For many days the majority depended on Mr. Hewes, of North Carolina. While a member, one day, was speaking, and reading documents from all the colonies, to prove that the public opinion, the general sense of all, was in favor of the measure, when he came to North Carolina, he produced letters and public proceedings which demonstrated that the majority of that colony were in favor of it, Mr. Hewes, who had hitherto constantly voted against it, started suddenly upright, and lifting up both his hands to heaven, as if he had been in a trance, cried out: 'It is done, and I will abide by it.' I would give more for a perfect painting of the terror and horror upon the faces of the old majority, at that critical moment, than for the best piece of Raphael. The question, however, was eluded by an immediate motion for adjourment."[13]

There are many interesting points about this account. "The measure," he says, "had been upon the carpet for months." Richard Henry Lee made his motion, the "measure" referred to, June 7; it was adopted July 1, less than one month later. Therefore it had not been "upon the carpet for months." It was "obstinately opposed from day to day," and "for many days" the majority depended on Hewes. But Jefferson says, on the strength of his contemporaneous notes, that the debate lasted only three days, June 8 and 10, and July 1; and shows that from the beginning Hewes was in favor of the measure. "Majorities," says Adams, "were constantly against it"; Jefferson, however, mentions only one vote, the one taken on July 1, and the measure was then carried by the votes of nine States out of thirteen. Then, too, these debates took place after the adoption of the Halifax Resolution, after Hewes had received a copy of it, and after

[13] Works. Ed. by Charles Francis Adams, Jr. Ed. 1856, X, p. 35.

he had laid it before Congress. We are, then, not only to believe, according to Adams, that some member of some other colony was more familiar with the sentiment of North Carolina than Hewes, but that Hewes deliberately violated the expressed declaration of his constituents officially given through their representatives in convention assembled. Would John Penn, who had "fixed" Hewes, have remained silent about such a breach of trust? Penn arrived at Philadelphia in the latter part of June. On June 28, writing to Samuel Johnston, President of the North Carolina Convention, he said: "I arrived here several days ago in good health and found Mr. Hewes well. * * * The first of July will be made remarkable. Then the question relative to independence will be agitated, and there is no doubt but a total separation from Britain will take place. This Province [Pennsylvania] is for it. Indeed, *so are all*[14] except Maryland and her people are coming over fast." [15] Not an intimation that he had found Hewes "wavering"! The same day Hewes himself wrote to James Iredell: "On Monday the great question of independence * * * will come on. It will be carried, I expect, by a great majority, and then, I suppose, we shall take upon us a new name." In all his letters he assumes as a matter of course that his position is known to be favorable to "the great question of independency." [16]

There must, however, be some explanation of the recollections of Jefferson and Adams. The key to the statement of Adams is probably found by putting together two sentences of two different letters. The closing sentence of the account just quoted is: "The question, however, was eluded by an immediate motion for adjournment." In another

[14]Italics mine. "All" included North Carolina, and Hewes for two months had been the only member present from that colony.
[15]Hazleton: The Declaration of Independence, p. 139.
[16]McRee: Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, p. 326.

letter, written to Jefferson, Adams says: "You know the unanimity of the States finally depended on the vote of Joseph Hewes, and was finally determined by him." [17] Let us note that here he uses the word "unanimity," while in the former letter he used the word "majority." Now, as has already been shown, during the first debates on Richard Henry Lee's motion, June 8 and 10, Hewes was among those ready to vote in the affirmative; and that the final decision was postponed because certain colonies, among them South Carolina, were not ready to take the final step. July 1, the debate was resumed and the motion, according to Jefferson's notes, was adopted by the votes of New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia. Personally the New York delegates favored it and believed their constituents did also, but their hands were tied by an old, unrepealed instruction against independence passed the previous year; they, therefore, withdrew from Congress, declining to vote at all. Delaware's two delegates were divided, and the vote of the colony was lost. South Carolina and Pennsylvania alone voted against it. It was well known, however, that the New York Convention which was to meet at an early date would repeal the old instruction and declare for independence; and that certain delegates from Delaware and Pennsylvania, who favored it, but were not present when the vote was taken, would attend next day and carry their colonies for it. This left South Carolina alone in opposition. Therefore, when the Committee of the Whole rose and reported the resolution to the Congress, Edward Rutledge, the senior delegate from South Carolina, as Jefferson says,

"requested the determination might be put off to the next day, as he believed his colleagues, though they disapproved of the resolution, would then join in it for the sake of unanimity."[18]

[17] Works: X, p. 381.
[18] Works. Mem. Ed. XV, p. 199.

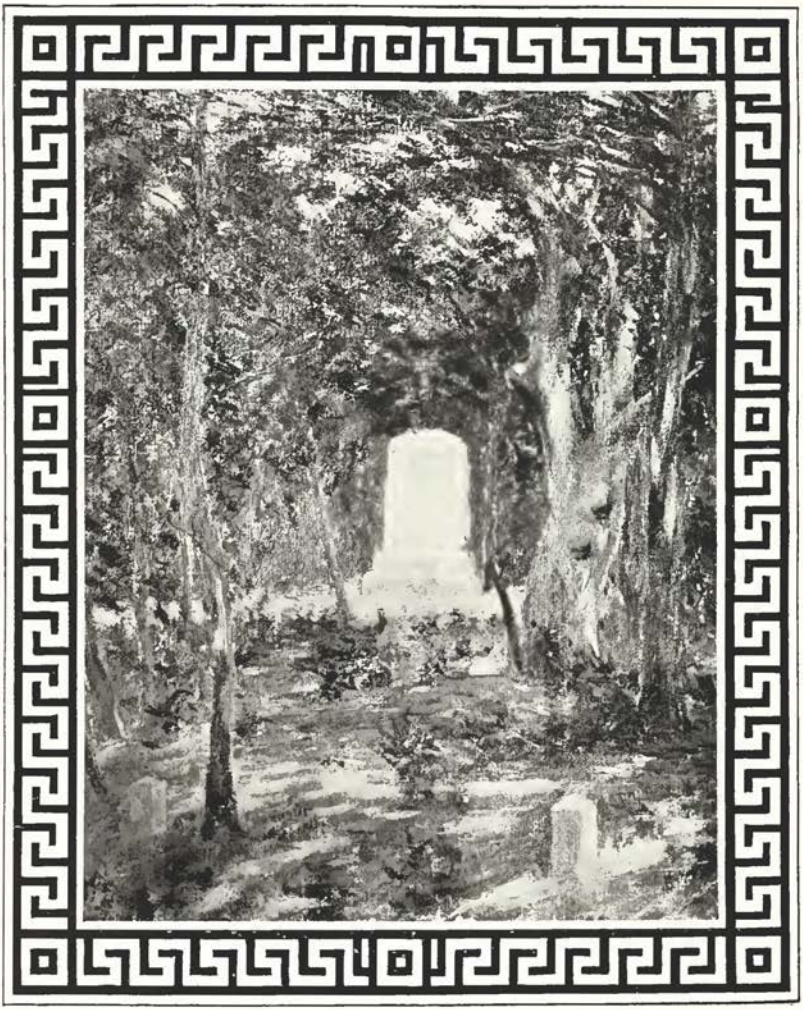
The request was granted, and this must have been the "immediate motion for adjournment" to which Adams refers.

"In the meantime," says Jefferson, "a third member came post from the Delaware counties, and turned the vote of that colony in favor of the motion. Members of a different sentiment attending that morning from Pennsylvania, also their vote was changed."[19]

New York still declined to take part in the proceedings, so that of the colonies authorized to vote at all South Carolina alone was in opposition when Congress convened on July 2. Thereupon *"for the sake of unanimity,"* [20] says Jefferson, South Carolina changed her vote and joined her sisters in declaring the colonies "free and independent States." Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, therefore, and not Joseph Hewes, of North Carolina, finally determined the "unanimity" of the States. It also seems probable that it was the former who figured in the dramatic scene described by Adams. It would be no matter for wonder that a man approaching his ninetieth birthday, writing from memory nearly fifty years after the scene described, should confuse Hewes, of North Carolina, with Rutledge, of South Carolina.

Another circumstance tending to confirm this view, and explaining Jefferson's assertion also, Hewes himself mentions in a letter written to Samuel Johnston after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. On July 28, while Congress was debating the Articles of Confederation and the plan for forming Foreign Alliances, Hewes writes: "These two capital points ought to have been settled before our Declaration of Independence went forth to the world. This was my opinion long ago, and every day experience serves to confirm me in that opinion." If Hewes urged these views before Congress, as is not unlikely, the fact will explain how his attitude, years afterwards, should have been remembered and represented as opposing independence.

[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.*, XV, p. 198. Italics mine.



From Painting by Jaques Busbee.

THE SITE OF FORT RALEIGH

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The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
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The object of the Booklet is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. Editor.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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BAPTISM OF VIRGINIA DARE*

Anniversary address, delivered on Roanoke Island by Rt. Rev. Joseph Blount Cheshire, D.D., August 18, 1910, under the auspices of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association.

We have just sung our State song, "Carolina." We give to our native country a feminine designation. *"Carolina"* is derived from the masculine name Charles, in Latin *"Carolus"*; some say from the French King Charles IX. More probably it was so called in the first English charter, after Charles I of England, and then the name was repeated and permanently fixed by the two charters of Charles II. But whether from French or English Charleses, we find it always in the more beautiful feminine form, *"Carolina."* Grammatically it had to be feminine form, because it is an objective, and the noun with which it must agree is *"terra."* But I suppose that, after all, the reason why the old Latins, and the older Greeks before them, made the name of the earth to be of the feminine gender, was at bottom the same feeling which must always have made men in some sense recognize the earth as our common mother. Out of the dust of the earth did the power and the goodness of God form man; and so we speak of "Mother Earth," and we call our country, *"Patria,"* which, though it be from the Latin for father, yet it has a feminine form. The German may translate it "Fatherland," but we say our "Mother Country."

*This address was in fact delivered at Roanoke Island, August 18, 1910, the anniversary (the 323d) of the birth of Virginia Dare. But by a misapprehension of the writer it had been prepared under the impression that the day of delivery was to be the anniversary of the baptism. It was written at Nag's Head without books or memoranda of any kind for the verification of any fact or date.

We are met today to celebrate what we may in a very proper sense call the birthday of our country, not only of our mother State of North Carolina, but of the greater country of which North Carolina forms a part, because here on Roanoke Island began that chapter of history which has gone on and developed into the history of the United States. For nearly one hundred years white men of Europe had been visiting this new found western world. First Spaniards, in 1492, under the great Italian, Christopher Columbus, discovered the West Indian Islands, and Spaniards also discovered South America. Then Englishmen, in 1497, under Cabot, a merchant of Bristol, though also an Italian by birth, first landed upon and claimed the Continent of North America. Far to the south cities and colonies had been formed by Spaniards and had grown and prospered, and the treasures of Mexico and Peru in the hands of Spain had so extended and increased the immense power of that Country in Europe that nothing seemed able to withstand the tide of its conquests. But here, on Roanoke Island, in the summer of 1587, was planted a seed, and here began to spring into being a life and power which in time wrested the supremacy from Spain, and built up the power of our English-speaking people, which covered the world with English colonies, developed this great empire of the West, and has given to our race the position which it now holds in the world. Roanoke Island was the first stone laid in the great structure of English colonization and expansion.

And to this anniversary we give the name, not of a man, but of a girl, *Virginia Dare*. This is *"Virginia Dare Day."* Englishmen had before come to these shores, to this very spot whereon we stand. In the summer of 1584 came Amidas and Barlow, two of Raleigh's captains, and in 1585 the valiant Sir Richard Grenville brought Ralph Lane and his hundred and seven pioneers, who for a year sailed these

waters and traversed these forests, and wrote descriptions of the country and of its inhabitants, and drew for us those curious pictures of its people, their dress, dwellings and occupations, which adorn the narrative of Hariot. But a colony of men, however intelligent and hardy, can make no permanent settlement, and so Lane and his companions sailed away across the blue waters.

And then in the pleasant summer weather of the year 1587 came John White and his colony, sent out by the same wonderful man, Sir Walter Raleigh, and with White came not only men, but also men's wives and their little children, boys and girls. For on these shores Raleigh was determined that English colonies should be planted, because he saw that it was only by thus extending the bounds of their habitation that our people could reach that development and power necessary for their defense against the power of their European rivals and enemies, and for the accomplishment of their great destiny. And the birth of the first child of the English race in America was the prophecy and the earnest of that immense multiplication and expansion which now reckons its numbers by hundreds of millions of free, enlightened Christian people, sprung from the same sturdy stock who have established the institutions and the culture of the little island of Britain in every quarter of the habitable globe.

And you have well chosen as the day our celebration, not the anniversary of the birth, but the anniversary of the baptism of Virginia Dare.* It is not physical life which makes the greatness of a people. It is their spiritual life. It is not strength of body or of mind, it is strength of heart and of spirit. The England of the sixteenth century was weak in physical resources, and but a beginner in the arts and sciences. She had to bring her teachers of Greek and of the new learning from the Continent; her artists she im-

*See note at bottom of page 167.

ported from the low countries; her architecture she was learning from Italy. Her enemies were the mighty upon earth. The tramp of the Spanish infantry, the finest soldiers in Europe, had trodden down all resistance, except where they had been stopped by the cutting of the dykes in Holland, and by that silver thread of the Strait of Dover, and on the ocean how feeble seemed the little frigates and flyboats of the English seamen, beside the towering sea castles of the Spanish navy! But the Englishman of the sixteenth century was a free man, and of a free and aspiring spirit. He had not worked out his freedom into any consistent system either in church or in State. He had not learned that his own freedom could not be secure until he had learned to respect also the freedom of others. He was loyal to his ancient monarchy, and he loved his heroic queen, but as long as the queen and her government represented on the whole the interests, the aspirations and the efforts of the nation, they were free to exercise almost any degree of mediæval tyranny upon particular individuals or upon the reactionary elements of the poplation. At the reformation he had preserved in its integrity the ancient Church of England as no other Reformed or Protestant nation of Europe had done, and he loved its stately churches and cathedrals, and its dignified hierarchy, and its noble services, which had come down to him from his ancestors. But he was no longer a bondman to the church; he was Christ's free man in his Father's house. Baptism meant for him that he was "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven." And he gloried in this freedom. Nothing is a more striking feature in the character of the great Elizabethan soldiers and sailors than this confident profession of their Christian faith, their glorying in the Reformed religion of the ancient Catholic Church of England. And so we read, in the old chronicle of Roanoke

Island, that it was by the especial command of Sir Walter Raleigh that Manteo, the first Christian among the North American Indians, was baptized; not in England where he might have been baptized in a royal minster or in an archiepiscopal cathedral, with nobles and princes for his sponsors, but here under the spreading branches of the American forests, the work of founding the first English colony was inaugurated by the baptism of the first Indian convert. This fact of itself proves the presence of a priest of the English Church among the colonists. Raleigh's charter required that the public institutions of religion should be in accordance with the Church of England, and in providing for the administration of a sacrament, an authorized administrator must have been included.

And next, after the baptism of Manteo on Sunday, August 13, 1587, came the birth of Virginia Dare, August 18, and August 20 being the tenth Sunday after Trinity, she was baptized on this island, and the new life springing up in this strange and savage land was dedicated to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; and in that solemn and significant rite that whole company saw repeated, their own dedication and new birth as "Members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven."

We know little about that fair young child whose name is now so familiar among the many millions of her kinsfolk. And it is not as an individual that she is important, but she is representative of a great and heroic age and of a tremendous and world-embracing vital movement. What amazing memories are called up by these rude forest surroundings, and by the flash of the blue waters between the living colonnades of these whispering pines! The spirits of mighty men of old haunt us along this storied shore. Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow seem to be anchored out across yonder bar, while through the inlet which then pierced the

sand banks, comes on to this wooded shore their little pinnace, flying the standard of St. George at its masthead, and a man in the prow hold out toward the new land the symbol of truth and light, the Cross.

And next after this we see that most valiant of all sixteenth century sailors, Sir Richard Grenville. "Admiral of Virginia" Raleigh named him, and with the stout captain, Ralph Lane, and learned Hariot, mathematician and historian, and John White, the pioneer artist of this expedition; and again in the offing rides the fleet of Drake. *Draco,* the Dragon, the frightened Spaniards called him, him who "singed the King of Spain's beard," sailing into the port of Cadiz, the strongest fortified harbor in Europe; and fighting both fleet and forts at the same time—as Lord Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh did again in 1596—burning the fleet and sacking the town. And back of all, though he never saw these shores, back of all these, the great figure of Sir Walter himself, the genius of English colonization, the hand that pointed out to England her path in the great future. All these seem to come to us here, and claim a part in the grateful memories of this hour. They were among real makers of England's greatness today, and the founders of Carolina and Virginia, and of all this great American nation.

It is the fashion with some to call these men free-booters and pirates. I repel the word and all that it implies. These men were the champions of the freedom of the sea and of commerce, and they claimed the world for those who could most worthily possess it. And if there was a taste of danger and a spice of romance and a golden profit now and then for their reward, it was all in the day's work. The King of Spain claimed all this western hemisphere as his own. And the Bishop of Rome had, by his pretended right as God's vice-gerent on earth, confirmed to the King of Spain all lands lying west of a north and south line drawn one

hundred leagues west of the Azores. West of that line he claimed all as his own, and undertook to exclude by fire and sword all intruders. And with the riches of this new world he prepared to support his schemes of subjugating those little corners of Europe, England and Holland, and a scrap here and there, where freedom still reared her head. Do you think the worse of our fathers that they dared to dispute this stupendous claim, and to strike for a part of that great West which they needed, and especially of that Continent of North America which Englishmen, and not Spaniards, had discovered? It was that claim and those schemes of unbridled ambition which stirred the blood of every son of England who could get a ship under him and a dozen good hearts to help him strike a blow. And if these expeditions took the form of marauding expeditions against the ships and the settlements of Spain, how was that to be avoided? How else could they attack that greed and cruelty, which had remorselessly plundered and enslaved and butchered the simple people of the new world to glut the maw of Spanish avarice and to extend the bounds of tyranny and of the Spanish Inquisition?

> "Venturous Fortunio his farm hath sold,
> And gads to Guianne land to search for gold:
> Meeting, perchance, if Orinoque deny,
> Some straggling pinnace of Polonian rye.
> Then comes home floating with a silken sail,
> The Severn shaketh with his cannon peal."

Thus did a contemporary English poet deride these bold seamen, as others have done since. But, as a matter of fact, it was those "Venturous Fortunios" who taught England where and how her true destiny and greatness were to be accomplished in the distant future, as it was by those same daring seamen that she was delivered from the deadly peril of Philip's "Invincible Armada" in the then immediate

present. And a poet of our own day has worthily sung the condensed Epic of those same Elizabethan seamen, and especially of our own Sir Richard Grenville—as we may call him since he was an American Admiral—our own Sir Richard Grenville, in that noble poem which stirs my blood as does no other poem by Tennyson or by any modern poet, *"The Last Fight of the Revenge."*

But I must make an end. And, in making an end, let me say a last word about Virginia Dare and that "Lost Colony." And that last word is this: Never let any one persuade you to believe for one moment that a colony of one hundred and eighteen Christian English people, men and women, husbands and wives, parents and children, an organized Christian community—your kinsmen and mine—were, within the short space of no more than twenty years, from 1587 to 1607 when the Jamestown settlement was made, swallowed up and amalgamated with half-naked heathen Indian savages, so that no remnant was left which could be recognized by their white brethren of Virginia. The Indians told the Jamestown settlers that the Roanoke Colony had been exterminated by the Indians, and so they were. The Indians knew what had become of them, and there was no reason for them to have made such a statement if it had been false. We can not degrade the memory of those early pioneers in the settlement of America by supposing that they at once forgot their Christian nature, and voluntarily and promptly sunk into heathen barbarism, within less than one generation. The descendants of those first Christian inhabitants of our land are not to be sought in the mongrel remnants, part Indian, part white, and part negro, of a decaying tribe of American savages. They, those early colonists, Ananias Dare, and Eleanor his wife, and their little girl Virginia, and their friends and companions, found a nobler fate. They perished in their heroic endeavor, buried in an eddy

and back current of the great stream of our race progress; but they have left their spiritual descendants and kindred in us who are here assembled, and in every worthy and patriotic son and daughter of Carolina, Virginia, and the United States.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF CRAVEN COUNTY

BY S. M. BRINSON.

Craven County derives its name from William, Earl of Craven. It was part of the land originally granted the Lords Proprietors. Its settlement is clearly traceable to the religious persecution which induced the Palatines to brave the dangers and uncertainties of an ocean voyage in quest of a land which offered freedom of conscience.

Protestantism at this time was making some headway in Baden and Bavaria and its increasing power alarmed the Roman church, which caused the expulsion of all Protestants from those kingdoms. Thousands of them fled to England and there, penniless and in want, they became a charge upon the people of England.

When Lewis Michel had secured from the Lords Proprietors in the name of the Swiss Cantons of Bern, the "grant of ten thousand acres of land on or betwixt the Neuse or Cape Fear or their branches in North Carolina," provision was made for including a goodly number of these Palatines in the expedition. The people of England were glad to get them out of their country and the Queen herself contributed 4,000 pounds to assist the movement.

Christopher DeGraffenreidt, a Swiss nobleman, was associated with Lewis Michel in this movement to settle Carolina. Good title had been secured from the Lords Proprietors, ten pounds purchase money being paid for every thousand acres and five shillings yearly as a quit rent for every thousand acres.

DeGraffenreidt and Michel on October 10, 1709, entered into formal contract with the Commissioners and Trustees (who were charged with the care of these German Palatines), "for the transportation and settlement of 650 of the poor

Palatines to North Carolina." A copy of this contract is filed in the office of the Secretary of State. The contract is between DeGraffenreidt and Michel, of the one part, and "seven of the Commissioners and Trustees nominated and appointed by her Majesty's late gracious letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain for the collecting, receiving and disposing of the money to be collected for the subsistence and settlement of the poor Palatines lately arrived in Great Britain," on the other part.

It is recited in the contract that DeGraffenreidt and Michel have purchased a large tract of land in America called "North Carolina," that this land lies waste and uncultivated for want of inhabitants and that they have applied to the Commissioner having in charge the poor Palatines that some of them may be settled in North Carolina (this as well for the benefit of DeGraffenreidt and Michel as for as the relief and support of the said poor Palatines); that whereas the said Commissioners have thought it well to dispose of for this purpose six hundred persons of the said Palatines (which may be ninety-two families more or less), and have given to each of said six hundred Palatines 20 shillings in clothes and have paid and secured to be paid to DeGraffenreidt and Lewis Michel the sum of 5 pounds 10 shillings for each of the said six hundred persons for their transportation to North Carolina and for their comfortable support there.

It is agreed in this contract that DeGraffenreidt and Michel, for the consideration aforesaid, shall at their own cost, within two days embark or cause to be embarked in two ships six hundred of such of said poor Palatines as designated by the Commissioners and cause them to be transported to North Carolina, providing them with food and other necessaries during their voyage. It is provided that upon their arrival in North Carolina DeGraffenreidt and Michel shall within three months survey and set out 250 acres of

the said tract of land for each of the families (ninety-two, more or less), and that these allotments "be as contiguous as may be for the mutual love and assistance of the said poor Palatines one to another, as well with respect to the exercise of religion, as to the management of their temporal affairs."

To avoid disputes this land was divided out to the families by lot. For the first five years no rent was to be paid, but after that period two pence per acre was to be paid annually. For the first year after their arrival DeGraffenreidt and Michel were to provide for the Palatines sufficient quantities of grain and other provisions for their support, but account of this was to be kept and at the end of three years payment for same was to be made.

It is further provided that within four months after their arrival, DeGraffenreidt and Michel at their own expense shall provide for each family "two cows and two calves, two sows with their several last litter or number of pigs, two ewe sheep and two lambs, with a male of each of the said kind of cattle, to propagate and increase." It is agreed that at the expiration of seven years after delivery thereof "the value of said cattle so delivered, with a moiety of the increase thereof remaining in their hands from the original stock shall be given DeGraffenreidt and Michel."

Further provision is made in this contract that immediately after the division of this land into the two hundred and fifty-acre parts each family is to be supplied by DeGraffenreidt and Michel free of cost with "plantation tools and utensils for felling of wood and clearing of ground and for building of houses for their own proper use and behoof."

It is finally provided that this contract shall be construed in the sense most favorable to the poor Palatines and that "in cases of difficulty relating to the premises it shall be referred to the Governor of the said county or province of North

Carolina for the time being, whose order and direction not contrary to the intention of these presents shall be binding and conclusive as well to the said Christopher DeGraffenreidt and Lewis Michel, their heirs, executors and administrators, as to the said poor Palatines."

This contract seems to have been entered into with a real disposition to safeguard the interests of the Palatines, however anxious the people of England were to rid themselves of an element of their population which was burdensome upon their treasury.

Six hundred and fifty of the strongest and healthiest of the Palatines were chosen by DeGraffenreidt for the expedition, and in vessels which had been inspected by a Committee of the Upper House of Parliament they made their start across the Atlantic with the Carolina coast as their objective. That these men were not an irresponsible band of adventurers, but a band of resolute men really zealous for noble achievement may be gathered from the preparation they made for a journey which was uncertain in its outcome and which held large possibility of disaster to them. The religious services held just prior to their embarkation show a degree of piety and seriousness not altogether common among explorers and early settlers.

Rigorous persecution had driven these people from homes that were once happy and contented to seek an asylum in other lands. No better class could be selected for a stern and perilous undertaking than those poor Palatines. No surer test of moral stability could be applied than the persecution to which these people were subjected. Their determined adherence to the principles approved by their conscience evidenced the heroic quality which was to stand them in need. They came from a land which had been desolated by cruel wars and where merciless persecution at the hands

of the popish Elector had been their portion and that of their Protestant friends.

DeGraffenreidt was moved by selfish interest and with no thought of affording aid and comfort to the Palatines except as incidental to the development of the large emigration schemes in which he was interested. He was much of an adventurer, interested wholly in money making. He came from noble ancestry and his handsome features and pleasant manners made him a general favorite. Queen Anne of England was attracted by him and made him a Baron of England and Landgrave of Carolina. His presence in England was due to his determined purpose to rehabilitate his shattered fortune in the New World, and England offered the avenue to that end. Possibly the Duke of Albemarle had inspired him with some of his own faith in the abounding wealth of this new land. It is certain that these two were closely associated for some time, and it is altogether probable that his purpose to promote an expedition to America was strengthened by this association.

DeGraffenreidt himself could not accompany this expedition, as his purpose was to sail with the colonists he expected from Bern, so he appointed three men to have general supervision of the enterprise and direct its movement. It seems that these men were prominent Carolinians, who at that time happened to be in England. One of the three was probably Lawson, the Surveyor-General.

Solemn services, at which Degraffenreidt was present, were held just prior to the sailing at Gravesend on the Thames. A sermon was preached to the departing colonists, songs were sung and prayers offered—all appropriate to the solemn occasion. The weather was mild when they set sail in January, 1710. For awhile they had pleasant sailing, but encountering severe storms they were much delayed, and after thirteen weeks they landed greatly depleted in number

and with vitality and enthusiasm considerably reduced. More than half their number died on this voyage. Much of their worldly store was taken from them by a plundering French navigator who ran across them in crippled condition in the Virginia waters, where they first entered.

Fear of pirates and uncertain information as to the perilous bars which run along the eastern coast of North Carolina determined them on the land expedition to North Carolina rather than the water, and so they moved southward from Virginia, coming by way of Colonel Pollock's place on the Chowan River. Crossing the sound they entered Bath County and continuing southward they finally reached the land lying between the Neuse and Trent rivers, called by the Indians "Chattawka."

Lawson's character seems to have been bad—very bad, as was developed early in the history of this colony. Thoroughly mercenary and unscrupulous, he seems only to have aimed at selfish aggrandizement. Without any right to it, he laid claim to the land between the Neuse and the Trent and sold it to his gullible fellow travelers at a high price, and upon the assurance that it was uninhabited. They soon found they had bought from this primitive land speculator the homes of Indians. King Taylor, the Indian chief, some time afterwards sold this land to DeGraffenreidt.

The condition of these colonists soon became desperate. These "poor Palatines," with perfect faith in him, had committed their money to DeGraffenreidt before leaving England. They were reduced to real want some time prior to the arrival of the Swiss and had disposed of most of their clothing and goods to obtain things necessary to life. The Swiss in the meantime had sailed to Newcastle in England, where they were joined by DeGraffenreidt and then had started on their voyage to America. This was early in the summer of 1710.

The movement of the Swiss this way was caused by an embarrassing situation in their country brought about by their own generous treatment of the persecuted Protestants during the Reformation. Switzerland during this period offered a refuge to them and in large numbers they fled there to escape persecution in England, France and the Netherlands. Knox and Calvin found an asylum here. Thousands found shelter from pitiless religious persecution in these friendly cantons. A powerful strain upon the generous accommodation of the Swiss resulted. By agreement Bern was to give succor to one-half of the refugees. The Protestant cantons opened wide their doors to the persecuted ones and soon found their ability to give aid considerably overtaxed.

In 1687 the Swiss confederation sent petitions to Brandenburg, Hesse and Holland, asking that aid be given Switzerland in taking care of the exiles of the Reformed church. In this year eight thousand Protestant refugees entered Geneva. Twenty-eight thousand had passed through in search of a place of safety. Dispite the aid received from the French Protestant Refugee Fund and amounts raised in various ways for their support, they became a heavy burden upon the Swiss. Religious wars added a most distressing feature.

Not only did the hospitable cantons begin to cast about for some place where these people might be settled to the advantage of the refugees as well as to their own comfort, but the unsatisfactory religious situation impelled many Swiss to leave their country and seek homes elsewhere. This offered then the field for the exercise of DeGraffenreidt's cunning, and afforded just the material he needed in the prosecution of his colonization scheme. We have seen how he had joined the band secured from Switzerland which came by way of Holland, and set sail with them in the sum-

mer of 1710 for the land across the sea. Probably the number was not large, as only one ship load is known to have come in this expedition. Their voyage was uneventful. Like the Palatines they landed in Virginia and following somewhat the same course as the former expedition, they came southward to Chattawka and found the colony in pitiful plight. Stricken with sickness and in dire need they had well nigh reached the point of desperation.

DeGraffenreidt says of them at that time: "I can not enough insist on the wretched and sorrowful state in which I found these poor people on my arrival—nearly all sick and at the last gasp, and the few who had kept their health despairing entirely." Sickness had not alone weakened their bodies, but had dispirited them.

One can well imagine the cheer and hope which repossessed them when DeGraffenreidt and his followers reached Chattawka. New life was infused into all. DeGraffenreidt assumed leadership and went vigorously to work to improve conditions. According to his statement they in eighteen months "managed to build homes and make themselves so comfortable that they made more progress in that length of time than the English inhabitants in several years."

Things were getting in fair condition for a reasonable degree of comfort for the colonists. The inventive genius of the colonists provided in somewhat crude fashion conveniences and establishments for the enjoyment of a fair degree of comfort and prosperity. Being a Landgrave, DeGraffenreidt had official distinction and influence in the colony, which he used to advantage in the laudable task which engaged him of building up a town with as many conveniences as those primitive times would afford. He named it New Bern.

During the early days affairs went smoothly enough.

Other settlers, mostly English, joined them, purchasing land and uniting with them in developing this land so fresh from the hands of savages.

It is not to be supposed that the Indians saw with entire complacency this beautiful land of theirs between the rivers taken over completely by the strangers. They waited an opportune time, and in September of the second year they fell upon the settlement with barbarous fury and nearly annihilated it. More than a hundred people of this New Bern district were tortured to death by the Indians. DeGraffenreidt and Lawson were not present at the massacre, but they did not escape its brutal influence.

In September of this year (1711) DeGraffenreidt and Lawson went up the Neuse River on a tour of exploration, carrying with them provisions to last them fifteen days. They had with them two negroes, who did the rowing, and two friendly Indians, one of whom spoke English. Information about the country was scant and it was to determine the navigability of the river, the distance of the mountains from them and the possibility of laying out a good road to Virginia that the expedition was undertaken.

No Indians lived along the banks of the river and no danger from them was anticipated. They were, however, captured by the Indians and taken to King Hencock, who was at Catechna, seated in state with his council about him. DeGraffenreidt's golden star, which he wore about his neck, on which was emblazoned his coat of arms, seems to have impressed the Indians with a superstitious dread, and making a friendly agreement with him, they sent him back to New Bern. Lawson had nothing with which to inspire their fears or induce their favor, and so after subjecting him to torture, he was put to death.

Lawson himself might have escaped death had he held his temper under control and avoided the quarrel with Cor Tom,

the king of the village. Unheeding DeGraffenreidt's remonstrance he persisted in the quarrel until at last some of the Indians, thoroughly incensed, threw themselves upon the whites and condemned them to death. We have seen how DeGraffenreidt's golden star saved him, but no mystic influence came to the rescue of Lawson, and after horrible torture he was put to death. DeGraffenreidt's journal gives a graphic recital of this adventure. He says:

"One day when the weather was fine and there was good appearance that it would last, Surveyor General Lawson proposed to me to go up Neuse River hunting, that there were plenty of wild grapes there which we could gather for replenishing ourselves. We could see likewise whether the Neuse River could be navigated in its higher course and could visit besides the upper country. I had long been anxious to find how far it is from here to the mountains.

"I accordingly resolved to take the trip, being assured that no savages lived on that branch of the river. But to feel safer we took two Indians to guide, which we knew well, with two negroes to row. So we went peacefully on our way. We had already gone a good two days journey and were near the village of Coram when we met Indians armed as for hunting, and we had hardly turned backwards when such a number came out from the bushes and they overtook us so suddenly that it was impossible to defend ourselves They accordingly took us prisoners and led us away.

"Such a rare capture made them proud; indeed they took me for the Governor of the Province himself and we were compelled to run with them all night across thickets and swamps until we came to Catechna or Hencocks-towne where the King called Hencock was sitting in state.

"The King stood up, approaching us and speaking to us very civilly, and they discussed at last whether we were to

be burned as criminals or not. They concluded negatively, inasmuch as we had not been heard as yet, and at midday the King himself brought us to eat a kind of bread called dumplings and venison.

"In the evening there came a great many Indians. The Assembly of the Great, as they called it (consisting of forty elders sitting on the ground around a fire, as is their custom) took place at ten o'clock in a beautiful open space.

"There was in the circle a place set apart with two mats for us, a mark of great deference and honor. We therefore sat upon them and on our left side our speaker, the Indian who had come with us. The speaker of the assembly made a long speech, and it was ordered that the youngest of the assembly should represent the Indian nation, the King putting the question. We were examined very strictly concerning our intentions and why we had come hither. Also they complained very much of the conduct of English colonists and particularly Mr. Lawson, charging him with being too severe and that he was the man who had their lands.

"After having discussed at length they concluded that we should be liberated, and the following day was appointed for our return home. The next morning we were again examined, but one, Cor Tom, being present, the King of Cor village, he reproached Mr. Lawson for something and they began to quarrel with great violence, which spoilt things entirely. Though I made every effort to get Lawson to quit quarreling, I did not succeed.

"All at once three or four Indians fell upon us in a furious manner. They took us violently by the arms and forced us to sit upon the ground before the whole of them there collected. No mats were spread for us. They took our hats and periwigs and threw them into the fire and a council of war being held we were immediately sentenced to death. On the day following we were taken to the place

of execution. Before us a large fire was kindled. Whilst some acted the part of conjurers others made a ring around us which they strewed with flowers.

"Behind us lay my innocent negro, and in this miserable situation we remained that day and the subsequent night. I was wholly resolved to die and accordingly offered up fervent prayers during the whole day and night and called to mind as I could remember them even the least sins. I tried and recalled all what I had read in Holy Scripture, in short I prepared myself the best I could to a good and salutary death.

"I found in the meanwhile a great consolation in considering the miracles which our Lord Jesus had made and I addressed forthwith my ardent prayers to my Divine Saviour, not doubting that He would grant them and perhaps change these savage hearts harder than rocks so that they would pardon me—what indeed happened by God's miraculous Providence.

"On the morning of the next day on which we were to die a great multitude was collected to see the execution. Thus began our long tragedy which I would like to tell if it were not too long and dreadful—but—since I begun I will go on. In the center of that great place, we were seated on the ground, the Surveyor-General and myself, bound, and undressed with bare heads, and in front of us a great fire; near it was the conjurer or High Priest (an old grizzled Indian—the priests are generally magicians and can even conjure up the devil), a little further was an Indian savage standing.

"He did not move from the spot with a knife in one hand and an axe in the other. It was apparently the executioner. Around us sat the chiefs in two rows; behind them were the common people, upwards of three hundred in number—men, women and children with faces painted red, white and black,

who were jumping and dancing like so many devils and cutting a variety of infernal capers.

"Behind us stood armed Indians as guards, who stimulated the dancers by stamping with their feet and firing their guns. Yes indeed, never was the devil represented with a more frightful appearance than these savages presented as they danced around the fire. I uncovered my soul to my Saviour Christ Jesus and my thoughts were wholly employed with death. At length, however, I recollected myself and turning to the council of chiefs made a short discourse, assuring them that the great Queen of England would avenge my death.

"I further stated whatever I thought fit to induce them to some mitigation. After I had done speaking I remarked that one of the notables (who was a relative of King Taylor, from whom I bought the land where New Bern now stands) that notable spoke earnestly, apparently in my favor, as it came out. Then it was forthwith resolved to send a few members to their neighbor, a certain King Tom Blunt of the Tuscaroras. The result was as will be seen that I was to live and that poor Surveyor-General Lawson was to be executed. Thus God in his mercy heard my prayers.

"I spent that whole night in great anguish awaiting my fate, in continuous prayers and sighs. Meanwhile I also examined my poor negro, exhorting him the best way I knew—and he gave me more satisfaction than I expected—but I left Surveyor-General Lawson to offer his own prayers as being a man of understanding and not over religious.

"Towards three or four o'clock in the morning the delegates came back from their mission and brought an answer, but very secretly. One or two of them came to unbind me; not knowing what this meant I submitted to the will of the Almighty, rose and followed him as a poor lamb to the

slaughter. Alas! I was much astonished when the Indians whispered in my ear that I had nothing to fear but that Lawson would die, what affected me much.

"They also liberated my negro, but I never saw him since. I was forbidden to speak the least word to Mr. Lawson. He took accordingly leave of me and told me to say farewell in his name to his friends. Alas! It grieved me much to leave him thus. I tried to show my compassion by a few signs.

"Some time after the man who had spoken in my favor led me to his cabin, where I was to be kept awaiting further orders. In the meantime they executed the unfortunate Lawson. As to his death I know nothing. Some said he was hung, some said he was burnt. The Indians kept that execution very quiet. May God have mercy on his Soul!

"The next day the notables came to tell me of their design to make war in North Carolina. They advised me that no harm would come to Chattawka (the old name of New Bern), but that the people of the colony ought to go into the town or they could not answer for the evil that could happen. Good words enough, but how was I to let the people know, since none would take a message for me? A few days later the savages came back with their booty. Alas! what a sight for me to see, men women and children prisoners. The very Indian with whom I lodged happened to bring with him the boy of one of my tenants and much clothing and furniture, which I well knew. Alas! what was my apprehension that my whole colony was ruined, especially when I had privately questioned the boy. He cried bitterly and told me how this same Indian had savagely killed his father, mother and brother, yes his whole family. I had to remain six weeks a prisoner in this hateful place Catechna. I was once much perplexed. All men had gone to that plundering expedition, the women some to gather wild cherries, others to dig some kind of roots called 'potatoes,' which are yellow, very good

and dainty. On that day I was alone by myself in that village. * * * I accordingly said my prayers and then examined the *pro* and *con* as to whether I should take flight or not, and found at last it was best to stay. Experience showed that I made a wise choice. * * * The barbarous expedition being ended, on the Sunday following their great Indian festival I having concluded a treaty of peace with these people, they brought me a horse. Two notables escorted me to Cor Village, gave me a piece of Indian bread and then left me.

"Thus have I escaped from the cruel hands of this barbarous nation, the Tuscaroras. Thence I had to foot it homeward. Quite lame, shivering with cold, nearly dead—my legs so stiff and swollen that I could not walk a step, but supported myself on two sticks, at last I arrived at my small home in New Bern.

"When my good people saw me coming from afar, tanned like an Indian, but on the other hand considered my blue jerkin and my figure—they knew not what to think—the men even took up their arms, but when I came nearer quite lame, walking with two sticks, they knew by my look that I was not a savage. When I saw them so puzzled I began to speak with them from afar. They hallowed to the others to come, that it was their Lord returned whom they thought to be dead. And so all came in crowds, men, women, and children, shouting and crying out, part of them weeping, others struck dumb with surprise. Thus I was at last at home and in my private room, gave ardent thanks to the Good God for my miraculous and gracious rescue."

DeGraffenreidt does not seem to have remained with the colony a great while after this. His experience in America saddened his life and this latest and most frightful adventure probably influenced his determination to return home. Whatever his personal shortcomings he seems to have labored

earnestly from his first landing at New Bern with the Bernese in 1710 to build up a happy and prosperous community.

The spirits of the colonists, from drooping, became elated as their crops began to mature in 1711. Hope repossessed them and their early visions of peace and plenty seemed in fair way of being realized. This, as we have seen, was short lived, for the merciless savages massacred eighty of their number and carried off as prisoners quite a number. During the rest of the period of warfare New Bern escaped further trouble of a serious nature. The treaty which DeGraffenreidt had made with his Indian captors was respected and, the settlement remaining neutral, it escaped further harm during the four years the war continued.

DeGraffenreidt, tired of his labors here and probably disheartened at the prospect, sold his large interests to Thomas Pollock for eight hundred pounds and returned to Switzerland. He never again set foot on this soil, but some of his descendants remained in this country. There are some in Georgia who trace their ancestry to Christopher DeGraffenreidt.

While the town of New Bern, through DeGraffenreidt's treaty with the Indians, remained unmolested, the surrounding country came in for its share of the brutal incidents of Indian warfare. Concerted action was necessary to put an end to the war. The colonists were thoroughly aroused. Governor Hyde called out the militia of North Carolina and the Legislature of South Carolina raised six hundred militia and three hundred and sixty Indians (Wheeler's History) who, under the command of Colonel Barnwell, came through the forest from South Carolina and joined the North Carolina militia on the Neuse. The Indians were fortified on the banks of the Neuse, eighteen miles west of New Bern (1712). The Indians were defeated, more than three hundred of them killed and one hundred taken prisoners. The

lines of the old fort can still be seen by the visitor to this spot, which is near the enterprising village which takes its name from the fort—Fort Barnwell.

When quiet came again and the colonists, relieved of the exacting requirements of Indian warfare, could turn their attention to the arts of peace prosperous times came and the spirit of real enterprise began to make itself felt. Emigration from the old world emptied frequently new comers into the town, ships found it a favorable harbor and it soon became a trade center of considerable importance. The town had been laid off in 1710 and grew up according to those lines. Settlements sprang up in the county adjacent to it.

A colony of Welsh Quakers, numbering among them some who afterwards attained prominence, settled below New Bern about midway between New Bern and what is now Morehead City. German immigrants came to New Bern in 1732, but moved up Trent River and established themselves in what is now Jones County, then a part of Craven.

Modern railroad development has made the crossing of Albemarle Sound a simple matter, but in those early days it offered a serious obstacle to the social, political and business intercourse between the different colonies, and in 1738 the General Assembly moved its place of meeting to New Bern, which was a change in the interest of convenience. With the increase of population and the mixture of nationalities the Palatines and Swiss became scattered (quite a number of them left the colony after the Indian massacre of 1711) and lost their distinctive organization.

In 1715 franchise was granted the town and in 1723 it was incorporated. It included then within its limits 250 acres. A provision of the law of incorporation, sec. 7th, reads:

"If any person or persons shall die possessed of any said lots without leaving heir or without making a will of the

said lot, then and in such case the absolute fee to the same shall come and revert to the said Cullen Pollock, his heirs and assigns forever."

Authentic record of the period up to the Revolutionary War is deplorably scant, but enough is available to gain a fair idea of the customs which prevailed and the spirit of the times. The minute book of the Court of Quarter Sessions is preserved in the vault of the Clerk of the Court and from its pages some interesting facts are gathered and here reproduced. Some of the writing is as clear and distinct as when put upon its pages nearly two centuries ago. That a generous and kindly spirit toward the weak and unprotected animated our fathers is clearly shown by a reading of some of the minutes of that court. A Christian spirit, too, at times shows itself and the language of the Bible is sometimes followed. The close union of church and state is evidenced in some of the minutes.

The minutes of March 20, 1740, has the following: "Mr. Philip Trapnell appears and delivers up an infant boy named Joseph Waters to this court. Ordered that the constable next in that neighborhood take the said boy into his custody and bring him to the vestry next Easter morning."

Again another minute the same month reads: "An infant about 9 years of age is brought into court. The court thought fit to bind her out to William Charlton till she come to the age of 16 years and the said Charlton gives securities for his good performance during the time she shall remain with him as follows: that he is to do his endeavor to teach her or cause her to be taught to read the Bible."

Their jealous oversight of the orphans is shown again in the minute, September, 1742, as follows: "Ordered that every master or mistress of orphans within this County bring a certificate from a neighboring justice to satisfy the court of their welfare."

The tender quality does not seem to be betrayed in the following entry made September 19, 1740: "Mary Magee appears in court. Ordered that she be stripped her clothes to her waste and receive 12 lashes on her bare back at the public whipping post." The records do not show what the charge against her was. In the light of our present civilization this action seems inexcusable, but the consciences of the judges of that day approved the punishment as doing the will of God.

Undoubtedly, too, the repressive measures exercised against those who dissented from the established church had their foundation in the firm conviction that all who refused to worship God according to the prescribed form of the English church were doing evil and would do violence to the civil as well as the church government. The following minute, taken from the record of June 20, 1740, shows how dissenters were dealt with:

"A motion and petition made by a sect of decenting people called Baptists that they may have the liberty to build a house of worship and being duly examined by the court acknowledged to, all the articles of the church of England except part of the 27 and 36 they desiring to preach among themselves. Referred."

Just before the last word two words are partially obscured by a line drawn through them. Enough, however, is seen to read the words, "but rejected."

Another record, September 22, 1740, reads: "The following dissenting Protestants appeared viz: John Brooks, John James, Robert Spring, Nicholas Purefoy and Thos. Fulcher came into court and took the oath of allegiance and supremacy and subscribed the test the 39 articles of Religion being distinctly read to them the following of which they dissented from to wit: the 36th, and the latter part of the 27th."

The fact that the English church today as well as the other Protestant churches thoroughly discountenance such infringement of the liberty of the citizen evidences marked evolution of religious thought which seems to have kept pace with the progress of democratic ideas everywhere.

Progress in every line continued to the time of the Revolution. During this period New Bern was properly regarded as the center of culture as well as political power. In 1749 James Davis set up in New Bern the first printing establishment in North Carolina, and three years later the first book printed in North Carolina came from his press. This contained the revised laws of the State, and from the color of the binding became known generally as the "Yellow Jacket."

The writer could not within the necessarily limited compass of this article deal very much with detail. Those things which concern the State are recorded too meagerly for an extended writing and those matters of purely local interest would fill a bulky volume if the task of their recital was attempted. I have sought faithfully to give in general outline the early history of Craven County and have called from the store of local incidents just enough to give some idea of the life and thought of a people who have through the years held tenaciously to the principle of liberty and developed a quality of citizenship unexcelled by any people of any time.

JACOB MARLING, AN EARLY NORTH CAROLINA ARTIST

BY MARSHALL DeLANCEY HAYWOOD.

In the Old Cemetery in the city of Raleigh, North Carolina, where so many of the "rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep," there is an upright stone on which is a brief inscription as follows:

IN
MEMORY OF
J. MARLING.
Died December 18th, 1833,
Aged 59 Years.

This marks the resting-place of an early citizen of Raleigh who enjoyed some local celebrity as a landscape and portrait painter at a period when North Carolina artists were even less numerous than now. Mr. Marling was born in the year 1774, but we are not informed as to the place of his birth. It is probable that the time of his coming to Raleigh was 1818; for, in August of that year, he announced (under the firm name of J. Marling & Co.) the opening of what he called "The North Carolina Museum." This institution stood on the northeastern corner of Fayetteville and Martin streets, about where the Citizens National Bank is now located. It was in reality a public library and reading room, as well as a museum, for his advertisement in the *Raleigh Register,* August 14, 1818, says:

"As the plan embraces a reading room, where most of the principal newspapers, literary works, reviews, etc., are regularly filed, it is confidently believed that it will afford an agreeable and useful place of resort. Natural and artificial curiosities, sketches, maps, drawings and paintings, rare coins and books, will be thankfully received and added to the collection, with the name of the liberal donor appended to them."

By way of a postscript to the above notice it is added: "General Calvin Jones has obligingly transferred the whole of his collection to this institution." This General Jones owned a plantation some miles north of Raleigh, on which Wake Forest College now stands, and he afterwards removed to Tennessee. He was a physician and scientist, a veteran of the War of 1812, and Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of North Carolina from December 8, 1817, till December 16, 1820. After the Museum in Raleigh had suspended operations, the collection of natural history specimens loaned to it by General Jones was donated by that gentleman to the University of North Carolina, of which institution he was a trustee for thirty years. In his *History of the University of North Carolina,* Doctor Battle refers to this collection, saying that some of the articles therein are probably still owned by the University, though they would be difficult to identify.

The price charged those who patronized Mr. Marling's museum and library was twenty-five cents for one admission, and five dollars for a season ticket. How long the institution remained in operation we are unable to ascertain, but it was abandoned prior to the year 1824, at which time Bishop Ravenscroft rented the hall for the congregation of Christ Church, which parish then had no house of worship of its own.

After settling in Raleigh, Mr. Marling became well known as an artist. Aside from his occupation as a painter, he seems also to have been an instructor in art at the old Raleigh Academy during a part of the time when that institution was presided over by the Reverend William McPheeters, D.D., an eminent Presbyterian divine, one of whose assistants then was George Washington Freeman, who later took orders in the Episcopal Church and eventually became Missionary Bishop of the Southwest.

The best known product of Mr. Marling's brush is a painting of the old State Capitol (a building burned in 1831), with the Bank of New Bern shown in the background. This painting is now in the North Carolina State Library, having been loaned by its present owner, Dr. Fabius J. Haywood, for whose grandfather (State Treasurer John Haywood) it was originally painted at some time prior to the year 1820. It may be that a copy of this painting, made in 1819 by one of the pupils of Mr. Marling, is still preserved somewhere in the State of Georgia, for the *Raleigh Star,* of June 18, 1819, in describing commencement exercises at the Raleigh Academy, said:

"Two views, one of the State House, Bank, and a part of Newbern Street in Raleigh, and one of a field, copse of wood, etc., in the neighborhood of this city, copied by Miss Lavinia Richardson, of Georgia, from the original paintings of Mr. Marling, are fine specimens of art which do equal credit to the genius and industry of the copyist. The other pupils are young artists who have not greatly improved their talents. However, two landscapes and a flower, by Jemima Powell, two landscapes and a sea piece by Mary Bell, one flower by Laura Wray, and three flowers by Catherine E. Clark, all painted, are favorable specimens of the skill of the respective artists. The dignity of landscape painting was probably assigned to superior attainments in this art."

One of the sins to which Mr. Marling was addicted was a fondness for playing cards when money was at stake; and an amusing anecdote has floated down the years, which have elapsed since that period, concerning a remark he made in excusing himself for leaving a game which was in progress. He and some of his friends had started playing early in the evening and sat at the table until after 4 o'clock the following morning, when Mr. Marling arose to leave just as day was breaking. Upon being urged to stay, he insisted that it was time for him to go home, remarking as he walked out: "Gentlemen, I must leave; *Mrs. Marling will be waiting tea.*"

Mr. Marling died in Raleigh on the 18th of December,

1833. An obituary in the *Raleigh Register,* of December 24th, was as follows:

"DIED: In this city on the 18th instant, after a long and painful illness, Mr. Jacob Marling, whose fine taste and skill as a portrait and landscape painter are extensively known, aged about 60 years, leaving a widow and numerous friends to lament his loss."

A similar notice appeared in the *Raleigh Star* of December 27th. Mrs. Marling survived her husband quite a number of years, and is still remembered by some of the oldest citizens of Raleigh. At the time of her death, or shortly before that, she was the owner of a large painting called "The May Queen," and possibly other works of art produced by her husband, but I am not advised what became of them. Indeed, Mrs. Marling herself was a woman of some artistic talent and had a class which she taught painting upon silk, velvet, and glass. This proving unprofitable, she later went into the millinery business, and probably was so engaged until old age necessitated her retirement. She died soon after the close of the War between the States.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1783

BY S. A. ASHE.

(Being the opening chapter of the second volume of the History of North Carolina.)

Social conditions in North Carolina in the year 1783, the year of peace and independence, were Acadian in their simplicity. The commonwealth, extending far into the wilderness, numbered some 350,000 souls, slave and free, widely scattered, nearly one-tenth beyond the distant mountains; with no city—and indeed only a few villages whose population reached a thousand; as yet commerce, so long interrupted, had not revived; there were no manufactures, save the work of the men and women in their homes; no currency; poor markets and only bad highways; no newspapers, and not a single printing press; but few schools, and religious instruction but scantily supplied;—in a word, with nought but freedom and farm products, manhood and energy.

Nor were the people entirely united in the bonds of amity and friendship. Probably a full third of the white population had not espoused the cause of separation and independence. Early in the struggle a considerable number, unwilling to take the test oath, had, under the stringent laws of the state, been forced from their homes and had sought shelter abroad. Later, when Hamilton, a Scotch merchant, and MacLeod, a Scotch minister, arranged for the formation of a loyal regiment, many repaired to the King's standard. From time to time others joined this regiment; but between the suppression of the Royalists at Moore's Creek, followed quickly by the defeat of the British fleet at Charleston, and the appearance of Fanning on the upper Cape Fear in 1780, there was a period of comparative repose, during which the disaffected adjusted themselves to the prevailing conditions. The

Assembly, session after session, postponed putting into full operation the confiscation acts, and, practicing tolerance and conciliation, allowed the Tories to remain unmolested, classing them, along with the Quakers, as "non-jurors," but imposing special taxes on them.

The bridge between a "non-juror" and a "good and true citizen" was opened and made easy to cross; and along with Rev. George Micklejohn, James Hunter, Dr. Pyle and many other conspicuous Tories who soon took the test oath, men of smaller consequence resumed association and fellowship with their Whig neighbors. But the harrowing events of 1781, when the malcontents under McNeil and Fanning, established a reign of terror in the Cape Fear region, put an end to toleration. The inhumanities and butcheries of the closing years of the long struggle left an indelible mark on the social conditions of the State. Fierce resentment and implacable hatred took possession of the contending factions; and when the British army withdrew many of the Tories departed, some going to Florida and some to Nova Scotia, where the negroes carried off by the British also were located, while others sought new homes in the distant west, even crossing the mountains and establishing themselves in the outskirts of the western settlements. It was in that period of rancorous animosity that the former policy of conciliation was abandoned and measures were taken to enforce the confiscation laws; and thus when blessed peace came there were mingled with the pæans of victory loud execrations of the hated Tories.

The waste of the war had not yet been overcome. Especially in the Cape Fear counties had the destruction been great; and so many families there were in dire need that by a general law they were to be exempt from the payment of taxes in the discretion of the county justices. Elsewhere the inhabitants were suffering because of the absence of markets

and of facilities to dispose of the products of their industry, but the people were measurably inured to their situation and had been so long accustomed to their privations that they scarcely realized the hardships. They had known nothing better.

Life offered no field for activity but on the farm and in the forests; and clearing new land and making forest products were the only openings for energy and enterprise.

During the war to supply the necessities of the people as well as the needs of the army, bounties had been freely offered to stimulate manufactures, but when the occasion had passed the bounties ceased. Yet the looms were still busy, skins were tanned, and furs secured from otters and beavers, and shoemakers and hatters plied their trades.

At that period factories had not been erected anywhere in America; there were no power looms, and only the spinning jenny and hand weaving were in use, and nails were still made by hand. But so industrious were the people in their homes that many districts not only clothed themselves, but had a surplus of cotton, linen and woolen cloths for sale.

In the tidewater regions where naval stores abounded, men found profitable employment in making tar, pitch, and turpentine, of which the mercantile world stood in great need, while lumber and staves were always in demand for the West Indies. In Colonial days trade with the British Islands in the Caribbean sea had brought in a liberal supply of specie; but when the State separated herself from the British empire the restrictive navigation laws obstructed that commerce. Yet England soon fostered shipments to her own ports, and the London merchants hastened to send their goods to markets that were bare of foreign manufactures.

The great forests of the State, so rich in products, were virtually unbroken. While near the coast and in the Albemarle region there were some large plantations, in the interior

the holdings were smaller, and the clearings were only such as were needed for cultivation. Generally every man owned his land, and, as there was no labor for hire, tilled his own fields. Back from the markets where there was a surplus of corn and grain, hogs and cattle were raised and driven on foot for sale. Also in some communities grain was converted into whiskey, and the fruits of the orchard into brandy.

Agriculture, the chief occupation of the inhabitants, had long received intelligent application, and despite adverse conditions presented examples of thrift and skill. At the east rice and indigo were grown, as well as flax and cotton; while along the water courses, lumber and staves and naval stores were produced. In the upper country where the soil and climate were suitable tobacco and the cereals were cultivated, and clover was not unknown. Mr. Hooper, a lawyer rather than a farmer, wrote to his merchant at Edenton, "Send me a barrel of clover seed."

But transportation facilities were sadly lacking; and back from the rivers the want of good roads was a serious drawback. Public highways had been laid out connecting the back country with the several market towns of the east, but they could not be maintained in good condition, and the Northwestern counties found it more convenient to trade with Virginia towns, and the Southwestern with Charleston. The exports were tobacco, tar, pitch, turpentine, potash, staves, lumber, rice, and provisions, all of these except alone tobacco being the products of the east. Indeed, transportation to market involved such an expense as to largely deprive the products of the distant interior of their value.

Necessarily all sales of products were made to merchants, who established themselves at convenient points in the interior, and setting their own prices, made great gains by their bargains.

Of money there was none; the State as well as the Continental currency had ceased to have value, and to express utter worthlessness the phrase was coined—"not worth a continental." Money is not only of value in itself, but it is the standard by which the value of other things is measured and the chief instrument of commerce by which exchanges are made, and the very foundation stone of credit. When the State and Continental paper fell, there was virtually no specie in circulation. Neither gold nor silver had been found in any of the colonies, and the entire country was dependent on such foreign coin as could be obtained for commodities, and there were but few commodities to send abroad. The people were indeed without a currency. In the extremity recourse was again had to an issue of State bills. At the April meeting of the Assembly a proposition to emit new bills, matured by William Blount, met with general concurrence. To give the issue a footing of substantial value a special tax was levied to redeem it, and its redemption was further secured by a pledge of all the confiscated property of the Tories held by the State. The currency of the Revolution had been dollars to distinguish it from Colonial issues; and now to emphasize that the new issue was on a distinct footing, it was in pounds and shillings, the pound being of the value of two and a half silver dollars. The shilling was the same as the Spanish "bit," later twelve and a half cents. The amount was conservatively limited to a hundred thousand pounds.

There were no buggies, but few coaches, and traveling was on horseback, men riding their own horses hundreds of miles, and the women seldom visiting out of their neighborhood. The assembly had established no mail facilities, but the post route opened at the beginning of the Revolution, along the coast, passing through Edenton and New Bern and Wilmington, had been continued by Congress and

was still in operation, but there were no post ridings to the interior. Letters were sent by hand. Without means of communication, the dissemination of intelligence among the people was slow and unreliable. Information about current affairs was acquired by conversations at casual meetings, at religious gatherings and the sessions of the county courts. Indeed, these quarterly courts had no inconsiderable educational value. More than any other instrumentality they kept the people in touch with civilization. In every district of each county there were two or more justices of the peace, and constables, and often a deputy sheriff. The justices were men of responsibility and approved character, and around them centered a strong personal influence. They met quarterly at the court-house and administered the public affairs of the county. They laid taxes, appointed officers, provided for the poor, looked after the orphans, and the settlement of estates of deceased persons. They laid off roads, appointed the overseers and directed the construction of bridges. In a word they exercised all the powers of government in matters of local interest in the several neighborhoods of the county. Also, they tried offenses against the law and civil suits between litigants. Necessarily they were attended by many jurors, witnesses and parties interested in their proceedings. Others with no particular business likewise attended from a desire of intercourse with fellow-men; and so those occasions thus drew great crowds together, and at such times private accounts were settled, trades were made, and ordinarily there was much swapping of horses, and occasional trials of speed, for the people dearly loved a horse race; also, there were more or less drinking and carousing, and contests, friendly and otherwise, of personal prowess. It was always a field day when court met. But apart from the social side of such meetings, in addition to these oppor-

tunities of social intercourse, there was a distinct value in training the people in respect for law, and in educating them in local administration, in legal processes and in matters of public concern. Many a man who could read no word in a book knew well the common law of the land, knew private rights and wrongs, knew nice distinctions and could weigh with unerring judgment the value of evidence. As deficient in schooling as the Barons of Runnymede, they had intelligence trained by experience into practical wisdom.

Religion, the traditional inheritance of the race, measurably entered into the lives of the people who, however, were generally neither warmly attached to doctrine nor very demonstrative in their zeal. Francis Asbury noted in his Journal in April, 1780, that he preached in Halifax County to about five hundred persons—and "the people were solemnly attentive." A few days later, he found "people were for the ordinances, though not heated." At the Tabernacle, about four hundred attended:—"The people very insensible. I think these people must be awakened by judgment, for it appears the gospel will not do it"; on Sunday at Green Hill, Franklin County, O'Kelly "raised high, and was very affecting, but to little purpose. There are evils here,—the meeting not solemn: the women appeared to be full of dress; the men full of news. The people are gospel slighters: I fear some heavy stroke will come on them." Somewhat later Rev. Henry Patillo, a learned and observant Presbyterian minister, a man of great liberality and thoroughly imbued with a spirit of Christianity, wrote—"As to our young people, and others not well settled in their principles, joining with other professions, and particularly the Methodists, I would just observe that this seems to be the versatile season with America; and a change of religious profession

has become almost as common and as little noted as the variations of the weather in this most changeable climate."

This zealous Presbyterian also mentioned having received warm, friendly letters from the Methodists—whose bias naturally was towards the church of England—"expressing their wishes to cultivate a nearer intercourse, and that bigotry might cease among Christians"; nor were the Baptists of a different mind, for he likewise pointed to "the friendly intercourse that subsists between the Baptists and us in all respects, except communion, known and acknowledged by all." Altogether, the picture he presents is free from the baneful spirit of religious intolerance. Indeed no zealous attachment to doctrine can be observed, but, rather, there was an expressed desire of Christian fellowship. Doubtless in those years when the denominations were unorganized and when there was an insuffcient number of ministers, there was a loosening of religious ties and an indisposition to adhere closely to doctrine; but the seeds of piety had been sown and were planted in a fruitful soil, even if they lay dormant for a season.

In colonial days the Church of England had in some measure been organized in the eastern counties, especially near the Virginia line, but, as constituted, upon the declaration of independence it was a solecism and out of place in the colonies. A portion of the National Church of England, with the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer requiring a prayer for the King, it did not fit the new conditions. Its members had been foremost in asserting their political rights, and under their leadership, chiefly, the Revolution had been begun and brought to a successful close. Notwithstanding the separation from England, by them it continued to be regarded as the Apostolic church, and they remained true to their faith and devotedly attached to the rites, ceremonies

and practices of "the church." While the position of the laymen was thus peculiar, that of the ministers, being under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, was full of embarrassment. One of them, Rev. Mr. Wills, at Wilmington, withdrew from his charge in 1775, although he remained on the Cape Fear and performed the marriage service and perhaps other rites during the war. As the ordination of a new minister could be only by the Bishop of London, no other was then called, and twenty years elapsed before that pulpit was again filled.

At New Bern, Rev. Mr. Reed, although a loyalist, continued to officiate; while the Edenton congregation had the services of Rev. Charles Pettigrew, a warm patriot, in the place of the Rev. Mr. Earl, who, in 1775, retired to his farm in Bertie County, although his sympathies were with the people. Rev. George Micklejohn, the pastor at Hillsboro, who was taken at Moore's Creek, remained in the State and eventually took the test oath, and after peace was a minister in Virginia. The other incumbents are said to have been in sympathy with the Revolution and to have continued their services without interruption. But on the separation from their mother country, there being no method of procuring ordination, the power of the organization to perpetuate itself ceased. In addition to this drawback the association of the church with the English hierarchy and its theoretical connection with the British government were distinct influences adverse to its being regarded with favor by the struggling patriots. Its members were as sheep in a wilderness without a shepherd. The three orders of ministers were essential to its existence, and there was no bishop in America. Naturally it was engulfed in stagnant waters, and years elapsed before it revived. In 1783 in Maryland, it assumed the name of "The Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland," and

that name was adopted by a General Convention held three years later. About the same time the consecration of Bishops was secured; and that deficiency was supplied. But so weak were its adherents in North Carolina that year after year passed without any effort at organization, and when efforts were made, about 1790, they failed of success.

Nor were the other denominations, in the eastern counties, in a much more vigorous condition. Although there were a few Presbyterian congregations on the waters of the Cape Fear, in 1783 there seems to have been no minister of that faith east of Granville. The Baptists, however, were better settled, and there were Baptist ministers, especially in the northern counties, each congregation being separate and independent. Farther west the Baptists were still more flourishing; and there also the Presbyterians were well established, having at the end of the Revolution about a dozen pastors actively at work—men of high repute, and teachers as well as preachers to their flocks. In 1770 Orange Presbytery had been organized, and in 1788 the Synod of the Carolinas was formed. It was in that year that Rev. Mr. Patillo, who was located in Granville, published at Wilmington, Delaware, his volumes of sermons. He also published an interesting volume on geography.

The first Methodist Societies organized in North Carolina looked to Rev. Mr. Wesley as their head, and recognized the authority of the ministers of the Church of England; and, indeed, they were regarded as being within the folds of that church. Dr. Coke was of that communion, and the first Methodist to preach in the State, James Pilmoor, afterwards became an Episcopal minister in New York. Like the Church of England, the Methodists suffered some detriment because of the conflict with the mother country, whence had emanated the influences that established and controlled the so-

cieties; but in 1784, at a Conference held at Baltimore, a new, distinct and separate organization was adopted. Yet notwithstanding the Methodists thus severed connection with the Protestant Episcopal Church, Christian fellowship was still maintained.

In 1780 Francis Asbury had traveled through the northern central counties, visiting the societies that had been established, and the year after the new organization he and Dr. Coke held at Green Hill, Franklin County, the first Conference. But despite the zeal and activity of the ministers, the growth of the Methodists, like that of the other denominations, was slow in the State. The people in many communities of the center and east had lived so long without regular ministrations that they had become somewhat indifferent to the formalisms and doctrines of church organizations. The Quakers and Moravians being men of peace, had not suffered much during the war, but rather had reaped the reward of their steady habits and productive industry.

Unhappily, conditions in general were promotive of illiteracy, for educational facilities were meager and insufficient. The proposition to establish a public school in every county, made during Governor Dobbs' administration, had come to naught because some English merchants objected to the issue of currency proposed for that purpose; and Governor Dobbs having omitted to inform the assembly of the particular objection, the obstacle was never removed.

The subject thus passed out of view, and no further effort was made for general education at public expense. There were some private schools, but they were inadequate for the general education of the people. Yet the condition was not so bad but that it could be worse; and apparently it became worse. In 1826 Governor Burton urged on the Assembly: "Many enlightened persons believe that it is more difficult

for an individual in ordinary circumstances to obtain for his child, at this time, the common rudiments of education than it was at the period when our constitution was adopted."

Although there was a constitutional provision requiring the establishment of public schools, and also of a university, yet the provision was long inoperative. No general system of public instruction had been introduced anywhere except alone in Massachusetts; and circumstances were adverse to its inauguration in North Carolina. Education by the State has been a development of a more recent period. It was not then demanded by the spirit of the times. The scarcity of money made it difficult to pay taxes, and there was a general reluctance to pay public dues; but more than all, the isolated lives of the separated farmers, residing in sparsely settled neighborhoods, led them to be indifferent to education. Indeed, as Dickson expressed it, "the genius of the people was not adapted to the study of learning and science. The objects they had in view were money and pleasure."

There were no magazines, no newspapers, or story books to stir the mind, to nourish the imagination, to exercise the mental faculties. Acquaintance with the art of reading and writing but little enlarged the horizon of life or added to the zest of living. In that primitive condition of existence, such education as could be obtained was of slight service in the daily routine of farm work, and was not felt to be indispensable, either for its usefulness or as contributing to recreation in the family circle. The labors of the day were not supplemented by intellectual pleasures. A considerable number of the poorer settlers probably had been without the rudiments of an education, and illiteracy was on the increase among that portion of the inhabitants. An essayist, writing of Caswell County, says: "Between 1775 and 1800 a common English education—to read, write and cypher, was ob-

tained by only one-half of the people of that county." Elsewhere it was largely the same. The absence of public schools bore heavily on the social condition of the interior. Yet there were individual efforts to maintain primary schools and even academies. At every session of the Assembly some new academy was incorporated, and trustees appointed to manage its affairs; but necessarily the influence of these was limited largely to the vicinity of the villages where they were situated and to those more prosperous families that had always enjoyed the advantages of education, for in every county and settlement there were then as now, some families of education who knew its value and fully appreciated its beneficial influences, and no sacrifice was accounted too great to obtain it for the children.

In that period of isolation when there was so little room for intellectual effort, the art of letter writing was practiced by few, and, other than the public records, the memorials of the time are scant and meager. Nor has the small stock of what survived the uses of the day been carefully guarded. Williamson, Martin, Murphey, Hooper, and others sought, in succeeding generations, to gather up the scattered fragments for historical purposes, but their collections have all disappeared. McRee later performed a grateful service in publishing the correspondence of Iredell, and, if we may judge from the elegant diction and refined sentiments of that correspondence, even in the darkest hours there were circles here and there throughout the State, of a high order of social culture and literary merit.

Nor were there lacking the beneficial influences attending the order of the Masonic fraternity, which, established early in colonial life, was revived after the war. On the death in 1776, of Grand Master Joseph Montfort, who held under authority of a British commission, the Grand Lodge ceased

for twenty years; but in 1787, representatives from ten lodges met at Tarborough, and, setting up an independent authority, elected Samuel Johnston Grand Master. Caswell, Davie and many of the other leading men of the day were members. Since then the Order has always been a factor in the life of the people.

The general tone of society was more democratic and less aristocratic than either in Virginia or in South Carolina. But the form of government, a representative republic, was somewhat calculated to foster a class distinction. The absence of great fortunes tended to suppress social pretensions based on wealth and not founded on personal worth, public service and popular applause; and there was a jealousy of other distinction. An indication of the prevailing sentiment may be gathered from the speedy dissolution of the patriotic order of the Cincinnati. This order was organized in the State by the Continental officers at Hillsborough in October, 1783, General Jethro Sumner being chosen President. In the Assembly, a year later, a petition was presented against the Order by General John Butler, who introduced a bill to render any member of it ineligible to a seat in the Assembly. His measure did not pass, but the opposition to the society was so strong as to control the action of the former Continental officers, to whom it was imputed that they designed to establish themselves as a peerage. On the death of General Sumner, he was succeeded by Colonel John B. Ashe; but after a few years the society informally dissolved. Notwithstanding this democratic tendency, the Assemblymen virtually formed a class of rulers. They were generally men of substance in their counties, who drew around themselves such strong influences that they were almost continuously reelected to their seats. They elected all the great officers, and determined the policy of the State. Doubtless they were

not inattentive to public opinion, which, however, they exercised a great power in forming; and although advocates of a democracy, they were measurably the ruling class in the State. It is much to their credit that legislation was sound, liberal and judicious, and the Assembly always responded to suggestions tending to the general welfare. In addition, it may be said that the Assembly generally recognized merit, and there was a liberality of sentiment illustrated in the election to high office of men but recently settled in the State and unsupported by great family influence.

The need of a printing press was keenly felt, and in the summer of 1783 Robert Keith set up one at New Bern, and in August he issued the first number of the *North Carolina Gazette*. There had been no newspapers published in the State in several years and the advent of this was hailed with interest and satisfaction. The office was "near the church, where the subscriptions, essays and articles of intelligence are gratefully received." It was on a demy sheet, with clear type, and was offered for three Spanish milled dollars per annum. One of the printer lads was Francis Xavier Martin, a French boy, who had been stranded at New Bern. Connected with his printing office, Keith opened a book store and offered to the public Edwards on Original Sin, Baker on the Divine Attributes, a choice collections of Hymns; and, for the use of schools, Testaments, spelling books, primers and writing paper. Quills alone were used for writing. The opening of a print shop speedily led to publications. No longer was it necessary for the pamphleteers to circulate their manuscripts by sending them from town to town by trusty messengers to secure safe delivery and preservation.

In the fall, Judge Spencer, over the signature of Atticus, printed an article on the Constitution, probably discussing the Loyalist, and John Hay, as Tiberius Gracchus, put out

in a six penny pamphlet an essay which in manuscript he had read to a coterie of admiring friends, ridiculing the Assembly and so violently assailing Judge Sitgreaves that Keith had to divulge the author's name, resulting in a personal altercation. Then Hay and the Bench drifted apart. There quickly followed a war in which Cusatti, Sully, The Citizen, and The True Citizen bore their parts; also Germanicus. The Citizen was imputed to Judge Williams and Richard Henderson, the polishing touches being given by Governor Martin.

But one printing office did not suffice, and in March, 1784, another weekly was begun at Halifax; and perhaps one, also, at Hillsboro;—and so disputants had several instruments of warfare. No one would have entered with greater zest and more caustic pen into these literary controversies than the brilliant Irishman, Dr. Burke; but his race was run. In December, 1784 that choice spirit passed away. His friend Hooper thus announced his melancholy fate: "Dr. Burke died about a fortnight since and fell, in some measure, a sacrifice to the obstinacy which marked his character through life. Laboring under a complication of disorders, oppressed with the most agonizing pains, which for months had deprived him of his natural rest; and to sum up his misery, no domestic prop to lean upon—no friend or companion at his home to soothe the anguish of his mind or mitigate the pain of his body—was not death to him a comforter, a friend and physician?"

At the peace, there were about a hundred thousand slaves in North Carolina and five thousand free negroes. The location of the colored element of population was an incident of settlement. The western counties were settled chiefly by immigrants coming overland from Pennsylvania. These were accompanied by no negroes; and so, few Africans, relatively, were to be found at the west. Near the northern

line as far as Surry, the settlement was largely from Virginia and the planters brought their negroes with them. Along the coast, including Brunswick and New Hanover, negroes were comparatively numerous; but farther in the interior, where immigrants direct from Europe located, there were not so many. The free negroes were found chiefly in the older counties, where indeed there were more blacks than elsewhere. In 1790 Halifax returned 6,506 slaves and 446 free negroes. Northampton and Bertie together, 9,650 slaves and 751 free negroes. In New Hanover and four adjacent counties there were 10,116 slaves and 215 free negroes. In Iredell, 846 slaves and 3 free negroes. In colonial times free negroes paid taxes like the whites, but could not vote. They lived apart and were not allowed free intercourse with the slaves.

Slaves descended as other property. The master's right to rule was complete; but while he could punish, he could not take the life of a slave. Slaves could have no right to any property—but no one could interfere with them except the owner. They were amenable to the law for offenses, but the masters often protected them from punishment when charged with minor offenses; when one was executed, the owner was allowed his value, but in 1786 this practice was discontinued. They lived on their master's premises; and he was required to provide for their necessities; to care for them in sickness and in age.

Slaves generally were not allowed to use firearms, but the county court, on application of the owner, licensed one slave on each plantation to carry a gun for the purpose of protecting the property from depredations. The conduct of the farm, the administration and system of work and of living, was under the regulation of the master. Some slaves were taught to be carpenters, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, coopers

and shoemakers, and the women to spin and weave. Often the farm raised its own wool and cotton, tanned its own leather, had its smithy and shop for wood work, and made its own shoes and clothing. In all this work, as well as in all farm work, some negroes were trained and skilled. Generally the farm or plantation was managed by the master, and in his absence one of the slaves, as "foreman," supervised the work with orderly precision.

There were but few great estates in North Carolina. In 1790, the largest slaveowner, Cullen Pollok, listed 204; the next largest was Willie Jones, with 120; then Mr. Collins, 113; Peter Mallet, 103; and Governor Samuel Johnson owned 96. Hardly two hundred persons had as many as 50. Largely more than half the people owned none at all, while hundreds possessed only one or two. On the larger plantations the negro families had their separate houses, with small gardens attached, some distance from the mansion; and had such pleasures and recreations as their masters chose to allow. When the number of slaves was small, they lived near the mansion, and were brought into very close association with the white family; and, in effect, all constituted a family. The men were "men of all work," and the women and children were employed about the domicile. This association had an educational advantage and tended distinctly to the elevation of the negro. Whatever there was of beneficence in the institution of African slavery thus had, perhaps, its best development in North Carolina, where the country negroes seem to have attained a somewhat more advanced condition than elsewhere.

Generally, slaves had such opportunities for religious instruction as the condition of the country afforded. Writing in 1788, Rev. Mr. Pattilo remarked that they composed a part of most congregations, and in those under his charge

there were 150 negro communicants. Very ignorant, they were at first taken on trial before admitted to baptism or the communion. "In the meantime the black members are very diligent with them, instructing them, and narrowly inspecting their conduct." Most masters indulged their slaves in liberty of conscience, whether religious or otherwise, while "pious masters have great disquiet and vexation from the untractable and incorrigible temper of their slaves." "Of the religious negroes in my congregation some are entrusted with a kind of eldership, so far as to keep a watchful eye over the black members." "The great matter of scandal among the negroes arises from their marriages or matches. Masters are so often selling their slaves, or removing to a distance, that as the creatures generally belong to different masters, they are often parted, or their places of residence become so distant that they can seldom see each other. Many masters, however, will rather exchange or sell, than part husband and wife." "A few can read a plain book, and many more would learn on Lord's Day and sleeping time if they had spelling books, catechisms, Testaments and Watts' hymns, as they are peculiarly fond of singing." At that period there was no legal inhibition against teaching slaves to read and write.

Property right in the person of the African slave was the law of the New World at the time North Carolina was settled. It was a part of the institutions of every community. Incident to it was the slave trade, a commerce that came to be reprobated in America earlier than elsewhere. In every colony, from the earliest times, there were some individuals who were opposed both to slavery and the slave trade. In August, 1774, the Freeholders of Rowan County resolved that: "The African slave trade is injurious to this colony, obstructs the population of it by freemen, pre-

vents manufacturers and other useful immigrants from Europe from settling among us, and occasions an annual increase in the balance of trade against the colony." This declaration was followed a few days later by a resolution of the first Provincial Convention, that "We will not import or purchase any slave brought into this province from any part of the world after the first day of November next." This resolve was observed by the people and enforced by the Committee of Safety. The next year Jefferson's declaration "that all men are created free——" received universal assent, but that evidently had reference to the right to modify governments, and had no bearing on the status of the African slaves in the colonies. Yet the thought was expressed and disseminated. Owners had the right of manumission, and apparently manumissions were multiplied, while the inconveniences of slavery became more pronounced when the struggle for independence began and the British sought to incite both the Indians and negroes to become their allies. At the very first session of the Assembly under the new constitution, "because of the evil and pernicious practice of freeing slaves, at this alarming and critical time, the personal right to manumit was taken away, a license from the County Court being made requisite, and the court was forbidden to grant the license except for 'meritorious services.' "

Notwithstanding the racial difference, the negroes were a part of the population, and could render service—both bond and free. During the war the latter were enrolled in the militia, and performed military service as other freemen. Slaves, like Indians, Hessian deserters and some others, were not to be accepted as substitutes for drafted men; but, with their master's consent, they could enlist; and some did enlist and rendered faithful service as soldiers in the Continental ranks as well as in the State troops. One slave, Ned Griffin,

of Edgecombe, having under a promise of freedom served faithfully for twelve months as a Continental, a special act of the Assembly was passed to enfranchise him and "discharge him from the yoke of slavery," and he was declared "a freeman in every respect." As with him, so was it with others; after the Revolution free negroes became freemen in every respect. And thus it came about that they obtained the privilege of suffrage, which they enjoyed until the Constitution was amended in 1835. But their legal status, as well as that of the slave, was anomalous, and the Congress of the United States at its second session excluded them from being enrolled in the militia. Negroes could not give evidence against a white man, and in some respects they were not regarded as citizens. But free negroes had property rights, and generally speaking had all the benefits of the law. Many became men of substance, and they sometimes owned slaves. James Lowry, apparently the progenitor of the outlaw Henry Berry Lowry, was in 1790 the owner of several slaves. Many other free negroes likewise were slave owners. One who had served in the Revolution, John Chavis, not only was a slaveholder but was a school teacher, having among his pupils some boys who afterwards became men of renown. He was also a Presbyterian minister.

After commerce was reopened, slaves were again imported, but in 1786 their importation was declared productive of evil consequences and highly impolitic, and in order to arrest it a tax of ten pounds was laid on the importation of the most able-bodied, with a smaller duty on others. Some of the Northern States had already taken measures to abolish slavery, and their slaves were being sold to Southern planters. North Carolina did not propose to allow this transfer to her territory of negroes who in their own States had the hope of freedom, and by act of assembly it was forbidden to bring

into North Carolina any slave from any State that had taken such a step, and should any be imported contrary to that act, they were to be immediately returned to the place from which they were brought. While the institution of negro slavery was thus perpetuated after the Revolution, yet the importation of slaves was regarded as injurious and North Carolina was not favorable to a continuance of the slave trade. The influence of the Quaker element of the population was distinctly against the institution of slavery, and perhaps the prevalence of such sentiments was a natural result of the war itself.

Indeed the Revolution not only called forth many virtues but developed much latent ability. When the war began, says Ramsay, the Americans were a mass of husbandmen, merchants, mechanics and fishermen; but the necessities of the country gave a spring to the active powers of the inhabitants, and set them thinking, speaking, and acting, in a line far beyond that to which they had been accustomed. It seemed as if the war not only required, but created talents. Men, whose minds were warmed with the love of liberty, and whose abilities were improved by daily exercise, and sharpened with a laudable ambition to serve their distressed country, spoke, wrote and acted with an energy far surpassing all expectation which could be reasonably founded on their previous acquirements.

The long years of the struggle had been a period of great intellectual activity, and the creation and administration of government had thoroughly awakened the people and vitalized their energies. Great writers were produced, great thoughts had penetrated the minds of the masses, and heart and soul, body and mind, alike, had been on the rack, and tens of thousands of men, bred in solitude, had moved over the face of the country, every faculty quickened

and stimulated and every passion brought often into play. Thus, as in all long and arduous contests, the people emerged from the war, uplifted by the struggle, developed in all their faculties, broader in thought, stronger in action, more resourceful, and with higher powers and nobler aims than before they had suffered the fearful experience; and, besides, they were inspired with a great hope, a great confidence in the future of their country.

ROWAN COUNTY WILLS

COLLECTED BY MRS. M. G. McCUBBINS.

Henry Barkley (Book F, page 18), June 13, 1798. Sons: Robert, James, John, Thomas. Daughters: Mary. Granddaughter: Polly Barkley (the daughter of Thomas). Grandsons: Henry Barkley (son of Robert), James Cowan (son of Thomas Cowan), and Henry Barkley (son of John). Executors: Sons, James and John. Witnesses: William Kilpatrick and Robert Kilpatrick.

ROWAN COUNTY MARRIAGE BONDS.

Adam Mitchell to Elizabeth McMachen. Sept. 12, 1769. Test: Robert Mitchell. (Jno. Frohock).

Benjamin Miller to Mary Hays. Dec. 16, 1769. Test: Joseph Hays. (John Frohock).

Joseph McCammon to Dorcas Holmes. May 9, 1791. Test: George (his X mark) homes.

Barton (his X mark) Miller to ——— Rindleman. Aug. 13, 1766. Test: Chris (his X mark) Rindleman. (Clerk: Thomas Frohock).

Michael McMahan to Patsey Rogers. Jan. 3, 1795. Test: James McMahan.

John Moore to Mary Kinley. Nov. 10, 1795. Test: Francis Gardner. (J. Troy).

Angus McIntosh to Jean McCoy. Oct. 22, 1781. Test: Alexander (his X mark) McCoy. (J. H. McCaule).

Thomas (his X mark) Mace to Mary Bird. Aug. 2, 1796. Test: James Garner. (Ad. Osborn).

John Misenhammer to Catereena Bushard. June 24, 1783. Test: Nicholas Bringle.

Wm. Maffit to Jaynet Tait. Aug. 24, 1788. Test: John Teais.

John Morrison to Francis Wilson. Jan. 12, 1784. Test: Alexander Wilson.

Jesse Aytcheson to Charity Dever. Oct. 27, 1818. Test: Eli Watkins. (R. Powell).

David Miller to Elizabeth Pitts. Nov. 26, 1789. Test: Christian Shroat.

Thomas Mullican to Casig Myers. Dec. 12, 1812. Test: Zadook Jarvis. (Jno. Mark, Sr.).

William Micarn to Mary Garn. Nov. 12, 1812. Test: Abraham Pippinger. (Signed 2 papers). (Geo. Dunn).

Charles McKinzey to Polly Savage. Nov. 9, 1802. Test: Francis Marshall. (A. L. Osborne).

Abner Merrell to Ritter Jones. Oct. 22, 1802. Test: Thomas Gadbury. (Osborne).

Theophilus Morgan, Jr., to Ruth Owens. Aug. 6, 1784. Test: Theophilus Morgan, Sr. (Hugh ———).

Henry McHenry to Martha Morrison. June 21, 1794. Test: David Morrison. (J. Troy).

Robert McFarson to Nelly McNeely. April 7, 1800. Test: Isaac McNeely. (Jno. Chaffins).

Andrew Morrison to Hetty Dickey. Nov. 7, 1809. Test: Robert Morrison. (Geo. Dunn).

Boyd (his X mark) McCreary to Annah Cooper. March 28, 1792. Test: Samuel (his X mark) Lusk.

Neal McGill to Barbara Walk. Feb. 4, 1813. Test: Applin (his X mark) Uslam. (Geo. Dunn).

Isaac Moye to Nancy Bryant. June 9, 1798. Test: James Messer. (M. Troy).

Hugh McCreary to Mary Sluder. Aug. 6, 1787. Test: Reuben Pew. (Jno. Macay).

Hector McIntosh to Mary McCoy. April 10, 1782. Test: William McLeod. (——— Cauley).

John Maffit to Sarah Whitiker. April 13, 1790. Test: John (his X mark) Whitiker. (Basil Gaither).

Thomas (his X mark) Welch to Jane Thomson. Oct. 28, 1772. Test: Jno. (his X mark) Thomson. (Ad. Osborn).

Abednego (his X mark) McAtee to Nancy Moore. Nov. 12, 1796. Test: Rich'd Leach. (——— Rogers).

Benjamin Merrill to Elizabeth Garrett. March 3, 1795. Test: John Wiseman. (I. Troy).

Edward Macan to Mille Cotton. Oct. 10, 1791. Test: Michael (his X mark) Heisler. (Chs. Caldwell).

Mathias Mastin to Sarah Standley. Nov. 6, 1794. Test: Reuben Standley. (Freidrick Miller).

Jacob Misenhammer to Elizabeth Gress. May 3, 1779. Test: John Misenhimer. (Ad. Osborn).

George McCulloch to Elizabeth. Sept. 26, 1799. Test: John Hamton and E. Jay. Osborne.

Fergus McLaughlin to Elizabeth Caruthers. Oct. 22, 1827. Test: Fergus Graham.

INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication on great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

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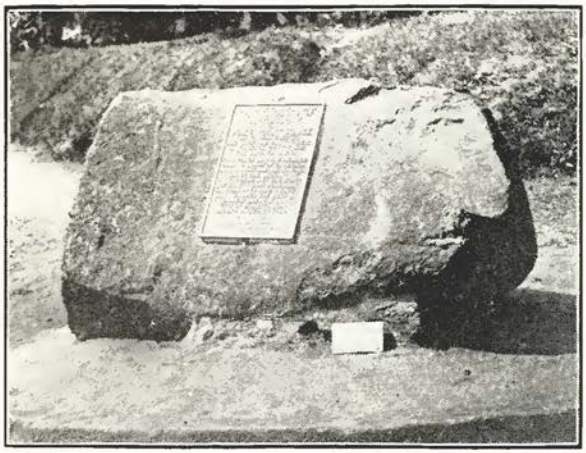

Tablet and stone marking site of Old Town of Bloomsbury, now Raleigh, N. C., erected by Bloomsbury Chapter D. R. Unveiled April 26, 1911.

Vol. XI JULY, 1911 No. 1

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of the Booklet is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. Editor.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XI JULY, 1911 No. 1

THE NORTH CAROLINA UNION MEN OF EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-ONE

BY MAJOR WM. A. GRAHAM,

(COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE.)

That only those who favored secession or entertained the doctrine of absolute State sovereignty and desired a dissolution of the Union were true and loyal Confederates would be a great historical error and injustice to two-thirds of the citizens of North Carolina. At that time there were four political tenets in the United States.

First, Nullification. That a State was sovereign to such a degree that it could remain in the Union but only comply with such laws as it approved, paying no attention to or nullifying the laws it did not sanction. This was Mr. Calhoun's idea, and in accordance with it he desired a perpetuation of the Union.

Second, Secession. That a State had voluntarily entered the Union, reserving the right to withdraw or secede at its own will, especially if it deemed any act of Congress unjust to its citizens.

These opinions were held respectively by the two wings of the original Republican, afterwards the Democratic party. Mr. Davis, upon his withdrawal from the United States Senate in December, 1860, upon the secession of Mississippi, in his address gives as clear an enunciation of each of these ideas as I have seen. He endorsed secession but not nullification.

Third. That when a State entered the Union by adopting the Federal Constitution, it did not reserve the right of se-

cession at will, but consented to look for the preservation of its rights to the means and authority provided by the Constitution and laws made in conformity thereto; there was still the inherent right of revolution when these means were denied or failed to protect the rights or property of a State or of any of its citizens, but it was the duty of a State and in accordance with its agreement to exhaust the means provided by the government for redress of grievances before resorting to revolution or withdrawal from the Union. This was the tenet of the Whigs, and of its successor, the Constitutional Union party in 1860, and it was held at that time by a large majority of the voters of the State.

Fourth. That the States bore about the same relation to the general government that counties bore to a State. This was the opinion of the extreme Federalist in his day and of the extreme Republican of today.

George Fisher, in his books published several years since "Men, Women and Manners of Colonial Times," gives a history of the people who settled the respective colonies. Those who settled Massachusetts he denominates the Puritan; those in Virginia the Cavalier. These are really the types of the Northern and Southern people, and the student can discover the difference in character and temperament in their descendants to this day.

The Cavalier settled generally in the country upon a plantation and had no connection with his neighbors' affairs except as they related to public matters, local, State or National.

The Puritan settled in the village or hamlet, and interested himself in all his neighbors' business; was much concerned as to how he bemeaned himself or governed his family. This officiousness it was desired to extend to the county, the State and the Nation. To this may be added the advocates of a "higher law" that no matter what might have been the

agreement in the past, if at any time one's conscience tells him the agreement is wrong, he can violate or repudiate it. This was the school of Wm. H. Seward, and might be justly entitled nullification by the individual. There was none of this in the South.

That slavery was recognized in the Federal Constitution is evident. A time was fixed for importation of slaves to cease. Provision was made for the return of fugitive slaves, and for reckoning slaves in the enumeration upon which Congressional representation was based. Any interference was a violation of the compact of the Constitution.

The Republican party favored the abolition of slavery, although its supporters differed in the manner in which it should be accomplished.

With the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency and the triumph of the Republican party, matters came to a crisis. Some thought it was useless to longer continue in the Union, and that the slave States should withdraw; others that they should not do so until there was some overt act upon his part, while others had long desired a separation and hailed its apparent coming with demonstrations of joy and approval.

South Carolina seceded in December, 1860, and was followed within a month by seven other States. The proper course for North Carolina to pursue was much discussed in public meetings and in the Legislature, with warmth, vehemence and acrimony. An act was passed submitting the question of calling a convention to consider the question and determine the course the State would pursue, to the people, at an election to be held February 27, 1861. Before this, however, delegates in behalf of peace had been sent to a National Peace Conference at Washington, D. C., and to the Provisional Confederate Government at Montgomery, Ala.

In the presidential campaign in 1860 the rights of the

States was ably and fully discussed in all phases. In the Convention campaign only the desirability and advisability of secession or the contrary action were considered.

The student who will examine the history of the canvass preceding this election, as recorded in the press of that period, will see that upon one side it was urged that there was no use of delay, the State should at once unite with the States that had seceded. There would be no war; the States had a right to secede, and union was no longer either desirable or advantageous. Others said they could wipe up all the blood that would be spilt with a pocket handkerchief. Foreign nations would at once recognize us, as they could not do without our cotton and would naturally desire to see the United States divided. Those who held opposite views were criticised in the harshest terms as untrue to the South, submissionists, abolitionists, etc. Men who had never owned a negro called men who owned hundreds, and one-half of whose property was of this class, abolitionists, on account of their devotion to the Union. The denunciation of carpet-baggers and scalawags in reconstruction times did not much exceed the abuse to which these were subjected, and in spite of which they stood for the right as they saw and dared maintain it. Many of these Union men afterwards entered the Confederate army and gave their lives to uphold the cause, while many of their calumniators, like Job's war horse, "snuffed the battle from afar," and when the time for action came, through sickness (frequently feigned), or political favoritism, kept his carcass out of the reach of Yankee bullets, the abuse of their neighbors being the only active service they rendered. The opponents of secession said:

(1) If slavery was the object it would be destroyed by secession, if that failed.

(2) If secession was successful, the border States would soon become free; the easy manner of escape, the care and

expense to prevent it, and the impossibility to recover a fugitive slave would make this class of property undesirable. When a State became free it would naturally unite with the Northern government; we would have new border States that would go through the same process to freedom.

(3) That although Mr. Lincoln was President he could only execute the laws which Congress enacted, and so long as we had six Senators from the Northern States favorable to us, there could be no unfavorable legislation; that he could not appoint objectionable persons to office as judge, etc., or even members of his Cabinet, as the Senate would refuse to confirm their appointment.

(4) The Supreme Court, who held office for life and passed upon the constitutionality of all laws, was unanimously opposed to Republican ideas, and a majority in its favor was hardly probable in twenty-five years, while a new President would be elected in four. Mr. Lincoln had lacked nearly 900,000 votes of a majority of the popular vote; he had been elected on account of the division of his opponents, which would not probably occur to such an extent again, and the next President would be favorable to the Constitution.

(6) It was said the Confederate States Constitution was almost identical with that of the United States; then there was no need for another nation.

(7) That the seceding States could not be cut off or dismembered from the rest of the country and transported elsewhere, but must remain attached to it. That if the Confederacy was established there could be no Chinese wall between it and the North. Self-interest in trade and defense would render it necessary to have the most friendly relations, consequently it was best to be one nation.

(8) As to the Yankees not fighting, history proved the contrary. The men of the Northwest particularly were bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, and we might expect a long and bloody war.

Many of the people of North Carolina loved the Union, whose independence had been won by the lives and sacrifices of their ancestors. The older men were the sons, and the middle aged and younger men the grandsons of those who served in the Revolutionary war. The old men had received the account direct from their fathers, the actors; they told it to their children. This kept alive a warm attachment to and admiration of their country, and they were unwilling to aid in its dismemberment or destruction.

My father, as his sons each became old enough to understand, told him of his father's service in the Revolutionary War; how near Charlotte he was left for dead on the field of battle, with three balls and six sabre wounds; how he recovered, returned to service and "whipped the British." His sons regarded this as their country whose independence was won by the blood of their grandsire.

The most glorious chapters in the history of the Union were those which recorded the results of acts of Southern men; then why surrender to the disloyal men of the North a country whose independence the South had helped to win and whose position among the nations had been achieved by the direction of Southern men, many of whom were living at that time and prominent in national affairs.

The election resulted in the choosing of two-thirds of the delegates who were opposed to separation at that time, and the call for a convention was defeated by a few hundred votes. Many who did not favor separation thought it well to have a convention in readiness for action, and so voted. The vote of Davie County decided the matter, the vote being otherwise about a tie. For some reason, Davie was a week late in making return of its vote.

The matter of secession, as far as North Carolina was concerned, was thought to be settled for a time, and it was hoped that the trouble could be averted without war. Mr. Seward,

who was to be Secretary of State, had assured Judge Campbell of the U. S. Supreme Court, that no attempt would be made to reinforce Fort Sumter, and it was not thought that South Carolina would begin hostilities if this was not done.

But there was much uneasiness and unrest. Union men began to lose hope of reconciliation and declared for action. Those who had confidence in certain leading citizens seemed content to leave the matter to them for decision, and to act as they would indicate seemed best. The preacher in Alamance who told his congregation that "they were in times of darkness and trouble, it was hard to decide what was best; he could only commend his example to them, that he got his religion from the Bible and his politics from Governor Graham," was not an isolated case.

During a discussion in which disunion was a topic in 1841, Henry Clay, passing the desk of Governor Graham, at that time a U. S. Senator from North Carolina, stopped and remarked: "There are four States in this Union which in its conformation bear to it about the same position that the heart does to the human body; as long as they are quiet and contented there is no danger of disunion, but if they shall become dissatisfied and restless, trouble will not be far off; these States are Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky." These were indeed prophetic words.

When Lincoln was inaugurated, matters began to assume a different aspect; while his messages might be satisfactory, yet his acts and sayings indicated that war was near. An attempt was to be made to reinforce Fort Sumter; South Carolina anticipated this and captured the fort. Mr. Lincoln called for 75,000 men to restore United States authority.

There was no longer any question as to what could be done to avert war. War was here, and the only question was, Which side will you take in the fight?

Many of the Northern States had passed laws forbidding

the use of their jails and prisons to United States marshals to hold fugitive slaves; this, as far as possible, left him to mob violence and nullified the law as much as South Carolina had done the tariff act.

Mr. Lincoln, in his canvass for the United States Senate against Stephen A. Douglas in 1858, had said that this government could not exist half slave and half free, and must be all one or the other. He would, if elected, have to take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States; this indicated he would not obey this oath, and some said they would as well have used a spelling book as a Bible when administering the oath as President.

All the States to the South had seceded; Virginia on the north and Tennessee on the west were going; was there anything left for North Carolina to contend for or hope for in the Union?

The question had long been determined by the Union men of North Carolina. Nine-tenths of them cast in their lots with the South. "Blood is thicker than water." Here was his home, his kindred, his interests, and having done all he could to prevent disunion, the North had spurned his efforts, and now he desired to be rid of them. A convention was called which, on May 20th, unanimously adopted the ordinance of secession, but not until the Union men, who constituted more than one-third of its members, had entered upon the journal their vote for a measure prepared by Judge Badger, expressing their views as to the manner in which separation should be accomplished. This failing to be adopted, they voted for and signed the ordinance of secession. Some few good men in the State never yielded their allegiance to the Union, but were loyal to the end. With these few exceptions, men of all parties gave their allegiance to the Confederacy. The Secessionist and the Union Man, the Whig and the Democrat, stood side by side and shoulder to

shoulder in all the hardships, suffering and death, and those who survived accepted together the results. The Union man did not criminate the Secessionists for unnecessarily beginning the conflict, for he knew, although late in entering the fight, he had done his best to make it a success, and that he was in no wise to blame that the independence of the Confederacy had not been gained. There was no sycophant cry that "the Secessionists tempted me and I did fight," but knowingly and willingly he entered into the contest and never regretted his action or made apology for so doing. In the days of vengeance he asked to have his share handed to him.

Furthermore, at the close of the war the term "Union man" was adopted by almost every man who was guilty of any kind of disgraceful misconduct, and it became synonymous with rascality of all descriptions. The Union men of 1860 had no lot or part with such cattle, and refused to be recognized by a common name with them or to plead his efforts in 1860 and '61 in exemption from the outrages heaped upon us by the National Government.

I have called your attention to this item in the history of the State in order that you may elucidate and preserve it. Many a gallant Tar Heel has always maintained that he did not fight the United States flag, but the man who was carrying it and endeavoring to use it to overturn the principles in support of which it gained a place among the ensigns of the nations.

These Union men, whether North or South, were the only truly loyal men in the Nation in 1860. The Secessionists of the South desired and advocated a division.

The Republican of the North endeavored to carry out his individual opinions, regardless of his constitutional obligations, maintaining there was a "higher law" than the Constitution, which being interpreted was the right to do as you pleased and make others do so too.

The Union man said, I will stand by the Union as long as the obligations under which it was formed are observed.

The following is an account of a political meeting held in Hillsboro on December 26, 1860, and of the resolutions adopted. These resolutions were also adopted by many other meetings held in the State at this time.

MASS-MEETING IN HILLSBORO.

In pursuance to an adjourned meeting, a large portion of the citizens of Orange County met at the court-house in this place, and the meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Wm. H. Brown, who in a few patriotic remarks explained the object which called us together for the second time.

The Secretary read the proceedings of the meeting of the 15th inst., and the Chairman, the Hon. Wm. A. Graham, of the Committee of Ten, reported the following resolutions:

The excited condition of the public mind, occasioned by the result of the recent Presidential election, requiring in the opinion of the citizens of Orange here assembled, a declaration of the sentiments of the people in relation to the course proper to be pursued in the present critical condition of our National affairs, it is therefore:

1. *Resolved*, That the measures in the course of adoption in certain States of the Union, since the election of Abraham Lincoln to the office of President of the United States, presents for the determination of the people of North Carolina the grave question, whether, so far as they are concerned, the Government established by the Constitution of the United States shall be permitted to continue in operation, or whether it shall be overthrown and annulled, leaving to an uncertain future the provision of new guards for all the great interests that Government was designed to secure.

2. *Resolved*, That while regretting the decision made in this election, in common with the people of all the Southern States, because of the sectional, and towards us, hostile spirit of the political organization which nominated and elected the successful candidate; and whilst we shall vigilantly observe his course of administration, and shall be prompt to make resistance to encroachments, if any shall be attempted by him, on the rights and interests of slavery as an established institution of the Southern States, protected by the Constitution of the Union, we perceive in the fact of his election no sufficient cause for the subversion and abandonment of the Government of our fathers, under which, in but two generations of men, the country has obtained a prosperity and power unsurpassed among the nations of the earth.

3. *Resolved*, That we are not insensible to the encouragement given to the hostile feeling of the North against slavery in the Southern States, by the result of this election, but it must not be forgotten that the Government of the United States is a practical Government, of but limited powers; that the President is not the Sovereign but the servant of the Republic, with authorities defined and restricted by the Constitution and laws, liable to be checked and restrained within his legitimate powers by Congress and by the Judiciary; that Mr. Lincoln was elected by but a plurality of votes, in consequence of divisions among the conservative voters arrayed against him—the majority against him in the whole popular vote being nearly nine hundred thousand. And when add to this that he will enter into office with a majority of both Houses of Congress opposed to him, and will not be able to appoint even his Cabinet counsellors without the aid of a conservative Senate, there is but a remote probability of a successful encroachment on our rights during the limited period of his administration, if there shall be the disposition to attempt it.

4. *Resolved*, That the enactment of laws in many of the non-slaveholding States, intended to obstruct the execution of the law of Congress, for the arrest and surrender of fugitive slaves, is in plain and palpable violation of the Constitution of the United States, and the repeal of those laws is demanded as a duty of justice and submission to the Constitution on the part of those States, and as indispensable to future union.

5. *Resolved*, That waiving the constitutional question of the power of a State to secede from the Union, such act of secession, if effected peacably, is not an appropriate and adequate remedy for the injuries under which the Southern States are now laboring. To depart from the Union, leaving behind in the hands of her supposed enemies all her interests in the national accumulations of eighty years, in which she had proportional rights, would be a sacrifice on the part of a State, except under the pressure of overruling necessity, as incompatible with her dignity as her interests.

6. *Resolved*, That we recognize in its full extent the right of resistance by force, to unauthorized injustice and oppression, and if the incoming administration shall pervert the powers of the Government to destroy or otherwise unlawfully interfere with the rights of slavery, none will be more ready than ourselves to recur to this extreme remedy; but in adopting measures on a subject of such vital interest to fifteen States of the Confederacy, we should deem it but just and wise to act if possible, in concert, and after consultation with the other slaveholding States, and more especially with the frontier States of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, which are the greatest sufferers from existing grievances, and stand as a barrier between the rest of

the Southern States and the enemies of their peace and safety beyond that frontier.

7. *Resolved*, That reasonable time should be allowed, and all remedies consistent with the continuance of the Union, should be exhausted before an abandonment of that Constitution established by Washington and its compatriots, which in its general operation has been the source of blessings innumerable to the American people.

8. *Resolved*, That it is recommended to the Legislature to make appropriations for the purchase of such supplies of arms as may be necessary as a preparation for any emergency that may arise.

9. *Resolved*, That the foregoing resolutions be published in the Hillsborough papers, and transmitted to the representatives from this county, to be laid before the General Assembly.

John W. Norwood, Esq., offered the following as an amendment:

Resolved, That we recommend to the present Legislature to provide for calling a Convention of the people, to take into consideration the alarming state of public affairs, and determine for North Carolina the time, mode and measure of redress for existing wrongs.

The question being taken upon Mr. Norwood's resolution, it was rejected.

No objections were made to the resolutions as reported by the committee, and they were passed by a large majority.

WM. H. BROWN,
Chairman.

DENNIS HEARTT,
C. E. PARISH,
Secretaries.

N. B.—Governor Graham was the acknowledged leader of the Whigs or Union men. The *topics* in the accounts of the opinion of the Whigs in the above paper are taken from the address which was made to the people in the convention campaign in February, 1861.

* * *

The paper which was presented to the Secession Convention, May 20, 1861, by Hon. George E. Badger:

AN ORDINANCE DECLARING THE SEPARATION OF NORTH CAROLINA FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEREAS, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, were chosen President and Vice-President of the United States by a party in fact and avowedly entirely sectional in its organization, and hostile in its declared principles to the institutions of the Southern States of the Union, and thereupon, certain Southern States did

separate themselves from the Union, and form another and independent government, under the name of "The Confederate States of America"; and,

WHEREAS, The people of North Carolina, though justly aggrieved by the evident tendency of this election, and of these principles, did, nevertheless, abstain from adopting any such measure of separation, and on the contrary, influenced by an ardent attachment to the Union and Constitution which their fathers had transmitted to them, did remain in the said Union, loyally discharging all their duties under the Constitution, in the hope that what was threatening in public affairs might yield to the united efforts of patriotic men from every part of the Nation, and by these efforts such guarantees for the security of our rights might be obtained as should restore confidence, renew alienated ties, and finally reunite all the States in a common bond of fraternal union; meantime cheerfully and faithfully exerting whatever influence they possessed for the accomplishment of this most desirable end; and,

WHEREAS, Things being in this condition, and the people of this State indulging this hope, the said Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, did, on the 16th day of April, by his proclamation, call upon the States of the Union to furnish large bodies of troops to enable him, under the false pretense of executing the laws, to march an army into the seceded States with a view to their subjection under an arbitrary military authority, there being no law of Congress authorizing such calling out of troops, and no constitutional right to use them, if called out, for the purpose intended by him; and,

WHEREAS, This call for troops has been answered throughout the northern, northwestern and middle non-slaveholding States with enthusiastic readiness, and it is evident from the tone of the entire press of those States, and the open avowal of their public men, that it is the fixed purpose of the Government and people of those States to wage a cruel war against the seceded States, to destroy utterly the fairest portion of this continent, and reduce its inhabitants to absolute subjection and abject slavery; and,

WHEREAS, In aid of these detestable plans and wicked measures, the said Lincoln, without any shadow of rightful authority, and in plain violation of the Constitution of the United States, has, by other proclamations, declared the ports of North Carolina, as well as all the other Atlantic and Gulf States under blockade, thus seeking to cut off our trade with all parts of the world; and,

WHEREAS, Since his accession to power, the whole conduct of the said Lincoln has been marked by a succession of false, disingenuous and treacherous acts and declarations, proving incontestably that he is, at least in his dealings with Southern States and Southern men, void of faith and honor; and,

WHEREAS, He is now governing by military rule alone, enlarging by new enlistments of men both the military and naval force, without any authority of law, having set aside all constitutional and legal restraints, and made all constitutional and legal rights dependent upon his mere pleasure, and that of his military subordinates; and,

WHEREAS, All his unconstitutional, illegal and oppressive acts, all his wicked and diabolical purposes, and, in his present position of usurper and military dictator, he has been and is encouraged and supported by the great body of the people of the non-slaveholding States:

THEREFORE, This Convention, now here assembled, in the name and with the sovereign power of the people of North Carolina, doth, for the reasons aforesaid, and others, and in order to preserve the undoubted rights and liberties of the said people, hereby declare all connection of government between this State and the United States of America dissolved and abrogated, and this State to be a free, sovereign and independent State, owing no subordination, obedience, support or other duty to the said United States, their Constitution, or authorities, anything in her ratification of said Constitution, or of any amendment or amendments thereto to the contrary notwithstanding; and having full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do: and appealing to the Supreme Governor of the world for the justice of the cause and beseeching Him for His gracious help and blessing, we will, to the uttermost of our power, and to the last extremity, maintain, defend and uphold this declaration.

Mr. Craige offered the following as a substitute for the foregoing, which was adopted, ayes 72, noes 40:

AN ORDINANCE DISSOLVING THE UNION BETWEEN THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA AND THE OTHER STATES UNITED WITH HER UNDER THE COMPACT OF GOVERNMENT, ENTITLED, "THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES."

We, the people of the State of North Carolina in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained:

That the ordinance adopted by the State of North Carolina in the Convention of 1789, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified and adopted; and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly, ratifying and adopting amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded and abrogated.

We do further declare and ordain, that the union now subsisting between the State of North Carolina and the other States, under the title of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved, and that the State of North Carolina is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State.

SOME EARLY PHYSICIANS OF THE ALBEMARLE

BY RICHARD DILLARD, M.D.

At a vote taken by the Immortals of the French Academy some time ago, to determine the order in which the great men of France should be named, Louis Pasteur outranked Napoleon Bonaparte. It was decided that a man who ministered to "the healing of the nations" was infinitely greater than a warrior who won battles at the reckless sacrifice of human life. And the whole world admits this truth today, that,

> "A wise physician skilled in wounds to heal,
> Is more than armies to the public weal."

Few sections have had so many distinguished medical men as this. One was Governor, two wrote histories of the State, some have won honors in foreign lands, while others have served their country both in peace and war, and filled almost every position of honor and trust.

Undoubtedly the earliest physician of the Albemarle section was Dr. John King. Among the records of the courthouse at Edenton may be found his bill for services rendered Arter Workman, under date of July 26, 1694, to-wit:

1 Emetic & 1 dose pill Anodine at	8s.
To my visit & 1 dose pill Anodyne	15s.
To 8 days attendance at 10s. per day	4£.
My visit at Jno. Godfrey's, Jalep and attend	16s.
My visit at Madam Clark's	10s.

Dr. Godfrey Spruill located at Edenton about 1702, but nothing is known concerning him except that he was employed by the vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, to attend one Elinor Adams. The record runs thus: "Information being made by Capt. Thos. Blount that Elinor Adams by of

Infirmity and Indigence is in great danger of being lost for want of Assistance, Ordered that Capt. Thos Blount treat with Doctr. Godfrey Spruill in order to her cure, and that Doctor Godfrey Spruill be paid for his Physick and Cure by the Church Wardens five pounds, and that Capt Thos Blount is requested by Vestry to endeavor to oblige the said Elinor to Serve the Doctor for the use of his House and nursing."

The next member of the profession to locate here was "George Allen, Chyrurgeon." He is described in the Colonial Records as being "a man of vile character and lately condemned at Williamsburgh for cursing King George, and Mr. Drysdale who is Govr of Virginia." Not long after that, a bill of indictment was brought against him for going privately armed and assaulting our Governor.

He was a wicked and turbulent spirit, and seemed to be constantly at war with the public authorities. It was perhaps the reputation of this renegade that caused Thos. Iredell, of Jamaica, in after years to write his nephew, James Iredell, who had just located here: "You have without doubt physicians who understand to prescribe. But unfortunately for their patients, those gentlemen more commonly understand their trades better than their profession, and it is more for their interest (howsoever criminal it may be), to exercise the one, than practise the other. In short, if your doctor has not some friendship for you, you must pay severely, both in pocket and person." (Life and Correspondence of James Iredell.)

Probably the most interesting figure who located here in early times was Dr. John Brickell. He came here with Governor Burlington in 1724, and was appointed by him to make an exploration into the interior with the view of securing the friendship of the Cherokee Indians.

He left here in 1730 with ten men and two Indians, and

traveled fifteen days without having seen a human being. At the foot of the mountains they met the Indians, who received them kindly and conducted them to the camp, where they spent two days with the chief, who reluctantly permitted them to return. They made the entire trip on horseback in thirty-two days.

He describes the trip very interestingly in the history which he wrote of North Carolina. They built large fires, and cooked the game which the two Indians killed, and served it upon pine-bark dishes; at night they tethered their horses, and slept upon the gray Spanish moss which hung from the trees. They lived in truly Robin Hood style, and the tour seems to have been more for romance and adventure than for scientific research. It is a counterpart in our history of the adventures of the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" to the Blue Ridge of Virginia under Governor Spotswood.

Dr. Brickell had a brother, who settled in Hertford County in 1739, the Rev. Matthias Brickell, from whom is descended some of the best families of that county.

Another prominent physician who lived here was Gabriel Johnston, a Governor of North Carolina. To write a sketch of his life would be to give a history of the Province during his term of office. He was a graduate of the University of St. Andrew's, Scotland, subsequently held a chair there, and was a contributor to that noted journal, "The Craftsman." The affairs of state so engrossed his time that it is doubtful if he ever practiced in America the profession in which he was so learned. He was the best of our Colonial Governors.

Dr. William Savage was another member of the profession here in early days, and was a man of character, position and great wealth. He owned John's Island, which subsequently belonged to Stephen Cabarrus, and is described on the records of the court as "that island opposite the town of Edenton

called Strawberry Island, and containing about 140 acres." The water has so encroached upon this land that barely two acres now remain. Iredell mentions him several times in his diary as a very reliable man. He practised here about 1770, and died 1780, and must have been a gentleman of considerable professional attainments.

Beneath the shadow of the large cedar trees in Hayes graveyard is a moss-covered slab of red sandstone; the overhanging branches waving to and fro in the autumn sunshine cast strange silhouettes upon the grave, and put one to dreaming. The epitaph reads:

"Dr. Sylvester Hosmer,
Who departed this life in 1794,
Age 29 years."

Beyond this there is nothing known of his life, save that he married a Miss Blair, a niece of Governor Johnston; but the modesty and simplicity of his epitaph might be taken as the true index of his character. "The silver cord was loosed, and the pitcher broken at the fountain," ere life's ascending sun had scarcely risen upon his bright and useful life. All who knew him, or about him, have long since passed beyond the tide, and—

"The mossy marbles rest
On the lips that he has pressed
In their bloom;
And the names he loved to hear
Have been carved for many a year
On the tomb."

The broad daylight of medical science had not broken, with its rays of splendor, upon the world in his day. No science has progressed so rapidly as that of medicine; it flourished even in the dark ages, in the cloistered chambers of the monks. The rusty locks of the vast treasuries of knowledge have now yielded to the golden keys of scientific

research, and medical science has worked out the endless combinations of the vaults of nature; but knowledge is labyrinthine, there are many winding passages and dark chambers still to be explored.

It does seem wonderful to us that the circulation of the blood was not discovered until 1628. Paracelsus, in 1526, taught cabalistic medicine, or the influence of the planets over diseases, and read their symptoms from the stars. The signs of the Zodiac are even to this day believed by the superstitious to influence wounds and operations upon different parts of the body. He believed that an abstract something, which he called Tartar, was the cause of all diseases.

In 460 B. C., Hippocrates of Cos gave forth his apothegm, that "Medicine consists in addition and subtraction, the addition of the things which are deficient, and the subtraction of those things which are redundant. He who practises this is the best physician, but he whose practice is farthest from it, is the farthest removed from knowledge of the art." Said he: "Life is short, the art is long, the occasion fleeting, experience fallacious, judgment difficult. The physician must not only be prepared to do what is right himself, but also to make the patient, the attendants, and externals co-operate." He was the father of what is now called the regular school of medicine, and stamped that dignity and honor upon the profession which it now bears. He required each neophyte to take an oath, and this every one is supposed to take now upon entering this profession. It has been beautifully transposed from Greek into verse by Dr. James Aitken Meigs, of Philadelphia. They swore:

"To wield the sword of knowledge in relief
Of sick and suffering ones, and those with grief
Bowed down, and overweighted with much care.
And further, you must solemnly declare
That you in purity and holiness
Will live, and exercise your art to bless

Mankind; from acts of mischief will abstain
And all seductive wiles; and will refrain
From giving drugs for deadly purposes
Or vile. And when some aching brain discloses
The secrets of a sad or guilty life,
Which best the world should never know, lest strife
And ill example follow, you will hide
Such secrets, whilst you counsel, whilst you chide."

This is the exalted Hippocratic oath, and forms the foundation stone to the present code of medical honor.

The earliest known physician of antiquity was Sekhet-Enach, chief physician to Pharoah Sahura of the fifth dynasty. The first known examination for license to practise medicine was conducted by Sinan Ben-Tsabet at Bagdad, A. D. 931. Dioscorides was the most famous herbalist of antiquity, and the Dioscorea, or wild yam, was named in honor of him. Rider Haggard, in his story of Cleopatra, features him as her court physician.

Shakespeare was fond of making thrusts at the profession, and especially does he make Timon of Athens exclaim:

"Trust not the physician,
His antidotes are poisons and he slays
More than you rob."

And Dryden says:

"Better search the fields for health unbought
Than pay the doctor for a nauseous draught."

I clip the following from the *Edenton Gazette,* published about 1810, and doubtless written by some member of the profession here:

"God and the doctor we alike adore,
Just on the brink of danger, not before;
The danger passed both are alike requited,
God is forgotten, and the doctor slighted."

An old doctor from a neighboring town used to declare that the malaria was so thick there that the frogs sang all

night long, "Quinine, Quinine"; while the refrain of the bull frogs was "Calomel, Calomel."

Hugh Williamson, M.D., LL.D., though a native of Pennsylvania, practised here. His father and mother were captured at sea, while on their way to this country, by the celebrated Blackbeard, but were finally set free after having been despoiled of their property. Dr. Williamson first preached in Philadelphia two years, then was Professor of Mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania; and not finding either of these congenial occupations, finally studied medicine at Edinburg and Leyden, and was induced by his friends, in 1777, to locate in Edenton. Dr. Williamson represented Edenton in the Commons in 1782, was a delegate to the Convention which formed the Federal Constitution, and was a member of Congress 1790-92, and Jefferson was much impressed with his ability there. During the Revolution he was a member of Caswell's medical staff, and exhibited great bravery on the field. He was one of the first trustees of our University, and was requested by them, in 1795, to invest some money in books. This was the first step toward the foundation of that large and valuable library. Williamson wrote a good deal about the climate of Eastern Carolina, malarial diseases and the best methods for preventing them.

He was, no doubt, an apostle of the Hepatic creed, whose dogma was: "One organ, the liver; one disease, biliary derangement; one remedy, mercury." Blood letting was practised indiscriminately in his day, and the old-fashioned "ten and ten" was given to every patient. The doctors in those days did not have the elegant pharmaceutical preparations, or the skilled druggist, as, now, but compounded and dispensed their own medicines. The favorite prescription here in those days for the malarial fevers was "one pint of chamomile tea every morning on an empty stomach," and this was to be kept up through the entire malarial season. Quinine

was unknown to the world then, though Peruvian bark had been introduced some time by the Jesuits.

Dr. Samuel Dickinson was born in Connecticut in 1743, and died in 1802. He graduated in medicine at some foreign school, most probably Edinburg, as that was the medical center of the world then, and located in Edenton.

About 1777 he bought the Cupola house, which is still occupied by his descendants. His arms and crest still hang upon the walls of that quaint old mansion, and from its breezy cupola, which seems to stare vacantly at the distant shore, the engagement between the Confederate ram Albemarle and the double enders under Capt. Melancthon Smith was watched by his granddaughters through a spy glass. Dr. Dickinson's office stood where the corner store on the lot now stands. He had associated with him young Dr. Beasley, whose portrait was found not long ago in a negro house down on the wharf, and was used as a cover to a meal barrel. Dr. Beasley's beautiful daughter, Miss Sallie, was engaged to the gallant and chivalrous Major Ringold, who fell covered with glory on the sanguine field of Palo Alto. This so affected her mind that she soon became hopelessly insane, and died.

Dr. Dickinson was a man of wealth, and engaged in some large land schemes across the sound. He was a distinguished physician, and was often called in consultation as far as Norfolk, and met his death from exposure in crossing the Albemarle Sound to see some member of the Armistead family.

Dr. Matthias E. Sawyer was an eminent practitioner of medicine here about 1825, and published a book about that time called "Fevers of Eastern North Carolina." In the treatment of fevers, Dr. Sawyer was at least fifty years in advance of his time. The University of North Carolina now possesses the only copy of this work in existence.

Dr. Collins Skinner was a very distinguished physician of

Edenton. His office still stands upon the court-house green. About 1835 he performed an operation for cataract upon an old lady, a member of the Howcutt family, residing some five miles north of Edenton; this was the first successful operation for cataract ever performed in Eastern North Carolina, and perhaps in the State.

Among the most prominent physicians of a more recent date are the Warrens, and particularly the brilliant Edward Warren-Bey, whose genius shone upon three continents, and whose checkered life reads like some Eastern romance. To Dr. Edward Warren belongs the honor for the discovery of hypodermic medication, and in that he was four years in advance of the inventor of the hypodermic syringe. Dr. Warren, soon after graduating, had under his care a Miss Betty M. Jones (afterwards Mrs. George Parrish), and finding her stomach perfectly intolerant for a number of days to any form of nourishment or medicine, it occurred to him, as a last resort, to introduce his medicine under the skin; the suggestion at once met with the approval of the suffering patient. Dr. Warren then with a lancet made a small incision in her arm, and through it injected his remedies by means of an ordinary Annels syringe, giving almost instant relief to all the distressing symptoms. Many years afterwards this patient became mine, and she frequently related to me Dr. Warren's wonderful experiment, with the greatest minuteness and enthusiasm.

Then there are to be added the Norcoms, Dr. Richard Dillard, Sr., Dr. William R. Capehart, Dr. R. H. Winborne, and a host of others too numerous for this short sketch, who have passed over the waste fields of death into the land of the hereafter—men who forgot themselves to bless mankind.

SOME BALLADS OF NORTH CAROLINA

BY PROFESSOR JOHN A. LOMAX,

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During a ballad-collecting experience of a number of years, it has come about that no few have fallen into my hands from North Carolina, in my belief one of the richest localities in ballad material of any section of the United States. A small number of these ballads I am printing at the earnest solicitation of the editor of this journal, in the hope that the article will awaken the interest of others in preserving for posterity the floating folk songs that abound in some districts of North Carolina.

I should say in the beginning that no collector in the field of balladry should pursue his work on the Carolina coast without first talking with Professor Collier Cobb, of the University of North Carolina, and, if possible, getting a look at his valuable collection. Professor Cobb, although a well-known scientist, has a genuine interest in ballad material that he imbibed from the greatest of the balladists, perhaps, in the entire history of letters, Professor Child, of Harvard University. As a student of Professor Child, Professor Cobb learned to love the native song of the out-of-doors people, while he was at the same time being wedded to the field of geology through the teaching of the great Southern educator, long eminent at Harvard University—Professor N. S. Shaler. To Professor Cobb, therefore, I must make due apology for presuming to invade a field already possessed so thoroughly by him.

The songs I am printing, however, may, in time, lead many people to confide their treasures into the competent hands of Professor Cobb or of other collectors, and therefore be of

direct benefit to ballad collecting throughout America. In addition to Professor Cobb, there are other persons in North Carolina who have done good work in this field. Among them is Miss Adelaide Fries, of Winston-Salem. Miss Fries has made an interesting collection of Moravian songs, which, I am told, are all religious in tone and of German origin. Mr. Cobb's collection consists chiefly of songs that he has picked up along the coast. Indeed, these are probably the most interesting of all the North Carolina ballads. Through Miss S. O'H. Dickson, of Winston-Salem, has come information of mountain corn-husking songs, similar in spirit to the negro corn-husking songs; and also mention of the negro tobacco stripping songs. Unfortunately, I have not been able to secure examples of either of these classes.

The material that has been sent to me from other sources in North Carolina may be grouped somewhat as follows: First, traditional songs; second, war songs; third, negro songs; fourth, mountain songs; fifth, the coast songs, collected by Professor Collier Cobb. The songs in Professor Cobb's collection are not available for publication, inasmuch as he perhaps will issue them at some time himself. He has, however, consented to furnish the library at Harvard University copies of all of his collection. At Harvard the collection will become available to all students of the ballad.

Before quoting any of the songs, I should like to ask the readers of this article to furnish me with copies of the following songs:

1. "Morgan's War Song."
2. "Run, Nigger, Run."
3. "Sal's in de Garden Siftin' San'."
4. "When Lillington Fought for Caswell's Glory."

I should also appreciate complete copies of what the following seem to be fragments. In some instances the frag-

ment may be the entire song, but I should like any information whatever about any one of the songs. These fragments all came from my North Carolina correspondents.

Cold, frosty morning, nigger mighty good;
Axe on his shoulder, gwine to cut some wood.
Little piece of corn bread, little piece of fat,
And de white folks grumble if you eat much of dat.

* * * *

Frog he sot and watched the alligator,
Hopped on a log and offered him a 'tater;
The alligator grinned and tried to blush,
Frog he laughed and said, "Oh, hush!"

* * * *

Sam stuck a needle in his heel, in his heel,
Sam stuck a needle in his heel.
A one-eyed black snake run thu the fence,
What a funny chicken a terrapin air,
And Sam stuck a needle in his heel.

* * * *

Harness up yo hosses,
Hey, oh hey!
Harness up yo hosses,
Hey, oh hey!
We'll show you how to drive 'em;
Hurrah for Uncle Sam.

* * * *

I've wondered and wondered
All the days of my life,
Where you're goin', Mr. Mooney,
To get yourself a wife,
Where you're goin', where you're goin'
To get yourself a wife.

I'm goin' to ————,
An' that will be the place
To get Miss Laura,
If God'll give me grace—etc.

Out came Miss Laura
All dressed in silk,
With a rose in her hair
And white as milk—etc.

Johnstown's a mighty flood,
Johnstown's a mighty flood,
Johnstown's a mighty flood,
For the dam was bound to break.

Fifty thousand souls were lost,
Fifty thousand souls were lost,
Fifty thousand souls were lost,
For the dam was bound to break.

* * * *

There was a lady, skin and bone;
Such a thing before had ne'er been known.

She walked out one night to pray,
She walked but a little way.

She walked up, she walked down,
She saw a ghost lying on the ground.

The lady to the spirit said,
"Shall I look so when I am dead?"

The spirit to the lady said—!!! Wah! Ah! Eh!

By traditional songs is meant such songs as were familiar to the old generation—songs that were sung by our grandmothers in their childhood and have been handed down from generation to generation chiefly by oral transmission. Good examples of these songs are:

"Suzana, Don't You Cry."
"Old Dan Tucker."
"Jim Crack Corn."
"A Frog He Would a-Wooing Go."

Of these songs I have full copies. The two traditional songs quoted hereafter were perhaps chiefly serviceable for the entertainment of children. The first one, so far as I know, has no title. The second, as I happen to know, was as popular in Massachusetts as it was in early days in North Carolina.

Oh who will wear my castor boots, castor boots,
Oh who will wear my castor boots?
Oh who will wear my castor boots, castor boots,
When I am far away?

Oh who will ride the old black mule, old black mule?
Oh who will ride the old black mule, old black mule,
When I am far away?

Oh who will smoke my rusty pipe, rusty pipe,
Oh who will smoke my rusty pipe, rusty pipe?
Oh who will smoke my rusty pipe,
When I am far away?

Oh who will shoe my pretty feet, my pretty little feet,
Oh who will shoe my pretty little feet, my pretty little feet?
Oh who will shoe my pretty little feet,
When I'm in a far away land?

Oh who will glove my pretty little hand? etc.

Oh I will shoe your pretty little feet, etc.,
When you're in a far distant land.

Oh I will glove your pretty little hand, etc.,
When you're in a far distant land.

* * * *

BILLY BOY.

Where have you been, Billy Boy, Billy Boy,
Where have you been, charming Billy?
I have been to seek a wife for the comfort of my life;
She's a young thing and can not leave her mother.

Did she ask you in, Billy Boy, Billy Boy?
Yes, she asked me in with a dimple in her chin.

Did she take your hat, Billy Boy, Billy Boy?
Yes, she took my hat and she threw it at the cat.

Did she set you a chair, Billy Boy, Billy Boy?
Yes, she set me a chair, with a ribbon in her hair.

Can she make a cherry pie, Billy Boy? etc.
Yes, she can make a cherry pie quick as a cat can wink his eye.

How old is she, Billy Boy? etc.
Three times seven, twice twenty, and eleven.

Can she make a pudding well, Billy Boy, Billy Boy?
Can she make a pudding well, charming Billy?
She can make a pudding well, I can tell it by the smell,
She's a young thing and can not leave her mother.

Can she make up a bed neat? etc.
She can make a bed up neat from the head to the feet, etc.

Another version:

Where have you been, Billy Boy, Billy Boy?
Where have you been, charming Billy?
Oh, I've been down the lane for to see my Betsey Jane,
She's a young thing and wants to leave her mammy.

Hold old is she, Billy Boy, Billy Boy? etc.
Three times six, four times seven, twenty-eight and eleven, etc.

How tall is she? etc.
She's as tall as a pine and as straight as a pumpkin vine.

Twice six, twice seven, three times twenty, and eleven.

Naturally, the three American wars produced a considerable amount of popular ballad material. A partial collection has already been made of this material, but many of the most vital and interesting of the songs are still floating among the people, especially the folk who live in the back country and on the frontier. For example, take a single stanza from a Confederate song of the Civil War, which mentions the Louisiana Tigers and the Bucktail Rangers of Pennsylvania, whose name grew out of the bucktails on their caps:

The Louisiana Tigers
  They charged with a yell;
They charged the Bucktail Rangers,
  Damn their souls to hell.

Another popular Confederate song was an adaptation of "Wait for the Wagon," the chorus of which ran:

Wait for the wagon,
  The Confederate wagon;
O wait for the wagon,
  And we'll all take a ride.

Other similar parodies, more completely worked out, for which single stanzas will serve for illustrative purposes, are:

Yankee Doodle had a mind
  To whip the Southern traitors,
Because they didn't choose to live
  On codfish and pertaters.

Yankee Doodle, fa so la,
  Yankee Doodle Dandy;
And to keep his courage up
  He took a drink of brandy.

* * * * *

King Abraham is very weak,
  Old Scott has got the measles;
Manassas is now off at last,
  Pop go the weasels.

I came from old Manassas
  With a pocketful of fun;
I killed forty Yankees
  With a single-barrel gun.

It don't make a nif-o-sniference
  To either you or I,
Big Yank, little Yank,
  All run or die.

The two parodies are taken from a book of Southern war songs published by M. T. Richardson & Co. in 1890. There are, of course, many similar ones written from the point of view of the North, all of which should now be given wide publication as interesting human mementoes of those troublous days.

The negro songs that have come to me from North Carolina are mainly religious. A number of interesting fragments of secular songs were, however, given to my wife by Mr. Fred A. Olds of Raleigh, N. C. These fragments are fairly illustrative.

Turkey buzzard, turkey buzzard,
  Take me on your wing;
Carry me cross de ribber
  To see Sally King.

Buzzard no answer,
  Keep on flyin';
Sally, she's a-waitin',
  Fairly dyin'.

I'll never marry an old maid,
  Tell you de reason why:
Neck so long and stringy
  'Fraid she'll never die.
    Git along home, Cindy, Cindy,
    Git along my Cindy gal,
    Way down in Yallerbam.

I'll never marry a po' gal,
  Tell you de reason why:
She'll eat up all yo' rations,
  An' fool you on de sly.
    Git along, etc.

* * * *

I don't like a nigger no how,
I don't like a nigger no how;
  A nigger and a mule
  Is a mighty big fool—
Don't like a nigger no how.

I don't like a po' white man no how,
I don't like a po' white man no how;
  Put him on a hoss,
  Thinks he's a boss—
Don't like a po' white man no how.

* * * *

Hush, you sinner,
  Don't you cry,
Devil's gwine ter git you
  By and by.

You needn't shout,
  You needn't laugh,
For you is only
  Just de chaff—
    For a few days.

Of the same nature is a small fragment sent in by Miss Dickson, of Winston-Salem. This, she says, was a favorite of Charleston, South Carolina, darkies before the war, and was current in other localities:

I gone down town wid my pocket full o' tin,
  Dooda! dooda!
I come back home wid my hat cave in,
  Dooda, dooda, day!

I boun' ter run all night, an' I boun' ter run all day,
I bet my money on de bob-tail hoss,
Dooda, dooda, day!

Still another, which was sung to my wife by a cook in Raleigh, is described by the negro woman as "awful pitiful."

Poor Joseph been sick pinin' for you,
Dear father, dear father, come home;
This is the message I heard him say—
Come home, the work is all done.

Refrain:

Come home, come home,
Dear father, dear father, come home,
This is the message I heard him say—
Come home, the work is all done.

My mother is too,
Dear father, dear father, won't that do?
My mother is sick and wantin' you too—
Dear father, dear father, come home.

Mother said her love was true,
O father, O father, won't that do?
Mother said her love was just as true—
O father, won't that do?

It is difficult to choose among the large body of religious songs known by the oldtime darkies of North Carolina. Miss Dickson says, in a letter enclosing several, some of which I quote later: "The songs enclosed are those I can fully recall. They are some of those sung by the members of my father's two negro congregations in Orangeburg and Barnwell. They are so entirely different from those sung elsewhere that I can not help thinking that there was some unknown minstrel who sung and whose songs spread among them."

1. Oh, come home, come home, come home, my Fader's children;
Come home, come home, an' He ain't got weary yet.

Refrain:

Oh, He call you by de lightnin',
An' He call you by de t'under,
An' He call you by de middle night cry.
Oh, come home, etc.

2. Oh, come home, come home, come home to my Fader's kingdom, etc.
3. Oh, come home, come home, come home to de cross of Jesus.
4. Oh, come home, come home, come home to de Saviour's bosom.

* * * *

Refrain:

PATIENCE.

It's good fuh to hab some patience, patience, patience,
It's good fuh to hab some patience fuh to wait upon de Lawd.

My brudder, won't you come and go wid me,
My brudder, won't you come and go wid me,
Fuh to wait upon de Lawd?

Refrain:

It's good to hab some patience, etc.

My sister, won't you come and go wid me? etc.
My fader, won't you come and go wid me? etc.
My muddah, won't you come and go wid me? etc.

(*Last verse*):

De ship is in de ha'bor, ha'bor, ha'bor,
De ship is in de ha'bor, ha'bor, ha'bor,
An I'se a-gwine home.

* * * *

O section, don't ring that bell no mo' [to be sung three times].
In that mornin', my Lord, in that mornin', my Lord,
In that mornin' when the Lord says hurry.

2. O Lord, I'se done what you tole me to do, etc.
3. O Raphael, don't stop that shinin' sun, etc.
4. O Gambler, you can't ride this train, etc.
5. O Gambler, no money won't pay your fare, etc.
6. O Micah goin' strike dat 'vidin' line, etc.
7. O Liar, you can't ride this train, etc.
8. O Lord, I feel like a motherless child, etc.
9. O Lord, I wish I never been born, etc.
10. O Drinker, you can't ride this train, etc.

Another fragment:

O my Lord, you promised to come by here [three times],
In de mornin' when de Lord says hurry.

O my Lord, I want to be yo' chile [three times],
In de mornin' when de Lord says hurry.

When de sun fail to shine [three times]
I'll go to God a-shoutin'.

Refrain:

You may have all dis worl' [three times],
But glory be to God.

When de moon turn to blood [three times]
I'll go to God a-shoutin'.

* * * *

Lord's goin' set dis worl' on fire,
Lord's goin' set dis worl' on fire some o' dese days,
Lord's goin' set dis worl' on fire,
Lord's goin' set dis worl' on fire some o' dese days.

Lord don't want no coward soldiers,
Lord don't want no coward soldiers in His band,
Lord don't want no coward soldiers,
Lord don't want no coward soldiers in His band.

God's goin' ride on whistlin' chariot [*repeat as first verse*].

I'm goin' tell my Jesus howdy.
I'm goin' kneel roun' de union table.
I'm goin' walk an' talk wid angels.
I'm goin' ride on de whistlin' chariot.
We're all goin' kneel 'roun' de union table.
We'll all be asleep, yes Lord, in glory.
We all shall bow our heads in glory.
We all goin' drink wine, drink wine in glory.

Precisely similar in spirit and imagery are the religious songs yet popular among the darkies of the Brazos River bottom cotton plantations of Texas. One of the most moving of a large number of these songs in my possession, I heard sung not long ago with powerful effect by a negro congregation hid among the trees, just on the edge of one of the big fields of cotton in Brazos County, Texas.

I got a mother in de Beulah Land,
Outshine the sun, outshine the sun, outshine the sun;
I got a mother in de Beulah Land,
Outshine the sun, far beyond the sun.

Do Lord, do Lord,
Do remember me;
Do Lord, do Lord,
Do remember me;
Do Lord, do Lord,
Do remember me, do remember me.

When my blood run chilly and cold
I got to go, I got to go, I got to go;
When my blood run chilly and cold
I got to go, way beyond the sun.—*Chorus.*

Right under de cross, dere lies your crown,
Dere lies your crown, dere lies your crown;
Right under de cross, dere lies your crown,
Way beyond de sun.—*Chorus.*

The melody, the pathos, the vivid phrasing, and the touching faith of these old songs will finally win a place for them, in my judgment, in the future history of American literature.

The most valuable of the mountain songs from North Carolina are probably those that have come from Miss Edith B. Fisk, of White Rock, North Carolina. Many of these are survivors of the old English and Scottish ballads yet held in cherished possession by the direct lineal descendants of the men and women who chanted the ballads in the old country centuries ago. Such ballads as "Fair Eleanor," "Lord Thomas," "Sweet Margaret," and "Barbara Allen," are widely known and yet sung to the old tunes by the modern people. Other songs popular among them are local songs of historic interest, or local songs recounting late events, usually tragedy. Moreover, among the mountains are found many of the frontier ballads of America that have drifted back east. Such songs as "The Buffalo Skinners," "The Cowboy's Lament," and "The Dying Cowboy," picked up in Texas, and printed in my volume of Cowboy Songs, are often found among the mountaineers in the Asheville district. Miss Fisk, in writing of an old woman from whom she secured numerous songs, says: "She says she has always known them. When

she was a girl that 'is all they studied about,' and if she heard a song once she knew it. There was an old man who used to sing many a song when he 'got drunk,' and all gathered about him eagerly. She assured me that she knows 'one hundred love songs,' and 'one hundred songs of devilment.' She gave me *Brothers and Sisters* and *Pretty Sarah,* playing and singing them for me."

From this "old woman" Miss Fisk copied the following interesting songs of the Civil War:

It was our hard general's false treachery
Which caused our destruction in that great day.
Oh, he is a traitor, his conduct does show;
He was seen in the French fort six hours ago.

And to be marked by the French, I am sure,
There round his hat, a white handkerchief he wore;
And one of our bold soldiers he stood by a tree,
And there he slew many till him he did see.

"Would you be like an Indian, to stand by a tree?"
And with his broad sword, cut him down instantly.
His brother stood by him, and saw he was slain,
His passion grew on him, he could not refrain.

"Although you're a general, brave Braddock," said he,
"Revenged for the death of my brother I'll be."
When Washington saw that, he quickly drew nigh,
Said, "Oh, my bold soldier, I'd have you forbear."

"No, I will take his life, if it ruins us all."
And Washington turned round to not see him fall.
He up with his musket, and there shot him down.
Then Braddock replied, "I received a wound."

"If here in this place, my life I should yield,
Pray carry your general, boys, out of the field."

Then General Gatefore, he took the command,
And fought like a hero for old Eng-e-land.
He fled through the ranks, like a cat to her game,
But alas, and alack, he was short-i-ly slain.

Then General Gates, he took the command,
And fought like a hero for old Eng-e-land.
He wished that the river had never been crossed
And so many Englishmen shamefully lost.

We had for to cross, it was at the very last,
And crossing over the river they killed us so fast.
Men fell in the river till they stopped up the flood,
And the streams of that river ran down red with blood.

* * * *

Brave Washington he led the way to victory and renown,
Planted the tree of liberty Great Britain can't pull down.
The roots they spread from shore to shore,
The branches reach the sky;
The cause of freedom we adore,
We'll conquer, boys, or die.

Brave Tennessee has sent a band
To fight at New Orleans;
With British blood we'll wash the land,
The Tories cord the sea.

And with a shout our eagle roared,
And fluttered as she flew;
Her arms are like a lion grown,
Her arms are ever true.

There's Iowa and Kentucky,
New knights with heart and hand;
There's several, too, the North we'll fight,
Our Union to defend.

"Pretty Sarah" and "Owen's Confession" are fairly illustrative of the songs of local origin.

When I came to this country, in 1829,
I saw many lovyers, but I didn't see mine.

I looked all around me and saw I was alone,
And me a poor stranger, a long way from home.

It's not this long journey I'm dreading to go,
Nor leaving my country, nor the debts that I owe.

There's nothing to pester, nor trouble my mind,
Like leaving pretty Sarah, my darling, behind.

My love, she won't have me, as I do understand,
She wants a freeholder, and I have no land.

But I can maintain her with silver and gold,
And it's many pretty fine things my love's house can hold.

I wish I was a poet, and could write a fine hand,
I'd write my love a letter that she could understand.
I'd send it by the waters when the water overflows,
I think of pretty Sarah wherever she goes.

I wish I was a dove, and had wings and could fly,
About my love's dwelling this night I'd draw nigh.
And in her lily white arms all night I would lay,
And watch some little window for the dawning of day.

As pretty Sarah, pretty Sarah, pretty Sarah, I know,
How much I love you, I never can show.
At the foot of old Coey, on the mountain's sad brow,
I used to love you dearly—and I don't hate you now.

* * * *

OWEN'S CONFESSION.

Come, all ye good people, far and near,
That has come here this day to see my body put to death—
Oh, for my soul do pray!

I would have you take warning from what you now do see;
I pray you trust in honesty, and shun bad company.

December past, in ninety-eight, as you may understand,
That was the time we set out upon this cruel plan.

Lewis Collins was a man that enticed me to go,
To my eternal ruin, to my reproaching woe.

It was our intention, a fortune for to make,
Though, poor and happy men, we were met with a mistake.

I went so far against the will of my poor wife so dear,
The night before I left her my shirt she bathed in tears.

Then down to Mr. Irlen's, Ohe therefore I was bent;
To do any murder it was not my intent,
Though, making for his money, he made toward his gun—
And to save my own life, Ohe then I shot him down.

And to get his money we quickly did prepare,
As it was well ordered, we got but little there.

It being the first crime of the sort that ever I had done,
My guilty conscience checked me so that from the house I run.

Then to quit my company, Ohe therefore I was bent,
To go to Wilkes among my friends, for that was my intent.

But, ohe, his sad deluding he prest on me so hard,
"As for the crime that we have done, why should you it regard?"

By his insinuation some comfort I did take,
And freely went along with him to my unhappy fate.

The poor and unhappy rich I was to go on such a cause,
And now I am condemned to die by justice and by law.

I hear the carriage coming my body for to bear
To the place of execution, death to encounter there.

So fare you well, my loving wife, likewise my children dear,
William Owen is my name, all ye that want to hear.

Farewell to sun, moon, stars, all things that in them be,
Farewell to earth with all her fruits—I have no need for thee.

Come, sweet Lord, I humbly pray, and wash me in Thy blood,
And in Thy praise continually my tongue shall sound aloud.

The limits of this article forbid a detailed discussion of any of the songs, and I submit as the concluding one a song sung to my wife by Mrs. Davis of Britton's Cove:

There was a Romish lady brought up in Popery;
Her mother always taught her the priest she must obey.
"O pardon me, dear mother, I humbly pray thee now,
For unto these false idols I can no longer bow."

Assisted by her handmaid, a Bible she concealed,
And then she gained instruction till God His love revealed.
No more she prostrates herself to pictures decked with gold,
But soon she was betrayed, and her Bible from her stole.

"I'll bow to my dear Jesus, I'll worship God unseen,
I'll live by faith forever—the works of men are vain.
I can not worship angels nor pictures made by men;
Dear mother, use your pleasure, but pardon if you can."

With grief and great vexation, her mother straight did go
To inform the Roman clergy the cause of all her woe.
The priests were soon assembled and for the maid did call,
And forced her in the dungeon to fright her soul withal.

The more they strove to fright her, the more she did endure;
Although her age was tender, her faith was strong and sure.
The chains of gold so costly they from this lady took,
And she, with all her spirits, the pride of life forsook.

Before the Pope they brought her in hopes of her return,
And then she was condemned in horrid flames to burn.
Before the place of torment they brought her speedily;
With lifted hands to heaven she then agreed to die.

There being many ladies assembled at the place,
She raised her eyes to heaven and begged supplying grace.
"Weep not, ye tender ladies, shed not a tear for me,
While my poor body's burning, my soul the Lord shall see.

"Yourselves ye need to pity, and Zion's deep decay,
Dear ladies, turn to Jesus, no longer make delay."
In comes her raving mother, her daughter to behold,
And in her hand she brought her pictures all decked with gold.

"O take from me these idols, remove them from my sight,
Restore to me my Bible wherein I take delight.
Alas, my aged mother! Why on my ruin bent?
'Twas you who did betray me, but I am innocent.

"Tormentors, use your pleasure, and do as you think best,
I hope my blessed Jesus will take my soul to rest."
Soon as these words were spoken, up steps the man of death,
And kindled up the fire to stop her mortal breath.

Instead of golden bracelets, with chains they bound her fast.
She cried, "My God, give power—now must I die at last?
With Jesus and His angels forever I shall dwell;
God, pardon priests and people, and so I bid farewell."

North Carolina collectors, who value this material properly, will see to it, I feel sure, that not many years elapse before all this interesting material is taken down and deposited in the libraries of the universities, where, in after years, it will be invaluable to students of humanity. These songs, coming straight from the heart of the folk, simple and direct, reflecting the social and intimate emotional life of the people, will eventually become priceless historical documents.

A PAINTING OF THE BAPTISM OF VIRGINIA DARE

At the annual meeting of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution, held in Raleigh at the home of the Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Paul H. Lee, in January, 1911, a most important resolution, and one that should arouse the interest of all patriotic North Carolinians, was introduced by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, who was the guest of honor on that occasion.

This resolution was to raise funds sufficient to place in the Nation's Capitol at Washington a painting of the baptism of the first white child born on American soil, the best known of all children whose names are recorded in the annals of American history—the ill-fated Virginia Dare. It is needless to state that the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, which is ever keenly alive to the necessity of guarding and preserving our State's noble past, unanimously adopted this resolution.

Below is given the resolve in full:

FOREWORD.

Among all the incidents of the early history of this nation, no one thing should stand out in bolder relief, more pathetic, or more significant of mighty and holy purpose than the baptism of Virginia Dare, which took place on Roanoke Island, on the shores of North Carolina, August 18, 1587.

WHEREAS, In consideration of this great historic event which took place within the limits of North Carolina, and as no great public recognition has yet been made to bring before the world the great intention of our great colonizer, Sir Walter Raleigh, therefore be it

Resolved, That as this, the "North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution," which has for its object the perpetuating and commemorating great events in North Carolina history, take steps to have a painting executed of such merit as to entitle it to a place among the other notable paintings depicting great scenes in the history of this nation, which now adorn the Capitol at Washington.

Second, That this Society raise sufficient funds for the picture, through

its own efforts and by petition to the Congress of the United States, for the completion of this object. Respectfully submitted,

MRS. E. E. MOFFITT,
Honorary Vice-Regent.

Raleigh, N. C., January, 1911.

Committee signed by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton of the Regent of the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution.

Mrs. Louise Pittenger Skinner, Recording-Secretary, N. C. S. D. R.
Mrs. Paul Hinton Lee, Corresponding-Secretary, N. C. S. D. R.
Mrs. Mary Bates Sherwood, Treasurer, N. C. S. D. R.
Miss Grace Bates, Librarian, N. C. S. D. R.
Mrs. John E. Ray, Custodian of Relics, N. C. S. D. R.
Mrs. Annie Moore Parker.
Mrs. John Cross.
Mrs. Hubert Haywood, Regent of the Bloomsbury Chapter, D. R.

At the annual meeting of the General Society, held in Baltimore in May, it received the endorsement as a State Society work.

On May 26, 1911, Hon. Lee S. Overman, Senior Senator from North Carolina, introduced this bill:

A BILL FOR THE EXECUTION OF A SUITABLE AND CREDITABLE PAINTING DEPICTING AND PERPETUATING THE BAPTISM OF VIRGINIA DARE, THE FIRST KNOWN CELEBRATION OF A CHRISTIAN SACRAMENT ON AMERICAN SOIL.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of ten thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the execution of a suitable and creditable painting depicting the scene of the baptism of Virginia Dare, which took place on Roanoke Island, on the shores of North Carolina, on the eighteenth day of August, fifteen hundred and eighty-seven; said painting to be of such merit as to entitle it to a place among the notable paintings depicting and perpetuating other historic scenes of national interest which now adorn the walls of our National Capitol.

It is indeed a gratification to be able to report that the said bill has passed two committees and been referred to the Committee on the Library. There also comes the news that there is hope of its passage. Both Senator Overman and Senator Simmons are working hard for this noble cause, which has been far too long unnoticed.

MARKING THE SITE OF THE OLD TOWN OF BLOOMSBURY, OR WAKE COURT HOUSE

PRESENTATION OF TABLET TO THE CITY OF RALEIGH

The morning of April 26, 1911, was fair and bright, and it seemed that Nature herself smiled approval on the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, and their gift to the city, that should mark for future generations the location of the old town of Bloomsbury, the remembrance of which was fast fading from the mind of the oldest inhabitant and becoming an uncertain tradition.

Bloomsbury had but a short life—about twenty years—but it was nevertheless during that time a social and political center. The home of Colonel Joel Lane was here, and the probabilities are, though history does not so state, that it was through his influence that it was chosen the county seat, as it was also through his influence that Raleigh was chosen our State capital. Colonel Lane was noted for his hospitality and fondness for social life, as well as for his influence in politics. Here great hunting parties assembled from all the country-side, and there is still standing today, in our Capitol Square, a tree but a short distance removed from Fayetteville street which was in those days a favorite deer stand. To accommodate the crowds which assembled here, Colonel Lane had a tavern built, which was situated just across the road from his own residence. It was here that Tryon rested in 1771 from the 5th to the 8th of May, when he was gathering his forces to march against the Regulators, and when the army returned from Alamance, Colonel John Hinton disbanded his detachment here.

It was at Bloomsbury, in Colonel Lane's residence, that the Legislature was held in 1781, during the Revolution, and at this time and in this place Thomas Burke was elected Governor.

The Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, celebrated their first anniversary by this gift to the city. It was a happy and joyous occasion to them, to which all were invited, and many responded. It was the first occasion upon which a local historical spot had been marked in Raleigh. Mr. John W. Hinsdale, Jr., a descendant of Joel Lane, was marshal for the day, and he most gracefully introduced the various speakers.

The services were opened by the Rev. W. McC. White, D.D., with an invocation, which was as follows:

A PRAYER AT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MEMORIAL STONE IN RALEIGH, APRIL 26, 1911.

O Thou Eternal One, we bow our heads in lowly adoration before Thee. Thou art God—even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God.

From everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was—Thou wast. In the beginning Thou didst create the heaven and the earth. Thou laidest the foundations thereof, when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy. All things were made by Thee, and without Thee was not anything made that was made.

As Thou hast been from everlasting, so Thou wilt be. Heaven and earth shall pass away—they shall perish—but Thou remainest; they shall wax old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt Thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but Thou art the same and Thy years fail not.

But, oh, Thou ever-living God, our days on earth are but as a shadow that passeth away—but as an evanishing cloud—as a watch in the night—as a tale that is told—as the grass; in the morning it groweth up and flourisheth, in the evening it is cut down, and withereth. As for man his days are as grass; as the flower of the field, so he flourisheth. For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone, and the place thereof shall know it no more forever.

Yet, oh, Lord, we children of men long for immortality, and would perpetuate the memory of our deeds on earth, and of our history hitherto. And we have come now to set up this memorial stone to mark the beginnings of our city—lest we forget. Let it be unto us, we pray Thee, and unto them that come after us, a reminder of our origin, that from it we may measure, and rightly estimate and appreciate, Thy great goodness unto us in Thy providence over us all, the plentitude of Thy loving-kindness and the multitude of Thy tender mercies unto us. As we, or our children, or our children's children, look upon this stone,

may we or they be moved to say with the patriarch of old: I am not worthy of the least of all Thy mercies which Thou hast showed unto Thy servant; with my staff I passed over, and now I am become two bands! With the pious Israelite may we stand to praise Thee, saying: A Syrian ready to perish was my father; and he went down into Egypt with a few, and became there a nation, great and mighty and populous. So, oh, Lord, as we look back upon our humble beginnings and then turn to contemplate this imperial city in all its beauty and riches and power and glory, may our hearts fill up with grateful, loving adoration of Thee, our fathers' God, and our God. For Thou, Lord, art good, and Thy mercy endureth forever.

Not unto us, not unto us, oh, Lord, but unto Thee do we give the glory. And if ever in the pride of our hearts we are found saying, Is not this great Babylon, that I have built by the might of my power and for the honor of my majesty—forgive us, we pray.

Oh, Lord, keep watch over this stone. And if it please Thee, let it remain in its place until that day when the elements shall melt with fervent heat, when the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Nevertheless, we, according to Thy promise, look for a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. And grant it of Thy mercy, oh, Lord, that we may inherit the new earth and dwell therein forever. And oh, that we may then, in eternal leisure, revisit in memory, or in spirit, or even in our own person, the scenes of our earthly history, and be permitted to trace out all Thy dealings with man from the beginning to the end. And as then with unclouded vision we see, no longer as through a glass darkly, but face to face; as we know, not in part, but the whole—we shall behold and admire and join with the saints of all ages in the song of Moses and the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are Thy works, oh, Lord God Almighty; just and true are Thy ways, Thou King of Saints.

And now, God of our fathers, be Thou still a God unto us. Here we raise this Ebenezer; hitherto hast Thou helped us. And unto Thee do we look in faith for the unknown future. Guide Thou, govern Thou us all the days. This we pray in the name and for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Mr. William B. Snow, who is the great-grandson of William Boylan, who in 1818 purchased the estate of Bloomsbury shortly after it passed from the possession of the Lane family, and whose children and grandchildren have continuously owned the property until now, made the next address. Mr. John W. Hinsdale, Jr., introduced Mr. Snow.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In North Carolina we have heretofore paid too little attention to the past and to keeping our records straight. We have been content with doing, but have considered the remembrance of the deed accomplished as of minor importance. This was wrong, for a heroic deed forgotten had almost as well never have taken place. It is the remembrance of past glories that stimulates the youth of coming ages, and it requires a knowledge of the past to give those who live in the present a proper outlook.

It is true that the founding of a town is not a heroic act, but the same spirit that produced the Regimental Histories of North Carolina, stimulates the activities of the North Carolina Historical Society and that originated the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET and a score of other tokens of our new view of the past, is responsible for our presence here today to commemorate the founding of the old and almost forgotten town of Bloomsbury.

I take pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Wm. B. Snow, who will make the address of the day.

MR. SNOW'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is truly an honor, and no less a pleasure, which has been conferred upon me by the Bloomsbury Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, to address you upon an occasion so inspiring as the dedication and unveiling of the monument to commemorate this historic spot.

While the people of a busy world are so engaged and absorbed by the daily affairs of life, the patriotic and self-sacrificing order of the Daughters of the Revolution, composed of the descendants of those who fought in the war of the Revolution for American independence, and created the greatest nation of the world, are industriously and nobly engaged in perpetuating the memory of those now historic times and events and in preserving the identity of the places which formed a setting for these scenes. Much does the present, and more will the future owe to these good women for their high-minded purpose. And so, today, they have erected here a monument to commemorate and identify the historic place of "Bloomsbury," the original County Seat of Wake County.

In the year 1771, during the strenuous period of the reign of George III, Wake County was created by act of the Colonial Assembly, out of portions of the older counties of Cumberland, Orange and Johnston; the origin of its name is disputed, as are other things and events pertaining to that period of our State's history, some ascribing it to the name of Royal Governor Tryon's wife, and others to that of his wife's sister.

Seven commissioners appointed by the Legislature located the county seat at Wake Cross Roads, as the place had been theretofore called, because it formed the junction of two or more of the important highways of the State leading to and from the then seat of the government at New Bern and the towns of Hillsboro and Salisbury. The seven commissioners were Joel Lane, Theophilus Hunter, Hardy Sanders, Joseph Lane, John Hinton, Thomas Hines and Thomas Crawford. But as fitted the newly acquired dignity of the place, the name became changed to "Bloomsbury," which was the name of the home of Colonel Joel Lane. There still stands, in quiet beauty and imposing grace, the one object which has remained to mark the location of the historic place, the old Colonial home, at that time the stately mansion, of Colonel Joel Lane, one of the great men of his day. Upon a gentle slope, it overlooked the surrounding lands, the only residence for distances around, the gathering place for the commanding men and fair women of its times, to whom its open doors offered the pleasures afforded in those days by a people noted for their Southern hospitality. There, too, occurred many of the important gatherings and meetings which formed eventful epochs in those days when men's minds were filled and their hearts throbbed with the pulsations of war. There, too, met, on June 23, 1781, the General Assembly of the Colony, and elected Thomas Burke, Governor of the Colony. There, too, oftentimes, went the Governor to seek advice and assistance from Colonel Lane. It was at Bloomsbury that the Governor and the officers in command of the King's soldiers assembled, and from there proceeded on their march to Hillsboro to meet the Regulators, and to further advance to the battle of the Alamance.

When the county seat was established, the Wake court house and jail were built, their location being probably to the south of the Lane residence and near the present railway tracks, where they remained for more than twenty years and until after the town of Raleigh had been created. In 1818, Bloomsbury and the large tract of surrounding land, extending to the present grounds of the Central Hospital on the south, to Hillsboro street on the north, to the Seaboard Air Line on the east, and Pullen Park and Rocky Branch on the west, became the property of William Boylan, in whose family it has constantly remained, descending to his namesake and grandson, who is its present owner. At the time of its acquirement by the Boylan family, Bloomsbury was the only residence within the limits of the tract of land, and for many years, until the modern city of Raleigh arose, and its open areas became traversed by streets and modern residences sprung up, it still overlooked, in all its historic grandeur and importance, the broad domain of which it had been the central figure. The loving care bestowed upon it by those who have cherished its history has kept it in a remarkable

state of preservation, and may the result of these exercises today be to sustain the interest of the public in its noble past.

The living descendants of Colonel Joel Lane are numerous in the city of Raleigh, and well known and distinguished as befits the descendants of so eminent a character in the history of Bloomsbury and of their county and State.

Colonel Lane had six sons and six daughters, and time forbids that I should attempt to mention the names of the numerous descendants. Among them, however, are the Mordecais and the Devereux, of whom the accomplished and esteemed John W. Hinsdale, Jr., adds to the success and enjoyment of these ceremonies by his services as Chief Marshal of the occasion; and the two handsome and attractive young boys, William and Gavin Dortch, who will by unveiling the monument thus contribute their part towards the success of the occasion.

So much for the history of Bloomsbury. As we stand in the midst of surroundings hallowed by memories so dear to the hearts of a patriotic people, and look through the vista of the past, we marvel at the changes which have come with time. No longer is the scene one bright with the movements of Revolutionary troops, and Bloomsbury stands surrounded with modern homes, its once solitary grandeur gone. In the years which are to come, future generations will no longer have the pleasure which is ours today, to look upon the home that was once so intimately associated with an eventful past. But when that time shall come this imposing monument shall speak to them a story they may never read in books, and they will be the better for it. They will know of the patriotism of a people who loved their past and loved to honor it. And they will think with increased admiration of the splendid work of that band of noble hearted women who devoted their efforts to the task of making immemorial those things so often soon forgotten, the Daughters of the Revolution.

After Mr. Snow's address, Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, State Regent of the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, in behalf of the Bloomsbury Chapter, presented the memorial to the city, in the following graceful manner.

MISS HINTON'S ADDRESS.

Today we stand upon Wake's most historic ground, and in placing this memorial do reverence the brave men and noble women who have gone before, the fruits of whose labors later generations have enjoyed.

The various periods of our history are here combined; therefore

naturally an onlooker becomes retrospective. His thoughts revert to the days when these acres formed a part of a vast wilderness, untouched by civilization save at energy-stirring distances, when conveniences were a dream of a future that was yet to dawn. Gradually it became the center of a large county, later its seat of government. Next, the horrors of a civil war overshadowed the Province, and Governor Tryon here gathered together his army, loyal subjects of a British sovereign, and marched hence to meet the Regulators on the field of Alamance. In a short space the men who defended the crown's rights were asserting their own. In the midst of that long struggle for independence, the General Assembly honored Colonel Lane with its presence, and in yonder Colonial home, the oldest we can claim, the brilliant Thomas Burke was elected Governor of North Carolina. Then came the efforts to locate the State's capital permanently, and Colonel Lane won, selling one thousand acres and donating five lots for the new town. Lastly, the selection of a name that should be a source of pride to every English-speaking individual, carries us back to the time of the "Lost Colony" and the beginning of England's power.

In marking this site, the Bloomsbury Chapter, in celebration of its first birthday, imparts information known only to the minority.

Monuments and tablets are regarded by a majority of our countrymen as an utterly useless expenditure of money. To the thoughtful they are an essential means of teaching history, of arousing that national love without which a man can claim no country. It is a pronounced characteristic of the Anglo-Saxons to revere the deeds and memories of their antecedents and to lose no opportunity of preserving their records beyond the archives of state, even though centuries may elapse without some achievement. From this line of progenitors we are visibly inheriting this excellent trait.

The flame of patriotism which is adorning our land, by perpetuating its glorious past in bronze, stone, marble and on canvas, is not the passing fad of an hour; it is the safeguard of progress, preventing the vandalic supremacy of materialism that threatens the life of the New World.

To the aldermen and officials of the city, who by their generous assistance have made this event possible, we extend our heartfelt gratitude.

On behalf of the Bloomsbury Chapter, North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution, and at the request of our Regent, Mrs. Hubert Haywood, it affords me infinite pleasure to present this tablet and stone to our city of Raleigh, through her most highly esteemed Mayor, the Honorable J. S. Wynne, asking that the said memorial receive their care and trusting that it may serve to arouse a proper sense of State and national pride in the citizens of this county.

The Hon. J. S. Wynne, Mayor of the city, accepted the memorial for the city, in a brief address.

HON. J. S. WYNNE'S ADDRESS.

Daughters of the Revolution.

LADIES:—It gives me peculiar pleasure to accept, on behalf of the city of Raleigh, this tablet, which your public spirit and your pride in history have caused you to place on this spot, for it is the first tablet set up to mark any point in Raleigh which has a bearing upon local events or places. The time has come to take up this work of thus placing memorials of this character, for Raleigh, though it has only a little more than a hundred years of history behind it as the capital of the great Commonwealth of North Carolina, yet long before that honor was conferred, this locality was the scene of incidents which bear upon our colonial history. In accepting this enduring bronze memorial to mark the site of old "Bloomsbury," I take pleasure in making the highest public acknowledgment of the appreciation of Raleigh and of Wake for the thoughtful care which has caused you to take this very proper step, and I thank you for what is but an added evidence of your high purpose to instill pride in the memories of the great past in the minds of our people.

At the close of Mayor Wynne's address, Mr. Hinsdale announced that the tablet would be unveiled by Masters William and Gavin Dortch, descendants to the seventh generation from Joel Lane, and whose silver knee buckles were used to clasp the regalias which these little boys wore on this occasion, when they had come to do honor to their ancestor.

The benediction by Dr. White closed the services.

The Daughters of the Revolution are under many obligations to the Board of Aldermen, Mr. R. B. Seawell, city engineer, and Mr. W. A. Cooper, alderman and city street commissioner; also Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood, without whose advice, kindness and co-operation this memorial would not have been possible.

The tablet is placed on a natural boulder of Wake County granite, which is located at the corner of Boylan Avenue and

Morgan street. It is of bronze, and bears the following inscription:

ON AND AROUND THIS SPOT
STOOD THE OLD TOWN OF
BLOOMSBURY
OR
WAKE COURT HOUSE

WHICH WAS ERECTED AND MADE THE COUNTY-SEAT
WHEN WAKE COUNTY WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1771.

THIS PLACE WAS THE RENDEZVOUS OF A PART OF GOVERNOR TRYON'S ARMY WHEN HE MARCHED AGAINST THE REGULATORS IN 1771; HERE MET THE STATE REVOLUTIONARY ASSEMBLY IN 1781; AND TO THIS VICINITY WAS REMOVED THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT WHEN THE CAPITAL CITY OF RALEIGH WAS INCORPORATED IN 1792.

THIS MEMORIAL PLACED BY
BLOOMSBURY CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
A. D. 1911.

EMILY BENBURY HAYWOOD,
Regent Bloomsbury Chapter, D. R.

REFERENCES:

Haywood's Joel Lane, Pioneer and Patriot.
Amis's Historical Raleigh.

BIOGRAPHICAL, GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMORANDA

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

MAJOR WILLIAM ALEXANDER GRAHAM

The subject of this sketch, and the author of the article in this number of THE BOOKLET entitled "The North Carolina Union Men of Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-one," is a native of Hillsboro, North Carolina. His home residence is at Machpelah, Lincoln County, N. C., one of the oldest communities in the State and first settled by his forefathers.

Major Graham is the grandson of General Joseph Graham (1759-1836), the distinguished Revolutionary patriot, whose life is conspicuous in the annals of North Carolina.

Major Graham is the son of Governor William A. Graham (1804-1875), of Hillsboro, North Carolina, and Susan (Washington) Graham, his wife. Of the large family left by Governor Graham, many have already made their mark, among them his son, Major Wm. A. Graham. He was born in Hillsboro on December 26, 1839; educated at the University of North Carolina and at Princeton, where he graduated in 1860.

He entered the Confederate army as a first lieutenant of Company K, Second North Carolina Cavalry, and on May 1, 1862, was promoted to a captaincy, and was at Gettysburg, July 30, 1863, where he was wounded. After this he was Assistant Adjutant General, in which capacity he served during the war. In 1874, he was elected to the State Senate from Lincoln and Catawba counties, and was re-elected from same district, 1876.

Major Graham married (1864) Julia, daughter of John W. Lane, of Amelia County, Virginia, by whom he has an interesting family.

Major Graham has always been a devoted student of history, and has made valuable contributions in its preservation. In 1904 he published a history of his grandfather, General Joseph Graham, in which is published his Revolutionary papers, with an epitome of North Carolina's military services in the Revolutionary war and of the laws enacted for raising troops. This is a most valuable work, and which required the most extensive research for the facts contained therein, dating from the settlement in 1750 of the Scotch-Irish emigration, to the year 1782, inclusive. They are authentic and based on manuscripts and original records.

The Booklet is indebted to Major Graham for several articles on great events in North Carolina history. Vol. IV, June, 1904, he wrote on the "Battle of Ramsaur's Mill," a battle which is little known in general history, yet one of the most important in results and best fought of the Revolution. It destroyed Toryism in that section. In this fight with Cornwallis, forty were killed and one hundred wounded out of four hundred engaged. The defeat and rout of three times their number is certainly worthy of note. This battle field is now within the limits of Lincolnton, and yet remains to be marked by a patriotic people.

Vol. V, January, 1906, contains another article by Major Graham, on "The Celebration of the Anniversary of May 20, 1775." This was the first celebration of the anniversary of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, Charlotte, N. C., May 20, 1835. The attendance was estimated to be at least five thousand, participated in by many distinguished citizens of the State. At the dinner many speeches were made on the political questions of the day. General Joseph Graham was there and responded to the toast, *"Our guest, General Joseph Graham, the living witness of the scene we have met to commemorate, and the bold and intrepid defender of its principles."*

General Graham replied, giving his individual experience relative to that event. He was personally acquainted with those venerable fathers, and had heard the discussion on those resolutions, and believed that the signers were actuated by pure patriotism, governed by no motive but the country's welfare, etc. The account of this celebration is from the *Miners and Farmers Journal,* Charlotte, N. C., May 22, 1835. The address of General Graham is from the *Western Carolinian,* Salisbury, N. C., June 20, 1835.

Again, in Vol. V, April BOOKLET (1905), Major Graham contributed another interesting article, entitled, "The Battle of Cowan's Ford, N. C.—The Passage of the Catawba River by Lord Cornwallis, February 1, 1781." In this article the patriots of Rowan, Mecklenburg and Lincoln counties are given due credit for valor and readiness for the service in the struggle for Independence. They were in fact soldiers cantoned upon their own families, ready to immediately respond to a call for service, and to provide for their own findings, in clothes, arms and ammunition. Their swords and scabbards were made principally by the smiths and shoemakers of the vicinity in which the men lived. Geographically, this was the storm center of the Revolution, and with the crudest of accoutrements, such as present warfare demands, these men, undaunted by fear and with unflinching determination, stood ever ready to defend their homes and firesides against the invasion of a foe that had wantonly trampled on their rights. Well worthy to be kept in remembrance by a loyal people! It was recorded in "Tarleton's Campaigns" that the counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan were more hostile than any other in America.

The declaration made by Tarleton to Cornwallis that "he had gotten into a hornet's nest," has become a classic, as it were. This epithet was gloried in by the patriots of that day and is yet held as a badge of honor and is emblazoned

on the monument that stands in a public square of Charlotte, N. C., which was erected to the patriots of Mecklenburg of 1775.

Major Graham, after filling many positions of honor and trust, was chosen some years ago as the head of the North Carolina Department of Agriculture, and still continues in that office and makes his business home in the city of Raleigh. His experience as an active and successful farmer won for him a place not easily filled. In this position he has the confidence of the people, and the Department is to be congratulated that one so efficient and up to date in methods of agriculture, is at the forefront to lead and advise. Major Graham's activities in his county and State have led to many important improvements in methods of agriculture and the administration of law, and always with no spirit of self-aggrandizement, but for the good of the whole.

The North Carolina Booklet has been enriched by his historical articles, and hopes for others, that its readers may become more familiar with events in our State's history which have had less prominent attention than they deserve.

PROFESSOR JOHN A. LOMAX

John A. Lomax writes for this issue of The Booklet "Some Ballads of North Carolina," and though not a native of this State, he is a Southerner and takes unusual interest in all that concerns this section of the United States. He was born in Mississippi and his parents removed to Texas when he was but one year old. He was educated at the University of Texas, where he took both the A.B. and M.A. degrees. He afterwards studied in Harvard University, where he was awarded the degree of Master of Arts.

During his residence in West Texas he lived near one of the old cattle trails, and naturally became interested in cowboy songs, which finally resulted in a collection of these songs,

published in 1910. His work in ballad collecting has received the recognition of Harvard University, by his appointment for two successive years as Sheldon Fellow for the investigation of American ballads.

After graduating from the University of Texas, Mr. Lomax served for six years as Registrar, and then became Instructor in English in the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, and afterwards Associate Professor of English in that institution. He is at present again connected with the University of Texas as Secretary of the University and Assistant Director of the Department of Extension. He expects eventually to issue a series of volumes, possibly as many as six, covering the whole field of the American ballad.

The pages of THE BOOKLET are ever open to literary productions of this nature, and especially to such as relate to North Carolina and her people.

DR. RICHARD DILLARD

A biographical sketch of Dr. Dillard was published in the July BOOKLET, October, 1906.*

Dr. Dillard was one of the first contributors, his leading article, "The Edenton Tea Party of October 25, 1774," and which was commented on in the biographical sketch. Since that time Dr. Dillard has contributed five other interesting articles, a list of which we append:

(2) "Hayes, and Its Builder," Vol. II, December, 1902.

(3) "The Indian Tribes of Eastern North Carolina."

(4) "St. Paul's Church, Edenton, N. C., and Its Associations," Vol. V, July, 1905.

(5) "Some Heroines of the Revolution in North Carolina," Vol. VIII, April, 1909.

(6) "Some Early Physicians of the Albemarle," Vol. XI, July, 1911.

*This was the first year, beginning in July, 1906, that the Biographical and Genealogical Memoranda was introduced as a feature of this publication.

ROWAN COUNTY WILLS

COMPILED BY MRS. M. G. McCUBBINS.

Alexander Clingerman, a farmer (Book C, page 234), June 19, 1803. Wife: Elizabeth. Sons: Michael (land on Second Creek), Jacob (the youngest and not of age), George (the eldest), Peter, Henry. Daughters: Esther and Catherine. Executors: Sons Michael and Peter and friend Fredrick Fisher. Test: David Woodson and Martha Woodson.

Augustine Davenpord (Book E, page 238), September 30, 1799. Wife: Mary "Davenport." Daughters: Sary, Detphy, Susanna Jane, Anna, Mary, Elizabeth. Sons: Augustine, James, David, Joel and Jesse. Executors: Wife Mary, son Augustine, and son-in-law Thomas Jackson. Test: William Jackson and Geremias Arnold.

Thomas Allison (Book E, page 272), February 12, 1780. Wife: Martha. Sons: Richard and Thomas. Daughters: Naomi and Ann (there may be other children). Executors: Adam and Theophilus Allison. Test: James Tinley and Theophilus Simonton.

Robert Wilson (Book D, page 239), June, 1797. Wife: Elizabeth. Daughters: Mary Davis, Rachel Parke and Elizbeth Ennox (this may have been his wife[?]). Step-grandson: Wilson Jones. Witnesses: Richard Wilson and John Wilson, Jr.

John Wilson (Book D, page 242), May 10, 1800. Sons: John (all of the land to him and his son Andrew), James, Samuel. Daughters: Elizabeth Frost, Mary Boon, Sarah Harper. Executors: Son John and Spruce Macay. Test: Elizabeth Macay, Jacob Wiseman, Jurat(?) and Spruce Macay.

Elizabeth Wilson (Book E, page 10), February 19, 1799. (She was from county of York, in South Carolina.) Niece:

Mary Thomson. Umprey Williams. Test: Thaddeus Shurley, Moses Thomson and Francis Whitney.

Thomas Bell (Book D, page 147), November 15, 1792, and probated in 1800. Wife: Catharina. Daughters: Agnes Reed and Elizabeth Carradine. Sons: William (the eldest), Thomas, James. Grandson: John (son of James). Son-in-law: Patrick Sloan. Witnesses: David McNeely, Archibald McNeely, Jr., and James Brandon.

MARRIAGE BONDS* OF ROWAN COUNTY, N. C.

James Andrews to Martha Niblock. May 14, 1762. James Andrews, Richard King and Henry Horah, Robert Johnston. (Will Reed.)

David Alexander to Margaret Davison. April 1, 1762. David Alexander, Henry Lively and John Johnston, Will Morrison. (Will Reed.)

William Archibald to Martha McCorkell. January 8, 1765. William Archbald, Alexr. M. Corkle and John Archbald. (John Frohock.)

Thomas Archbald to Martha Edmont. March 23, 1765. Thomas Archbald and John Edmont. (Thomas Frohock.)

William Adams to Elizth Edmond. January 25(?), 1766. William (his X mark) Adams, David Black and Joseph (his X mark) Erwin. (Thomas Frohock.)

John Ashurst to Judith Johnson. October 22, 1767. John (his X mark) Ashurst and William Frohock. (Thos. Frohock.) A note enclosed from bride's father, Gideon Johnson.

John Adams to Winne Bussell. August 15, 1768. John Addams and Edward Turner. (Thomas Frohock.) The following note from the bride's father: "Cornall frohock Sir please to grant John Addams Lisons to mary my daughter Winne and you will oblige your friend Given from under my hand on this 15 day of August 1768 Farnsed(?) Bussell, Elizabeth Bussell."

*Some are almost illegible and some have the same name spelt in two ways. When possible I have copied the signatures.

William Armstrong to Margaret Woods. August 23, 1768. William Armstrong, William Temple Cole and John Brandon. (Tho. Frohock.)

Abel Armstrong to Margret Cowan. September 16, 1768. Abel Armstrong, James Dobbin and Jas. Brandon. (Thomas Frohock.)

William Alexander to Mary Brandon. January 21, 1769. William Alexander and John Dunn. (Tho. Frohock.)

Adam Allison to Mary Barr. January 6, 1770. Adam Allison and Andrew Allison. (Thomas Frohock.) A note from bride's mother, "Ceatherin Barr."

Gabriel Alexander to Jane Black. January 19, 1770. Gabriel Alexander, David Black and Max: Chambers. (Thomas Frohock.)

Thomas Allison to Martha Gillespy. January 20, 1770. Thomas Allison, Benj.[d] Milner and Thomas Frohock. (John Frohock.)

Timothy Anderson to Elizabeth Sloan. March 20, 1770. Timothy Anderson and William Moore. (Thomas Frohock.) A note from bride's father, Scot(?) Henry Sloan, giving permission for "Bettey" to be married on Thursday.

William Aldridge to Hannah Bell. December 18, 1772. William (his W mark) Aldridge and John Littel. (Ad. Osborn.) A note from John Irvin saying that Hannah Bell was a "free woman" who lived in his home. Dated from Hunting Creek, December 16, 1772.

Robert Adams to Elizabeth Fleming. February 19, 1773. Robert Adams and Alexander Endsley. (Max: Chambers.)

Robert Arthurs (Arteres?) to Sarah Allen, a widow. March 1, 1773. Robert Arteres, Adam Terrence (Tarance?) and Moses Winsley. (Ad. Osborn.)

James Alexander to Margaret Ireland. May 7, 1773. James Alexander and James Ireland. (Ad. Osborn.)

Henry Aggenger(?) to Maria Mothllena Kircher(?),

June 15, 1774. Henry Aggenger(?) and Philip Virvill(?). (Ad Osborn.)

Richard Armstrong to Margaret Osborn. December 27, 1774. Richard Armstrong and Ad Osborn. (No name.)

Christopher Aesan to Margaret Smith. September 4, 1775. Christopher (his X mark) Aesan and Daniel Smith and John Lowrance. (D[d] Flowers.)

Henry Aggner(?) to Elizabeth Erry(?). September 30, 1775. Henry Aggner(?) and Anthony Soett. (D[d] Flowers.)

William Adams to Mary Baker. December 6, 1775. William (his a mark) Adams and Charles (his C mark) Baker. (Max: Chambers.)

John Andrews to Jean McCuan(?). March 28, 1776. John Andrews and James McKenn(?), (Ad. Osborn.)

Jacob Adams to Mar Touson(?). January 7, 1777. Jacob (his X mark) Adams and Spencer (his X mark) Adams. (No name.)

John Alexander to Susanna Alexander. November 7, 1778. John Alexander and Samuel Hogsed. (Ad. Osborn.)

William Anderson to Elizabeth Homes. August 6, 1779. William Anderson and Francis (his X mark) Homes. (Jo. Brevard.)

Benjamin Abbott to Mary Hudgins. March 16, 1781. Benjamin Abbott and Ad. Osborn. A note from bride's father, William Hudgens.

Daniel Adams to Sarah Irvin. November 7, 1780(?). Daniel (his X mark) Adams and Walter Irvin(?). (H. Giffard?).

William Abbot (a planter) to Lydia Grist (a spinster). February 28, 1780. William (his X mark) Abbot and Benjamin (his X mark) Grist. (B. Booth Boote?).

Matthew Adams to Anne Howsley. February 20, 1780. Matthew (his X mark) Adams and Robert (his X mark) Howsley. (B. Booth Boote?)

Peter Albright to Mary Dillon. February 5, 1780(?). Peter (his X mark) Albright and Michael Albright. (No name.)

John Avitts to Sarah Rimmonton. October 18, 1779. John (his J mark) Avitts and John (his X mark) Huntsman. (Jo. Brevard.)

Benjamin Albenny to Sarah Gracy(?). January 7, 1782. Benjamin Albenny and John Greacey. (No name.)

James Andrew to Mary Scott. February 22, 1782. James Andrew and Robert Scott. (Ad. Osborn.)

George Admire to Ruth Jones. (No date.) 1781 (?) George Admire, James (his X mark) Jones. (No name.)

John Andrews to Margaret Andrews. March 4, 1783. John Andrews and John Andrews. (Will[m] Crawford.)

Joseph Arthur to Sarah Duncan. June 17, 1783. Joseph Arthur and Thos. Duncan. (Ad. Osborn.)

Richard Allison(?) to Lettice(?) Niel. July 26, 1785(?) Richard Allison and William Niell. (H. Magoune.)

Joseph Andrews to Zephiah Barnes. May 5, 1786. Joseph (his X mark) Andrews and W. Moore. (John Macay.)

John Alexander to June (?) Lackey. February 2, 1786. John Alexander and George Leckey (Luckey or Leekey). (No name.)

Theophilus Allison to Elizabeth Niel. January 10, 1786. Theophilus Allison and Andrew Snopdey(?). (Wm. Erwin.)

Frederick Allimong to Hughley Shersate. December 19, 1786. Frederick (his X mark) Allimong and Daniel Allemong. (Jno. Macay.)

Thomas Adams to Mary Lynon(?). February 22, 1787. Thomas (his X mark) Adams and William Scudder. (Edm Gamble.)

James Adkins to Anne Johnston. April 2, 1787. James Atkinson and Obadiah Smith. (Jno Macay.)

Ephrame Adams to Eleonor Brian. September 25, 1789. Ephrame (his X mark) and Daniel (his X mark) Adams.

Daniel Allemong to Elizabeth Bartlett. February 7, 1788. Daniel Allemong and Nicholas Bringle. (J. McCunn.)

Thomas Allen to Marjira Brion. May 26, 1789. Thomas Allen and William huey (?). (W.[?] J. L. Alexander.)

Silvester Adams to Hannah Stineen. July 8, 1790. Silvester (his X mark) and Ephram (his X mark) Adams. (Basil Gaither.)

James Aytcherson, Jr., to Cristina Miller. February 25, 1791. James (his X mark) Aytcherson, Jr., and Stephen (his X mark) Noland, Senior. (Basil Gaither.)

Isaac Adams to Hannah Fillips. June 25, 1791. Isaac (his X mark) Adams and Edmond (his X mark) Adams. (Basil Gaither.

Abraham Adams, Jr., to (a blank) Howard. August 25, 1791. Abraham (his X mark) Adams, Jr., and John Ball. (Basil Gaither.)

Abel Armstrong to Mary Roseborough. December 7(?), 1791. Abel Armstrong and Chas. Harris. (Chs. Caldwell.)

Isaac Adams to Margaret Winford. May 22, 1792. Isaac (his X mark) Adams and Daniel (his X mark) Adams. (G. Enochs?).

Richard Armstrong to Elizabeth Gibson. Aug. 8, 1792. Richard Armstrong and Henry Hughey. (Chas. Caldwell.)

Thomas Anderson to Martha Dickey. October 8, 1792. Thomas Anderson and Mick Troy(?). (Jo. Chambers.)

Hugh Allen to Martha Swan. November 10, 1792. Hugh Allen and Richard Trotter. (Jo. Chambers.)

John Adams to Mary Hunt. February 15, 1793. John Adams and William Lucky. (Jo^{s} Chambers.)

John Aldridge(?) to (no name). February 26, 1793. John Aldrige and G. Wood. (Jo^{s} Chambers.)

Alexander Auston to Anna Braly. March 23, 1793. Alexander Aston and John Braly. (Max Chambers.)

Nicholas Aldrege to Sarah Knock. August 9, 1793. Nicholas Aldrege and Fredrick (his X mark) Allimong. (Jo^{s} Chambers.)

Jeremiah Allen to Susanah Spoon. October 2, 1794. Jeremiah (his X mark) Allen and Evan X Davis. (John Eccles, Esqr.)

Peter Adams to Ann Smith (or Sneth?). December 29, 1794. Peter Adams and Leonard Crider. (M—Troy.)

Killian Jarrett to Eliz. Clingerman. January 2, 1795. Killian Jarrett and John ——(?) (No name.)

James Anderson to Mary Graham. May 27, 1795. James Anderson and Andrew Irwine. (I Troy, D. C.)

William Adams to Elenor Simpson. March 18, 1795. William (his X mark) and Ross Simson. (I. Troy, D. C.)

John Adams to Esther Hawkins. October 3, 1795(?). John Adams and Isaac Jones. (I. Troy.)

Thomas Avery to Peggy Buck. May 12, 1797. Thomas (his A mark) Avery and John (his A mark) Avery. (—— Rogers?)

John Adams to Betsy Reed. January 30, 1797. John Adams and Wm. (his X mark) Adams. (No name.)

George Andrews to Catharine Barr. December 8, 1798. George Andrews and John Barr. (Edwin J. Osborn, D. C.)

Samuel Anderson to Anna Knox(?). January 24, 1800. Samuel Anderson and Robert Johnton. (Edwin J. Osborn.)

Isaac Anderson to Elizabeth Hunter. March 14, 1801. Isaac Anderson and John (H) Howard. (John Brem [?], D. C.)

James Anderson to Nelly Miller. October 3, 1801. James Anderson and William Wood. (Jno. Brem [?], D.) C.

Daniel Agener to Resina(?) Basinger. July 12, 1802. Daniel Agener and Jacob Ribeler (?). (Jno. Brem, D.) C.

George Agle to Susanah Huldemer(?). October 15(?), 1802. George Agle(?) and John (his X mark) Agle. (A. Osborn, D. C.)

Thomas Adams to Polly Michel. April 19, 1803. Thomas (his X mark) Adams and William Harwood. (John Marsh?)

Samuel Austin to Lyda Railsback. Jan. 24, 1803. Samuel Austin and Wilson Russum(?). (J. Hunt.)

William Aderton to Charity Daniel. February 9, 1804. William Aderton and James Daniel. (A. L. Osborn.)

Jesse Adams to Mary Noland. August 6, 1804. Jesse (his X mark) Adams and William Whitaker. (No name.)

John Andrews to Ruth Delow. October 13, 1805. John Andrews and Bat. Williams. (Jno. Monroe?)

Nelson Anderson to Margret Smoot. May 24, 1806. Nelson Anderson and Frederick thompson. (John Marsh, Sr.)

Josiah Albertson to Alie Ruddack. July 7, 1805. Josiah (his X mark) Albertson and James Cunnaday (Kenaday?). (William Peggott.)

John Andrews to Catharine Bell. May 23, 1807. John Andrews and William Bell. (A. L. Osborne.)

Charles Anderson to Eleander Smoot. December 5, 1808. Charles Anderson and James Smott (Smoot?). (Jno. Marsh, Sr.)

Henry Arnhard to Susanna Hartlin. October 27, 1808. Henry (his X mark) Arnhard and George (his X mark) Hartline. (A. L. Osborne.)

Peter Agenor to Catharine Rough. October 21, 1809. Peter (his X mark) and John Smathers(?). (No name.)

James Atkinson to Polly Hartley. December 13, 1809. James Atkinson and Peter (his X mark) Winkler. (Jno. Giles.)

Peter Albright, Jr., to Catharine Albright. January 17, 1810. Peter Albright(?) and Peter Albright, Sr. (Geo. Dunn.)

Jesse Alberson(?) to Ann Baily(?). August 22, 1810. Jesse Alberson(?) and Joseph Albertson. (Jno. Giles.)

John Armsworthy to Susannah Bates. December 15, 1810. John C. Armsworthy and Aquillar Cheshier(?). (Jno. Marsh.)

Henry Allemong to Nancy Todd. April 25, 1811. Henry Allemong and George Betz. (Jno. Giles.)

John Albright to Peggy Lamb. April 24, 1811. John Albright and Peter Albright. (Ezra Allemong.)

Joseph Adams to Jensy Tussey. May 22, 1811. Joseph Adams and James welling. (Geo. Dunn.)

John Aulford to Polly Markland. September 20 (8 ?), 1811. John Alford and John Markland. (W. Ellis.)

Abraham Arey to Catharine Clingerman. November 23, 1811. Abraham Arey and John Airy. (Jno. Giles.)

Abraham Allen to Mary Allender Nailer. December 13, 1811. Abraham Allen and Jacob Allen. (Jno. Marsh, Sr.)

Benjamin Agenor to Caty Bullon. December 17, 1811. Benjamin (X) Agenor and John Trexeller(?) (Geo. Dunn.)

Abraham Alston and John Roe(?) to Winny Daniel. January 16, 1812. Abraham (his X mark) Alstin and John (his X mark) Roe(?). (J. Willson.) (The above is very faulty, but the family may know.)

Peter Albright to Mary Correll. March 9, 1812. Peter Albright and Phillip Correll. (Geo. Dunn.)

William Abbott to Hannah Myres. December 23, 1812. William Abbott and Abraham Jacobs. (Jno. Giles.)

Henry Adams to Betsy Baleman(?). February 8, 1813. Henry Adams and James Walling. (Geo. Dunn.)

Joseph Abbott to Lucy Myers. February 17, 1813. Joseph Abbott and Abraham Jacobs. (Jno. Giles.)

Isaac Allen to Sally Hawkins. August 31, 1813. Isaac Allen and Ebenezer Frost. (R. Powell.)

Lewis Aplen to Mary Bannerfut. September 28, 1813. Lewis (his X mark) Aplen and Peter Younce. (I. Willson.)

Michael Akel to Polly Flemmon. December 12, 1813. Michael Akel and George Lowry. (John Hanes.)

Peter Agle to Peggy Stirwalt. April 30, 1814. Peter Eagle and Joseph Basinger. (Jno. Giles.)

Michael Anderson to Jensy Hartley. October 29, 1814. Michael Anderson and Henry Allemong. (Geo. Dunn.)

Isaac Aley to Sally Setlif(?). May 4, 1815. Isaac (his X mark) Aley and Samuel X Nedding (?). (Jno. Giles.)

Garland Anderson to Sally Frost. July 15, 1815. Garland Anderson and R. Powell. (R. Powell.)

Thomas Archibald to Sarah F. Luckey. January 30, 1816. Thomas Archibald and William Potts. (Jno. Giles.)

Samuel Agenor to Polly Grubb. April 15, 1816. Samuel (his X mark) Agenor and Samuel Lemly. (Geo. Dunn.)

Peter Ader to Betsy Rickett. April 28, 1816. Peter (his X mark) Ader and Samuel (his X mark) Bird. (J. Willson.)

James Atkinson to Mary Berry. May 1, 1816. James Atkinson and William (his X mark) Adams. (Henry Giles.)

James Austin to Margaret S. Gambal. May 27, 1816. J. L. Austin and Bennet Austin. (R. Powell.)

Daniel Airy to Rebecca Rttman(?). August 29, 1816. Daniel (his X mark) Airy and Adam Kauble (Cauble?). (Jno. Giles.)

Starling Abbott to Nancy Mervil. September 7, 1816. Starling (his X mark) Abbott and William Mervil (Merrel?). (Henry Giles.)

Peter Adams to Sally Walton. October 17, 1816. Peter Adams and Ezra Allemong.

Gabil Aery to Prissy Parker. October 23, 1816. Gabriel Avery and Daniel (his X mark) Aery. (Milo A. Giles.)

Bennet Austin to Margaret Carson. February 9, 1817. Bennet Austin and Basil G. Jones. (R. Powell.)

Peter Albright to Betsey Fink. December 12, 1817. Peter (his X mark) Albright and John Albright(?). (Milo A. Giles.)

Shadrach Aytcheson to Lydia O'rel. January 6, 1818. Shadrach Aytcheson and Wm. Aytcheson. (R. Powell.)

Riley Aytcheson to Mary Black. January 22, 1814 (or '18). Riley (his X mark) Aytcheson and Silas (his X mark) Aytcheson. (Jno. R. Palmer, Saml. Jones.)

Jacob Agner to Betsey Waller. January 28, 1818. Jacob (his X mark) Agner and george Waller (?). (Jno. Giles.)

Jacob Allen to Barbary Balance. October 31, 1818. Jacob Allen and Robert McClamrock. (R. Powell.)

Jeremiah Airey to Christena Eller. March 25, 1819. Jeremiah Airy and Abraham Airey(?). (Jno. Giles.)

Wm. Adams to Elizabeth Hall. September 2, 1819. Wm. Adams and John Tomlinson. (R. Powell.)

Stephen Allen to Sally Deever. December 26, 1819. Stephen Allen and Samuel Smith. (R. Powell.)

John Area to Mary Redwine. March 23, 1820. John Area and Peter Arey. (No name.)

Andrew Allison to Jane Knox. February 4, 1820. Andrew Allison and Richard Gillespie. (Jno. Giles.)

William Albertson to Margaret Elliott. January 16, 1820. William Albertson and Shadrack M. Gevandan. (L. Hunt.)

Henry Albright to Christena Kesler. April 24, 1820. Henry Albright and John Albright. (Hy [?] Giles.)

Lazerus Apling to Susana Hill. May 8, 1820. Lazerus (his X mark) Apling and Reuben Johnson. (J. Willson.)

Jeremiah Akels to Elizabeth Johnson. August 3, 1820. Jeremiah eakels and James (his X mark) Johnson. (No name.)

James Adderton to Martha Parker. August 15, 1820. James Adderton and Barham Parker. (Jno. Giles.)

INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication on great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

Vol. XI OCTOBER, 1911 No. 2

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of the Booklet is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. Editor.

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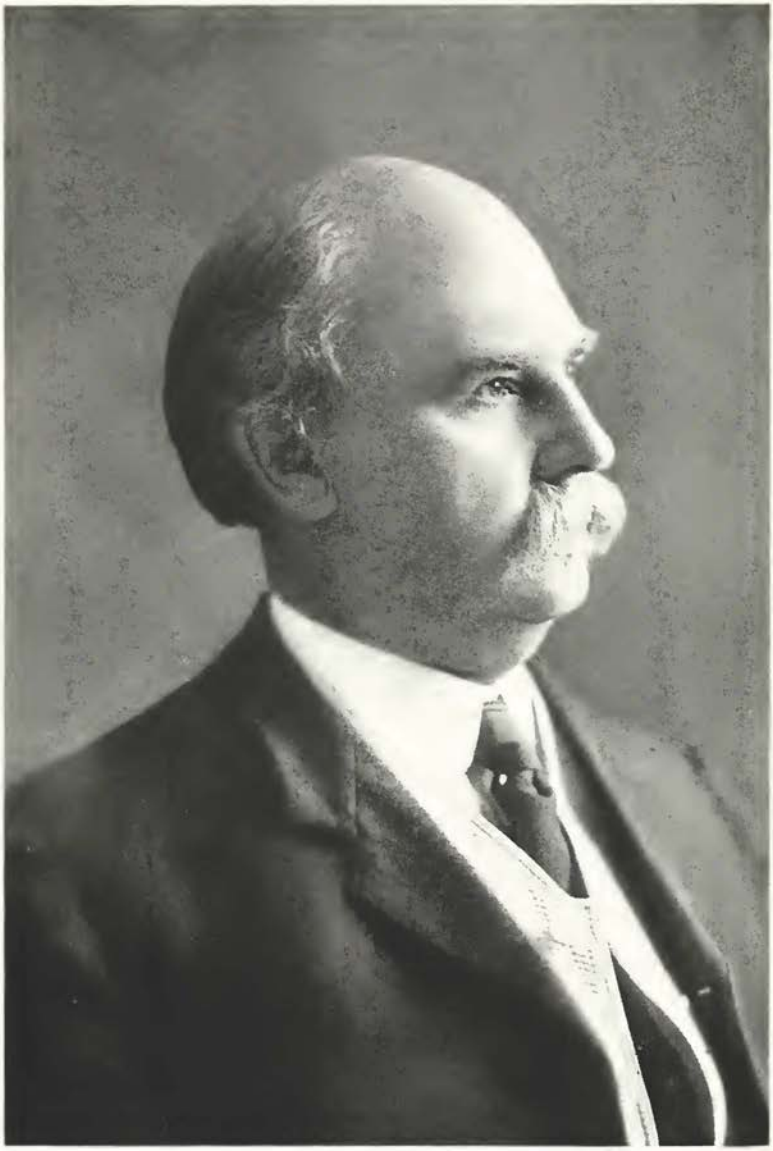

Walter Clark

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF NORTH CAROLINA

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XI OCTOBER, 1911 No. 2

ROANOKE ISLAND*

Standing on the Aventine hill, by the banks of the Tiber, we can still behold the cradle of the great Roman people, the beginning of that imperial race which for centuries held in its control the entire civilized world of their day and whose laws, whose feat of arms, whose thought, have profoundly impressed all succeeding ages.

HERE BEGAN THE GREATEST MOVEMENT OF THE AGES.

Standing here we see the spot where first began on this continent the great race which in the New World in three hundred years has far surpassed in extent of dominion, in population and power the greatest race known to the Old. Farther than the imperial eagles ever flew, over more men than its dominion ever swayed, with wealth which dwarfs its boasted treasures, and intelligence and capacity unknown to its rulers, this new race in three centuries has covered a continent, crossed great rivers, built great cities, tunneled mountains, traversed great plains, scaled mountain ranges and halting but for a moment on the shores of a vaster ocean, has already annexed a thousand islands and faces the shores of a Western continent so distant that we call it the East.

We do well to come here to visit the spot where this great movement began. It was one of the great epochs of all history. Here, 36 years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock; here, 23 years before John Smith and Jamestown, in the year 1584, the first English keel grated

*Address of Judge Walter Clark at meeting inaugurated by the State Literary and Historical Association, Manteo, N. C., 24 July, 1902.

on the shores of what is now the United States. Here the greatest movement of the ages began, which has completed the circuit of the globe. For thousands of years, God in His wisdom had hidden this land behind the billows till His appointed time, and in Europe and Asia millions had fought and perished for the possession of narrow lands. The human intellect had been dwarfed with the dimensions of its prison house. In due season Copernicus gauged the heavens, revealing countless worlds beyond our grasp, and Columbus almost at the same time unveiled this tangible world beyond the Atlantic. Stunned, dazed, the mind of man slowly realized the broadened vision unrolled before it. Since then the energies of the human intellect have steadily expanded, and thought has widened with the process of every sun.

Here broke the spray of the first wave of Saxon population and now westward across the continent to the utmost verge and beyond it, there rolls a human sea. Three centuries have done this.

About this very date Amidas and Barlowe landed here, for on July 4, a day doubly memorable on these shores, they descried land and sailing up the coast 120 miles they entered with their two small vessels through an inlet, probably now closed. Proceeding further they came abreast of this island, where they landed and were hospitably received.

WHAT WONDROUS CHANGES.

Nature remains unaltered. As on that July day, of the long ago, earth, air and sky and sea remain the same. The same blue arch bends above us. The same restless ocean rolls. The same sun shines brightly down. The same balmy breezes breathe soft and low. The same headlands jut out to meet the waves. The same bays lie open to shelter the coming vessels. The trees, the foliage, the landmarks, would all

be recognized by the sea-worn wanderers of that memorable day. But as to what is due to man, how altered!

To the westward, where the Indian paddled his light canoe on great rivers, innumerable vessels, moved by the energies of steam, plow the waters, freighted with the product of every industry and the produce of every clime. Where the smoke of the lonely wigwam rose, now the roar of great cities fills the ear and the blaze of electric lights reddens the sky. Where then amid vast solitudes the war-whoop resounded, boding death and torture, now rise a thousand steeples and anthems to the Prince of Peace float upon the air. Where the plumed and painted warrior stealthily trod the narrow war path, mighty engines rush. Where a few thousand naked savages miserably starved and fought and perished, near one hundred millions of the foremost people of all the world live and prosper. Three short centuries have seen this done.

OUR CONTRIBUTION TO EUROPE.

Looking eastward the ocean rolls unchanged, but not as then to be crossed only after two or three months of voyage. Already a week suffices for its passage and across its waves even now messages flash without the medium of wires. Beyond its shores is also a new world. When the first expedition landed here, the Turk was threatening Vienna, and the Spaniard was asserting his right to burn and pillage in Holland. The fires of the Inquisition burned in Spain and Belgium. France, sunk to a second-class power, grovelled beneath the rule of one of the most worthless of its many worthless kings, the third Henry—while England, the England of Drake and Raleigh, of Shakespeare and Bacon, and of Elizabeth, already lay beneath the growing shadow of the Armada, whose success threatened the extinction of English liberty and of the Protestant religion. Russia was then a

small collection of barbarous tribes, and Germany and Italy, not yet nations, were mere geographical expressions. Contrast that with the Europe of today. The change is barely less startling there than on this side of the water.

The change has been greatly due to the reflex action from this side. Civilization has been and is on the steady increase in the betterment of the masses. The leaders of thought, Shakespeare, Bacon, Michael Angelo, Dante, Petrarch, the painters, the sculptors, the statesmen, were as great then as since. The difference is in the masses. Then they were degraded, disregarded, beaten with many stripes, dying like animals after living like brutes; today they have a voice in every government and are beginning more fully to perceive that they have unlimited power which they can use for their own advancement and the betterment of their material surroundings.

The change started here when a new race began, without feudal burdens and amid the breadth and freedom of untrammeled nature. With new paths to tread, new roads to make, new rivers to travel, new cities to build, men began to think new thoughts and to add to the freedom of nature the liberty of speech and of action.

WHERE THE SHACKLES OF THE AGES WERE BROKEN.

Well do we come here to visit the spot where the shackles of the ages were broken, precedents forgotten and where man first began to stand upright in the likeness in which God had made him.

Naught tells more forcibly the depression in which the minds of the men of that day were held than the fact that the hardy English mariners, the descendants of the Vikings of old, delayed nearly a century after Columbus had discovered the New World before the foot of an Anglo-Saxon had trod the shores of North America. From the discovery

in 1492 to the first landing here in 1584 and the first permanent but feeble settlement at Jamestown in 1607 was a long time. Could another new continent such as this be discovered in 3,000 miles of London today, not as many hours would elapse as our ancestors of three centuries ago permitted years to pass, before the English race would land on its shores. In 1520 Cortez led the Spaniards to the Plateau of Mexico and subverted an empire. Yet 65 years more passed before Amidas and Barlowe led the first English expedition to land on this continent.

Not only were men's minds enthralled by governments which existed solely for the benefit of the few, but the condition of the upper classes was only in degree better than that of the poorer. Coffee, sugar, tobacco, potatoes and other articles of common use by the poorest today were unknown. Queen Elizabeth herself lived on beer and beef, and forks being unknown that haughty lady ate with her fingers, as did Shakespeare, Raleigh and Bacon. Articles of the commonest use and necessity in the dwellings of the poorest now, were then not to be obtained in the palaces of kings. Carpets were absent in the proudest palaces and on the fresh strewn rushes beneath their tables princes and kings threw the bones and broken meats from their feasts. Religion was to most a gross superstition, law was a jargon and barbarous, and medicine the vilest quackery. Just in proportion as the masses have been educated, as freedom has been won by them, as their rights have been considered, the world has advanced in civilization and in material well being.

Unlike the founding of Rome, where the seat of Empire abode by its cradle, no great cities arose here at Roanoke Island, at Jamestown nor at Plymouth. The new movement begun here was not for empire but for the people, and it has advanced and spread in all directions.

THE GREAT DANGER TODAY.

In 1820 Daniel Webster delivered a memorable oration at the anniversary of the landing at Plymouth Rock. In that speech he prophesied that our free government could stand only so long as there was a tolerable equality in the division of property. What would he say could he stand here today and count over the names of those possessed of $20,000,000, of $50,000,000, of $100,000,000, even of more than $200,000,000 and name over the great trusts and corporations who levy taxes and contributions at their own will, greater than those exacted for all the purposes of government? He instances that when the great monasteries and other church corporations under the Tudors threatened English prosperity the eighth Henry confiscated their property (as has been done in our day by Mexico and other Latin countries) and redistributed their accumulations. He might have added that when the new commercial monopolies under his daughter Elizabeth bade fair to take the place of the suppressed ecclesiastical foundations in recreating inequality, the Commons called on her to pause and that haughty, unbending sovereign had the common sense to save her throne by yielding.

Mr. Webster also utilized the occasion to point to the fact that in France by her exemption of nobles and priests from taxation, property had gravitated into their hands till the wild orgy of revolution had retransferred it to the people and he prophesied that the new law in that country which by restricting the right to will property had prevented its accumulation into a few hands would inevitably destroy the restored monarchy and rebuild the republic. His prophecy has come true.

The great expounder of the constitution was right. Power goes with those who own the property of the country. When

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

property is widely distributed and a fair share of the comforts of life are equally in the reach of all, a country will remain a republic. When property, by whatever agency, becomes concentrated in a few hands, a change is impending. Either the few holders will bring in, as he stated, an army that will change the government to a monarchy, or revolution will force a redistribution as in England and France. That has been the lesson of history.

In this day, of wider intelligence and general education, let us hope and believe that there is a third way, hitherto unknown in practice, and that by the operation of just and wiser laws enacted by the sovereignty of the people, a more just and equal distribution of wealth will follow and the enjoyment of material well being will be more generally diffused among the masses. All power is derived from and belongs to the people and should be used solely for their good. This is the fundamental teaching of the institutions which begin their record from the landing of the Anglo-Saxon race on these shores, a landing which was first made at this spot.

Had I the ability of Mr. Webster, could I speak with his authority, I might point out as he did the great danger of the accumulation of wealth in a few hands, and might foresee and foretell the remedies which a great, a wise and an all-powerful people will apply. But I shall not follow in the path which he has trod, *haud passibus equis.*

Let us not forget on this occasion that to this island belongs the distinguished honor of being the birthplace of the first American girl. It is the Eden from which she sprung. She had no predecessor and remains without a model and without a rival. In that first Eden man was the first arrival and the garden was a failure. Here the girl was the first arrival and the boys have followed her ever since. Appropriately she bore the name of Dare, and daring, delightful, her successors have been ever since. We do well, were

we to come here solely to do honor to the memory of the first American girl, this finished, superlative product of her sex and of these later ages.

NORTH CAROLINA'S FUTURE.

When the first expedition landed here there were, it is estimated, in the bounds of the present State of North Carolina, 20,000 Indians, earning a precarious living by fishing and hunting and spending their miserable lives in slaying and torturing one another. Today we have near 2,000,000 of the foremost race of all the world, living in peace and order. Could I, like Mr. Webster in his Plymouth Rock oration, prophesy as to the future—100 years hence—I should predict a still greater change. I should say that with the same rate of increase North Carolina will then have 6,000,000 of people and that cities of 100,000 inhabitants will be numbered by the score; that every village will be connected with its neighbor by electric roads, for steam will have ceased to be a motive power; that education will be universal and poverty unknown; that every swamp will have been drained to become the seat of happy homes; that every river will be deepened and straightened; that public works operated for the benefit of the people and not for the enrichment of a few, will bring comforts and conveniences, now unknown, to the most distant fireside; that the hours of labor will be shortened; that the toil of agriculture will be done by machinery and that irrigation will have banished droughts; that the advance of medicine, already the most progressive science among us, will have practically abolished all diseases save that of old age; that simpler laws and an elevated and all powerful public opinion will have minimized crime and reduced the volume of litigation; that religion less sectarian and disputatious about creeds and forms will be a practical exemplification of that love of fellow man

which was typified by its divine founder; that every toiler with brains or with hand will prosper and that under juster laws the only inequality in wealth or condition will be that due to the difference in the energy, efforts and natural gifts of each possessor.

This is but the first of many successive celebrations of the landing here and if these feeble, fugitive words shall be preserved to that distant day the speaker who shall read them to a vast audience gathered here will either justify the prophecy or at least he will say, "In the interest of the happiness of the human race, they ought to have come true."

HOW CAN INTEREST BE AROUSED IN THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA?*

Those of you who at dawn have rocked on the restless deep know that when the great sun lifts himself upon the horizon a breeze always springs up and with the new light a new breath from heaven walks upon the face of the waters. So in North Carolina as the doors swing wide open to the coming Twentieth Century, we feel that a new spirit is moving upon the face of the land. A new epoch is at hand. Universal education must soon come and with it will come the untold development of our resources and of the energies of our people. We feel that farther west than the fabled island of Atlantis, this land of North Carolina is rising into the sunlight of a grander and a more perfect day.

To no other agency is so much credit due for this great movement as to this Association. Though I believe this is only the eighteenth annual meeting of your body, you have in these seventeen years completely revolutionized public sentiment in this State upon the subject of public schools. The beautiful words of Barry Yelverton, Lord Avonmore, on another subject, can with justice be applied to you in connection with the public school system of this State: "You found it a skeleton and you have clothed it with life, color and complexion; you have embraced the cold statue and at your touch it has grown into youth, beauty and vigor." Instead of being barely tolerated, our public schools are now deemed of the first necessity and no public man and no respectable section of society dare oppose them. They are becoming our pride and the only real question is so to readjust taxation that a sum adequate to their just and proper support shall be laid upon those best able to bear it.

*Address by Judge Walter Clark, President of N. C. Literary and Historical Society, before the Teachers' Assembly, Wrightsville, N. C., 12 June, 1901.

You are to be congratulated upon the $200,000 appropriated from the general fund, which is due to your efforts. Though inadequate, it is an installment upon the pledges made for the education of the children. It is also significant of the growth in public sentiment that every election this spring upon the subject of graded schools has been favorable and indeed in some places unanimous.

The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, though organized only last fall, has been, I am proud to say, as I have the honor to be its president, of some assistance to you in this great work. It was in one of our meetings that the plan of public school libraries was formulated. The draft of the bill as originally suggested by Professor Grimsley was with some amendments adopted by the General Assembly, having been ably and eloquently championed by Senator H. S. Ward and other progressive and public spirited members.

Though now limited to six school districts in each county with a library of $30 each, this is a good beginning. It will not be long before the library will be extended to every school district in the State, and the appropriation for each library will be increased.

The subject you have assigned me, "How to Encourage the Study of the History of North Carolina," struck me with surprise. It is related of the great Hannibal that a certain philosopher undertook to point out to him the defects in his system of strategy, with possibly some criticism of his lingering so long around Capua. The old warrior listened with such interest that some one ventured to ask him afterwards what he thought of the philosopher. "Why," he said, "he had such cheek I was bound to listen to see what he would say next." I do not understand why I have been selected to talk of war in the presence of so many Hannibals—if some one present who is skilled in the Punic tongue will tell me

the feminine for Hannibal—I will add in the presence of so many Hannibals and lady Hannibals. I can only account for it upon the popular superstition, which is entirely unfounded, that a lawyer's cheek is equal to anything. It is so hard for a superstition to die out!

The first requisite for the encouragement of the study of history is a sufficient school term and suitable school houses in which it may be taught. First "catch your rabbit" precedes all directions as to how to cook him. With the present school term of little over three months there is not much time for more than the "three R's." All declamation and oratory in favor of longer terms, and all pledges of "education for all the children," are worse than idle unless there is sufficient revenue for the support of the schools.

Your Association has created and directed the public sentiment which is now almost unanimously in favor of an efficient system of public schools. What is needed now is the financial ability which shall draft and enact a modern up-to-date system of taxation which shall raise the necessary funds by the readjustment of the burdens in accordance with modern conditions. It is idle to talk about a nine months' term with the appropriations now available. More money must be had, and a great deal more. It can not be raised by increasing the tax upon land and merchandise, the crude mediæval system which is still so largely in vogue among us. The farmer's business is not prosperous. You can not add to his burdens. Nor can the merchant, who now pays not only a double tax but a threefold or fourfold tax, bear a heavier burden. In the classic language of the day, "the proposition is up to you."

Your able secretary, who for four years has been the efficient superintendent of public schools, has in two reports called the attention of the Legislature to a new source of revenue, hitherto untouched, which he thought could most easily

contribute to the support of the public schools. The railroads of this State collect as North Carolina's proportion of their earnings annually over $16,000,000 of which more than $6,000,00 is net profit. Not one dollar of this immense revenue pays one cent of tribute to God nor Cæsar. As they are owned almost entirely by nonresidents, these great net revenues are carried out of the State, never to return, and thus to our permanent impoverishment.

Not in a spirit of hostility to them but in justice to all other taxpayers, Mr. Mebane has called attention to the fact that many other States were raising a large share of their revenue from a tax on the gross earnings of corporations. Illinois lays a tax of eight per cent upon the gross earnings of the Illinois Central, and Governor Odell, of New York, has recommended that all the revenues of that State should be derived from that source alone, leaving the tax upon real and personal property for county purposes. It has been suggested that a tax of five per cent levied upon the $16,000,000 of railroad earnings in this State would raise $800,000 from that source alone which should be a sacred fund devoted solely to school purposes. The tax on the earnings of other great corporations would raise this additional revenue for school purposes to more than $1,000,000 annually. It would not be seriously felt by the subjects of it, for while a tax of five per cent on the $16,000,000 of gross earnings is $800,000 yet as the net earnings of the railroads in North Carolina are over $6,000,000 there would still be left them $5,200,000 net revenue, which is thirteen per cent. net interest upon the $40,000,000 on which they are assessed as the fair value of all their real and personal property in this State. It would seem that they can well afford to pay $800,000 tax on gross earnings when after such payment there will still be left them thirteen per cent net earnings upon the actual value of their property. Every dollar of this sum

will be needed before you can have an adequate school fund. As Mr. Mebane said, where else can you get it from parties who can so easily and justly pay it? If there is any better source let us find it. The schools must be supported by taxation.

In making this recommendation Mr. Mebane was but following the examples set us by so many other States. Think what $1,000,000 added to your school fund annually in North Carolina can do! What a real impetus it would give to the cause of education!

Mr. Mebane's recommendation was eminently just, even if it had required a constitutional amendment, but as long as the franchise of the railroads was practically untaxed his recommendation was not open to the objection that "no income can be taxed when the property from which the income is derived is taxed." Another provision to which lobbyists favoring the exemption of the most profitable business in the State did not call attention is in the same clause of the Constitution and requires *"all* real and personal property to be taxed according to its true value in money." This did not, however, escape the General Assembly of 1901, which has now provided (Ch. 7, Secs. 50 and 43) that the intangible property, the franchise, shall be assessed by taking the *aggregate* of the *market value* of the bonds and stocks of any railroad as its true value (which is necessarily so) and that deducting therefrom the valuation of its assessed tangible property, the *difference is the value of the franchise.* This is as simple and unanswerable as a proposition in Euclid, and is the method recognized by courts, financiers and "the public" (as the statute says). As the market value of the bonds and stocks of the portion of the railroads lying in this State is known to be considerably over $150,000,000 and the assessment of their other property to this time is only $42,000,000, it follows that over $108,000,000 is now added

from this hitherto untaxed source, which, on the *ad valorem* basis, provided in the same statute, will add $720,000 annual revenue. The act provides that it shall be *in force from its ratification.* If the operation of the act had been postponed, it would have been an exemption of this vast value from taxation which the Legislature could not grant.

The same statute applies to other corporations and thus the franchise tax will appropriate $800,000, the very sum which Mr. Mebane proposed to raise by his tax on gross earnings, but which is now to be raised in a method which is beyond constitutional objection. The requirements of this law are too plain to be misunderstood and we can not presume that there will be any failure to execute it.

Now, it is for you to procure the General Assembly to appropriate this tax on franchises (in lieu of the proposed tax on gross earnings) to the public schools. The watchfulness of those interested in public education will thus be a check upon the influences which by every device and subtlety will endeavor to repeal or evade this tax.

Declamation is cheap. Words butter no parsnips. If this people is to become an educated people it must be done by levying an adequate tax which shall raise a school fund sufficient for the purpose. Your assembly having started the public sentiment which is now so overwhelmingly in favor of public schools, you must now find the means—you must indicate the source from which can be most justly and easily raised by taxation a sum sufficient to educate all the children of this State. If you mean to build up a really efficient school system and not merely declaim about it; if, in short, you mean business, you can not rest till an all powerful public sentiment shall be aroused which shall send to Raleigh a Legislature to vote the money, without which an adequate school system is impossible.

The suggestion that the already underpaid public school teachers shall each contribute two months', or one month's, additional instruction without charge is unjust and unprecedented. They have no greater interest than others in public instruction and have already done far more for it by working at inadequate wages. Suppose the suggestion were made equitable and democratic, that all others should contribute two months' work to the schools, that farmers, merchants, doctors, preachers, lawyers, office-holders and great corporations should contribute each their earnings for two months' work! If the teachers are to be called on let all others contribute in the same proportion.

Instruction in history can of course be had in the University, in Trinity College, Wake Forest, Davidson, Elon, Whitsett, Oak Ridge, Guilford College, and many another whose equipment would do honor to larger and wealthier States. The shortage is not there, but with those less fortunate whose opportunities in life are to be found in the public schools alone.

You must first catch your rabbit—you must first get sufficient school terms and school houses and school teachers whereby something more than the "three R's" can be taught —then we reach the secondary stage—how to encourage the study of the history of North Carolina.

The first consideration when you have the schools and the leisure to teach history is, you must make it interesting to the pupils. Articles, brief and striking, should be written upon the most salient points of our history—cameos of history, so to speak. Something in that line has been done by Mr. Creecy and Mr. W. C. Allen and some others. Such gems well set will attract the boy or girl when grave compilations like those of Dr. Hawks, Colonel Wheeler and others will repel.

Then, if possible, the eye should be appealed to by paint-

ings and engravings. In every Massachusetts school book, in every Massachusetts library and public building, you will find engravings of the notable events in her history and of the great men who have led her people on all great occasions.

There you will find placed before the eye of childhood the representation of the landing from the Mayflower upon that rock bound coast in the depth of winter, the flight of the British from Lexington, the death of Warren, the scenes in her Indian wars, the pictures of Adams, of Hancock, and Webster. What Massachusetts child ever forgets the native land which produced such men or the spots where such events occurred?

They have the landing of the Pilgrims in 1520. What North Carolina school room or public building impresses upon the mind of childhood that other scene thirty-six years earlier, when the first English settlement on this continent was made upon our own shores at Roanoke Island? Not amid the snows on a barren coast, as at Plymouth Rock, but in the middle of a semi-tropical summer, with the great cypresses, hung with moss, as sentinels of the historic scene, and the odors of Araby the blest wafted to the sea-worn wanderers from the shores of this new land of hope and of plenty.

In Massachusetts' books every striking scene in King Phillip's war and in the Pequot war is not only recorded by the pens of facile writers, but the painter's brush and the engraver's tool have faithfully preserved the features of each locality and imagination has restored the features, the arms and the dress of the actors in each stirring scene.

What pen or pencil or engraving or brush brings to the plastic mind of our children the scenes of our own Indian wars? There is that expedition by Governor Lane up the Roanoke in search of the gold supposed to lie at its source.

Between Hamilton and Williamston he was suddenly assailed by flights of arrows and driven back. Had that happened on the headwaters of the Connecticut what vivid reproductions we should have both by pen and engraving. From above Hamilton to the mouth of the river the aspect of the Roanoke flowing through an almost unbroken forest is nearly the same today as it was on the day of the defeat of that hardy expedition. The writer or painter who wishes to portray that scene has today but to visit some stretches of the lordly river as it flows amid eternal silence and through unbroken forests to its mouth. He has but to draw true to nature. There are the great trees, and the same solemn silence unbroken save by the rippling of the river, the deer on the banks, the startled water fowl, the wild flowers, the same riotous magnificence of primeval nature. Let him evoke from history and imagination the picture of the great canoes filled with Englishmen slowly toiling up the stream, their habits as they wore, their arms, their standards, the savages half concealed on shore, the sudden flight of arrows. This and more, faithfully written or sketched on the spot and reproduced by printing press and the engraving stone, would give the children of North Carolina an interest in that event in the history of their State and a conception of the conditions then existing here which they have never had.

Then there are the terrible scenes of massacre of our own great Indian war of 1711, the march of the South Carolina troops hundreds of miles through the trackless forest to our aid and the storm and sack of the Indian fort at Nahucke in 1713, which finally broke the Indian power. Could our children ever forget such scenes or fail to feel an interest in them if presented to their minds by a graphic pen or appropriate engraving?

In Northern school books, so largely used among us, are stirring narratives of the expedition to Louisburg and to

Canada, but where is the book which contains a reference, much less a picturesque description or engraving, of the earlier expedition of 1740 to South America, or the capture of Havana in 1762, in both of which North Carolina had a share?

Massachusetts books and Massachusetts school rooms bear many an engraving of the stirring times when Patriots, disguised as Indians, threw the tea into Boston harbor in 1773. But where are the engravers or the writers who have impressed upon the minds of our children that scene when the brave men under Waddell and Ashe, unmasked and bravely in broad daylight in a few miles of this spot, in 1765, eight years before the Boston tea party, forbade Great Britain to put her stamp act into execution in this Province or even to land her stamps?

In painting and in bronze Massachusetts has preserved the memory of the Attucks riot in Boston on the eve of the Revolution. On Boston Common the great memorial stands. But where is our statuary, or our painting, or our engraving of the battle of Alamance in 1771?

They have Paul Revere's midnight ride to fame. Why leave unsung that other ride from Charlotte to Philadelphia?

Where, indeed is our painting of that grand scene for which Massachusetts has no parallel—the meeting which issued the immortal declaration of independence at Mecklenburg on the 20th of May, 1775?

They have immortalized by pen and pencil the defeat of the Americans at Bunker Hill. Where and how have we placed before admiring eyes the first victory for the American arms, which was achieved at Moore's Creek in February, 1776, that striking scene when the planks of the bridge being taken up, brave men crossed on the stringers amid the fires of battle, as the Moslems tell us souls pass to paradise over Al Sirat's arch, spanning by a single hair the flames of hell?

Pencil and brush and pen love to linger on the grand scene when, on the 4th of July, 1776, the thirteen colonies declared that they ought to be and were sovereign and independent. But has anyone ever seen a similar picture of that meeting of the Provincial Congress at Halifax on the 12th of April, 1776, when the first resolution was passed by any State instructing that other Congress at Philadelphia to do what was done nearly three months later? Had we impressed that by story, by statue or by stipple plate upon the minds of our own people would a scholar like Senator Lodge have forgotten it or ignored it in his study of those times?

Brave men lived before Agamemnon, and brave men and great men have lived, at least they did live in those times, south of the Virginia line, but what have we done to perpetuate their memories? In nearly every home in Massachusetts hangs a portrait of John Hancock, or one of the Adams; where is our Cornelius Harnett or Richard Caswell? They have Warren, dying in defeat at Bunker Hill. Where is our engraving of Nash, falling on the field of Germantown?

Like a silhouette the heroic figure of Hardy Murfree, leading his forlorn hope of North Carolinians to the capture of Stony Point on the Hudson, stands out against the sky line of all history. But who has preserved the names of those brave followers; what engraving presents their immortal action to our children; what graphic pen has made this scene a living one to our people? What North Carolinian can claim that he is descended from those stormy petrels of victory, who piloted Anthony Wayne to eternal fame on the summit of that ridge?

What has been said or sung or engraved as to the North Carolina line, steady as the Old Guard of Napoleon itself, at Germantown, at Monmouth, at Eutaw Springs, and on many other fields?

What school room in North Carolina has an engraving of that event, unprecedented in history, when the volunteers of a day, springing, like the clansmen of Roderick Dhu, from our mountain sides, self-organized, without muster rolls, without impulse other than the defense of their little homes, moved down like an avalanche upon the foe led by one of the enemy's best officers and bursting over the fiery crest of King's Mountain broke forever Cornwallis' hopes of success?

And at a later date, where are our engravings of other patriotic sons of North Carolina who would have been an honor to any people?

It was Themistocles who declared that the trophies of Miltiades would not allow him to sleep. The Israelites, when they had passed over Jordan built twelve pillars that their children's children might ask, "What mean these stones?" that posterity being told the story of Israel's greatness in war and the unity of the twelve tribes might bear it in remembrance for all ages. Where are our trophies, the proud memorials of the great deeds of our ancestors, whose aspect shall stir the hearts of aspiring youth to emulate them and to repeat our Marathons on future fields? The tall shaft on Bunker Hill still rises to greet the sun in his coming, and on its summit the genius of Webster's grand oration will linger as a halo forevermore. On every heroic spot in all that land shaft, or sculpture, or inscribed tablet, records that there man has died for man. But what of us?

Of recent years, we have made a small beginning. A crumbling monument to Governor Caswell, blasted by fire, stands in the streets of Kinston; a monument in the Capitol square, facing the setting sun, recalls the already fading tradition of the 125,000 soldiers who belted North Carolina like a living wall in the grand days of 1861-'5; a bronze statue of our great tribune of the people stands on the same

square, appropriately facing the East, for, ever hopeful of the progress and prosperity of the people he loved so well and served so faithfully, he ever stood praying and hoping for the dawn of a brighter day.

You are arousing this people as they have never been aroused before to the needs of education. You propose to educate them to the last boy and girl.

You propose to give them the increased capacity for learning, for enjoyment, for usefulness, which comes from education. But what then? Shall you lay before them histories wherein Massachusetts, with some aid from one or two great Virginians, conquered the British lion—books which represent no North Carolina historical event, and the features of no great North Carolinian, in which our revolutionary history is a desert, with, perhaps a mild reference to the militia at Guilford Court House, and in which our ante-revolutionary stone is a mere table of names? Can you excite an interest in the study of North Carolina's history by such books as those? Can you inspire any young Themistocles to emulate the deeds of Miltiades when the story of those deeds is left untold?

I will not touch upon the ground of the misrepresentations of the events of 1861-'5. Public attention has been drawn to that and probably a true story of those eventful years will be laid before our children. But will it be interesting? Shall you give them the bare facts and a barren list of names? Where can better subjects be found for painter, for sculptor, for graphic writing?

Take among so many a single incident. At New Bern the battle* had gone sore against us. Four hundred soldiers are cut off, with a pursuing enemy in the rear and an unfordable stream in front, the men in despair throwing their arms into the water to prevent the enemy from getting them. A single canoe is found carrying only eighteen men, there

*14 Mar., 1862.

is danger of its being swamped in the mad rush, two young officers,* both fresh from college, neither yet 21 years of age, instead of saving themselves and pushing off to safety, take their stand and count off from time to time eighteen men who pass beneath their crossed sabres, till boat load after boat load is ferried across. With immediate peril of Yankee bullets and Yankee prison, they resolutely keep their guard till every man is over and those two, the last to enter, float across to friends and to freedom. What a picture for a painter, for poet, for instructor! How it would have been emblazoned if told in Roman story by Livy, or by Macaulay to match his stirring lines which tell

> "How well Horatius did keep the bridge
> In the brave days of old."

But what audience in North Carolina this day can name these two beardless boys who came of the race of heroes?

And this incident is but one of hundreds showing that this people of North Carolina is one which produces heroes and men fit to command. If we do not sufficiently honor them it is possibly because such deeds are not rare among us.

What pen or pencil can portray to the life the heroism of the men whom Tyler Bennett, Frank Parker and George B. Anderson were proud to stand beside in that "Bloody Lane" at Sharpsburg; of the men under Pettigrew, Lowrance and Lane, who fell farthest in the front of the Southern line at Gettysburg; the men, many of them fresh from the plow and without a thought of heroism or fame, who, like an averaging flame, swept down the broken lines at the Salient, retaking and holding it against fearful odds; and of those North Carolinians in the Seven Days' Fight Around Richmond who left more than twice as many of their dead and wounded upon the field as Virginia herself or any other Southern State; the heroism of those brave men, from our

*W. A. Graham and H. K. Burgwyn, at that time respectively, Capt. Co. K, 2 N. C. Cavalry, and Lieut.-Col. 26 N. C. Reg't.

mountains to the sea, who, with no other motive than their duty, were first at Bethel and last at Appomattox, and who at all times during those four long eventful years proved themselves the peers of any troops that came against them or that fought by their side?

If you wish to encourage the study of the history of our State, can you do better than to tell the deeds of such men, plainly and simply, as befits the men who did them? Can the story be more needed; can the teaching come better than in these days, when worship of the dollar is growing and when youths are taught that the greatest among men is not he who sheds his life's blood for his fellow men at the call of his country and duty, but rather he who gathers, by whatever device, the greatest quantity of the product of the labor of others into his own keeping?

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

The State has a great history. Its people have shown themselves equal to every call upon them and equal to every occasion. But that history has not yet been presented as it should be. To excite interest in its study we must make it interesting. Tell it as it happened, its grand deeds, its heroic sufferings, its unvaunting performance of duty in the face of every danger, its uncomplaining endurance of every hardship. Paint its striking historical incidents by brush as well as by pen; engrave them, hang them on the walls of your school rooms, your libraries and your public buildings, put them in your school books. Painter and historian have recorded for the admiration of future ages that Sir Philip Sidney, when wounded at Zutphen, refused a cup of water for which he was perishing till a wounded private soldier who needed it more than he could be supplied. But that incident, and even greater self-denial, can be related of many

an unlettered North Carolina soldier who had never heard of Sir Philip or of Zutphen, but in whose veins ran the blood of heroes and whose courage is an inheritance from centuries of brave ancestors of the purest Anglo-Saxon stock on the continent.

To sum up, ladies and gentlemen, North Carolina has a history that is worth the telling and which, when truly told, will interest. It is a brave story of a people who from the first founding of the colony would brook no tyranny and who intended from the first that no one should govern them but themselves; the story of a brave, self-relying, liberty loving people.

Then tell the story in an interesting manner. Let the pens of your best writers record it in their most entertaining manner, but plainly and simply as accords with the character of our people, whose unpretentious nature is summed up in their proud motto: *"Esse Quam Videri,"* for in very truth no people can better say in the words of the great Dictator to Sir Peter Lely, "Paint me as I am." Like a beautiful woman, their story, when unadorned, is adorned the most.

Then, with an interesting history interestingly told, what more is needed? You need a wider audience. Educate the masses. Create in them an intelligent interest in their surroundings and in their history. Make it attractive by short stories attractively told. Appeal to the eye by paintings and engravings. Let the State add, when it can, sculpture and statuary.

This Rome, Greece, England, France have done. This the States north of us have done, preëminently the great educational State of Massachusetts. The means by which other States and countries have created an interest in their history are the means to which we must resort for the like purpose.

And none of them have a better foundation upon which to build.

In the language of the poet-priest of the South:

"Give me the land that is blessed by the dust,
And bright with the deeds of the down-trodden just.
Yes, give me the land where the battle's red blast
Has flashed to the future the fame of the past;
Yes, give me the land that hath legends and lays
That tell of the memories of long vanished days;
Yes, give me the land that hath story and song!
Enshrine the strife of the right with the wrong!
Yes, give me the land with a grave in each spot,
And *names in the graves that shall not be forgot.*"

KILL DEVIL HILL

BY JAQUES BUSBEE

At sunrise it floats in the mist like the diaphanous pink ghost of a hill. To stand upon it in the blinding glare of noon it is vastly more illusive—the luminous sands under your feet seeming more unreal than the remote edges cutting sharp against the deep blue sky. Even on stillest days upon the beach, the sand on the summit is ever blowing, blurring the edges with a film like heat radiations—piling up the hill in a great crescent with horns outstretched to leeward from the prevailing northeast winds.

And this vast pile of sand, hard on the windward, soft on the leeward side, is ever moving towards the southwest at the rate of two or three feet a year.

From the summit the view thrills with its far-stretched beauty. Three quarters of a mile to the east, across the coarse beach grass, is the boundless Atlantic; north, on the trembling distance is another great sand hill fifteen miles away—Paul Gamel's Hill; south, the view is splendid with the gleaming expanse of the fresh pond (a scant mile from the surf) hemmed in on its western shore by the dark mysterious Nagshead woods and the Nagshead sand hills beyond. But to the west unfolds the view of views.

The north end of Roanoke Island, on which stands Fort Raleigh, stretches across the southwest. Roanoke Sound is divided from Kitty Hawk Bay by Collington Island (named for Lord Colleton, one of the Lords Proprietors), and far to the northwest on the dim horizon is Powell's Point. Between Powell's Point and Kitty Hawk is the entrance to Currituck Sound.

Three hundred and twenty odd years ago this same view

burst upon the astonished sight of Amidas and Barlowe. For after anchoring in the inlet, which was Kitty Hawk Bay extended through the banks to the ocean, afterwards closed by the great storm of 1696, named Trinity Harbor by these first English to set foot in North Carolina, they ran to the top of the nearest sand hill on the south of the inlet to view the country. They beheld the sea on both sides "finding no end any of both ways." They shot off their harquebus shots "and such a flock of cranes for the most part white" arose under them "with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted all together."

Standing on the top of Kill Devil Hill today, the same view unfolds itself; the green-blue Atlantic to the east; the violet-blue sounds to the west; the brilliant marsh grasses, the golden sand hills, the dark dense woods, and flocks of herons "for the most part white"; the whole vast panorama blue—vivid blue from sky and sea and the reflections of myriad pools upon the beach.

Just where Amidas and Barlowe landed is an always disputed point. Barlowe's narrative, with its quaint old English wording, leaves the inquirer in greater doubt than if he took the word of any one of the many historians each of whom chose for himself the inlet which suited him best. But language, says Talleyrand, is a gloriously uncertain vehicle, invented to conceal thought.

So turn to John White's map, or rather, bird's eye view of this "coming of the English." Now a picture can mean only one thing. This picture shows a boat with eight men in it, sailing towards Roanoke Island from the northeast. The distance from the inlet where the two vessels were anchored to Roanoke was recorded by them as seven leagues. Although the distance by water from Kitty Hawk Bay to Roanoke is not as much as seven leagues, old Currituck inlet is much too far north and old Roanoke inlet is not far

enough north—for who can believe those early explorers were very accurate measures of distance? An inlet through the banks at Kitty Hawk Bay comes much nearer fitting both the account and picture than any other inlet indicated.

One thing, however, is certain and that is, an inlet once pierced the banks nearly opposite the pressure of Albemarle Sound waters. Along the shores of Kitty Hawk and the opposite shores of Collington Islands are undeniable evidences that the present fresh waters of the bay were once salt. Great mounds of oyster shells or "Indian Kitchens" line the shores. Indian relics are scattered here and there and are often "blowing out." Within the memory of living men the ocean beach curved in at a point opposite the bay to such an extent that small vessels could find in it a partial haven.

The fresh pond, a mile to the southward, was once connected with this inlet; for old men remember their fathers' statements that boats could be taken from the bay into this land-locked harbor.

Kill Devil Hill stands a natural monument to mark this old inlet of Trinity Harbor. Its sands have moved and shifted and wasted away, but other sands have blown and made up in their stead. Is it too much to hazard the belief that the first English feet to climb its yielding slope were the sailors' from Sir Walter Raleigh's two little vessels anchored in the offing, and that upon its summit Amidas and Barlowe unfurled the English flag?

Kill Devil Hill claims a present interest for two reasons; first, that from its crown (125 feet high) the Wright brothers learned to fly; and second on account of the legend of its name.

Hidden from the world at Kill Devil Hill the Wright brothers labored secretly at the most wonderful success that man has yet achieved. Over at Kitty Hawk, Mrs. W. J.

Tate shows with pride her sewing machine on which she stitched up the sails for this biplane, and at the foot of Kill Devil Hill stands the "flying shed" which sheltered that mysterious bird. How Nagshead and Kitty Hawk woods swarmed with reporters and kodaks when the Wrights' experiments had reached the point of success, is all too recent in the newspapers to need repetition.

But the legend of the name "Kill Devil" is too characteristic of the banks, as they were long ago, to be lost; and apocryphal though it may be, it deserves preservation. "In days of yore and in times long gone before" there dwelt upon the banks in the thick tangled woods of Nagshead and to the northward, a rude and primitive race of wreckers and beach combers whose living came largely from the sea.

When God in His bounty was slow to drive vessels upon the treacherous quicksands of the coast, the natives, in promising, stormy weather would hobble a bank pony, tie a lantern about his neck and turn him out upon the beach. The light bobbing up and down as the nag grazed, closely simulated the lights on a vessel at sea. Long before the days of light houses or life saving stations, when vessels cleared some port never to be heard from again, the bankers along this coast could have given information in many instances had they chosen. The mystery of Theodosia Burr Alston and the portrait of an aristocratic lady which hung for many years in a Nagshead shanty, and which was but recently identified, held a tragedy of the banks which many writers have essayed.

But that is not the story of Kill Devil. Like most stories of the banks, it begins with a wreck. A coastwise merchantman, laden with a valuable cargo, was driven upon the reef and wrecked. The crew succeeded in reaching the beach alive, and next day, the storm having much abated.

most of the cargo was gotten through the surf and piled upon the sand with a guard to watch it.

Towards midnight the guard sprang forward in wide awake terror, to find the bale of goods upon which he was sleeping detach itself from the pile and amble away across the beach, to disappear in the woods beyond the big sand hill. In a moment all hands were awake and regarding with stupified horror the spot where a moment before the bale had rested. No power but the Devil was capable of such a thing, they all declared, and they cursed the fate which had cast them upon such a coast. Two men were ordered to watch for the remainder of the night.

It was just before dawn. Both men saw it with wide open eyes. A large bale of goods broke loose from the pile and went bounding over the sand, to disappear in the direction of the big sand hill. This was no night "head notion." Daylight, however, restored quiet and these superstitious sailors held a council. Of course it was the Devil. That went without argument. But then, who could circumvent, capture, or kill, the Devil? Men were not inclined to watch or even sleep near such a diabolical spot. At length one old grizzly seadog offered to watch—alone if none had nerve enough to watch with him. He feared not man, God, nor Devil; and if it was the Devil, he swore he'd kill him.

Until midnight this fearless one patrolled the beach alone, keeping a close eye on the bales of goods so mysteriously diminished the night before. Finally he sat down for a moment just to rest his legs. With a shock to consciousness, he was startled to see a large bale of goods break loose from the pile and start across the beach towards the big hill. In an instant his gun was levelled on it, but what was there to shoot? So he ran after it as hard as he could, but it bounded along just ahead with increasing speed. Then with a desperate effort he dashed forward between the fleeing bale and

the sand hill, when he tripped and fell over a taut rope. In an instant he was on his feet, and, taking aim along the rope, he fired. The bale of goods stood still. Running along by the rope, he saw, dimly silhouetted against the faintly gleaming sand, a large black object with what he took to be two horns and a tail.

While he was reloading his gun this devilish thing began again to move. He pulled the trigger. Immediately the night was filled with a fearful noise, as the black object sank to the ground and began to kick up the sand. Rushing up to the foot of the hill, there he saw lying—the Devil, weltering in blood?—an old beach pony with a rope tied to his harness—the other end hooked to the bale of goods. But he had in truth killed the Devil, for the pile of goods remained untouched upon the beach till finally boated away. And so that grandiose sand hill standing near the site of the old inlet was ever after known as "Kill the Devil Hill."

Now as Shahrazad, perceiving the dawn of day, would remark, "Whether this be true or only legend is past finding out, but Allah is all-knowing."

CAREER OF GENERAL JAMES HOGUN, ONE OF NORTH CAROLINA'S REVOLUTIONARY OFFICERS.

BY CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK.

North Carolina in the Revolution furnished ten regiments to the regular service—the Continental line. Five of the Colonels of these became general officers, the only Generals North Carolina had in the regular service. They were General Robert Howe, who rose to be Major-General—our sole Major-General—and four Brigadiers—General James Moore, who died early in the war; General Francis Nash, killed at Germantown and buried near the field of battle—a brother of Governor Abner Nash; General Jethro Sumner, and General James Hogun.

The lives and careers of the first three named are well known. For some reason the data as to the last two have been neglected. The Hon. Kemp P. Battle, by diligent search in many quarters, was able to restore to us much information as to General Jethro Sumner, of Warren County, and, indeed, to rehabilitate his memory. As to General James Hogun, of Halifax County, the task was more difficult. Little has been known beyond the fact that he was probably from Halifax County, and that he was a Brigadier-General. The late Colonel William L. Saunders requested the writer to investigate and preserve to posterity whatever could now be rediscovered as to this brave officer.

It may be noted that North Carolina has not named a county, or township, or village, in honor of either of the four generals—Howe, Moore, Sumner, or Hogun. Moore County was named in honor of Judge Alfred Moore, of the United States Supreme Court. General Nash was the only

one of the five thus honored, the county of Nash having been formed in 1777, the year of General Nash's death at Germantown.

General James Hogun was born in Ireland, but the year and place of his birth are unknown. The name is spelt Hogun, though usually in Ireland, where the name is not uncommon, it is written Hogan—with an *a*. He removed to Halifax County, in this State, and to the Scotland Neck section of it. He married, October 3, 1751, Miss Ruth Norfleet, of the well known family of that name. In the Provincial Congress, which met at Halifax, April 4, 1776, and which framed our first State Constitution, James Hogun was one of the delegates for Halifax County. He was appointed Paymaster in the Third Regiment (Sumner's), but on 26 November, 1776, he was elected Colonel of the Seventh North Carolina Regiment, and 6 December of that year an election was ordered to fill the vacancy in Congress caused thereby. Colonel Hogun marched northward with the Seventh and Colonel Armstrong with the Eighth, and both regiments arrived in time to take part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. Colonel Sumner was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of General Francis Nash. For the vacancy caused by the promotion of General Howe from Brigadier-General to Major-General, our Legislature recommended Colonel Thomas Clark, of the First Regiment; but General Washington stated that, while not undervaluing Colonel Clark's services, Colonel Hogun by his distinguished gallantry at Germantown, had earned the promotion, and he was therefore elected and commissioned a Brigadier-General 9 January, 1779, and continued to serve with the army at the north. When Charleston was threatened, all of the North Carolina line which had not previously gone south with General Lincoln, under Sumner, was ordered to that point. Owing to losses, the North

Carolina regiments then North were consolidated into four, and General Hogun was placed in command. At the head of his brigade he passed through Halifax and Wilmington in February, 1780, and took part in the memorable defense of Charleston. When General Lincoln surrendered that city on 12 May 1780, though he surrendered five thousand men, only one thousand eight hundred of them were regular troops, and the larger part of these were General Hogun's North Carolina brigade. General Sumner, our other Brigadier, who had commanded that part of the North Carolina line which was at Charleston before General Hogun's arrival, was home on furlough, as were many officers that had lost employment by the consolidation of the depleted companies and regiments. With that exception, North Carolina's entire force was lost to her at this critical time. The surrendered militia were paroled, but the regular troops, headed by General Hogun, were conveyed to Hadrell's Point, in rear of Sullivan's Island, near Charleston. There they underwent the greatest privations of all kinds. They were nearly starved, but even a petition to fish, in order to add to their supply of food, was refused by the British. These troops were also threatened with deportation to the West Indies. General Hogun himself was offered leave to return home on parole. Tempting as was the offer, he felt that his departure would be unjust to his men, whose privations he had promised to share. He also knew that his absence would aid the efforts of the British, who were seeking recruits among these half-starved prisoners. He fell a victim to his sense of duty 4 January, 1781, and fills the unmarked grave of a hero. History affords no more striking incident of devotion to duty, and North Carolina should erect a tablet to his memory, and that of those who perished there with him. Of the one thousand eight hundred regulars who went into captivity on Sullivan's Island with him, only seven hundred survived when they were paroled.

We do not know General Hogun's age, but as he had married in 1751 he was probably beyond middle life. In this short recital is found all that careful research has so far disclosed of a life whose outline proves it worthy of fuller commemoration. Could his last resting place be found, the tablet might well bear the Lacedæmonian inscription, *"Siste viator. Heroa calcas."**

General Hogun left only one child, Lemuel Hogun, who married Mary Smith, of Halifax County. To Lemuel Hogun, March 14, 1786, North Carolina issued a grant for twelve thousand acres of land in Davidson County, Tennessee, near Nashville, as "the heir of Brigadier-General Hogun." In October, 1792, the United States paid him five thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, being the seven years' half pay voted by Congress to the heirs of Brigadier-Generals who had died in service. In 1814 Lemuel Hogun died, and is probably buried at the family burial ground. General Hogun resided in Halifax County, North Carolina, about one mile from the present village of Hobgood. In 1818 the widow of Lemuel Hogun, with her children, moved to Tuscumbia, Alabama. Numerous descendants are to be found in that State, and in Tennessee and Mississippi. In the late war General Hogun's papers, which might have furnished materials for history, were seized by the Federal troops and presumably destroyed, though it is barely possible they may be yet preserved in some Northern historical collection. It is known that among these papers was at least one letter from Washington to General Hogun.

These five heroes—Howe, Moore, Nash, Sumner, and Hogun—were, as has been said, the only Generals from this State in the regular service.

We had several Generals who commanded militia, ordered out on three months' tour or on special service, at sundry times, such as General Griffith Rutherford and General Dav-

* "Pause, traveler. A hero's dust sleeps below."

idson, for whom those counties have been named; Generals Butler and Eaton, and others. General Davidson had been a Major in the Continental line, but was a Brigadier-General of militia when killed, 1 October, 1780, at Cowan's Ford. There were others, as Colonel Davie, Major Joseph Graham (who commanded the brigade sent to Jackson's aid against the Creeks in 1812), and several who acquired the rank of General after the Revolution.

The militia figured more prominently in that day than since. The important victories of King's Mountain and Ramsour's Mills were won solely by militia, and Cowpens and Moore's Creek by their aid. Rutherford and Gregory commanded militia brigades at Camden, as Butler and Eaton did at Guilford Court House, and as General John Ashe did at Brier Creek.

It may be of interest to name here the Colonels of the ten North Carolina regiments of the Continental line:

First Regiment, James Moore. On his promotion to Brigadier-General, Francis Nash. After his promotion, Thomas Clark. Alfred Moore, afterwards Judge of the United States Supreme Court, was one of the Captains.

Second Regiment, Robert Howe. After his promotion to Major-General, Alexander Martin. He being elected Governor, John Patton became Colonel. In this regiment Hardy Murfree, from whom Murfreesboro, in North Carolina and Tennessee, are named, rose from Captain to Lieutenant-Colonel; and Benjamin Williams, afterwards Governor, was one of the Captains. David Vance, grandfather of Governor Vance, was a Lieutenant.

Third Regiment, Jethro Sumner. After his promotion it was consolidated with the First Regiment. In this regiment Hal Dixon was Lieutenant-Colonel and Pinketham Eaton was Major, both distinguished soldiers; and William Blount, afterwards United States Senator, was Paymaster.

Fourth Regiment, Thomas Polk. General William Davidson, killed at Cowan's Ford, was Major of this regiment, and William Williams, afterwards prominent, was Adjutant.

Fifth Regiment, Edward Buncombe, who died of wounds received at Germantown, and for whom Buncombe County is named.

Sixth Regiment, Alexander Lillington, afterwards Gideon Lamb. John Baptista Ashe, of Halifax, who was elected Governor in 1802 but died before qualifying, was Lieutenant-Colonel of this regiment.

Seventh Regiment, James Hogun. After his promotion, Robert Mebane. In this regiment, Nathaniel Macon, afterwards Speaker of Congress and United States Senator, and James Turner, afterwards Governor, served together as privates in the same company.

Eighth Regiment, James Armstrong.

Ninth Regiment, John P. Williams. Of this regiment William Polk was Major.

Tenth Regiment, Abraham Shephard.

The State had in the Continental line a battery of artillery commanded by John Kingsbury, and three companies of cavalry, led, respectively, by Samuel Ashe, Martin Phifer, and Cosmo de Medici.

My object in writing has been to give the few details which, after laborious research, I have been able to exhume as to General Hogun, his origin, his services, and his descendants. I trust others may be able to bring to light further information, so that an adequate memoir may be prepared of so distinguished an officer.

A FORGOTTEN LAW

BY CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK.

PETIT TREASON—DEATH BY BURNING.

Blackstone tells us (4 Com., 75 and 203) that for a servant to kill his master, a woman her husband, or an ecclesiastical person his superior was petit treason, and that this offence was punished more severely than murder, a man being drawn as well as hanged, and a woman being drawn and burnt. It is said that the records of Iredell County show that this barbarous punishment was inflicted upon a woman in that county for the murder of her husband. This law has since been changed in England.

It has doubtless been forgotten by most that the offence of petit treason continued in this State after the adoption of our republican form of government, as to slaves at least, and that the punishment usually inflicted was to be burnt at the stake. "History," said a very wise man, "is philosophy teaching by example." It is well to consider closely the doings of our ancestors. When those acts were wise and just, honest and patriotic they should serve as examples to excite our emulation and shame us against departing therefrom. When the deeds of our forebears are not such as to be cause of pride and imitation, we should rejoice that we live in happier times, in the noonday splendor of greater enlightenment, and measure the progress we have made by our distance from the evil precedent.

Your magazine has been a depository of much curious as well as useful historical data, which but for it would long since have passed beyond proof and beyond recall. I therefore send you a copy of one of the few remaining records of the judicial executions by burning at the stake

which have taken place since the adoption of the Constitution of 1776.

The Act of 1741, which continued in force till 1793, provided that if any negroes or other slaves (and there were other slaves in those days), should conspire to make an insurrection or to murder any one they should suffer death. It was further provided that any slave committing such offence or any other crime or misdemeanor should be tried by two or more Justices of the Peace and by four freeholders (who should also be owners of slaves), "without the solemnity of a jury; and if the offender shall be found guilty they shall pass such judgment upon him, according to their discretion, as the nature of the crime or offence shall require, and on such judgment to award execution." It further provided that this commission should assess the value of any slave executed by them and report to the next Legislature, who should award the owner of such slave the compensation assessed.

The following is a *verbatim* copy of one of the certificates made to the Legislature to procure pay for a slave executed under said act:

STATE OF NO. CAROLINA: Brunswick County. March 5th, 1778.

At a Court held for the tryal of a negro man slave for the murder of Henry Williams, said fellow being the property of Mrs. Sarah Dupree.

Justices of the Peace present.	*Freeholders:*
William Paine	John Stanton
John Bell	James Ludlow
Thomas Sessions	Needham Gause
	Aaron Roberts.

According to law valued said negro James at eighty pounds Procklamation Money.

The Court proceeded on said tryall and the said fellow James confessed himself to be One that had a hand in the murdering of said Henry Williams in concurrence with the evidence of four other mallefactors that were Executed for Being Concerned in said murder on the 18th. day of March 1777.

Ordered that the Sheriff take the said Jimmy from hence to the Place of execution where he shall be *tyed to a stake and Burnt Alive*, Given under our hands this 5th. day of March 1778.

Justice of the Peace:	*Freeholders:*
William Gause	Aaron Roberts
John Bell	John Stanton
Thos. Sessions	Needham Gause
	Jas. × Ludlow (his mark)

STATE OF NO. CAROLINA—Brunswick County.

We, the undernamed persons being summoned as Justices of the Peace and freeholders of the County aforesaid to hold a court for the Tryall of a negro man slave named James the property of Mrs. Sarah Dupre for the murder of Mr. Henry Williams of Lockwood Folly do value the said slave James at the sum of Eighty pounds Procklamation Money. Given under our hands this 5th. day of March 1778.

Justices of the Peace	*Freeholders:*
William Gause	Aaron Roberts
John Bell	John Stanton
Thos. Sessions	Needham Gause
	Jas. Ludlow (his) × (mark)

The Journals of the Legislature show that the assessed compensation, "eighty pounds proclamation money," was voted to Mrs. Sarah Dupree, the owner of said slave.

There is a similar record in Granville County, showing that on 21 October, 1773, Robert Harris, Jonathan Kittrell and Sherwood Harris, Justices; and Thomas Critcher, Christopher Harris, Samuel Walker and William Hunt, freeholders, tried and convicted Sanders, a negro slave of Joseph McDaniel, for the murder of William Bryant, and he was sentenced to be burnt alive on the 23d—two days thereafter.

Doubtless there are records of similar proceeding in other counties, if not destroyed in the lapse of time, but these two will serve as a curious reminder of a by-gone age. After 1793, the slave charged with murder became entitled to a

trial by a jury of freeholders, and one of the most splendid efforts of the late Hon. B. F. Moore was in behalf of a slave tried for murder. His brief in that case and the opinon of the Court, delivered by Judge Gaston, will remain enduring monuments of the claim of both to abiding fame. The opinion and brief will be found reported in *State v. Will,* 18 N. C. 121-172.

While the circumstance I have attempted to rescue from oblivion may not seem to the credit of the men of that day, it is an historical, social and legal fact which will serve to "show the age, its very form and pressure." It is to the credit of the next generation that the statute was repealed by a more humane and just one in 1793, and that the latter act was afterwards illustrated by the learning and impartial justice displayed by Court and counsel in *State v. Will.*

It is true of the generations of men as of individuals that we "rise on stepping-stones of our dead selves to higher things."

HISTORIC HOMES. PART V: WELCOME

BY ANNIE LANE DEVEREUX.

"Welcome," the summer home of Willie Jones, stood near the eastern boundary of Raleigh on the spot where some of the buildings of St. Augustine Institute, a college for negroes, now stand. The tract adjoining was given by Col. Joel Lane, to his friend, Willie Jones, of Halifax, to be enclosed as a new park in the hope of inducing him to spend the hot months near "Bloomsbury," Col. Lane's residence.

At that time Wake County abounded in large game, as the names of some of its localities prove. Mr. Jones probably enclosed his park. He certainly built a cottage at the foot of a gentle hill, and near a spring of clear, cool water, and in this cottage he spent part of every year.

He was a man of mark in his day, and besides filling other important offices was Commissioner for the State at large on the committee which chose the site of the new Capitol, Raleigh. In spite of his splendid abilities he was very eccentric, and some of his "fads,"—for the thing is as old as human nature, though the word is modern—were displayed in the plan of his house. It was a one-story building, but the rooms were in the form of cubes, twenty-two and a half feet every way, it is believed; the effect of the very lofty ceiling in comparatively small rooms was bad. The proportion being destroyed the windows seemed extremely long and narrow, and the tallest furniture was dwarfed. The manner of his burial was also most unusual. By his own direction he was buried in the garden at "Welcome," the grave being dug northeast and southwest; as this was supposed to be a practical expression of his disbelief in the Resurrection, it excited much painful feeling, and the

conviction became general that "Old Northeast and Southwest" could not rest in his grave, and that his uneasy spirit visited the place formerly familiar to the body. Heavy steps were heard in the hall, strange voices sounded through the rooms, an old disused spinet in the cellar was played by unseen hands; in short, for many years "Welcome" had the eerie name of a haunted house.

After the death of Willie Jones the place was purchased by Judge Henry Seawell, a nephew of Nathaniel Macon, who had married a daughter of Maj. John Hinton, of "Clay Hill"; he enlarged the house, adding a second story, and making other improvements, and here he lived for many years in peace and prosperity quite undisturbed by ghostly visitants. While still a young man Judge Seawell deemed it wise to select and enclose a spot as a burial place for his family, and taking with him his favorite body servant, Brittain, he went into the deep woods far from any human habitation, chose a spot that seemed to him peculiarly retired, and had built a heavy stone wall enclosing a space of the sixteenth of an acre or less, hoping that he and his would here rest in the silence of nature, hidden in the wild and lovely woods. But by a strange irony of fate the woods have long since been cleared away, the whole estate having passed into the hands of strangers, and a public road now runs within a few feet of the wall of the old burial place.

After the death of Judge Seawell his widow sold the place and moved into town. It then changed hands rapidly, having many owners, and standing for long periods shut up and deserted. Its last possessor fled in terror at the approach of Sherman's bummers in 1865, the empty house was occupied by negroes, and later in the same year it was burned to the ground.

ROWAN COUNTY WILLS

COMPILED BY MRS. M. G. McCUBBINS.

Thomas Gillespie (Book G, page 3), November 15, 1796. Wife: Naomi. Sons: Thomas, David, Isaac, Robert, Alexander the home place, George, John and James. Daughters: Martha Allison (widow) and Lydia Knox. Grandsons: Thomas (James' son) Thomas (Isaacs' son), Thomas and Jacob (George's sons). Others: Thomas Allison, Thomas Knox. Ex: Sons Thomas and Robert. Witnesses: Thomas Irwin and Philip Patner.

William Gilbert (Book G, page 46), August 12, 1787. Son: Eleazer. Daughters: Huldah (or "Huldreth day"), Mary. Granddaughter: Rachel Backer. Executor: Friend John Gross. Witnesses: Thomas Pinkston, John Cress and Ediff (her X mark) Cress.

George (his X mark) Gentle (Book G, page 45), April 10, 1795. Wife: Firlender (or Felender). Sons: Thomas and Joseph. "Other children" (not named). Executor: Wife, Felender. Test: Nathan (his N mark) Sap (?) and Ralph Ford.

Christina (her D mark) Getchen (Book G, page 48), March 8, 1790. Sons: John and Frederick. Daughter: Elizabeth. Grandchildren: Christina and Elizabeth (children of Jacob Eller), Elizabeth (daughter of Jacob Getchen) and Christina (daughter of John Getchen). Executor: Friend John Getohen (?). Test: Michael Brown, Jr., and John Stranger.

John Graham, a planter (Book G, page 66), February 1, 1795 (of Third Creek). Wife: Sarah. Children: Sarah, Mary, James, Richard, Moses, Margaret, William Armstrong Serah John and Samuel. Executors: Brothers Rich-

ard and James Graham. Test: Benjamin Brandon, John Dickey and John Graham.

James Graham, "old and infirm" (Book G, page 67), September 2, 1788. Sons: Richard, John and James. Daughter: Jane Graham. Grandson: James (son of John). Executor: Son, James. Test: John Lowrance, Jr., John Carrigan and Samuel Young.

Edward (his X mark) Gates (Book G, page 69), September 28, 1799. Wife: Esther. Sons: Joseph. Daughters: Mary (wife of Walter Odaniel), Elizabeth (wife of Lenerd Jones) and Dorothea (wife of Samuel Smith), Rachel (the wife of Richard Lanim. Others mentioned: Daniel Cosgrove. Executors: Wife Esther and son Joseph. Test: George Niblock, John Hembree and Lyddy (her X mark) Hembree.

James Gheen, a cabinet maker, Senior (Book G, page 71), April 26, 1796. Wife: Elizabeth. Sons: James, Joseph (the youngest son). Sons-in-law: John Roberts, Silas Dunn. Daughters: Hannah, Elizabeth, Elenor and Rachel. Grandson: James (son of Thomas Gheen). Executors: Wife Elizabeth and son-in-law Siles Dunn. Test: James Kincaid, Sr., James Kincaid, Jr., and George Dunn.

Ellonor (or Eleonor) Graham (Book G, page 75), May 10, 1782. Sisters: Else, Jane, Agnes. Mother: Agnes Graham. Cousin: Agnes ("daughter of my brother James"), Mary ("daughter of my brother Richard"), Eleanor ("daughter of my brother Joseph"), Elizabeth Gilespey ("my loving sister Janes' daughter"). Executors: Mother Agnes Graham and "brother Richard." No witnesses.

John Gardiner, a miller (Book G, page 77), March 11, 1791. Sons: James, John, Robert and Francis. Daughter: Martha Vikers. Grandson: David (son of Francis). Granddaughter: Francis (daughter of my son Francis Gard-

ner). Executor: Son John. Test: James McCullock, John Brown and Peter Frieze.

John Garret (Book G, page 81), May 18, 1793. Wife: Mary. Children: Elizabeth, Mary, John, Daniel, William, Wiley and James. Executors: Wife Mary and Daniel Wood. Test: John Baily, Jr., John Wood and Moses Daty.

Henry (his X mark) Gussey (Book G, page 83), August 18, 1794. Wife: Marget Guffey. Sons: John and Henry. Daughters: Jean Luckey, Elizabeth Hughes, Mary Guffey. Executors: Wife Marget and sons John and Henry Guffey. Test: John Evans, Jr., and Samuel Hughes.

William (his X mark) Graham, a farmer (Book G, page 86), December 12, 1787. Wife: Is probably Jean (see Book G, page 64, where this will is unfinished). Sons: John (the home place), James, William (the youngest son). Executors: John Hall and Richard Graham. Witnesses: Robert Love, William Law and Mary Graham.

John Gill (Book G, page 91), April 1, 1796, a noncupative will proven by Mary Dowdy April 5, 1796 and in Goochean County, May 16, 1796, by Molly Dowdy and Willy Gill. Wife: Agnes. Daughter: Witty Gill. Executor (?): Joseph Wattaus. Test: Wm. Miller, C. S. C.

ROWAN MARRIAGE BONDS.

Henry Bakor, James Bowers (both names used, but James signs) to Barbara Bowers. May 10, 1758. James Bowers and Thos. Fosne or Forster? (Both may be carpenters.)

William Bost to Catharine Goodhart. January 19, 1762. William (his WB mark) Best, William Williams and John Johnston. William Carson (Will Reed). This bond is made in Anson County.

Robert Black to Elenor Russell. March 5, 1762. Robert Black, Henry Horah and John Cussens. (Will Reed.)

Thomas Butner to Sarah Elrode. July 11, 1762(?) 1764.

Thomas Butner, Adam Retner(?) and Adam (his X mark) Butner. (Thomas Frohock.)

John Bibby to Jane Ruth. July 28, 1762. John (his X mark) Bibby, Mark Whiteaker and Joshua Whiteaker. (John Frohock and Thos. Frohock.)

James Buntin to (no name). June 23 (or 28?), 1763. James J. Buntin, Jos. Erwin and John Buntin. (John Frohock.)

James Bell to Margret (or Marget?) Denny. March 25, 1764. James Bell, William Denny and John McKnight. (Thos. Donnell.)

William Baley to Mary Jones. April 3, 1764. William (his B mark) Baley, Wm. Napery (or Nassery) and Matt. Lang. (Thomas Frohock and Will Ca en.)

A note enclosed "April ye 2th Day, 1764, mester John frake Esquer Wee humly in tret yo to let ye berer William Bile have a lisons of mereg we the per have Agred John iany(?). Daved Bale his mark B."

Charles Bussey to (no name). March 28, 1765. Charles (his X mark) Bussey, James Whittier(?), Francis (his E mark) Taylor. (John Frohock.)

George Black to Rachal Wethrow. September 24, 1766. George Black, John Carson and Samuel Withrow. (Thomas Frohock.)

Joseph Burk to Margret Granl (Grant?). December 29, 1766. Joseph (his B mark), Burk, John England and James (his B mark) Burk. ([?]idon Wright.)

Walter Bell (or Bill?) to Margret Duncan. January 3, 1767. Walter Bell and Thomas hill. (John Frohock.)

John Buntin, Jr., to Mary McClun. January 16, 1767. Johny Buntin, John Bonten, Sr., and George Senley. (Thos. Frohock.)

Philip Byer to Mary Somison. February 9, 1767.

Phillip (his X mark) Byer, Fredrick (his X mark) Somison and Gaspar Smith. (Thos. Frohock.)

John Beeman to Margret Hunler (Hunter [?]). May 19, 1767. John beeman, George Smiley, Oliver Wallis and Junius (?) Quick. (Thos. Frohock.)

Henery Ressand Bussle to Sophiah Layle(?). June 10, 1767. Henery Ressand Bussle and Christopher Rindleman. (These are written in Dutch(?) and translated.) (Thos. Frohock.)

Rudome Bussell to Charity Smith. September 4, 1767. Rudome (his R mark) Bussell, John Turner and —— ——? (in Dutch?). (John Frohock.)

Richard Berry to Ribna(?) Hawkins. September 24, 1767. Richard (his X mark) Berry and William Simpson. (Thom. Frohock.)

John Hawkins and wife send note of consent, September 22, 1767, for their daughter's marriage with Richard Berry.

William Brown to (no name). January 4, 1768. William Brown, Shadreck (his S mark) Williams and William (his P mark) Williams. (Thomas Frohock.)

William Brown to Eliz. Huff. January 4, 1768. William Brown, Jonathan huff and Andrew Endsvoorth. (Thomas Frohock.)

David Butner to Mary Crane. April 9, 1768. David (his D mark) Butner and Wm. Nassery (or Napery?). (Thos. Frohock.)

John Boone to Martha Quin. October(?) 19, 1768. John (his X mark) Boone and Jas. Cooper. (Thos. Frohock.)

Jacob Bringer to Mary Prock. December 5, 1768. Jacob (his i mark) Bringer, Mathias Prock and William Brown. (John Frohock.)

"Thease(?) are to sertify that I Marget apock(?) Doe

Give my face conssent to this marriage of my Daughter Mary to Jacob Brvinger Given from under my hand

MarGert ysock(?)

this 5 Day of Dasember 1768

Wm. Charles Riles."

"This is to Certify That Barringer

William Alexander"

Daniel Brown to Mary Miller. (No other date), 1768. Daniel Brown and William Patton. (H. ? M. Goune.)

Abraham Brown to Mary Hardmon. January 27, 1769. Abraham Brown, Joseph (his X mark) Hartmon and Michael Waller. (These men may be Dutch.) (Thos. Frohock.)

Thomas Bestow(?) to Elizabeth Murphy. June 7, 1769. Thomas (his X mark) Bestow and Zac(?) Craige.

("Cllo ? be kind Enough To Let Thos. Betzer have Lisons Jas. Craige will be Security Ile Be Over and pay you Fryday Pray Let him have thim and you will Greatly Oblige

Sir your Humble Servant

To Cllo(?) John Frohock. Geo. Magonne"

James Bell to Issabell S lorry(?). June 22, 1769. James Bell, thomas Hill and John Frohock.

"Mr. Cornall frohack I desir the favour of you to Let the Bearer James Bell have the Licence for it is By Concent of all pertys and in so doing you will obledg your humble sir William White this given from under my hand this twenteeth day of June in the ye year of our Lord—1769 witness present Samuel Hughey

Margret (her X mark) Mcknight

Martin Beffell to Barbary Roadlap(?). June 28, 1769. Martin (his X mark) Beffell, Paul (his X mark) Beffell and Dan[l] Little.

Joseph Biles to Ann Johnson. November 16, 1769. Joseph Biles, William Frohock and Moses (his M mark) Pearse[n](?). (Thomas Frohock.)

George Bullon (Bullin?) to Hester Stroser. January 28, 1772. George Bullon, Jacob Brown and Conrad Bullon. (These may be in Dutch?)

A letter to Frohock:

"Sir this is to inform you that the Bearer(?) —— ——? has made shute to my Daughter Jean Brown in purpose of marig and these are to Certify that we are agread there with.

Sir I Remain your hu[l] ser[t] Margret Brown.

December the 1, 1769."

There are few "ts" crossed in the above note.

William Brown to Dianna Davis. May 6, 1772. William (his X mark) Brown, Jno. Blaloc (lry[?]) and Henry Strange. (John Frohock.)

Benjamin Burgin to Lear Man (or Mar?). November 18, 1772. Benjamin Burgin and Dan[l] Little. (Ad. Osborn.)

A note to Mr. Osborn (Clerk) from George Davison(?) November 18, 1772.

Joseph Bryan to Easther Hampton. November 30, 1772. Joseph Bryan and John Bryan. (Ad: Osborn.)

William Bailey to Isbell Berson (or Benson?). August 10, 1774. William Bailey, Andrew Reed. (Ad: Osborn.)

John Bryant to Rebenah Orten. August 26, 1774. John Bryan and John orten. (Ad Osborn.)

Jacob Brown to Elizabeth Artmire. August 29, 1774. Jacob (his X mark) Brown and Dan[l]. Little. (Ad Osborn.)

Thomas Blackmore to Anne Cornelison ("Spinster"). September 6, 1774. Thomas Blackemere and Garritt (his X mark) Cornelison. (Ad Osborn.)

James Barr to Elizabeth McCorkle. December 18, 1774. James Barre and Matt: Troy. (Ad Osborn.)

Robert Buntain to Sarah Renshaw. January 18, 1775. Robert Buntain and Elijah Renshaw. (James Robinson.)

Joshua Baldwin to Elizabeth Wells. January 28, 1775.

Joshua Baldwin and William (his X mark) Wells. (Jam^{s}. Robinson.)

Valentine Beard to Obediance Giles. February 14, 1775. Valentine Beard and John Lewis Beard. (Ad Osborn.)

Harmon Butner to Jemima Merrill. February 28 (20?), 1775. Hermon Butner and Jonathan Conger. (No name.)

Andrew Boston to Sarah Hunehparier. May 25, 1775. Andrew Boston and George Savadge. (These above may be Dutchmen.) (David Flowers.)

Peter Butner to Betty Bussell. August 3, 1775. Peter butner and Pressley Bussell. (Ad Osborn.)

William Brandon to Hannah Erwin. September 6, 1775. William Brandon and David Woodson. (D. Flowers.)

Daniel Biles to Jean Conger. December 30, 1775. Daniel Biles and Jonathan Conger. (Ad: Osborn.)

Ruliff(?) Booe to Mary Bushellson. March 9, 1776. Ruliff (his R mark) Booe and John Hunter ("huter.") (Ad: Osborn.)

John Barr to Mary King. March 28, 1776. John Barr and Thos. King. (Ad Osborn.)

William Bell to Margaret McNeely. April 1, 1776. William Bell and James Brandon. (Ad: Osborn.)

James Benson to Margret Kerr. December 1, 1777. James Benson and Joseph Kerr. (Ad. Osborn.)

Samuel Brace to Dorothy Davis. February 4, 1778. Samuel Brace and William Brandon.

Henry Bullinger to Mary Savits. December 20 (28?), 1778. Henry bollinger(?) and George Savits(?). (These are in Dutch?) (William B. Davie.)

George Brown to Barbara Wasnbouoy(?). January 2, 1779. George Brown and Jacob Brown. (William R. Davie.)

John Barry to Susanna(?) Patterson(?). February 5,

1779. John (his X mark) Barry and Caleb (his X mark) Bedwel. (William R. Davie.)

John Brinneger to Lucretia Linville. February 9, 1779. John Brinneger and Samuel Bryan. (William R. Davie.)

Harbert Blackburn to Martha Brandon(?). March 4, 1779. Harbert Blackburn and John Brandon. (William R. Davie.)

Samuel Bryan to Rachael Jacks. March 10, 1779. Samuel Bryan and Rudolf March. (Ad: Osborn.)

Samuel Burns(?) (Barns? or Busner?) to Rachel Turner. March 20 28(?), 1779. Samuel Burns (?) (Barns? or Busner?) and James Turner. (Wm. R. Davie.)

George Brandon to Rebena or Rebecca(?) Neely(?). March 22, 1779. George Brandon and Wm. Temple Coles. (Ad Osborn.)

Archibald Bready to Margret Ervin. May 28, 1779. Archabil Breadey and Samuel Irwin. (Ad Osborn.)

A note of consent from Margret's father, George Irwin, "May ye 27, 1779."

Samuel Bryson to Martha Bogle. June 14, 1776(?), 1779(?). Samuel Brysou and Samuel Bogel. (Ad: Osborn.)

Nathan Baddy to Anne Brice. September 9, 1779. Nathan Baddy and John (his X mark) Baddy. (Ad: Osborn.)

James Ballendine (a carpenter) to Ann Burke. December 4, 1779. James Ballantine and James (his i mark) Townsley (a silversmith). (B. Booth Boote.)

Aquilla Barns to Hannah Lee. September 20, 1779. Aquilla D. Barns and Shadrack Barnes. (Ad: Osborne.)

Benjamin Baker to Comfort Sewel. October 8, 1779. Benjamin Baker(?) and Samuel Sewell. (Jo. Brevard.)

Nathan Briggs to Mary Scriviner. September 29, 1779. Nathan Briggs and Thomas (his X mark) Briggs. (Jo. Brevard.)

Patrick Barr to Agness Killpatrick. November 17, 19(?), 1779. Patrick Barr and John Killpatrick. (Ad: Osborn.)

William Buham(?) to Sarah Patterson (a spinster). January 29, 1780. William Batram(?) and William Patterson. (B. Booth Boote.)

Elijah Bank to Effy Gordon. March 15, 1780. X and Willian(?) McKay. (B. Booth Boote.)

Benjamin Biggs and Abigail Trayer(?). May 15, 1780. Benjamin Bigs and Daniel Clary. (B. Booth Boote.)

Elias Baker to Sarah Holbrook (a "spinster"). May 20, 1780. Elias Baker and Beal Baker.

John Beard to Margret Wood. December 4, 1780. John Beard and James McEwen. (Ad Osborn.)

Daniel Bentley to Nancy Lewis. February 8, 1782. Daniel Bentley and Peter (his X mark) Lewis. (Ad: Osborn.)

James Bunch to Hanna Walks. February 7, 1782. James Bunch and Samuel Van Ellen.

Robert Bell to Jane Miller. November 30, 1782. Robert Beel and John Miller. (William Crawford.)

Hugh Boyd to Jean Boyd. December 13, 1782. Hugh Boyd and Thos. Anderson. (William Crawford.)

John Baldridge to Margaret Poston. July 29, 1782. John Baldridge and Dorunton(?) Poston. (J. H. C. Caule.)

Obediah Baker to Patience Roberts. December 20, 1782. Obediah (his X mark) Baker and David Woodson.

William Bone to Margret Lansden. February 25, 1783. William Bone and Robert Lansden. (Ad: Osborn.)

Thomas Bolph to Mary Harison. January 20, 1783. Thomas Boolph and Abener (his X mark) Schetor. (William Crawford.)

Benjamin Boone to Mary Wilson. February 25, 1783. Benjamin Boone and Ebenezer frost.

Thomas Biles to Tabithah Marburry. March 5, 1783. Thomas Biles and Charles Biles.

Thomas Brotherton to Mary McLeland. March 17, 1783. Thomas Brotherton and John Bons. (T. H. McCaule.)

John Braley to Mary Beatie. May 5, 1783. John Braley (no other witness.)

Christopher Baker to Agnes Forster. May 13, 1783. Christopher Baker and Conrad Brem.

George Burkehard to Mary Kipley. June 24, 1783. George (his X mark) Burkehard and Henry Winkler.

Isaiah Brown to Jean McKee. July 22, 1783. Isaiah Brown and Alex McKee. (Ad: Osborn.)

William Brown to Eliz. Hughey. October 15, 1783. William Brown and James Houston.

William Beard to Elizabeth Brevard. November 17(?), 1783. William Beard and Zebulon Bravard. (Ad: Osborn.)

Andy Brison to Agness Naill. Dec. 17, 1783. Andy Bryson and Pamall(?) Nail? (Moses "? ylie.)

John Brevard, junior, to Hannah Thompson. December 22, 1783. John Brevard and Ad. Brevard. (T. H. Mc Caule.)

Jacob Bullinger to Caty Savits. June 15, 1784. Jacob Bollinger and George Savits. Hugh Magoune.

Samuel Berkley to Mary Davis. July 5(?), 1784. Samuel (his X mark) Barkley and Henry Davis. Hugh Magoune.

Daniel Beem to Mary Neely. October 1784. Daniel Beem and Elijah Renshaw. (H. Magoune.)

Abraham Brown to Cathrine Bonorher Borrorhey(?). October 18, 1784. Abraham (his X mark) Brown and Charles Dunn. (H. Magoune.)

James Barr to Elizabeth McCaule. January 24, 1785. James Barr and Harris. (No name.)

Lewis Beard to Susan Dunn. January 27, 1785. Lewis Beard. (No witnesses.)

Geo. H. Berger to Cathrine Casper. March 23, 1785. Geo. H. Burger(?) and Ad: Osborn.

Martin Basinger to Mary Braun. June 11, 1785. Martin Basinger and Martin Beffle. (Hu. Magonne.)

James Brown to Fanny Johnston. August 29, 1785. James Brown and Moses Linster.

John Bartly to Jean Knox. November 3, 1785. John Bartly and Samuel Knox. (Margret Chambers.)

John Bowers to Mary Moore. December 23, 1785. John Bowers and Val: Beard.

William Brown to Phoebee Gillom. January 12(?), 1786. William Brown and Philip Fishburn. (W. W. Erwin.)

Henry Bryan to Elizabeth Sparks. February 11, 1786. henry Bryan and Thos. Enochs. (W. W. Erwin.)

Joseph Brown to Susannah Whitaker February 23, 1785 1786(?). George Davidson.

Samuel Bellah to Jean Morgan. July 15, 1786. Samuel Bellah and Mo.^{s} Bellah. (Jno. Macay.)

John Buckner to Lucretia Tatom. July 22, 1786. John (his X mark) Buckner and henry Whiteaker.

Thomas Bailey to Jean Bailey. August 29, 1786. Thomas Bailey and Jno. Bailey. (Jno. Macay.)

Jadock Bell to Nancy Begerly. September 16, 1786. Jadock Beall and Evan Bealle. (Jno. Macay.)

Thomas Beatey to Margaret Harden. September 30, 1886. Thomas Beaty and William Harden. (Jno. Macay.)

Michael Beard to Margaret Zevelly. January 9, 1787. Michael Beard and J. L. Beard.

Corbin Bevins to Katerine West. February 12, 1787. Corbin (his X mark) Bevins and William (his X mark) West. (Wm. Cupples.)

James Barkley to Sarah Knox. April 14, 1787. Henry (his O mark) and William knox. (Max Chambers.)

William Bowman to Elizabeth McFarson. May 14, 1785. William Bowman and John Mcpherson. (Ad. Osborn.)

Charles Beąley to Mary Gibson. May 26, 1787. Charles Beaty and John (his X mark) Albright. (Jno. Macay.)

John Bone to Rebecca Potts. October 24, 1787. John Bone and Henry Potts. (D[d]. Caldwell.)

James Bell to Ellinor McNeely. November 15, 1787. James Bell and Alexander McNeely. (J. McEwen.)

John Ball to Agness Adams. January 5, 1788. John Ball and Abraham Adams. (J. McEwen.)

Benjamin Brandon to Mary Knox. February 4, 1788. Benjamin Brandon and James Wilson. (Dav Crawford.)

John Boyd to Hannah Boyd. February 16, 1788. John Boyd and Thomas Thompson. (Ad. Osborn.)

William Braley to Honour Carson. February 21, 1788. W. L. B. Y.(?) and Hugh Carson(?). (J. McEwen.)

Humphrey Brooks to Lettice Boleware? February 24, 1788. Humphrey Brooks and William (his X mark) Wammock. (J. McEwen.)

Thomas Bracken to Mary Brenonger. March 21, 1788. Thomas (his X mark) Bracken and William Button (or Butter?) (J. McEwen.)

David Blaze to Elizabeth Wenkler. May 31, 1788. David Blace ? Winkler (in Dutch?) (William Alexander.)

John Brown to Elizabeth Brown. July 21, 1788. John Braun(?) and Hugh Gray. (Ad. Osborn.)

John Brown to Mary McCulloch. November 26, 1788. John Brown and John Bowman. (? Yarbrough.)

Arron Varas to Rebecah Woods. August 7, 1788. Aaron voh? and William Donaldson. (Wm. Alexander.)

Philip Baruhezer to Dally Clover. January 25, 1789. Philip (his b mark) Boruhizir and (? in Dutch ?) (W. J. S. Alexander.)

Abraham Buck to Elizabeth Waggoner (?). February 24, 1789. (They are so blotted, I can not make them out.) (Will Alexander.)

John Brandon to Jane Knox. March 10, 1789. John Brandon and Absalom Knox. R. Martin for (Ad. Osborn.)

Robert Bradshaw to Betsy Haden. April 3, 1790. Robert Bradshaw and Dugless Haden. C. Caldwell D C pro (Ad. Osborn C C.)

Samuel Baley to Tomith Pearson. August 11, 1789. Samuel (his X mark) Baley and Robert Foster. (Basil Gaither.)

Christopher Brandon to Sarah Newman. October 15, 1789. Christopher Brandon and John Brandon(?).

David Boston to Barbarra Lydehher. November 3, 1789. David (his B mark) Boston and Peter Faust. (Evan Alexander.)

William Bateman to Ruth Pinston. November 23, 1789. William batemans and J. G. Laumann. (Ed. Hains.)

Samuel Bracking to Ann Breneger. December 20, 1789. Samuel (his X mark) Byacking(?) and William Butler. (Basil Gaither.)

RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. HELEN DE BERNIÈRE HOOPER WILLS, WHO DIED JUNE 24, 1911

IN MEMORIAM.

Whereas, God in His all perfect love and wisdom has seen it was well to remove from earth to a brighter, higher life our faithful member and beloved Genealogist and Historian, Mrs. Helen De Bernière Hooper Wills:

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, deplores the great loss sustained in her death.

That they are truly grateful for the noble example of her well-spent life and fully realize that our Society has lost one of its most loyal, useful and wisest members, who held the esteem and love of all the other Daughters, whose devotion to the organization was realized in the painstaking service of the most valuable years of her life.

That they will ever feel the absence of her presence, and lament the loss of her impartial guidance and wisdom in council, of her usefulness in a special line that knew not the bounds of any particular State.

That we tender to the afflicted family our heartfelt sympathy in this great sorrow.

That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Society and a copy sent to the family.

MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
MRS. E. E. MOFFITT,
MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD,
MRS. JAMES E. SHEPHERD,
Committee.

INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication on great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

Vol. XI JANUARY, 1912 No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by

THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of the Booklet is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. Editor.

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†Died November 25, 1911.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XI JANUARY, 1912 No. 3

SIR WALTER RALEIGH AND HIS ASSOCIATES*

By R. D. W. CONNOR.

We are standing today on the threshold of American history. At no other point is it possible to obtain so general a view, so broad a sweep of the whole field of achievements by men of the English race in the New World as on this historic spot. The whole panorama of American history unrolls itself before us. That history began more than three hundred years ago when men of the English race, landing upon the sand banks which guard our eastern shore, laid their first firm grasp upon the American continent. How unconscious were those obscure sailors that they were there enacting one of the most significant scenes in the world's history! Three and a quarter centuries have elapsed since that day, yet even now, after all the tremendous results that have followed in their train, we cannot fully appreciate the vast significance of that simple ceremony. But for that ceremony there may never have been a "Citie of Raleigh in Virginia," Jamestown and Plymouth Rock may never have become immortal names in American history, and English settlers may never have found their way to the shores of Albemarle Sound. Perhaps Wolfe might never have scaled the Heights of Abraham and Daniel Boone might never have cleared the way for English civilization beyond the Alleghanies. There may have been no Thomas Jefferson to write a Declaration of Independence, no George Washington to make good its prin-

*Address by R. D. W. Connor before the Roanoke Island Colony Association, upon its annual pilgrimage to Roanoke Island, August 18, 1911, the 324th anniversary of the birth of Virginia Dare.

ciples for the benefit of all mankind, no Constitution of the United States to apply them practically to the government of a mighty people. For there upon the coast of North Carolina men speaking the English language, thoroughly imbued with the principles of English law and English liberty, first set foot on American soil with a view to permanent possession, and thus led the way to the planting of English civilization amid the wild forests of the New World.

I am fully aware that many eminent historians sharply dissent from this view. They count Sir Walter Raleigh's efforts to plant an English colony on Roanoke as among the great failures of history. This seems to me a narrow, short-sighted view. It would doubtless be correct were it possible to say that the history of the Roanoke settlements began abruptly in the year 1584 and ended abruptly in the year 1587. But you cannot measure great historic events with a yard stick. Men die, ideas are immortal. The idea of another England beyond the waters of the Atlantic, conceived by the master mind of Sir Walter Raleigh, was the germ from which, through the developments of three centuries, has evolved the American Nation of the twentieth century. There is a vital connection, both physical and spiritual, between Roanoke and Jamestown. Among those who founded Jamestown were ten of the men who had coöperated with Raleigh in the settlements at Roanoke. In these men we have the physical connection between the two, while to the idea conceived by Raleigh and to the spirit of conquest and colonization which his attempts on this island called into existence, the English race in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in Australia and the islands of the sea, and in America, owes the world-wide predominance which it today enjoys among the races of mankind. Nothing can be clearer, therefore, than that we, looking back over the events of the last three centuries, can hail the Roanoke settlements as the

beginning of English colonization in America and throughout the world.

The details of no event in English or American history have been more faithfully recorded, or are better known than the details of the three expeditions which Sir Walter Raleigh, during the years 1584-1586, sent to Roanoke Island. No good purpose, therefore, would be served were I now to repeat that familiar story. Of the authors of those events, however, the same cannot be said. Even in England, whose history was so greatly enriched by their splendid deeds, an eminent British historian classes some of them as among "England's forgotten worthies." Their memory deserves a better fate from English-speaking peoples on either side of the Atlantic. Men who conceive and men who execute great ideas should forever be held in honorable esteem that subsequent generations of their fellow-men may be inspired to emulate their deeds and characters. Such a man was Walter Raleigh, and such, too, were Philip Amadas, Arthur Barlow, Ralph Lane, John White, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Grenville, Thomas Cavendish and Thomas Harriot—that group of brilliant soldiers, sailors, adventurers and scholars whose names are inseparably connected with the story of Roanoke and to whose genius England owes her immense colonial empire of today.

The marvelous deeds by which these men laid the foundations of that vast empire found their inspiration in loyalty to queen and country, love of liberty, and devotion to religious convictions. At various times in English history an attack on any one of these sentiments has been sufficient to call forth the mightiest exertions of the English nation; during the closing years of the sixteenth century all three were attacked at one and the same time by one and the same arrogant power. Philip II of Spain, proclaiming Elizabeth of England an usurper, had laid claim to her throne. Mighty

armies and navies had been levied and equipped throughout his boundless dominions for the sole purpose of establishing the despotism of Castile by overthrowing the liberties of England. The Pope of Rome had commissioned His Most Catholic Majesty to lead a crusade against the National Church of England and "to inaugurate on English soil the accursed work of the inquisition." As one man, without regard to religious convictions or sectarian prejudices, the people of England sprang to the defense of the throne, the constitution, and the church with an enthusiasm that stirs our blood with pride even after the lapse of three centuries. In this contest with Spain, England was "pitted against the greatest military power that had existed in Europe since the days of Constantine the Great. To many the struggle seemed hopeless. For England the true policy was limited by circumstances. She could send troops across the channel to help the Dutch in their stubborn resistance, but to try to land a force in the Spanish peninsula for aggressive warfare would be sheer madness. The shores of America and the open sea were the proper field of war for England. Her task was to paralyze the giant by cutting off his supplies, and in this there was hope of success, for no defensive fleet, however large, could watch all Philip's enormous possessions at once."[1] This was the work which was done so effectively by Raleigh and Drake, Amadas and Barlow, Grenville and Cavendish, that even until this day it has never been necessary to do it over again.

Before I undertake to point out the special service which entitles each of these men to an honorable place in our history, let me refresh your memories by stating briefly the relation which each bore to the Roanoke settlements. The connection of Sir Walter Raleigh with these events is known of all men. Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, you will remember, were the captains of the expedition dispatched

[1] Fiske: "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," I, 11, 22.

by Raleigh in 1584 to explore the country and select a place for the contemplated colony. Ralph Lane was governor of the colony sent out in 1585. The fleet in which his colony sailed was under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. With Grenville sailed that "wonderful Suffolk boy," Thomas Cavendish, aged twenty-two years, who, before he had reached his twenty-ninth year, had rivaled the exploits of Sir Francis Drake in the Pacific and circumnavigated the globe. Two of the colonists with Lane were John White, afterwards governor of the "Lost Colony," and Thomas Harriot, the historian and scientist of the colony, to whose scholarly narrative we are indebted for most of our knowledge of its history. And finally there was Sir Francis Drake, whose timely arrival at Croatan in the summer of 1586 afforded Lane's homesick men an opportunity of returning to England.

The impelling mind behind the achievements of these men was the mind of Walter Raleigh. Grenville, Amadas, Barlow, Cavendish, and the other glorious English "sea kings" of the sixteenth century understood England's problem well enough so far as it involved the ravaging of Spanish coasts and the plundering of Spanish treasure ships. But Raleigh understood that something greater and more permanent than such exploits was needed to establish English supremacy in Europe and America. It was not sufficient for England to destroy the power of Spain; she must at the same time build up the power of England. English colonies in North America would not only offset Spanish colonies in the West Indies, Mexico and South America, they would also develop English commerce and afford an outlet for English manufactures. All this the far-seeing mind of Raleigh perceived in his great design. The work of Grenville, Cavendish and their fellow-rovers, though of vital importance to the accomplishment of England's destiny, was destructive; Raleigh's work was constructive in the highest degree. "An idea like

his has life in it, though the plant may not spring up at once. When it arises above the surface the sower can claim it. Had the particular region of the New World not eventually become a permanent English settlement, he would still have earned the merit of authorship of the English colonizing movement."[2] "Baffled in his first effort to plant the English race upon this continent, he yet called into existence a spirit of enterprise which first gave Virginia, and then North America, to that race, and which led Great Britain, from this beginning, to dot the map of the world with her colonies, and through them to become the greatest power of the earth."[3]

First among the agents selected by Raleigh to carry his great design into execution were Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow. Though these two daring sailors were the pilots of that great Anglo-Saxon migration from England to America which ranks among the greatest events in the history of the human race, yet the details of their lives are almost totally unknown. The fact that they were selected by so keen a judge of men as Sir Walter Raleigh to command his expedition sets them much above the average adventurers of their day. They were, as we know, bold and experienced navigators. The manner in which they conducted the enterprise entrusted to them showed them worthy of the trust placed in them. No expedition into an unknown region was ever conducted with more complete success. From first to last such was the judgment and skill of the commanders that not a single mishap occurred to mar their triumph. The report which they submitted to Raleigh upon their return to England reveals a thorough understanding of their profession and an extraordinary keenness of observation coupled with rare good judgment. In their dealings with the savages they displayed firmness of temper guided by brilliant diplomacy and clear comprehension of the savage character. That Sir

[2] Stebbin: "Sir Walter Ralegh," p. 48.
[3] Henry: "Sir Walter Raleigh," in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, III, 105.

Walter Raleigh was pleased with the manner in which they conducted their enterprise is evident from the fact that in the colony which he sent out under Ralph Lane, in 1585, he appointed Amadas to the high and responsible position of "Admiral of Virginia."

In Ralph Lane, Raleigh found a leader in whom were combined in a strange degree the character of the soldier and the spirit of the adventurer. Lane delighted in bold and arduous enterprises, but he always kept his eyes open to the main chance. In his character there appears something of the dauntless spirit of his cousin, the famous Catherine Parr, the last queen of Henry VIII. We find him constantly associated with Burghley, Walsingham, Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins and Grenville in those great events which give to the reign of Elizabeth its chief glory. With Lord Burghley he was on terms of confidential relation and appears frequently in the character of his adviser upon important public affairs. From the queen he received more than one weighty commission. In the very year in which Amadas and Barlow sailed for the New World, Lane wrote that he "had prepared seven ships at his own charges, and proposed to do some exploit on the coast of Spain," and delayed only until he should receive the queen's commission and the title of 'General of the Adventurers.' " When all England was in a fever of excitement over the approach of the Armada, called "Invincible," Lane was entrusted with carrying into effect measures for the defense of the coast, and at a later date was appointed "to assist in the defense of the coast of Norfolk." The next year, after the Armada had been shattered, he sailed with Drake on an expedition to the coast of Portugal, and in 1590 he was with Sir John Hawkins on a similar adventure. During the Irish rebellion of 1593-1594 he served with the royal army and won special commendation for his conduct. Yet in spite of the high consideration in which he was held by England's great leaders, we are told that all his life Lane

was a great beggar. If so he was a royal beggar, for he begged only from his sovereign, as many greater men have done, and in his mendicancy there was nothing mean or groveling. Sir Henry Wallop complained to Lord Burghley that Lane, while sheriff of County Kerry, Ireland, expected "to have best and greatest things in Kerry, and to have the letting and setting of all the rest."[4]

Such was the man whom Raleigh selected to lead his first colony. At the time Lane was on duty for the crown in Ireland, but the queen ordered a substitute to be appointed in his government of Kerry and Clammorris, "in consideration of his ready undertaking the voyage to Virginia for Sir Walter Raleigh at Her Majesty's command." The event proved the wisdom of the choice. In his management of the colony Lane displayed executive ability and foresight. His dealings with the Indians were courageous and sagacious. He pushed his explorations with energy and intelligence. As Hawks has well said, a review of his conduct reminds us forcibly of the proceedings of Captain John Smith under circumstances not unlike his own. Lane remained at Roanoke only one year. At the end of that time force of circumstances over which he had no control compelled him to choose between starvation and the abandonment of the undertaking. Like a prudent man upon whom devolved the responsibility of men's lives, after making every reasonable effort to carry his work to successful conclusion, he reluctantly and regretfully chose the latter alternative. For this choice historians have censured him because, a few days after his departure, Sir Richard Grenville arrived at Roanoke with men and supplies sufficient to have placed the colony on its feet. But Grenville had long been overdue, and fairness to Lane requires that we should judge his conduct by the information which he had at the time, not by that which we now have. It is plain that he had no intention of returning

[4] See "Dictionary of National Biography," XXXII, 77-78; also Sainsbury's "Celendar of State Papers; Colonial Series, 1574-1660," 2-4.

to England until driven to it, as he said, by "the very hand of God as it seemed." Certainly Elizabeth, Raleigh, Drake and England's other great leaders, did not regard his course unfavorably, for we find them shortly afterwards, at that supreme moment in England's history when the great Armada was bearing down on her coast, summoning him to their most secret councils of war and entrusting him with important commands; and in 1593, as a reward for services to the crown, we see him kneeling before the great queen's representative to receive the honor of knighthood. Dire necessity occasioned by causes beyond the control of man drove him against his will to his final decision and put an end to the first attempt to found an English colony in America.

The fleet which transported Lane's colony to Roanoke was under the command of one of the most remarkable men in an age of remarkable men. Sir Richard Grenville combined in his character all the faults and virtues of the age in which he lived. Brave, loyal and ambitious, he was proud, tyrannical and cruel. Ralph Lane complained of his "intolerable pride and insatiable ambition" during the voyage to Roanoke, and declared that by reason of his "tyrannical conduct from first to last, the action has been most painful and most perilous."[5] From others of his contemporaries, as well as from his own conduct, we learn that he was a man of "very unquiet mind and greatly affected to war," and that his nature was so "very severe" that "his own people hated him for his fierceness." But if his followers hated him for his cruelty, they admired him for his daring. No enterprise was too hazardous for his courage, no hardship too severe for his endurance, if it offered opportunity for either riches or glory. To his credit let it be said that with Grenville the search for wealth was a mere incident in his search for fame. In the service of his queen and country he counted no odds too great if only glory and honor waited upon success.

[5] Lane to Walsingham, "Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series," 3.

Grenville's career is intimately connected with the events which we commemorate today. He first became interested in America through Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whose untimely death cut off prematurely one of the choicest spirits of the Elizabethan Era. After Gilbert's death he allied himself with his cousin, Sir Walter Raleigh, by whom he was placed in command of the fleet which bore Lane's colony across the Atlantic. That he did not underestimate the importance of the part he played in that event is shown by the fact that upon his return to England he wrote to Walsingham that he "had performed the action directed and discovered, taken possession of and peopled a new country and stored it with cattle, fruits and plants." Returning from Roanoke in 1585 he had his first brush with Spain when he was attacked by a Spanish man-of-war which, "after some fighting," he overpowered and captured. The following year he made a second voyage to Roanoke, which he found deserted. Leaving fifteen men to retain possession he again turned his prow eastward. No good British sailor of the sixteenth century thought that he had done his full duty to the queen if he crossed the Atlantic without carrying home some trophy of his prowess won from Spain. Grenville was not the man to form an exception to this rule. On his return voyage, in 1586, he touched at the Azores long enough to attack, capture and pillage the Spanish towns there and to carry off for ransom a number of important prisoners. In all the British kingdom Spain had no more implacable foe, nor a more dangerous one. Not Drake himself held her power so cheaply or manifested his contempt more plainly.

Grenville's adventurous career was finally brought to a close by an amazing exploit "memorable even beyond credit and to the height of some heroical fable"—an exploit commemorated by Tennyson in one of the most stirring ballads in our language. It was in the year 1591. Lord Thomas

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE.

Howard, commanding a squadron of sixteen sail, had taken post at the Azores to intercept the Spanish treasure fleet upon its annual voyage from Mexico and Peru to Spain. In this squadron was the *Revenge,* commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, vice-admiral of the fleet, a ship of 500 tons burden, carrying a crew of 250 sailors. In the great fight against the Armada she had been the flagship of Sir Francis Drake, yet it is not Drake, but Grenville whose name occurs to us when the *Revenge* is mentioned. Soon after his arrival at the Azores, scurvy broke out among Lord Howard's crew and in a short time half his men were down with this hideous disease. While the epidemic was at its climax, a swift dispatch boat from England arrived on the scene with tidings that a powerful Spanish armament of fifty-three sail was bearing down upon the English fleet.

Then sware Lord Thomas Howard: "'Fore God, I am no coward!
But I cannot meet them here, for my ships are out of gear,
And the half of my men are sick. I must fly, but follow quick.
We are six ships of the line; can we fight with fifty-three?"

Then spake Sir Richard Grenville: "I know you are no coward;
You fly them for a moment to fight with them again.
But I've ninety men and more that are lying sick ashore.
I should count myself the coward if I left them, my Lord Howard,
To these Inquisition dogs and the devildoms of Spain."

So Lord Howard, crowding his sails, departed, leaving Grenville to follow as soon as he had brought his sick men aboard.

And they blessed him in their pain, that they were not left to Spain,
To the thumbscrew and the stake, for the glory of the Lord.

Scarcely had Sir Richard completed his task when the Spanish fleet, carrying five thousand sailors, hove in sight. Then the sturdy British tars, hankering for a tussle with the Dons, inquired of their leader:

"Shall we fight or shall we fly?
Good Sir Richard, tell us now,
For to fight is but to die!
There'll be little of us left by the time the sun be set."
And Sir Richard said again: "We be all good Englishmen.
Let us bang these dogs of Seville, the children of the devil,
For I never turned my back upon Don or devil yet."

Cheer after cheer from the throats of the British seamen greeted this stirring reply as—

sheer into the heart of the foe,
With her hundred fighters on deck, and her ninety sick below,

the little *Revenge* plunged into the midst of the jeering Spaniards.

Four galleons drew away
From the Spanish fleet that day,
And two upon the larboard and two upon the starboard lay.
And the battle-thunder broke from them all.

* * * * * * *

And the sun went down, and the stars came out far over the summer sea,
But never a moment ceased the fight of the one and the fifty-three.
Ship after ship, the whole night long, their high-built galleons came,
Ship after ship, the whole night long, with her battle-thunder and flame;
Ship after ship, the whole night long, drew back with her dead and her shame.
For some were sunk and many were shatter'd, and so could fight us no more—
God of battles, was ever a battle like this in the world before?

Wounded to the death, as he lay upon his deck, Sir Richard Grenville cried:

"Sink me the ship, Master Gunner—sink her, split her in twain!
Fall into the hands of God, not into the hands of Spain!"
And the gunner said, "Ay, ay," but the seamen made reply:
"We have children, we have wives,
And the Lord hath spared our lives;
We will make the Spaniards promise, if we yield, to let us go;
We shall live to fight again, and to strike another blow."
And the lion there lay dying, and they yielded to the foe.

And the stately Spanish men to their flagship bore him then,
Where they laid him by the mast, old Sir Richard caught at last.
And they praised him to his face, with their courtly foreign grace;
But he rose upon their decks, and he cried:
"I have fought for Queen and Faith like a valiant man and true;
I have only done my duty as a man is bound to do;
With a joyful spirit I, Sir Richard Grenville, die!"
And he fell upon their decks, and he died.

The modern historians, who are accurate if not entertaining, tell us that of the fifty-three ships in the Spanish fleet, thirty-eight were transports and only fifteen were men-of-war. But whether fifteen or fifty-three makes but slight difference. "When we have before us the fact that 150 men during fifteen hours of hand-to-hand fighting held out against a host of 5,000, and yielded only when not more than twenty were left alive, and those grievously wounded, the story * * * is not rendered more interesting and scarcely less wondrous by trebling the number of the host." And we are prepared to believe James Anthony Froude, although his critics assure us that he had no authority for his statement, when he tells us that this action of the *Revenge* "struck a deeper terror, though it was but the action of a single ship, into the hearts of the Spanish people; it dealt a more deadly blow upon their fame and moral strength than the destruction of the Armada itself, and in the direct results which arose from it it was scarcely less disastrous to them."[6]

One of the vessels of Grenville's fleet which conveyed Lane's colony to Roanoke in 1585 was commanded by Thomas Cavendish, in whom Grenville must have found a congenial spirit. Cavendish, like many other noblemen and gentlemen of the times, having squandered his patrimony, had determined to repair his fortune at the expense of the common enemy. The voyage to Roanoke, made in a ship fitted out at his own charge, was his first maritime adventure. He proved an apt scholar of his masters, Grenville and Drake.

[6] See "Dictionary of National Biography," XXIII, 122-124; "Calendar of State Papers," 2-4.

While waiting at San Juan de Porto Rico, ostensibly to build a pinnace, he and Grenville pounced upon and captured two Spanish frigates which contained "good and rich freight and divers Spaniards of account," whom they ransomed "for good, round sums." This employment we can well believe proved more congenial to the tastes and temper of Cavendish than Raleigh's scheme of "Westerne Planting."

Upon his return from this voyage Cavendish, incited by the exploits of Drake and Hawkins, prepared on his own account an expedition to circumnavigate the globe. His fleet consisted of three small vessels, the *Desire,* 140 tons; the *Content,* 60 tons, and the *Hugh Gallant,* 40 tons, and carried 123 sailors. Sailing from the west coast of England, Cavendish steered straight for the Spanish main where he repeated the exploits of Drake, sinking Spanish ships, burning Spanish towns and ravaging Spanish coasts. Throughout Spanish-America his name soon became a signal for terror and consternation. Running down the Atlantic coast of South America he passed through the Strait of Magellan out into the Pacific. Hunger, storms and battles had so reduced the number of his crew that he found it advisable to sink the *Hugh Gallant,* and with the *Desire* and the *Content* pursued his voyage northward until he touched Lower California. There falling in with the *Great St. Anna,* 700 tons, the private property of the king of Spain, he took her after a desperate battle of six hours. Her cargo of 600 tons of the richest merchandise and more than $20,000 worth of gold, proved a prize well worth taking. Yet so heavily were his ships already loaded with Spanish plunder that Cavendish was forced to send the greater part of this new treasure to the bottom along with the stately Spanish galleon. The historian of the expedition, an officer aboard the *Desire,* declares that "this was one of the richest vessels that ever sailed the seas; and was able to have made many hundreds wealthy if we had had means to have brought it home." Satisfied now

with the results of his expedition, Cavendish decided to leave the *Content* to pursue her own way, and on November 19, 1587, turned the prow of the *Desire* homeward by way of the Cape of Good Hope. "On September 10, 1588," records the chronicler of his exploits, "like wearied men, through the favor of the Almighty, we got into Plymouth, where the townsmen received us with all humanity."

All England rang with the fame of Cavendish. His exploits became the theme of ballads and his name was on every man's tongue. For a time he held his head high among the best of England's naval heroes. Soon, however, he found that a fortune so easily gained was as easily lost. "Gallantry and following the court" quickly depleted his purse and he again looked toward the usual storehouse with a craving that was not to be resisted. In 1591 he fitted out a second expedition for the Spanish main, but he now sailed under an evil star. Fortune deserted him and after suffering untold horrors from hunger, storms and desertions, he died at sea in 1592, it is said of a broken heart. Something of the endurance required of English seamen of the sixteenth century may be understood when we learn that of the seventy-six men who sailed with Cavendish on this luckless voyage only a "small remnant" of fifteen lived to return and they were so weak from hardships and suffering that when they arrived off Bearhaven, Ireland, they "could not take in or heave a sail."[7]

In the summer of 1586, while Lane and the colonists at Roanoke were anxiously awaiting the long overdue return of Grenville with supplies from England, their anxiety was relieved by the appearance off Croatan of Sir Francis Drake with a fleet in which were counted twenty-three sails. He was a welcome visitor, for he began at once to make preparations to supply the colony with all needful things. But

[7] "Dictionary of National Biography," IX, 358-363.

while these measures were under way a storm arose which put an end to all plans for relief and resulted in the embarkation of Lane and his homesick men for England.

The man who thus came to the rescue of the forlorn group on Roanoke Island was "until Nelson's time celebrated as the greatest of English seamen." Like Raleigh and Grenville, he was a native of that county of Devon whence have come so many of England's mighty sailors. Drake's mind and character raise him to a height far above Grenville and Cavendish and place him in the company of Raleigh, Blake and Nelson. To Raleigh and Drake, more than to any other men, England owes her world-wide colonial empire. As the former first put into practice the policy of breaking down Spain's colonial power by planting rival colonies in the New World, so the latter first carried into world-wide execution the allied policy of destroying Spain's maritime power by attacking her in American waters. His naval career was begun under no less a leader than Sir John Hawkins, and of course came at once into hostile collision with Spain. Spanish rapacity, cruelty and bigotry, we are told, "taught him the same kind of feeling toward Spaniards that Hannibal cherished toward Romans." Like Hannibal, he swore an eternal enmity to his foe, but in pursuit of his passion he deserved and met with a far better fate.

The most notable of his numerous exploits was the voyage in the *Golden Hind* which first carried the flag of England around the globe. Passing through the Strait of Magellan, with a single ship of only twenty guns, he skirted along the west coast of South America and "from Valparaiso northward along the Peruvian coast, dashed into seaports and captured vessels, carrying away enormous treasures in gold and silver and jewels. * * * With other property he meddled but little, and no act of wanton cruelty sullied his performances. After taking plunder worth millions of dollars

this corsair-work gave place to scientific discovery, and the *Golden Hind* sailed far northward in search of a northeast passage into the Atlantic." In the course of this voyage Drake looked in at the Golden Gate, took possession of California in the name of Queen Elizabeth, christened it New Albion, and after sailing as far northward as Oregon, turned his prow into the Pacific, thence over the Indian Ocean, and rounding the Cape of Good Hope, sailed into the harbor of Plymouth in September, 1580. "The romantic daring of Drake's voyage," says John Richard Green, "as well as the vastness of the spoil, aroused a general enthusiasm throughout England. But the welcome he received from Elizabeth on his return was accepted by Philip as an outrage which could only be expiated by war. Sluggish as it was, the blood of the Spanish king was fired at last by the defiance with which Elizabeth received all demands for redress. She met a request for Drake's surrender by knighting the freebooter, and by wearing in her crown the jewels he had offered her as a present. When the Spanish Ambassador threatened that 'matters would come to the cannon,' she replied, 'quietly, in her most natural voice, as if she were telling a common story,' wrote Mendoza, 'that if I used threats of that kind she would fling me into a dungeon.'" One enthusiast, in an ecstasy of admiration, declared that the *Golden Hind* ought to be set upon the top of St. Paul's Cathedral, "that being discerned farre and neere, it might be noted and pointed at of the people with these true terms: Yonder is the barke that hath sailed round about the world."

In the same year in which Lane's colony landed on Roanoke Island, war having been declared against Spain, Drake fitted out a superb fleet of twenty-three sails and embarked for the Spanish main. On this expedition he took and sacked Cartagena, St. Domingo and St. Augustine and captured twenty prizes carrying 250 cannon.

After these exploits Drake turned his prow northward and skirted along the eastern coast of North America until he came to Roanoke, where he stopped to take a look in upon Raleigh's colony. He was a welcome visitor for, says Lane, he made "a most bountiful and honorable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action we were entered into; and that not only of victuals, munitions and clothing, but also of barks, pinnaces and boats; they also, by him to be victualled, manned and furnished to my contentation." But while preparations were being made to carry these generous measures into execution "there arose such an unwoonted storme, and continued foure dayes that had like to have driven all on shore, if the Lord had not held His holy hand over them." The vessels of Drake's fleet were "in great danger to be driven from their ankoring upon the coast. For we brake many cables and lost many ankors. And some of our fleet which had lost all (of which number was the ship appointed for Master Lane and his company) was driven to put to sea in great danger in avoyding the coast, and could never see us againe untill we met in England. Many also of our small pinnaces and boats were lost in this storm." As a result of this experience Lane, after consultation with Drake, decided to embark his colony for England. Then Drake, "in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (having bestowed us among his fleet,)" says Lane, "for the reliefe of whom hee had in that storm sustained more peril of wrake than in all his former most honorable actions against the Spanyards, with praises unto God for all, set saile the nineteenth of June, 1586, and arrived in Plymouth the seven and twentieth of July the same yeere."

The next year, in an exploit which thrills our blood even at this day, Drake reached the climax of his daring and audacity. Cruising along the coast of Spain, he suddenly

dashed into the harbor of Cadiz, attacked and sunk the men-of-war there on guard, loaded his ships with the spoils of Mexico and Peru, and calmly set his sails for England. This work he laughingly called "singeing the King of Spain's beard." Philip, one day, invited a lady of his court to go on board his barge on the Lake of Segovia. But the prudent lady declined, saying that she dared not trust herself on water even with his Majesty "for fear of Sir Francis Drake."

It was with their spirits chafing at the insults but cowed by the daring and skill of the English seamen that the sailors and soldiers of Spain set sail in their Invincible Armada for the conquest of England. In that wonderful world-victory for freedom which an eminent historian calls "the opening event in the history of the United States," the name of Sir Francis Drake stands high on the roll of conquerors.[8]

Before taking leave of Cavendish, Grenville and Drake, I wish to say just a word in regard to the character of the warfare which they waged. In the twentieth century we should call those who engaged in such exploits pirates, and their work piracy. But we should do a grave injustice to the memory of those bold men who opened the way to the planting of English civilization in the New World if we should so think of them. The strict and well-defined principles of international law now prevailing throughout the civilized world were totally unknown during the sixteenth century. A Spanish fleet massacred a colony of French Huguenots in Florida and a French ship, fitted out by a private gentleman, retaliated in full measure at a time when the two countries were nominally at peace with each other. As John Fiske says: "A flavour of buccaneering pervades nearly all the maritime operations of that age and often leads modern writers to misunderstand or misjudge them. Thus it some-

[8] "Dictionary of National Biography," XV. 426-442; Froude: "English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century;" Green: "History of the English People."

times happens that so excellent a man as Sir Francis Drake, whose fame is forever a priceless possession for English-speaking people, is mentioned in popular books as a mere corsair, a kind of gentleman pirate. Nothing could show a more hopeless confusion of ideas. In a later generation the warfare characteristic of the Elizabethan age degenerated into piracy, and when Spain, fallen from her greatness, became a prey to the spoiler, a swarm of buccaneers infested the West Indies and added another hideous chapter to the lurid history of those beautiful islands. They were mere robbers, and had nothing in common with the Elizabethan heroes except courage. From the deeds of Drake and Hawkins to the deeds of Henry Morgan, the moral distance is as great as from slaying your antagonist in battle to murdering your neighbor for his purse."[9] Even England has on her honor rolls of ten centuries no more glorious deeds, no more honorable names than those of Walter Raleigh, Richard Grenville and Francis Drake. So effectively did those daring men do their work that Philip II, once the mightiest and richest of European monarchs, lived to see his maritime power shattered, his treasury empty and his glory departed. Until this work had been done there could be no hope that English colonies could be successfully planted in America.

Among those who accompanied Lane to Roanoke in 1586 were John White, the artist of the expedition, sent by Raleigh to make drawings of the country and its people, afterwards governor of the Lost Colony; and Thomas Harriot, the historian and scientist of the colony. To none who bore a part in the efforts to plant a colony on Roanoke Island, save to Raleigh alone, do we owe more than to White and Harriot. The work of "these two earnest and true men"—the splendid pictures of the one and the scholarly narrative of the other—preserve for us the most valuable information that we have of "Ould Virginia." They were the intimate friends of

[9] "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," I, 24.

Raleigh whose love and loyalty could be affected by no degree of prosperity or ill fortune. "Raleigh," says Henry Stevens, "was blessed in his household, or at his table, or in his confidence, with four sterling adherents who stuck to him through thick and thin, through prosperity and adversity. These were Richard Hakluyt, Jacques Le Moyne, John White and Thomas Harriot. When Wingandacoa makes up her jewels she will not forget these four, whom it is just to call Raleigh's Magi. * * * Together Harriot and White surveyed, mapped, pictured and described the country, the Indians, men and women; the animals, birds, fishes, trees, plants, fruits and vegetables."

We are told that whoever compares the original drawings of White with the engravings of De Bry, "as one may now do in the British Museum, must be convinced that, beautiful as De Bry's work is, it seems tame in the presence of the original water-colour drawings. There is no exaggeration in the engravings." The late Henry Stevens, of Vermont, whose work was done principally in London, who describes himself as "Student of American History, Bibliographer and Lover of Books," predicts that "White's name in the annals of English art is destined to rank high though it has hitherto failed to be recorded in the art histories and dictionaries. Yet his seventy-six original paintings in water-colours, done probably in Virginia in 1585-1586, while he was there with Harriot as the official draughtsman or painter of Raleigh's 'First Colonie' entitle him to prominence among English artists in Elizabeth's reign."

Thomas Harriot was one of the most eminent scholars of his age. No name in English history deserves to take precedence of his in scientific achievement. A graduate of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, he was engaged by Sir Walter Raleigh to reside with him as his mathematical tutor and adviser in his maritime adventures. In this capacity he was sent by

Raleigh to Roanoke with Lane, and upon his return published at London, in 1588, "A Brief and True Report of the New-found Land of Virginia." This work attracted wide attention both in England and on the continent where it was translated into Latin. The *Edinburgh Review* described it as a work "remarkable for the large views it contains in regard to the extension of industry and commerce," and as one of the finest examples in existence of statistical surveys on a large scale. Harriot, in spite of weak health which, he complained, made him unable to write or even think accurately, and prevented his completing or publishing his work, won a place among the great astronomers and mathematicians of the world. After his death some of his mathematical discoveries were published by his friend, the Earl of Northumberland. "This work," we are told, "embodies the inventions by which Harriot virtually gave to Algebra its modern form." Had Harriot "published all he knew in algebra," says a modern scholar, "he would have left little of the chief mysteries of that art unhandled." In astronomy he applied the telescope to celestial purposes simultaneously with Galileo with whose name his is forever associated in one of the greatest branches of human knowledge. By his wonderful work in mathematics and astronomy Thomas Harriot, the historian and scientist of Roanoke, won for himself a place among "the immortal names that were not born to die."[10]

Such were the men, and such was their work which won for English-speaking people the noblest portion of the New World. Without their work all the statesmanship of Burghley and Walsingham would have been ineffective, Elizabeth's glorious reign would probably have ended in disaster and shame, and a long arctic night of bigotry and superstition, like the Dark Ages, would have enveloped Europe in its black and impenetrable folds. That these calamities were

[10] Stevens: "Thomas Hariot and His Associates."

averted, that the power of Spain was crushed never to rise again, that the England of Elizabeth, Shakespeare and Raleigh triumphed over the Spain of Philip, Alva and Menendez, and that English ideals of liberty and law prevail throughout the northern part of America today, the English race throughout the world may thank Sir Walter Raleigh and those bold and daring seamen and adventurers who shattered Spain's naval power and here at Roanoke seized the best part of the New World for England. May we in America never forget that the glorious achievements of the Raleighs, the Drakes and the Grenvilles of that generation are as much a part of our inheritance as are the achievements of the Hancocks, the Jeffersons, the Harnetts and the Washingtons of a later generation.

GOVERNOR BENJAMIN SMITH*

BY COLLIER COBB,
Professor of Geology in the University of North Carolina.

Addressing Governor Kitchin, Professor Cobb said:

May it Please Your Excellency:

On behalf of the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the Revolution, I present through you to the State of North Carolina the portrait of Benjamin Smith, patriot, legislator, soldier, statesman, and philanthropist; builder of highways and of fortifications; conservationist and drainer of swamps; opener of waterways; believer in education for every child within the State, and the first benefactor of the University; Grand Master of Masons; Governor of North Carolina one hundred years before his time, and dreamer of dreams which you, sir, now help to make come true.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF BENJAMIN SMITH.

Benjamin Smith's education began more than a hundred years before he was born, for he came of a race of men who did things. He was descended from Sir John Yeamans, from old King Roger Moore, and his grandmother, Lady Sabina Smith, was the daughter of Thomas Smith, second Landgrave of his name in South Carolina. The father of our present subject was Colonel Thomas Smith, of South Carolina. So far as is known no relationship existed between him and his wife, whose name (as just stated) was also Smith. Thomas Smith, the first Landgrave, had seen rice cultivated in Madagascar; and one day, in 1696, when a sea captain, an old friend of his, sailed into Charleston Harbor from Madagascar, Thomas Smith got from him a bag of rice seed. This was carefully sown in a wet place in Smith's

*Address delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives at Raleigh, November 15, 1911, on the occasion of the presentation of portrait of Governor Smith to the State by the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the Revolution.

From the Painting by JAQUES BUSBEE.

garden in Charleston. It grew, and the two Carolinas were changed into a land of great rice plantations. His great-grandson, Benjamin Smith, was later owner of the best rice plantation in North Carolina, a portion of the original grant to Landgrave Smith, who tried to establish settlements on the Cape Fear River in 1690. Also to be counted among his close kindred were the Bees and Grimkés, of South Carolina, and the Rhetts, who changed their name from Smith to that of their grandmother, Catherine Rhett, whose family in South Carolina had become extinct. Benjamin Smith thus came of a breed possessing ability, means, and position. The William Smith who introduced the culture of cotton into Virginia in 1621 is said to have been of the same stock.

While the public acts and many details of the private life of Benjamin Smith may be gathered from the records of his time, both State and National, and from the rather voluminous correspondence of his distinguished contemporaries, the date of his birth and the manner and place of his burial have frequently been brought into question. The weight of authority favors January 10, 1756, as his birthday, and January 10, 1826, his seventieth birthday, as the date of his death. Still there are those who contend that he was born in 1750, and that he died on the 10th of February, 1829. But a contemporary newspaper, the *Raleigh Register,* of February 14, 1826, has a notice of his death as having occurred recently at Smithville.

We know nothing, however, concerning his childhood and youth, but he must have received careful training, for we are told that, "While still young, just twenty-one years of age, he served as aide-de-camp of General Washington in the dangerous but masterly retreat from Long Island after the defeat of the American Army in August, 1776. He behaved with conspicuous gallantry in the brilliant action in which Moultrie, in 1779, drove the British from Port Royal

Island, and checked for a time the invasion of South Carolina. A Charleston paper says: 'He gave on many occasions such various proofs of activity and distinguished bravery as to merit the approbation of his impartial country.' " Yet during the siege of Charleston, in 1780, a blunder of Smith's brought about the premature surrender of the city on the 12th of May. "Mr. Smith sent a letter to his wife by Mr. Rutlege, who was taking to the Governor a communication that had been confided to him orally, with the strictest injunction that no written communication be taken from the garrison. A letter addressed by a friend to his wife under assurance that it was only a family letter, Mr. Rutledge unwarily considered it no violation of his instructions. He was captured soon after he left the town and printed copies of the letter were next day thrown into the garrison in unloaded bombshells, and most unaccountably, through a secret agency, dispersed through all parts of the town in printed handbills. The letter plainly told that the garrison must soon surrender, that their provisions were expended, and Lincoln only prevented from capitulating by a point of etiquette. From this time hope deserted the garrison, while the reanimated efforts of the enemy showed their zeal revived." Lincoln surrendered the fort, and Charleston, with its stores, its advantages, and the army that defended it, fell into the hands of the British commander. Smith probably hastened the surrender just a little, but he did not cause it; for historians are generally agreed that Lincoln should have fled and saved his army soon after Clinton began engirdling the city about the 1st of April, and before the British fleet a week later ran by Fort Moultrie and entered the harbor.

In 1783 we find Benjamin Smith in the General Assembly of North Carolina, representing Brunswick County in the Senate. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention

of 1788, that declined to accept the Federal Constitution, and in that body did all in his power to secure its adoption, since he was an ardent Federalist. He was a member of the convention that adopted the Constitution in 1789, and was on the committee that prepared the amendments which North Carolina proposed to the Constitution of the United States. He had some support for the Senatorship in 1789, but Benjamin Hawkins was elected. This Legislature of 1789 chartered the University of North Carolina, and Smith was named among the most eminent men of the State composing the first board of trustees. At the first meeting of the board, on the 18th of December, 1789, Colonel Smith offered to the University warrants for 20,000 acres of land in Tennessee that he had received as pay for his distinguished services in the Revolution, and he handed over the warrants at the second meeting of the board in 1790. He remained a trustee of the University until 1824, and took great pride in presiding over the meetings of the board during his term as Governor of the State.

The warrants Colonel Smith gave were for land located in Obion County, in the extreme northwest part of Tennessee. By the Treaty of Hopewell in 1795 the United States ceded this territory to the Chickasaw Indians. In 1810 the most terrific earthquake that has ever visited the interior of our country turned portions of this region into lakelets, and a large part of the University's tract is now occupied by Reelfoot Lake, the scene of the night-rider raid of a few years ago. It was not until twenty-five years afterward that a sale was effected, realizing $14,000 for the University. Smith Hall, built for a library half a century after the gift of the land warrants and today occupied by the Law School, the most attractive building on the campus, commemorates the munificence of Colonel Smith.

In 1791 Smith again became a member of the Assembly,

and except for the three years, 1801, 1802 and 1803, he continued in the State Senate until his election as Governor in the fall of 1810, and he was again in the Senate in 1816. He was Speaker of the Senate from 1795 to 1799. In 1800 he was defeated for the Speakership by Joseph Riddick, and in the next election he was defeated for the Senatorship by William Wingate, a Jeffersonian Democrat. In that day personal conflicts growing out of political differences were by no means unusual, and there is a tradition of a duel that Smith fought with Thomas Leonard, a political opponent, in which the General was seriously wounded. The ball could not be extracted, and the Governor carried it in his thigh to the end of his days.

During his career as a legislator he served on many important committees, and he always voted as a strict partisan. He favored the making of roads, the building of causeways, the draining of bog lands, the foresting of dunes, and the keeping open of rivers and creeks at their falls for the free passage of fish. As a Member of the Assembly he bitterly opposed the founding of the city of Raleigh, and the removal of the capital from Fayetteville and again from New Bern.

In contemplation of a war with France, or of a second conflict with England, while General Washington was still President, Colonel Smith was made Brigadier-General of Militia, 1796. When a struggle with France seemed imminent, during the presidency of John Adams in 1797, the entire militia force of Brunswick County, officers and men, roused to enthusiasm by a speech General Smith made them, volunteered to follow his lead in the service of their country. In 1810, when trouble with England was culminating, he was again made Brigadier-General of his county forces.

In that same year he was elected Governor of North Carolina, and in his message to the General Assembly, November 20, 1811, he recommended the adoption of a penitentiary

system, and appealed for a reform of the too sanguinary criminal code of the State. He also advised encouraging "domestic manufactures employing those persons who are unable or unfit to till the soil," the improving of the militia, and the establishment of public schools. In recommending the schools he said: "Too much attention can not be paid to the all-important subject of education. In despotic governments, where the supreme power is in the possession of a tyrant or divided amongst an hereditary aristocracy (generally corrupt and wicked), the ignorance of the people is a security to their rulers; but in a free government, where the offices and honors of the State are open to all, the superiority of their political privileges should be infused into every citizen from their earliest infancy, so as to produce an enthusiastic attachment to their own country, and ensure a jealous support of their own constitution, laws, and government, to the total exclusion of all foreign influence or partiality. A certain degree of education should be placed within the reach of every child in the State; and I am persuaded a plan may be formed upon economical principles that would extend this boon to the poor of every neighborhood, at an expense trifling beyond expectation, when compared with the incalculable benefits from such a philanthropic and politic system." Excusing the rhetoric, this might have been written a century later.

Upon retiring from the gubernatorial office he entered upon the carrying out of certain engineering plans which he had advocated as legislator and Governor for the improvement of conditions within the State. He stood for the best of what has characterized each and every administration from the time of Governors Vance and Jarvis to the days of Aycock and Glenn and of Your Excellency. He lived just one hundred years before his time. He could not long remain out of politics, and in 1816 his neighbors returned him

to the State Senate. General Smith was a zealous Mason, and during his prime was for three years, from 1808 to 1811, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina.

Up to 1792 there were no homes in the neighborhood of Fort Johnston, near the mouth of the Cape Fear River, and Mr. Joshua Potts, of Wilmington, who made the first movement toward establishing a town there, has given us an interesting account of the settlement of Smithville in a manuscript that has come down to us, and published in 1904 by the University of North Carolina in James Sprunt Historical Monograph No. 4, pp. 86-90. Mr. Potts has told us how he and certain of his friends in 1790 undertook to lay off a town there and obtain a charter. Their plan was unexpectedly opposed in the Legislature by Colonel Smith, and the charter for the town of "Nashton," as they purposed calling the place, was defeated. A year after the defeat of the bill at Fayetteville, General Smith's neighbors who favored the bill determined that he should not be sent to the Assembly unless he would do his best to have an act passed for the intended purpose. General Smith accepted the conditions, was elected, and made good his word. The act was passed at New Bern in 1792. General Smith, when he returned from the Assembly, told his friends that on his making a motion and offering the bill for the act, "Mr. Macon or some other respectable member made an observation that many applications had been acted upon for different towns in the State, but that few, if any of them, had succeeded; that the said worthy member said, 'As General Smith has applied in behalf of this petty town, it should be called Smithville, as if by way of derision to the applicant, should the town (like many others) not succeed.'"

Benjamin Smith married Miss Sarah Rhett Dry, daughter of Colonel William Dry, a man of ability, excellent education, and rare accomplishments, and a member of the King's

Council. She was also a direct descendant from Cromwell's admiral, Robert Blake. Both she and General Smith inherited large estates. We learn much of their manner of life and their generous hospitality from the diary of General Joseph Gardner Swift, of New York, first graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, who in his younger days enjoyed intimate association with General Smith. Swift, a young second lieutenant in the corps of engineers, "was sent to Wilmington in 1804 to examine the harbor of Cape Fear, and to report a plan of defense therefor, and also to direct the execution of a contract with General Benjamin Smith, of Belvidere, to construct a battery at the site of old Fort Johnston, in Smithville, of a material called 'tapia.'" He gave to the United States Government ten acres of land on Bald Head, or Smith's Island, which he owned, on which to build the lighthouse at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. He constructed the causeway from Wilmington across Eagles Island.

"As he advanced in years," to use the words of Dr. Battle, "Governor Smith lost his health by high living and his fortune by too generous suretyship. He became irascible and prone to resent fancied slights. His tongue became venomous to opponents. He once spoke with undeserved abusiveness of Judge Alfred Moore, and the insult was avenged by one of the members of the Assembly from Brunswick, Judge Moore's son Maurice." General Swift has given us in his "Memoirs" an account of this duel, which was fought on June 28, 1805, just over in South Carolina, near to the ocean side, where then stood the Boundary House, the line running through the center of the entrance hall and main passageway. Captain Moore was attended by his cousin, Major Duncan Moore, while General Smith's second was General Swift himself. Dr. Andrew Scott attended as surgeon for both combatants. At the second fire General Smith

received his antagonist's ball in his side and fell. Dr. Scott, aided by Dr. Griffin, took the General to Smithville by water, while General Swift hastened to Belvidere, and conveyed Mrs. Smith in a chair to Smithfield through a storm of lightning and rain. The ball lodged near the General's left shoulder-blade, and it (or the bullet fired by Leonard years before) was the means of identifying Smith's ashes many years later when his remains were removed to the burial ground of St. James Church, Wilmington.

General Smith's great burden of debt was due to the defalcation of Colonel Reed, collector of the port of Wilmington, whose surety he was. It was to discharge this liability that General Smith had contracted to build the tapia work at Fort Johnston. General Swift has told us how this tapia was prepared from equal parts of lime, raw shells and sand, and water sufficient to form a paste or batter. All the engineering work in which the old hero engaged was undertaken to discharge debts, and it is sad to relate that in his old age he was arrested by the attorney of the University, who, Smith alleged, was his personal enemy, and held for a security debt, "but on learning the fact he was released by the Trustees with promptness."

Besides the home at Belvidere, Governor Smith at one time owned Orton, which came down to him from his ancestor, Roger Moore, being originally the home of his kinsman, Maurice Moore, grandson of Sir John Yeamans. Mrs. Smith's flower garden was such an attractive place that Dr. Griffin, dying of yellow fever in Wilmington, asked that he be buried there. The Isabella grape, highly esteemed by us for its fine flavor, was introduced to North Carolina from Mrs. Smith's garden where it grew from a cutting, the gift of a sea captain who had received some kindness at her hands. General Swift visited his old friend, General Smith, at Orton in 1818, and found him greatly depressed by his

debts, Mrs. Smith "evincing a well-balanced serenity to cheer her husband." Swift returned to Wilmington, where he "found it a fruitless essay to liquidate the large claims of the General's creditors."

This man, of rare personal charm, of high character, and of openhearted and openhanded hospitality, became involved in such pecuniary difficulties that he was actually imprisoned for debt; and at the time of his death, in 1826, some of his creditors resorted to the unusual method, though allowed by the law of that day, of withholding his body from burial until his friends could meet the demands of the creditors. The deputies set to watch the body were lured away temporarily to partake of refreshments, and when they returned the coffin and its contents had disappeared. Friends had taken it out on the river to the old graveyard on the site of St. Philip's Church, then a ruin of old Brunswick town, where in the dead of night they gave the body of their comrade Christian burial. A story, probably originating with the careless watchers, that the coffin had been taken out on the river and in the darkness committed to its waters by the negroes who were trusted to row the boat, gained some credence; but what is less probable: that devoted friends would thus leave his body to slaves, or that they would let the story pass as a probable means of concealing his last resting place?

In 1853 their old friend, General Swift, caused to be erected over the grave of General and Mrs. Smith in the old Brunswick cemetery a marble slab on which was inscribed: "In memory of that Excellent Lady, Sarah Rhett Dry Smith, who died the 21st of November, 1821, aged 59 years. Also of her husband, Benjamin Smith of Belvidere, once Governor of North Carolina, who died January, 1826, aged 70."

ACCEPTANCE

In a graceful speech, on behalf of the State, Governor Kitchin thanked the Society for this gift of the portrait of Governor Smith, and expressed his gratification upon learning that there had been manifested in North Carolina a century ago such interest in public education and other beneficent measures for the upbuilding of the State and the good of its people. It is a source of sincere regret that Governor Kitchin's speech of acceptance, having been delivered without manuscript or notes, cannot be reproduced here. As is always the case with that gifted orator, his remarks were a source of entertainment and interest to his hearers, and it would gratify us to place them in full before those of our readers who were not so fortunate as to be present on that interesting occasion.

THE STORY OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE OR LIBERTY HALL IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA

BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD,

Author of "Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771," "Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina," etc.

Of all the Royal Governors of North Carolina none was more interested in the educational advancement of the Province than William Tryon. In December, 1770, while the General Assembly was in session at New Bern, he sent a message to that body, urging the further improvement of the school system, which had already been bettered to some extent during his administration. The Assembly continued its sittings several weeks into the succeeding year, not adjourning until January 26, 1771. On the 10th day of January in the latter year (Chapter III of the Laws of 1770), the Assembly passed on its final reading an act to incorporate an institution of learning to be called QUEEN'S COLLEGE, the same to be located in the town of Charlotte and county of Mecklenburg. As a reason for such action it was recited that "the proper education of youth has always been considered as the most certain source of tranquillity, happiness, and improvement, both of private families and of States and Empires, and there being no institution or seminary of learning established in this Province, whither the rising generation may repair, after having acquired at a Grammar School a competent knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin languages, to imbibe the principles of science and virtue, and to obtain under learned, pious and exemplary teachers in a collegiate or academic mode of instruction a regular or finished education in order to qualify them for the service of their friends and country," etc. This act of incorporation further recited that several Gram-

mar Schools had already been established in the western part of the Province, and in these could be obtained "very considerable progress in the languages and other literary attainments," but that these schools were not able to give what was considered a finished education. The trustees of Queen's College were Edmund Fanning, Thomas Polk, Robert Harris, Jr., Abraham Alexander, Hezekiah Alexander, John McKnitt Alexander, Ezekiel Polk, Thomas Neal, William Richardson, Hezekiah J. Balch, Joseph Alexander, Waightstill Avery, Henry Patillo, and Abner Nash. All of these fourteen trustees, with the exception of Fanning and Nash, were Presbyterians, including several learned clergymen of that denomination; but, anticipating the opposition which later came from the Court of St. James, and wishing to conciliate the King if possible, this charter provided that the President of this institution should be a member of the Church of England, licensed by the Governor. As a source of revenue it was provided that a tax of six pence per gallon should be levied on all rum and other spirituous liquors brought into and disposed of in Mecklenburg County for ten years following the passage of the act of incorporation. On January 15, 1771, Governor Tryon gave the act his official approval. In a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, King George's Secretary of State for the Colonies, to whom he transmitted the act of Assembly for the King's consideration, Tryon wrote, under date of March 12, 1771, saying: "The necessity for such an institution in this country is obvious, and the propriety of the mode here adopted must be submitted to His Majesty. Though the President is to be of the established Church and licensed by the Governor, the Fellows, Trustees, and Tutors, I apprehend, will be generally Presbyterians, the college being promoted by a respectable settlement of that persuasion, from which a considerable body marched to Hillsborough in September, 1768, in sup-

port of government." The last clause in the extract, just quoted, has reference to the loyal support accorded Tryon by the Presbyterians, both clergymen and laymen, in holding in check the lawlessness of the Regulators. It was a service which the Governor always held in grateful remembrance.

Unfortunately for the cause of education in North Carolina the act establishing Queen's College had to take the course of other colonial laws and be passed upon by a King and Council in England who were never noted for their tolerance in either religion or politics. First it was referred to Richard Jackson, afterwards a member of Parliament, who was legal adviser to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, a board which had oversight of affairs in America; and, upon Jackson's advice, this Board (in session at Whitehall, on February 26, 1772), reported to the King as follows:

> From this report of Your Majesty's Governor, and from the prevalency of the Presbyterian persuasion within the county of Mecklenburg, we may venture to conclude that this college, if allowed to be incorporated, will in effect operate as a seminary for the education and instruction of youth in the principles of the Presbyterian Church. Sensible as we are of that tolerating spirit which generally prevails throughout Your Majesty's dominions, and disposed as we particularly are in the case before us to recommend to every reasonable mark of favor and protection a body of subjects who, by the Governor's report, have behaved with such loyalty and zeal during the late troubles and disorders, still we think it our duty to submit to Your Majesty whether it may be advisable for Your Majesty to add encouragement to toleration by giving the Royal assent to an establishment which, in its consequences, promises great and permanent advantages to a sect of Dissenters from the Established Church who have already extended themselves over the Province in very considerable numbers.

With this preliminary kick from Mr. Jackson and the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the Queen's College act of incorporation was passed forward to King George and the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable

Privy Council at the Court of St. James, on April 22, 1772, when it was formally vetoed, or "disallowed, declared void and of none effect." It was nearly a year later, April 7, 1773, before this action was certified to Governor Josiah Martin, Tryon's successor in office, who thereupon issued a proclamation from the Governor's Palace in New Bern, North Carolina, June 28, 1773, declaring the King's disapproval of the movement to establish the college in Charlotte.

On December 6, 1771, before the King had vetoed the act incorporating Queen's College, Thomas Polk, one of its trustees and a representative of the county of Mecklenburg in the Provincial Assembly, introduced into the Assembly an amendment to that act (Chapter IX of the Laws of 1771) which provided for the election of a Vice-President of the college, who should act as President when the latter official was absent from North Carolina, as was then the case. This amendment passed its final reading on December 12th, and received Governor Martin's approval on December 23d; but, when the act of incorporation itself was repealed, such action worked as a repeal of the amendment also.

The nominal President of Queen's College was Edmund Fanning, though nothing shows that he took an active part in its management. Fanning was a much better man than written history and the absurd traditions of North Carolina have represented him, and few men in the Province equaled him in scholarship. In 1757 he had graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Yale, which later conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts, finally honoring him with the high degree of Doctor of Laws in 1803. In 1764 Harvard College gave him the degree of Master of Arts, as did also King's College (now Columbia) in 1772. Dartmouth College, in 1803, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, and he received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law from the great University of Oxford, England,

in 1774. We doubt if any of Fanning's contemporaries, in either Great Britain or America, ever received so many academic honors; and yet this holder of literary degrees which the greatest scholars of any time might covet, is represented by many writers as an abandoned extortionist and libertine, whose sole title to distinction was the favoritism of Tryon. In the Revolution, Fanning became a Loyalist, and was a General in the army of Great Britain at the time of his death in 1818. At that time it was written: "The world did not contain a better man in all the various relations of life—as a husband, a parent, and a friend. As a landlord and master he was kind and indulgent. He was much distinguished in the American war, and raised a regiment there, by which he lost a very large property."

It was through no ill will of any one in North Carolina that a charter was withheld from Queen's College. Governor Tryon did everything in his power to secure it, as did also the Provincial Assembly. Both Churchmen and Dissenters throughout the Province regretted the outcome of the effort to secure one, but all were then too loyal to call into question what His Most Gracious Majesty had been pleased to do—or undo. But this feeling did not last. King George's power was soon likewise to be "disallowed, declared void and of none effect." In the meantime, Queen's College was conducted without a charter, doing much good both morally and educationally. Among its students were William Richardson Davie, Joseph Graham, and many others who afterwards won fame as officers in the Revolution. It is also probable that one of its pupils was Andrew Jackson, as we learn from his biography (unabridged edition) by Parton. In 1775 the college building is said to have been a rendezvous for some of the earlier meetings of the Committee of Safety, though the Court House was used for the principal sessions of that body.

Queen's College was sometimes called Queen's Museum; and, by Chapter XX of the Private Laws of 1777 (April session), its name was changed to LIBERTY HALL—no longer a namesake of royalty but of the fair goddess who was henceforth ordained to preside over the destinies of America. Under the new charter, in 1777, the trustees were Isaac Alexander (President), Thomas Polk, Thomas Neal, Abraham Alexander, Waightstill Avery, Ephraim Brevard, David Caldwell, James Edmonds, John Simpson, Thomas Reese, Adlai Osborne, Samuel McCorkle, John McKnitt Alexander, Thomas McCaule, and James Hall—true Presbyterians and patriots all, with none to gainsay their rights. By the act last mentioned, the Legislature directed that the treasurer of the college should give bond to the Governor of the State for the faithful discharge of his duties; and a subsequent Legislature (Chapter XXIII of the Private Laws of 1778, April session), appropriated for its use all moneys which should accrue from the sale of lots in the town of Charlotte, but even this could not make it a prosperous institution in the midst of a war which was making a heavy drain upon the resources of the people of the State. Another act of the Legislature just after the war (Chapter XXIX of the Private Laws of 1784, October session) changed the name of Liberty Hall to SALISBURY ACADEMY, and directed that it should be removed to Salisbury, in Rowan County. If Salisbury Academy began operations with as many pupils as it had trustees (thirty-six, including those added in 1785), it had a promising start, but what its final fate was we are unable to say.

The building originally erected in Charlotte for the use of Queen's College, and later operated under the name of Liberty Hall, was evidently used for school purposes even after the Legislature directed the removal of the institution to Salisbury in 1784; for we find a not over-gratifying refer-

ence to it in Washington's Diary, May 28, 1791, when the Father of his Country took a look at it and its surroundings. He wrote: "Charlotte is a trifling place, though the Court of Mecklenburg is held in it. There is a school (called a college) in which, at times, there has been 50 or 60 boys." Such was the sad lot of the first college ever erected in North Carolina—crippled in its infancy by the King of Great Britain, and belittled in its old age by the President of the United States!

BIOGRAPHICAL, GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMORANDA

COMPILED AND EDITED BY Mrs. E. E. MOFFITT.

COLLIER COBB

Collier Cobb, who contributes for this number of The Booklet the article entitled "Governor Benjamin Smith," was born at Mount Auburn, his grandfather's plantation, in Wayne County, North Carolina, March 21, 1862. His father, the Reverend Needham Bryan Cobb, was then chaplain in the Army of Northern Virginia. The Cobbs are of English extraction and immigrated to Virginia in 1613. Another ancestor, Martin Franks (Francke) came from Germany to New Bern and settled on the Trent river. His daughter Susanna became the wife of William Heritage (1769) and the mother of Elizabeth Heritage, who married Jesse Cobb, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, great-great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch, and through whose services he is a member of the North Carolina branch of the "Sons of the Revolution." He is also eligible and member through Needham Bryan Cobb, member of the North Carolina Provincial Congress of August, 1775; also through Benjamin May, of Pitt County, member of the North Carolina Provincial Congress, November, 1776; also through James Green, Secretary of the North Carolina Provincial Congress of April, 1776.

"Collier Cobb during his youth pursued his studies at home and was prepared for college by his mother, Mrs. Martha Louisa Cobb, a woman of vigorous intellect and very strong will, who reared twelve children and instructed them herself. This lady learned to read and speak German at the age of forty, that she might teach that language to her

children, when by moving to another town, they had to give up the instruction of a German tutor. From her Collier Cobb inherited many of his characteristics, and her influence on his life has long been strong and lasting."

Collier Cobb entered Wake Forest College, 1878, at about the age of sixteen, and the following year he entered the University of North Carolina, where he pursued his course of study. Earth science had always been attractive to him, and at the University he determined on geology as a profession. After leaving the University he became a teacher and studied the topographic features of every section in which he taught. In the year 1885 he gave up teaching and entered Harvard, in order to perfect himself in his profession. Here he was honored with the Secretaryship of the Harvard Natural History Society, a post of distinction which had been held by Edward Everett Hale, Alexander Agassiz, Theodore Roosevelt, and many others. In 1889 he received the degree of A.B. with honors in Natural History, and five years later he received his Master's Degree from Harvard, his major subject being "the origin of the topographic features around King's Mountain." Mr. Cobb was assistant to Professor N. S. Shaler on the United States Geological Survey (1886-92). The influence of this excellent gentleman and learned scientist on the life of his pupil-associate became very strong, and to him Mr. Cobb owes the encouragement which induced him to persevere under great difficulties, and the retarding influences of ill health.

Mr. Cobb's activities cover a broad field, for while during the four years as assistant in the United States Geological Survey he was also assistant in Harvard University (1888-90) and instructor in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1890-92). Among his other acquirements and accomplishments he is an artistic amateur photographer, his pictures are widely known throughout the United States.

He has published many scientic papers, books and maps. He is Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, of the Association of American Geographers and Geological Society of America and other kindred Associations.

Mr. Cobb is notably active in the interests of his native State. He rendered valuable assistance to Colonel William L. Saunders in his monumental work, "The Colonial Records of North Carolina." He is President of the North Carolina Academy of Science; a member of the Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society; has published two geographies of the State; also, in 1879, a valuable map of the State, which has been used for over a quarter of a century in the schools. He was elected Professor of Geology in the University of North Carolina in 1892, and continues in that position, which attests his great popularity and fitness for the place. His extensive travels in other lands have proved of inestimable value to his country as well as to himself. He is widely known as a student of moving sands, which he has studied on the coasts of France, Belgium, and Holland, as well as those of the States, and of the desert regions of the world.

In the January number of THE BOOKLET, 1905, Professor Cobb contributed an article on "Some Changes in the North Carolina Coast since 1585." This article throws much light on the mooted question, as to which inlet the English adventurers of 1584 entered the sounds of North Carolina (then called Virginia). His investigations covered a study of all maps and originals obtainable, securing photographs, or tracings from John White's map of 1585, to the Coast Survey Charts of the present day. The notes presented by him are based on his own researches, investigations and explorations of the North Carolina coast. Many of the inlets found by early explorers have been closed and others, formed by the shifting sands, will reveal to the student of history some-

thing of the nature of the problem of which particular inlet was entered by the English colonists. Whatever confusion there may be as to names of various harbors mentioned, it is generally conceded that the explorers from 1585 to 1590 headed for an inlet or harbor near Roanoke Island called "Hatorask." The influence of these shifting sands upon the development of our State is an interesting subject for the student of earth science in its relation to man.

Professor Cobb's object in his investigations was to study the changes in the zone of early exploration and settlement as they have influenced the history of the State. The rounding of Cape Hatteras is attended with such danger that the loss to life and shipping is fearful indeed, and to avert this the government now has under consideration the opening of a great inland waterway, which will not only be an economic move, but humanitarian in its purpose.

Professor Cobb ranks high as a geologist, and in his fine library in Chapel Hill he still pursues his studies and to exert his powers on the students under his charge to become useful factors in the building up of the State and its institutions. "The story of his life presents many features of great use to young Americans, illustrating how perseverance and systematic endeavor will generally bring success. He is indeed a representative American, not self-made, though self-educated in the best sense, self-reliant and successful in the career which he has chosen. He has lived thoroughly up to his motto, 'Always do as best you can the work that lies immediately at hand. Want whatever work presents itself, and you will some day get the work you want to do.' "

In 1891 Professor Cobb married Mary Lindsay Battle, a daughter of Doctor William Horn Battle. She died November 27, 1900, leaving three children: William Battle, Collier, and Mary Louise. In 1904 he married Miss Lucy

Plummer Battle, daughter of Honorable Richard H. Battle, of Raleigh, N. C. She bore him one son, Richard Battle Cobb. She died April 27, 1905. In November, 1910, Professor Cobb married Miss Mary Gatling, of Little Rock, Arkansas, a descendant of Governor Richard Caswell.

NOTE.—The material for the above sketch was drawn from Captain Samuel A. Ashe's sketch of Mr. Cobb, in the Biographical History of North Carolina, Vol. VI, p. 141; also from THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, Vol. IV, January, 1903, article by Professor Cobb; also from the Records of the Sons of the Revolution of North Carolina.

MRS. HELEN DeBERNIÈRE WILLS

Mrs. Helen DeBerniere Wills departed this life on June 24, 1911. The death of this highly esteemed and honored member of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution is greatly lamented, and the loss of her valued service as Genealogist is sadly felt and deplored. Mrs. Wills was a highly educated woman, naturally endowed with a superior intellect, enriched with judicious culture yet possessed of a modesty so retiring that only those who knew her intimately were able to appreciate the excellence of her mind and character.

Under the guiding hand of a father of unusual literary ability, Mrs. Wills became proficient as a teacher, and for a time she pursued this occupation until her marriage to James Wills, a prominent druggist of Wilson, North Carolina, on August 12, 1867. As the years passed on, she was repeatedly called upon to follow her dear ones to the tomb. On October 26, 1884, her husband died, in the faith and hope of a Christian, after many years of trial and suffering, leaving her with two small sons. She again resumed teaching, in which she met with continued success until her children were fitted to take up their life work and repay her in a measure for her care of them.

With a spirit of independence, her desire being to take up some work to occupy her time and attention, she removed to Raleigh, N. C. It was here that her services were called into requisition by the Society of the Daughters of the Revolution to undertake the office of Genealogist, a peculiar and difficult branch of history. Not since the days of Mr. Hathaway, of Edenton, N. C., has any one accomplished what she did for Genealogy in North Carolina. Could she have had the physical strength to take up the work where he left

it off, our State would have been doubly enriched by her services, but a weak constitution forbade her undertaking its continuance.

Mrs. Wills was a devoted church woman and a faithful attendant upon the ministrations of her rector, the Rev. Dr. I. McK. Pittinger, of the Church of the Good Shepherd in Raleigh, in whose congregation she had a host of friends who held her in the highest esteem. She was a type of the ante-bellum Southern lady, impressing her personality upon all those with whom she came in contact. Firm in her convictions, based upon the broad view she took of life, her judgment was to be relied on in matters of social or literary significance. She was a voracious reader, and was authority on general literature and language. She was especially a student of history and had connected herself with several patriotic organizations.

She became a member of the Society of the Daughters of the Revolution when it was first organized in the State, and to the day of failing health was ever on the alert to aid in its growth and progress. In all its difficulties and deliberations her voice had a potent influence. The voluminous notes and data which she had collected during her term of office will be most valuable to her successor.

Mrs. Wills was also a "Daughter of the Confederacy" from the time that the society was organized, and one more faithful was not easily found. She was Historian of the Johnston Pettigrew Chapter, U. D. C., of Raleigh, N. C., filling the place most effectually and faithfully.

She founded at Chapel Hill and was President of the Leonidas Polk Chapter, the first and only Chapter of the U. D. C. ever organized in that place, leaving it in a flourishing condition upon her return to Raleigh.

Her devotion to the U. D. C., her intense interest in its historic work, her desire to see recorded the truth of the

cause, won for her the place of Chairman of the Historical Text-book Committee of the State Division. To this she spared no pains to vindicate the justice of the cause as she saw it. Early in 1903 she issued a circular letter to the President and Historian of every Chapter in the State, then numbering about sixty. This circular was for the purpose of reminding them of the importance of this branch of the U. D. C. work—the preservation of a truthful history of the War between the States, the training of our young people in familiarity with such history and the endeavor to eliminate from our schools the false teachings which traduce the South and her heroes. She held up Jefferson Davis, R. E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson as the highest types of American manhood, fit examples for the generations to come. These characters, as well as other Confederate history, to be studied by our young people in order to fit them to carry on the work after the older "Daughters" have passed away, and to impress upon them their duty to the old soldier of the Lost Cause while in life, and to keep green his grave after death. This circular met with many favorable responses, not only from the Society but from prominent educators and other public-spirited citizens. Mrs. Wills's actual experience before and during the war enabled her to recount the trend of events with trusted accuracy. She heard the first gun fired at Sumter, being at that time a resident of South Carolina, and the echoes of that forerunner of a great fratricidal strife ever remained a fearful memory.

A few years ago a society was formed by the descendants of "Signers of the Declaration of Independence." In this organization Mrs. Wills was solicited to enroll her name, being eligible through her ancestor on the maternal side, William Hooper, "The Signer." In this she became heartily interested and attended two of the meetings, the last on October 19, 1909, at Yorktown, Virginia—the one hundred

and twenty-eighth anniversary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to General George Washington. This historic town was the scene of a memorable celebration conducted under the joint auspices of the "Descendants of Signers" and the Yorktown Historical Society. A very interesting description of the occasion was written by Mrs. Wills for THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET of July, 1910.

On account of a failure in health, late in the year 1910, she laid aside her work, to reside with her son, Mr. Henry Wills, in Chapel Hill, N. C., hoping that a change of altitude would restore her to health and enable her to resume her wonted occupation, but her days were numbered. After a lingering illness she passed away, surrounded by kind and sorrowing friends. She is survived by two sons, Henry C. Wills, of Chapel Hill, N. C., and George Wills, a prominent architect of New York City; also by one sister, Mrs. R. H. Graves, now residing in Philadelphia, besides several nephews and nieces.

GENEALOGY.

Mrs. Wills comes of a noble, patriotic, and cultured ancestry, being lineally descended from the Hooper, Maclaine, DeBerniére, and Jones families. She is the fifth in lineal descent from the Rev. William Hooper, Trinity Church, Boston, Massachusetts, the second Rector of that church from 1747 to his death in 1767. She is the fourth in descent from his son, William Hooper (1742-1790), the "signer" of the Declaration of Independence, of National fame. She is the third in descent from William Hooper third and Helen (Hogg) his wife, of Brunswick County, N. C., who died in 1804. She is the second in descent from the Rev. William Hooper (1792-1876), who married Frances Pollock Jones, daughter of Edward Jones (1762-1841), for many years Solicitor-General of North Carolina. Reverend Wm. Hooper, D.D., LL.D., was for many years Professor in the

University of North Carolina and other institutions of learning, an instructor of youth for sixty-five years. She was a daughter of Professor John DeBernière Hooper (1811-1886), for many years Professor of Languages in the University of North Carolina, who was acknowledged to be one of the most accurate Greek, Latin and French scholars of his age and day.

From such ancestry Mrs. Wills inherited many varied traits that characterized this remarkable family, and at her demise many relatives and friends are left to mourn their loss.

IN MEMORIAM

Resolutions of Respect to the Memory of Mrs. Fanny DeBerniere Hooper Whitaker, who Died November 28, 1911

WHEREAS, God, in His divine love and never-failing wisdom, has called from her temporary home to "the Great Beyond" our beloved Founder, former State and Honorary Regent, Mrs. Fanny DeBernière Hooper Whitaker:

Therefore be it Resolved, That the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, laments the inexpressible loss sustained in her death.

That they express the deepest gratitude for the high standard she has set us by the beautiful example of her noble life, and that they appreciate the great work she has done in founding this society, whose influence has been recognized as a factor in the universal historical awakening that is restoring North Carolina to her own, whose devotion will ever be an inspiration to our members—her loyal followers—to undertake more difficult tasks and to bring to accomplishment enduring achievements.

That they will always miss the guiding hand that has safely piloted them through troubled waters, and treasure her hallowed memory through the coming years.

To the dear ones is extended our warmest sympathy in this hour of sorrow.

That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the society and a copy be sent to the family.

MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
MRS. ANNIE (MOORE) PARKER,
MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD,
Regent Bloomsbury Chapter.
MRS. E. E. MOFFITT,
Committee.

MARRIAGE BONDS OF ROWAN COUNTY, N. C.

BY MRS. M. G. McCUBBINS.

Squire Boone to Jane Vancleft. July 11, 1765. Squire Boone, John Johnston and Sam (his X mark) Tate. (Thomas Frohock). [This is framed and hangs on wall in clerk's office.]

Andrew Beard to Anne Locke. February 1, 1790. Andrew Beard and Jno. Beard. (C. Caldwell, D. C.)

John H. Berger to Susanna Miller. February 15, 1790. John H. Berger(?) (in Dutch) and Peter (his X mark) Berger.

Randel Bevin to Rachael Wood. February 15, 1790. Randel (his X mark) Bevin and Benjamin Stony(?). (Ed. Harris.).

Thomas Boulwin to Mary Coske (Cooke?). February 22, 1790. Thomas Boulwin(?) and William Aldredge.

Philip Brown to Rebekah Baker. March 1, 1790. Philip (his X mark) Brown and Charles Dunn.

John Baker to Jean Mitchel. May 20, 1790. John (his X mark) Baker and Sehon Smith. (C. Caldwell, D. C.)

John Braley to Mary Carson. May 22, 1790. John Braley and Wi^{m}. St. Carson. (C. Caldwell, D. C.)

Wm. Brewer to Mary Shumaker. June 10, 1790. William (his X mark) Bruer and Rich^{d} (his X mark) Speaks. (Basil Gaither.)

John Biles to Margaret Whiteker. July 2, 1790. John Biles and John (his X mark) Whiteker. (Basil Gaither.)

William Barly, Jr., to Jane Patteson. July 26, 1790. William Barly and Wm. Belay, Sr. (Jan Harris, D. C., for Charles Caldwell.)

John Barkley to Yuiley(?) Kern. August 21, 1790. John Barcley and John Kern. (C. Caldwell, D. C.)

John Berger to Margret Cruse. John Berger and Adam Stiyerwalt. September 1, 1790. (C. Caldwell, D. C.)

Muddeas Beam to Polly Wise. September 21, 1790. Muddeas Beam(?) (both in Dutch) Jacob Beam. (C. Caldwell, D. C.)

Samuel Badjet to Jenny Skene. October 21, 1790. Samuel Badgett and Jacob Skeen. (C. Caldwell, D. C.)

James Brian to Margaret Johnson. December 8, 1790. James Bryan and John Johnston. (C. Caldwell, C. C.)

Manning Brookshire to Elizabeth Sludder. December 14, 1790. Manning (his X mark) Brookshire and Jesse Brookshire.

Douglass Blue to Charity Hill. May 18, 1791. Douglass Blue and Moses Bellah. (Charles Caldwell, D. C.)

Archibald Blue to Martha Forest (or Foust). July 18, 1791. Arch^{d}. Blue and Moses Bellah. (C. Caldwell, D. C.)

David Bloomfield to Rachel Barkley. October 21, 1791. David (his X mark) Bloomfield and Wilson McCay. Cun:^{m} Harris.)

John Buse to Sarah Wyatt. November 8, 1791. John Buis and J. G. Lanmann. (Chs. Caldwell.)

Horatio Baker to Rachael Blaster(?). December 29, 1791. Horatio (his X mark) Baker and Philip Coleman(?) (in Dutch). (Ad: Osborn.)

Jeremiah Brown to Mary Charian (Marian?). June 29, 1792. Jeremiah (his X mark) Brown and Thomas (his X mark) Davis. (Chs. Caldwell.)

Jacob Bodenhamer to Elizabeth Spurgins. January 1, 1792. Jacob Bodenhamer and Peter Bodenhamer. (Jno. Monro?)

Moses Bella to Elizabeth Anderson. February 21, 1792. Moses Bellah and Wm. Anderson. (Chs. Caldwell.)

John Biles to Betsay Smithe. March 12, 1792. John Biles and Conrad Brem. (Chs. Caldwell.)

John Baxter to Hannah Owins(?). April 13, 1792. John Backster and James (his X mark) Wood. (Chs. Caldwell.)

William Baley to Lucy Foster. June 11, 1792. William Baily and Robert Dial. (Basil Gaither.)

George Bullen to Chlora Castor. October 9, 1792. George (his X mark) Bullen and Jacob Call (Castor?). (Jo. Chambers.)

Leonard Bevins to Sarah Moore. October 16, 1792. Leonard (his X mark) Bevins and Val: Beard. (Jos. Chambers.)

N. B. on back of bond.—Jos. Chambers testifies that they were married October 16, 1792.

Thomas Briggs to Esther Parks. October 19, 1792. Thomas Briggs and Simon (his G mark) Watson. Jos:[s] Chambers, D. C.)

Conrod Brown to Patience Penny. October (no date), 1792. Conrod (his X mark) Brown and David (his X mark) Brown. (Jo. Chambers.)

Jacob Bining to Nancy Rowan. November 17, 1792. Jacob Binning and John Braly.

John Buise to Martha Wyatt. January 12, 1793. John Buis, Jr., and Laurence Clinard. (Jno. (?)onro.)

William Bunton to Mary Cowan. January 31, 1793. William Bunten and Thomas Barrkley (or Barckley?). (Jos. Chambers.)

William Bateman to Elizabeth Smith. March 4, 1793. William (his X mark) Bateman and Mesheck(?) Pinkstone. (Jos. Chambers.)

William Braly to Margaret Woods. March 8, 1793. William Braly and Jno. Braly.

Daniel Brown to Ann Rablin. August 26, 1793. Daniel Brawn(?) and Mertin Räblin. (Jos. Chambers.)

John Henry Brinly to Catharine Easter. August 4, 1793. John Henry Brennly and Peter Easter (or Easten?). (Jno. (?)onro.)

William Brown to Lucy Chaffin. September 3, 1793. William Brown and Valentine (his X mark) Holderfield. (Jos. Chambers.)

Henry Benson to Jane Cathey. October 12, 1793. Henry Bonson and Jno. McRavey. (Jos. Chambers.)

Charles Burros to Nancy Renshaw. October 18, 1793. Charles Burroughs and James Heathman. (Jos. Chambers.)

George Briles to Barbra Coonrod. George Brile and David Coonrod (?) (in Dutch). (Jno. onro.)

Samuel Bucey to Katharine Seigler. February 10, 1794. Samuel Bucey and Laurence Seigler. (John Pinchback and Ly(?) Pinchback.)

John Burns to Mary Lopp. April 18, 1794. John (his X mark) Burns and Charles (his X mark) Burns. (Jo. Chambers.)

James Brown to Sarah Smith. July 23, 1794. James Brown and Tobias Fouro(?) (or Furr). (I. Troy, D. C.)

Daniel Benson to Mary Ham. August 25, 1794. Daniel Benson and John Peraman. (Friedrick Miller.)

INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years, of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American Independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication of great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

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"North Carolina in the French and Indian War," Col. A. M. Waddell.

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Address: "Our Dearest Neighbor—The Old North State," Hon. James Alston Cabell.

Biographical Sketches: Col. A. M. Waddell, Junius Davis, Thomas M. Pittman, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt; Hon. Jas. Alston Cabell, by Mary Hilliard Hinton.

Abstracts of Wills. Mrs. Helen DeB. Wills.

October, No. 2.

"Ode to North Carolina," Pattie Williams Gee.

"The Finances of the North Carolina Colonists," Dr. Charles Lee Raper.

"Joseph Gales, Editor," Mr. Willis G. Briggs.

"Our First Constitution, 1776," Dr. E. W. Sikes.

"North Carolina's Historical Exhibit at Jamestown Exposition," Mary Hilliard Hinton.

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April, No. 4.

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"The Expedition Against the Row Galley General Arnold—A Side Light on Colonial Edenton," Rev. Robt. B. Drane, D.D.

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"Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry," Judge James C. MacRae.

Biographical Sketches: Mrs. L. C. Markham, Rev. R. B. Drane, Julia S. White, Judge James C. MacRae. By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

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"John Harvey," Mr. R. D. W. Connor.

"Military Organizations of North Carolina During the American Revolution," Clyde L. King, A.M.

"A Sermon by Rev. George Micklejohn," edited by Mr. R. D. W. Connor

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"The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr.

"The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," Prof. Bruce Craven.

"Mr. Salley's Reply."

"Mr. Craven's Rejoinder."

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"Patriotic Objects."

"Information Concerning the Patriotic Society D. R."

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"Unveiling Ceremonies."

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"Schools and Education in Colonial Times," by Dr. Charles Lee Smith.

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"Sketch of Flora McDonald," Mrs. S. G. Ayr.

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THIS PUBLICATION treats of important events in North Carolina History, such as may throw light upon the political, social or religious life of the people of this State during the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, in the form of monographs written and contributed by as reliable and painstaking historians as our State can produce. The Eleventh Volume began in July, 1911.

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Vol. XI APRIL, 1912 No. 4

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol XI APRIL, 1912 No. 4

JAMES IREDELL, 1751-1799 [1]

By H. G. CONNOR.
Judge United States Court, Eastern District North Carolina.

"The character of this excellent man has been too little known. Similar has been the fate of many other valuable characters in America. They are too little known to those around them; their modest merits have been too familiar, perhaps too uniform, to attract particular and distinguished attention."

James Iredell was born in Lewes, Sussex County, England, October 5, 1751. His father, Francis Iredell, a merchant of Bristol, married Margaret McCulloch. The family were allied by blood to Sir George Macartney, the Earl of Wigton, the Fergusons, McCullochs, and, by marriage, to Governor Lyttleton. Henry McCulloch was connected with the Government of the Province of North Carolina, where he owned large landed estates. Through the influence of relatives, James Iredell was appointed Comptroller of the Customs at Port Roanoke (Edenton) N. C. It was said at the time, "The office is genteel requiring little or no duty, so that he will have time to apply himself to business; it is worth upwards of one hundred pounds sterling a year." Iredell appropriated a large portion of his salary to the support of his father and mother, thus "illustrating in a forcible manner his filial piety and generous nature." He sailed for his new home, bringing with him his commission, and letters

[1] The writer has, for his information relied largely upon McRee's "Life and Correspondence of James Iredell." Except as otherwise indicated herein, quotations given are taken from it.

of introduction from friends in England, to several gentlemen in Edenton, arriving at the latter place "near the close of the year 1768." His biographer says of him: "He was then just seventeen years old, at the age when pleasures are enjoyed with the keenest relish. Frank, ingenuous, of pleasing appearance, winning manners, and educated in the best schools of England, he was kindly received and warmly welcomed."

The ancient borough of Edenton is situated on the northern shore of Albemarle Sound. It was founded in 1716, and named in honor of Eden, the Royal Governor. Mr. McRee says of the people to whom the young Comptroller came and among whom he resided during the remainder of his life: "If there was little of the parade and pomp of older communities, if many of the appliances of luxury were wanting, ease and abundance were the reward of but a slight degree of frugality and industry; the homes of the planters were comfortable and ample for all the purposes of hospitality; while their tables groaned beneath dainties beyond the reach of wealth on the other side of the Atlantic. * * * He who supposes the inhabitants were untutored people is grossly deceived. They were not refugees from the justice of the old world; nor were they of desperate fortunes or undisciplined minds—they were equal in cultivation, ability and patriotism to any of their contemporaries. The men were bold, frank, generous and intelligent; the females tender, kind and polite." The town contained about five hundred inhabitants. Of the residents of the town were Samuel Johnston, among the earliest, most enthusiastic and active Whigs, President of the Provincial Congress, Governor, and, upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the first United States Senator elected from the State, a lawyer of learning, a man of deep and extensive reading and singular purity of life spent in patriotic service to the State; Joseph Hewes, signer of the

Declaration; Thomas Barker, Thomas Jones, Jasper Charlton, Stephen Cabarrus, Robert Smith, Charles Johnston, John Johnston, and Sir Nathaniel Duckenfield. In the adjoining counties were Colonel Richard Buncombe, who, being mortally wounded at Germantown died in Philadelphia; John Harvey, Speaker of the Assembly, and later Moderator of the First and Second Provincial Congresses called in the Province (August, 1774, and April, 1775); and others of less note, but of liberal education and of honorable service and position. The society of the town furnished to Iredell a social circle of cultured and refined hospitality into which he at once entered. It is with Iredell's preparation for, and work as, a lawyer, statesman and judge that we are specially concerned, which precludes an entrance into the interesting and charming story of his personal and social life further than it illustrates his public career.

Very soon after his arrival he began the study of law with Samuel Johnston. "Every moment of leisure was devoted to his legal studies and to such intercourse with intelligent gentlemen and cultivated ladies as was calculated to refine and improve. He was a diligent student; he copied Mr. Johnston's arguments and pleas in important cases. He read carefully and attentively the text-books, referring to the authorities quoted, and collecting and digesting kindred passages from all writers within his reach; he attended the courts, returned to his chamber and wrote out arguments of his own, applicable to the cases he had stated." A few extracts from his "Journal" give us a fair view of the young Comptroller, preparing himself for the career which, all unthought of, awaited him. On August 22, 1770, he writes: "Indolence in any is shameful, but in a young man quite inexcusable. Let me consider for a moment whether it will be worth my while to attempt making a figure in life, or whether I will be content with mediocrity of fame and circumstances.

* * * But nothing is to be acquired without industry; and indolence is an effectual bar to improvement. * * * I have not done as much as I ought to have done; read a little in Lyttleton's Tenures and stopped in the middle of his Chapter on Rents; whereas I ought to have gone through it. It would have been better than losing three or four games at billiards. N. B.—If you do play billiards make it a rule not to lengthen."

We learn from his journal that, while studying Lyttleton, he did not neglect polite literature. He says: "I have been reading a volume of the Spectator, which is ever new, ever instructive, ever interesting. I hope they will be transmitted, with honor, to the latest ages. * * * Strength of reason, elegance of style, delicacy of sentiment, fertility of imagination, poignancy of wit, politeness of manners, and the most amiable pattern of human life, appears through the whole, in so conspicuous a manner as at once to improve and delight. * * * Resumed my Spectator; read a great many entertaining and improving things, particularly Mr. Addison's Discourses on Fame, in the fourth volume, which are incomparably elegant and sublime. Surely the writings of such great, learned and good men are more than a counterpoise to the libertine writings of professed Deists, whose immoral lives made them dread an encounter hereafter." He continues this train of reflection regarding the infidelity so prevalent at that time, concluding with words, which are of special interest, giving expression to a principle which controlled his private and public conduct throughout his life: "At a time when licentiousness is at an amazing and dangerous height we shall be careful to guard against popular prejudice, though we must not blindly oppose the public voice because it may appear too tumultuous. Let us do things impartially and not oppose or condemn any conduct on the whole, on account of a few improper circumstances attending it."

His journal shows that he was a diligent student of the "Tenures." On July 31, 1771, he writes his father, "I am too often troubling you, but I will hope for your excuse of this last request, as it will be of particular, perhaps necessary, service for me. It is that you will be so obliging as to procure Dr. Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England and send them by the first opportunity. I have, indeed, read them by the favor of Mr. Johnston, who lent them to me, but it is proper that I should read them frequently and with great attention. They are books admirably suited for a young student, and, indeed, may interest the most learned. The law there is not merely considered as a profession but a science. The principles are deduced from their source and we are not only taught, in the clearest manner, the general rules of law, but the reasons upon which they are founded. * * * Pleasure and instruction go hand in hand, and we apply to a science, difficult, indeed, at best, with less reluctance, when by a well-directed application we may hope to understand it with method and satisfaction. I would take leave to add one more desire, that you would be pleased to send me the Tatlers and Guardians—the Spectators I have, and these, with the others, will afford me agreeable desultory reading."

Mr. Johnston was a faithful and competent instructor. "As a lawyer he was ever highly honored and esteemed; his patience, his industry, his logic were signal. * * * As early as 1776 he was one of a committee to revise the statutes of the State." He was later one of the State Judges. Mr. Iredell received from Governor Tryon a license to practice law in all the Inferior Courts of the Province on December 14, 1770. He was licensed by Governor Martin to practice in the Superior Courts November 26th, 1771, and duly qualified at the April Term, 1772. During the intervening year, "with healthy but vehement ambition," he prosecuted

his studies and regularly attended the courts. "Books he had not, save a volume or two stuffed into his saddle-bag with a scanty supply of apparel. * * * Iredell early fixed his eyes upon the glittering heights of his profession, and so self-assured was he of his capacity and industry that he never faltered in his purpose—he was resolute to win; and with such men to resolve is to compel success. If unemployed in the courthouse, he peopled his chambers with judge, jury and spectators; he argued his cases before his imaginary court and reported his own arguments." McRee gives an illustration of his habit of writing out arguments in cases tried in the courts, although not employed in them. It is interesting, both because of the careful and orderly statement of the facts and the logical arrangements of argument which marked his opinions when called into judicial service. The journal shows that, while preparing for his Superior Court license, Iredell was diligent in the study of Blackstone's Commentaries. The work had been published but a few years before and was widely read in America. Burke, in his speech on "Conciliation," stated that the booksellers informed him that as large a number of copies had been sold in America as in England. Iredell writes in his journal, "Came home and read an hour or two in Blackstone." "Employed myself all the rest of the evening reading Blackstone." "I immediately came home and finished the second volume of Blackstone."

The journal, during this year, leaves the reader in doubt whether he was most assiduous in his devotions to Miss Hannah Johnston or the great commentator. That he woeed both successfully is evidenced by the fact that on January 18, 1773, he was united in marriage to this estimable lady, who "supplemented what he needed. * * * She was his constant monitor, adviser, banker and trusted friend. * * * Their lives, united in one stream, flowed onward

softly and gently." She was the sister of Governor Samuel Johnston. Their correspondence, when separated by his riding the circuit in the practice of his profession and, later, in the discharge of his high official duties, is both interesting and instructive. Iredell's grandfather was a clergyman of the Church of England. His early religious training and his associations impressed their influence upon his mind and character. He was given to religious contemplation and often wrote "reflections" upon religious subjects quite remarkable for so young a man. Within a year after coming to Edenton he writes his Sunday "thoughts," concluding: "I am not ashamed to think seriously of religion, and hope no example will induce me to treat it with indifference. Youth is as much concerned to practice and revere it as any in the more advanced stages of life, and I have drawn up the foregoing plain, but useful, remarks as thinking it the best way of employing my time when I have had no opportunity of attending public worship." Writing his brother, he says: "Let me desire you to let no flashes of wit, or impertinent raillery of religion, shock your principles or stagger your belief. Men of this cast laugh at religion, either because they know nothing of it or care nothing for it. Men of shallow understandings or bad hearts are those who generally rank themselves in the list of free thinkers."

The controversies between the Royal Governors and the people in North Carolina began at an early day. They continued to grow in number and intensity. "Though a King's officer, Iredell soon became imbued with the views of the American leaders; felt that his future was identified with their future, and determined to participate in their defeat or success, to share in their disgrace or glory. He soon formed intimacies with the leading men of the Province, men whose thoughts were to irradiate subsequent darkness, and whose voices were destined to cheer and sustain the peo-

ple in the hour of disaster. Ere long he began with them an active correspondence, and his part was so well supported that a learned gentleman and most competent judge writes. 'He was the letter writer of the war. He had no equal amongst his contemporaries.' "

As early as September, 1773, he published his first political essay, saying, among other things: "I have always been taught, and till I am better informed must continue to believe, that the Constitution of this country is founded on the Provincial Charter, which may well be considered the original contract between the King and the inhabitants." "In 1774 the Revolution was fairly inaugurated in North Carolina. Nowhere were the points in dispute between the colonies and Great Britain more clearly stated or more ably argued. The people were generally agreed. * * * It is true that none meditated independence as an object of desire; but it was foreseen as a possible consequence. The contest, that was soon to be developed into flagrant war, was eminently, in North Carolina, based upon principle. The Whig leaders, ready with the pen and the columns of the newspapers and the pamphlets, discussed the tax on tea and the vindictive measures that followed the prompt opposition of Boston, with a degree of learning and logic that was not surpassed by any of their contemporaries in other provinces. * * * There was no array of class against class. The foremost in talent were foremost in all measures; they had the confidence of the people. The followers of such men as Harvey, Johnston, Ashe, Harnett, Hooper, and Caswell could not be otherwise than well informed. * * * In the quiet retreat of his study, with naught to stimulate but the promptings of his own honest heart and, perchance, the smile of his noble wife, with patient toil Iredell forged and polished the weapons of debate; if others fixed his mark he recked not who claimed the honor of the cast."

Mr. Iredell, at this time, began a correspondence with William Hooper, in which they discussed the questions engaging the attention of thoughtful men. On April 26, 1774, Hooper writes him: "Every man who thinks with candor is indebted to you for the share you have taken in this interesting controversy. * * * You have discussed dry truths with the most pleasing language, and have not parted with the most refined delicacy of manners in the warmth of the contest. * * * I am happy, dear sir, that my conduct in public life has met your approbation. It is a suffrage from a man who has wisdom to distinguish and too much virtue to flatter. * * * Whilst I was active in contest you forged the weapons which were to give success to the cause which I supported. * * * With you I anticipate the important share which the colonies must soon have in regulating the political balance. They are striding fast to independence, and ere long will build an empire upon the ruin of Great Britain; will adopt its Constitution, purged of its impurities, and, from an experience of its defects, will guard against those evils which have wasted its vigor and brought it to an untimely end."

The first Provincial Congress "called by the people themselves"—defying the threats of the Royal Governor—met in New Bern August 25, 1774. Iredell's friends, Johnston, Hewes, Thomas Jones, and Hooper, were conspicuous members. John Harvey was "Moderator." The first of Iredell's political efforts, which have been preserved, was addressed to "The Inhabitants of Great Britain." The address is set out in full in McRee's "Life and Correspondence," and contains an able and exhaustive statement and defense of the cause of the Americans. He gives the history of their coming and settling the province, the provisions of their charters and the violations of them by the King and his Parliament.

Iredell soon thereafter settled his accounts and closed his

career as Collector, to which position he had been promoted. After the 4th of July, 1776, he became deeply interested in the proposed form of government to be adopted by the new State. He had attended the courts, when open, and had given diligent attention to the practice of his profession. After the adoption of the Constitution (November, 1776) and the inauguration of a State Government a judicial system was established—"Iredell drawing the first Court Law." At the session of the Assembly, November, 1777, the State was laid off into three judicial districts; Samuel Ashe, Samuel Spencer, and James Iredell were appointed judges. His appointment was brought about by William Hooper, who writes December 23, 1777: "Before this reaches you you will have received the information of being promoted to the first honors the State can bestow. * * * You will be at a loss to conjecture how I could have been accessory to this step after you had been so explicit to me on the subject. Be assured that I was not inattentive to your objections, nor did I fail to mention them and urge them with sincerity to every person who mentioned you for the office to which you are now designated. * * * I expostulated with them upon the impropriety of electing one who in all probability might decline, and leave one of the seats of justice vacant. * * * Their reasoning prevailed and you have now the satisfaction of an unrestricted choice. The appointment has been imposed upon you, and therefore you are at perfect liberty to act or not." Archibald Maclaine wrote: "I can only say that if it would answer your purposes as fully as it would please your friends and the public, it would give me real satisfaction." When it is remembered that at this time Iredell was but twenty-seven years old; that only ten years prior thereto he had come to the State a youth of seventeen, unknown, without wealth or other influences, his election, unsought and against his inclination, to the highest judicial

position in the State, it is manifest that by his personal conduct and character, as well as his learning and ability, he had strongly and favorably impressed himself upon the people and their representative men. William Hooper was a lawyer of learning and experience, as were other members of the Assembly. Maclaine, also an eminent lawyer and member of the Assembly, thus expressed the opinion of his associates: "However arduous the task you have undertaken, we have the most hopes from your judgment and integrity, and these hopes are strengthened by your diffidence. * * * The members of the Assembly, in appointing you, thought, with great reason, that they effectually served themselves and their constituents. As to myself, I confess I was actuated by duty to the public, having been taught that your promotion would more effectually serve them than you." Iredell accepted the judgeship at much personal sacrifice. The salary was totally inadequate for the support of his family.

Replying to a letter from Governor Burke calling upon him to hold Courts of Oyer and Terminer, he says: "In regard to the courts your Excellency proposed immediately to establish, I am always ready to attend them as my duty requires, but I take the liberty to represent to your Excellency that I fear that I shall not be able to defray the expenses they will involve me in unless I receive a sum of money from the public. * * * I am not ashamed of confessing my poverty, as it has not arisen from any dishonorable cause. My circumstances have suffered deeply, but if I can bear myself above water I am content to suffer still. * * * I shall not fail to do my utmost then and at all times in discharge of my duty."[2]

He rode one circuit, during which his letters to his wife give an interesting account of the country through which he traveled, the people with whom he was associated and the

[2]State Records of N. C., XXII, 552.

experiences of a judge "on circuit" at that early period in our history. He went as far west as Salisbury. At the Edenton term, June 6, 1778, the grand jury requested that he furnish his charge for publication, saying: "This charge vindicates the American States, in the establishment of independency, by arguments drawn from undeniable rights and from real necessity, and grounded on incontestable facts. * * * It breathes a spirit of pure disinterested patriotism, and holds forth the most powerful incentive to persist in the opposition which America has so successfully begun. It points out persuasively the importance of a faithful observation of the various political and relative duties of security upon which the happiness of individuals and of the whole depends, and which will tend to give stability to our present Constitution."

The language of the charge is spirited, the sentiment patriotic, with considerable warmth of expression towards the King and his ministers. A few extracts will give an idea of its general tone. Referring to the fact that no courts had been held for a long time, he says: "This court of justice opens at a most interesting period of the policy of this country. We have been long deprived of such, from a variety of causes, in some of which we have shared with our brethren on the Continent; others were peculiar to ourselves. The event, however, has been unhappy and distressing, and every wellwisher to his country must view with pleasure a scene of anarchy changed to that of law and order, and powers of government established capable of restraining dishonesty and vice. Such powers have been established under circumstances which should induce to them peculiar reverence and regard. They have not been the effect of usurpation; they have not proceeded from a wanton desire of change; they have not been imposed upon you by the successful arms of a tyrant; they have been peaceably established by the public at large,

for the general happiness of the people, when they were reduced to the cruel necessity of renouncing a government which ceased to protect, and endeavored to enslave them, for one which enabled them, with a proper share of courage and virtue, to protect and defend themselves. * * * We desired only the privileges of a free people, such as our ancestors had been and such as they expected we should be. We knew it was absurd to pretend we should be free when laws might, at pleasure, be imposed upon us by another people. * * * Our ancestors came here to enjoy the blessings of liberty. They purchased it at an immense price. Their greatest glory was that they had obtained it for themselves and transmitted it to their posterity. God forbid that their posterity should be base or weak enough to resign it, or let it appear that the true British spirit, which has done such wonders in England, has been lost or weakened by being transplanted to America. * * * You will, I hope, excuse, gentlemen, the particular, perhaps too great particularity, with which I have gone into this subject. Yet I thought it my duty to point out to you some of the principles upon which the revolution in our government has taken place and which, in my opinion, prove not only the propriety of its being effected, but the indispensable obligation we are under to maintain and support it. * * * The struggles of a great people have almost always ended in the establishment of liberty. The enjoyment of it is an object worthy of the most vigilant application and the most painful sacrifices. Is there anything we read with more pleasure than the sufferings and contentions of a brave people who resist oppression with firmness, are faithful to the interests of their country and disdain every advantage that is incompatible with them? Such a people are spoken of with admiration by all future ages. * * * These are the glorious effects of patriotism and virtue. They are the rewards annexed to the faith-

ful discharge of that great and honorable duty, fidelity to our country."

Referring to the burdens laid upon the colonists and their right to resist them, he says: "We knew of no right they could have to such a power. Our charters did not recognize it. It certainly was not in our ancestors' contemplation, who left that very country because freedom could not be enjoyed in it. Custom had given it no sanction. * * * It was reconcilable to no principles of justice. * * * We despised the miserable application of a few political maxims * * * which to this hour is the basis upon which all the fraud, iniquity, injustice, cruelty and oppression that America has experienced from Great Britain have been defended. * * * The divine right of kings was exploded with indignation in the last century. Men came at length to be persuaded that they were created for a nobler purpose than to be slaves of a single tyrant. They did not confine this idea to speculation; they put to death one King and expelled another. This was done in England, the seat of our haughty enemies, who seem to think the right of resistance is confined alone to their kingdom." When it is remembered that this charge was delivered at a time when the American cause was far from hopeful, the courage exhibited was of no low order. Iredell, too, was a conservative—but withal a man and a patriot.

Soon thereafter he sent his resignation to the Governor, who accepted it with much reluctance, saying, "as you can well conceive, well knowing your place can not be supplied by a gentleman of equal ability and inclination to serve the State." He continued the practice of the law until, on July 8, 1779, he was tendered and accepted the position of Attorney General. Hooper writes, expressing pleasure that he has consented to accept, saying: "I have the happiness to assure you that the leading characters in this part of the

country [Cape Fear] speak of you as a capital acquisition to our courts, and exult that there is a prospect of offenders being brought to due punishment without the passions of party or the prejudice of individuals swaying the prosecution." Iredell traveled the circuit, attending the courts in the discharge of his duties and receiving a large share of civil business. His letters to Mrs. Iredell give an interesting and often amusing account of his experiences. From New Bern he writes: "Expenses are enormous. My last jaunt has cost me $600 on the road and the depreciation will certainly proceed most rapidly, for they are giving away the money at the printing office in so public and careless a manner as to make it quite contemptible." Again he writes: "There has not been much business, but I have been applied to in almost everything. I have already received in civil suits 1,240 pounds in paper besides nineteen silver dollars. I expect to receive tomorrow 500 pounds and my salary for this and Edenton Court, which will be 1,000 pounds. * * * My fear is that, as usual, the money will be much depreciated before I lay it out. I shall carefully preserve the hard money to the last." From New Bern, at the following term, he writes Mrs. Iredell that he has received 4,540 pounds "of this currency," 1,350 pounds of Continental, and $9 in hard money; that he will receive 1,500 pounds for his salary at these courts, "but my expenses here are monstrous—160 pounds a day for my board and lodging only." At Wilmington he was employed in the first admiralty case tried in the State of which the record is extant. The Assembly at Halifax, 1781, voted the judges 20,000 pounds each and the Attorney General 10,000 pounds "for making up the depreciation of their allowance." Iredell resigned his office (1781), of which, writing to his brother, Rev. Arthur Iredell, July, 1783, he says: "Since then I have been only a private law-

yer, but with a show of business very near equal to any lawyers in the country."

After the ratification of the Treaty of Peace and the withdrawal of troops from the State, the people began the work of restoring their fortunes and enacting laws suited to their new political situation. Differences, more or less fundamental, which had manifested themselves during the war, became more marked—dividing the leaders and people into parties. Iredell was in agreement with the conservatives, Johnston, Hooper, Maclaine, Davie, Spaight, and others, in opposition to Willie Jones, Thomas Person, Samuel Spencer, and others. The former insisted that the State should carry out in good faith the terms of the treaty, and adopt such measures as were necessary for that purpose; enforce contracts and maintain a strong and stable government. While Iredell neither held nor sought any public position, he was "in touch," through correspondence and otherwise, with the leaders of the party known as Conservatives. He prosecuted the practice of his profession with industry and success, ranking easily with the leaders of the bar. The more radical sentiment in the State was disposed to magnify the power of the Legislature and oppose any restriction upon it by the enforcement of Constitutional limitations, especially by the courts. In an address to the public, Iredell set forth his views regarding the enforcement of Constitutional limitations upon the Legislature. Referring to the Convention (November, 1776), which formed the Constitution, he says: "It was of course to be considered how to impose restrictions on the Legislature that might still leave it free to all useful purposes, but at the same time guard against the abuse of unlimited power, which was not to be trusted, without the most imminent danger, to any men or body of men on earth. We had not only been sickened and disgusted for years with

the high and almost impious language from Great Britain, of the omnipotent power of the British Parliament, but had severely smarted under the effects. We felt, in all its rigor, the mischiefs of an absolute and unbounded authority, claimed by so weak a creature as man, and should have been guilty of the basest breach of trust as well as the grossest folly if in the same moment, when we spurned at the insolent despotism of Great Britain, we had established a despotic power among ourselves. * * * I have no doubt but that the power of the Assembly is limited and defined by the Constitution. It is a creature of the Constitution. * * * These are consequences that seem so natural, and indeed so irresistible, that I do not observe that they have been much contested. The great argument is, that although the Assembly have not a right to violate the Constitution, yet if they in fact do so, the only remedy is either by a humble petition that the law may be repealed or a universal resistance of the people. But, in the meantime, their act, whatever it is, is to be obeyed as a law; for the judicial power is not to presume to question the power of an act of Assembly." He proceeds, with remarkable clearness and force, to set forth his opinion upon this question, expressing the view which has since been pursued by the courts, both State and Federal. He concludes: "These are a few observations that have occurred to me on this subject. They are given by a plain man, unambitious of power, but sincerely and warmly interested in the prosperity of his country; feeling every respect for the Constitutional authority of the Legislature which, in his opinion, is great enough to satisfy an ambitious as well as support the efforts of a public-spirited mind, but a determined enemy on all occasions of arbitrary power in every shape whatever, and reverencing beyond expression that Constitution by which he holds all that is dear to him in life." It must be remembered that these views were ex-

pressed before any court had held that it was within the power and therefore the duty of the judiciary to refuse to enforce statutes passed without Constitutional warrant. The question had been mooted, and in one case passed upon, prior to the date of Iredell's address (1786), but the opinion of the Court had not been published beyond the jurisdiction in which it was decided. Richard Dobbs Spaight, while a member of the Convention at Philadelphia (August 12, 1877), in a letter to Iredell, refers to the action of the judges in holding an act depriving litigants of trial by jury (*Bayard v. Singleton,* 1 Martin, 42) unconstitutional. He laments "that the Assembly have passed laws unjust in themselves and militating in their principles against the Constitution in more instances than one." He says: "I do not pretend to vindicate the law, which has been the subject of controversy; it is immaterial what law they have declared void; it is their usurpation of the authority to do it that I complain of, as I do most positively deny that they have any such power; nor can they find anything in the Constitution, either directly or impliedly, that will support them or give them any color of right to exercise that authority. * * * It must be acknowledged that our Constitution unfortunatcly has not provided a sufficient check to prevent the intemperate and unjust proceedings of our Legislature, though such a check would be very beneficial, and I think absolutely necessary to our well being; the only one that I know of is the annual election which, by leaving out such members, will in some degree remedy, though it can not prevent, such evils as may arise." On August 26, 1787, Iredell answered Mr. Spaight's letter at length, saying: "In regard to the late decision at New Bern, I confess that it has ever been my opinion that an act inconsistent with the Constitution was void, and that the judges, consistently with their duties, could not carry it into effect. The Constitution appears to me to be a funda-

mental law, limiting the powers of the Legislature, and with which every exercise of those powers must be compared." In regard to his apprehension that the power will be abused, Iredell says: "If you had seen, as I did, with what infinite reluctance the judges came to this decision, what pains they took by proposing expedients to obviate its necessity, you would have seen in a strong light how little probable it is a judge would ever give such a judgment when he thought he could possibly avoid it. But whatever may be the consequences, formed as our Constitution is, I can not help thinking they are not at liberty to choose, but must in all questionable instances decide upon it. It is a subject indeed of great magnitude, and I heartily lament the occasion for its discussion. In all doubtful cases, to be sure the act ought to be supported, it should be unconstitutional beyond dispute before it is pronounced such."

The Convention at Philadelphia having submitted the new Federal Constitution to the Legislatures of the States, Iredell at once entered upon the task of securing its adoption by the people of North Carolina. In no State was the opposition more pronounced or determined. The popular leaders of the dominant party were active in their opposition, one of the most prominent of them declaring that "Washington was a d—n rascal and traitor to his country for putting his hand to such an infamous paper as the new Constitution." Another, said to have been the most popular leader in the State, seriously insisted in the Convention upon rejecting it without discussion, saying that he had made up his mind and was sure that others had done so. "Of all those who were most active in pressing upon the people the adoption of the Constitution Mr. Iredell was undoubtedly the most able and energetic."

At the session of the Legislature November, 1787, Mr. Johnston was elected Governor and Mr. Iredell a member

of the Council; he was also appointed a commissioner to revise and collect the Acts of the General Assembly, then in force. A convention of the people was called to meet at Hillsboro, composed of delegates from the several counties and the borough towns. Iredell was elected, unanimously, from Edenton. On January 8, 1788, he published a pamphlet entitled "Answer to Mr. Mason's Objections to the New Constitution Recommended by the late Convention at Philadelphia," by "Marcus." He stated each of Mr. Mason's "objections" in their order, and in the same order answers them. It is not within the scope of this sketch to undertake a review of Mr. Iredell's "answer" to the celebrated paper of Mr. George Mason. The pamphlet made a favorable impression on the public mind and strongly influenced Iredell's future career. The correspondence between Iredell and William Hooper, William R. Davie and Maclaine gives an interesting view of the condition of public sentiment in the State in regard to the new Constitution. Says one, writing of the leaders in the Convention: "The most prominent Federalists were Iredell, Davie, Governor Johnston, Spaight, Maclain [sic] and Steele. Foremost in their number and the leading spirit of the whole body was Judge Iredell, conspicuous for his graceful elocution, for the apt application of his varied learning, his intimate knowledge of the schemes of government, and his manly and generous temper.

"Davie, with spotless plume, towering in intellect, as in stature, above the majority of the members, stood like a knight of the olden time, lance in hand, the luster of his military services played about him and was reflected in flashing light from hauberk, morion and polished steel.

"Governor Johnston, the President of the Convention, calm, lucid and convincing, seldom participated in the debate; when he did, his blows were always delivered with stunning effect.

"Maclaine, sensible, pointed and vigorous, was the Hotspur of his party.

"Steele was laborious, clear-sighted and serviceable by his knowledge of men.

"Willie Jones, although democratic in theory, was aristocratic in habits, tastes, pursuits and prejudices; he lived sumptuously and wore fine linen; he raced, hunted and played cards. A patriot in the Revolution, he was now the head of a great party. * * * He was a loving and cherished disciple of Jefferson, and was often taunted with his subserviency to Virginia 'abstractions.' He seldom shared in the discussions.

"Judge Spencer, candid and temperate, was in debate far superior to his associates.

"David Caldwell, a Presbyterian divine, was learned and intelligent. He had for years discharged the triple functions of preacher, physician and teacher.

"McDowell, the rival of Davie in military renown, was a man of action rather than words.

"Bloodworth, by no means the least among them, was one of the most remarkable men of the era, distinguished for the versatility of his talents and his practical knowledge of men, trades, arts, and sciences. The child of poverty, diligence and ambition had supplied the place of patronage and wealth; he was resolute almost to fierceness, and almost radical in his democracy."

William Hooper, General Allen Jones, William Blount, and Judge Ashe were defeated at the polls.

The debates were conducted with ability and dignity, and at times with much asperity. While Davie, Spaight, Maclaine and Johnston bore their share, Iredell was the acknowledged leader for adoption. The proceedings of the Convention are published in Elliott's Debates. The opposition could not be overcome and, on the final vote, the Constitution was

rejected by a vote of 184 to 84.[3] While Iredell was defeated he made many friends and advanced his reputation in the State. One of the new western counties was given his name. The requisite number of States having ratified the Constitution, the new government was organized April 30, 1789, North Carolina taking no part but remaining a free, sovereign, independent State.

It appears from the letters of the Honorable Pierce Butler, Senator from South Carolina, written from New York, August 11, 1789, that Iredells' reputation had extended beyond the borders of the State. He says: "The Southern interest calls aloud for some such men as Mr. Iredell to represent it—to do it justice." Dr. Williamson writes, at the same time: "The North Carolina Debates are considerably read in this State, especially by Congress members, some of whom, formerly had little knowledge of the citizens of North Carolina, have lately been very minute in their inquiries concerning Mr. Iredell. By the way, I have lately been asked by a Senator whether I thought you would accept a judge's place under the new government if it required your moving out of the State, as we are not in the Union." A second Convention met at Fayetteville November 2, 1789. Iredell was not a candidate for election as a delegate. With but little debate the Constitution was ratified and amendments proposed. A bill was passed establishing a university, the names of Samuel Johnston and James Iredell being placed at the head of the list of trustees.[4]

Maclaine writes Iredell December 9, 1789: "What would you think of being the District Judge?" He was soon called to a larger field and higher judicial service. On February 10, 1790, without solicitation on his part, Mr. Iredell was nominated by President Washington, and unanimously con-

[3]Convention of 1788.—N. C. Booklet, Vol. IV.
[4]Battle's History of the University of North Carolina, 821.

firmed by the Senate, one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was just thirty-nine years old. The President enclosed his commission with the following letter: "One of the seats on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States having become vacant by the resignation of the gentleman appointed to fill the same, I have thought fit, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint you to that office, and have now the pleasure to enclose you a commission to be one of the Associate Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. You have, sir, undoubtedly considered the high importance of a judicial system in every civil government. It may therefore be unnecessary for me to say anything that would impress you with this idea in respect to ours. * * * I must, however, observe that, viewing as I do the Judicial System of the United States as one of the main pillars on which our National Government must rest, it has been my great object to introduce into the high offices of that department such characters as, from my own knowledge or the best information, I conceived would give dignity and stability to the government * * * at the same time that they added luster to our national character." It is said that "Washington derived his conviction of Iredell's merits from a perusal of the Debates in the North Carolina Convention and the famous reply to George Mason's objections." [5] Butler wrote Iredell February 10th: "I should have been happy to have had you in Congress. The Union will no longer be deprived of your aid and the benefit of your abilities. * * * I congratulate the States on the appointment and you on this mark of their well-merited opinion of you." Acknowledging the letter from the President, Iredell writes: "In accepting this dignified trust I do it with all the diffidence becoming the humble abilities I possess; but, at the same time, with

[5] Carson's History of the Supreme Court, 155.

the most earnest resolution to endeavor by unremitting application a faithful discharge of all of its duties, in the best manner in my power." Judge Iredell was assigned to the Southern Circuit and entered upon the work immediately. He reached Charleston May 23, 1790, and there met Mr. Rutledge before whom he took the oath of office. He writes Mrs. Iredell: "I have received the greatest and kindest civilities from Mr. Rutledge, at whose house I have the pleasure of staying." He proceeded to Savannah. There was but little business in the new Court other than organizing the Circuit Courts and putting the new judicial system in working order. Supposing that the judges would "rotate" in the Circuit Court work, he removed his family to New York. The Court having, to his surprise, adopted the rule which confined judges to one circuit—Iredell's being the Southern—he found himself very much embarrassed. The long distance to be traveled (1,900 miles) twice each year was a severe tax upon his health and strength. He justly complained of the arrangement to the Chief Justice, who conceded that "your share of the task has hitherto been more than in due proportion." Although the judges refused to make a more equitable rule, by exchanges, they sometimes rode different circuits. Justice Iredell took his seat with the Chief Justice and his associates at the August Term, 1790. No business was transacted, the Court adjourning *sine die*. Iredell again rode the Southern Circuit, but it does not appear that there was much business to engage his attention.

William Hooper, to whom Iredell was strongly attached, and for whose character and talents he had the highest regard, died October 14, 1790. Writing a letter of condolence to Mrs. Hooper, Iredell said: "An attachment founded on the most perfect esteem and upon a gratitude excited by repeated and most flattering obligations, ought not, and, in me, I trust is not capable of being weakened by any change of place, time or circumstance."

A suit was instituted at this time in the State Court against Iredell and his co-executor upon a bond given by their testator to a British subject. His co-executor pleaded the "Confiscation Act," in which Iredell refused to join. By direction of Justices Wilson, Blair and Rutledge a writ of *certiorari* was issued to the State Court, which the judges refused to obey. As an indication of the jealousy of the new government in the State, the General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring that "The General Assembly do commend and approve of the conduct of the judges of the Courts of Law and Courts of Equity in this particular."[6] At the same session the House of Commons, by a vote of twenty-five to fifty-five, refused to adopt a resolution requiring the Governor and other State officials to take an oath "to support the Constitution of the United States."

On the Southern Circuit at Savannah (1791) a question arose, stated by Judge Iredell, as follows: "There were depending some suits for the recovery of debts, to which pleas were put in by the defendants, not denying the existence of the debts, but showing (as they conceived) a right in the State of Georgia to recover them under certain Acts of Assembly of the State passed prior to the Treaty of Peace. The Attorney and Solicitor General of the State were directed to interfere in the defense, but the counsel for the defendants refused to permit them. The Attorney and Solicitor General, being dissatisfied with the pleas, applied to the Court for leave to interfere in behalf of the State." Judge Iredell was of the opinion that the State could appear only in the Supreme Court, and for this reason denied the motion. He suggested that the State had a remedy by an appeal to the Equity jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Deeply impressed with the gravity as well as the novelty of the question he writes: "I have been thus particular in stating this inter-

[6] State Records, XXI, 441, 865, 1080, 1082.

esting subject, because it appears to me of the highest moment, although I believe it would be difficult to devise an unexceptionable remedy. But the discussion of questions wherein are involved the most sacred and awful principles of public justice, under a system without precedent in the history of mankind, necessarily must occasion many embarrassments which can be more readily suggested than removed." Out of these suits arose the celebrated case of *Georgia v. Brailsford,* 2 Dallas, 402; 3 Dallas, 1.

At the April Term, 1792, of the Circuit Court at Savannah Judge Iredell delivered a charge to the grand jury which so impressed the members that they unanimously requested its publication. A number of his "charges" in other circuits were published at the request of the grand juries. At the June Term, 1792, at the Circuit Court at Raleigh, N. C., Judge Iredell, with District Judge Sitgreaves, was confronted with a delicate question. Congress had enacted a statute directing that the invalid pension claims of widows and orphans should be exhibited to the Circuit Courts; that those to whom the Court granted certificates should be placed on the Pension list, subject to the review of the Secretary of War. Conceiving that the duties thus imposed were not judicial in their character, and therefore not authorized by the Constitution, which carefully separated the powers and duties of each department of the Government, Judge Iredell prepared a remonstrance, addressed to the President, in which he said:

"We beg leave to premise that it is as much our inclination as it is our duty to receive with all possible respect every act of the Legislature, and that we never can find ourselves in a more painful situation than to be obliged to object to the execution of any, more especially to the execution of one founded on the purest principles of humanity and justice, which the actual question undoubtedly is. But however

lamentable a difference really may be * * * we are under the indispensable necessity of acting according to the best dictates of our judgment." He set forth at length the reasoning by which he had been brought to the conclusion that he could not, with proper regard to the Constitutional distribution of powers, execute this statute, concluding: "The high respect we entertain for the Legislature, our feelings as men for persons whose situation requires the earliest as well as the most effectual relief, and our sincere desire to promote, whether officially or otherwise, the just and benevolent views of Congress, so conspicuous on this as well as on many other occasions, have induced us to reflect whether we could be justified in acting under this act personally in the character of commissioners during the session of a court; and could we be satisfied that we had authority to do so we would cheerfully devote such part of our time as might be necessary for the performance of the service." The other Justices addressed similar letters to the President. The question was brought before the Court by a motion made by Attorney General Randolph, *ex officio* for a *mandamus* directed to the Circuit Court for the District of Pennsylvania, commanding the Court to proceed to hear the petition of William Hayburn, etc. The Court being divided in opinion whether he could make the motion *ex officio,* he was permitted to do so on behalf of Hayburn. No decision was made at the time and Congress soon thereafter "made other provisions for the relief of pensioners." Judge Iredell, until the act was repealed, heard a large number of petitions as commissioner. He writes Mrs. Iredell from Hartford, Connecticut, September 30, 1792: "We have a great deal of business to do here, particularly, as I have reconciled myself to the propriety of doing the invalid business out of court." In *United States v. Ferreria,* 13 Howard, 51, Chief Justice Taney says of the action of the Court: "The repeal of the act clearly

shows that the President and Congress acquiesced in the correctness of the decision, that it was not a judicial power."

Following the refusal to permit Georgia to intervene in the Brailsford case, in the Circuit Court, the State filed a bill in equity in the Supreme Court, alleging that the title to the bond, upon which the action in the Circuit Court was brought, was, by virtue of an act passed during the war, confiscating and sequestrating the property and debts of British subjects in the State. The Court was asked to enjoin the plaintiffs from proceeding, etc. Each of the Judges wrote opinions. Iredell observed that he had sat in the Circuit Court and refused the motion of the State to intervene. He said that the Court could not, with propriety, sustain the application of Georgia because whenever a State is a party the Supreme Court has exclusive jurisdiction of the suit. The State, therefore, did not have a complete and adequate remedy at law. "Every principle of law, justice and honor, however, seem to require that the claim of the State of Georgia should not be indirectly decided or defeated by a judgment pronounced between parties over whom she had no control, and upon a trial in which she was not allowed to be heard." He was of the opinion that an injunction should be awarded to stay the money in the hands of the Marshal until the Court made further orders, etc. The Court was divided in opinion, the majority holding that an injunction should issue until the hearing. At the February Term, 1793, a motion was made by Randolph to dissolve the injunction. Iredell was of the opinion that the motion should be denied. He held that, for several reasons, the State could not sue on the bond at law, asking: "How is she to obtain possession of the instrument without the aid of a Court of Equity?" pointing out the practical difficulties which she would encounter in securing the bond. To the suggestions that the State could bring an action of assumpsit for money had and received

against Brailsford, which he termed "the legal panacea of modern times," he conclusively answers that while the action "may be beneficially applied to a great variety of cases, it can not be pretended that this form of action will lie before the defendant has actually received the money," and this Brailsford has not done. He suggests that the injunction be continued, and an issue be tried at the bar to ascertain whether the State of Georgia or Brailsford was the true owner. Although a majority of the Judges were of the opinion that the State had an adequate remedy at law, the course suggested by Iredell was substantially pursued. At the February Term, 1794, an amicable issue was submitted to a special jury. The argument continued for four days, when the Chief Justice instructed the jury: "The facts comprehended in the case are agreed; the only point that remains is to settle what is the law of the land arising upon those facts; and on that point it is proper that the opinion of the Court should be given." He says that the opinion of the Court is unanimous, that the debt was subjected, not to confiscation, but only to sequestration, and that therefore the right of the creditor to recover it was revived at the coming of peace, both by the law of nations and the Treaty of Peace. It is not very clear what question of fact was submitted to the decision of the jury. He further instructed the jury that while it was the "good old rule" that the Court should decide questions of law and the jury questions of fact, the jury have a right, nevertheless, to take upon themselves to judge of both and to determine the law as well as the facts. The learned Chief Justice suggests that the Court "has no doubt that you will pay that respect which is due to the opinion of the Court; for, as on the one hand, it is presumed that juries are the best judges of facts, it is, on the other hand, presumable that the courts are the best judges of law. But still both objects are lawfully within your power of decision."

Notwithstanding the facts were agreed upon and the Court was unanimous in opinion in regard to the law, the jury, "after being absent some time," returned to the bar and proposed certain questions of law, which being answered, "without going away from the bar," they returned a verdict for the defendant. The case has the distinction of being the only one in which a jury was empaneled in the Supreme Court. Flanders says: "The charge of the Chief Justice to the jury is curious, from the opinions he expressed as to the extent of their powers. His statement of the law on that point is clearly erroneous."[7] Mr. James Scott Brown says: "The judgment was clearly right, but the statement of the Chief Justice that the jury was judge of the law, as well as the facts, is open to serious doubt."[8]

In *Chisholm v. Georgia,* 2 Dallas, 419, standing alone, Iredell enunciated and, with a wealth of learning and "arsenal of argument," maintained the position that a State could not be "haled into court" by a citizen of another State. The question arose in an action of assumpsit instituted in the Supreme Court against the State of Georgia, process being served upon the Governor and the Attorney General. The State refused to enter an appearance, but filed a remonstrance and protest against the jurisdiction. The Attorney General, Randolph, representing the plaintiff, lodged a motion that unless the State entered an appearance and showed cause to the contrary, by a day named, judgment by default and inquiry be entered, etc. This motion was argued by Randolph, the State not being represented. Each of the justices filed opinions. Iredell first analyzed the provisions of the Constitution conferring jurisdiction upon the Court in controversies wherein a State was a party. He quotes the language of the Judiciary Act distributing the jurisdiction in such cases.

[7]Lives of the Chief Justices, 393.
[8]Great American Lawyers, Vol. I, 285.

He dwells somewhat on the meaning which should be given to the word "controversies" in the Constitution, with the suggestion that the use of this word indicated a purpose to so restrict the causes in which jurisdiction was conferred as to exclude actions at law for the recovery of money. He proceeds to consider the question whether it is necessary for Congress to prescribe a method of procedure in controversies wherein the State is a party. He argues that while the judicial department of the government is established by the Constitution, the Congress must legislate in respect to the number of the Judges, the organization of the Supreme and such inferior courts as may be established, etc. He quotes the fourteenth section of the Judiciary Act, in which power is conferred upon the courts to issue writs of *scire facias, habeas corpus,* and all other writs not specially provided for by statute, which may be necessary for the exercise of their respective jurisdictions and "agreeable to the principles and usages of law," noting the fact that "neither in the State now in question, nor in any other in the Union, any particular legislation authorizing a compulsory suit for the recovery of money against a State was in being, either when the Constitution was adopted or at the time when the Judicial Act was passed," and concludes that only principles of the common law, a law which is the ground work of the laws in every State in the Union and which, so far as it is applicable to the peculiar circumstances of the country, and when no special act of legislation controls it, is in force in such State, as it existed in England at the time of the first settlement of this country; that no other part of the common law of England can have any reference to the subject but that which prescribes remedies against the Crown. Thus he is brought to the decision of the real question in the case. It is manifest that if, until Congress has prescribed some mode of procedure by which, in controversies wherein the State is a

party, the Court must proceed by a mode "agreeable to the principles and usages of law," and, to find such principles and usages, resort must be had to the common law, the question necessarily arises whether the States of the Union, when sued, are to be proceeded against in the same manner as, by the common law, is prescribed for proceeding against the Sovereign. It is just at this point that the line of thought between Iredell and Wilson divides. The former says: "Every State in the Union, in every instance where its sovereignty has not been delegated to the United States, I consider to be as completely sovereign as the United States in respect to the powers surrenderd; each State in the Union is sovereign as to all the powers reserved. It must necessarily be so, because the United States have no claim to any authority but such as the States have surrendered to them; of course the powers not surrendered must remain as they did before. * * * So far as the States, under the Constitution, can be made legally liable to this authority, so far, to be sure, they are subordinate to the authority of the United States, and their individual sovereignty is, in this respect, limited. But it is limited no further than the necessary execution of such authority requires." It will be observed that Iredell is not, at this point in the argument, discussing the question whether it is within the power of Congress to prescribe a mode of procedure for bringing a State into the Federal Court to answer for a money demand by a citizen of another State. The argument is that, until it has done so, the only method of proceeding against a State is that prescribed by the common law for proceeding against the Sovereign. It therefore becomes necessary to follow the argument and establish the proposition that prior to the formation and ratification of the Constitution each State was a sovereign, and that in ratifying the Constitution it did not part, in respect to the *mode* of proceeding against it in a controversy in

the Federal Courts, with its sovereignty. He proceeds to give an exhaustive and interesting history of the method of procedure for the recovery of money at the common law against the King. The history of the law in England in this respect, although very interesting, has no permanent interest to the student of American Constitutional law. He thus concludes this branch of the discussion: "I have now, I think, established the following propositions: First, that the Court's action, so far as it affects the judicial authority, can only be carried into effect by acts of the Legislature, appointing courts and prescribing their method of procedure; second, that Congress has provided no new law, but expressly referred us to the old; third, that there are no principles of the old law to which we must have recourse that, in any measure, authorizes the present suit, either by precedent or analogy."

This conclusion was sufficient, from Iredell's point of view, to dispose of the case before the Court, but Judge Wilson, who wrote the principal opinion for the majority, threw down the gauntlet and challenged the basic proposition upon which Iredell's argument was founded. Here we find the line of cleavage between the two schools of thought upon the fundamental conception of the relations which the States bore to the Federal Government. Iredell was a Federalist, Wilson a Nationalist. Wilson opened his opinion with these words: "This is a case of uncommon magnitude. One of the parties to it is a State, certainly respectable, claiming to be sovereign. The question to be determined is whether this State, so respectable and whose claim soars so high, is amenable to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States? This question, important in itself, will depend on others, more important still; may, and perhaps will be, ultimately resolved into one no less radical than this—do the people of the United States form a nation?" Iredell was

not a man to conceal his opinions when either propriety or duty demanded their expression. Meeting his associate upon the "main question," "So far as this great question affects the Constitution itself, if the present afforded, consistently with the particular grounds of my opinion, a proper occasion for a decision upon it, I should not shrink from its discussion. But it is of extreme moment that no Judge should rashly commit himself upon important questions, which it is unnecessary for him to decide. My opinion being that even if the Constitution would admit of the exercise of such a power, a new law is necessary for the purpose, since no part of the existing law applies, this alone is sufficient to justify my determination in the present case. So much, however, has been said on the Constitution that it may not be improper to intimate that my present opinion is strongly against any construction of it which will admit, under any circumstances, a compulsive suit against the State for the recovery of money. I think every word in the Constitution may have its full effect without involving this consequence, and nothing but express words or an insurmountable implication (neither of which I consider can be found in this case) would authorize the deduction of so high a power. * * * A State does not owe its origin to the government of the United States, in the highest or any of its branches. It was in existence before it. It derives its authority from the same pure and sacred source as itself, the salutary and deliberate choice of the people." He thus lays down a canon of Constitutional construction: "If, upon a fair construction of the Constitution of the United States, the power contended for really exists, it undoubtedly may be exercised, though it is a power of first impression. If it does not exist upon that authority, ten thousand examples of similar powers would not warrant its assumption." That Iredell was in harmony with Hamilton is manifest from the following language used by

him in the Federalist: "It is inherent in the nature of sovereignty not to be amenable to the suit of an individual *without its consent.* This is the general sense and the general practice of mankind, and the exemption, as one of the attributes of sovereignty, is now enjoyed by the government of every State in the Union. Unless, therefore, there is a surrender of this immunity in the plan of the Convention, it will remain with the States, and the danger intimated must be merely ideal. * * * There is no color to pretend that the State governments would, by the adoption of that plan, be divested of the privilege of paying their own debts in their own way, free from every restraint but that which flows from the obligation of good faith."[9] So Madison declared in the Virginia Convention. "It is not within the power of individuals to call a State into court."[10] Marshall, meeting the same objection to the Constitution, said: "I hope that no gentleman will think that a State will be called to the bar of the Federal Court. * * * It is not natural to suppose that the sovereign power should be dragged before a court."

Mr. Carson, writing of the opinion of the Court in Chisholm's case, says: "From these views Iredell alone dissented in an able opinion, of which it has been said that it enunciated, either directly or by implication, all the leading principles which have since become known as State Rights' Doctrine and which as a legal argument was far superior in clearness of reasoning to Wilson or Jay. He confined himself strictly to the question before the Court, whether an action of *assumpsit* would lie against a State."[11]

In his "Lives of the Chief Justices" Van Santvord says: "These views [of the majority] were not concurred in by Judge Iredell, who delivered a dissenting opinion. . That

[9]No. 81 (J. C. Hamilton, Ed. 602).
[10]Elliott's Debates, 2d Ed., 533.
[11]Hist. Sup. Court, 174.

able jurist considered the question also in a Constitutional point of view, and as a question of strict construction. With great force of reasoning, and admirable precision and clearness of illustration, he analyzed the argument of the Attorney General, and arrived at exactly the opposite conclusion. His opinion was that no part of the existing law applied to this case; and even if the Constitution would admit of the exercise of such a power, a new law was necessary to carry the power into effect, and that *assumpsit* at the suit of a citizen would not lie against a State. One can scarcely arise from a careful perusal of this able opinion without being sensibly impressed with the force of the reasoning of the learned Judge, and the accuracy of his deductions. Lucid, logical, compact, comprehensive, it certainly compares very favorably with that of the Chief Justice in every respect, and as a mere legal argument must be admitted to be far superior.[12] * * * As a constitutional lawyer Judge Iredell had no superior upon the bench. His judicial opinions are marked by great vigor of thought, clearness of argument, and force of expression. He did not always concur with the majority of his brethren in their constitutional constructions, and on such occasion rarely failed to sustain his positions by the strictest legal as well as logical deductions. In the interesting case of *Ware v. Hylton,* 3 Dallas, 199, his dissenting opinion exhibits uncommon research, learning, and ability. As a legal argument it may be regarded as one of the best specimens that have been preserved of the old Supreme Court."[13]

"The rough substance of my argument in the suit against the State of Georgia," bearing date "February 18, 1793," as penned by the author, is before me. The writing is neat, the "headings" carefully arranged, a few erasures—interline-

[12] Page 60.
[13] *Ib.*, p. 61.

ations—showing care and caution in the form of expression. The argument covers twenty-three pages; the paper is well preserved and the writing distinct. Of this opinion Mr. Justice Bradley, in *Hans v. Louisiana,* 134 U. S., 14 (1889), said: "The highest authority of this country was in accord rather with the minority than with the majority of the Court. * * * And this fact lends additional interest to the able opinion of Mr. Justice Iredell on that occasion. The other justices were more swayed by a close observance of the letter of the Constitution, without regard to former experience and usages; and because the letter said that the judicial power shall extend to controversies between a State and citizens of another State, etc., they felt constrained to see in this language a power to enable the individual citizen of one State, or of a foreign State, to sue another State of the Union in the Federal Courts. Justice Iredell, on the contrary, contended that it was not the intention to create new and unheard of remedies by subjecting sovereign States to action at the suit of individuals (which he showed conclusively was never done before), but only by proper legislation to invest the Federal Courts with jurisdiction to hear and determine controversies and cases between the parties designated that were properly susceptible to litigation in courts. Adhering to the mere letter, it might be so; and so in fact the Supreme Court held in *Chisholm v. Georgia;* but looking at the subject as Hamilton and Mr. Justice Iredell did, in the light of history and experience, and the established order of things, the views of the latter were clearly right, as the people of the United States subsequently decided. * * * In view of the manner in which that decision was received by the country, the adoption of the Eleventh Amendment, the light of history and the reason of the thing, we think we are at liberty to prefer Justice Iredell's views in this regard." This language was approved by Fuller, C. J.; Miller, Field, Gray, Blatch-

ford, and Lamar, Associate Harlan, J., alone dissenting. It is not within the purpose or scope of this sketch to enter into a discussion of the merits of the great question involved in this battle of the giants or of the manner in which they sustained their conclusions. It is, however, a part of the history of the controversy and of the times, that two days after the opinion was filed sustaining the jurisdiction, by a majority of the Court, the Eleventh Amendment was introduced into Congress. "It was proposed by Mr. Sedgwick, a Representative from Massachusetts, but was passed in the Senate as amended by Mr. Gallatin."[14] Mr. Guthrie says that Mr. Caleb Strong was its author. The words are: "The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit, in law or equity, commenced or proceeded against one of the United States by citizens of another State or by citizens or subjects of foreign States." It is significant that the language of the Amendment is declaratory of what, in the opinion of Congress, was the correct construction of the Constitution. It was essentially a reversal of the decision of the Court and writing into the Constitution the dissenting opinion of Justice Iredell. This is evidenced by the fact that notwithstanding that, in accordance with the decision in Chisholm's case, judgment was rendered for the plaintiff at February Term, 1794, and a writ of inquiry awarded, the Court, at February Term, 1798, in *Hollingsworth v. Virginia,* 3 Dallas, 378, upon being informed that the Eleventh Amendment had been adopted, "delivered an unanimous opinion that there could not be exercised any jurisdiction in any case, past or future, in which a State was sued by the citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State." Mr. William D. Guthrie says: "The unusual and peculiar wording of the Amendment first attracts attention. Instead of declaring how the Constitution shall

[14]Watson's Const., 1535.

read in the future it declares how it shall 'not be construed.' * * * The Amendment, therefore, does not purport to amend or alter the Constitution, but to maintain it unchanged while controlling its scope and effect and thereby authoritatively declaring how it shall not be construed."[15] Mr. Justice Bradley says: "The Supreme Court had construed the judicial power as extending to such a suit, and the decision was overruled. The Court so understood the effect of the amendment."[16]

With that remarkable prevision which marks him as one of, if not the first, prophetic statesman which the world has produced, Hamilton points out the danger and difficulty which lurked in the construction given to the Constitution by the majority in Chisholm's case. He says: "To what purpose would it be to authorize suits against States for the debts they owed? How could recoveries be enforced? It is evident that it could not be done without waging war against the contracting State; and to ascribe to the Federal Courts, by mere implication and in destruction of a preëxisting right of the State Governments a power which would involve such a consequence, would be altogether forced and unwarrantable." This language becomes of present interest in the light of the concluding words of the opinion of Mr. Justice Holmes in *Virginia v. West Virginia*. "As this is no ordinary commercial suit but, as we have said, a quasi-international difference referred to this Court in reliance upon the honor and constitutional obligation of the States concerned rather than ordinary remedies, we think it best, at this stage, to go no further but to await the effect of a conference between the parties which, whatever the outcome, must take place. * * * But this case is one that calls for forbearance upon both sides; great States have a temper superior to that

[15]"The Eleventh Amendment."—Columbia Law Review, March, 1908.
[16]Hans v. Louisiana, 134 U. S. 11.

of private litigants and it is to be hoped that enough has been decided for patriotism, the fraternity of the Union and mutual consideration to bring it to an end."[17] Certainly the history of attempts to enforce money demands against States, through Federal Courts, thoroughly vindicates the wisdom of Iredell's view and the apprehension expressed in his concluding words: "This opinion I hold, however, with all the reserve proper for one which, according to my sentiments in the case, may be deemed, in some measure, extra-judicial. With regard to the policy of maintaining such suits, is not for this Court to consider, unless the point in all other respects was very doubtful. Policy then might be argued from with a view to preponderate the judgment. Upon the question before us I have no doubt. I have, therefore, nothing to do with the policy, but I confess, if I was at liberty to speak on that subject, my opinion on the policy of the case would also differ from that of the Attorney General. It is, however, a delicate topic. I pray to God that if the Attorney General's doctrine as to the law be established by the judgment of this Court, all the good he predicts of it may take place and none of the evils with which, I have the concern to say, it appears to me to be pregnant." In *South Dakota v. North Carolina,*[18] the question, as there presented, was discussed and decided against the contention of the State by a divided Court of five to four. The present Chief Justice wrote a strong and well sustained dissenting opinion, concurred in by Chief Justice Fuller, Justices McKenna and Day. The decree there was, however, confined to a statutory mortgage upon specific property. The question whether judgment for a deficiency would be entered was expressly reserved. The case was settled by compromise.

The Court has refused to take jurisdiction in a number of

[17]Virginia v. West Virginia, 220 U. S., 35.
[18]192 U. S., 286.

cases where the attempt was made to avoid the provisions of the Amendment.[19]

In *Penhallow v. Doane,*[20] Judge Iredell wrote an interesting opinion in which he discussed the relation which each of the original colonies bore to each other prior to the formation of the Confederation and the power conferred on the Confederation to establish Courts of Admiralty, and the effect of the judgments of such courts in prize cases. It is not practicable to make extracts from this opinion, but the following is of especial and permanent interest: "By a State forming a republic I do not mean the Legislature of the State, the executive of the State, or the judiciary, but all the citizens which compose that State and are, if I may so express myself, integral parts of it. * * * In a republic all the citizens, as such, are equal, and no citizen can rightfully exercise any authority over another, but in virtue of a power constitutionally given by the whole community which forms such body politic."

In *Talbot v. Jansen,*[21] an interesting question was presented in regard to the right of expatriation and how it was accomplished. Iredell wrote an opinion in which he discussed the law of nations, etc. Upon the right of expatriation and the limitations upon its exercise the opinion is interesting and enlightening.

In the case of *Hylton v. The United States,*[22] involving the question whether a tax on carriages was a direct tax, Iredell wrote a carefully guarded opinion concurring with the other Justices that the tax in question was not a direct tax within the meaning of the Constitution. He says: "There is no necessity or propriety in determining what is, or is not, a direct or indirect tax, in all cases. Some difficulties may arise which we do not at present foresee." His caution has

[19]Hans v. Louisiana, *supra.* Christian v. A. & N. C. R. R. Co., 123 U. S., 233; Murray v. Distilling Co., 213 U. S., 151.
[20]3 Dallas, 54.
[21]3 Dallas 133.
[22]3 Dallas, 171.

been justified by the history of the attempt to settle this much vexed question. Alexander Hamilton appeared for the Government. Iredell writes to Mrs. Iredell: "The day before yesterday Mr. Hamilton spoke in our court, attended by the most crowded audience I ever saw there, both Houses of Congress being almost deserted on the occasion. Though he was in very ill health he spoke with astonishing ability and in a most pleasing manner, and was listened to with the profoundest attention. His speech lasted three hours. * * * In one part of it he affected me extremely. Having occasion to observe how proper a subject it was for taxation, since it was a mere article of luxury which a man might either use or not as it was convenient to him, he added: 'It so happens that I once had a carriage myself and found it convenient to dispense with it.' "

At the Spring Term, 1793, of the Circuit Court at Richmond, before Jay, Iredell, and District Judge Griffin, the celebrated case of *Ware v. Hylton* was heard. During the war the Legislature of Virginia passed an act confiscating the debts of British subjects and directing the payment of such debts to the loan office of the State. The defendant, who was indebted to the plaintiff, a British subject, had, in obedience to the statute, made a partial payment thereon. Suit was brought on the bond. The defendants were represented by Patrick Henry, Marshall, Inis and Campbell. Iredell writes to Mrs. Iredell from Richmond, May 27th: "We began on the great British cases the second day of the court, and are now in the midst of them. The great Patrick Henry is to speak today. I never was more agreeably disappointed than in my acquaintance with him. I have been much in his company and his manners are very pleasing, and his mind, I am persuaded, highly liberal. It is a strong additional reason I have, added to many others, to hold in high detestation violent party prejudice."

The discussion was one of the most brilliant exhibitions ever witnessed at the bar of Virginia. Mr. Henry spoke for three consecutive days. The case was argued upon appeal at the February Term, 1796, of the Supreme Court,[23] Iredell wrote an opinion concurring with the majority of the Court that the Treaty of Peace enabled the creditor to sue for the debt, but was of the opinion (dissenting) that the recovery should be confined to the amount that had not been paid into the loan office. He said: "In delivering my opinion in this important case I feel myself deeply affected by the awful position in which I stand. The uncommon magnitude of the subject, its novelty, the high expectation it has excited, and the consequences with which a decision may be attended, have all impressed me with their fullest force." Referring to the argument, he said: "The cause has been spoken to, at the bar, with a degree of ability equal to any occasion. However painfully I may at any time reflect on the inadequacy of my own talents I shall, as long as I live, remember, with pleasure and respect, the arguments which I have heard in this case. They have discovered an ingenuity, a depth of investigation and a power of reasoning fully equal to anything I have ever witnessed, and some of them have been adorned with a splendor of eloquence surpassing what I have ever felt before. Fatigue has given way under its influence and the heart has been warmed while the understanding has been instructed." The opinion is exhaustive in learning. A competent judge has written that "as a legal argument it may be regarded as one of the best specimens that have been preserved of the old Supreme Court."[24]

Chief Justice Jay having resigned, and the Senate having refused to confirm the nomination of Judge Rutledge, there

[23] 3 Dallas, 199.
[24] Van Santvoord, Lives of the Chief Justices.

was much speculation as to who would be appointed. Governor Johnston wrote Iredell: "I am sorry that Mr. Cushing refused the office of Chief Justice, as I don't know whether a less exceptionable character can be obtained without passing over Mr. Wilson, which would perhaps be a measure that could not be easily reconciled to strict neutrality." Iredell writes Mrs. Iredell a few days after: "Mr. Ellsworth is nominated our Chief Justice, in consequence of which I think that Wilson will resign. * * * The kind expectation of my friends that I might be appointed Chief Justice were too flattering. Whatever other chance I might have had there could have been no propriety in passing by Judge Wilson to come at me."

Iredell rode the Middle Circuit during the spring of 1796. His charge at Philadelphia was published at the request of the grand jury. At the August Term, 1798, in the case of *Calder v. Bull,* [25] Iredell set forth very clearly his view respecting the power of the judiciary to declare invalid acts of the Legislature passed in violation of constitutional limitations. He says: "In a government composed of legislative, executive and judicial departments, established by a Constitution which imposed no limits on the legislative power, the consequence would inevitably be that whatever the Legislature chose to enact would be lawfully enacted, and the judicial power could never interpose to pronounce it void. It is true that some speculative jurists have held that a legislative act against natural justice must, in itself, be void; but I can not think that under such a government any court of justice would possess the power to declare it so. * * * It has been the policy of all the American States, which have individually framed their State Constitutions since the Revolution, and of the people of the United States, when they framed the Federal Constitution, to define with pre-

[25] 3 Dallas, 386.

cision the objects of the legislative power and to restrain its exercise within marked and settled boundaries. If any act of Congress, or of the Legislature of a State, violates those Constitutional provisions, it is unquestionably void; though I admit that as the authority to declare it void is of a delicate and awful nature, the Court will never resort to that authority but in a clear and urgent case. If, on the other hand, the Legislatures of the Union shall pass a law within the general scope of their Constitutional power, the Court can not pronounce it to be void merely because it is, in their judgment, contrary to the principles of natural justice. The ideas of natural justice are regulated by no fixed standard; the ablest and the purest men have differed on the subject, and all that the Court could properly say in such an event would be that the Legislature had passed an act which, in the opinion of the Judges, was inconsistent with the principles of natural justice." It is doubtful whether this principle, peculiar to American Constitutional law, with its limitations, has been more accurately stated.

Judge Iredell rode the Eastern Circuit with Judge Wilson. He was much pleased with the people of New England, receiving many courtesies from them. He writes from Boston that he soon found himself "engaged for every day in the week—sometimes different invitations on the same day. Judge Lowell has been particularly kind to me." His charge to the grand jury at Boston was published by request and referred to by the editor of the paper as "uniting eloquence with exhaustive knowledge and liberality." From Boston he writes: "I have constantly received distinction and courtesy here, and like Boston more and more. * * * It is scarcely possible to meet with a gentleman who is not a man of education. Such are the advantages of schools of public authority; every township is obliged to maintain one or more to which poor children can have access without

any pay." He writes from Exeter, New Hampshire: "I met in Boston with a gentleman who lives in Newbury Port of the name of Parsons, who appears to me to be the first lawyer I have met with in America, and is a remarkably agreeable man." This was Theophilus Parsons, later Chief Justice of Massachusetts. He writes that he had dined with the Committee and Corporation of Harvard College, "being seated next to the Lieutenant Governor, the famous Samuel Adams, who, though an old man, has a great deal of fire yet. He is polite and agreeable."

On May 27, 1797, Judge Iredell delivered a charge to the grand jury in Richmond, Virginia, which was "animated, perhaps too warm." At that time the grand jury frequently made presentment of matters which they regarded as worthy of public attention, although not the subject of criminal prosecution. They presented "as a real evil the circular letters of several members of the last Congress, and particularly letters with the signature of Samuel J. Cabell, endeavoring, at a time of real public danger, to disseminate unfounded calumnies against the happy Government of the United States, thereby to separate the people therefrom and to increase or produce a foreign influence ruinous to the peace, happiness and independence of these United States." Mr. Cabell made an angry retort, attacking the jury, judge and the Supreme Court. He proposed to bring the matter before Congress as a breach of privilege. Mr. Jefferson urged Mr. Monroe to call it to the attention of the Legislature. Just what they proposed to do with the jury or the judge does not very clearly appear. Judge Iredell published a card in which he said that the charge was prepared before he reached Richmond and had been delivered in Pennsylvania and Maryland; that he was not acquainted with Mr. Cabell and knew nothing of the letters referred to by the grand jury. He concludes: "With regard to the illiberal

epithets Mr. Cabell has bestowed not only upon me, but on the other Judges of the Supreme Court, I leave him in full possession of all the credit he can derive from the use of them. I defy him, or any other man, to show that, in the exercise of my judicial character, I have ever been influenced in the slightest degree by any man, either in or out of office, and I assure him that I shall be as little influenced by this new mode of attack by a member of Congress as I can be by any other." The political feeling in the country, and especially in Virginia, was at that time very bitter. Governor Johnston, Judge Iredell's brother-in-law, and always his wise friend, writing him in regard to this incident, said: "The answer was very proper, if proper to give it any answer at all." He further said that which every Judge knows from experience to be true: "I am sensible of the difficulties with which a man of warm feelings and conscious integrity submits to bear, without a reply, unmerited censure; yet I am not certain but that it is more suitable to the dignity of one placed in high and respectable departments of State to consider himself bound to answer only when called upon constitutionally before a proper tribunal."

Iredell rode the Southern Circuit during the spring of 1798, suffering much fatigue and discomfort. Judge Wilson, having suffered financial reverses, sought the hospitality of Governor Johnston and Judge Iredell, and found in them sympathetic friends. His health failed rapidly, resulting in his death August 21, 1798. He was buried at Hayes, the home of Governor Johnston. His remains were removed to Philadelphia a short time since. At the February Term, 1799, of the Supreme Court, Iredell sat for the last time. He filed "one of his best and most carefully written opinions" concurring with the conclusion reached by the other Judges in *Sims v. Irvine*.[26] He held the Circuit Court at

[26] 3 Dallas, 425.

Philadelphia, at which term several of the insurgents were on trial for treason. In his last charge to the grand jury he dwelt at much length on the law of treason and the Alien and Sedition laws. It is manifest that Iredell, as were many others, was deeply impressed with the belief that French philosophy and infidelity, coupled with the revolutionary proceedings in that country, were making an impression upon the people of this country, finding defenders among leaders of public sentiment, seriously threatening the peace of the country and the dissolution of the Union. He was a Federalist and joined with the members of that party in their reverence for Washington. He disliked and distrusted the French leaders and their principles. His charge was filled with warning against the influence of principles and conduct which, in his opinion, were involving the American people in the French Revolution, and the disturbed relations of that country with England. His concluding words in his last charge to a grand jury are interesting and illustrative of the condition of his mind. He says: "If you suffer this government to be destroyed what chance have you for any other? A scene of the most dreadful confusion must ensue. Anarchy will ride triumphant, and all lovers of order, decency, truth and justice be trampled under foot. May that God, whose peculiar province seems often to have interposed to save these United States from destruction, preserve us from this worst of all evils, and may the inhabitants of this happy country deserve His care and protection by a conduct best calculated to obtain them." The grand jury, requesting the publication of the charge, say: "At a time like the present, when false philosophy and wicked principles are spreading with rapidity under the imposing garb of liberty over the fairest country of the old world, we are convinced that the publication of a charge fraught with such clear and just observations on the nature and operation of the Con-

stitution and laws of the United States will be highly beneficial to the citizens thereof." As an illustration of the condition of public sentiment, Governor Johnston writes Iredell who, having concluded the trials in Philadelphia had come to Richmond, "I am glad that you have got away from the land of *treason* to the land of *sedition;* the change is something for the better." Chief Justice Ellsworth, riding the Southern Circuit, writes Iredell from Raleigh, N. C., June 10, 1799: "My opinion, collected from some gentlemen who have been lately traveling in that State (Virginia), and others who were at the Petersburg races, presents a melancholy picture of that country. These gentlemen returned with a firm conviction that the leaders there were determined upon the overthrow of the general government. * * * That the submission and assistance of North Carolina was counted on as a matter of course." The Chief Justice, however, adds: "As it was shortly after the election these may have been the momentary effusions of disappointed ambition."

Thirty years of constant and wearing work, coupled with the climate in which he lived and the long journeys on the Southern Circuit, which he rode four times in five years, had impaired Judge Iredell's health. He was unable to attend the August Term, 1799, of the Court. His illness increased until, on October 20, 1799, at his home in Edenton, he passed away, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His friend, the Rt. Rev. Charles Pettigrew, testified of him: "In the run of the above twenty years I have often heard high encomiums on the merits of this great and good man; but never in a single instance have I heard his character traduced or his integrity called in question."

His biographer, from whose excellent work I have largely drawn in the preparation of this sketch, says that with Judge Iredell's papers is an original "Treatise on Evidence," "an

* * * Essay on the Law of Pleading," and one on the "Doctrine of the Laws of England concerning Real Property so far as it is in use or force in the State of North Carolina"; the two last unfinished.

When it is remembered that he came to America at seventeen years of age, with neither wealth nor family influence; that his opportunities and sources of study were limited by the condition of the country; that for seven of the thirty years of his life here the country was engaged in war, we can, in some degree, appreciate the immense labor which he performed and the results which he accomplished. His life is a tribute to the teaching and example of his parents, the influence of those with whom he was brought into association in his adopted home, his industry, talents, patriotism, and lofty principles of honor and integrity.

Judge Iredell left one son, bearing his name, who became a lawyer of learning and distinction, Judge of the Superior Court, Governor, and United States Senator. He was, for many years, Reporter of the Supreme Court of the State and author of an excellent work on "The Law of Executors." He died during the year of 1853. His descendants are among the most honorable, useful and patriotic citizens of the State.

It has been the purpose of this sketch to set forth, in the space which could be allotted, a short survey of the judicial work of Judge Iredell. His early death cut short a career on the bench full of promise of enlarging scope and usefulness. That he would have continued to develop his high judicial qualities and, if permitted, shared with the "Great Chief Justice" the work of laying deep and strong the foundations of American Constitutional law can not be doubted. His opinions upon Constitutional questions evince a very high order of judicial statesmanship.

DAVID CALDWELL—TEACHER, PREACHER, PATRIOT

By CHARLES LEE SMITH.

No other North Carolinian of the Revolutionary period deserves more lasting fame than that consecrated preacher, learned teacher, and devoted patriot, the Reverend David Caldwell, D.D. He had his full share of the troubles of the times, as it was the delight of both the Tories and the British to persecute him. After driving him from his home, they destroyed with great wantonness his library and the valuable papers which he had prepared. An effort was made to seduce him with British gold, but neither money nor persecution could shake his loyalty to the cause he had espoused. His is one of the most illustrious names in the educational history of our State, and it has been said, "Dr. Caldwell, as a teacher, was probably more useful to the church (Presbyterian) than any other one man in the United States." He was an able preacher. Through his influence the Reverend John Anderson, D.D., the Reverend Samuel E. McCorkle, D.D., and many others who became distinguished, were brought into the ministry of his church.

David Caldwell, the son of a sturdy Scotch-Irish farmer, was born in Lancaster County, Pa., March 22, 1725. In early youth, after receiving the rudiments of an English education, he was apprenticed to a carpenter, and until his twenty-sixth year he worked at the bench. He then decided to enter the ministry, and his first steps were to obtain a classical education. For some time he studied in Eastern Pennsylvania at the school of the Reverend Robert Smith, the father of John B. Smith, so favorably known in Virginia as president of Hampden-Sidney College, and of the Reverend Samuel Stanhope Smith, D.D., at one time president of

Princeton College.[1] Before entering college he taught school for one or more years.

It is not certainly known what year he entered Princeton, though he was graduated in 1761. At the time he became a student the requirements for admission were as follows: "Candidates for admission into the lowest or Freshman class must be capable of composing grammatical Latin, translating Virgil, Cicero's Orations, and the four Evangelists in Greek; and by a late order (made in Mr. Davies's administration) must understand the principal rules of vulgar arithmetic. Candidates for any of the other higher classes are not only previously examined, but recite a fortnight upon trial, in that particular class for which they offer themselves; and are then fixed in that, or a lower, as they happen to be judged qualified. But, unless in very singular and extraordinary cases, none are received after the Junior year." [2]

His assiduity as a student may be gathered from the following incident related by Dr. Caruthers: "An elderly gentleman of good standing in one of his (Caldwell's) congregations stated to me a few weeks since that when he was a young man Dr. Caldwell was spending a night at his father's one summer about harvest, and while they were all sitting out in the open porch after supper, a remark was after some time made about the impropriety of sitting so long in the night air; when he (Dr. Caldwell) observed that, so far as his own experience had gone, there was nothing unwholesome in the night air; for while he was in college he usually studied in it and slept in it during the warm weather, as it was his practice to study at a table by the window, with the sash raised, until a late hour, then cross his arms on the table, lay his head on them, and sleep in that position till morning. This was not very far behind the most inveterate

[1] Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, p. 232.
[2] Maclean's History of the College of New Jersey, vol. 1, p. 272.

students of the seventeenth century, whether in Europe or America, and a man who had strength of constitution to pursue such a course of application, though of moderate abilities, could hardly fail to become a scholar." [3]

The scope of the instruction given at Princeton is set forth in a description of the college by President Finley, published in 1764; and as Dr. Caldwell was graduated in 1761, probably the courses were then substantially the same as while he was a student. After taking his degree in 1761 he taught for a year at Cape May. He then returned to Princeton, where he took a graduate course and at the same time served as tutor in languages; so it is certain that he had the system of instruction as it was under Dr. Finley's administration. In his account of the courses and methods President Finley says: "As to the branches of literature taught here, they are the same with those which are made parts of education in the European colleges, save only such as may be occasioned by the infancy of this institution. The students are divided into four distinct classes, which are called the Freshman, the Sophomore, the Junior, and the Senior. In each of these they continue one year, giving and receiving in their terms those tokens of respect and subjection which belong to their standings, in order to preserve a due subordination. The Freshman year is spent in Latin and Greek languages, particularly in reading Horace, Cicero's Orations, the Greek Testament, Lucian's Dialogues, and Xenophon's Cyropedia. In the Sophomore year they still prosecute the study of the languages, particularly Homer, Longinus, etc., and enter upon the sciences, geography, rhetoric, logic and the mathematics. They continue their mathematical studies throughout the Junior year, and also pass through a course of natural and moral philosophy, metaphysics, chronology, etc.; and the greater number, especially such as are educating for the serv-

[3] Caruthers's Caldwell, p. 20.

ice of the church, are initiated into the Hebrew. * * * The Senior year is entirely employed in reviews and composition. They now review the most improving parts of Latin and Greek classics, part of the Hebrew Bible, and all the arts and sciences. The weekly course of disputation is continued, which was also carried on through the preceding year. They discuss two or three theses in a week, some in the syllogistic and others in the forensic manner, alternately, the forensic being always performed in the English tongue." Besides the above there were public disputations on Sundays on theological questions, and once each month the Seniors delivered original orations before a public audience. Members of the Senior and lower classes were also required from time to time to declaim.[4] Such was the course of instruction taken by Dr. Caldwell, and such in general was the educational system which prevailed in the first institution for higher education established in North Carolina.

At a meeting of the Presbytery held at Princeton in September, 1762, David Caldwell was received as a candidate for the ministry. He was licensed to preach in 1763. In 1764 he labored as a missionary in North Carolina, returning to New Jersey in 1765, being ordained to the full work of the ministry at the Presbytery held at Trenton in July of that year. He immediately returned to North Carolina, where he labored as a missionary, until on March 3, 1768, he was installed as a pastor of the Buffalo and the Alamance congregations.

At that time there were but few Presbyterian ministers in North Carolina, and Dr. Caldwell was one of the very first to make this State his permanent home. His history is more identified with the moral and educational history of North Carolina than is that of any other one man of the eighteenth century. In 1766 he married the daughter of the

[4]Maclean's History of the College of New Jersey, vol. 1, p. 266.

Reverend Alexander Craighead, and as the salary from his churches was not sufficient for the support of a family, it became necessary for him to supplement it by teaching school. At this time schools for primary education existed in various parts of the colony, but to him is due the honor of having established the first institution for the higher education that achieved more than local fame. The average attendance of students was from fifty to sixty, which was a large number for the time and circumstances of the country. The exercises of the school were not interrupted by the war till 1781, at that time nearly all his students having taken service in the American army. The school was reopened as soon as circumstances permitted, "though the number of students was small until peace, and with it incipient prosperity were restored to the country." For many years "his log cabin served North Carolina as an academy, a college, and a theological seminary." Such was his reputation as an instructor and disciplinarian, that in his school were students from all the States south of the Potomac. It is claimed that he was instrumental in bringing more men into the learned professions than any other man of his day, certainly in the Southern States. While many of his students continued their studies in Princeton and in the University of North Carolina, after the establishment of that institution, the larger number, and several of those who became the most distinguished in after-life, never went anywhere else for instruction, nor enjoyed other advantages for higher education than those afforded at his school. We are told that "Five of his scholars became governors of different States; many more became members of Congress; and a much greater number became lawyers, judges, physicians, and ministers of the gospel." Dr. Caldwell continued his labors as a teacher till about 1822, when he was forced by the infirmities of age to retire from active work.

Judge Archibald D. Murphey, in an address before the literary societies of the University of North Carolina in 1827, referring to educational conditions before the opening of that institution in 1795, has this to say about the Caldwell School: "The most prominent and useful of these schools[5] was kept by Dr. David Caldwell, of Guilford County. He instituted it shortly after the close of the war, and continued it for more than thirty years. The usefulness of Dr. Caldwell to the literature of North Carolina will never be sufficiently appreciated, but the opportunities for instruction in his school were very limited. There was no library attached to it; his students were supplied with a few of the Greek and Latin classics, Euclid's Elements of Mathematics, and Martin's Natural Philosophy. Moral philosophy was taught from a syllabus of lectures delivered by Dr. Witherspoon, in Princeton College. The students had no books on history or miscellaneous literature. There were indeed very few in the State, except in the libraries of lawyers who lived in the commercial towns. I well remember that after completing my course of studies under Dr. Caldwell I spent nearly two years without finding any books to read, except some old works on theological subjects. At length I accidentally met with Voltaire's History of Charles XII, of Sweden, an odd volume of Smollett's Roderick Random, and an abridgment of Don Quixote. These books gave me a taste for reading, which I had no opportunity of gratifying until I became a student in this University in the year 1796. Few of Dr. Caldwell's students had better opportunities of getting books than myself; and with these slender opportunities of instruction it is not surprising that so few became eminent in the liberal professions. At this day (1827), when libraries are established in all our towns, when every professional man

[5]For sketches of the schools, including Dr. Caldwell's, referred to by Judge Murphey, see the writer's History of Education in North Carolina (Washington, 1888).

and every respectable gentleman has a collection of books, it is difficult to conceive the inconveniences under which young men labored thirty or forty years ago."

The Reverend Dr. Caruthers says: "But the most important service he (Dr. Caldwell) rendered as a teacher was to the church or to the cause of religion, for nearly all the young men who came into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church for many years, not only in North Carolina but in the States south and west of it, were trained in his school, many of whom are still living (1842); and while some are superannuated, others are still useful men, either as preachers or as teachers in different institutions of learning." [6]

It is said that his mode of discipline was peculiar to himself, and while it did not admit of imitation, yet it was so successful that it could not be surpassed. His students were bound to him with bonds of affection, and an approving word from their "Dominie" was eagerly sought for. If the course of instruction at his school was not very extended it was thorough, as is testified by those who were prepared by him for future usefulness. Governor John M. Morehead, one of North Carolina's most distinguished sons, who studied under Dr. Caldwell and was prepared by him for the Junior class half advanced in the University of North Carolina, gave him the highest praise as a teacher, though at the time he was under his instruction Dr. Caldwell was between eighty-five and ninety years old.

Dr. Caldwell was a member of the State Convention of 1776, which drew up the "Bill of Rights" and framed the Constitution. He was also a member of the convention to consider the Constitution of the United States in 1788, where he took a decided stand as an advocate of States' rights; but in the party conflicts preceding the second war with Great Britain he was on the side of the Federalists. Such was the

[6] Caruthers's Caldwell, p. 36.

esteem in which he was held by his State, and such his reputation for scholarship, that on the establishment of the University of North Carolina the presidency was tendered him. On account of his years the honor was declined. In 1810 that institution conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. He died August 25, 1824, and the next day was buried in the graveyard of Buffalo Presbyterian Church, Guilford County.

GOVERNOR SAMUEL JOHNSTON OF NORTH CAROLINA[1]

By R. D. W. CONNOR,
Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

On the east coast of Scotland, twelve miles from the confluence of the Firth of Tay with the German Ocean, lies the ancient town of Dundee, in population third, in commercial importance second among the cities of Scotland. The general appearance of Dundee, we are told, is picturesque and pleasing, and its surrounding scenery beautiful and inspiring. Thrift, intelligence, and independence are characteristics of its inhabitants. It is noted for its varied industrial enterprises, and from time immemorial has been famous among the cities of Britain for its extensive linen manufactures. A long line of men eminent in war, in statecraft, in law, and in letters adorns its annals. Its history carries us back to the time of the Crusades. In the twelfth century it received a charter from the hand of William the Lion. Within its walls William Wallace was educated, and there he struck his first blow against the domination of England. In the great Reformation of the sixteenth century its inhabitants took such an active and leading part as to earn for their town the appellation of "the Scottish Geneva." During the civil wars of the following century they twice gave over their property to pillage and themselves to massacre rather than submit to the tyranny of the House of Stuart. But in every crisis the indomitable spirit of Dundee rose superior to disaster and her people adhered to their convictions with a loyalty that never faltered and a faith that never failed.[2]

[1]An address delivered before the Grand Lodge of Masons, in the Masonic Temple, Raleigh, January 10, 1912, upon the presentation to the State by the Grand Lodge of a marble bust of Governor Samuel Johnston, first Grand Master of Masons of North Carolina.
[2]Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., VII, 534-36.

In this fine old city, among its true and loyal people, the ancestors of Samuel Johnston lived, and here, in 1733, he himself was born.[3] The spirit of Dundee, its loyalty to principle, its unconquerable courage, and its inflexible adherence to duty, entered into his soul at his very birth, and developed and strengthened as he grew in years and in powers of body and mind. Throughout his life he displayed in public and in private affairs many of those qualities of mind and character which have given the Scotch, though small in number, such a large place in the world's history. Says Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, "six centuries of bitter struggle for life and independence, waged continuously against nature and man, not only made the Scotch formidable in battle, renowned in every camp in Europe, but developed qualities of mind and character which became inseparable from the race. * * * Under the stress of all these centuries of trial they learned to be patient and persistent, with a fixity of purpose which never weakened, a tenacity which never slackened, and a determination which never wavered. The Scotch intellect, passing through the same severe ordeals, as it was quickened, tempered, and sharpened, so it acquired a certain relentlessness in reasoning which it never lost. It emerged at last complete, vigorous, acute, and penetrating. With all these strong qualities of mind and character was joined an intensity of conviction which burned beneath the cool and calculating manner of which the stern and unmoved exterior gave no sign, like the fire of a furnace, rarely flaming, but giving forth a fierce and lasting heat." [4] Had the author of these fine lines had the character of Samuel Johnston in his mind's

[3]McRee says December 15, 1733.—Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, 37. Johnston himself writing to his sister, Mrs. Iredell, January 24, 1794, says: "Yesterday finished my sixty-first birthday."—Ms. letter in C. E. Johnson Mss. Collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission. But Samuel Johnston, Sr., writing to Samuel Johnston, Jr., in a letter dated "Newbern, 17th, 1754," month omitted, says: "I give you joy of your being of age last Sunday."—Copy of letter in Collections of the N. C. Hist. Com. Original in the library at "Hayes."

[4]Address in the United States Senate, March 12, 1910, at the presentation to the United States by the State of South Carolina of a statue of John C. Calhoun.

eye, as he did have that of another eminent Scotch-descended Carolinian, his description could not have been more accurate.

In the great crises of our history in which he figured so largely, immediately preceding and immediately following the American Revolution, Samuel Johnston, with keen penetrating vision, saw more clearly than any of his colleagues the true nature of the problem confronting them. This problem was, on the one hand, to preserve in America the fundamental principles of English liberty against the encroachments of the British Parliament, and on the other, to secure the guarantees of law and order against the well-meant but ill-considered schemes of honest but ignorant reformers. For a full quarter of a century he pursued both of these ends, patiently and persistently, "with a fixity of purpose which never weakened, a tenacity which never slackened, and a determination which never wavered." Neither the wrath of a royal governor, threatening withdrawal of royal favor and deprivation of office, nor the fierce and unjust denunciations of party leaders, menacing him with loss of popular support and defeat at the polls, could swerve him one inch from the path of the public good as he understood it. Beneath his cool and calculating manner burned "an intensity of conviction" which gave him in the fullest degree that rarest of all virtues in men who serve the public—I mean courage, courage to fight the battles of the people, if need be, against the people themselves. Of course Johnston never questioned the right of the people to decide public affairs as they chose, but he frequently doubted the wisdom of their decisions; and when such a doubt arose in his mind he spoke his sentiments without fear or favor and no appeal or threat could move him. He was ready on all such occasions to maintain his positions with a "relentlessness in reasoning" that carried conviction, and out of defeat invariably wrung ultimate victory. More than

once in his public career the people, when confronted by his immovable will, in fits of party passion discarded his leadership for that of more compliant leaders; but only in their calmer moments to turn to him again to point the way out of the mazes into which their folly had entangled them.

A Scotchman by birth, Samuel Johnston was fortunate in his ancestral inheritance; an American by adoption, he was equally fortunate in his rearing and education. In early infancy[5] his lot was cast in North Carolina, the most democratic of the American colonies, and whatever tendency this fact may have given him toward democratic ideals was later strengthened by a New England education and by his legal studies.[6] At the age of twenty-one he became a resident of Edenton, then a small village of four or five hundred inhabitants, but the industrial, political, and social center for a large and fertile section of the province. Its leading inhabitants were men and women of wealth, education, and culture. Their social intercourse was easy, simple, and cordial. Cards, billiards, backgammon, dancing, tea drinking, hunting, fishing, and other outdoor sports, were their chief amusements. They read with appreciative insight the best literature of the day, made themselves familiar with the philosophy of

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[5]In his third year. His parents, Samuel and Helen (Scrymoure) Johnston came to North Carolina some time prior to May 25, 1735.—Colonial Records of North Carolina, IV, 9. They probably accompanied Samuel's brother, Gabriel, who become governor of the colony, November 2, 1734. McRee incorrectly gives the name of Governor Samuel Johnston's father as John.—Iredell, I, 36. Letters of his at "Hayes" show that his name was Samuel. See also Grimes: Abstracts of North Carolina Wills, 187, 188; and Col. Rec. IV, 1080, 1110. He resided in Onslow county, but owned large tracts of land not only in Onslow, but also in Craven, Bladen, New Hanover, and Chowan.—Col. Rec., IV, 72, 219, 222, 329, 594, 601, 628, 650, 800, 805, 1249. He was a justice of the peace in New Hanover, Bladen, Craven, and Onslow.—Col. Rec., IV, 218, 275, 346, 347, 814, 1239. He served also as collector of the customs at the port of Brunswick.—Col. Rec., IV, 395, 725, 998, 1287; and as road commissioner for Onslow county, State Records, XXIII, 221. His will, dated November 13, 1756, was probated in January, 1757.—Abstracts, 188. His wife having died of child-birth in 1751 (letter to his son), his family at the time of his death consisted of two sons, Samuel and John, and five daughters, Jane, Penelope, Isabelle, Ann, and Hannah. To his sons he devised 6,500 acres of land, and to his daughters land and slaves.—Abstracts, 188.

[6]Governor Josiah Martin, writing of Johnston, to Lord George Germain, May 17, 1777, says: "This Gentleman, my Lord, was educated in New England, where * * * it may be supposed he received that bent to Democracy which he has manifested upon all occasions."—Col. Rec., X, 401. Letters from his father, addressed to him while he was at school in New Haven, Conn., bear dates from 1750 to 1753. I have not been able to ascertain what school he attended. In 1754 he went to Edenton to study law under Thomas Barker.

the Spectator and the Tatler, and followed with sympathetic interest the fortunes of Sir Charles Grandison and Clarissa Harlowe. They kept in close touch with political events in England, studied critically the Parliamentary debates, and among themselves discussed great constitutional questions with an ability that would have done honor to the most learned lawyers of the Inner Temple.[7] Within the town and its immediate vicinity dwelt John Harvey, Joseph Hewes, Edward Buncombe, Stephen Cabarrus, and, after 1768, James Iredell. Preceding Iredell by a little more than a decade came Samuel Johnston, possessed of an ample fortune, a vigorous and penetrating intellect, and a sound and varied learning, which soon won for him a place of preëminence in the province. "He bore," says McRee, "the greatest weight of care and labor as the mountain its crown of granite. His powerful frame was a fit engine for the vigorous intellect that gave it animation. Strength was his characteristic. In his relations to the public, an inflexible sense of duty and justice dominated. There was a remarkable degree of self-reliance and majesty about the man. His erect carriage and his intolerance of indolence, meanness, vice, and wrong, gave to him an air of sternness. He commanded the respect and admiration, but not the love of the people." [8] At Edenton, surrounded by a group of loyal friends, Johnston entered upon the practice of his profession and in 1759 began a public career which, for length of service, extremes of political fortune, and lasting contributions to the welfare of the State, still stands unsurpassed in our history.[9]

[7]See the picture of Edenton society drawn by James Iredell in his diary, printed in McRee's Iredell.

[8]Iredell, I, 37-38.

[9]He was twelve times elected to the General Assembly, serving from 1759 to 1775, inclusive. On April 25, 1768, he was appointed Clerk of the Court for the Edenton District. In 1770 he was appointed Deputy Naval Officer of the province, but was removed by Gov. Martin, Nov. 16, 1775, on account of his activity in the revolutionary movement. Dec. 8, 1773, he was selected as one of the Committee of Continental Correspondence appointed by the General Assembly. He served in the first four Provincial Congresses, which met Aug. 25, 1774, April 3, 1775, Aug. 20, 1775, and April 4, 1776. Of the third and fourth he was elected President. The Congress, Sept. 8, 1775, elected him Treasurer for the Northern District. Sept.

Johnston's public career covered a period of forty-four years and embraced every branch of the public service. As legislator, as delegate to four provincial congresses, as president of two constitutional conventions, as member of the Continental Congress, as judge, as governor, as United States Senator, he rendered services to the State and Nation which rank him second to none among the statesmen of North Carolina. Time does not permit me today to dwell on all these points of his career, and I must content myself with inviting your attention to his services in just three of the great crises of our history: First, in organizing the Revolution in North Carolina; second, in framing the first state constitution; third, in the ratification by North Carolina of the Constitution of the United States.

You are of course familiar with the principal events which led up to the outbreak of the Revolution. Johnston watched the course of these events with the keenest interest and the most profound insight. By inheritance, by training, and by conviction he was a conservative in politics. He clung tenaciously to the things that were and viewed with apprehension, if not with distrust, any tendency of those in power to depart from the beaten path marked out by time and experience. It was not to be expected, therefore, that he, holding the principles of the British Constitution in great reverence, would look with favor upon departures from those principles so radical as those proposed by the British Ministry. It has frequently been pointed out that in the American Revolution

9, 1775, he was selected as the member-at-large of the Provincial Council, the executive body of the revolutionary government. The Provincial Council, Oct. 20, 1775, elected him Paymaster of Troops for the Edenton District. Dec. 21, 1776, he was appointed by the Provincial Congress a commissioner to codify the laws of the State. In 1779, 1783, 1784 he represented Chowan county in the State Senate. The General Assembly, July 12, 1781, elected him a delegate to the Continental Congress. In 1785 the States of New York and Massachusetts selected him as one of the commissioners to settle a boundary line dispute between them. He was three times elected Governor of North Carolina, Dec. 12, 1787, Nov. 11, 1788, and Nov. 14, 1789. He resigned the governorship in Dec., 1789 to accept election to the United States Senate, being the first Senator from North Carolina. In 1788 and 1789 he was President of the two Constitutional Conventions, at Hillsboro and Fayetteville, called to consider the ratification of the Federal Constitution. Dec. 11, 1789 he was elected a trustee of the University of North Carolina. From 1800 to 1803 he served as Superior Court Judge. He died in 1816.

England and not America represented the radical position. The Americans held to the British Constitution as they had received it from their fathers, they protested against the innovations of the Ministry, and they went to war to conserve the principles of English liberty as they had been handed down from time immemorial. They were the true conservatives. This, too, was the point of view of such British statesmen as Fox, and Pitt, and Burke, and Rockingham. In this contest, accordingly, there could be but one place for Samuel Johnston,—inheritance, education, conviction, all carried him at once into the camp of the Whig party.

From the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765 Johnston maintained a firm and decided stand against every step taken by the British Ministry to subject the colonies in their local affairs to the jurisdiction of Parliament. A special significance attaches to his services. His birth in Scotland, his residence in North Carolina, his education in Connecticut, his intimate correspondence with friends in England, all served to lift him above any narrow, contracted, provincial view of the contest and fitted him to be what he certainly was, the leader in North Carolina in the great continental movement which finally resulted in the American Union. Union was the great bugbear of the King and Ministry, and for some years before the actual outbreak of the Revolution an important object of their policy was to prevent the union of the colonies. They sought, therefore, as far as possible, to avoid all measures which, by giving them a common grievance, would also afford a basis upon which they could unite. In order to accomplish this purpose more effectively acts of Parliament to a large extent gave way in the government of the colonies to instructions from the King issued to the royal governors. These instructions the governors were required to consider as of higher authority than acts of the assemblies and as binding on both the governors and the assemblies. A

set was not framed to apply to all the colonies alike, but special instructions were sent to each colony as local circumstances dictated. Since these local circumstances differed so widely in the several colonies, the King and his ministers thought the patriots would not be able to find in these instructions any common grievance to serve as a basis for union.

In North Carolina the battle was fought out on three very important local measures which involved the financial policy of the province, the running of its southern boundary line, and the jurisdiction of the colonial courts. On all three the King issued positive instructions directing the course which the Assembly should pursue. Thus a momentous issue was presented for the consideration of its members: Should they permit the Assembly to degenerate into a mere machine whose highest function was to register the will of the Sovereign; or should they maintain it as the Constitution and their charters intended it to be, a free, deliberative, law-making body, responsible for its acts only to the people? Upon their answer to this question it is not too much to say hung the fate of the remotest posterity in this State. I record it as one of the proudest events in our history, beside which the glories of Moore's Creek, Kings Mountain, Guilford Court House, and even of Gettysburg itself pale into insignificance, that the Assembly of North Carolina had the insight to perceive their problem clearly, the courage to meet it boldly, and the statesmanship to solve it wisely.

"Appointed by the people [they declared] to watch over their rights and privileges, and to guard them from every encroachment of a private and public nature, it becomes our duty and will be our constant endeavor to preserve them secure and inviolate to the present age, and to transmit them unimpaired to posterity. * * * The rules of right and wrong, the limits of the prerogative of the Crown and of the privileges of the people are, in the present refined age, well known and ascertained; to exceed either of them is highly unjustifiable." [10]

[10] For a more extended account of this great contest, see my Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History, 68-78.

Hurling this declaration into the face of the royal governor the Assembly peremptorily refused obedience to the royal instructions. In this momentous affair Samuel Johnston stood fully abreast of the foremost in maintaining the dignity of the Assembly, the independence of the judiciary, and the right of the people to self-government. With unclouded vision he saw straight through the policy of the King and stood forth a more earnest advocate of union than ever. He urged the appointment of the committees of correspondence throughout the continent, served on the North Carolina committee, and favored the calling of a Continental Congress. When John Harvey, in the spring of 1774, suggested a provincial congress, Johnston gave the plan his powerful support,[11] and when the Congress met at New Bern, August 25, 1774, he was there as one of the members from Chowan. Upon the completion of its business this Congress authorized Johnston, in the event of Harvey's death, to summon another congress whenever he should deem it necessary. No more fit successor to Harvey could have been found. Johnston's unimpeachable personal character commanded the respect of the Loyalists,[12] his known conservatism was a guarantee that the revolutionary program under his leadership would be conducted with proper regard for the rights of all and in an orderly manner, and his thorough sympathy with the spirit and purposes of the movement assured the loyal support of the entire Whig party. How thoroughly he sympathized with the whole program is set forth in the following letter written to an English friend who once resided in North Carolina:

"You will not wonder [he writes] at my being more warmly affected with affairs of America than you seem to be. I came over so early and am now so riveted to it by my connections that I can not

[11]Col. Rec., X, 968.

[12]Archibald Neilson, a prominent Loyalist whom Gov. Martin appointed Johnston's successor as Deputy Naval Officer, wrote to James Iredell, July 8, 1775: "For Mr. Johnston, I have the truest esteem and regard. In these times, in spite of my opinion of his judgment, in spite of myself—I tremble for him. He is in an arduous situation: the eyes of all—more especially of the friends of order—are anxiously fixed on him."—McRee's Iredell, I, 260.

help feeling for it as if it were my *natale solum*. The ministry from the time of passing the Declaratory Act, on the repeal of the Stamp Act, seemed to have used every opportunity of teasing and fretting the people here as if on purpose to draw them into rebellion or some violent opposition to Government. At a time when the inhabitants of Boston were every man quietly employed about their own private affairs, the wise members of your House of Commons on the authority of ministerial scribbles declare they are in a state of open rebellion. On the strength of this they pass a set of laws which from their severity and injustice can not be carried into execution but by a military force, which they have very wisely provided, being conscious that no people who had once tasted the sweets of freedom would ever submit to them except in the last extremity. They have now brought things to a crisis and God only knows where it will end. It is useless, in disputes between different countries, to talk about the right which one has to give laws to the other, as that generally attends the power, though where that power is wantonly or cruelly exercised, there are instances where the weaker State has resisted with success; for when once the sword is drawn all nice distinctions fall to the ground; the difference between internal and external taxation will be little attended to, and it will hereafter be considered of no consequence whether the act be to regulate trade or raise a fund to support a majority in the House of Commons. By this desperate push the ministry will either confirm their power of making laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever, or give up the right of making laws to bind them in any case." [13]

This is a very remarkable letter. Consider first of all its date. It was written at Edenton, September 23, 1774. At that time the boldest radicals in America, even such men as Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts; Patrick Henry, of Virginia; Cornelius Harnett, of North Carolina, scarcely dared breathe the word independence. But here is Samuel Johnston, most conservative of revolutionists, boldly declaring that the contest between England and her colonies was a dispute "between different countries," and threatening an appeal to arms to decide whether the British Parliament should make laws "to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever," or be compelled to surrender "the right of making laws to bind

[13] To Alexander Elmsley, of London.—Col. Rec., IX, 1071.

them in any case." The man who ventured this bold declaration was no unknown individual, safe from ministerial wrath by reason of his obscurity, but was the foremost statesman of an important colony, and his name was not unfamiliar to those who gathered in the council chamber of the King.

The death of John Harvey in May, 1775, left Samuel Johnston the undisputed leader of the revolutionary party in North Carolina. In July he issued a call for a congress to meet in Hillsboro, August 20, and of this Congress he was unanimously chosen president. Until now Josiah Martin, the royal governor, had cherished the hope that Johnston would not go to the extreme of rebellion but that he would ultimately break with the Whig party and throw the great weight of his influence on the side of the royal government. Consequently early in the struggle, in very flattering terms, Martin had offered to recommend Johnston to the King for appointment to the next vacancy in the Council; and had refrained from removing him from his position as the deputy naval officer of the colony, "notwithstanding," he wrote, "I had found him uniformly in opposition to every measure of Government during my administration." [14] But now any further forbearance toward Johnston would be disloyalty to the King, and accordingly on October 7, 1775, the Governor addressed a letter to him notifying him of his removal. "The respect I have entertained for your private character," he said, had restrained him from taking this step heretofore; but now duty to his Royal Master would not permit his taking upon himself "the guilt of conniving at the undutiful behavior of one of the King's servants" in appearing "in the conspicuous character of Moderator of a popular Assembly unknown to the laws and constitution of this province.

[14] Gov. Martin to Johnston, Oct. 4, 1772: "In case of a vacancy at the Council Board I wish to know whether you will permit me to name you to the King; if it be agreeable to you, I shall be much flattered by an opportunity of making so honorable an acquisition to the Council of this Province."—Col. Rec., IX, 342. See also Martin to Lord Dartmouth, Col. Rec. IX, 1053; and to Lord Germain, X, 401.

* * * And [he continued] I have seen with greater surprise, if possible, your acceptance of the appointment of treasurer of the northern district of this colony, unconstitutionally and contrary to all law and usage conferred upon you by this body of your own creation." [15] To this communication Johnston replied in a letter of biting sarcasm but a model of courtesy and good taste. "It gives me pleasure," he said, referring to the Governor's reasons for his removal, "that I do not find neglect of duties of my office in the catalogue of my crimes," and then continued:

"At the same time that I hold myself obliged to your Excellency for the polite manner in which you are pleased to express yourself of my private character, you will pardon me for saying that I think I have reason to complain of the invidious point of view in which you are pleased to place my public transactions when you consider the late meeting of the delegates or deputies of the inhabitants of this province at Hillsborough, *a body of my own creation.* Your Excellency cannot be ignorant that I was a mere instrument in this business under the direction of the people; a people among whom I have long resided, and who have on all occasions placed the greatest confidence in me, to whose favorable opinion I owe everything I possess and to whom I am bound by gratitude (that most powerful and inviolable tie on every honest mind) to render every service they can demand of me, in defense of what they esteem their just rights, at the risk of my life and property.

You will further, Sir, be pleased to understand, that I never considered myself in the honorable light in which you place me, *one of the king's servants;* being entirely unknown to those who have the disposal of the king's favors, I never enjoyed nor had I a right to expect, any office under his Majesty. The office which I have for some years past executed under the deputation of Mr. Turner was an honest purchase for which I have punctually paid an annual sum, which I shall continue to pay till the expiration of the term for which I should have held it agreeably to our contract.

Permit me, Sir, to add that had all the king's servants in this province been as well informed of the disposition of the inhabitants as they might have been and taken the same pains to promote and preserve peace, good order, and obedience to the laws among them, that I flatter myself I have done, the source of your Excellency's

[15] Col. Rec., X, 262.

unnecessary lamentations had not at this day existed, or had it existed it would have been in so small a degree that ere this it would have been nearly exhausted; but, Sir, a recapitulation of errors which it is now too late to correct would be painful to me and might appear impertinent to your Excellency. I shall decline the ungrateful task, and beg leave, with all due respect, to subscribe myself, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant." [16]

At the beginning of the Revolution Johnston, in common with the other Whig leaders throughout the continent, disclaimed any purpose of declaring independence. But once caught in the full sweep of the revolutionary movement they were carried along from one position to another until, by the opening of the year 1776, they had reached a situation which admitted of no other alternative. As North Carolina was the first colony to take the lead in demanding independence, so Samuel Johnston was among the first advocates of it in North Carolina. Writing March 3, 1776, he expressed the opinion that the future might "offer a more favorable opportunity for throwing off our connection with Great Britain," but immediately added:

"It is, however, highly improbable from anything that I have yet been able to learn of the disposition of the people at home, from the public papers, for I have not lately received any letters, that the colonies will be under the necessity of throwing off their allegiance to the king and Parliament of Great Britain this summer. If France and Spain are hearty and sincere in our cause, or sufficiently apprised of the importance of the connection with us to risk war with Great Britain, we shall undoubtedly succeed; if they are irresolute and play a doubtful game I shall not think our success so certain."

March 20, Joseph Hewes writing from Philadelphia, where he was in attendance on the Continental Congress, asked Johnston for his views on the subject of independence. In reply Johnston said:

"I am inclined to think with you that there is little prospect of an accommodation. You wish to know my sentiments on the subjects of treating with foreign powers and the independence of the

[16] Col. Rec., X, 332.

colonies. I have apprehensions that no foreign power will treat with us till we disclaim our dependence on Great Britain and I would wish to have assurances that they would afford us effectual service before we take that step. I have, I assure you, no other scruples on this head; the repeated insults and injuries we have received from the people of my native island has (sic) done away all my partiality for a connection with them and I have no apprehensions of our being able to establish and support an independence if France and Spain would join us cordially and risk a war with Great Britain in exchange for our trade." [17]

When the fourth Provincial Congress, at Johnston's summons, met at Halifax, April 4, 1776, the entire patriot party was fully abreast of his position on the subject of independence. "All our people here," he wrote, April 5, "are up for independence"; and a few days later he added: "We are going to the devil * * * without knowing how to help ourselves, and though many are sensible of this, yet they would rather go that way than to submit to the British Ministry. * * * Our people are full of the idea of independence." In compliance with this popular sentiment, the Congress, April 12, adopted its famous resolution empowering the North Carolina delegates in the Continental Congress "to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independency and forming foreign alliances." [18]

Samuel Johnston had now reached the climax of his influence and popularity, for by his election to the presidency of the Provincial Congress he had attained the highest position in public life to which a citizen of North Carolina in 1776 could aspire. The next few years were for him a period of eclipse. Deceived by the specious insinuations of his political opponents his constituents were led to discard his leadership and to accept that of men of fairer promises but of smaller achievements.

Immediately after declaring for independence the Con-

[17] Ms. letter in the library at "Hayes."
[18] For a full discussion of the movement toward independence, see my Cornelius Harnett, Chap. X.

gress at Halifax appointed a committee "to prepare a temporary civil constitution." Among its members were Johnston, Harnett, Abner Nash, Thomas Burke, Thomas Person, and William Hooper. They were (as I have said in another place)[19] men of political sagacity and ability, but their ideas of the kind of constitution that ought to be adopted were woefully inharmonious. Heretofore in the measures of resistance to the British Ministry remarkable unanimity had prevailed in the councils of the Whigs. But when they undertook to frame a constitution faction at once raised its head. Historians have designated these factions as "Conservatives" and "Radicals," terms which carry their own meaning and need no further explanation. However it may not be out of place to observe here that while both were equally devoted to constitutional liberty, the Radicals seem to have placed the greater emphasis on the noun, liberty, the Conservatives on its modifier, constitutional. The leader of the former was undoubtedly Willie Jones, while no one could have been found to question the supremacy of Samuel Johnston among the latter. Congress soon found that no agreement between the two could be reached while continued debate on the constitution would only consume time which ought to be given to more pressing matters. Consequently the committee was discharged and the adoption of a constitution was postponed till the next meeting of Congress in November. Thus the contest was removed from Congress to the people and became the leading issue of the election in October.

Willie Jones and his faction determined that Samuel Johnston should not have a seat in the November Congress, and at once began against him a campaign famous in our history for its violence. Democracy exulting in a freedom too newly acquired for it to have learned the virtue of self-restraint, struck blindly to right and left and laid low some of the

[19]Cornelius Harnett, 152.

sturdiest champions of constitutional liberty in the province. The contest raged fiercest in Chowan. "No means," says McRee, "were spared to poison the minds of the people; to inflame their prejudices; excite alarm; and sow in them, by indefinite charges and whispers, the seeds of distrust. * * * It were bootless now to inquire what base arts prevailed, or what calumnies were propagated. Mr. Johnston was defeated. The triumph was celebrated with riot and debauchery; and the orgies were concluded by burning Mr. Johnston in effigy." [20]

From that day to this much nonsense has been written and spoken about Johnston's hostility to democracy and his hankering after the fleshpots of monarchy, and the admirers of Willie Jones from then till now have expected us to believe that the man who for ten years had been willing to sacrifice his fortune, his ease, his peace of mind, his friends and family, and life itself, to overthrow the rule of monarchy was ready, immediately upon the achievement of that end, to conspire with his fellow-workers against that liberty which they had suffered so much to preserve. That Johnston did not believe in the "infallibility of the popular voice"; that he thought it right in a democracy for minorities to have sufficient safeguards against the tyranny of majorities; that he considered intelligence and experience more likely to conduct a government successfully than ignorance and inexperience, is all true enough. But that he also ascribed fully to the sentiment that all governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"; that he believed frequency of elections to be the surest safeguard of liberty; that he thought representatives should be held directly responsible to their constituents and to nobody else, we have not only his whole public career but his most solemn declarations to prove. He advocated, it is true, a government of energy and power,

[20] Iredell, I, 334.

but a government deriving its energy and power wholly from the people. This is the very essence of true, genuine democracy.

Although not a member of the Congress which framed our first State Constitution, Johnston's duties as treasurer made it necessary for him to attend its session, and his presence there exerted a most wholesome influence on the final draft of that instrument. In mere matters of policy he manifested but little interest; but there were three points of prime importance to be settled which would ultimately determine the character of the government about to be formed. These were, first, the degree of responsibility to the people to which representatives should be held; second, the basis of the suffrage; and third, the degree of independence to be accorded to the judiciary. On these three points Johnston felt and thought deeply, and exerted himself to have his views incorporated in the Constitution.

In regard to the first he expressed himself as follows in a letter written from Halifax in April while the constitution was under consideration:

"The great difficulty in our way is, how to establish a check on the representatives of the people, to prevent their assuming more power than would be consistent with the liberties of the people. * * * Many projects have been proposed too tedious for a letter to communicate. * * * After all, it appears to me that there can be no check on the representatives of the people in a democracy but the people themselves; and in order that the check may be more efficient I would have annual elections." [21]

But by "the people," Johnston did not mean all the citizens of the State any more than we today, by the same term, mean to include all the citizens of the Commonwealth. Like us Johnston referred only to those citizens who were endowed with the franchise. He did not believe in unrestricted manhood suffrage. Such a basis he thought might be "well

[21] Iredell, I, 277.

adapted to the government of a numerous, cultivated people," but he did not think North Carolina in 1776 was ready for any such untried experiment, and he advocated, therefore, a property qualification. On this point he was "in great pain for the honor of the province" and viewed with alarm the tendency to turn the government over to "a set of men without reading, experience, or principle to govern them." [22]

But it was to the judiciary that he looked to safeguard the rights of the individual citizen, and in order that this safeguard might be the more effective he wished it to be independent of the transitory passions of majorities. On this subject he spoke with more than his usual vigor.

"God knows [he exclaimed] when there will be an end of this trifling here. A draft of the Constitution was presented to the House yesterday. * * * There is one thing in it which I cannot bear, and yet I am inclined to think it will stand. The inhabitants are impowered to elect the justices in their respective counties, who are to be the judges of the county courts. Numberless inconveniences must arise from so absurd an institution.[23] They talk [he wrote later] of having all the officers, even the judges and clerks, elected annually, with a number of other absurdities." [24]

Johnston's alarm was needless. Under his guidance conservative influences prevailed and a method of choosing judges in line with his views was adopted. In its final form the Constitution embodied to a large extent Johnston's views on all three of these cardinal points. It provided for a legislature of two chambers chosen annually, for a property qualification for electors for state senators, and for judges chosen by the General Assembly to serve during good behavior.

I know of no more striking personal triumph in the history of North Carolina than this achievement of Johnston. Politically discredited by his own people, without the support of a powerful political party, and totally devoid of that glam-

[22] To Thomas Burke.—State Rec., XI, 504.
[23] To James Iredell.—Col. Rec., X, 1040.
[24] To Mrs. James Iredell.—McRee's Iredell, I, 339.

our and subtle influence which accompanies high official position, he had, through the convincing logic of his arguments, the trust inspired by his acknowledged wisdom, and the confidence imposed in his integrity, forced a hostile Convention to accept his views and lay the cornerstones of the Commonwealth on firm and solid grounds. How firmly he builded is shown by the fact that fifty-eight years passed before annual sessions of the Assembly gave way to biennial sessions; seventy-nine years before the property qualification for electors for state senators was abolished; and ninety-one years before the election of judges was given to the people and their terms changed from good behavior to a term of years. Had Johnston been alive when these changes were proposed there can be no doubt that he would have advocated them. In 1776 he stood for a political system suitable to the physical, mental and moral conditions of the State at that period: in 1835 he would have done the same thing. As a practical statesman, more deeply concerned in securing a good working system than in promulgating vague and uncertain theories, he would have been among the first to recognize the changed conditions wrought by fifty years of marvelous development, and to have advocated changes in the Constitution in conformity with the changed spirit and needs of the time.

Johnston's eclipse was temporary. Accepting his defeat philosophically, he withdrew after the framing of the Constitution from all participation in politics, and watched the course of events in silence. For assuming this attitude he has been severely censured, both by his contemporaries and by posterity, who have charged him with yielding to pique, and with being supine and indifferent to the welfare of the State because he could not conduct its affairs according to his own wishes.[25] But is it not pertinent to ask what other

[25]See letters of Archibald Maclaine to George Hooper.—State Rec., XVI, 957, 963.

course he could have pursued? He was not an ordinary politician. He had no inordinate itching for public office. He was, indeed, ambitious to serve his country, but his country had pointedly and emphatically repudiated his leadership. Was it not, then, the part of wisdom to bow to the decree? Did not patriotism require him to refrain from futile opposition? The event clearly demonstrated that his course was both wise and patriotic, for the people soon came to their sober second thought and the reaction in Johnston's favor set in earlier than he could possibly have anticipated. They sent him to the State Senate, the General Assembly elected him treasurer, the Governor appointed him to the bench, the General Assembly chose him a delegate to the Continental Congress, and the Continental Congress elected him its presiding officer.[26] The reaction finally culminated in his election as Governor in 1787, and his relection in 1788 and again in 1789. Among the many interesting problems of his administration were the settlement of Indian affairs, the adjustment of the war debt, the treatment of the Loyalists, the cession of the western territory to the Federal Government, and the "State of Franklin"; but today time does not permit that we consider his policy toward them. The chief issue of his administration was the ratification of the Federal Constitution to the consideration of which we must devote a few moments.

The Convention to consider the new Constitution met at Hillsboro, July 21, 1788. "Conservatives" and "Radicals," now rapidly crystallizing into political parties as Federalists and Anti-Federalists, arrayed themselves for the contest under their former leaders, Samuel Johnston and Willie Jones. The Anti-Federalists controlled the Convention by a large majority, nevertheless out of respect for his office they unanimously elected Governor Johnston president. All the

[26]He declined to serve.

debates, however, were held in committee of the whole, and this plan, by calling Governor Johnston out of the chair, placed him in the arena in the very midst of the contest. Though he was the accepted leader of the Federalists, the burden of the debate fell upon the younger men, among whom James Iredell stood preëminent. Contesting preëminence with Iredell, but never endangering his position, were William R. Davie, Archibald Maclaine, and Richard Dobbs Spaight. Governor Johnston but rarely indulged his great talent for debate, but when he did enter the lists he manifested such a candor and courtesy toward his opponents that he won their respect and confidence, and he spoke with such a "relentlessness in reasoning" that but few cared to engage him in discussion. Johnston could not have been anything else than a Federalist. Since the signing of the treaty of peace with England the country had been drifting toward disunion and anarchy with a rapidity that alarmed conservative and thoughtful men. The issue presented in 1787 and 1788, therefore, was not the preservation of liberty but the prevention of anarchy, and on this issue there could be but one decision for Samuel Johnston. The day for the speculative theories and well-turned epigrams of the Declaration of Independence had passed; the time for the practical provisions of the Federal Constitution had come. Consequently the debates at Hillsboro dealt less with theories of government than with the practical operations of the particular plan under consideration.

In this plan Willie Jones and his followers saw all sorts of political hobgoblins, and professed to discover therein a purpose to destroy the autonomy of the States and to establish a consolidated nation. They attacked the impeachment clause on the ground that it placed not only Federal Senators and Representatives, but also State officials and members of the State Legislatures completely at the mercy of the National

Congress. Johnston very effectively disposed of this ridiculous contention by pointing out that "only officers of the United States were impeachable," and contended that Senators and Representatives were not Federal officers but officers of the States. Continuing he said:

"I never knew any instance of a man being impeached for a legislative act; nay, I never heard it suggested before. A representative is answerable to no power but his constituents. He is accountable to no being under heaven but the people who appoint him. * * * Removal from office is the punishment, to which is added future disqualification. How can a man be removed from office who has no office? An officer of this State is not liable to the United States. Congress cannot disqualify an officer of this State. No body can disqualify but the body which creates. * * * I should laugh at any judgment they should give against any officer of our own." [27]

But, said the opponents of the Constitution, "Congress is given power to control the time, place, and manner of electing senators and representatives. This clause does away with the right of the people to choose representatives every year"; under it Congress may pass an act "to continue the members for twenty years, or even for their natural lives"; and it plainly points "forward to the time when there will be no state legislatures, to the consolidation of all the states." To these arguments Johnston replied:

"I conceive that Congress can have no other power than the States had. * * * The powers of Congress are all circumscribed, defined, and clearly laid down. So far they may go, but no farther. * * * They are bound to act by the Constitution. They dare not recede from it."

All these arguments sound very learned and very eloquent, retorted the opponents of the Constitution, but the proposed Constitution does not contain a bill of rights to "keep the States from being swallowed up by a consolidated govern-

[27] Elliott's Debates. The following extracts from Johnston's speeches on the Constitution are all from the same source.

ment." But Governor Johnston, in an exceedingly clear-cut argument, pointed out not only the absurdity but even the danger of including a bill of rights in the Constitution. Said he:

"It appears to me, sir, that it would have been the highest absurdity to undertake to define what rights the people of the United States are entitled to; for that would be as much as to say they are entitled to nothing else. A bill of rights may be necessary in a monarchial government whose powers are undefined. Were we in the situation of a monarchial country? No, sir. Every right could not be enumerated, and the omitted rights would be sacrificed if security arose from an enumeration. The Congress cannot assume any other powers than those expressly given them without a palpable violation of the Constitution. * * * In a monarchy all power may be supposed to be vested in the monarch, except what may be reserved by a bill of rights. In England, in every instance where the rights of the people are not declared, the prerogative of the king is supposed to extend. But in this country we say that what rights we do not give away remain with us."

Though Johnston desired to throw all necessary safeguards around the rights of the people, he did not desire a Union that would be a mere rope of sand. The Union must have authority to enforce its decrees and maintain its integrity, and if he foresaw the rise of the doctrines of nullification and secession, he foresaw them only to expose what he thought was their fallacy.

"The Constitution [he declared] must be the supreme law of the land, otherwise it will be in the power of any State to counteract the other States, and withdraw itself from the Union. The laws made in pursuance thereof by Congress, ought to be the supreme law of the land, otherwise any one state might repeal the laws of the Union at large. * * * Every treaty should be the supreme law of the land; without this, any one state might involve the whole union in war."

Acts of Congress, however, must be in "pursuance" of the powers granted by the Constitution, for Johnston had no sympathy with the notion that the courts must enforce acts

of legislative bodies regardless of their constitutionality. As he said:

"When Congress makes a law in virtue of their [sic] constitutional authority, it will be actual law. * * * Every law consistent with the Constitution will have been made in pursuance of the powers granted by it. Every usurpation, or law repugnant to it, cannot have been made in pursuance of its powers. The latter will be nugatory and void."

Johnston, of course, did not think the Constitution perfect and he was as anxious as Willie Jones to have certain amendments made to it. But he took the position that North Carolina, then the fourth of the thirteen States in population, would have more weight in securing amendments in the Union than out of it. Indeed, he reasoned, as long as the State remains out of the Union there is no constitutional way in which she can propose amendments. Accordingly, as the leader of the Federalists, on July 30, he offered a resolution:

"That though certain amendments to the said Constitution may be wished for, yet that those amendments should be proposed subsequent to the ratification on the part of this State, and not previous to it."

Willie Jones promptly rallied his followers against this action and defeated Johnston's resolution by a vote of 184 to 84. Then after proposing a series of amendments, including a bill of rights, the Convention, by the same vote of 184 to 84, refused to ratify the Constitution and, August 2, adjourned *sine die*.

Thus a second time, in a second great political crisis, Willie Jones triumphed over his rival; but again, as in 1776, his triumph was short-lived. With wise forethought Iredell and Davie had caused the debates of the Convention to be reported and published, and through them appealed from the Convention to the people. How far these debates influenced public opinion it is of course impossible to say, but certain it is that no intelligent, impartial reader can

rise from their perusal without being convinced that the Federalists had much the better of the argument. Public opinion so far shifted toward the Federalists' position that when the second Convention met at Fayetteville, November 16, 1789, the Federalists had a larger majority than their opponents had had the year before. Again Samuel Johnston was unanimously elected president. The debates of this Convention were not reported; indeed, the debates of the former Convention had rendered further discussion unnecessary. The people of the State had read those debates and had recorded their decision by sending to the Convention a Federalist majority of more than one hundred. Accordingly after a brief session of only six days the Convention, November 21, 1789, by a vote of 195 to 77, ratified the Constitution of the United States and North Carolina reëntered the Federal Union. It has been so frequently affirmed that in North Carolina it is today very generally believed that this action of the Convention of 1789 was due to the adoption of the first ten amendments to the Federal Constitution; and, further, that the action of Willie Jones and his party in rejecting the Constitution in 1788 forced Congress to submit these amendments. In the interest of historical accuracy let us for just a moment examine this statement. A few dates quickly dispose of the matter. The North Carolina Convention rejected the Constitution August 2, 1788. On November 17, of the same year, the General Assembly passed the resolution calling a second Convention. It was not until September 25, 1789, nearly a year later, that Congress submitted the first ten amendments to the several States. When the North Carolina Convention met at Fayetteville, November 16, 1789, not a single State had acted on these amendments, and more than a year passed after North Carolina had ratified the Constitution before the required number of States had accepted the amendments. Moreover, when the Convention met at Fay-

etteville, in 1789, the opponents of the Constitution still urged its rejection because the amendments which had been proposed did not meet the objections of the former Convention in "some of the great and most exceptional parts" of the Constitution. The only result of the action of Jones and his party in 1788, therefore, was to keep North Carolina out of the Union for a year and thus to prevent the State's casting her vote for George Washington as the first President of the United States.

The privilege of transmitting the resolution of ratification to the President of the United States and of receiving from him an acknowledgment of his sincere gratification at this important event, fell to the lot of Samuel Johnston. It was fitting, too, that he who, for more than twenty years, had stood among the statesmen of North Carolina as the very personification of the spirit of union and nationalism should be the first to represent the State in the Federal Senate. Of his services there I can not speak today more than to say that he represented the interests of North Carolina with the same fidelity to convictions and courage in the discharge of his duties which had always characterized his course in public life; and that on the great national issues of the day he lifted himself far above the narrow provincialism which characterized the politics of North Carolina at that time and stood forth in the Federal Senate a truly national statesman. It had been well for North Carolina and her future position in the Union had she adhered to the leadership of Johnston, Davie, Iredell and the men who stood with them,—men too wise to trifle with their principles, too sincere to conceal their convictions, and too brave and high-minded to mislead their people even for so great a reward as popular favor. But in the loud and somewhat blatant politics of that day these men could play no part, and one by one they were gradually forced from public life to make way for other leaders who possessed

neither their wisdom, their sincerity, nor their courage. In 1793, Samuel Johnston retired from the Senate, and, except for a brief term on the bench, spent the remaining twenty-three years of his life in the full enjoyment of his happy family circle.

Thus, Mr. Grand Master, I have endeavored to point out, as briefly as possible, why it is that we deem Samuel Johnston worthy of a niche under the stately dome of our Capitol in company with Graham, and Ransom, and Morehead. On the mere score of office-holding he surpassed any of them; indeed, his career in this respect has not been surpassed by any other in our history. But in the fierce light of History what a paltry thing is the mere holding of public office; and how quickly posterity forgets those who present no other claim to fame. Posterity remembers and honors him only who to other claims adds those of high character, lofty ideals, and unselfish service; whose only aims in public life are the maintenance of law, the establishment of justice, and the preservation of liberty; who pursues these ends with a fixity of purpose which never weakens, a tenacity which never slackens, and a determination which never wavers. Measuring Samuel Johnston by this standard, I am prepared to say that among the statesmen of North Carolina he stands without a superior. Indeed, taking him all in all, it seems to me that he approaches nearer than any man in our history to Tennyson's fine ideal of the "Patriot Statesman."

> O Patriot Statesman, be thou wise to know
> The limits of resistance, and the bounds
> Determining concession; still be bold
> Not only to slight praise but suffer scorn;
> And be thy heart a fortress to maintain
> The day against the moment, and the year
> Against the day; thy voice, a music heard
> Thro' all the yells and counter-yells of feud
> And faction, and thy will, a power to make
> This ever-changing world of circumstance,
> In changing, chime to never-changing Law.

BIOGRAPHICAL, GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMORANDA

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

JUDGE HENRY GROVES CONNOR

The article in this number of THE BOOKLET on Judge James Iredell is the third contribution which Judge Connor has made to its pages. To Vol. IV, No. 4, he contributed "The Conventions of 1778-1779 and the Federal Constitution." To Vol. VIII, No. 2, he contributed "The Convention of 1835." A biographical sketch of Judge Connor appeared in Vol. VIII, No. 2 (October, 1908). In 1909 Judge Connor resigned from the Supreme Court bench of North Carolina, to accept an appointment made by President Taft as Judge of the United States Court, from the Eastern District of North Carolina.

CHARLES LEE SMITH

A biographical sketch of Charles Lee Smith, Ph.D., LL.D., author of the article on *David Caldwell—Teacher, Preacher, Patriot,* in this number of THE BOOKLET, was published in Volume VIII, No. 4 (April, 1909). Since that time he has been elected a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina, a member of the Board of Managers of the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the Revolution, and a member of the Advisory Board of THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET. A recent volume of the *National Cyclopædia of American Biography* contains an interesting account of this public-spirited citizen of Raleigh.

R. D. W. CONNOR

Mr. Connor's address on Governor Samuel Johnston, appearing in this number of THE BOOKLET, is the seventh

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While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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SWANNANOA

By CALVIN H. WILEY.
In North Carolina Reader, 1855.

Swannanoa, nymph of beauty,
I would woo thee in my rhyme,
Wildest, brightest, loveliest river
Of our sunny Southern clime!
Swannanoa, well they named thee,
In the mellow Indian tongue;
Beautiful* thou art, most truly,
And right worthy to be sung.

I have stood by many a river,
Known to story and to song—
Ashley, Hudson, Susquehanna,
Fame to which may well belong;—
I have camped by the Ohio,
Trod Scioto's fertile banks,
Followed far the Juniata,
In the wildest of her pranks,—

But thou reignest queen forever,
Child of Appalachian hills,
Winning tribute as thou flowest,
From a thousand mountain rills.

*Swannanoa, in the Indian tongue (Cherokee) signifies *beautiful*.

Thine is beauty, strength-begotten,
'Mid the cloud begirded peaks,
Where the patriarch of the mountains*
Heav'nward for thy waters seeks.

Through the laurel and the beeches,
Bright thy silvery current shines,
Sleeping now in granite basins,
Overhung by trailing vines,
And anon careering onward
In the maddest frolic mood,
Waking, with its sea-like voices,
Fairy echoes in the wood.

Peaceful sleep thy narrow valleys,
In the shadow of the hills,
And thy flower-enameled border,
All the air with fragrance fills.
Wild luxuriance, generous tillage,
Here alternate meet the view,
Every turn, through all thy windings,
Still revealing something new.

Where, O graceful Swannanoa,
Are the warriors who of old
Sought thee at thy mountain sources,
Where thy springs are icy cold—
Where the dark brow'd Indian maidens,
Who their limbs were wont to lave
(Worthy bath for fairer beauty)
In thy cool and limpid wave?

*Black Mountain.

Gone forever from thy borders,
  But immortal in thy name,
Are the Red Men of the forest!
  Be thou keeper of their fame!
Paler races dwell beside thee,
  Celt and Saxon till thy lands,
Wedding use unto thy beauty—
  Linking over thee their hands.

UNION COUNTY AND THE OLD WAXHAW SETTLEMENT

By ROBERT NEY McNEELY.

The territory lying between the Rocky River and the Catawba and which now comprises Union County, North Carolina, was, prior to the coming of the white settlers, inhabited by a tribe of Indians called the "Waxhaws," from whom the Waxhaw Settlement took its name. Aside from the traditions of the Catawba Indians, a kindred tribe of the Waxhaws, of the battles between the Waxhaws and neighboring tribes of Indians, the earliest information we have of the Waxhaws is the mention made by John Lawson, Surveyor-General of the Carolinas, who on the last day of the year 1699 left Charlestown, South Carolina, and made his way up through the Carolinas on a surveying or rather prospecting tour. He had with him one man, and he tells in his diary that when they reached the settlement of the Waxhaw Indians the chief of the tribe received them cordially, entertained them in his wigwam, and gave them every assistance that he could; that the man he had with him married one of the Indian girls the first evening they were in the Waxhaws, that on the next morning he awoke and found that his new Indian wife had secretly abandoned him in the night and had carried away with her all of his clothes, valuables, a pair of moccasins and a red bandana handkerchief, and that the chief upon being informed of the loss that the groom had suffered ordered some of his men to go in search of the young lady, had her brought back and compelled her to restore the stolen articles.

In about the year 1740 the Waxhaw Indians were attacked

with an epidemic of smallpox, a disease theretofore unknown to this tribe, which killed so many of them as to cause the tribe to disband and join the Catawbas and other neighboring tribes. The lands covered by the village of the Waxhaws were later embraced in the farm of Capt. Andrew Pickens on Waxhaw Creek. Upon this territory becoming abandoned by the Indians, the land agents, finding so goodly a land unmolested by savages and claimed by no one, immediately began an advertising scheme to bring desirable immigrants to it from any and all places where the best class of immigrants could be found. This brought settlers from Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the already settled portions of North Carolina. The Scotch-Irish settlers from Pennsylvania made what has always been termed "The Waxhaw Settlement," which comprises Jackson and Sandy Ridge townships in Union County and a portion of Lancaster County across the South Carolina line. Vance and Goose Creek townships were settled mostly by people from Rowan and Cabarrus counties. New Salem, Marshville, and Lane's Creek townships were settled by people from Virginia and the settled portions of North Carolina. Buford Township was settled by immigrants from Germany, and Monroe Township was settled by immigrants from all the places hereinbefore named.

At the time of the coming of the white settlers this territory was covered with a massive forest of oak, pine and other timber. There was no underbrush, the trees were large, rather far apart, high to the limbs and heavy topped—so, that, while the rays of the sun could hardly reach the ground through the thick tree tops, the view from the ground of the surface of the country was unbroken except by the large tree trunks which like rustic columns supported the canopy of

foliage above. For grazing the territory was unsurpassed, for the grass grew almost waist high and the country was covered with a thick growth of wild pea vines. Here the pioneer hunter found game in abundance and fish in every stream.

The territory which is now Union County was until 1749 included in the boundary of Bladen, after which time until 1763 it was included in the boundary of Anson, and from 1763 until the county of Union was established in 1842 one-half of the territory belonged to Anson and the other half to Mecklenburg. So, the best of both Mecklenburg and Anson was taken to make Union.

The Waxhaw Settlement was made in 1751 by the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania. These people, after the siege of Londonderry, had come to Pennsylvania, pushed forward to the western frontiers until they found themselves in immediate contact with the Indians, among whom the French hostile influence was predominant, and with whom they had speedily become involved in quarrels in which the rich but peaceable Pennsylvania Quakers refused to give assistance, and in the hope of securing both friendlier neighbors and a milder climate they had left Pennsylvania and had come down, following the foot of the mountains until they reached the Waxhaws. Among these immigrant settlers was Andrew Pickens, father of General Andrew Pickens of Revolutionary fame, who soon organized the men of the settlement into a company of militia, and the North Carolina State Records show a copy of a report of "Capt. Andrew Pickens, of Anson, in 1755," which gives the names of the men of his company as follows: "Lieutenant, Robert Ramsay; Ensign, John Crocket; Sergeant, Thomas Wright; Sergeant, William Beard; Sergeant, William King; Corporal, Alexander

Crocket; Corporal, John Hagans; Corporal, John Galahen; Corporal, John Martin Clime; Corporal, William Hood, and Privates:

Archie Crocket	John Taylor	Robert McClelland
Andrew Nutt	John Wall	Robert Galt
Andrew Pickens	John Montgomery	Robert Caldwell
Andrew Curswell	John Lockhart	Robert Maheney
Andrew McCoune	John Taggart	Robert McCorkle
Benjamin Thompson	John Bartley	Robert Montgomery
David Miller	James McCorkle	Robert Woods
Phalex Canady	James Walker	Robert Day
George Davis	James Moore	Samuel Rogers
George Walker	Joseph Pickens	Samuel Burnett
George Douglass	Jeremiah Collins	William Davis
Hugh McCain	Joseph Baxter	William Nutt
Hugh Coffey	Moses Davis	William Nutt, Jr.
John Davis	Patrick Coin	William Pickens
John Nutt	Philip Walker	William Arden
John Pickens	Edward Williams	William McKee
John Lynn	Robert Davis	William King
John Arnel Pender	Robert Crockett	William Smith
John Canady	Robert Nutt	William Martin
John Hood	Roger Smith	William Lynn

To this settlement also there came from Scotland and Ireland many immigrants directly. Among these were Andrew Jackson, Sr. (father of the seventh President), Maj. James Crawford, George McCamie, and Messrs. Crow, Latham, and Leslie, all of whom were brothers-in-law, having married sisters—the Hutchinsons—in Carrickfergus, Ireland. To the Waxhaws, too, came Patrick Calhoun, father of South Carolina's greatest statesman. About the same time came Captain James Wauhab (Walkup), who afterwards led his company in the battle of Wauhab's Mill, or as it is locally called, "The Battle of the Waxhaws," and it was here that he met and married Margaret Pickens, one of the sisters of General Andrew Pickens. To the Waxhaws came the Rev.

Alexander Craighead, the Rev. William Richardson, and several other Presbyterian preachers, who were profound scholars and who devoted the full measure of their ability to the educational, religious and political development of the people of the settlement.

The settlers in the Waxhaws built a Presbyterian church—now called the Old Waxhaw Church—just over the line in South Carolina. The location of this church was at the time thought to be in Anson County, N. C., and it was many years later when the State line was run that it first appeared that the church was in South Carolina. The deed given by Rev. Robt. Miller for the church grounds says that it is "lying and being in the county of Anson and State of North Carolina," and the deed is recorded in Anson County, N. C. This church was always served by an educated ministry, and these ministers not only used the church for religious services on the Sabbath, but for school purposes through the week. The people from over a scope of country for fifteen miles around attended the religious services at this church. The school advantages given by the ministers in this church were equal to any schools of the kind in the southern colonies before the Revolutionary War. The people here purchased good books, well bound in leather, and in the libraries of the people in the Waxhaws to this day may be seen many of the old books of their pioneer ancestors.

Before the beginning of the Revolution the entire territory which had once been the hunting grounds of the Waxhaw Indians, and which is now Union County, had become partially settled throughout. However, except in the Waxhaw Settlement, churches and schools were still not started, and it was after the Revolution that churches and schools were first established among these people. So, the religious and educational training of these children of the pioneers was left to the parents in the homes.

Among these settlers over the county were John Belk, Esquire, from Middlesborough, England; Stephen Billue, Thomas Cochran, James Doster, Maj. John Foster, John Ford (one of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence), Richard Griffin, Henry Hargett, from Germany; George Helms and Tilman Helms, from Pennsylvania; James Houston and William Houston, from Virginia; Aaron Howie, John Lemmond, and William Lemmond, from Ireland; George Laney, from Germany; William McRee, Hugh McCain, George McWhorter, Henry McNeely, John McNeely, John McCorkle, David Moore, Charles Montgomery, Capt. Charles Polk, William Pyron, Wm. Osborne, James Ross, John Stilwell, Jesse Stilwell, William Simpson, Jacob Secrest, Emanuel Stevens, Matthew Stewart, John Thompson, John Wentz, and others.

When the Revolution came these people, with the exception of a few who participated in the Mecklenburg Declaration affair, exercised themselves but very little about the war until about the time of the battle of Camden. Tarleton's massacre of Buford's men some fifteen miles southeast of the Waxhaw church over in South Carolina, turned these people from an attitude of almost indifference to the struggle to a fierce and determined participation in it. In the Waxhaws the minister was insulted, his house and books were burnt, and the British soldiers declared war against all Bibles which contained the Scotch version of the Psalms. It was this conduct that fired the people of this section and refilled Sumter's ranks and furnished many of the heroes of Hanging Rock, King's Mountain, Cowpens, Wauhab's Mill, or The Battle of The Waxhaws, Eutaw Springs, and Blackstocks.

It was the rising of these people which opened the way for Marion's famous partisan warfare from the swamps of the Pee Dee and the Santee, which recalled Cornwallis and delayed him in upper South Carolina, and thus preserved

Washington in the Jerseys from an attack by Cornwallis, until the French fleet was ready to coöperate with him.

In the Waxhaws on the banks of Waxhaw Creek, near the old home place of Col. William Walkup, was fought the battle of The Waxhaws or the battle of Wauhab's Mill. This battle was the real battle of the Waxhaws, but it is now the common error of almost all historians to speak of the battle of the Waxhaws as being the massacre of Buford's men by Tarleton at the place locally called "The Buford Battle Ground." No marker shows the field whereon the battle of the Waxhaws was fought, although it is one of the battle-fields of the Revolution, and one in which there were a number of killed and wounded, and in which battle Capt. James Wauhab and several other American commanders, although ultimately defeated, fought for a time bravely and well against superior numbers.

Among the many soldiers of this county in the Revolution were Col. William Richardson Davie, Major John Foster, Capt. James Wauhab, Capt. Chas. Polk, Capt. John Cuthbertson, Thomas Ashcraft, John Belk, James Belk, Darling Belk, Britton Belk, Jeremiah Clontz, George Carriker, John Ewing, Wm. Houston, John Lemmond, William Lemmond, David Moore, Wm. McCain, John McCain, James McCain, Hugh McCain, Jr., Henry McNeely, John McNeely, George McWhorter, Jas. Ross, Edward Richardson, William Simpson, Emanuel Stevens, John Thompson, Philip Wolfe and numerous others whose names we do not have. Nearly every man in the territory that is now Union County belonged to some military company, and nearly all of them went out and did service for the American cause, but the names of all who did service are not obtainable, the rosters not having been kept, and many of them having been too patriotic to apply for pay, thus failing to get their names on the payrolls. The Britton Belk mentioned as having served in the Revolution was killed

in that war. He was one of the crowd present at the adoption of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. He took with him to that meeting his ten-year-old son, James Belk, and one hundred years later, at the Centennial Celebration of the aforesaid Declaration, this same James Belk, at the age of one hundred and ten years, was present, was introduced to the great gathering by Governor Z. B. Vance and he told the people present his recollection of the affair and how the men threw their hats in air when Colonel Polk finished reading the paper which declared Mecklenburg folks independent.

In the early days The Waxhaws seemed to be a sort of cradle of genius, for no other section wielded so great an influence or furnished so many notable men. Here were the Jacksons, the Calhouns, and the Pickenses. Andrew Jackson was born here. Patrick Calhoun for a time lived here and belonged to the old Waxhaw church. Here General Andrew Pickens grew up and here he married Rebecca Calhoun. Here in the Waxhaws grew up William Richardson Davie, the distinguished partisan leader in the War of the Revolution, Governor of North Carolina, one of the framers of the Constitution of the United States, Minister to France in the time of Napoleon and founder of the University of North Carolina. William H. Crawford, the great Georgian, went from the Waxhaws. So, from this people went out three of the greatest men of their times, Jackson, Calhoun, and Crawford, men who directed the politics of the nation and whose antagonisms became the antagonisms of the nation's people. The Waxhaws produced William Smith, a Judge and United States Senator in South Carolina. Dr. John Brown, one of the early professors in the University of South Carolina, was reared in the Waxhaws, was a schoolmate of Jackson and with him when they were boys in their teens, rode under Davie at Hanging Rock. From the Waxhaws went Stephen

D. Miller, once Governor of South Carolina, and once a Senator of the United States, a man of great power in an age of great men. From the Waxhaws, too, went J. Marion Simms, a surgeon of world-wide fame, and one who, in his department, has never been surpassed. And many another notable man in the early days claimed the Waxhaws for his home.

In the neighborhood of the Waxhaws were many large slave holders, the people had commodious old ante bellum homes, and, while they were far removed from the lines of traffic and the marts of trade, they were a refined and splendid people and exerted considerable influence in both of the Carolinas. When the National Military Academy was about to be established the community of the Waxhaws was influential enough to come within one vote of getting it at the Great Falls on Catawba River, instead of West Point.

After the Revolution, numbers of people—many of them persons who had done service in the American army—came and made their homes in the territory that is now Union County. Among these were John Austin, Bryant Austin, Charles Austin, Thomas Ashcraft, Willis Alsobrooks, Nathaniel Bivens, Samuel Blythe, Samuel Bickett (great grandfather of Attorney-General T. W. Bickett), Redden Bennett, James Benton (a first cousin of Senator Thomas H. Benton), Richard Bass, Willis Bass, John Brewer, James Blair, William Brooks, John Broom, Philip Carriker (Kiker), William Chainey, Simon Crowell, Peter Crowell, Samuel Crowell, Lewis Conder, Charles Dry, Thos. P. Dillon, Moses Eason, Frederick Ezell, Robert Fowler, Thomas Griffin, Jonathan Gordon, Leonard Green, James Gathings, William Howard, Stephen Hasty, Peebles Hasty, Martin Harkey, Richard Hudson, John Hudson, William Hamilton, Dennis Henegan, Samuel Howie, Michael Henegar, James Jenkins, William Long, Rev. Jesse Lewellyn, Thomas Lewis,

Thomas Love, John Lawson, David Moore, Ebenezer Marsh, the widow Margaret Mullis, Henry Massey, Daniel McCollum, Walter Nance, Richard Nash, James Ormond, Samuel Presson, William Potts, Moses Pierce, Peter Parker, William Phillips, Jacob Penegar, Richard Pressley, John Pressley, Levy Presslar, Moses Paxton, Henry Rape, Peter Rape, Thomas Rogers, Robert Russell, Edward Richardson, John Ray, Solomon Rowe, John Shannon, Abram Smith, John Smith, John Stancil, Solomon Simons, Moses Stegall, Andrew Stinson, David Starnes, Frederick Starnes, Thomas Shelby, Joshua Sikes, Cornelius Sikes, Alexander Scott, Thomas Tanner, Moses Tomberlin, John Thomas, Stephen Trull, Rev. Joseph Williams, John Walden, Philip Wolfe, William Winchester, and others. From the people hereinbefore mentioned are descended most of the people of Union County.

When the War of 1812 came the people of this settlement responded to the call for soldiers, and among those who served in that war from what is now Union County were Britton Belk, John Belk, Allen Broom, Henry Clontz, Chas. Crowell, John Cuthbertson, Moses Craig, John Crowell, Peter Chainey, Thos. S. Cochran, Robert Cochran, John Ford, Gideon Freeman, John Funderburk (Vanderberg), Joshua Fincher, Samuel Givens, Samuel Holden, William Helms, Chas. Helms, Joel Helms, Aaron Howey, Henry Hargett, Jr., William Hargett, David Harkey, John Harkey, William Houston, Jesse Ivey, Andrew King, Wm. L. Lemmond, Chas. Laney, John Long, Henry Moser, John McCorkle, Thomas Miller, Hugh McCain, Capt. David Moore, Matthew McCall, James McCall, Hugh McElroy, James Morrison, William Pyron, Moses Purser, John Phillips, James Rone, Daniel Rich, Samuel Rape, Samuel Rayner, Jacob Starnes, William Shelby, Alexander Stewart,

Frederick Starnes, Nathaniel Starnes, Elias Stilwell, Moses Tomberlin, Groves Vincent, Moses Vick, Jesse Yandle, Samuel Yandle, William Yerby (Irby), and others.

Union County was established by an Act of the General Assembly of North Carolina ratified December 19, 1842, being formed from about equal portions of territory taken from Anson and Mecklenburg counties.

Within a few years after the county of Union was established the Mexican War began, and Union furnished her quota of soldiers for that conflict. The soldiers of Union enlisted in Capt. Harrison's company in Mecklenburg, Capt. Arey's company in Cabarrus, and in Capt. McManus' company in Lancaster, South Carolina. In the Mecklenburg company the Union County soldiers were Robert H. Ewing, Cyrus Q. Lemmond, Jackson H. Lemmond, Brown Lemmond, Daniel C. Robinson, William F. Rae, and others. In the Cabarrus company the Union County soldiers were John Wilson Long, Valentine Smith, and others. And in the Lancaster company the Union County soldiers were John Irby, John Gay, W. LaFayette Belk, and others.

In the Civil War Union County furnished twelve companies, as follows:

Company B, 15th N. C. Volunteers .....May, 1861
Company B, 26th N. C. Volunteers .....June, 1861
Company D, 37th N. C. Volunteers .....September, 1861
Company F, 35th N. C. Volunteers .....October, 1861
Company B, 48th N. C. Volunteers .....February, 1862
Company A, 48th N. C. Volunteers .....March, 1862
Company E, 48th N. C. Volunteers .....March, 1862
Company F, 48th N. C. Volunteers .....March, 1862
Company I, 48th N. C. Volunteers .....March, 1862
Company I, 53d N. C. Volunteers .....March, 1862
Company C, 10th Battalion Artillery.....March, 1862
Company F, 71st N. C. Volunteers (2d Regt. Junior Reserves), April, 1864

The soldiers of Union County were always noted for their bravery and skill in the fighting business. He was a Union

North Carolina State Library
Raleigh

County soldier, William Freezland, who was the first to cross the stone wall on Cemetery Ridge at the battle of Gettysburg.

One of the wealthiest and best of the old Presbyterians in the old Waxhaws was Maj. John Foster, one of the bravest of Revolutionary soldiers. He was buried on the south side of Waxhaw Creek, near where his fine old ante bellum home once stood. His grave is marked by a granite slab on which is this inscription:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
MAJ. JOHN FOSTER
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE JANUARY 22, A. D. 1821
AGED 72 YEARS

HE IMMIGRATED FROM IRELAND A. D. 1765
HE WAS A CAPTAIN OF A TROOP OF HORSE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, IN WHICH HE DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF IN SEVERAL ENGAGEMENTS, AS AN ACTIVE AND BRAVE OFFICER

Grain hid in the earth
Repays the peasant's care,
And evening sun but sets
To rise more fair.

He has left his beloved wife to lament his loss.

The wise, the just, the pious
And the brave
Live in their deaths and flourish
From the grave.

A man's religion is the leading element in his character in every act of his life, and so it is with a county of men. In the religious life of Union County people, the Baptists, the Methodists, and the Presbyterians have always been predominant. The Scotch-Irish, who made the Waxhaw Settlement, built the first Presbyterian church here, soon after the settlement was made in 1751. The Methodists established McWhorter's Camp Ground, which was the first foothold of Methodism in the county, in the year 1787. Nearly all of the eastern and central parts of Union were originally Bap-

tists. Among the early preachers of the Baptist faith who served these people were Rev. John Bennett, as early as 1790, Rev. Chas. Cook 1800, Rev. Joseph Williams 1805, Rev. Jacob Helms 1815, Rev. Jesse Lewellyn, and Rev. William Taylor 1820, Rev. George Little and Rev. Edmund Davis 1825, and Rev. Solomon Snyder as early as 1835. The county is now covered with splendid churches, all of which are served by able ministers.

Union County has always been free from ambitious politicians, but the people of the county have always been interested in their country's welfare, and have always been careful to elect good men to fill the offices. The following are the names of the men who have served Union County in the capacity of Sheriff, in the order in which they served: William Wilson, John Blount, Alexander Richardson, Darling Rushing, Joshua Sikes, Henry Long, Culpeper Austin, Franklin L. Rogers, John J. Hasty, A. F. Stevens, John W. Griffin, John J. Hasty, A. J. Price, J. P. Horne, B. A. Horne, and John Griffith.

The following are the names of the men who have served Union County in the capacity of Clerk of the Superior Court: Maj. D. A. Covington, J. T. Draffin, W. E. Doster, Hugh M. Houston, John M. Ingram, W. H. Simpson, G. W. Flow, Col. Samuel H. Walkup, G. W. Flow, James C. Huey, Geo. C. McLarty, Frank H. Wolfe, E. A. Armfield, D. A. Houston, and C. E. Houston.

The following are the names of the men who have served Union County in the capacity of Register of Deeds: Thomas P. Dillon, J. M. Greene, J. F. McLure, John W. Holm, J. O. Griffin, W. J. C. McCauley, C. N. Simpson, H. J Wolfe, F. H. Wolfe, John W. Bivens, P. P. W. Plyler, John M. Stewart, and J. E. Stewart.

The following are the names of the men who have served

Union County in the capacity of Treasurer: Plummer Stewart, James W. Doster, Lemuel Presson, Albert Marsh, Thomas W. Griffin, A. J. Price, G. C. McLarty, James McNeely, Jas. H. Williams, Geo. M. Laney, and J. W. Laney.

The following are the names of the men who have served in the State Senate from Union County: Col. Samuel H. Walkup, Maj. D. A. Covington, Capt. C. M. T. McCauley, Culpeper Austin, Henry B. Adams, J. F. Payne, G. C. McLarty, O. M. Sanders, T. J. Jerome, R. F. Beasley, R. B. Redwine, and R. W. Lemmond.

The following persons have represented Union County in the State Legislature: Dr. J. Williams, Darling Rushing, Col. T. C. Wilson, Cyrus Q. Lemmond, Culpeper Austin, Jonathan Trull, Hugh Downing, Capt. C. M. T. McCauley, Lemuel Presson, David A. Covington, Henry B. Adams, James Houston, J. F. Payne, Jas. A. Marsh, V. T. Chears, T. C. Eubanks, R. L. Stevens, J. N. Price, J. W. Bivens, C. N. Simpson, E. C. Williams, R. B. Redwine, R. W. Lemmond, R. N. McNeely, John C. Sikes, and R. V. Houston.

The first railroad in Union County was built in 1874. The first newspaper, the *Monroe Enquirer,* was established in 1873. The first bank established in the county was in 1875. The first cotton mill in the county was built in 1891. Today Union County has eight banks, five cotton mills, four lumber factories, two railroads and another in process of construction, more telephones than any county in the State, good rural free delivery, rural telephones, rural graded schools and rural graded roads—except that it is just a little off in the road business. The county has always been noted for the high class of its professional men, and in agriculture the farmers of Union County are unsurpassed by any anywhere. The people of the county are all good people of the

purest Anglo-Saxon type, with no infusion of foreign blood, are descended from worthy ancestors, have been prolific enough to have sent immigrants to every State in the south and the west without decreasing the population at home, are keeping apace with the progress of the times, and are living up to the high standard which has been maintained in the county since the days of the pioneer settlers.

THE MASONIC REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOTS OF NORTH CAROLINA*

By MARSHALL DeLANCEY HAYWOOD,
HISTORIAN OF THE MASONIC GRAND LODGE OF NORTH CAROLINA, GENERAL HISTORIAN OF THE SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION, HISTORIOGRAPHER OF THE DIOCESE OF NORTH CAROLINA, ETC.

On February 22d (Washington's birthday), 1910, an association of patriotic Masons was formed for the purpose of building in Alexandria, Virginia, a Masonic Temple which is to be *A Memorial to Washington the Mason.* This building will also be a storehouse for a collection of Washington relics of untold value now kept in the lodge room in Alexandria. In connection with this movement, the authorities of Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22, of which Washington was the first Worshipful Master, intend to publish a volume which will relate chiefly to Washington himself—the incidents connected with his life, ancestry, relatives, personal associates, etc.—at the same time introducing therein some account of Masonic patriots from various States who bore a part (either civil, military or naval) in the War for American Independence. Having been requested to give some account of those Masons in North Carolina who participated in that glorious contest, I comply most willingly—glad of the opportunity of aiding to perpetuate the recollection of their deeds, and also wishing to honor the memory of their great commander and Masonic brother, as a true North Carolinian should. Honors from the Old North State to Washington, both during his lifetime and after his death,

*An address delivered before the 125th annual communication of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, at Raleigh, January 9, 1912.

have been many and marked. In 1777 the county of Washington, in North Carolina, was erected out of a territory theretofore known as Washington District, on the western frontier. When the State of North Carolina ceded Tennessee to the Union of States, the county of Washington went with it. In 1799, a second county of Washington in North Carolina was created, so far east that it could not be taken up by another new State, unless that State should be located in Albemarle Sound or the Atlantic Ocean. Long before the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, was established in 1791, the town of Washington, in North Carolina (chartered by the Legislature of 1782) was a proud namesake of the victorious leader of our armies in the war then closing. In 1815, the State of North Carolina gave an order to the world's greatest sculptor of that day, Antonio Canova, for an elegant marble statue of Washington (clad as a Roman Consul) which was completed and delivered in 1821. It was later destroyed by fire with the old Capitol at Raleigh in 1831, after which our people brooded over their loss for about fifteen years, and then consoled themselves by having a bronze replica made from Houdon's marble statue of Washington in Richmond, said to be the most lifelike representation of the General in existence.

Several Lodges in North Carolina have been named in honor of Washington, including "American George Lodge," chartered in 1789, with the heroic Revolutionary veteran Lieutenant-Colonel Hardy Murfree as its Worshipful Master. Honors paid to Washington in person without stint were the result of his tour through North Carolina in 1791; and, when he had finished his course on earth, and his mortal remains had been laid to rest with Masonic honors, meetings were held in various Lodges throughout the State to bear testimony to his greatness and worth, both as a patriot and a

Mason. The Grand Lodge of North Carolina formally notified all subordinate Lodges within its jurisdiction of the loss which America and Masonry had sustained, and recommended to the Brethren that they should wear mourning for the space of one month.

To write a complete history of Freemasonry in the Revolution would be almost equivalent to writing a history of the war itself. From the immortal Washington, commander-in-chief, and his principal Generals (Arnold alas! not excepted) down to many worthy privates in the regiments under them; from John Paul Jones, the greatest of our fighters on the ocean, down to the hardy seamen who manned his guns; from Grand Masters Benjamin Franklin, Peyton Randolph, and other great leaders in the Continental Congress, down to less famous participants in the councils of the young republic—in all grades of civil society, in all ranks of military and naval life—a knowledge of Masonry could be found. And in no one of the Thirteen Colonies did the Order number among its members more patriotic military and political leaders than those who lived in North Carolina. In colonial days the highest Masonic rank attained by any person in the New World was that conferred upon Colonel Joseph Montfort, of Halifax, North Carolina, when the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master of England, commissioned him "Provincial Grand Master of and for America," on January 14, 1771. Montfort threw the weight of his great influence to the side of the Colonies in 1775-'76. He was elected a member of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina which assembled at New Bern, in April, 1775, but was too ill to serve; and he died on March 25, 1776, before the war had well begun. On February 13, 1911, a massive and beautiful granite monument was erected over his remains in front of the old Masonic Hall in

Halifax (to which spot they had been removed from their original resting place), and on this is the following inscription:

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL
JOSEPH MONTFORT
BORN IN ENGLAND A. D. 1724
DIED AT HALIFAX, N. C.
MARCH 25, A. D. 1776

Appointed Provincial Grand Master of and for America on Jan. 14, A. L. 5771 (A. D. 1771)
BY THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT
Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, A. F. and A. M.
First Clerk of the Court of Halifax County
Treasurer of the Province of North Carolina
Colonel of Colonial Troops
Member Provincial Congress
ORATOR - STATESMAN - PATRIOT - SOLDIER
THE HIGHEST MASONIC OFFICIAL EVER REIGNING ON THIS CONTINENT
THE FIRST - THE LAST - THE ONLY GRAND MASTER OF AMERICA

The claim made for the primacy of Montfort over other Provincial Grand Masters of America (of whom there were several) lies in the fact that the commissions of the others limited their powers to those parts of the Continent where no other Provincial Grand Master exercised jurisdiction, while Montfort was given absolute authority without this limitation.

Enclosing the grave, over which lies the above mentioned monument, is an iron fence, on the locked gate of which is a bronze tablet inscribed as follows:

THE GRAVE OF MONTFORT
This gate swings only by order
of the Worshipful Master of
ROYAL WHITE HART LODGE
to admit a Pilgrim Mason.

The erection of this monument, which was dedicated with imposing ceremonies amid a great gathering of Masons from North Carolina and elsewhere, was the preliminary step toward erecting a Masonic Hall at Halifax as a memorial to Montfort, by the Joseph Montfort Memorial Association, an organization which chiefly owes its existence to the energy and devotion of Harry W. Gowen, of Royal White Hart Lodge. This lodge owns many priceless relics and records of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, including a Master's chair, led up to by three steps, which are a part of the chair itself (the same which was used in Colonial days by Montfort), a Bible presented to the lodge by Montfort, Montfort's commission from Grand Master the Duke of Beaufort, and the original charter of Royal White Hart Lodge from the same English source, together with minute books and other manuscript records which tell the history of the lodge from 1764 down to the present time, with a few omissions. It is sincerely to be hoped that the Masonic fraternity will see that the Hall at Halifax is built. Aside from the precious records and relics which it will house, it is a memorial which the memory of Montfort fully deserves; for he was no figurehead, but a live, energetic, active Grand Master who paid frequent personal visits to the lodges over which he had jurisdiction, as shown by the only extant Colonial minute books in North Carolina, which are now at Halifax, New Bern, Edenton, and Warrenton.

Cornelius Harnett was Deputy Provincial Grand Master under Montfort, at the outbreak of the Revolution, and the name of a greater patriot has never adorned the annals of his native State. Harnett filled many positions of perilous prominence under the new government, being President of the Provincial Council of North Carolina, a member of the Continental Congress of the United Colonies, etc. So great was his activity in the cause of liberty, and so obnoxious was

he to the British, that Sir Henry Clinton excepted him by name, together with Robert Howe (another Mason), from the operation of a general proclamation of amnesty by means of which he hoped to effect a reconciliation between Great Britain and her rebellious colonies in America during the year 1776. Later on in the war, Harnett was captured, and he died a prisoner in Wilmington, after being subjected to inhuman treatment by his captors. When the news of his death reached Unanimity Lodge, in Edenton, June 27, 1781, "it was agreed by the brethren that they shall immediately go into mourning for the Right Worshipful Cornelius Harnett, Esquire, late Grand Master of the State of North Carolina." Before the Revolution, as already noted, Harnett had been Deputy Provincial Grand Master of America under Montfort, his office being vacated by Montfort's death in 1776, and the above quoted action by Unanimity Lodge gives rise to an interesting question as to whether Harnett received another commission later on from some other source, constituting him Provincial Grand Master of North Carolina. In 1906 the Society of Colonial Dames of America erected in Wilmington a handsome monument to the memory of Harnett and other colonists and patriots of the Cape Fear.

There is a tradition that the Committees of Safety, in the early stages of the Revolution, were composed almost exclusively of Masons, and that the committee meetings (often being in secret) were usually held in the lodge rooms. The *leaders* of those committees and of the State Congresses in North Carolina were certainly Masons, as the records show. After active hostilities had begun at Lexington, Massachusetts, and the news of that battle flew to the southward, it was sent through North Carolina to the patriots of South Carolina and Georgia by such well-known Masons as Richard Cogdell and Joseph Leach, of the committee in New Bern, Cornelius Harnett, of the committee in Wilmington, and Robert

Howe, of the committee in Brunswick. From that time up to the adoption of the State Constitution, three Provincial Congresses met in North Carolina and were presided over as follows: the Provincial Congress at Hillsborough, in August, 1775, Samuel Johnston, President, who was the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina after the war; the Provincial Congress at Halifax, in April, 1776, Samuel Johnston again President; and the Provincial Congress at Halifax, in November, 1776, Richard Caswell, President, who succeeded Johnston as Grand Master after the Revolution. When these Congresses were not in session the supreme legislative body of the State was a Provincial Council, presided over by Cornelius Harnett, to whose high rank in Masonry we have already referred. After independence was declared, Richard Caswell was elected the first Governor of the State.

To the bitter warfare between Whig and Tory, which devastated North Carolina, is probably due the loss of practically all Masonic records of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods except those owned by Royal White Hart Lodge, now No. 2, at Halifax; Johnston-Caswell Lodge, No. 10, at Warrenton (these being the records of Blandford or Blandford-Bute Lodge, the former name of Johnston-Caswell); St. John's Lodge, now No. 3, at New Bern, and Unanimity Lodge, now No. 7, at Edenton. The records of Royal White Hart Lodge, Halifax, begin on November 1, 1764, and run through most of the Colonial period, but omit the Revolution, later beginning again; those of Blandford, or Blandford-Bute, Lodge (now called Johnston-Caswell), Warrenton, begin on April 29, 1766, end on June 24, 1768, and begin again on April 6, 1782; those of St. John's Lodge, New Bern, begin on January 9, 1772, and break off on June 24, 1773, starting up again *on the same page of the minute book* (showing that nothing has been torn out) on March 16, 1787, without a

word of explanation as to omission, though the lodge was then probably dormant; and the records of Unanimity Lodge, Edenton, begin on November 8, 1775, running through the Revolution, the lodge afterwards becoming dormant for two or three years, though it was revived in 1787. The Colonial and Revolutionary records of all of the other lodges of the period before the formation of the Grand Lodge in 1787 are lost or destroyed. These, so far as we know, were St. John's Lodge, now No. 1, of Wilmington; St. John's Lodge, now No. 4, of Kinston; Royal Edwin Lodge (name changed to Charity Lodge), now No. 5, of Windsor; Royal William Lodge (now extinct), No. 6 of Winton; and Phœnix Lodge (name formerly Union Lodge), now No. 8, of Fayetteville. In Warren County, a part of the old county of Bute, was a lodge called Dornoch Lodge, of whose origin we know nothing and whose records are lost. As it had a Scotch name it may have worked under authority of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. It sent representatives to the convention of 1787, which organized the Grand Lodge of North Carolina. This convention held that Dornoch Lodge was not legally constituted, but that its delegates were lawfully made Masons. Blandford Lodge, its neighbor, had, however, affiliated with it before that time. Dornoch Lodge passed out of existence, and most of its members went into Johnston-Caswell Lodge, No. 10, which was formerly Blandford Lodge. Another lodge known to have existed in North Carolina before the Revolution was called "The First Lodge in Pitt County." It was chartered by the Grand Lodge at Boston on December 30, 1767, and became extinct in a few years. As to the sources of the charters of the other lodges mentioned above, St. John's Lodge, in Wilmington, was chartered in 1755 by the Grand Lodge of England; Royal White Hart Lodge, in Halifax, was first chartered "by virtue of a letter of authority obtained from Cornelius Harnett, Grand Master of the Lodge

in Wilmington," in 1764, but it received a new charter from the Grand Lodge of England, in 1767. Blandford Lodge, or Blandford-Bute Lodge (for it was written both ways) seems to have been without a name of any kind at first, as its earliest record, April 29, 1766, speaks of it simply as "a lodge held at Buffaloe"—Buffaloe Creek being a stream which ran by the court-house of Bute County, about eight miles southwest of the present town of Warrenton. Blandford Lodge received its authority from the Grand Lodge of Virginia, as we find from a resolution passed at the close of the Revolution, May 18, 1782, referring to a "deputation" from the Grand Lodge of Virginia, December 23, 1766. As has already been stated it worked some months earlier than that date, viz., April 29, 1766—possibly without authority of any kind. St. John's Lodge, in New Bern, was chartered by Grand Master Montfort, in 1772, and now owns its original charter; St. John's Lodge, in Kinston, was probably chartered by Grand Master Montfort just before the Revolution, between 1772 and 1775, and the same is no doubt true of Royal Edwin Lodge in Windsor and Royal William Lodge in Winton, as the Grand Lodge of 1791, in settling precedence, gave these three lodges places between St. John's Lodge of New Bern, chartered in 1772 by Grand Master Montfort, and Unanimity Lodge, in Edenton, whose records show that it was chartered in 1775 by Grand Master Montfort; the next lodge on the list, Phœnix Lodge, of Fayetteville, stated in a protest as to precedence, which it sent to the Grand Lodge of 1855, that it had at first worked under a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Scotland under the name of Union Lodge and had surrendered that dispensation to take a charter under the name of Phœnix Lodge, from the Grand Lodge of North Carolina after the organization of the latter body. The first lodge chartered by the Grand Lodge after its organization in 1787, was Old Cone Lodge,

No. 9, in Salisbury, the charter of which was issued on November 20, 1788. This lodge is now extinct. In 1779, during the War of the Revolution, while so many North Carolina troops were stationed in the vicinity of Philadelphia, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania ("Ancients") chartered an Army Lodge, Charter or Warrant No. 20, among these North Carolinians, but the charter was later revoked and no record of the workings of that lodge has been preserved. Whether any other military lodges existed among the North Carolina troops we are unable to say. About eight miles from Wilmington is a place still known as Masonborough, which McRee, in his *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell,* (Vol. I., p. 393) tells us "was so called because a number of zealous Masons built originally there, so closely together as to create a straggling village or hamlet." The lodge at Masonborough, according to tradition was called Hanover Lodge. All of its records are lost, which is greatly to be regretted, as it is said to have numbered among its members such renowned patriots as Major-General Robert Howe, the highest ranking officer from North Carolina in the Continental service, and William Hooper, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, besides others of scarcely less note. Of the old lodge building at Masonborough, which was made of hewn pine logs and roofed with heavy cypress shingles, Chief of Police John J. Fowler, of Wilmington, under date of November 25, 1911, writes: "That this was the original Masonic Lodge there can be no doubt. Often, in my earliest days, I heard many of the oldest inhabitants so denominate it. For over fifty years this was my family's summer home. The building was destroyed by fire in 1896. After the fire it was discovered that beneath the floor of the lodge room was an empty brick vault in which the Masonic archives were probably preserved." Hanover Lodge passed out of existence before 1787, when the Grand Lodge was organized.

As we have spoken of Hooper, we may also mention the fact that Joseph Hewes and John Penn, the other two signers of the Declaration of Independence from North Carolina, were likewise Masons. Hewes is recorded as a "visiting brother" at a meeting of Unanimity Lodge, in Edenton, on St. John the Evangelist's Day, December 27, 1776, just after his return from the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. He was probably made a Mason in the latter city. As to Penn, the late Colonel William L. Taylor, of Granville County (a zealous Mason, as his father was before him) declared that his father and Penn had attended lodges together, as his father had often remarked, but he could not recall the name of Penn's own lodge.

Not only on the rolls of those lodges whose Revolutionary records are preserved, but also in the archives of those which were formed soon after the war, we can find the names of many noted patriots of North Carolina. There were Governors Alexander Martin, Nathaniel Alexander, and Montfort Stokes, officers of the Grand Lodge, all of whom had served in the war—Martin as a Colonel of Continentals, Alexander as a Surgeon, and Stokes as a seaman, the last named becoming a Major-General of United States Volunteers in the War of 1812-'15. Captain Benjamin Williams, of the Second North Carolina Continental Regiment, a member of Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 2, at Halifax, also became Governor, as did others who will be mentioned later on. Among the "Heroes of King's Mountain" we find Colonel Joseph McDowell, of Rising Sun Lodge, No. 38, in Morganton; Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Hambright, of Orange Lodge, No. 47, in Lincoln County; Captain William Lenoir, Worshipful Master of Liberty Lodge, No. 45, in Wilkes County, and Colonel John Sevier, Governor of Tennessee, of Tennessee Lodge, No. 41, in that State when the "Grand Lodge of North Carolina and Tennessee" was a single juris-

diction. Nor should we fail to mention such sterling patriots as Brigade-Chaplain Adam Boyd and Surgeon Solomon Halling, of St. John's Lodge, No. 1, in Wilmington (Halling formerly of St. John's Lodge, No. 3, in New Bern), both zealous clergymen in the Episcopal Church after the war. Another patriotic Mason of the same faith was the Reverend Charles Edward Taylor, a priest of the Church of England, who had come to America in 1771, who was Chairman of the Committee of Safety of Northampton County and Chaplain of the Provincial Congress at Hillsborough August, 1775. Taylor became Worshipful Master successively of Unanimity Lodge in Edenton, and Royal White Hart Lodge, in Halifax, in which latter place he died at the end of the year 1784. The Reverend Charles Cupples, who also held holy orders in the Church of England, was a member of Blandford Lodge, in Warren (formerly Bute) County, and had officiated as Chaplain of the Revolutionary Assemblies at Smithfield and at New Bern.

In addition to the officers already mentioned there were such worthy veterans of the North Carolina Continental Line as Major John Walker, Captain John Kingsbury, and Paymaster William Lord, of St. John's Lodge, No. 1, in Wilmington; Major John Nelson, Major Thomas Hogg, Captain Thomas Evans, Captain Gee Bradley, Captain Howell Tatum, Captain Joseph Montfort,* Captain Jesse Reid, Captain John Ingles, Lieutenant William Bush, Lieutenant Thomas Pasteur, Lieutenant John Tillery, Lieutenant James Tatum, Lieutenant Robert Hays, Ensign John Ford, Surgeon Joseph Blythe, and Matthew Cary Whitaker, a youthful private (later Worshipful Master), all of Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 2, at Halifax; Brigadier-General Jethro

*Captain Joseph Montfort, of the Continental Line (not to be confused with Grand Master Joseph Montfort) was First Lieutenant, Third North Carolina Continentals, May, 1776; Captain-Lieutenant, February, 1777; Captain, January, 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston, May, 1780; served till close of war; Captain First United States Infantry, June, 1790; killed, April 17, 1792, by Indians, at Fort Jefferson, Ohio.

Sumner and Lieutenant Dixon Marshall, of Blandford Lodge, in Warren County; Colonel the Marquis de Britigney, Captain John Daves (wounded at Stony Point), Surgeon William McClure, and Surgeon and Paymaster Isaac Guion, of St. John's Lodge, No. 3, of New Bern; Lieutenant-Colonel Hardy Murfree, Worshipful Master of Royal William Lodge, No. 5, in Winton; Colonel Edward Buncombe (mortally wounded at Germantown), Colonel Gideon Lamb, Colonel John Patten, Colonel Nicholas Long, Lieutenant-Colonel Lott Brewster, Captain Clement Hall, Captain Cosmo de Medici, and Lieutenant Joseph Worth, of Unanimity Lodge, No. 7, in Edenton; Lieutenant Lehausius de Keyser, of Phœnix Lodge, No. 8, in Fayetteville; Deputy Adjutant General John Armstrong, who was wounded at Germantown, and Capt. John Stokes, whose right hand was cut off by a sabre stroke at Waxhaw (the latter's service in Virginia Continentals), of Old Cone Lodge, No. 9, in Salisbury; Captain John Macon, of Dornoch Lodge, in Warren County; Lieutenant Curtis Ivey, of St. John's Lodge, No. 13, Duplin County; Captain William Shepperd, Captain Absalom Tatum, and Captain William Lytle, all of Eagle Lodge, No. 19 (now No. 71) in Hillsborough; and Captain Simon Bright, Captain John Craddock, and Lieutenant Abner Lamb, whose lodges are not known to the present writer, though they are duly recorded as visiting brethren in some of the old minute books. Among the militia officers of the Revolution who were Masons may be mentioned Brigadier-General Isaac Gregory, recorded as present in the Grand Lodge and as a visiting brother in Unanimity Lodge, No. 7, Edenton, though his own Lodge is not mentioned; Brigadier-General William Bryan, of St. John's Lodge, No. 3, in New Bern; Brigadier-General John Simpson, of the "First Lodge in Pitt County," heretofore mentioned; and Brigadier-General Thomas Benbury, Worshipful Master of Unanimity

Lodge, No. 7, in Edenton. The list of militia officers further shows, among others, Colonel John Geddy, Colonel Guilford Dudley, Lieutenant-Colonel John Branch, and Major Egbert Haywood, of Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 2, in Halifax; Colonel Benjamin Seawell, of Blandford Lodge, in Bute County; Colonel Richard Cogdell and Colonel Joseph Leech, of St. John's Lodge, No. 3, in New Bern; Colonel Thomas Brown, of Phœnix Lodge, No. 8, in Fayetteville; Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Dobbins, of Old Cone Lodge, No. 9, in Salisbury; Colonel James Kenan, Worshipful Master of St. John's Lodge, No. 13, in Duplin County; Major John Hinton, Junior, of Democratic Lodge, No. 21, in Raleigh; Quartermaster-General Robert Burton, of Hiram Lodge, No. 24, in Williamsborough; Colonel Adlai Osborne, Worshipful Master of Mount Moriah Lodge, No. 27, in Iredell County; Captain William Houston, of Stokes Lodge, No. 32, in Cabarrus County; Colonel Martin Armstrong, of Unanimity Lodge, No. 34, in Surry County; Colonel Waightstill Avery, Worshipful Master of Rising Sun Lodge, No. 38, in Morganton, and Surgeon Robert Williams, of Federal Lodge, No. 42, in Pitt County. The gentleman last mentioned should not be confused with Robert Willams, of Surry County, for many years Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge, and Grand Master from 1811 till 1814.

The above mentioned Lodges were not always the only ones to which the gentlemen spoken of belonged, for transfers by dimit were as common then as now, and the present writer knows of four lodges to which Governor Montfort Stokes and Lieutenant-Colonel Hardy Murfree belonged. In fact, dual membership seems to have been allowed then, for some persons are recorded on the rolls of two or more lodges at the same time.

The Grand Lodge of North Carolina was organized in 1787; and, for many years thereafter, no one was elected

Grand Master except from among those who had borne a prominent part in the War of the Revolution, in either civil or military capacities. The first Grand Master was Samuel Johnston, Governor of North Carolina, the first United States Senator to represent North Carolina, and a member of the Continental Congress, being elected President of the latter body, which high office he declined. The successor of Johnston, as Grand Master, was Richard Caswell, first Governor of North Carolina after independence was declared, a Major General of State Troops in the Army of the Revolution, and a member of the Continental Congress. After Caswell's death in office, Johnston again became Grand Master, served three terms, and was succeeded by William Richardson Davie, an active and enterprising cavalry officer in the Revolution, later Governor of North Carolina, "Father of the University," and Special Envoy to France when Napoleon was First Consul. After Davie retired from the office of Grand Master, the Grand Lodge elected as his successor Colonel William Polk, a battle-scarred survivor of the Revolution, who had received a shot through the face and tongue while serving under General Francis Nash when that officer fell mortally wounded at Germantown, in Pennsylvania; and he was also riding by the side of General William Lee Davidson when the latter was slain at Cowan's Ford, on the Catawba River, in North Carolina. Polk served as Grand Master for three terms, and next came successively Chief Justice John Louis Taylor and Associate Justice John Hall, of the North Carolina Supreme Court, both of whom grew to manhood after the Revolution—Taylor being a native of England. When Grand Master Hall's term had expired he was succeeded by Governor Benjamin Smith, the last Revolutionary patriot who ever held the post of Grand Master, and who went out of office in 1811.

Many of the above mentioned patriots were Masons before

the Revolution, some entered the Order during the war, and some of the younger ones came in after the return of peace. To the last named class belonged a tousel-haired country boy of thirteen who (together with his brother two years older) guided the command of Major Davie, afterwards Grand Master, when that officer attacked the British outpost at Hanging Rock in 1780. This lad, after reaching manhood, became an enthusiastic Mason, was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee, eventually becoming President of the United States—Andrew Jackson, himself the hero of many fierce battles, who said late in life that Davie was the best soldier he had ever known and the one from whom he had learned some of his most valuable lessons in the art of war. Parton, the biographer of Jackson, declares: "So far as any man was General Jackson's model soldier, William Richardson Davie, of North Carolina, was the individual."

Micajah Bullock, of Granville County, was a veteran of the Revolution who belonged to Hiram Lodge, No. 24, in the old town of Williamsborough, not long after the war, though we are unable to ascertain when he first became a Mason. He had been Commissary in a regiment of North Carolina militia commanded by Colonel Ebenezer Folsom, whose very name was a terror to the Tories of the State. When Bullock came home he brought with him a battle-flag which had been carried by the North Carolina troops at Guilford Court House and in other actions. It was of a peculiar design, patterned very much like the present United States flag, but with the difference that it had red and blue stripes (instead of red and white), and thirteen blue stars on a white field instead of white stars on a blue field, as now. In 1854, Edward Bullock, a son of the aforementioned Micajah Bullock, placed it in the hall of Mount Energy Lodge, No. 140, at Tranquillity, in Granville County, for safekeep-

ing, and it remained there until 1905, when it was removed and deposited in Creedmoor Lodge, No. 499, in the same county of Granville. When the new Masonic Temple, built in Raleigh by the Grand Lodge, was completed, the descendants of Micajah Bullock formally presented the flag to the Grand Lodge, January 13, 1909, and it is still a treasured possession of that body. On account of its having been carried in the Battle of Guilford Court House, the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the Revolution had a reproduction of it made, which was presented by that organization to the Guilford Battle Ground Company on July 4, 1911. The original is the only flag of its kind known to exist, and there is no other Revolutionary battle-flag of any kind now in North Carolina.

Very few men of consequence among the Masons of North Carolina were Loyalists in the Revolution. Of these the most prominent were Provincial Grand Secretary William Brimage, and Chief Justice Martin Howard, the latter being Past Master of St. John's Lodge, now No. 3, of New Bern. Andrew Miller and Alexander Telfair, of Royal White Hart Lodge, now No. 2, in Halifax, were also Loyalists. The property of Miller and Telfair in North Carolina was confiscated, and Brimage and Howard also suffered heavy losses in consequence of their loyalty to King George. All four were highly esteemed in their respective communities before the politics of the day caused differences with their neighbors.

As has just been stated, there were very few Masons among the citizens of North Carolina who adhered to the Royal cause, but there were many members of the Order among the officers (some of the highest rank) in the British regiments which were sent over for the purpose of subjugating the Colonies. Though they came on a hostile errand, the American Masons never forgot that they were brethren, and always returned the paraphernalia of an Army Lodge when captured.

An English periodical, quoted in the interesting volume entitled *Washington and His Masonic Compeers,* by Sidney Hayden, records an incident of this character. Referring to one of the English Army Lodges, it says:

> During the Revolution, its lodge-chest fell into the hands of the Americans. They reported the circumstances to General Washington, who embraced the opportunity of testifying his estimation of Masonry in the most marked and gratifying manner, by directing that a guard of honor, under a distinguished officer, should take charge of the chest, with many articles of value, and return them to the regiment. The surprise, the feeling of both officers and men may be imagined when they perceived the flag of truce that announced this elegant compliment from their noble opponent but still more noble brother. The guard of honor, with their flutes playing a sacred march, the chest containing the constitution and implements of the craft borne aloft like another Ark of the Covenant equally by Englishmen and Americans who were lately engaged in the strife of war, now marched through the enfiladed ranks of the gallant regiment that with presented arms and colours hailed the glorious act by cheers.

It must not for a moment be supposed that the list given in this sketch contains the names of all North Carolina Masons who bore a part in the Revolution. Scores of worthy names have doubtless been omitted, but those mentioned will serve to show the Order's patriotism in a most trying time. It would far exceed the limits of this paper to tell, even in part, of the prowess in battle displayed by these men; of their toilsome marches, with days and nights of exposure to the extremes of heat and cold; of the military prisons where hunger and pestilence made life a burden and death a welcome visitor; and of the final triumph of the cause for which so many sacrifices had been made. The bare mention of many of the names of the patriots enumerated above calls to mind some of the most brilliant achievements of the Revolution—of Howe hastening with his Continentals to the aid of a sister colony when Lord Dunmore invaded Virginia, and

afterwards rising to the highest rank under Washington; of Caswell and his compatriots winning the first great victory of the Revolution when a force of warlike Highlanders, outnumbering them nearly two to one, was overwhelmingly defeated at the battle of Moore's Creek bridge, with the loss of but one man on the American side; of Buncombe, Polk, and Armstrong watering the soil of Pennsylvania with their blood; of Murfree leading a column of Wayne's forces in the storming of Stony Point; of John Stokes losing his right hand while fighting Tarleton's dragoons; of stout old General Gregory vainly striving to rally the Americans at Camden and remaining on the field until his horse had been killed and its rider pierced with two bayonet wounds; of Sumner and his heroic brigade in the bloody charge at Eutaw Springs; of Benbury and his brigade of militia defending the Virginia-Carolina boundary; of Sevier, McDowell, Hambright, Lenoir, and other courageous frontiersmen subduing the hostile savages on the western border and annihilating the trained troops of Ferguson at King's Mountain; of Davie and his fleet troopers hanging on the rear of the army of Cornwallis as the British commander pursued his toilsome march through North Carolina; and of Colonel Lamb and Lieutenant Worth, who survived the dangers of the field only to fall victims to sickness brought on by their long service in the army. After being shot down and captured at the battle of Germantown, Colonel Buncombe, of Unanimity Lodge, in Edenton, a courageous soldier and hospitable gentleman, had closed his days at the end of seven months of suffering from an unhealed wound, while a paroled prisoner in Philadelphia; and a few years later, the equally brave statesman, Cornelius Harnett, Past Deputy Provincial Grand Master of America, had died a prisoner in Wilmington after being dragged from a sick bed to a stockade without a roof or covering of any kind. Among the Continental officers who

passed a weary existence in the military prisons of Charleston, after valiantly defending that city when beleagured by Sir Henry Clinton, were Colonel Patten, Majors Nelson and Hogg, Captains Montfort, Daves, Bradley, Evans, Reed, Ingles, Craddock, and Howell Tatum, Lieutenants James Tatum, Marshall, Pasteur, Hays, and Ford, Surgeons Blythe and McClure, and doubtless others.

As much has been said of the prowess in battle and fortitude in affliction displayed by the patriots of the Revolution, it would also be a grateful task to tell of the charitable workings of Masonry in that war—deeds of kindness unknown to the world at large—but our limits in this brief paper preclude a recital, even in part, of the numerous cases of relief afforded, though the old minute books abound with the mention of such instances. In an oration at New Bern on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, 1789, Doctor Solomon Halling, who had been an efficient surgeon in the Revolution and afterwards entered the sacred ministry, said: "Let us reflect, while we enjoy the bounties of indulgent heaven, 'on how many bare, unsheltered heads the rude storms of howling winter beat pitiless.' What numbers solicit charity? The poor, the aged parents of a numerous offspring, stretch out their palsied hands for relief. The helpless widow, with her infant train, requests some small pittance. The war-worn soldier, whose mangled form bears honorable scars, testimonials of his patriotism and good will to his fellow-men, expects some recompence from our beneficence—the sick, the maimed and the blind desire to partake of our bounty."

Thus ends the imperfect narrative wherein I have endeavored to tell of the Masonic Revolutionary Patriots of North Carolina. In life they were the brave defenders of North Carolina and her sister States; and their passing away dissolved the "goodliest fellowship of famous knights whereof this world holds record."

DIARY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

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1791. SATURDAY, APRIL 16TH.

* * * At this place (*i. e.* Hallifax) I arrived about six o'clock, after crossing the Roanoke; on the South bank of which it stands.

This River is crossed in flat Boats which take in a Carriage & four horses at once.—At this time, being low, the water was not rapid but at times it must be much so, as it frequently overflows its banks which appear to be at least 25 ft. perpendicular height.

The lands upon the River appear rich, & the low grounds of considerable width—but those which lay between the different Rivers—namely Appamattox, Nottaway, Meherrin and Roanoke are all alike flat, poor & covered principally with pine timber.

It has already been observed that before the Rain fell, I was travelling in a continued cloud of dust—but after it had rained some time, the Scene was reversed, and my passage was through water; so level are the Roads.

From Petersburg to Hallifax (in sight of the Road) are but few good Houses, with small appearance of wealth.—The lands are cultivated in Tobacco—Corn,—Wheat & Oats, but Tobacco and the raising of Porke for market, seems to be the principal dependence of the Inhabitants; especially towards the Roanoke.—Cotton & Flax are also raised but not extensively.

Hallifax is the first town I came to after passing the line between the two States, and is about 20 miles from it.—To this place vessels by the aid of Oars and Setting poles are

brought for the produce which comes to this place, and others along the River; and may be carried 8 or 10 miles higher to the falls which are neither great nor of much extent;—above these (which are called the great falls) there are others; but none but what may with a little improvement be passed. This town stands upon high ground; and it is the reason given for not placing it at the head of the navigation there being none but low ground between it and the falls—It seems to be in a decline & does not it is said contain a thousand Souls.

SUNDAY, 17TH.

Col°. Ashe[105] the Representative of the district in which this town stands, and several other Gentlemen called upon, and invited me to partake of a dinner which the Inhabitants were desirous of seeing me at & excepting it dined with them accordingly.

MONDAY, 18TH.

Set out by six o'clock—dined at a small house kept by one Slaughter, 22 miles from Hallifax and lodged at Tarborough 14 miles further.

This place is less than Hallifax, but more lively and thriving;—it is situated on Tar River which goes into Pamplico Sound and is crossed at the Town by means of a bridge a great height from the water, and notwithstanding the freshes rise sometimes nearly to the arch.—Corn, Porke, and some Tar are the exports from it.—We were recd. at this place by as good a salute as could be given by one piece of artillery.

TUESDAY, 19TH.

At 6 O'clock I left Tarborough accompanied by some of the most respectable people of the place for a few miles—

[105] John B. Ashe, a soldier of the Revolution under Gen. Greene, a member of the Continental Congress in 1787, a representative in the Federal Congress from 1790 to 1793, and afterwards elected governor of the State. He died before entering upon the duties of the office.

dined at a trifling place called Greenville 25 miles distant—and lodged at one Allan's 14 miles further a very indifferent house without stabling which for the first time since I commenced my Journey were obliged to stand without a cover.

Greenville is on Tar River and the exports the same as from Tarborough with a greater proportion of Tar—for the lower down the greater number of Tar makers are there—This article is contrary to all ideas one would entertain on the subject, rolled as Tobacco by an axis which goes through both heads—one horse draws two barrels in this manner.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH.

Left Allan's before breakfast, & under a misapprehension went to a Col°. Allan's, supposing it to be public house; where we were very kindly & well entertained without knowing it was at his expence, until it was too late to rectify the mistake.—After breakfasting, & feeding our horses here, we proceeded on & crossing the River Nuse 11 miles further, arrived in Newbern to dinner.

At this ferry which is 10 miles from Newbern, we were met by a small party of Horse; the district Judge (M^r. Sitgreave)[106] and many of the principal Inhabitants of Newbern, who conducted us into town to exceeding good lodgings—It ought to have been mentioned that another small party of horse under one Simpson met us at Greenville, and in spite of every endeavor which could comport with decent civility, to excuse myself from it, they would attend me to Newbern.—Col°. Allan did the same.

This town is situated at the confluence of the Rivers Nuse & Trent, and though low is pleasant. Vessels drawing more than 9 feet water cannot get up loaded.—It stands on a good

[106] John Sitgreaves was resident of Newbern, and had been an officer in the war for Independence. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1784, of his State Legislature in 1787, and was made United State District Judge.

deal of ground, but the buildings are sparce and altogether of Wood;—some of which are large & look well—The number of Souls are about 2000.—Its exports consist of Corn, Tobacco, Pork,—but principally of Naval Stores & lumber.

THURSDAY, 21ST.

Dined with the Citizens at a public dinner given by them; and went to a dancing assembly in the evening—both of which was at what they call the Pallace—formerly the Government House & a good brick building but now hastening to Ruins.[107]—The Company at both was numerouse at the latter there were abt. 70 ladies.

This town by Water is about 70 miles from the Sea—but in a direct line to the entrance of the River not over 35—and to the nearest Seaboard not more than 20, or 25.—Upon the River Nuse, & 80 miles above Newbern, the Convention of the State that adopted the federal Constitution made choice of a spot, or rather district within which to fix their Seat of Government; but it being lower than the back Members (of the Assembly) who hitherto have been most numerous inclined to have it they have found means to obstruct the measure—but since the Cession of their Western territory it is supposed that the matter will be revived to good effect.

FRIDAY, 22D.

Under an Escort of horse, and many of the principal Gentlemen of Newbern I recommenced my journey—dined at a place called Trenton which is the head of the boat navigation

[107] This building was erected for Governor Tryon in 1769; and his demand upon the Assembly for twenty-five thousand dollars for the purpose of building a palace "suitable for the residence of the royal governor," was one of the causes of strong popular indignation against the governor. His wife and sister, both beautiful and accomplished women, used every blandishment to induce compliance on the part of the representatives of the people. Mrs. Tryon gave them princely dinners and balls. Human nature then, as now, was weak, and Tryon not only secured the first appropriation of $25,000, but a further sum of $50,000.

A drawing of the building, with a full account of it, may be found in Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, II, 364, second edition.

of the River Trent, wch. is crossed at this place on a bridge—and lodged at one Shrine's 10 m. farther—both indifferent Houses.

SATURDAY, 23D.

Breakfasted at one Everets 12 miles bated at a Mr. Foy's 12 miles farther and lodged at one Sage's 20 miles bey^{d}. it—all indifferent Houses.

SUNDAY, 24TH.

Breakfasted at an indifferent House about 13 miles from Sage's—and three miles further met a party of Light Horse from Wilmington; and after these a Comm^{ee}. & other Gentlemen of the Town; who came out to escort me into it, and at which I arrived under a federal salute at very good lodgings prepared for me, about two o'clock—at these I dined with the Commee. whose company I asked.

The whole Road from Newbern to Wilmington (except in a few places of small extent) passes through the most barren country I ever beheld; especially in the parts nearest the latter; which is no other than a bed of white sand.—In places, however, before we came to these, if the ideas of poverty could be separated from the Sand, the appearances of it are agreeable, resembling a lawn well covered with evergreens, and a good verdure below from a broom or course grass which having sprung since the burning of the Woods had a neat and handsome look especially as there were parts entirely open—and others with ponds of water, which contributed not a little to the beauty of the scene.

Wilmington is situated on the Cape Fear River, about 30 miles *by water* from its mouth, but much less by land—It has some good houses pretty compactly built.—The whole und^{r}. a hill; which is formed entirely of sand.—The number of Souls in it amount by the enumeration to about 1000, but

it is agreed on all hands that the Census in this State has been very inaccurately & Shamefully taken by the Marshall's deputies; who, instead of going to Peoples houses, & there, on the spot, ascertaining the Nos.; have advertised a meeting of them at certain places, by which means those who did not attend (and it seems many purposely avoided doing it, some from an apprehension of its being introductory of a tax, & others from religious scruples) have gone with their families, unnumbered—In other instances, it is said these deputies have taken their information from the Captains of Militia Companies; not only as to the men on their Muster Rolls, but of the Souls, in their respective familes; which at best, must in a variety of cases, be mere conjecture whilst all those who are not on their lists—Widows and their families &c[a]. pass unnoticed.

Wilmington, unfortunately for it, has a Mud bank,—miles below, over which not more than 10 feet water can be brought at common tides, yet it is said vessels of 250 Tons have come up.—The q[ty]. of Shipping, which load here annually, amounts to about 1200 Tons.—The exports consist chiefly of Naval Stores and lumber.—Some Tobacco, Corn, Rice, & flax seed with Porke.—It is at the head of the tide navigation, but inland navigation may be extended 115 miles farther to and above Fayettesville which is from Wilmington 90 miles by land, & 115 by Water as above.—Fayettesville is a thriving place containing near —— Souls—6000 Hhds. of Tobacco, & 3000 Hhds. of Flax Seed have been recd. at it in the course of the year.

Monday, 25th.

Dined with the Citizens of the place at a public dinner given by them—Went to a Ball in the evening at which there were 62 ladies—illuminations, Bonfires, &c.

TUESDAY, 26TH.

Having sent my Carriage across the day before, I left Wilmington about 6 o'clock, accompanied by most of the Gentlemen of the Town, and breakfasting at M^r. Ben. Smith's lodged at one Russ' 25 miles from Wilmington.—An indifferent House.

WEDNESDAY, 27TH.

Breakfasted at Will^m. Gause's a little out of the direct Road 14 miles—crossed the boundary line between No. & South Carolina abt. half after 12 o'clock which is 10 miles from Gause's—* * *

THE DIARY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON,* FROM 1789 TO 1791; EMBRACING THE OPENING OF THE FIRST CONGRESS, AND HIS TOURS THROUGH NEW ENGLAND, LONG ISLAND, AND THE SOUTHERN STATES. TOGETHER WITH HIS JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE OHIO, IN 1753. EDITED BY BENSON J. LOSSING, RICHMOND, 1861. PRESS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(Southern Tour.)

WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1791.

Set out at 4 o'clock for Camden—(the foundered horse being led slowly on)—breakfasted at an indifferent house 22 miles from the town, (the first we came to) and reached Camden about two o'clock, 14 miles further, when an address was recd. & answered.—Dined (late) with a number of Gentlemen and Ladies at a public dinner.—The Road from Columbia to Camden, excepting a mile or two at each place, goes over the most miserable pine barren I ever saw, being quite a white sand, & very hilly.—On the Wateree within a mile & half of which the town stands the lands are very good,—they Culture Corn, Tobacco & Indigo.—Vessels carrying 50 or 60 Hhds. of Tobo. come up to the Ferry at this place at which there is a Tobacco Wharehouse.

*This part of the Diary relating to Washington's tour through North Carolina, was copied from a volume in the Library of Johns Hopkins University. THE EDITOR.

THURSDAY, 26TH.

After viewing the british works about Camden I set out for Charlotte—on my way—two miles from Town—I examined the ground on wch. Genl. Green & Lord Rawdon had their action.[1]—The ground had but just been taken by the former—was well chosen—but he not well established in it before he was attacked; which by capturing a Videt was, in some measure by surprise—Six miles further on I came to the ground where Genl. Gates & Lord Cornwallis had their Engagement wch. terminated so unfavourably for the former.[2]—As this was a night meeting of both Armies on their march, & altogether unexpected each formed on the ground they met without any advantage in it on either side it being level & open.—Had Genl, Gates been ½ a mile further advanced, an impenetrable Swamp would have prevented the attack which was made on him by the British Army, and afforded him time to have formed his own plans; but having no information of Lord Cornwallis's designs, and perhaps not being apprised of this advantage it was not seized by him.

Camden is a small place with appearances of some new buildings.—It was much injured by the British whilst in their possession.[3]

After halting at one Sutton's 14 m. from Camden I lodged at James Ingrams 12 miles father.

FRIDAY, 27TH.

Left Ingrams about 4 o'clock, and breakfasting at one Barr's 18 miles distant lodged at Majr. Crawford's 8 miles farther—About 2 miles from this place I came to the Corner where the No. Carolina line comes to the Rd.—from whence

[1] On Hobkirk's Hill, April 25, 1781.

[2] On the north side of Sanders's Creek, August 16, 1780. The two generals were approaching each other in the night, along a road filled with deep sand; and neither of them had any knowledge of the fact, until their advanced guards came in contact. The battle occured early in the morning.

[3] Lord Rawdon, the British commander there, alarmed for the safety of his forts in the lower country, set fire to Camden on the 10th of May, 1781, and retreated down the Santee.

the Road is the boundary for 12 miles more.—At Majr. Crawfords I was met by some of the chiefs of the Catawba nation who seemed to be under apprehension that some attempts were making, or would be made to deprive them of the 40,000 Acres wch. was secured to them by Treaty and wch. is bounded by this Road.[1]

SATURDAY, 28TH.

Sett off from Crawfords by 4 o'clock and breakfasting at one Harrison's 18 miles from it got into Charlotte 13 miles further, before 3 o'clock,—dined with Genl. Polk and a small party invited by him, at a Table prepared for the purpose.[2]

It was not, until I had got near Barrs that I had quit the Piney & Sandy lands—nor until I had got to Crawfords before the lands took quite a different complexion—here they began to assume a very rich look.

Charlotte is a trifling place, though the Court of Mecklenburg is held in it—There is a School (called a College) in it at which, at times there has been 50 or 60 boys.[3]

SUNDAY, 29TH.

Left Charlotte about 7 o'clock, dined at Colo. Smiths 15 miles off, and lodged at Majr. Fifers 7 miles farther.

[1] This is yet a reservation for the Catawba Indians, near the southeast corner of Yorkville district in South Carolina. It was originally larger than now. They were once a powerful tribe, but are dwindled to the most insignificant remnant. Their chief village was on the Catawba river, about twenty-five miles from Yorkville. The following eloquent petition of Peter Harris, a Catawba warrior during the Revolution, is preserved among the Colonial records at Columbia, South Carolina. It is dated, 1822:

"I am one of the lingering survivors of an almost extinguished race. Our graves will soon be our only habitations. I am one of the few stalks that still remain in the field where the tempest of the Revolution has passed. I fought against the British for your sake. The British have disappeared, and you are free; yet from me have the British took nothing; nor have I gained anything by their defeat. I pursued the deer for subsistence; the deer are disappearing, and I must starve. God ordained me for the forest, and my ambition is the shade. But the strength of my arm decays, and my feet fail me in the chase. The hand which fought for your liberties is now open for your relief. In my youth I bled in battle, that you might be independent; let not my heart in my old age bleed for the want of your commiseration."

[2] General Thomas Polk, who was Colonel of the militia of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, at the opening of the war of Independence. It was in Charlotte, and partially under the influence and through the exertions of General Polk, that a convention of delegates, selected by the people of Mecklenburg County, passed resolutions at the close of May, 1775, which virtually declared the people represented free and independent of the British crown.

[3] This was called, previous to the Revolution, Queen's Museum or College. There the republicans of that section of North Carolina met to discuss the exciting questions of the day. It was the Faneuil Hall of Western Carolina.

MONDAY, 30TH.

At 4 o'clock I was out from Majr. Fifers;[1] and in about 10 miles at the line which divides Mecklenburgh from Rowan Counties; I met a party of horse belonging to the latter, who came from Salisbury to escort me on—(It ought to have been mentioned also that upon my entering the State of No. Carolina I was met by a Party of the Mecklenburgh horse—but these being near their homes I dismissed them)—I was also met 5 miles from Salisbury by the Mayor of, the Corporation, Judge Mc.Koy, & many others;—Mr. Steel, Representative for the district,[2] was so polite as to come all the way to Charlotte to meet me.—We arrived at Salisbury about 8 o'clock, to breakfast,—20 miles from Captn. Fifers.—The lands between Charlotte & Salisbury are very fine, of a reddish cast and well timbered, with but very little underwood—Between these two places are the first meadows I have seen on the Road since I left Virga. & here also we appear to be getting into a Wheat Country.

This day I foundered another of my horses.

Dined at a public dinner givn. by the Citizens of Salisbury; & in the afternoon drank Tea at the same place with about 20 ladies, who had been assembled for the occasion.

Salisbury is but a small place altho' it is the County town, and the district Court is held in it;—nor does it appear to be much on the increase,—there is about three hundred souls in it and tradesmen of different kinds.

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[1] Son of John Phifer, one of the leading patriots of Mecklenburg County, who died early in the Revolution. His remains were buried at the Red Hills, three miles west of Concord, in Cabarrus County, North Carolina. I saw over his grave in 1848, a rough mutilated memorial slab, upon which, tradition averred, a fire was built by British soldiers, when on their march from Charlotte to Salisbury, in contempt for the patriot's memory. He was one of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

[2] General John Steele, who was a representative in Congress for four years. He was a native of Salisbury, and first appeared in public life as a member of the North Carolina House of Commons, in 1787. He was appointed by President Washington, controller of the United States Treasury, and was continued in office by President Adams. He died in 1815.

TUESDAY, 31ST.

Left Salisbury about 4 o'clock; at 5 miles crossed the Yadkin,[1] the principal stream of the Pedee, and breakfasted on the No. Bank (while my Carriages & horses were crossing) at a Mr. Youngs' fed my horses 10 miles farther, at one Reeds—and about 3 o'clock (after another halt) arrived at Salem, one of the Moravian towns 20 miles farther—In all 35 from Salisbury.

The Road between Salisbury & Salem passes over very little good land, and much that is different; being a good deal mixed with Pine, but not sand.

Salem is a small but neat village; & like all the rest of the Moravian settlements, is governed by an excellent police—having within itself all kinds of artizans—The number of Souls does not exceed 200.[2]

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1ST.

Having received information that Governor Martin was on his way to meet me; and would be at Salem this evening, I resolved to await his arrival at this place instead of halting a day at Guilford as I had intended;

Spent the forenoon in visiting the Shops of the different Tradesmen—The houses of accommodation for the single men & Sisters of the Fraternity—& their place of worship.—

[1]At the Trading Ford, probably, where Greene with Morgan and his light troops crossed, with Cornwallis in pursuit. There is now a great bridge over the Yadkin, on the Salisbury road, about a mile and a half above the Trading Ford.

[2]There is still a very flourishing settlement of Moravians, or United Brethren, at Salem, where the church was first planted in 1766. The log-house in which the first Moravian settlers were at first lodged, was yet standing in 1857.

Washington's visit as recorded in his Diary, is duly noted in the records of the Moravian Society at Salem, and copies of the addresses delivered on that occasion are preserved.

The following is the address of the Moravians to the President:—

To the President of the United States.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE UNITED BRETHREN IN WACHOVIA.

Happy in sharing the Honour of a Visit from the Illustrious President of the Union to the Southern States, the United Brethren in Wachovia humbly beg Leave, upon this joyfull Occasion to express their highest Esteem Duty and Affection for the great Patriot of this Country.

Deeply impressed as we are with Gratitude to the great Author of our Being for his unbounded Mercies, we can not but particularly acknowledge his gracious Providence

Invited six of their principal people to dine with me—and in the evening went to hear them sing,—perform on a variety of instruments Church music.

In the Afternoon Governor Martin as was expected (with his Secretary) arrived.[1]

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over the temporal and political Prosperity of the Country, in the Peace whereof we do find Peace, and wherein none can take a warmer Interest than ourselves, in particular when we consider that the same Lord who preserved Your precious Person in so many imminent Dangers, has made You in a conspicuous Manner an Instrument in His Hands to forward that happy Constitution,—together with those Improvements, whereby our United States begin to flourish, over which You preside with the Applause of a thankfull Nation.

Whenever therefore we sollicit the Protection of the Father of all Mercies over this favoured Country, we can not but fervently implore His Kindness for Your Preservation which is so intimately connected therewith.

May this gracious Lord vouchsafe to prolong Your valuable Life as a further Blessing and an Ornament of the Constitution, that by Your worthy Example the Regard for Religion be encreased, and the Improvements of Civil Society encouraged.

The Settlements of the United Brethren though small, will always make it their Study to contribute as much as in them layeth, to the Peace and Improvement of the United States and all the particular Parts they live in, joining their ardent prayers to the best Wishes of this whole Continent, that Your Personal as well as Domestic Happiness may abound, and a Series of Success may crown Your Labours, for the Prosperity of our Times, and an Example to future Ages, untill the glorious Reward of a faithfull Servant shall be Your Portion.

signed in Behalf of the United Brethren in Wachovia by
FREDERICK WILLIAM MARSHALL,
JOHN DANIEL KOEHLER,
CHRISTIAN LEWIS BENZIEN.

Salem the first of June 1791.

To the United Brethren of Wachovia,

GENTLEMEN,

I am greatly indebted to your respectful and affectionate expressions of personal regard, and I am not less obliged by the patriotic sentiments contained in your address.

From a Society, whose governing principles are industry and the love of order, much may be expected towards the improvement and prosperity of the country, in which their Settlements are formed—and experience authorises the belief that much will be obtained.

Thanking you with grateful sincerity for your prayers in my behalf, I desire to assure you of my best wishes for your social and individual happiness.

GO WASHINGTON.

[1] This entry closes this volume of the Diary. The President reached Mount Vernon on the 12th of June, having made a most satisfactory journey of more than seventeen hundred miles, from his seat on the Potomac, in sixty-six days, with the same team of horses. "My return to this place is sooner than I expected," he wrote to Hamilton, "owing to the uninterruptedness of my journey by sickness, from bad weather, or accidents of any kind whatsoever," for which he had made an allowance of eight days.

A PARTISAN LEADER IN 1776

By REBECCA CAMERON.

Colonel William Shepperd, of Long Meadows, near Hillsboro, North Carolina, was an officer of the North Carolina line during the War of the Revolution of 1776, and a terror to the Tories in the middle part of the State.

Many are the stories of his prowess still kept alive in the farm houses of Orange, those treasuries of local tradition, but this one was told me by his grand-nephew, Dr. William Strudwick, and therefore may be received as authentic.

No man is search of a hero would have given Colonel Shepperd a second thought. He was a very short, sparebuilt man, of plain, insignificant appearance, blind in one eye, with a thin, high, piping voice, long, lank, black hair that he generally kept out of his way by tying a red bandanna handkerchief around his head.

A democrat of intensest degree, he affected the roughest costume; and in an age when gentlemen wore nothing but "purple and fine linen" he clothed himself in homespun woven on his own plantation and shoes made by his own negroes.

Yet that spare frame was knit together with joints and muscles like bands of fine tempered steel; and from that solitary dark eye looked forth a spirit so intrepid that no danger could appal it; no adverse fortune dismay or subdue; and that thin, high voice had the irresistible ringing command of a born master of men in its piping tones. He had organized a partisan force of Minute Men some four or five hundred strong; men who dwelt peaceably enough at home, until a runner notified them that Shepperd had work for them to do, when at the appointed place of *rendezvous* would gather a

band of rough and resolute men, ready to execute any plan, however daring and hazardous, of their idolized chief.

An English officer, Colonel Patton, was then raiding through Orange and the adjoining counties, carrying terror and devastation with him. Born a gentleman, educated as a soldier, and a man of superb physical development, he mocked at fear; and, utterly devoid of conscience, staunch in his loyalty to the King, and with an utter scorn of the American rebels, he showed no quarter; rapine, violence, and murder marked every step of his onward progress and none were able to stay his course.

Colonel Shepperd and his troopers, returning home after the disastrous battle of Briar Creek (March 3, 1779), found Patton devastating the country, and riding roughshod over the people. Plan after plan to capture him was devised, but Patton, who was as capable and wary as a soldier as he was brutal as a man, slipped through Shepperd's toils again and again, and laughed him to scorn. Finally Colonel Shepperd was ordered on some expedition that withdrew his forces from the neighborhood, and Patton getting wind of it, came down into the lion's den, quartered at Long Meadows for the night and a day, and, although treating Mrs. Shepperd with extreme courtesy (for while absolutely without humanity to women as women, he never failed to treat a lady of his own social rank with the most finished courtesy of manner) he appropriated the Colonel's stock, provender and plantation supplies like the freebooter that he was.

Colonel Shepperd, returning one night to visit his wife, to whom he was passionately devoted, discovered that Patton was in the neighborhood, and laid a plan to capture him. Summoning his immediate bodyguard of trusty, picked men, he stationed thirteen of them in an old deserted schoolhouse to lie in wait while he and the others reconnoitred. Returning to the schoolhouse what was his anger and astonishment

to find it empty and a card tacked up by Colonel Patton to tell the reason why.

Patton had also been out scouting, and came to the schoolhouse, where a pack of cards and jug of whiskey were helping the ambuscaders to forget their duty.

All the muskets were piled near the door, and their owners, sitting crosslegged on the floor, were deep in the mysteries of a game, while the sentry lifted the jug to his head a time or so too often.

Stepping lightly to the open door, Colonel Patton seized one of their own muskets and leveling it at the absorbed group of card players cried out: "Surrender to Colonel Patton of His Majesty's forces, or I will shoot every man of you."

Half drunk, wholly surprised, and with the instinctive obedience of the common soldier to the born commander, they at once surrendered.

Still holding his musket at point blank range, Patton made one of the men advance and hand him the muskets, one by one, butts foremost, and then he was required to tie his comrades, each man with his own halter-rein; the horses in turn were secured to their masters, and thus yoked together man and beast, the crestfallen thirteen men marched ahead of their solitary captor to the British camp.

A fiery, passionate man, Shepperd's rage and mortification knew no bounds. His desire to capture Patton became a perfect frenzy and he bent every energy to its accomplishment. If a man *will,* he generally *can,* and Shepperd's hour came at last.

Not very long after the disgraceful capture of Shepperd's men there was to be a sale in the neighborhood. People had submitted if they were not subdued, and Patton rode or walked through the land a veritable Lord Paramount, and none dared resist or gainsay. He was going to attend the

sale, not as a bidder nor a buyer, but to take, *vi et armis,* whatever he saw fit.

Colonel Shepperd had either heard or suspected that Patton would be at the sale, so he stationed some of his men above and below the point of attack he had selected, and early on the morning of the day, dressed like a common farmer as he always was, and with a loose halter over his arm, he mounted his horse and took a bridle path through the woods that would bring him out on the road that Patton must travel to reach the sale. A house occupied by a farmer named Smith was on the left of the road above Shepperd's lower ambuscade. After a while, down the road came Patton, riding a superb black mare; dressed in full British uniform and presenting a very brilliant and splendid appearance. He was tall, large, and superbly handsome; and in courage and high soldierly qualities fully Shepperd's equal.

As he rode gallantly on in all the pride of conscious beauty and power, out of a bridle-path to his right rode a small, badly dressed, ill favored man, who, saluting him awkwardly as he rode alongside, said: "I bought some colts not long ago from a man named Smith who lives somewhere hereabouts, and they have strayed away, and I reckon they have gone back to their old home, so I am looking for them. Can you tell me where Smith lives?"

"Oh, yes," said Patton, carelessly raising his right arm and pointing across the road, "he lives across the road in that house yonder."

He had turned his face in the direction indicated as he spoke, and in that instant a pair of wiry arms were clasped 'round him like a vise, and a small piping voice cried out: "Colonel Patton, you are my prisoner, sir."

Patton was a stammerer in his speech, and he stuttered out angrily: "It's a damned lie sir; I am no man's prisoner," struggling desperately to release himself as he spoke. He

had not reckoned on the immense strength hidden away in the small body of his captor, and his efforts were unavailing. Drawing his sword with his left hand he essayed to cut himself loose, but Shepperd was so small and so close to him that the slashes did not touch him.

Patton shortened his sword and stabbed mercilessly at the arm around him until it was gashed and stabbed in a dozen placed, but the resolute little Colonel never loosened his hold nor flinched.

This, though long in the telling, occupied only a moment of time, and the horses, feeling loose bridles on their necks, broke and ran, as country horses generally do, and landed both riders in the road.

Patton, being the heavier, fell underneath, and when Shepperd's troopers, attracted by the riderless horses passing them, for everybody knew Patton's black mare, a superb English thoroughbred, came hurrying up, they found the stubborn little Colonel holding his prostrate foe in an embrace that seemed like riveted bands of steel.

The arrival of reinforcements made the contest hopeless for Patton, who had been badly hurt by his heavy fall, and he said: "I surrender, and claim the usages of war as an officer and a gentleman." Shepperd at once unloosed his clasp, and when Patton was helped to his feet he held out his sword, saying: "To whom do I surrender?" "To Colonel William Shepherd, sir," answered the Colonel, with a ring of triumph in his voice.

"Colonel Shepperd!" exclaimed Patton, in the utmost surprise and chagrin, as he looked at the small, insignificant speaker.

"Yes, sir; Colonel William Shepperd, of the North Carolina line, who has promised to hang Colonel Patton whenever he caught him," said Shepperd, drawing from his pocket a pair of handcuffs that he had carried for months for the

purpose of braceleting Patton if ever captured. With a spring like a tiger Patton shook himself free from the troopers who surrounded him, and catching up the limb of a fallen tree, he put his back against a large oak and exclaimed: "Colonel Shepperd, you shall never subject me to the disgrace of handcuffs; I will die first. I claim the usages of war, to be treated like an officer and a gentleman. I will never submit to be handcuffed."

"You have forfeited all the consideration due a soldier, sir. You are a robber and a murderer," said Shepperd bitterly.

"I wear the uniform of a British officer, sir, and I demand to be treated like an officer of His Majesty's army. I give you my word of honor to make no effort to escape. I will go alone with you or with any one else to headquarters. I will consider myself your prisoner and deport myself accordingly, without constraint, but I will not submit to personal indignity and no man shall handcuff me alive."

Shepperd was no fool. He saw plainly enough that Patton would make a desperate resistance in which he would have to be killed outright or else so badly hurt that traveling would be impossible, so he abandoned the idea of handcuffs and accepting Patton's parole both men mounted their horses that had been caught and brought back to them by Shepperd's men, and set off alone for Gates' headquarters, near Asheville, riding, eating, and sleeping together like brothers until they reached the American camp, where Shepperd turned his prisoner over to the authorities, and he was tried by drumhead court-martial, condemned and executed.

Colonel Shepperd died in Hillsboro in a house now used as a part of Mr. Nathan Brown's store on Churton street.

ROWAN COUNTY WILLS

Contributed by Mrs. M. G. McCUBBINS.

Samuel Hall (Book E, page 127), February 20, 1793. Wife: Elizabeth. Sons: George and Abraham. Ex.: Sons, George and Abraham. Test: Isaac Eaton, Jese(?) Willcockson, and John Alexander.

Samuel Luckie (Book E, page 132), May 31, 1797. Wife: Anne. Sons: Samuel (the youngest) and Robert. Granddaughter: Peggy. Ex.: Sons, Samuel and Robert. Test: John Hall, William Luckie, Jr., and Robert Luckie.

Thomas Lyall (Book E, page 133), February 19, 1781. Wife: Mary. "Children." Daughter: Margaret (land on south fork of Yadkin River) and Elizabeth (the home place). Ex.: Wife, Mary, Samuel Young and Thomas McKay. A codicil speaks of step-daughter Susannah Cowan. Test.: Jas. Brandon, Jas. Graham, and William Mackey.

John Lowasser (Book E, page 135), April 24, 1794. Wife: Elizabeth. Children. Daughter: Catharine. Ex.: Wife, Elizabeth and friend, Jacob Fisher. Test.: Philip Lamly, Conrad Beicher, and Conrad Franck.

Samuel Luckey (Book E, page 136), January 4, 1801. Son: John (land west of Hunting Creek). Daughters: Eleanor McQuire, Ann Luckey, and Mary Luckey. Granddaughter: Anne Ronshaw. Ex.: Son, Samuel and son-in-law, James McGuire. Test.: John Evans, Thomas Beavoe(?), and Samuel McNeely.

Jacob Link (Book E, page 137), December 18, 1800. Wife: Nancy. Children. Ex.: Thomas Pinkston and William Link. Test: George Robison, Christopher Figenbinder, and James Ghon.

Elijah Lyon (Book E, page 138), December 7, 1800.

Wife: Nancy. Sons: Nathan, Richard, and Elijah. Daughters: Rebecca Dickey, Esther Roas Bosidos, Mary, Nooly Bosidos, and Elizabeth. (There may be other children.) Ex.: Wife, Mary, and son Richard. Test: John Evan, Jr., and David Maxwell.

Daniel Lewis (Book E, page 141), March 19, 1801. Wife: Hannah (the homeplace). Daughters: Sarah Hendricks Cunningham and Hannah. Son: Daniel (to get homeplace after his mother's death). Ex.: Wife, Hannah, and son, Daniel. Test: Elijah Renshaw, Jr., and John Fox.

Peter Lewis, yeoman (Book E, page 143), September 20, 1803. Daughters: Jane, Wallis, and Elleanor Wally. Sons: James, Simon, and Peter. Others mentioned: Charles Smith and William Bird. Ex.: Son, Peter. Test: John Culberston and Elijah Martin.

John Luckbee (Book E, page 142), no date. Wife: Barbara. Son: George. Children. Others mentioned: Daniel Lents. Ex.: John Cope and David Luckbee. Test: John Philip.

Henry Leonard (Book E, page 145), October 12, 1803. Wife: Elizabeth. Sons: Charles and Jacob. "Daughters" (not named). Children. Ex.: Friends, Jacob Houltshouser and John Linn. Witnesses: T. Ross(?) and Peter Lyalle.

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF WILLIAM LEE DAVIDSON.

In the name of God amen, I William Lee Davidson, of the state of North Carolina and county of Rowan being in health of body and of perfect mind and memory thanks be given to God, calling to mind the mortality of my Body and knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die do make and ordain this my Last Will & Testament, that is to say principally and first of all I give and recommend my soul into the hands of almighty God that give it, and my Body I recommend to the

earth to be buried in a decent and Christian manner at the discretion of my executors; Nothing doubting but at the general resurrection I shall receive the same again, by the mighty power of God, and as touching such Worldly Estate wherewith it has pleased God to bless me in this, I give, *demise* and dispose of the same in the following manner & form Imprimis, It is my will & I do order that in the first place, all my just Debts & funeral Charges be paid & *Satisfyed*.."..".."

Item, I do give & Bequeath unto my well beloved Wife, Mary Davidson one—blooded Sorrel Mare together with a Saddle & Bridle besides her thirds and likewise the use of the plantation on which I now live *untill* my son George comes of age, for which she is to take proper care of the children and *gave* them proper Learning or as much Learning as she thinks is necessary she is also to have the Discretionary use of the pay arising from my services in the army during her Widowhood for the use of the family.....

Item I do give and bequeath unto my beloved sons George Davidson, John Alexander Davidson & Ephriam Brevard Davidson the Tract of land I now live on, my three Lots in the Town of Charlotte in Mecklenburg—County N°. Carolina together with all the lands that may be confirmed to me or my officers as a reward for my services to the United States of America to be divided into three proportions of as equal value as *posible* by my Executors and each of my sons above mentioned to have one share which the Executors are to determine to them severally according as their *Circomstances* may make it prudent or fit at the time of the Division which is left to the discretion of my Executors.....

My Negroes all the remainder of my land goods Chattels &C. (except a tract of land Containing four Hundred Acres *lieing* on rich land Mountain in Burk County and a tract of land entered by James Davidson in my behalf at the old Camping ground on a fork of Broad River in Burk County

to be Divided into four equal parts one of which is to be given at the Discretion of my Executors to my three sons above mentioned.....

Item I do give & Bequeath unto my well Beloved Daughters Jean Davidson, Namela Davidson and *Marjeret* Davidson and the child with which my wife is now pregnant the remaining part of my Estate, including the two tracts above to be Equally Divided amongst them, should the last be a Daughter, But if a Son he is to have the land mentioned on Richland Mountain & Broad River and the Remainder to be equally Distributed by my Executors to my three Daughters mentioned.....

I do constitute and appoint John Brevard, Esq^{r} John Dickey & William Sharp, Esq^{r} to be my whole executors of this my last Will & Testament and do hereby utterly revoke & Disanull all & every other former Testaments, Wills, Legacies & Executors by me in any wise before named Willed or Bequeathed, Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament in Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand & Seal this *seaventeenth of* Day of Decem^{r} in the year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred and Eighty.....

Wm L. Davidson (Seal)

Signed, Sealed, Published, pronounced and Declared by the said Will^{m} Davidson as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us, who in his pres*ents* and in the *presents* of each other have hereunto subscribed our names.

Robert Wilson.
Jas. Crawford.
David Shelton.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL SKETCH

By Mrs. E. E. MOFFITT.

Robert Ney McNeely, the author of the sketch of "Union County" in this issue of the Booklet, was born on a farm near Waxhaw, North Carolina, November 12, 1883. He is the son of Robert and Henrietta (Belk) McNeely, names closely linked with this section of the State, and numbered among the best and most respected of the old families of the Waxhaws.

Mr. McNeely was named by his father after Marshal Ney of France. His father was led to believe, as many others were, that the French Marshal and the "Ney" who taught school in North Carolina were one and the same man. Except that some of the pupils of the North Carolina teacher lived in this county and firmly believed that their teacher was the French Marshal there is no other proof than what has already been written that the North Carolina teacher was a Marshal of France. Mr. McNeely was prepared for college at the College Hill and the Waxhaw schools, taught school a couple of years and then entered the University of North Carolina, where he graduated with the degree of LL.B. At the University he won the Bryan Sheppard prize of $25 in gold, for the best thesis on a legal subject. He studied law under Judge James C. MacRae, admitted to the bar at Monroe in 1907 and has practiced here ever since. He was elected to the State Legislature in 1909, and was at one time called to the chair by the Speaker and asked to preside over the House for a while. Fond of the law and devoted to the profession, he has met with encouraging and growing success. It is quite apparent after reading the sketch of Union County that Mr. McNeely is well read in American history and an

unquestioned authority upon the local history and traditions of Western North Carolina. From the energy and force thus far displayed by him his fellow citizens have reason to look forward with growing interest to further and greater development.

A biographical and genealogical sketch of Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood, who writes of the "Masonic Revolutionary Patriots in North Carolina" in this number of the BOOKLET, appeared in Vol. VIII, 1.

Vol. XII OCTOBER, 1912 No. 2

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLNA
HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

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MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

VOLUME XII

History of Union County, Including the Waxhaw Settlement.
Mr. Ney McNeely

The Forest (Poem).....*Mr. R. F. Jarrett*

Masonic Revolutionary Patriots in North Carolina.
Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood

Our Forests—What They Have Done, Are Doing, and May Do for North Carolina.....*Dr. Collier Cobb*

Some Notable Senatorial Campaigns in North Carolina.
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North Carolina's Social Life, Ante-bellum.....*Major E. J. Hale*

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Old letters, heretofore unpublished, bearing on the Social Life of the different periods of North Carolina's History, will appear hereafter in THE BOOKLET.

This list of subjects may be changed, as circumstances sometimes prevent the writers from keeping their engagements.

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THE BOOKLET will print abstracts of wills prior to 1800, as sources of biography, history and genealogy. Mrs. M. G. McCubbins will contribute abstracts of wills and marriage bonds in Rowan County to the coming volume. Hon. F. D. Winston will furnish similar data from Bertie County.

Mrs. E. E. Moffitt has consented to edit the Biographical Sketches hereafter.

Parties who wish to renew their subscriptions to THE BOOKLET for Vol. XII *are requested to give notice at once.*

Many numbers of Volumes I to XI for sale.

Mrs. Steel presenting two bags of specie to General Greene.
(From painting by Alonzo Chappel.)

Vol. XII OCTOBER, 1912 No. 2

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by

THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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*Died December 12, 1904.
†Died November 25, 1911.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XII OCTOBER, 1912 No. 2

ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEEL: PATRIOT

By ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

I.

Commanding the approach to the majestic State Capitol building at Columbia, S. C., has but recently been erected a noble specimen of the sculptor's art. In a chair of state, suggestive of Imperial Roman grandeur, is seated a matron as noble in appearance, as stately in bearing, as the most celebrated matron of classic Roman history. Pressing forward to fling their floral offerings at her feet are two lovely cherubs; and Fame, supremely proud in the glad fulfillment of her vocation, is about to crown the matron, all unconscious of the sublime decoration, with a wreath of laurel. In the expression upon the face of the matron, whose striking head in its facial features represents a composite of Southern traits, are mingled pride—for the heroism of the South; contemplation—in recollection of the trials of her people; and ineffable sadness—for the spent lives and frustrated hopes of a gallant army whelmed under the might of numbers. From the pediment of that monument speak out these chiseled words:

When reverses followed victories, when want displaced plenty, when mourning for the flower of Southern manhood darkened countless homes, when government tottered and chaos threatened, the women were steadfast and unafraid. They were unchanged in their devotion, unshaken in their patriotism, unwearied in ministrations, uncomplaining in sacrifices, splendid in fortitude; they strove while they wept.*

*The inscription, a portion of which is quoted here, was written by Wm. E. Gonzales.

The inspiration to celebrate the loyalty, patriotism, and self-sacrifice of the women of the South in the War between the States, has filled today the heart of the New South. Along with this quickened inspiration, which has touched the spirit of the younger generation, goes the impulse to celebrate the patriotic women of an earlier day, the fostering mothers of the infancy of the Republic. The numerous patriotic societies, now devoting their zealous efforts towards memorializing the heroism of Revolutionary and Colonial days, have caught the true spirit of Froude, who said that "history is a voice forever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong." Not all of history is writ in the blood of "war and war's alarms." The courage and endurance of the gentler sex, their unselfish devotion to their country, the uplifting moral force of their fidelity to principle and loyalty to a cause, the high example of their generosity in lavish expenditure of optimism and ready contribution of personal earnings, inspiring the soldiery to renewed efforts of energy and sturdier martial exploits—these were contributions of incalculable moment in firing and keeping alight the flame of Revolutionary patriotism. Such influences—of hope, inspiration, faith, generosity—as well as the victories of shot and shell, of musket and cutlass, now at last are beginning to win the outspoken and tangible gratitude of a loyal people.

II.

It is the comment of the stranger within North Carolina's borders, even of the New Englander, that nowhere is local history so completely bone and sinew of the historical curriculum of the child's education as in North Carolina. Not even in New England, that paradise of the historian, the antiquarian, and of the average citizen informed with minute knowledge of and active pride in his section's past, is the accent in the historical education of the child so thrown upon

the local contribution, as in this State. With good reason may the patriotic societies insist that, hereafter, the local contributions of the patriotic women in the Revolutionary period assume their just value in the perspective of our history.

No American colony, one ventures to say, surpassed North Carolina in the number and variety of instrumentalities by which women aided the American patriots and fostered the spirit of opposition to the unjust legislation of a misguided Parliament and the fatuous blindness of a recalcitrant King. For bravery and endurance, North Carolina can point to Betsy Dowdy and her famous ride; for the display of physical courage in opposing the enemies of her country, to Rachel Caldwell; for unshaken moral courage, and for wit, as exasperating as it was ready, to Mary Slocumb and Mrs. Ashe; for supreme patriotism—the one in offering a husband and seven sons to her country's service, the other in giving "eight sons to the rebel army,"—to Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Brevard; for generosity instinct with self-sacrifice, to Elizabeth Maxwell Steel. This is but a first division in the long roll of honor.

For feminine naïvete and charm, as well as for loyalty of a delightfully unexpected variety, the action of the ladies of Mecklenburg and Rowan is unparalleled—the voluntarily uniting in an association "not to receive the addresses of any young gentlemen—(except the brave volunteers who served in the expedition to South Carolina, and assisted in subduing the Scovilite insurgents), the ladies being of opinion that such persons as stay loitering at home, when the important calls of their country demand their military services abroad, must certainly be destitute of that nobleness of sentiment, that brave, manly spirit, which would qualify them to be the defenders and guardians of the fair sex."* Is it any wonder

*South Carolina and American General Gazette, February 9, 1776.

that the Committee of Safety of Rowan County, in response to the request of the ladies for approbation of their resolutions, forthwith resolved with mingled mirth and pride, "that this committee present their cordial thanks to the said young ladies for so spirited a performance; look upon the resolutions to be sensible and polite; that they merit the honor, and are worthy the imitation of every young lady in America."* Equally inspired by patriotic sentiment, and, furthermore, peculiarly noteworthy for their practical defiance of British injustice, were the resolutions of the famous and internationally historic Edenton Tea Party, inspired by the action of the Provincial deputies of North Carolina, "not to drink any more tea, nor wear any more British cloth, etc." The ladies declare that they can not be indifferent on any occasion that appears nearly to affect the peace and happiness of their country; pronounce their action a "duty which we owe, not only to our near and dear connections, who have concurred in them, but to ourselves, who are essentially interested in their welfare"; and proceed to give to America this "memorable proof of their patriotism."†

III.

On October 11, 1911, was unveiled at Salisbury, N. C., by the Daughters of the American Revolution, a bronze memorial tablet to Elizabeth Maxwell Steel, doubtless the most famous, nationally, of all North Carolina's patriotic women of the Revolution. The tablet, one and one-half by two feet in size, bears the following inscription:

*Records, Salisbury, N. C., May 8, 1776.
†*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, January 16, 1775.

Tablet at Salisbury, N. C., set up on the site of Elizabeth Maxwell Steel's Tavern.

D. A. R.
THIS TABLET
IS ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF
ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEELE
PATRIOT
BY THE
ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEELE CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
1781-1911

The tablet was erected upon the very spot which witnessed the patriotic action of this fine and generous spirit—being set into the granite column, at the Smith Drug Company's shop, facing on Main Street and situated near the corner of Main and Council streets.* After prayer by the Rev. Byron Clark of the First Presbyterian Church of Salisbury, Mrs. J. P. Moore, Regent of the local chapter, to whose efforts the event was in such large measure due, spoke as follows:

"Friends having placed this tablet to mark an historic spot and to commemorate the deed of the illustrious Revolutionary patriot, Elizabeth Maxwell Steele, we come with reverence to finish that which we have begun. We hope by our example and precept to uplift the youth of our State to perpetuate our history and to promote patriotism. We, therefore, in the name of the Elizabeth Maxwell Steele Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, unveil this marker for the love of the Old North State and our country."

Mrs. William N. Reynolds, of Winston-Salem, State Regent, then spoke the following dedicatory words:

"It is our very great pleasure and privilege to gather together to do honor to one who so nobly served her day and generation that she was an honor to the land she loved so well. In the words of Holy Writ, she 'stretched forth her hands to the poor and needy, and in her tongue was the law of kindness.' And because of that, she, being dead, yet speaketh, and her works do follow her.

"It is with tender pride that the Daughters of the American Revolution come to crown with immortelles that gracious daughter

*The tablet, hid from view by a large United States flag, was unveiled by Misses Mary Henderson and Janet Quinn, of Salisbury, and wreathed by Miss Elizabeth Steele Clary, of Greensboro, and Master Richard Henderson, Jr., of Salisbury. The orator of the occasion, whose address was published in full in the *Salisbury Evening Post*, October 12, 1911, was the Hon. Theo. F. Kluttz, of Salisbury. Benediction was pronounced by Dr. J. F. Mallett, rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church.

of Rowan, who, in the darkest hour of her country's need, gave of her abundance and sent the soldier hero on his way, cheered and strengthened, to fight his country's battles. Those battles were won, not by might, not by power, but by the blessing of Almighty God; and thirteen weak, struggling colonies became one of the great nations of the earth.

"Great with granaries that feed the world; great with a material prosperity that seemingly has no limit; great with a growth so stupendous that no man may foresee the end. All are hers. And yet, the true, the only real greatness, that of a nation whose God is the Lord, must be made and kept by the womanhood of that nation. It was given us by women like Elizabeth Maxwell Steele. It must be kept a sacred trust by those of us who today hold in our hands that priceless inheritance. It is our great and high mission as Daughters of the American Revolution to pass it on, great and glorious and untainted, to those who shall come after, and we are helping to do this when we honor the memory of one of whom it may be said—as it was of one of England's greatest queens—'Those about her from her shall learn the perfect ways of honor.'"

"We do well to honor her memory," said the orator on that occasion, Hon. Theo. F. Kluttz, "and to keep alive the remembrance of her womanly contribution to the cause of liberty and independence." That she may live in historic memory, and that the details and message of her life may not be lost to posterity, the present writer has undertaken this historical monograph. The recent discovery, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, of a number of autograph letters of Mrs. Steel, written to her brother in-law, Ephraim Steel, during the Revolutionary period, appreciably adds, to this impression of her life and character, the thrill and vitality of contemporaneous human interest.

IV.

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the Maxwell family emigrated to Rowan County, North Carolina, from Pennsylvania. They were borne southward in that migration of the peoples—Pennsylvania Germans, Eng-

lish, Scotch-Irish, and Highland Scotch— from Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, which carried the Robertsons to Guilford, the Seviers and Shelbys to Watauga, the Hendersons to Granville, the Harts to Orange, the Boones and Bryans to Rowan. When the Maxwell family reached Salisbury they found that the place had already been settled by emigrants who had followed thither the course of the old Trading Path. The family—the parents and two children, a boy and a girl—settled in the western part of Rowan County. Elizabeth was born in 1733, and was, Rumple says, a native of west Rowan. Her brother, James Maxwell, a man of rare culture and refinement, enjoyed the privilege of studying medicine under the greatest Scotch physicians of the day in Edinburgh. In time, he became dissatisfied with the location of the family in Rowan, and returned to Pennsylvania, presumably after the marriage of his sister, Elizabeth, to Mr. Robert Gillespie.

In 1756, or shortly before, Robert Gillespie settled in Salisbury. In partnership with Thomas Bashford he purchased a large number of lots there in 1757.* One of these lots was the one upon which they built and conducted the tavern, inn, or "ordinary," as an inn was often called in those days, which stood near the corner of Main (formerly Corbin) and Council streets. The license to conduct this inn was granted to "Bashford & Gillespie" in 1756.† The "tariff" of liquors sold at these inns in Salisbury, fixed by the County Court, reminds one, because of the number and variety of potable refreshments ever on tap, of those English taverns on which Charles Dickens, in the language of the late lamented "Professor" Thomas Dunston, loved to "dilate, pre-

*In 1757 they purchased lots Nos. 3, 11 and 12 in the great "East Square," from Carter and Foster, Trustees of the Township of Salisbury. These lots contained 144 square poles each, and on one of them they established their inn. Cf. Rumple's *Rowan County*, chapters VI and VII.

†Records of the Inferior Court, Salisbury, dating from 1753.

varicate, and divulge." The tariff for supplies and accommodations at this period (1755) is as follows:

Rum, Whiskey and Spirituous Liquors & so in Proportion p Gal	6— 0
Loaf sugar Punch p Quart with ½ point of Liquor in it	0—10
Brown sugar Ditto p Ditto	0— 8
Wine p Quart	1— 6
Stewed Spirits p Quart & so in proportion	2— 6
Good Home Brewed Ale p Quart	0— 4
English Beer p Quart	1— 0
For dinner of roast or boiled flesh	1 shilling
For supper and breakfast, each	6 pence
For lodging over night, good bed	2 pence
For stablage (24 hours) with good hay or fodder	6 pence
For pasturage, first 24 hours	4 pence
For pasturage, every 24 hours after	2 pence
For Indian corn or other grain, p quart	2 pence

In May, 1756, Mr. Chief Justice Henley held a conference in Salisbury, at the house of Mr. Peter Arrand, with King Hagler of the Catawba Nation, fifteen of his principal warriors and some thirty of his young men, painted and armed after their fashion in time of war. The Indians were entertained at the expense of the colony, provisions being supplied them by the licensed ordinaries of Gillespie & Bashford, John Lewis Beard, Peter Arrand, and by various individuals.* Robert Gillespie was evidently a man of considerable means, for on June 2, 1758, he sold to William Harrison and James Stewart four and one-half lots in the town of Salisbury—"No. one in the West Square, No. two in said Square, and No. two in the South Square, and No. four in the South Square, also one Moiety or half-part of a lot, No. nine, in the East Square"—, together with four other tracts of lands, totalling fourteen hundred and seven acres.†

* In the Reports of the Committee of Public Claims, Edenton, November 27, 1758 appears the following entry: "Robert Gillespie of Rowan County was allowed his claim of Eight pounds eight shillings for provision for the Indians, as by acct rendered. *Col. Rec.*, V, 981.

† Records for the Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, Salisbury, Rowan County, held for said County on the third Tuesday in April, 1762. The numbered lots within the town limits may be identified by means of the town plat, still preserved.

To Robert Gillespie and his wife, Elizabeth, who ably assisted him in managing the inn, were born two children, a son Robert, who became an officer in the American army, and a daughter, Margaret, who, on July 2, 1776, was united in marriage to a young Presbyterian preacher, Samuel Eusebius McCorkle, afterwards famous as scholar and divine.* The happiness brought by the two children was rudely interrupted in 1760, when, in one of the skirmishes which Col. Hugh Waddell, Commander at Fort Dobbs, had with the Indians in defense of the settlements, Robert Gillespie, Sr., was scalped by the Indians, and died from the effects of his wounds.† Elizabeth Gillespie, for her proven business capacity, was appointed administrator of her husband's estate, as evidenced by the following entry in the Records of the Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, Salisbury, third Tuesday in October, 1762: "Elizabeth Gillespie, Adm. of Robert Gillespie Came into Open Court and [made] a final Settlement and there App^{d} that there Remains Forty Shillings proc. Mon. in her Hands, which Sum was allowed her for her Trouble and Expences in and about the S^{d} Estate, &c."

Some years after the death of her husband (in 1763, to be precise), Elizabeth Maxwell Gillespie was married a second time—on this occasion to a gentleman of Scotch-Irish strain, an emigrant from Pennsylvania, William Steel.‡ He was one of a family of eight sons and one daughter, whose parents were Samuel and Mary (Stevenson) Steel. Six of the broth-

* In his *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 354, Foote incorrectly states that the Rev. S. E. McCorkle married Miss *Steele*, instead of Miss Gillespie. For an elaborate sketch of Dr. McCorkle, cf. Foote, ch. XXVI.

† For an account of one of these engagements with the Indians, cf. *Col. Rec.*, VI, 230. Robert Campbell, who was scalped in this skirmish, subsequently recovered from his wounds and was recompensed by the colony in the sum of £20. (*Col. Rec.*, VI, 422.)

‡ The family in this generation spelled the name without the final *e*. Autograph signatures of both William Steel and Elizabeth, his wife, shown in the present monograph, demonstrate this. The family so spelled the name in all probability to distinguish themselves from the other family of Steeles living in Pennsylvania. The next and all succeeding generations of both the North Carolina and Pennsylvania branches of William Steel's family spelled the name Steele.

ers, John, Thomas, William, Joseph, Samuel, and Ephraim, came to America from their home in Ireland; while of the other members of the family remaining in Ireland, Ninian, who was educated at Dublin University, became an eminent preacher, James a prosperous farmer, and "Jinny" married a man named George Hogg, bore him four or five children, and died while yet a young woman.* John, William, Thomas, and Joseph came to America soon after reaching man's estate, and "engaged in the affairs of their adopted land with commendable energy." Joseph, who fixed his residence at Hilton Head, S. C., was a man of means, engaged chiefly in importing merchandise from the West Indies. After the fall of Charleston, in May, 1780, all trace of him was lost by his relations. John settled permanently at Carlisle, Pennsylvania; and William and Joseph, before their settlement in the South, doubtless spent some time in Pennsylvania. Thomas, who was of a roving disposition, enjoyed the wild, free life of the frontier, and as late as 1786 was living near the road to Fort Pitt. He remained unmarried, enlisted in the Continental army, and died about 1790.

The picturesque tavern kept by William and Elizabeth Steel was a microcosm of the life of the period. Here, in miniature, were caught the vivid impressions of the moving events and poignant passions of the hour. Here assembled the Regulators to mature their plans against those vultures of the courts, Frohock and Fanning.† Here dined Waightstill Avery, then novice in the law, the courtly William Hooper, and "other gentlemen of the bar" with the new Justice of the Superior Court, Richard Henderson. Here, too, doubtless, Richard Henderson planned with Daniel Boone, John Findlay, and John Stuart that long and extensive scouting expedition to the wilderness of Kentucky in

* Cf. *The Steele Family* in *Cumberland County, Pennsylvania*: The Genealogical Publishing Co., Chicago. Also *The Steele Family*, by D. S. Durrie: Albany, 1859.

† *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VIII, 521.

search of rich lands, which subsequently led to the famous Colony of Transylvania and the first permanent colonization of the West. Here the gay barristers, Waightstill Avery, John Williams, Alexander Martin, Adlai Osborne, John Dunn, Samuel Spencer, and William Hooper sipped their sugared whiskey and nutmeg sangaree, and occasionally here, no doubt, as at Hillsborough, "narrowly escaped being intoxicated" (Avery's Diary—1769). Still in a perfect state of preservation are account books of the Steel Tavern, covering a considerable number of years.*

On Wednesday, August 7, 1771, pursuant to an act of the Assembly (Newbern, 1770), William Steel took the oath and qualified as Commissioner of the Borough of Salisbury. The other Commissioners were Matthew Troy, Daniel Little, John Lewis Beard, Peter Ribe, William Temple Coles, James Kerr, Maxwell Chambers, Alexander Martin, and John Dunn†.

William Steel died on November 1, 1773, at the age of thirty-nine, leaving only one son, who was born on November 16, 1764.‡ This was John Steele, known in history as General Steele, one of the most eminent men in the history of the

* I have recently examined these old account books, now in the possession of Captain Richard Henderson (U. S. Navy, retired), great-grandson of Elizabeth Maxwell Steel. I append one entry:

April 12th., 1773.

Waightstill Avery----To Sangaree.

2 s.

† Records of the Inferior Court, Rowan County, Salisbury, N. C.

‡ William Steel's will, dated September 9, 1773, probated May 7, 1774, contains one clause willing certain property, contingently, to the four children of his brother, John Steel.

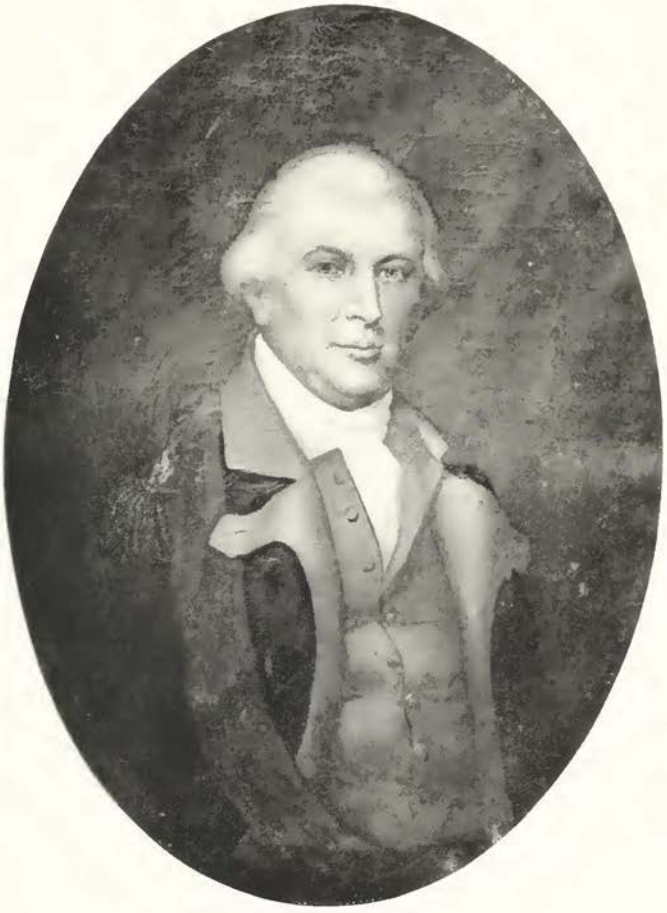
State.* His tombstone, in the old family graveyard at the Steele homestead, now "Steeleworth," just within the limits of the town of Salisbury, at present the home of the family of Capt. Richard Henderson, bears this striking inscription:

CONSECRATED BY CONJUGAL
AND
FILIAL AFFECTION.
AN ENLIGHTENED STATESMAN,
A VIGILANT PATRIOT,
AN ACCOMPLISHED GENTLEMAN.
THE ARCHIVES OF HIS COUNTRY TESTIFY
THE SERVICES OF HIS SHORT BUT USEFUL
LIFE. LONG WILL THAT COUNTRY DEPLORE
HIS LOSS. BUT WHEN WILL THIS SE-
QUESTERED SPOT CEASE TO WITNESS THE
SACRED SORROW OF HIS FAMILY
AND FRIENDS?

V.

On a wild wintry night in the early hours of the first of February, 1781, a lonely horseman sits his weary steed anxiously awaiting news of the day's campaign. The rain is slowly falling upon this solitary figure—a man of fine presence, manly beauty, erect and commanding bearing, vigorous and well proportioned frame. As evening darkens into night and the leaden-footed hours creep by, this soldierly figure continues to maintain his station at the rallying point of the militia, seven miles below Torrence's Tavern, on the road to Salisbury. This young man of only thirty-nine, in such gloomy dejection awaiting news of the day's conflict, whose fair and florid complexion has not entirely

* Of his life there is no occasion to speak here. Ample materials for his biography are now in the possession of the North Carolina Historical Commission, the archives of the University of North Carolina, and the present writer. Suffice it to say that he died at the early age of fifty (August 14, 1815), having served as Member of Congress, Member and Speaker of the House of Commons, Commissioner on the N. C.-S. C. Boundary Line, General of Militia, first Comptroller of the Treasury during the administrations of Washington, who was his intimate friend, and Adams, and invited to serve in the same capacity by Jefferson, his political opposite. For brief accounts of his life, cf. the *Sprunt Historical Monograph, No. 9* (with original letters); Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*, under "*Rowan County*"; and Rumple's *Rowan County*.



A copy of Charles Willson Peale's portrait of General Nathaniel Greene. Owned by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Wm. Brenton Greene, Jr.

yielded to the exposures of five campaigns, is the most brilliant soldier, leader, and strategist, bar Washington, on the American continent—the "Fabius of America," General Nathaniel Greene.

It is the crucial hour of that remarkable strategic movement, the retreat of the Americans before the hotly pursuing Cornwallis. The very fate of the South, and perhaps of the American colonies, hangs in the balance. Anxiety lies heavy upon Greene, for his resources are at the very lowest ebb. Only by bringing out the militia can he venture to oppose the unresting pursuit of Cornwallis; and for that he needs ready money to distribute among the soldiers, and a fresh store of hope and enthusiasm with which to fire his jaded soldiers to renewed efforts. On the preceding day he has sent Morgan forward post-haste towards the Yadkin, while he remains behind to make one more desperate effort to collect and embody the militia.

Midnight is some time past when the anxious watcher, alert on his lonely vigil, hears the splashing plod of a horse's hoofs upon the sodden road. The jaded messenger, drenched with rain, brings the news that gives despair: "General Davidson is killed, the militia scattered; Cornwallis has effected the passage of the Catawba, and Huger is being hotly pressed by the British." In profound dejection over the depressing news, which seems to shatter his last hope of resisting the advance of Cornwallis and of successfully evading disaster, Greene disconsolately turns his horse's head and begins the long, weary ride to Salisbury. Money for his unpaid troops, inspiration for fresh efforts to enable Huger and Morgan once more to unite forces and present an unbroken front to the enemy—these are sorely needed now. Where are they to come from? This lonely ride, in the blackest hours of this wild night, is symbolic of the lowest ebb in the

fortunes of the campaign in the South. It is the darkest hour just before the dawn.

After Morgan, who is stationed on the east bank of the Catawba, learns of the crossing of Cornwallis, at Cowan's Ford, he begins his retreat on February 1st towards the Yadkin along the Beattie's Ford, or Sherrill's Ford, Road to Salisbury. That afternoon the American troops march hilariously through the town, as they go occasionally punching out a window pane here and there with their bayonets. They encamp about half a mile east of town, on the Yadkin Road, in a beautiful grove with convenient springs and abundance of fuel ready to hand.* The surgeon of Morgan's army, Dr. Joseph Read, with the hospital stores and a number of wounded and disabled British officers who are prisoners, has reached Salisbury some time in advance of the main body of Morgan's command. Dr. Read at once establishes his headquarters at Steel's Tavern, facing on the main street of the town. While busily engaged here in writing paroles for such British officers as are unable from sickness and debility to proceed further, he glances through the window of his apartment overlooking the street and, in the dimness of the early dawn, observes approaching a solitary horseman enveloped in a long military cloak. A closer glance and he recognizes in the man riding up to the door, unaccompanied by his aides or a single individual, the leader of the American forces, General Greene. "It was impossible not to perceive in the deranged state of his dress and the stiffness of his limbs," says Dr. Read himself, "some symptoms of his late rapid movements and exposure to the weather."†

"How do you find yourself, General?" anxiously inquires the doctor.

To this inquiry Greene replies with the utmost dejection:

* In this grove is now located the residence of Hon. John Steele Henderson.

† Johnson's *Life of Greene*, Vol. I, ch. X, p. 417.

"Wretched beyond measure—fatigued, hungry, alone, penniless, and without a friend."

Mrs. Steel, who has come to the door on hearing the sound of voices, now steps forward, benevolence beaming from her countenance, and interjects with alacrity:

"That I deny"—and then, with an access of positiveness in her tone—"that I *most particularly* deny. In me, General, you and the American cause have a devoted friend. And this gentleman will not, I am certain, suffer you to be without a companion, as soon as the humane business about which he is employed, is finished. Only come in and rest and dry yourself, and in a very short time a hot breakfast shall cheer and refresh you."

The General, after his disagreeable ride of more than thirty miles in the rain, darkened by thoughts of the two disastrous skirmishes of the preceding day, at once enters the tavern, and disconsolately throws himself down into the nearest chair.

Mrs. Steel now busies herself in preparing refreshment for the tired traveler. In a short time a bountiful repast is spread before the distinguished guest, while a cheerful fire crackles on the hearth and sheds its genial warmth throughout the room. The hospitable greeting of Mrs. Steel, the comforting influences of the environment and the gratifying repast set before him, go far to restore the spirits of the disheartened general. When General Greene rode up to the door Mrs. Steel's quick ear had caught the general's plaint that he was penniless; and now, as he sits by the table, his head bowed upon his hand, she enters the room, carefully closes the door, and cautiously looks around to make sure they are not observed. Approaching General Greene and reminding him of the despondent words she had heard him utter on his arrival, Mrs. Steel once more assures him of her

sympathy and friendship. Drawing from under her apron two bags of specie, gold and silver coins, the savings of years which she has carefully hoarded in these precarious times, she presents them to him eagerly, with these simple, but memorable words:

"Take them; for you will need them, and I can do without them."

Though history does not record the exact words of the grateful General, his biographer says that *"an acquisition so important even to the public service,* was not to be declined from excess of delicacy." We may well imagine that General Greene expressed his gratitude in some such way as this:

"May Heaven bless you for your kind words and generous act! These two bags of specie now represent the treasure chest of the American army. They will put shoes on barefoot soldiers, feed hungry men, and further the cause of liberty. I accept your generous gift most gratefully in behalf of the public service, since it is given so generously. 'Tis by such patriotic actions as this that revolutions are made."*

Doubtless Mrs. Steel, as Rumple says, could have filled General Greene's pockets with "proclamation money," then worth less than were Confederate notes in the beginning of the year 1865. But silver and gold coins were incredibly scarce in Revolutionary days, and no American officer or gentleman could fail to be sensible of the value of such a gift.†

* For the best accounts of the episode upon which the present recital is based, cf. Johnson's *Life of Greene*, vol. I, ch. X, p. 417; Jethro Rumple's *History of Rowan County*, ch. XVII; Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, ch. XXVI, pp. 354-5; Mrs. E. F. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution* (Jacobs, Phila., 1900), vol. I, ch. XXIII; Irving's *Life of Washington*, vol. III, p. 345; Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*, under "*Rowan County.*" The episode has found its way into fiction also, notably in the novel of Cyrus Townsend Brady: *When Blades are Out and Love's Afield* (Lippincott, Phila., 1901).

† The *Cyclopaedia of American Biographies*, vol. IV, p. 4, says: "Elizabeth Maxwell Steele gave all her savings to General Greene on his retreat, thus *enabling him to feed his troops* and cross the Yadkin before its swollen waters impeded the pursuit of Cornwallis." Two circumstances may serve to demonstrate the value which specie possessed in those days, both intrinsically and in the popular mind. It is now universally recognized by historians

In a letter to Washington during this very retreat, Greene writes: "The miserable situation of the troops for want of clothing has rendered the march the most painful imaginable, many hundreds of the soldiers marking the ground with their bloody feet.—*I have not a shilling to obtain intelligence with.*"* It was fortunate for General Greene that he visited Steel's Tavern when he did, *i. e.*, on February 2, before Mrs. Steel had been despoiled of her property by the British. During their stay in Salisbury of two days, immediately following Greene's departure, the British levied upon the inhabitants for whatever they wanted. Says Mrs. Steel: "I was plundered of all my horses, dry cattle, horse forage, liquors and family provisions * * *."

VI.

Just before his departure from Salisbury, General Greene left at Steel's Tavern a memorial of very striking and unique character. While sitting in the dining room Greene's eye caught sight of the portraits of King George III and Queen Charlotte hanging on the wall, bearing record to a time long past when Americans loved the mother country and revered their sovereigns. These beautiful colored engravings had been presented to Mrs. Steel by her brother, James Maxwell, to whom they had been given, when he was a member of an embassy to England, by one of his friends, an official at the Court of St. James. The sight of the picture of George III filled General Greene's mind with mournful reflections over the sufferings which his countrymen were at that moment enduring, fleeing almost naked and with bare, bloody feet before the relentless pursuit of Cornwallis; and of the bloodshed in the struggle to throw off the shackles

that one of the strongly contributory causes of the peasant revolt known as the Regulation was the scarcity of specie. After the Revolution, even, Thomas Person won great reputation as a philanthropist, a building at the University of North Carolina being named in his honor and still bearing his name, because his benefaction, though only $1,050, was paid in "hard money"—shining silver dollars.

*Greene Mss.

of slavery which Parliament and the English king were trying to fasten upon the colonies. With the generous gift of Mrs. Steel lying on the table before him, these sentiments returned to the General, mingled with a feeling of elation and confidence that now, succored in the hour of his need, he could once more fling defiance to British power and give King George full reason to regret his war upon the colonies. Taking a piece of charcoal from the fire-place he walked up to the picture of George III and wrote upon the back of it:

"O GEORGE HIDE THY FACE AND MOURN."

Then, turning the face of the British king to the wall, General Greene bade good-bye to his hospitable and patriotic hostess, and, mounting his horse, hurriedly rode away, with light heart to superintend and direct the retreat of his little army and provide for their transportation across the Yadkin. For as his biographer and descendant says: "Never did relief come at a more propitious moment; nor would it be straining conjecture to suppose that he resumed his journey with his spirits cheered and lightened by this touching proof of woman's devotion to the cause of her country."*

In addition to its intrinsic value, Mrs. Steel's gift encouraged Greene and heartened his jaded soldiery for that last burst of extra energy which seemed almost beyond human power. It gave him the spirit to direct that masterly retreat which, as Botta said, "would have done honor to the most celebrated captains of that, or any former epoch." Overtaking Morgan, Greene crossed the Yadkin with his forces, the militia, newly aroused, harassing the British at every turn—and, rescued as if providentially by the sudden rise of the river, soon effected a junction with Huger on the seventh of February. In the retreat that followed occurred the almost unprecedented spectacle: the Americans

* George Washington Greene's *Life of Greene*, N. Y., 1871.

under Col. Otho Williams covering Greene's rear, the British under the lead of Cornwallis himself, marching for many miles parallel with, and in sight of, each other—without firing a shot. Finally, on February 14, Greene was enabled to cross the Dan—thereby concluding that remarkable retreat of more than two hundred miles of which Washington wrote to Greene: "Your retreat before Cornwallis is highly applauded by all ranks."

One month later, on March 15, at Guilford Court House, Greene forced conclusions with Cornwallis on ground astutely chosen by the former on February 10th preceding, and, after a stubborn struggle, yielded a bloody field and, superficially, a victory to Cornwallis.*

The victory was a barren one for the British arms, and left Cornwallis in a truly desperate plight. "My situation here," writes Cornwallis to Phillips from Wilmington, "is very distressing. Greene took advantage of my being obliged to come to this place, and has marched to South Carolina."

In a letter (Salisbury, April 19, 1781) to her brother-in-law, Ephraim Steel, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Steel in one illuminating paragraph depicts the advantageous results for the country, wrought by the Battle of Guilford Court House:

"It comforts me to think that the enemy will probably never return. His Lordship soon after the 15th of March moved to Wilmington, and General Greene, by a masterly stroke, has turned rapidly towards Camden, in his rear, which I hope will fall into his hands before Cornwallis can

* As contemporary evidence of the presumption that this battle was regarded by the American military leaders as a virtual victory for Greene, it is pertinent to cite a passage from a letter of Washington to Jefferson ("Headquarters New Windsor, April 18, 1781"), which has only recently been brought to light: "I am glad to learn from the Letter of General Greene, a copy of which Your Excellency did me the honor to enclose on the 28th. Ult. that the Action of the 15th. had been severely felt by the Enemy, that their retreat bore evident marks of distress, and that our Army in good spirits were advancing upon them." The reference, "the Action of the 15th.," is to the Battle of Guilford Court House. In his letter of March 16 to Governor Jefferson, Major Charles Magill writes from "Camp at the Iron Works, Gilford County":—"Never was ground contested for with greater obstinacy, and never were Troops drawn off in better order. Such another dear bot day, must effectually ruin the British army . . . " *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 574.

reinforce the place. At least it will take the war out of this State. And leave his Lordship not one step further than before Gates' defeat."

Out of the apparent defeat at Guilford Court House, that pivotal battle of the Revolution, was thus wrought the most conclusive victory, foreshadowing and making possible the ultimate triumph of American Independence only seven months later at Yorktown, on October 19, 1781.

Surely it is no exaggeration to assert that, in the darkest hour of Greene's career, when his fortunes were at their lowest ebb and his own dauntless mettle failed him, the gift of Elizabeth Maxwell Steel, loftily patriotic in its sentiment, providential in its timeliness, by its moral and inspiring effect, contributed in some appreciable measure to the ultimate achievement of American Independence.

VII.

The colored lithographs of King George III and Queen Charlotte, which are still carefully preserved, have had such curious and chequered careers that the story of their wanderings amply deserves recording. The following letter, for a copy of which I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. J. Andrews, Raleigh, N. C., is self-explanatory. The original is among the Swain Mss., in the archives of the University of North Carolina:

JANUARY 14, 1846.

HON. DAVID L. SWAIN:

I have been thus long delayed in performing the agreeable duty assigned my by your kind letter by a long and painful illness of Mrs. McGinn, which has confined her to her chamber and her bed for several weeks.

At the earliest moment which made the application proper I spoke to her in regard to the subject of your communication. The acknowledgements of the Historical Society I expressed as you requested and solicited the interesting relic which has been so long preserved in her family. It is, I am happy to say, cheerfully given. The Society will not however be indebted for it to Mrs. McGinn. The engraving which, as you will observe, is executed in a superior

style of workmanship was highly prized by Mrs. Steel, the grandmother of Mrs. McGinn, and was cherished during her life with great veneration. At her death it was given to her granddaughter, Elizabeth Steele, a sister of Mrs. McGinn, who was the wife of the Revd. James Bowman of Tennessee. Mrs. Bowman gave the engraving to a daughter of Mrs. McGinn, who bears her own name, a young lady not yet grown—who not only prizes it as a historical relic of interesting general associations but connected with a near and deceased relation. It was yielded therefore only from that sense of duty which the daughter of Dr. McCorkle has endeavored to faithfully impress on her own descendants. As to the autograph it no doubt is that of General Greene. The words express the feelings of the illustrious hero as to the character of George 3d, his conduct towards the colonies, and the effect of the war on the possessions of the British Government. They are greatly injured by time but in a favorable position you may distinguish each word if not each letter. "O George hide thy face and mourn" is the entire passage. The engraving, as I am informed by Mrs. McGinn, was procured while in England by a brother of her grandmother whose name was James Maxwell. He was from Pennsylvania, the residence of the family prior to their migration and settlement in our State. He had been educated in Edinburg where he studied the profession of medicine. He returned to Pennsylvania and afterwards visited England in some public capacity which is not now remembered. While there he obtained the Engraving of George the third—and engravings of other members of the royal family some of which are in a state of excellent preservation and which in style of execution will compare with the best specimens of the art under all the advantages of modern ingenuity. James Maxwell died at an early age, leaving to his sister the pictures to which I have referred and the memory of fine intellectual endowments and an exemplary life. I regret that no opportunity now occurs to transmit the engraving to its destined repository. It is somewhat impaired by time and it will require care to deliver it safely. The inscription by General Greene however which gives to it its value cannot be effaced by any accident likely to occur. I shall see to its preservation until some opportunity offers for its safe transmission to you. * * * I hope that you will be assured that it will afford me great pleasure to aid the Historical Society by any means in my power in collecting materials pertinent to its elevated object among the people of this revolutionary region.

I am, with great respect,

Truly yours,

JAMES W. OSBORNE.

To the

HON. DAVID L. SWAIN,

Chapel Hill, No. Carolina.

The Mrs. McGinn referred to in the above letter was a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle and his wife, Margaret Gillespie, daughter of Robert Gillespie and his wife, Elizabeth Maxwell. I am indebted to Mr. R. D. W. Connor for permission to use the following letter which I recently discovered in the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission:

PARIS, TENN., Mar. 2, 1859.

HON. DAVID L. SWAIN.

DEAR SIR:—The University of North Carolina was presented some years ago, by my Mother, with a portrait of George III. of England, that had formerly been the property of my great grand Mother, Elizabeth Steel.

As a Revolutionary relic the value of this portrait is enhanced by having on the back of it, in the hand writing of Gen. Green, the following, "King (sic) George, hide thy face and mourn." This portrait and that of Charlotte, his Queen, for many years hung side by side in the house of Mrs. Steel, and afterwards for more than a third of a century at Dr. McCorkle's, and then at my Mother's until they were separated by the king's being sent to Chapel Hill.

The Queen is now in my possession, and the object of this communication is to inform you, that I desire the old couple to be again united, and I therefore offer for your acceptance the portrait of the Queen. And if you can suggest any means by which it can be forwarded to Chapel Hill, I will cheerfully send it. If you will accept the gift, please address me at your earliest convenience, as I expect to change my location in a few months.

Respectfully yours, J. B. McGINN.

P. S. My address is, Rev. J. B. McGinn, Paris, Tenn.

The two pictures eventually reached Governor Swain safely. The picture of George III, doubtless because of its remarkable historic interest, was permitted by Mrs. McGinn to be displayed for a time in the court-house in Charlotte. The mention of this circumstance occurs in Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina* (p. 355), which was published in 1846. After the death of Governor Swain it was discovered that the relics of the North Carolina Historical Society were inextricably mixed with the personal effects of Governor Swain.

When the effects of Governor Swain's widow were sold in Raleigh on July 6, 1883, these pictures were bought by a young schoolboy. The story is so unusual, and the obligation towards him for preserving these pictures is so great that at my request he has given me the true history of his acquisition of the historic pictures.* The historian Wheeler says of the presentation by Mrs. Steel of the two bags of specie to General Greene: "This scene has been made the subject of both painting and sculpture."† The original painting of the scene was made by the artist Alonzo Chappel; and an engraving from the original painting, entitled *"Female Patriotism—Mrs. Steel and General Greene,"* is to be found in J. A. Spencer's *History of the United States,* New York, 1874-1876, vol. 2, facing p. 121. For this information I am indebted to the Director of the Prints Division, Library of Congress. The whereabouts of the original painting I have been unable to discover. For the illustration accompanying this article (frontispiece) I am indebted to descendants of Mrs. Steel, Mrs. Eliza S. Lynch, and Mrs. E. E. McQueen, of Columbia, S. C., and to a descendant of

*"In the year 1882," says Mr. William J. Andrews, of Raleigh, N. C., "I was a pupil at the Lovejoy School House, then called the Raleigh Male Academy, Messrs. Fray and Morson, Principals. The N. C. History class recited in Mr. Morson's room, and the book used was the second edition of Moore's School History. I was not old enough to be in the class; but picking up a copy of the book belonging to one of the boys, which lay on my desk, I found this foot-note on the subject of the picture (I may not quote with perfect accuracy from memory): 'This picture with the writing still visible is in the possession of Governor Swain.' Knowing that Mrs. Swain lived in Raleigh and that my cousin, Miss Sallie Haywood, was a friend of hers, I asked Cousin Sallie to take me to see Mrs. Swain, so I could ask her to show me the picture. Being a small boy, and my request not seeming of much importance, I was put off from time to time until Mrs. Swain's death. The day before the sale, Cousin Sallie took me over the house with 'Old Aunt Thenie,' 72 years old, one of the old colored servants in the White family (Mrs. Swain was a Miss White). I finally found the pictures of George and Charlotte in the attic. Instinctively, I felt that here was the end of my quest, and on turning George around, I found the inscription in chalk as I had been told of it by my great grandmother Harris who had seen the picture when she was a young lady. This I learned at the age of four or five, while on a visit to my grandparents, Col. and Mrs. William Johnston, of Charlotte, N. C.

"Here now was I, a twelve-year old boy, with a chance to become the *owner* of a picture which I had longed merely to see. So I told Aunt Thenie that there were two old pictures in the attic that I wanted to buy next day at the sale. 'All right, honey,' she said, 'I'll take a rag up and wipe them clean and put them in the dining room.' The next day at the sale I waited until the auctioneer cried the pictures; and started them at five cents each. Some one bid ten, and I promptly raised to fifteen. The two pictures, George III and Queen Charlotte, were knocked down to me at thirty cents—every cent I had in my pocket.

"I knew and appreciated the value of my new possesssion. I consider that day spent at the Swain sale one of the red-letter days of my life."

Cf. also *Program of Exercises for N. C. Day,* Friday, Dec. 18, 1908, compiled by Mr. R. D. W. Connor.

† *Reminiscences of North Carolina,* Vol. II, p. 397.

General Greene, Miss Mary Ward Greene, of Newport, R. I. It is, examination has shown, a photographic copy of a wood cut of the original painting by Chappel. The picture possesses one remarkable feature, the head of Mrs. Steel, according to the testimony of Mrs. Lynch, having been copied from a miniature of her, and so represents her accurately as she really was.

No sculpture of the scene has ever come to my notice; nor have the efforts of the authorities in the Library of Congress been able to throw any light on the point. The plaque shown in the illustration accompanying this monograph was among the Swain effects. Through ignorance, and chiefly because it was partially mutilated, the plaque was thrown away as valueless. The aged servant, "Aunt Thenie" rescued it from the trash pile, and after gluing on the broken piece, gave or sold it to the present owner, Miss Sallie Haywood.*

The photograph of General Greene, accompanying the present monograph, was made from the famous portrait by Charles Willson Peale. For this photograph I am indebted to the kindness of the owner of the portrait, Mrs. William Brenton Greene, Jr., of Princeton, N. J. For permission to reproduce the pictures of King George and Queen Charlotte, I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Andrews, who also placed at my disposal the photograph of the plaque here shown.†

*At the top upon the scroll, may be distinguished the words "Gen. Greene" and "Mrs. Steel," above the heads of General Greene and Mrs. Steel, respectively. The artist who designed the plaque clearly copied the painting of Chappel.

† The inscription in Greene's handwriting on the back of King George's picture, now framed behind glass, is still perfectly legible, though now quite faint. A tracing in white paint on the glass cover, immediately above the inscription, makes it stand out, in the bold handwriting of Greene with startling distinctness. It is peculiarly interesting to observe that Greene seems first to have turned the picture upside down and begun to write—but realizing that the inscription would then appear upside down as the picture hung on the wall, with back to the front, he reversed the picture and wrote the inscription right side up. The photograph shows that he had already written "O G—," before he discovered his mistake.

In some quarters it was the habit of patriotic Americans to turn upside down, and leave hanging on the wall in this humiliating posture, pictures of George III. Pertinent to the incident of the present sketch is the following entry in the *Diary of John Adams*, II, 434:

Baltimore, February, 1777.

16. Sunday. Last evening I supped with my friends, Dr. Rush and Mr. Sargeant, at Mrs. Page's, over the bridge. The two Colonel Lees, Dr. Witherspoon, Mr. Adams, Mr. Gerry, Dr. Brownson, made the company. They have a fashion, in this town of reversing the picture of King George III in such families as have it. One of these topsy-turvy kings

VIII.

The episodes with which the present monograph deals have been made the subject of an interesting poem, by Grace Duffie Boylan, which appeared some years ago in the *Chicago Journal*. Mrs. Steel was a very religious and devout woman, properly indicated by the poem; the obituary notice, given later in this monograph, speaks for itself. The detail of her "hard, toil-roughened hand" must be granted to that excuse for inaccuracy euphemistically defined as "poetic license." Mrs. Steel assuredly left the polishing of her pans and the sanding of her floors to her servants. The poem, bearing these manifest inaccuracies, appears below:

THE DAME O' SALISBURY TOWN.

Elizabeth Steele of Salisbury Town
  Polished her pans and sanded her floor,
And sat to read in the sacred book
  Of the times when war shall be no more.

She had heard the boom of British guns
  As mothers hear who have sons to mourn;
Whose e'er the shot, and where'er its home,
  The heart in her kerchiefed breast was torn.

Elizabeth Steele had heard the news
  "King's Mountain's won and the red coats flee!"
But she only asked: "Goodsire, my boys—
  Is't well with them? Do they ride to me?"

But who can stop to count one, count two,
  When lives go out like a candle's flame?
What courier halts on his way to tell
  The price we pay for a battle's game?

---

was hung up in the room where we supped, and under it were written these lines, by Mr. Throop, as we are told:

Behold the man, who had it in his power
To make a kingdom tremble and adore,
Intoxicate with folly. See his head
Placed where the meanest of his subjects tread.
Like Lucifer, the giddy tyrant fell;
He lifts his heel to Heaven, but points his head to Hell.

She had heard how Morgan crossed the flood
  That rose a bar to the English breast.
And she whispered low: "Were any drowned?"
  And dreamed of two on the torrent's crest.

But who can stop for a woman's cry?
  The post must ride, be it woe or weal;
He struck his spurs, and he galloped by—
  And what could a mother do but kneel?

Hers was only to watch and wait,
  And hers was only to weep and pray;
Her part had been but to rear good sons
  And send them out to the guns that day.

She scoured, she sanded, she kept her peace,
  She spun her flax by the open door;
Then sat to read in the holy word
  Of the times when war shall be no more.

Nathaniel Greene, below Cowan's Ford,
  Had fought, had won, and had lost the field,
And his minute men with one accord
  Had vowed it better to run than yield.

Ragged and hungry and weary and cold,
  Penniless, friendless, and sick with defeat,
They came to the edge of Salisb'ry town,
  The bitter way of that great retreat.

Elizabeth saw the famished horde;
  She took them food and she gave them cheer,
She warmed and fed and comforted
  The sons some mothers were holding dear.

She gave her purse to the General's keep;
  " 'Tis all I have, but 'tis yours," she said,
And above her hard, toil-roughened hand
  Nathaniel Greene bent reverent head.

He raised his eye and his eagle glance
  Swept to the face of King George the Third,
That hung on the wall. He strode across
  And turned it around, with a trooper's word.

And scribed with a piece of chalk, like this—
'Tis plain to see on the canvas worn,
Bold was his hand with the pen or sword:
"Oh George! Oh King! Hide thy face and mourn."

Elizabeth then their knapsacks filled;
She pressed each hand and she touched each head,
As she would have wished those mothers far
To have blessed her lads—perhaps now dead!

But hark! A shout! A trample! A halt!
One cry—and a pris'ner bound and fast,
Elizabeth laughed in precious chains—
The arms of her own brave boys at last.

This is the tale of Elizabeth Steele,
Who fed Greene's host, and who won renown;
And I sing this song o'er a hundred years,
In praise of the dame o' Salisbury town.*

IX.

William Steel's brother, Ephraim, settled in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, some time shortly prior to 1769; and resided there for about forty-five years. He was a man of means and prominence in his community and his section. He enjoyed an extended political acquaintance, and persons in high authority consulted him on State and National affairs. Through his habit of preserving letters have come down to us today letters of Elizabeth Maxwell Steel, ranging over the period from 1778 to 1786. These letters, copies of which accompany the present monograph, are now in the possession of Misses Margaret A. and Martha J. Steele, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, granddaughters of Ephraim Steel. For the copies and the photographic facsimile accompanying the present monograph, the writer is indebted to the courtesy of the Misses Steele, to Hon. John Steele Henderson, of Salisbury, N. C., who discovered the existence of the

* For copies of this poem, I am indebted to the kindness of Mrs. B. B. Taylor, of Macon, Ga., and Mrs. Clark Waring, of Columbia, S. C.

letters, and to Mr. J. Zeamer, the antiquarian, who prepared the elaborate sketch of the Steele family, in the volume entitled *Biographical Annals of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Genealogical Publishing Co., Chicago, 1905).

In one of her letters Mrs. Steel says: "You know I am a great politician." Indeed, these letters few in number though they be, contain most pertinent comments on contemporaneous events of vital interest during the most moving period in our Revolutionary history. For the most part, as was to be expected, they deal with family affairs, incidentally clearing up matters in which historians have either blundered or revealed ignorance. They show Mrs. Steel to have been a woman of deep piety, sound intelligence, and good judgment, and withal practical and patriotic. It is the hope of the writer that the Misses Steele will present the original letters of Mrs. Steel to the State of North Carolina.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

DEAR BROTHER: SALISBURY, 15th May, 1778.

Since your departure I have received two letters from you, of March 22 & April 6th and I thank you for them both. Your own feelings may suggest the pleasure, or an idea of the pleasure I enjoy with them at present, for letters are the meeting and talking of absent friends. It gave me great pleasure to hear of your safe arrival and the welfare of your family, especially *Little Billy* who it seems is likely to outgrow his father—surely he will soon be a little giant. I'm sorry to hear of sister Nancy's illness. I hope her disorder will not hold her long. Your kindness in riding so far to see my son calls for thanks both from him and me. I hope he has not been ungrateful, and I now present you my heartfelt thanks on that account. I should be heartily rejoiced to see him quit the army, and betake himself to some business for life.* I present you my

* It appears that Mrs. Steel's son, John Steele, although only fourteen in 1778, had already joined the Continental army. Clearly Mrs. Steel is not referring here to her other son, Robert Gillespie, for in a letter of October 17, 1778, she informs her brother Ephraim that her son Robert has "gone into the army," whereas in the present letter, written five months earlier, she is expressing the wish that her son (obviously not Robert) would "quit the army." It is not mentioned by any biographer of John Steele, nor was it even known until the discovery of these letters, that he had ever served in the Continental army. Subsequent to this date (1778), John Steele studied under the Rev. James Hall at Clio's Nursery, or "The Academy of the Sciences," on Snow Creek. (*Foote's Sketches of North Carolina*, ch. XXXIV, pp. 330 *et seq.*) The copy of Virgil, with numerous signatures of "John Steele," which he used at this famous school, is still preserved.

thanks for the crisis No. 5, it gave me great pleasure by serving to brace our minds, long relaxed by the inaction of the armies thro the winter season. We hope, however, the spring and summer will produce some important event and pray you to pass no opportunity of giving us the news. My family, through the kindness of Providence, is well. My kindest regards *to sister Nancy* and all friends and be always assured that I am and shall continue

Your loving and affectionate sister,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO "MY SON" (PRESUMABLY JOHN STEELE).

SALISBURY, 7th July, 1778.

MY DEAR SON:

It is now a long time since I have had a letter from you, the cause I know not, but I can assure you that I have wrote two or three times since I received any account from you. Pray write me by the first opportunity.

Since you have chosen that manner of life, it would give me the greatest pleasure to hear of your acquitting yourself with honor and faithfulness to your country and yourself, and to hear of the contrary would give me much uneasiness.

I hope that you will not forget to apply to that power and wisdom which can enable and direct us to discharge the duties of every station. Many are the advices of this kind I have given you. I must take every opportunity to repeat them. Pray let them not be in vain. I should be glad to hear from you. Write me by the first opportunity. Friends here all are well. I am

Your affectionate mother, ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

SALISBURY, July 30, 1778.

DEAR BROTHER:

Yours of June 26th I have received not long since. My son is not yet come home, but I have heard that he is on the way, in company with Capt. Cootes, who left him I suppose with you.

Mr. Beard, I believe, returned thro Yorktown and arrived some time ago in company with Mrs. Beard, which has changed her citizenship—Salisbury for Lancaster.* I am very sorry to hear of *brother Thomas' misfortune* and should be glad to be informed about the issue of his affair. I suppose it will reduce him to great difficulty and loss if he be forced to *serve out his enlistment.* However

* The "Mr. Beard" here mentioned is doubtless Valentine Beard, a continental soldier in the Revolution, who fought under Washington, notably at the battles of the Brandywine and Germantown. He married a Miss Margaret Marquedant.

for his sake, if obliged to serve for my own and my country's sake, I hope the war will not long continue. Providence seems to be directing it to a final issue, at least on the continent, tho' perhaps the British government may not acknowledge our Independence till the end of the present war with France, which their political phrenzy may continue for two or three years to come till they be reduced to the last extremity. Please to give us the fate of New York. We hear it is to be attacked by the French fleet and American army, and we should be glad to have a more distinct account of the affair of the 28th. My little family is well. No remarkable alteration lately. I hope soon to sustain the very respectable and important character of GRANDMOTHER.

I am your affectionate
Sister
ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.*

SALISBURY, 15th Aug., 1778.

DEAR BROTHER:

Inclosed you will find some letters which lately came to hand; I wrote you a few days ago. Nothing more since, only that I have got a little grand-Daughter, this morning about 3 o'clock. Mother and child well for the time. All well.

Your sister,
ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

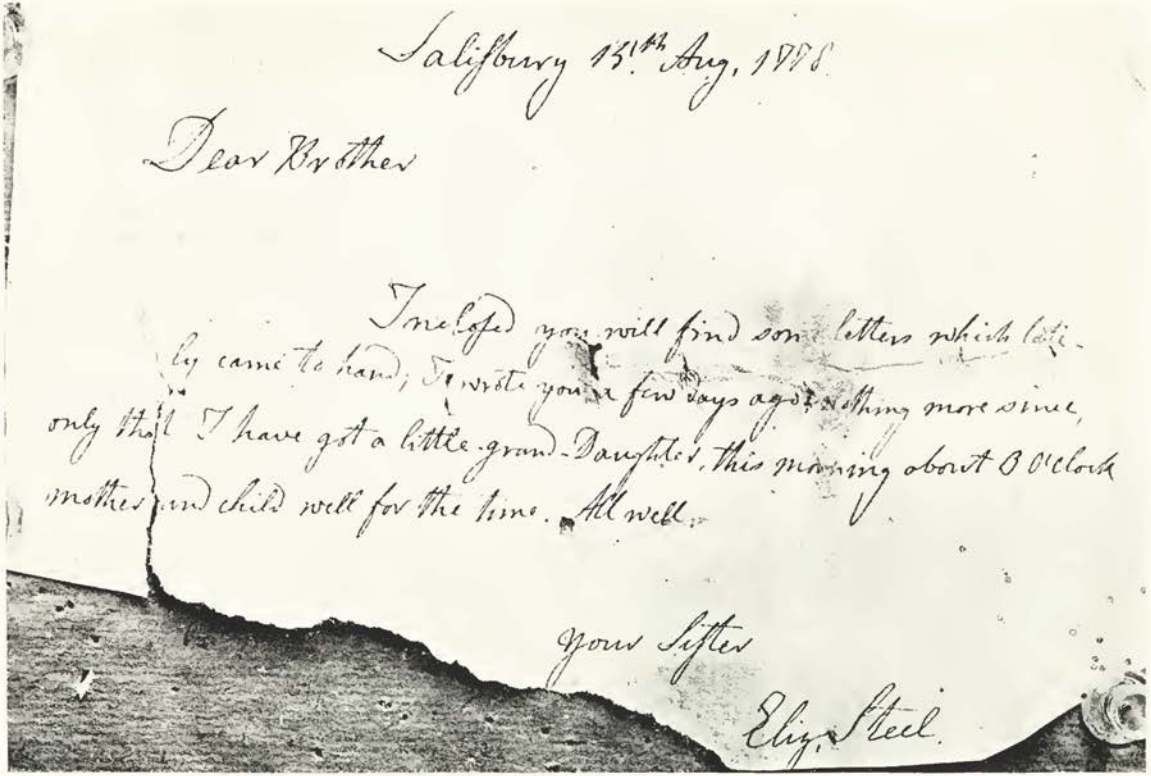
SALISBURY, Oct. 17, 1778.

DEAR BROTHER:

Tho I have wrote since I have received any letters from you, yet I take this opportunity to inform you that I am well with the rest of my little family, without any other alterations in it than those you have heard, unless it be that my son *Robert has gone into the army*,† and I have heard designed to be enrolled with *Major Davi-*

* For its clearness of delineation and its brevity, this letter, in photographic facsimile, is reproduced in the present monograph.

† Robert Gillespie was an efficient and daring soldier. Col. Alexander Martin, writing from Salisbury to Gov. Thomas Burke, August 10, 1781, says: "Inclosed your Excellency hath the Resignation of Captain James Sheppard's Commission in the State Regiment, in favor of Mr. Robert Gillespie of this Place, who was formerly a Continental Lieutenant, and serving with reputation——." (*Col. Rec.* XXII; 555, 558.) Says Rumple, "He was of a peculiarly bold and defiant spirit, and when the British entered Salisbury, he rode in sight of them in a menacing manner. As he had but one companion, 'Blind Daniel,' so called from having lost one eye, a kind of hanger-on in Salisbury, of course he did not remain to carry out his menaces." (*Rowan County.*) He received his commission as Captain of State Militia, and he and his company were subsequently paid £2157-8-8 by the State for their services in defence of their country. (Report of Auditor of Salisbury District, *Col. Rec.*, XXII, 1014.)



Salisbury 15th Aug. 1778

Dear Brother

Inclosed you will find some letters which lately came to hand; I wrote you a few days ago & nothing more since, only that I have got a little grand-Daughter this morning about 8 O'Clock mother and child well for the time. All well.

Your Sister

Eliz. Steel.

Facsimile of Letter by Elizabeth Steel.

son in Carlisle. If he has been with you I desire you to inform me, as I have not heard from him, since he left Halifax on the borders of Virginia.

His conduct in entering into the service has given me no small uneasiness; not that I disapprove the cause of liberty, but I thought him too young to launch out into the world. But I must resign him up to the conduct of Providence and endeavor myself to be resigned to the matter.

I have lately received a letter from *brother Joseph* which informs me of *his wife's death*, but for your satisfaction I'll send you his letter inclosed, especially as I am at a loss to guess his designs in leaving that state, or the continent, unless he be so unhappy as to disapprove our public measures. Give my compliments to *brother Thomas*, and please to inform me where he resides, that my future letters may find him. If you desire to write to *brother Joseph*, write immediately and I will forward your letter.

I am yours, etc., ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

SALISBURY, 19th Oct., 1779.

DEAR BROTHER:

I embrace the present opportunity to make you some return for your favor by the bearer, Mr. May. Your letters arrived before Mr. McCorkle, who was detained longer than his own or our expectation but arrived safe about the middle of September. I was very sorry to hear of the death of your *worthy minister Mr. Steele.** His death is much to be lamented, especially at this time when the number of clergymen is small and smaller still the prospect of others succeeding. You must however attempt, and I pray you may succeed in the obtaining another.

My little family is all with me, and well. Robert returned in the spring from his northern tour. The last accounts from Savannah mention that on the 9th instant a general attack was made on the enemy's lines in which we were repulsed with the loss of 150 killed and wounded. Verbal accounts also mention an express from the Spanish West India fleet, to (?) the French from our coasts to join them. Also the retreat of our army to Lewisburg. My little grand daughter walks and runs and dances and sings and talks—Hebrew for aught I know. Mr. and Mrs. McCorkle's compliments to you and Mr. Heap.

I am your loving and affectionate sister,

ELIZ. STEEL.

* No relative, so far as known, of Ephraim Steel.

P. S. Oct. 25.—We hear that the French fleet are only gone out to (?) with design to take the New York reinforcement, and that their army and ours still invest the British at Savannah.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

SALISBURY, 29th April, 1780.

DEAR BROTHER:

I desire you to believe that all my letters are the efforts of friendship and affection, for you can't suppose them to be letters of business, as I have no occasion to write on those subjects. The happiness of all my friends is what I most sincerely desire, and therefore wish to hear frequently from you. I am sorry that I can't (knowing you to be a good Whig) make you happy with some good news from Charleston. I can only inform you that there have been several skirmishes before Charleston with various success. That the shipping has passed Fort Moultrie with considerable loss, and that we every day expect to hear of a general storm on, or the continued blockade of Charleston, 6 or 7 thousand we conjecture on each side. Charleston is nearly invested on all sides, and what will be the event time must determine.*

My little family are in their usual health. Little *Nancy M.* grows apace, and begins to chatter. Mr. and Mrs. McCorkle join in sending compliments to yourself and Master Billy and be assured that I am with great respect, Dear Brother,

Yours affectionately,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

SALISBURY, July 13th, 1780.

DEAR BROTHER:

This will inform you that my little family are well but suffering with others the calamity of the times. You have had your time and now comes ours. We have been surrounded by Tory Insurrections, one party in the Forks of Catawba have been defeated with considerable loss.† Another from the forks of the Yadkin have been pursued but not overtaken. At present the state is uninvaded, but about five hundred are at the Waxaws.‡ The Tories are flocking in. South Carolina and Georgia are in the Enemies' hands. Our

* Charleston capitulated on May 12, 1780.

† Battle of Ramseur's Mill, June 20, 1780.

‡ Following the Battle of Ramseur's Mill, General Rutherford despatched Davie with his cavalry to Waxhaw Creek to watch the British, while he himself set off immediately in pursuit of Col. Bryan, who had succeeded in embodying a considerable force of Tories in the forks of the Yadkin, at the north end of Rowan, near Surry. By rapid marches, Bryan ultimately succeeded in escaping Rutherford, and in effecting a junction with a British force under Major McArthur.

army is advancing near Cheraw and I hope before this year be done the British and Tories will all be cooped up in Charleston. Pray give us the news with a paper or two from the North. My compliments to sister Nancy, Mr. Heap and family and all friends, Mr. Billy by name. I am your affectionate sister,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

DEAR BROTHER: SALISBURY, Oct. 25, 1780.

With the utmost satisfaction I can acquaint you with the sudden and favorable turn of our public affairs.* A few days ago destruction hung over our heads. Cornwallis with at least 1500 British and Tories waited at Charlotte for the reinforcement of 1000 from Broad River, which reinforcement has been entirely cut off, 130 killed and the remainder captured.

Cornwallis immediately retreated, and is now on his way toward Charleston, with a part of our army in his rear, commanded by General Smalwood. The remainder are expected soon to march from Hillsborough under the command of Gen. Gates.

I should thank you for a line. It is a long time since I received one. Please to give us the northern intelligence. You know I am a great politician. Compliments to *sister Nancy and children*, Mister Heap and family, and Master Billy and be assured that I am with great respect, Dear Brother, Yours,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

DEAR BROTHER: SALISBURY, 19th April, 1781.

Your obliging letter by Mr. Beard has come to hand. I most sincerely congratulate you on your matrimonial connections. May your lives be long and happy. I beg you to mention me most affectionately to Mrs. Steel, tho' unacquainted with her person or family. Please to mention me also to Master Billy.

In Feb. last the British were so kind as to pay us a visit, at a time when my little family were ill with the small pox, in which my little youngest granddaughter died, the rest have all happily recovered.†

*"The sudden and favorable turn of affairs" was created by the engagement here spoken of, which is none other than the famous Battle of King's Mountain, fought on October 7, 1780. Of Ferguson's force, 300 were killed or wounded; 100 regulars and 700 Loyalists were captured. The loss of the American "mountain men" was slight. The report of the victory was hailed as "great and glorious news." (General Gates to Thomas Jefferson, Gov. of Virginia.)

† For a full account of Cornwallis's stay in Salisbury, lasting from Saturday, February 3d, tothe following Monday night or Tuesday morning, cf. Rumple's *Rowan County*, ch. XVIII.

I was plundered of all my horses, dry cattle, horse forage, liquors and family provisions, and thought I escaped well with my house furniture and milch cattle. Some in this country were stripped of all these things.

It comforts me to think that the enemy will probably never return. His Lordship soon after the 15th of March* moved to Wilmington, and Gen. Greene, by a masterly stroke, has turned rapidly towards Camden in his rear which I hope will fall into his hands before Cornwallis can reinforce the place. At least it will take the war out of this state, and leave his Lordship not one step further than before Gates' defeat.†

Please to remember me in the most affectionate manner to sister Nancy. I have never been able to hear from our brother since the fall of Charleston, nor have I any way of writing to him—. I am with great respect your affectionate sister,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

SALISBURY, March 17, 1786.

DEAR BROTHER:

I was very happy to receive a long letter from you, and especially as it gave me an account of your own, and the happiness of your little family. If an opportunity had immediately offered I could have wrote you the happiness of mine. About the date of your letter my children were all alive and all married. My son John living with me and practising merchandise. He is still living—has a little daughter Nancy—and is doing well. You have heard I suppose of his marriage, in Cross Creek, to a Miss Dolly Nessfield, daughter-in-law to a Mr. Cochran Merchant there.‡

But Robin, O my poor Robin! He is no more. He was married to a very worthy lady near Georgetown in So. Carolina, in the beginning of July, and died there in the latter end of September. He was taken with a putrid fever and died in a few days illness. You can hardly conceive of my distress. It was aggravated by the expectation of seeing him and his wife at the very time when came the dreadful news of his death. However, it was a little lessening of my grief to hear that he had altered the manner of his life, and had sometime before his death become serious and thoughtful. So that I have the comforting hope of meeting with him where friends shall never part.¶

* The date of the Battle of Guilford Court House.

† Battle of Camden, August 16, 1780.

‡ John Steele was married to Mary Nesfield on February 9, 1783.

¶ Both Wheeler and Rumple fall into the comprehensible error of stating that Robert Gillespie, here affectionately termed "Robin" by his sorrowing mother, died unmarried.

Mr. McCorkle and family are well. They have 3 children living, a son and two daughters, the eldest of which is mostly with me at the English school in town. I have no late accounts from brother Joseph, since the fall of Charleston, and can not tell whether he be living or dead, tho' I have made all the inquiry I could. Remember me most affectionately to your good lady—Master Billy—and Miss Dolly—give her on my account half a dozen kisses, tell all your and my friends that they are dear to me, and be assured that I am with greatest affection Your sister

ELIZ. STEEL.

X.

There can be no more fitting close to a monograph on Elizbeth Maxwell Steel than the obituary notice, inserted at the request of her son-in-law, Dr. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle, in the *North Carolina Chronicle,* or *Fayetteville Gazette,* January 3, 1791.

"Died, on Monday the 22nd of November, in Salisbury, of a lingering and painful illness, Mrs. Elizabeth Steele, relict of Mr. William Steele,—mother of the hon. John Steele, and Margaret MacCorkle, wife of the reverend Samuel MacCorkle.

"Her name and character are well known, but best by her most intimate friends. She was a devout worshipper of God; *she was distinguished during the war as a friend to her country;* twice supported with dignity the character of wife and widow—she was a most tender and affectionate parent, an obliging neighbor, frugal, industrious, and charitable to the poor.

"Her character will be better understood by the following letter, found among her choice papers since her death, than by anything that can be said of her. The letter is believed and appears to be her own diction, and is published exactly as it was found. It may be a useful lesson to all parents, and to all children, as well as her own. It bears the date February 5, 1783, when her other son Robert Gillespie was living and begins thus:

MY DEAR CHILDREN:—

If I die before any of you, I wish that this letter may fall into your hands after I am dead and gone, that you may see how much affection I have for you, and, that what I have often said when alive may be remembered by you when I am in eternity.

If the Almighty would suffer me to return to talk to you,

I think now I would take a pleasure to do it every day; if this can not be allowed me, I think it would be some satisfaction to see you, especially when you are reading this letter which I leave you as a legacy, to see what effect it will have on you, and whether it will make you think of what I have often told you.

I have many a time told you to remember your Maker, and ask him to guide you: it is a good old saying, "they are well guided whom He guides, and He leaves them that don't ask Him, to their own ways." I want you to keep out of bad company—it has ruined many young people. I want you to keep company with sober good people, and to learn their ways,—to keep the sabbath—to be charitable to the poor—to be industrious and frugal—just to all men, and above all to love one another.

Believe me, my children, if anything could disturb me in the grave, it would be to know that you did not live as a brother and sister ought to live: nothing could be worse except that you would not all follow me to heaven. Oh, my dear children, I have had a great deal of trouble and sorrow in raising you! If I should feel after death as I do now, I could never endure to see any of you without an interest in Jesus at the great day, and forced away, never more to meet again. Parting here with your parents you know had almost taken my life, when I had hope to see them again; but I am now sure I could not live to see any of you cursed by your Maker, and driven away to dwell forever with the Devil and his angels.

While I lived, you know that it was my great desire to have you all around me and near me here; but my great desire has been to have you in the world to come. Believe me, nothing could make me so happy as to have my three dear children there;—yes, and your children, and all your connections. I would wish to take you all to heaven. Then, think of the vanity of this world—think of Jesus, the Saviour,—death,—judgment—, and eternity; and don't forget the living and dying desire of your most affectionate mother till death and after death,

ELIZABETH STEEL.

"Folded in the foregoing letter was also found, in her own handwriting, the following prayer, which must please every pious mind:

O Lord, my God, thou great Three-One! I give myself to thee this day, to be thine, to be guided by thee and not by another; and I desire to take God for my God, Jesus Christ to be my Saviour, the Holy Ghost to be my sanctifier and

leader. Lord, thou has promised that all that will come unto thee thou wilt in no wise cast out. All I beg in the name and for the sake of Jesus Christ, my Lord.

To this I set my hand, ELIZABETH STEEL.

"The date of the above was either not affixed or torn away from the paper.

"It can not be disagreeable to the serious mind to add that she was remarkably fond of the following hymn, and left it in her Bible, where it was found since her death, in the handwriting of her granddaughter, who had transcribed it for her:

The hour of my departure's come,
I hear a voice that calls me home;
At last, O Lord, let trouble cease,
And let thy servant die in peace.

The race appointed I have run,
The combat o'er, the prize is won,
And now my witness is on high,
And now my record's in the sky.

Not in mine innocence I trust,
I bow before thee in the dust,
And thro' my Saviour's blood alone,
I look for mercy at thy throne.

I leave the world without a tear,
Save for the friends I hold so dear;
To heal their sorrows, Lord, descend,
And to the friendless prove a friend.

I come! I come! at thy command,
I give my spirit to thy hand;
Stretch forth thine everlasting arms
And shield me in the last alarms.

"It would be a severe and ill-natured reflection on the religious taste of the present age to be making apologies for publishing the above memoirs, and therefore no apology is made. It is a debt due to an amiable character, and may not be without its use to the public."

PALMYRA IN THE HAPPY VALLEY

By Mrs. LINDSAY PATTERSON.

"Read the rede of this old roof tree;
Here be trust fast; opinion free;
Knightly right hand; Christian knee;
Truth in all things; wit in some;
Laughter open, slander dumb.

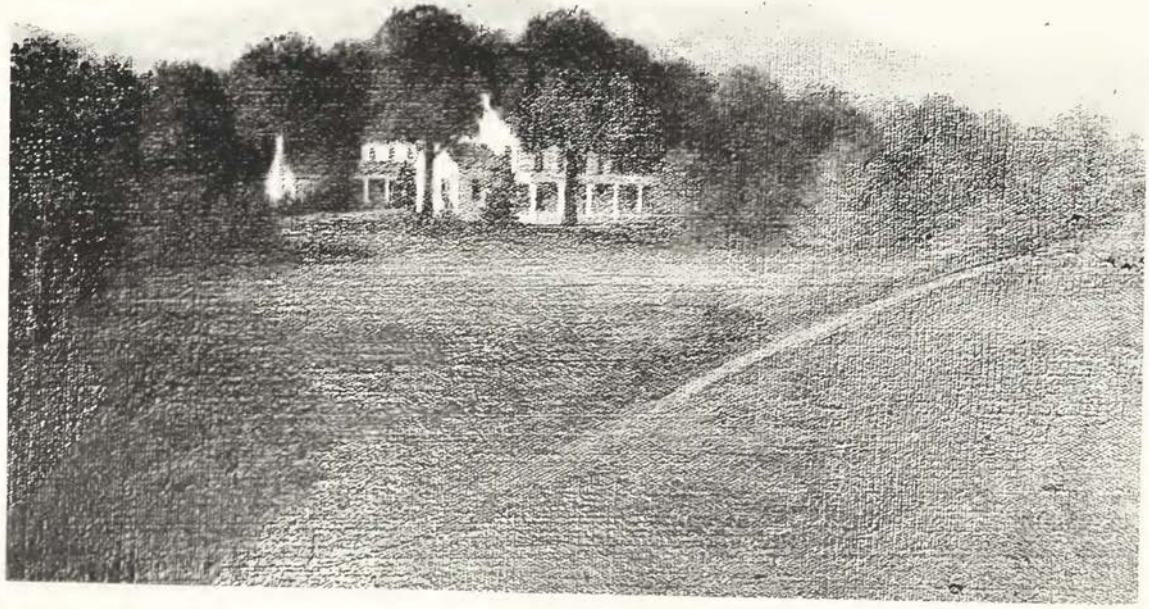
* * * * * *

Read the rede of this old roof tree."

These fragmentary lines are all that can now be recalled of an inscription in the hall of an English manor house belonging (I think) to Lord Lytton. We fortunate ones who knew Palmyra feel that it would have been equally appropriate for the old home with the four front doors that for a century were open to greet generation after generation, not only of kith and kin, but the stranger within the gates, doubly welcome were he penniless and friendless. Through those doors entered the sick to be nursed back to health; the weary and discouraged to be cheered and strengthened; the brides to be welcomed into the family; the babies to be properly admired; the aged to renew their youth; the young to frolic; and when the end came, out of them passed the blessed dead, to be tenderly carried to the little memorial Chapel of Rest at the top of the hill, for their long sleep in that quiet God's acre where the members of the family lie. Such was Palmyra in the Happy Valley, with the Yadkin River flowing through the meadows and the mountains round about her even as the Lord was round about Jerusalem.

* * *

No regular plan seems to have been adhered to in building the house. Dark passages and unexpected stairways led nowhere in particular; there were cubby holes and a secret



Palmyra in the Happy Valley.

closet, not with the traditional family skeleton, but an equally traditional and far more cheerful cask of old peach brandy hidden during war times and never since discovered by any amateur Christopher Columbus, though the search never flagged and the searchers never grew weary.

In the great square parlor were the twin tables with overhanging mirrors; the stiff old family portraits and stiffer old mahogany furniture looking as if all had been in the same place, as they probably had, save for sweeping and dusting, for well nigh a century, for it was one of the unwritten laws of Palmyra that nothing was ever to be changed. In the parlor, too, was the curious built-in bookcase filled with absorbingly interesting old volumes, the most interesting ones, of course, being on the top shelf that just could be reached by placing a footstool on top of a chair and then standing on tiptoe; and the number of times I have risked my valuable neck rummaging through those books, and the number of shirt waists I have ruined, ripping out the arm seams, while stretching for the volumes in the back corner, are both simply past count. But the hours of pure joy that have been mine while reading those books, and the amount of delightful misinformation on every known subject that I've acquired, will cheer me on a weary pilgrimage through this vale of tears. There in an old medical book of 1688 I found the formulas for the "vulnerary potion" with which Rebecca dosed Ivanhoe when he was wounded.

A number are given, but probably the most efficacious was this one: "Compound of the roots of alcohol, dittany, cinqfoil, gentian, orrice, solomon's seal, valerian, the leaves of agrimony, bramble tops, plantain, red cabbage, daisies, golden rod, hart's tongue, herb trinity, sage, saxifrage, tansy, the flowers of clover, jilly flowers, lily, rose. To these add cloves, mace, mummy, cinnamon, lentisk wood, sassafras, river crabs, spermaceti, viper's flesh, prepared steel, vitriol of mars and

crabs eyes levigated. Add red wine, boil, strain, and dulcify with white sugar."

One is now ready to believe any and all the statements of Sir Walter as to the instantaneous and startling effect of this vulnerary potion on the "Disinherited Knight."

There were the precious books of etiquette; sermons printed if not practiced, by Benjamin Franklin; ancient histories and novels and grammars and books of travel. On the second shelf was Jedediah, More's delightful "Geography of the Known World" when the Mississippi River was the boundary between Louisiana, New Spain and California on the West, and the United States on the East; when trappers and hunters, making the perilous trip down the Ohio, left civilization at Fort Pitt, passing no great states to the north of them, not even named lands, but "7 Ranges" "Army Lands" "Donation Grants from Virginia," "Ohio Company," "General Clarke's Grant, 150,000 acres," "Wabash Company," "Army Lands," etc. North Carolina reached from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi with the "country of Frankland" (not "Franklin" as it is called now) in the center. The Blue Ridge was then the great "Laurel Ridge." In North Carolina, Salisbury, the Moravian Settlement, Tarborough, New Bern, Bath, Guilford, Fayetteville, Hillsburg, and Edenton, are the only towns with the exception of Nashville and the "Cumberland Settlement." The news items are intensely interesting. "The River Yadkin where it passes Salisbury is almost 400 yards broad and then narrows to the width of 80 or 100 feet. In this narrow part in the Spring of the year, shad are caught by hoop nets in the eddies as fast as the strongest men are able to throw them out. Perhaps there is not in the United States a more eligible situation for a large manufacturing town. The late war put a stop to the iron works though there is one each in Guilford, Surry, Wilkes—all on the Yadkin—and one in Lincoln." * * *

"The Moravians have several flourishing settlements in this State. These people, by their industry and attention to various manufactories, are very useful to the country around there. The inhabitants of Wilmington, Edenton, New Bern, and Halifax districts once professed themselves of the Episcopal Church, but the Clergy, at the commencement of the late war, having declared themselves in favor of Great Britain, had to emigrate. The inhabitants of the above mentioned districts seem now to be making the experiment whether Christianity can exist in a country where there is no visible church. Temperance and industry are not to be reckoned among the virtues of North Carolinians. The time they waste in drinking and gambling, cock fighting and horse racing, leaves them very little opportunity to improve their plantations or their minds. The general topic of conversation among the men, when cards, the bottle, and occurrences of the day do not intervene, are negroes, the prices of indigo, rice, tobacco, etc. They appear to have little taste for the sciences."

On these shelves, too, were the account books with names of the slaves and the clothes issued to them semi-annually; herb remedies for various diseases of man and beast; especially for wounds of which there seem to be a never-ending variety; there also the files of Blum's Almanac beginning with the very first one; catalogues, beginning with 1830 of the faculty and students of the University and numberless pamphlets containing the addresses to the student body by William Hooper, Walker Anderson, Dr. John Hill, Hugh McQueen, Robert Strange, William Gaston, William Mercer Green, George E. Badger and countless others, ending curiously enough, in 1860 with the baccalaureate sermon in Gerrard Hall by the Most Rev. Archbishop Hughes of New York on "The Christian Law of Charity" which, patience

knows, just about that time, was rather celebrated by its breach than its observance.

Of much earlier date if having none of the homely charm of familiarity, were the political pamphlets. "The Political Jesuitism of James Madison, President of the United States, by an observant citizen of the District of Columbia 1812." "Speech of the Hon. John Marshall delivered in the House of Representatives on the Resolutions of the Hon. Edward Livingston, printed at the office of the True American, 1800." "Letters from an Irish Emigrant, 1798," "First Principles of Government, delivered at the Tribune of the French Convention, July 7, 1795" by Thomas Paine, author of the "Rights of Man" "Common Sense" etc., etc., "Causes of the Present War with France, by Hon. Thomas Eshill," "Messages of the Presidents of the United States," "Reports of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color, 1833," yearly reports of National affairs from Senators at Washington, sermons innumerable, files of old newspapers, English Classics of that day, European Magazines, Dublin Review, Histories, sacred and profane. The variety and extent is astonishing when one considers what transportation facilities were during the early years of 1800. Certainly people who read then must have read more and better books than in this good year of grace.

* * *

At the end of the porch, way off from the rest of the house was the blessed "East Room" with its big four-poster bed where Macbeth himself could have slept, and so far forgotten the deep damnation of Duncan's taking off, that by morning he too would have been ready to join in the search for that elusive cask of old peach. Can't you shut your eyes now and see Mary making the fire and hear the flames crackle in the big fireplace, while she told you in that pleasant voice of hers, all the Palmyra news, and you wondered how long it

would be possible to stay cuddled up in the soft featherbed and still not be late for that hickory smoked broiled ham; at least not later than the master of the household who was sure to be late enough to save the face of the most sleepy-headed visitor?

In the dining room with its big mahogany sideboard and side tables, was a young room of a china closet, with demi-johns of homemade apple vinegar, grape wine, blackberry cordial, and cherry bounce, while the top shelf held the quaint silver tea set, the old cut glass goblets and decanters and wine glasses, and the lower shelves, the gold band china set, the remnants of the still older plain white ones and the odds and ends of china and glass that had accumulated during all the years; and just outside the dining room was the closet with jars of brandy peaches and spiced pears and watermelon pickles, and jelly and preserves and canned fruits and vegetables, beyond count. And there was the upstairs back bed room, with another young room of a closet where the quilts and coverlets were kept. Was there ever such an assortment of handmade bed coverings, embroidered and pieced and appliqued and tufted and woven and knitted? Surely the women of Palmyra had for a pattern the wise woman of Proverbs who looked well to the ways of her household and ate not the bread of idleness, who laid her hands to the spindle, and whose hands held the distaff. Certainly they stretched forth their hands to the poor and needy and in their tongues was the law of kindness.

And don't you remember the great circular driveway bordered with blooming things from early spring until frost; and the garden—almost a farm in itself—with five rows of beans and a row of china asters; five rows of peas and a bed of roses, beets and zinnias, tomatoes and marigolds, potatoes and nasturtiums, corn and petunias, balsams and okra, and right by the gate the clump of lemon verbena?

I who spent so many happy days among the flowers can bring in return only this little sprig of rosemary for remembrance.

And there never was such a treasure trove as the attic, the final resting place of everything and anything that outlived its usefulness below stairs. Nothing at Palmyra was destroyed. Broken down mahogany tables and rickety chairs, candle moulds, spinning wheels and cradles were sent to the attic; while chests, hair trunks and barrels were packed with letters, deeds and papers, samplers, bonnets, laces, pincushions, wedding dresses, embroidery, fans, daguerreotypes, slippers, baby clothes, scent bottles, homespuns, quilts, carpet rags, yarns, cottons, the flotsam and jetsam of the long housekeeping years.

* * *

The inevitable changes of death have brought the letters and papers to the attic at Bramlette, where they fill boxes and boxes, so reading them is an interminable job, albeit a most fascinating one, beginning as they do about 1799, and running continuously down to 1908. The family connection was very large, scattered throughout Virginia, the Carolinas, Alabama, and Tennessee, and men, women, and children, and I am almost tempted to add the babe in its mother's arms, were most voluminous correspondents. The men's letters were largely of business matters, politics, crops, with passing mention of wife and babies. The women wrote of everything: the Indians, baby teething, new clothes, their daughters' beaux, neighboring gossip, parties, camp meetings, husbands and children. Yet throughout the century with new generations taking the place of the old, the ruling characteristics remain the same; an intense family affection, clannishness to the remotest kin by blood, an abounding hospitality, cheerful kindliness, and more particularly in the women, a deeply religious strain.

General Edmund Jones, Who Built Palmyra.

The earliest letters are addressed to Colonel Edmund Jones, Fort Defiance, Wilkes County. Later the title rises to the dignity of General and Brigadier General. Fort Defiance, built during the Revolutionary War, was the home of General William Lenoir, and is still owned by his descendants. Roosevelt in "Winning the West" quotes largely from the old hero's account of the battle of King's Mountain, speaking of him as a fine type of French Huguenot. He seems to have been one of the earliest settlers in Happy Valley, and no one knows how much land he "entered" there. Boxes of letters, his sword, wearing apparel and a letter from Washington are still treasured at "The Fort," as it is generally called. His daughter Ann, in 1798, married Edmund Jones, of Orange County, Virginia.

The first mention of Palmyra that I have been able to find is in a letter from Mrs. Israel Pickens (Martha Lenoir) whose husband had moved to Alabama where he became governor. She and Mrs. Edmund Jones were sisters. The letter is from Washington and dated January 10, 1815: "I hope when we return in March to find you comfortably situated in your new home in the midst of your cheerful little family." Letters from various relatives give other details. General Lenoir gave the tract of land on which Palmyra was built to his daughter, Ann, for a wedding gift. The home built by General Jones was a square building of red brick with small porch in front.

I have found but one letter from Mrs. Edmund Jones. It was written to General Jones, and it is easy to read between the lines, that the "heart of her husband safely trusted in her, and her children rose up and called her blessed" as she went about bravely bearing the burdens of that great plantation, his as well as her own, during his many absences in Raleigh as a member of the State Legislature. Then, as a century later, Palmyra was filled with company, evidently

from the way in which they are mentioned, most welcome, but she adds: "The company of my beloved companion would be to me the most agreeable in all this world." All details are given of business matters on the farm—the slaves, the cattle, the crops, the children, the neighborhood, deaths, births, and marriages. Yet all are forgotten while she closes her letter with: "Should I live to see you again, there will be *one glad* person if no more. Most affectionately yours, Ann Jones."

* * *

Boxes of letters to General Jones from all classes and conditions of men from one end of the State to the other, and on all sorts of subjects, tell of his wide activity and patriotic labors for his State during his almost continuous service in the Legislature from 1798 until 1838. He died in 1844, his wife, a few years earlier. These letters give such a clear picture of the man to whom they were written, as well as of the times and of the writers, many of whose descendants read THE BOOKLET, that some are herewith reproduced.

They begin in 1799 with a notice from James W. Henry, of the War Department, that Mr. Larkin Jones, of Wilkes County, is appointed a Second Lieutenant in the Sixth Regiment of Infantry. Larkin was a younger brother of Edmund. On November 29, 1805, "John Haywood offers his respects to Mr. Jones and requests the favor of his company at dinner on Saturday next." The writing is beautiful with flourishes most carefully made.

John Haywood, of Halifax, was a judge of the Superior Court, in 1794, and author of "Manual of the Laws of North Carolina," "Haywood's Justice," and later, after his removal to that State, a "History of Tennessee." Chief Justice Henderson said of him that he "disparaged neither the living nor the dead when he said that an abler man than

John Haywood never appeared at the bar or sat on the bench of North Carolina."

But styles are changing and Governor Hawkins is sending out very impressive printed invitations encircled by a fancy wreath. He "presents his respects to General Edmund Jones and requests he will do him the pleasure to dine with him on Saturday next, at 2 o'clock. Raleigh 10, December, 1812." Oddly enough, the invitations, instead of having the Raleigh address of General Jones (there as a member of the Legislature) are invariably written, "General Edmund Jones of Wilkes." Of another tenor is the next note. "General Smith presents his respects to Colonel Jones with whom he wishes to have an interview as quickly as possible." There is no date. Evidently General Smith was in too big a hurry to bother with dates, but wouldn't you like to know which General Smith, and what the flurry was about? Even the writing after all these years has never quieted down but gives the impression of worry and impatience. Waightstill Avery, whose writing in November, 1805, is none of the best, is one of the strictly few who stick to business and to business only, though he does take time to sign himself "Dear Sir, believe me to be with great respect, your very obedient servant." Robt. W. Williams asks that "that militia bill be called up this morning, December 14, 1805," and writes again on Sept. 1, 1802:

I congratulate you in your election again to become one of the legislators of our State. * * * It has been some time since you thought proper to come into the Legislature. * * * Much alarm has excited the minds of the people relative to the claims and suits brought by Lord Granville to recover all this country. But I take it, Sir, he can never recover. * * *

In case Mr. Blake Baker resigns this office of Attorney General, permit me to inform you, Sir, that I shall be a candidate for that appointment; any assistance which you may think proper to give

me in the business, shall as a favor ever be remembered and gratefully acknowledged by, my dear Sir,

Your friend and well wisher,

ROBT. WILLIAMS.

My respects if you please to Genl. Lenoir.

There were two Robert Williams—both distinguished men—General Robert Williams, of Surry, and Dr. Robert Williams, of Pitt.

The next letter is so beautifully written and with such ornamental flourishes that it deserves to be on parchment. It is dated Surry, 3d November 1807, and is from "Jo. Williams." I fancy it must be Joseph Williams, one of the Surry delegates to the convention at Hillsboro in 1775 and a colonel of the militia during the Revolution.

SIR:—I've observed Mr. Gales has announced the death of Mr. John Hunt, late a clerk to the House of Commons. * * * In Consequence of which my son Williams intends offering his services, and which he would not presume to do had it not been for the death of Mr. Hunt. He is a tolerable good penman and I flatter myself would be adequate to the duties of that appointment. Should you also think so and can find a freedom in giving him your influence, the favor will ever be thankfully acknowledged by him and also by your most obedient JO. WILLIAMS.

Sept. 12, 1806, a note from S. Erwin. "I do hereby signify to you my resignation of the commission of Captain of the Horse for Burke County and request you to accept the same." In 1807 William Norwood, of Hillsborough, after giving all the family news, asks General Jones when he next comes to Raleigh to bring him two bushels of the "new kind of grass called Egyptian oats."

The Hon. Jesse Franklin, of Surry, U. S. Senator from 1807-1813 and governor in 1820, writes under date of 28th December 1812:

I am happy that the Legislature has put off the election for members of the Thirteenth Congress until August next leaving a Democratic House with the Governor. * * * With, respects to my

successor, I hope he will turn out well. He is a man of talents. * * * You have no doubt seen in the Public Prints the disastrous Issue of the several attempts upon Canada. The papers contain all the information in our possession upon the subject. The last affair under General Smythe seems to have let him down in the eyes of his best friends. However when we consider the total want of discipline and the spirit of insubordination that exists among such hosts of the militia suddenly brought together, disaster in the execution of their plans of operation is not be wondered at. Upon the water we have been more successful. Our Navy has, whenever they have come in contact with the British upon anything like equal terms proved victorious. Congress have passed a law for building four shipes of 74 gunes each and six frigates of 44 guns each. * * * You will have seen that the pay of non commissioned officers and privates has been raised by a law of this session; privates to 8 dollars and the other about in the same proportion. * * * I shall be Happy to hear from you at any time, when time and opportunity may serve your convenience.

Your obt. Servant, J. FRANKLIN.

Quite a different point of view is given in the next letter from the seat of war. It is written from

CAMP NEAR BUFFALO, NIAGARA RIVER.
RIGHT WING NORTHERN ARMY,
20th Nov., 1814.

DEAR SIR:

You will excuse my not writing to you, as I had nothing interesting to communicate relative to the division of the army to which I am attached. In August last and some time previous the right wing or first division of the Northern army was stationed at Chazy and Champlain—near the line of Debarcation, and within six miles of the enemies' headquarter—the two armies continued in that situation or position several weeks, without fighting except Piquet fighting and shooting sentinels on post—a barbarous and unjustifiable mode of warfare—but the enemy commenced it (not us). Forsyth's brave rifle corps at length broke up the enemies inhuman traffic. * * *

On the 29th the army took up its line of march from Champlain for Buffalo, (sic) hundred miles to the west—and on the 12th Oct. the army arrived at Black Rock, having marched over mountains, through deserts, and swamps where the D—l himself would do well not to enter. On the 13th the army crossed the Niagara and pitched their tents on his majesty's soil, made immediate prepara-

tions to move down the Niagara meet the enemy and beat him. On the 14th the army was organized in the following order. 1st General Smiths Brigade composed of the 4th, 10th, 12th and seventeenth regiments to move in column of (?) preceded by four piece light artillery, one mortar—2 companies or troops cavalry flanked by six light companies and one rifle battalion, next in order, Genl. Bissel's Brigade advanced in rear in column or regts. flanked by six companies light troops one compr. Cavalry with the heavy artillery and one battalion ———. Genl. Brown's division, the brave heroes of Chippewa Bridgewater and Port Erie advanced one mile in rear, in order of battle, then in order the American army moved down the Niagara to Chippewa plains. On the 14th at 4 o'clock p. m. Smith's Brigade approached the enemy's advanced post, or advanced guard, they gave us a distant fire and retired from their works. On the 15th the army arrived on Chippewa plains, and discovered the enemy formed in order of battle, his left resting on the Niagara, and his right extending across the plains—our columns advanced until they gained an advantageous position, deployed and formed the line with the utmost coolness and anxiety for battle, the right of east brigade resting on the Niagara and the left extending across the plain—the brave Capt. Towson and ———— recd. orders to commence the action by advancing with 4 pieces artillery and one mortar; the enemy opened a fire from his whole line, but a well directed fire from our piece—our left troop and riflemen gaining his right flank and commencing a sharp fire, together with a number of shells bursting about their ears, caused the enemy to retreat to his works across the Chippewa. They fled a second time, the boasted Wellington troops, now commanded by Lieut. Genl. Drummond the Earl of Tweedsdale and Genl. Brigham, said to be six or eight thousand strong exclusive of Boltigeurs and Canadian militia. On the 15th our army advanced within six hundred yards of the enemy's batteries on the Chippewa. The right of each division resting on the Niagara and the left extended up the Chippewa river. The appearance of the American line was grand. An army of ten or twelve thousand well organized troops, arranged in order of battle at 1 o'clock P. M. The whole of our artillery and morters were ordered to advance within three hundred yards of the enemy's batteries on the open plain. The enemy commenced a fire from 5 batteries and immediately after our 18 prs. began to roar which caused a number of his majesty's fugitive banditties to retreat from behind their works but not before several shells bursted among them. At 2 P. M. two of the enemy's batteries were silenced and one piece dismounted. Dr. Sir, Never before did I feel such anxiety for battle—the delightful roar of the American

artillery, the tremendous roar of the Niagara falls in full view, together with viewing the immense and increasing spray ascending from the falls, conspired to enliven the imagination and render the scene sublime. At 3 their batteries were silenced, the roar of our pieces ceased not—at 4 he recommenced a fire from one of his batteries but was soon silenced. We had but four killed and a few wounded, most of his shot passed over us.

Give my best respects to Genl. Wm. Lenoir. I reverence the names of the patriots of 76. I love them wherever they are. Whilste I continue to have an existence the names of those that fought for my freedom and delivered their country from tyranny and oppression shall be dear to me. I subscribe myself yours with the highest consideration of respect and esteem.

A. E. McKinzie,
Lieut. 10th Infty.

The last word is said by Hon. Meshack Franklin, a member of Congress from Surry, 1807-15, who writes from Washington, January 6th, 1814:

This day a message from the President was laid before Congress communicating the dispatch brought by flag of truce from the British government. Its contents are a proposition to open negotiations for a peace, Distinct from the Russian Mediations, to be negotiated at either Gothenburg in Sweden or at London. The proposition has been accepted on the part of this government and Gothenburg will be the place where the agents of the respective governments meet for the transaction of their business. We hope that it may lead to an honorable peace. With what sincerity, this proposition has been made, it is impossible to say, but if peace be the object, there is not doubt of a speedy arrangement of all the points in controversy, but whether it be serious or ——— no reduction ought to be made in the necessary preparations for the prosecution of the war.

Respectfully, your Obt. Servt.,
M. Franklin.

Hon. Lewis Williams, "Father of the House" for many years, gives voluminous details of the year's work in Washington.

In the annual message of the President, we were informed that the balance in the treasury on the 1st of January, 1828, was upwards of five millions of dollars;

The defensive establishments of the country, appear to be on a very respectable footing. The army consists of about six thousand men including officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates. It is said to be organized according to the best plan, and is divided into seven regiments of infantry, and four regiments of artillery, distributed through the country at such points as will be most likely to render them serviceable. The aggregate militia force of the United States, including officers and men, is one million one hundred and sixty-eight thousand four hundred and nineteen.

The navy consists of seven ships of the line carrying seventy-four guns each, seven frigates of the first class, and four of the second class, sixteen sloops of war, and seven schooners. In addition to which, there are now building at different places in the United States, five ships of the line and six frigates. When these shall have been completed, our navy will be quite formidable for all the purposes of defence, that being the only object for which it should be maintained. For no one ever imagined the navy ought to be so large, as to stimulate us to engage in foreign wars, or to commit aggressions upon the rights of others.

In the year of 1792 there were 195 post offices, a revenue of $67,444, and 5,642 miles of post roads. In 1828 the number of post offices was 7,651, the amount of revenue $1,598,134, and 114,536 miles of post roads. It will be perceived that the increase in this establishment has been very great; but I would be willing to see it further extended, 'till every neighborhood, nay almost every citizen should be accommodated with a post office at his door, if he should think proper to have it so.

It has been again proposed to establish a post, and form a settlement at the mouth of Columbia river, on the Pacific Ocean. In my former communications to you, I have frequently had occasion, to notice this measure, and to state my objections to it. It seems to me impolitic to plant a colony at so great a distance from the settlements on the Atlantic and Mississippi. The people who might inhabit that region could never have a community of interest and feeling with us who live on this side of the Rocky Mountains; and the extension of settlements to that quarter would only lead to a dismemberment of the empire, whenever they should be able to protect themselves.

Another territorial government is proposed to be established in the North West, to be called "the government of Huron." The progress made in the creation of states and territories is evidence of the felicitous nature of our political system, and its capacity for extension over a much wider space than is now embraced by it. From thirteen states we have increased to twenty-four, and there

General and Mrs. Samuel Finley Patterson, and Their Son, Rufus Lenoir Patterson.

will be four territories, if the government of Huron should be established. When these are admitted into the union, the number of states will be twenty-eight.

On the 11th of this month the votes for President were counted in presence of both Houses of Congress, and General Andrew Jackson declared to be duly elected President of the United States, for four years from and after the 4th of March next.—Whatever difference of opinion has existed among us in relation to this choice, we all must wish that the administration of General Jackson may be wise and virtuous:—if his measures are good they should be supported, but if bad they ought to be opposed.

As my term of service will expire on the 4th of March, you will be called on at the ensuing election to choose a Representative in the next congress of the United States. Permit me again to offer myself as a candidate for your suffrages, and to say that if elected, I will do the best I can to serve you faithfully and beneficially.

Your friend and fellow citizen,

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18th, 1829. LEWIS WILLIAMS.

* * *

After the death of General and Mrs. Jones, Palmyra was inherited by Edmund, the youngest and only surviving son, who had married his cousin, Sophia Davenport, and built "Clover Hill." General Jones' Daughter, Mrs. Samuel Patterson (Phœbe Caroline) who then was living in Wilkesboro inherited from her father's estate, lands in Mississippi. Brother and sister were devoted to each other, and in order to live near together, Edmund gave his sister Palmyra, taking in exchange the lands in Mississippi. Others say the place was bought outright by General Patterson because his wife wanted her old home. A letter says: "In 1851-52 General and Mrs. Patterson remodeled and enlarged the old home, adding the East and West wing, the dining room with its pantries, and the large room above with its closets. The large staircase was built in the hall between parlor and dining room, and a small staircase run up for private use from the 'dark room' in the center of the house. These improvements were made in contemplation of the marriage of the eldest son, Rufus, to Marie Louise, 4th daughter of Governor and

Mrs. Morehead. The room over the dining room was built especially for the bed room of the bridal couple."

Family tradition tells a pretty story of the landscape gardening, which was planned on moonlight nights while Samuel and Phœbe Caroline wandered through the grounds with their arms around each other, locating drives and walks and gardens. After her death in the middle sixties, family tradition again comes to tell that he died of a broken heart, after she, his best beloved, was taken.

* * *

Of the charm Palmyra exercised upon all who came within its borders the countless letters bear ample testimony. One dealing especially with the old home as it was during the lifetime of General and Mrs. Patterson is such a perfect pen picture that I cannot do better than give it in its entirety. It is written by the only surviving granddaughter, Mrs. Albert Coble, of Statesville.

"Our history (Mama's children) is especially connected with Palmyra from the fact that we not only as children, spent every summer there, but that after our mother's death, Grandma came for us, and took us all home with her, and gave us the most devoted love and care for three years, until we moved back to Salem, and Louie, you know, always made his home there (I think our parents first moved to Salem in 1855).

"In giving the history of Palmyra, it seems to me that the principal thing to do would be to reproduce, if possible, the *atmosphere* of the place,—that feeling of hominess and happiness and good cheer which filled every one who came within its circle. There was Grandpa with his stately, noble bearing, always dignified, yet always affable; Grandma, gracious to strangers, cordial to friends, and affectionate to all the large circle of relatives. They kept open heart and open house where the young people loved to gather for their pleasure, where all summer long the relatives filled the house, and in the evenings the strains of music floated out upon the lawn, and the waltz was danced within the parlor and upon the long veranda, where often the house servants gathered in groups outside to see the fun. This home became especially during the war, the Mecca for the widow and the orphan. Refugees from the more

Southern states came and remained for months. All were made welcome. The home was conducted like the old southern plantation. There were some 60 or 70 slaves. There were the blacksmith and carpenter shop, a shoe shop, a loom room, where those pretty spreads and counterpanes were made; there were spinners, gardeners, dairy maids, house servants, cooks and nurses, besides the coachmen, two hostlers, cow-herds, sheep tenders, the regular field hands, and about 20 little darkies who were called on to rake up leaves, play with the little white children, hold the ponies to feed on the grass, and one or two detailed to wave the peacock fly-brush and keep the flies off the table at meals. Generally, there was one too, to run backwards and forwards to and from the kitchen at breakfast and supper to bring the hot cakes.

"The life of the master and mistress was a very busy one. They rose early to look after the household, the servants, the stock etc. Grandpa made the round of the barns and stables early every morning to set each hand to his task, to see that the stock was well tended etc. There was a large number of horses and 12 cows were always milked. Grandma was up hours before her guests, seeing that the house was put in order, the breakfast properly under way, fresh flowers gathered for the table etc.

"Her lawn, flower-beds and garden took much of her attention. At the time the house was remodeled, the front lawn, circle and drive-way and flower-beds (as we knew them) were made, and almost every known flower and shrub of that day was secured and planted there, from the spruce pine of the mountains to the cypress of the coast, and from the mountain rhododendron to the tender crepe myrtle and yellow jessamine. I heard of Mrs. Folk's saying that Grandma knew more about trees and plants and just where and how to plant them than any one she ever saw. Besides this, Grandma was a beautiful seamstress (doing the most perfect darning I ever saw); She played well on the piano, guitar, and zither; she painted exceedingly well and wrote some beautiful poetry. Grandpa was particularly well informed in many lines; was exceedingly particular in writing and spelling, as well as in grammar and in the use of just the right word for the occasion, and used very fine English, although he went to work at 15 years and never returned to school.

"Of course, my most vivid recollections of Palmyra are of my happy childhood years there, and although a terrible war was raging about us, we were shielded from all harm and suffering. My father, who foresaw a long struggle, laid up many supplies in large quantities, beforehand, so that we never suffered the privations that many did. It always seemed to me that my grandmother's arms were the

refuge from all trouble and sorrow. Cousin Laura Norwood voices the feelings of many when she says: 'When I first remember Palmyra the new house was complete in all its beauty, and to me, was the loveliest place on earth, pervaded by the very spirit of kindness and hospitality.'

"I see I have said nothing of the religious life at Palmyra, which pervaded everything. Grandpa and Grandma were two of the most devout people I have ever known. They carried their religion into their every day life, and its influence was felt by every one, from the most exalted visitor to the home, to the humblest slave. They were daily and loving readers of the Bible; they lived and taught the Golden Rule, and all, without any cant or sanctimoniousness. Grandpa held family prayers every night, and on Sundays, when there were not church services, he assembled the family and guests and read the morning service from the Prayer Book. The house servants also, were often present. All inmates were taught obedience and love to our kind Heavenly Father. Grandpa was brought up a Presbyterian, but not having joined the church before marriage, he went with Grandma and became a devoted Episcopalian."

* * *

The Biographical History of North Carolina says of General Samuel Finley Patterson, that "he was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, on March 11, 1799 and at the age of fifteen was induced by his uncle, Major John Finley, to remove to Wilkesboro, North Carolina, where he was employed as a clerk in the store of Waugh & Finley until he attained his majority in 1821.

"In 1828 and 1829 he was Junior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Masons of the State, and in 1830 and 1831 Deputy Grand Master; in 1833 and 1834 he was Grand Master, and no one in the State was more highly esteemed by his fellow Masons. His career had been one of unvaried success and good fortune. His association with the public men who during the fifteen years of his connection with the Legislature had been members of the General Assembly had won for him their confidence and esteem, and his promptness, fidelity and integrity had made a most favorable impression throughout the State. Having begun business on his own

account upon leaving the employment of his uncle, he had so successfully managed his affairs that he enjoyed the reputation of being an excellent financier and business man. At the General Assembly of 1835, although he was a strong opponent of the policies of General Jackson, and the Legislature was largely composed of the friends of General Jackson, he was elected public treasurer of the State, succeeding William S. Mhoon. He held this position for two years, a part of the same time likewise discharging the duties of president of the Bank of the State, and adding to his reputation as one of the best financiers of North Carolina. But in 1837 he retired from office and returned to his business in Wilkesboro.

"In 1840, three days in June had been devoted to festivities celebrating the completion of the Capitol and of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, and in that year Mr. Patterson, who was an early promotor of internal improvements and an able financier, was elected president of that, the first railroad completed in the State, and he moved to Raleigh so as to discharge the duties of that office. In 1845, however, his father-in-law, General Jones, died, and Mr. Patterson resigned his position as president of the Railroad Company and returned to the Yadkin Valley, intending to devote the remainder of his life to his farming interests. Largely through his influence, in 1841, Caldwell County had been erected out of portions of Burke and Wilkes, and Mr. Patterson's home, known as "Palmyra," was in the new county. Immediately on his return to Caldwell County he was elected chairman of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, having the management of all the internal affairs of the county, and he held this office until the old system of county courts was abolished by the constitution of 1868.

"The next year, 1846, he was chosen to represent his county in the Senate, and was again elected in 1848.

"At that time the affairs of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad had become hopelessly embarrassed. There was not business enough or sufficient earnings to pay the running expenses Governor Graham, Mr. Patterson and the other friends of internal improvements were greatly discouraged, and recognized that some great effort should be made to sustain the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad by constructing an interior line that would serve as a feeder to it and give it a greater volume of business, while at the same time affording needed facilities to other parts of the State. Mr. Patterson, who was among the foremost of those who advocated internal improvements, was Chairman of the Committee on Internal Improvements, and drew a bill proposing to charter a road from Raleigh to Salisbury, and giving some State aid to it. This measure, however, did not receive sufficient favor to secure its passage. The friends of internal improvements, then the most important matter in the public mind, were almost in despair. Mr. William S. Ashe, Senator from New Hanover, and a Democrat who differed with his party friends on this particular subject, was appealed to to prepare another bill. He did so, proposing to incorporate a road from Goldsboro to Charlotte, and appropriating $2,000,000 as State aid. At first the magnitude of this work and the great amount of money appropriated staggered even the most ardent of the advocates of internal improvements; but eventually that bill was substituted for the one proposed by the Committee on Internal Improvements and was passed by the casting vote of the speaker of the Senate. As Mr. Dudley was the leader of internal improvements in the east, so in like manner is the west indebted to Mr. Patterson for his efforts to promote the interests of the western part of the State in that respect.

"In 1854 he again served his people in the Legislature, being a member of the House of Commons, and during the

War, 1864, he was for a third time elected to the Senate. After the restoration of peace, a convention was elected in October, 1865, and in 1866, there being a vacancy in that body from Caldwell County, he was elected a delegate to that convention. In the same year he attended what was known as the Philadelphia Peace Convention as one of the delegates from North Carolina, the object in view being to establish fraternal relations between the sections of the Union and to restore harmony and good will among the people. This convention was presided over by Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, and was largely attended by delegates from the New England States; and while it had some effect in staying the hands of the irreconcilables in Congress for a time, it did not entirely defeat their will and purposes, and the next year the Reconstruction Acts, destroying the State governments at the South and establishing new State governments on the fundamental basis of negro suffrage, were passed.

"In 1868 General Patterson was nominated on the State ticket by the Conservative Party for the office of superintendent of public works, a new position established by the constitution of 1868. But he and his party at that election went down in hopeless defeat, the first, such as it was, that he ever met before the people. Among the less important places that Mr. Patterson held during his long career of public activity was that of clerk of the Superior Court and clerk and master in equity; in 1839 he was Indian commissioner; he was also elected by the Legislature Brigadier-General and afterward Major-General of the State militia, and he thus became entitled to be known as General Patterson.

"For many years he was a Justice of the Peace, and a Trustee of the State University for a third of a century.

"General Patterson was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and for many years was vestryman, warden and lay reader of his parish church; and in 171 he was one of

the lay delegates from the diocesan convention of this State to the general convention held in Baltimore.

"Such is the succinct record of his public life.

"Beginning as a clerk in the Legislature of 1821, there was not a year for a half a century in which he was not honored by the State of his adoption until, after fifty years of continuous service, he fitly closed his career by representing her in the grand council of the church he loved. What man in the State has ever lived a busier, more useful, purer life? Who, having so many and great trusts confided in him, has fulfilled them more worthily? He never sought any civil office which would withdraw him from North Carolina. His history, together with the history of a few of his peers and associates, was for many years the history of the State. Such men, so strong in mind and body, so pure in heart and hand, so steady, so resolute and so wise, during half a century of usefulness, influenced insensibly to themselves thousands whom they met and thousands more who honored them because of their acts. The study of his career and the character of men like him, who controlled the destiny of North Carolina in times past, will show something of the reason why the State has been so little known abroad, so loved and reverenced at home.

"They were like those Romans, spoken of by Sallust, who lived in the nobler days of the Republic, who would rather do great deeds than write about them—a people among whom the wisest were also the busiest citizens, and who, disdaining to cultivate their minds at the expense of their bodies, so used both to accomplish the greatest good to the commonwealth. General Patterson, although he held so many and various offices, and gave so much time and attention to public affairs, was for the last thirty years of his life properly a farmer. By this pursuit he supported himself while he served the people. His farm was a model of neat-

ness and thrift; he was zealous in introducing new seeds, improved implements and better methods of cultivation; he was a constant reader and frequent contributor to the columns of agricultural journals, and was justly regarded as an authority in matters pertaining to husbandry. His domestic life was as even, as useful and as pure as his public life.

"His home was attractive, and in the company of his wife and two sons, Rufus L. Patterson and Samuel L. Patterson, he was entirely happy; but being given to hospitality, he rejoiced at the presence of many guests. No one who was ever a guest at 'Palmyra' can forget the stately figure which welcomed him or bade good-by with such kindly, heartfelt courtesy. Nor was his generosity confined to his own premises; many a poor neighbor, both white and black, lamented the death of the dear friend who never forgot either their necessity or their self-respect, and gave as delicately as wisely.

"He died at his home, January 20, 1874, as peacefully as he had lived."

* * *

Mrs. Samuel Finley Patterson was such a many sided woman that it is difficult to write of her. Judging from the silk gowns, bonnets, laces, embroideries, crepe shawls, fans, high heeled satin slippers, lace handkerchiefs, ribbons, scent bottles, (of which she had a wonderful collection) one would think that personal adornment was her ruling passion. Yet, looking over the great clothes chests and closets filled to overflowing with her handiwork—woven coverlets and blankets, quilts of every description, bureau and table covers, a mass of most intricate embroidery and lace, pincushions and bags, and embroidered collars and underwear, chair seats, and cross stitch pictures, one would come to the conclusion that needle work, and that alone, occupied her entire

time. Then in wandering through the rooms admiring the quaintly beautiful china and cut glass, and silver, the beautiful old mahogany furniture that filled the house from attic to cellar, and reading the letters from guests who crowded the house to overflowing for so many years, one feels that she could have had time and taste for housekeeping and for that only. Her neatly kept account books with names of each slave, number of garments and shoes furnished each one, clothing purchased, contents of smoke houses, orders made for table linen, china and furniture—all show the business woman. She was a skilled musician, and the exquisitely painted landscapes on the wall proclaim her an artist. Her public spirit is shown in the letters and memorandum of her efforts in collecting funds to aid in purchasing Mt. Vernon from the Washington family. The work she did for that must have been very great, as the list is a long one of those who contributed, as well as of the meetings she held and people she visited to rouse interest in saving Washington's home from decay. In utter bewilderment, one turns to her letters as a court of last resort—and there are many of them—to father, brother, sisters, sons, husband, nieces, cousins, every relation is represented, and in each, she is the same; wise in counsel, most tender and loving, strong and capable. Her one thought seems to have been the happiness and well-being of her loved ones, and all her strength of mind and heart and body were given to making Palmyra the home to which their hearts turned. Nor did her interest end with kith and kin; friend and stranger received the same gracious help, if help were needed, the same comfort in sorrow, the still rarer sympathy in joy.

I once asked the late Mrs. Folk to tell me about her, and the reply was: "Mrs. Patterson and Mrs. Polk were the greatest women I have ever known, and of the two, Mrs.

Patterson was the greater. It was worth a trip to Palmyra to see her and General Patterson preside over a table full of guests; he so handsome and dignified and kindly; she so gracious and sweet to each one. I never knew a woman who understood so well the artistic arrangement of flowers and shrubs and trees. She was a born landscape gardener."

The orphans and motherless members of the family came to her as a matter of course; so did the sick babies and invalids, to be nursed to health and strength. It was also a matter of course for relatives from far and near to come with their families and servants to spend the summer. To be sure those were the days of trained slaves, and with Harriet, the meat cook, Myra the pastry cook, Cindy and Sarah, both good general cooks, and Ann and Margaret, the young cooks, not to mention trained butler and waitresses and house servants, the burdens of a housekeeper were very different from what they would be now, yet burdens there must have been. Beef and mutton had to be slaughtered and looked after; sixty hogs were killed every autumn for the year's supply, not to mention turkeys, ducks, geese, guineas and chickens innumerable. The slaves must be clothed from the cotton, flax and wool raised on the place, and spun and woven and made into garments. The mistress of Palmyra had no time to eat the bread of idleness even if she had wished. It is little wonder that it was said of her husband "after his wife's death, he never lifted up his head." It was in fulfillment of her wish that her youngest son, Samuel Legerwood Patterson, built the Chapel of Rest near Palmyra, and there she and her beloved lie, sleeping their last sleep in the Happy Valley they so loved, and where their memory lingers, a gracious benediction.

The best picture of General Patterson was given me by "Aunt Till"—one of the few surviving old slaves: "Old

Marse, he were good. I never seed no sech a good man, and he wore Sunday clothes every day. Come some biggoty nigger nusses up from South Carolina one summer, en dey craned dey necks and dey say 'I ain't never seed your old Marse wear no ever-day close yit, ain't he got none?' and I say 'No he ain't—all his close is Sunday close and he don't never war no other kind.' An' ole Marse, he were good. Every Sunday he gathered all the little niggers together and teached us the Bible and the Catechism. I done members it yit."

* * *

General Patterson died January 20, 1874, his beloved wife two years earlier. Of their two sons, one, Rufus Lenoir Patterson, (of whom it was said: "He was a Saul among men, physically as well as mentally") had engaged in business in Salem and made his home there. Palmyra became the home of the younger son, Samuel Legerwood Patterson, who in 1873 had married Mary Senseman, of Salem, a daughter of Rt. Rev. E. T. Senseman, a Moravian minister, of Indiana.

What has been said of General and Mrs. Patterson and their life at Palmyra, could be repeated almost verbatim of their son and his wife. The same nobility of character, the same spotless integrity, patriotism and devotion to duty; the same kindness and open-handed hospitality were their distinguishing characteristics, even though war with its disastrous aftermath, had swept away the greater part of the income from the plantations. The courteous welcome, the loving sympathy, the peace and beauty of the place, still made it one in a thousand. Relatives and friends, old and young, rich and poor, sick and well, thronged to Palmyra, remaining for days, months, or years, as best pleased them. As his forebears had done, Mr. Patterson gave his best wisdom and energy to the upbuilding of the State, becoming

Commissioner of Agriculture and living in Raleigh the last years of his life. Even when smitten with the disease which he knew to be fatal, he worked bravely on until the end came in September 1908. In his will he bequeathed Palmyra to the Episcopal Church to be used as an industrial school for boys. His devoted wife did not long survive him, dying February 23d, 1909 at Bramlette, the home of her nephew in Winston-Salem.

A friend who lived with her for many years, pays this tribute to her memory:

"And what of the mistress of the old home who came as a young bride and ruled it for 35 years? It was not just the life either Mr. or Mrs. Patterson would have chosen; their social instincts would have inclined them to city life, but she loved it with all the warmth of a singularly loving and loyal nature. So great was this latter feeling that she hesitated to make the improvements her judgment suggested. Her only child, dying at the age of six months, left her motherly heart free to welcome all the many boys and girls who today look back with love and gratitude to the many happy days spent at Palmyra. Mrs. Patterson's beautiful nature and deep sympathy with youth, made her delight to have a circle of happy young faces around her ample dining table, and boyish laughter was never too loud for her nerves.

"Perhaps her most excellent feature was the perfection to which she carried her work. 'What her hands found to do, she did with all her might,' and they found very much to do, for her capacity to accomplish was little short of marvelous. In many a family the work of her hands will be cherished as heirlooms.

"Mrs. Patterson's father was a Moravian minister. After her marriage, she became a member of her husband's church, and made the care of the Chapel, the music and the Sunday school her especial care and delight. Christmas was a festival after her own heart. For weeks before, her nimble white fingers fairly flew in forming dainty gifts for relations and friends. The Sunday school tree absorbed her best attention and energy. She dearly loved to gather the mountain children around her and impart to them her music-loving spirit.

"Her success in pantry and garden might have caused envy had her hospitality been less boundless.

"If her life had been differently conditioned, I think her eager energy, her thoroughness and capacity would have made her a

successful business woman. Of a singularly clinging, womanly nature, she seemed unfitted to stand alone, but under stress of duty or sorrow, her calmness and bravery were most admirable."

* * *

As memories come of the sainted dead who in their time made Palmyra what it was for a century of happy years, the words of the Psalmist take on new meaning: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." Surely His was the guiding hand that built Palmyra in the Happy Valley.

* * *

PALMYRA AND THE UNIVERSITY.

The interest of the family in, and affection for, the State University began with its beginning and has grown with its growth. In Dr. Kemp P. Battle's most interesting history of the University he says: "In December 1789, the charter of the University under the powerful advocacy of Davie, was granted by the General Assembly. The trustees under the charter comprised the great men of the State, the good men of the State, the trusted leaders of the people. The first named and chairman was Samuel Johnston. There were James Iredell, Alfred Moore, Col. John Stokes, Hugh Williams, William Richardson Davie * * * Col. William Lenoir * * * The second meeting of the trustees was in Fayetteville (as well as the first) and was held on Nov. 15th, 1790. Col. William Lenoir, the speaker of the Senate on the nomination of the Speaker of the House, Stephen Cabarrus, was made President of the Board." It is interesting to see how that interest has passed on down from father to son from uncle to nephew, as student first and later as trustee of their beloved Alma Mater.

The list as given by Dr. Battle in his history, is a long one and comprises men in every walk of life.

1790-'92, First President of the Board of Trustees; 1789-

1804, William Lenoir, Trustee; 1835-1868, Samuel Finley Patterson, Trustee; 1858-1868, Rufus Lenoir Patterson, Trustee; 1869-1870, Calvin C. Jones, Trustee; 1875, Rufus L. Patterson, (still in office at death in 1879) Trustee; 1883, Walter W. Lenoir, (died before term expired); 1898-1908, Lindsay Patterson.

STUDENTS.

1. Edmund Walter Jones, Wilkes County, A. B., 1833.

2. John T. Jones, Wilkes County, 1832-36.

3. William Davenport Jones, Caldwell County, 1858-59, Capt. C. S. A.

4. John Thomas Jones, Caldwell County, A. B. 1861, Lt. C. S. A.

5. Edmund Jones, Caldwell, 1865-68, C. S. A., General Assembly.

6. Thomas I. Lenoir, Wilkes County, 1838-39, Capt. C. S. A.

7. Walter Waightstill Lenoir, Wilkes County, A. B. 1843, Capt. C. S. A.

8. Rufus T. Lenoir, Caldwell County 1844-45.

9. Thomas Ballard Lenoir, Caldwell County, 1880-82.

10. Walter James Lenoir, Caldwell County, 1880-82.

11. Rufus Lenoir Patterson, Caldwell County, A. B., 1851, Member Convention 1861 and 1865. Manufacturer, merchant, born 1830, died 1879, in Salem.

12. Samuel Legerwood Patterson, Caldwell County, 1867-68, born 1850, Planter. (Afterwards State Commissioner of Agriculture.)

13. Jesse Lindsay Patterson, Salem, 1878-79, Lawyer.

14. Louis Morehead Patterson, Salem, 1878-81, Teacher. Died 1886.

15. Frank Fries Patterson, Salem, 1882-85. Newspaper man.

16. Andrew Henry Patterson, Salem, 1887-90, Teacher.
17. Rufus Lenoir Patterson, Salem, Manufacturer.
18. John Legerwood Patterson, Salem, Manufacturer.
19. Edmund Vogler Patterson, Salem.

THE FOREST

By R. F. JARRETT.

The last tree has been leveled,
That once stood upon yon hill,
And the stream is almost dried up
That once turned the little mill.

Great forests towering heavenward,
Once covered all its side,
'Till the woodsman came among us,
Cut and carved 'till it died.

Once a brook as clear as crystal
That was our greatest pride,
Swiftly flowed from out the forest
Watering woodland with its tide.

Once I wandered through this woodland,
Waded deep the little brook,
Caught the trout from out its current,
With my rod and line and hook.

Now the trout are gone forever,
And the hill is brown and bare,
Not a bird or squirrel or pheasant,
Can be sighted anywhere.

For the woodsman came among us,
Cut and wasted trees and stream,
That had brought us greatest pleasure,
That had been a happy dream.

Now the woodsman, stream and forest
Are a thing to us unknown,
They have come and gone forever,
Nothing left but the hills of stone.

THE FORESTS OF NORTH CAROLINA

By COLLIER COBB.

That the Daughters of the Revolution, a society founded upon ancestry and interested in historic homes, studying the past that it may understand the present and find guidance for the future, should be interested in forest problems seems eminently fitting; for the history of mankind has been much affected by the forest covering of the earth, and man himself has derived many of his most salient characteristics from a long line of ancestors who had the tree-dwelling habit.

It has already been pointed out that "his slender, agile body, and his delicately constructed, flexible hand owe their essential features to the arboreal habit of his ancestors." That the forest habit has also left its impress on man's mind seems equally certain, if we consider for a moment that the tree-dwelling species of mammals are generally more social and sympathetic, quicker-witted and of superior cunning in comparison with most of those that dwell upon the surface of the land. The tropical woods, where man began his existence, afforded an abundance and variety of food, and the trees furnished a safe and ready shelter from beasts of prey.

The earliest known mammals, little pouched marsupials, closely akin to our 'possums, though but little larger than rats, lived upon the earth at a time when land and sea were possessed by huge reptiles; but our forests were then just beginning to take on their modern aspect, and their branches gave a great vantage ground to little creatures compelled to fly from clumsier enemies and to live by their wits. And the forest afforded these early kindred of ours nuts and fruits and a great variety of insects which resorted there. And these little creatures bore the thread of existence through a

critical period in the ongoing of life, and rendered possible all that is best as exemplified in the higher life of man.

But man himself did not long lodge in tree-tops. His progressive desires soon brought him out of his ancestral woods, and the beginnings of agriculture led him to look upon the forest as an obstinate foe to his advance, a foe that he must rid himself of at any cost. Hence he became a cave-dweller and a hunter, a ground-liver and an agriculturist, and his home to this day is hardly more than a modified cave.

Man's enmity for the forest is only just now, and but slowly, passing away. He is coming to realize that a forest cover is essential to the maintenance of conditions upon which his own welfare depends, conditions of soil and climate and timber supply, influencing the fertility of the land, the distribution of rainfall, and the steady flow of streams—all fundamental factors of any healthy existence today. While man's advance in knowledge and skill may bring him to the use of solar energy to compensate for the loss of fuel when our coal shall have been used up and our forests destroyed, he can never find a substitute for the soil covering of the earth's surface, the least enduring and the least replaceable of any of those features on which the life of the earth depends. "It is the harvest of the past; and once lost, it can not be supplied save by the slow process of the ages."

The solid rocks of the earth's crust rot, through the ages, into various kinds of soil; but a brief examination with a magnifying glass will show that the soil grains are merely stony matter in various stages of decay. In fact, it is often possible to distinguish in this way the component minerals in a bit of soil, and, by this means trace it to its parent rock. But soil is not simply disintegrated rock, or even decayed rock; it is essentially disintegrating and decaying rock, material in which chemical change is continually taking place and in which minute organisms are constantly working.

A common experiment in my laboratory at Chapel Hill is to place in several flower pots crushed granite, the same crushed rock with organic matter added, the same material prepared the previous year and used for growing plants, and a bit of soil derived from the granite through the weathering action of the ages and taken from a field or forest many feet above the parent rock. All of these display marked differences in fertility, even when they show no difference in their chemical and mineralogical characters; and plants thrive only in those mixtures in which chemical reaction is taking place and the rock is rotting through the action of bacteria.

One comes to see, then, that it is only by a combination of moisture, oxygen, carbon-dioxide and other gases with stony matter, and the action of the microscopic bacteria, that a portion of the soil is brought to such a state that its plant foods may pass into solution to feed the roots of the hungry plants.

But this mantle of soil, forming a surface covering to more solid rocks, tends to move from its place of origin slowly but continuously down the slopes of the land towards the sea. If its original bedding place was upon a mountain side, it moves rather quickly towards the streams and leaves its parent rock exposed and bare. If the slope is gentle, the journey downward is slow; and where the land is covered with a thick mat of vegetation, "the soil moves downwards so slowly that before its materials come to the banks of the streams and are washed away as silt to the sea, nearly all the plant food is taken from the waste and fed to vegetation."

The quotations are from Professor Shaler, who used to say that "All soil may be regarded as rock matter on its way to the sea." He was one of our earliest students of soils and of forests, and our first conservationist; and I wish to acknowledge here my indebtedness to him for whatever of good this paper may contain, and this debt was incurred nearly three

decades ago, before forestry had become a fad, and conservation of our natural resources the watchword of constructive statesmanship.

Seventy-six per cent of western North Carolina is still under forest cover, or a little more than three million acres of forest land is found in our sixteen mountain counties. Of the total area of the state something like sixty-eight per cent is still under forest; but this is true by virtue of the heavy forest growth in the swamp lands of the East as well as in the mountain counties of the west, for in middle North Carolina far less than half the land area retains its forests.

Many men now living recall that from thirty to forty years ago Roanoke River was navigable to Weldon, Tar River to Tarboro, the Neuse to old Waynesboro, and the Cape Fear had boats running on a regular schedule to Fayetteville. Now boats rarely reach these points on account of sand bars that are regularly forming in the streams. The water is usually low in these rivers except when they are overflowing their banks at the time of our February and August rains. The level of the groundwater over the whole area has sunk in two score years to such an extent that it lies for the most part below the stream channels, and we are all familiar with the deepening of wells to get an adequate water supply.

In my youth I often crossed Crabtree Creek, near Morrisville, on the road from Chapel Hill to Raleigh. On those journeys I never saw the stream dry, nor did I ever see its waters beyond its banks. In the score of years just past I have frequently observed the channel without flowing water, the stream bed being merely a succession of stagnant polls. And I have sometimes seen it a raging torrent cutting into the land. These changes have all been brought about by the cutting of the forests in the middle portion of the State, and by bad farming on the cleared lands. The "clearing of hilltops, excessive thinning of wooded hillsides, followed by the

burning of litter, underbrush, and young growth, and the compacting of soil by the tramping of animals, induces rapid surface drainage, and this causes erosion, gullying, and washing away of the soil."

"The surface water running unimpeded over bare slopes and compacted soil washes away the soil, cuts gullies in fields on hillsides, and washes down silt, sand, and gravel, and spreads them over fields and meadows; thus the fertile portions of the farm are injured by encroachment from the unfertile" and the streams are filled with sand.

Our Forest Service, then the Division of Forestry of the United States Department of Agriculture, showed at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 three models designed to bring graphically before the visitor the evil effects of the erosive action of water, the methods by which the farmer may regain his lost ground, and the way the farm should look when forest, pasture and field are properly located and treated. It is from the description accompanying the first of these models that I have made the above quotation.

The second model of the series shows how the farm is regained.

"To prevent erosion, gullying, and washing, keep hilltops and steep hillsides under forest; change surface drainage into underground drainage; check the rush of water by means of brush and stone dams, terracing, contour plowing, and ditching; renew organic matter in the soil by means of green manuring and mulching, and give thorough cultivation.

"The rush of water must be checked by means of dense forest growth on the tops and steepest sides of the hills—places where floods acquire their momentum. At such points gullies should be filled with brush and stone work, runs filled up with brush, and the soil so treated that it will permit the water to pass through it and flow off underground."

The third model illustrates the best method of retaining the farm in proper condition.

"On the ideal farm there is no waste land, every foot of ground being used for the purpose for which it is best adapted. The farm is divided into cultivated fields, pasture, and woodland, a proper proportion of ground being devoted to each; roads are made with a view to convenience and grade, and stock is fenced into the pasture—not out of the fields. Damage caused by water is to be repaired at once.

"Hilltops, steep hillsides, and rocky places are to be kept under forest. A fringe of wood stretches along river banks, and long slopes are broken up with small groves or timber belts. Wood is cut systematically and judiciously, so that it will reproduce. Where natural reproduction fails, replanting is resorted to. The pasture is located on a gentle slope where the soil is too thin for field crops."

The first of these models reminded me in a striking way of the washed fields of middle and western North Carolina—more specifically, of fields around Chapel Hill and of included areas within the great Pisgah Forest, which Mr. George W. Vanderbilt had purchased but three years previously. That forest had formerly belonged to the University of North Carolina. I even strongly suspected that Dr. Chas. W. Dabney, then Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, had directed Professor Fernow's attention to this field. But models two and three seemed to express the forester's hope or ideal, having no chance whatever of realization or accomplishment.

The years that have passed since the purchase of the Biltmore estate have, however, seen all of these things, and more, accomplished. Mr. Gifford Pinchot, fresh from his studies of forestry in Europe, was employed by Mr. Vanderbilt to investigate the possibilities of scientific forestry on the property, and to suggest a system of management. There was no place in this country where a young man could get proper instruction in the management of forests, and Mr. Pinchot had with him at Biltmore as a pupil Mr. Overton W. Price, who was afterwards associated with him in the Forest Service.

After this preliminary work had been done, Dr. Carl Alwyn Schenck, oberförster of the Grand Duchy of Hesse-

Darmstadt and lieutenant of horse artillery in the German Army, was engaged to devote his entire time to the forest problems of the property. Dr. Schenck, who had had considerable experience in Europe, "put into operation with great energy the first scientific and practical private forest management in this country."

The heavily culled lands of this estate have been greatly improved, the cut-over lands have been reforested, the poorer part of the forest lying next to Asheville has furnished firewood for that city. About 2,500 cords a year have been cut from the poor trees, and marketed in Asheville at a good margin of profit, besides improving the stand. This was made possible by the construction of a network of thoroughly good roads over this part of the estate.

The eroded and gullied fields, areas included in the forest but not of the original purchase, have been treated after the manner suggested in the models and planted in trees, until now no bare spot is visible from the heights of Biltmore House, and all the lost land of the area has been regained, and is now retained at a profit. This was accomplished by experimenting with a great variety of trees, until pines proved to be the most satisfactory tree for the purpose.

The greater part of the Biltmore estate, however, is the great Pisgah Forest, lying in the mountains along the western border of Buncombe, Henderson, and Transylvania counties, to the east and south of the Pisgah Range. It comprises more than 80,000 acres of comparatively rough forest land, with elevations varying from 2,600 to 6,000 feet. Here we have a primeval forest of yellow poplar, hickory, maple, linn, chestnut, chestnut oak, white oak, black oak, locust, etc., practically all of the trees common to the central and northern forests of this continent, and in the southeastern corner of the area occur many of the forms characteristic of the southern forests.

"This part of the estate has been managed as a timber forest, the object being to produce saw timber of the greatest value. Looking toward returns from a rise in timber values rather than to increase in growth, practically all sound and thrifty trees over two feet in diameter have been saved. Though little lumbering is being done, improvement cuttings have been going on all the time. By the sale of 1,500 cords tanning extract wood and 1,000 cords of tan bark annually, the removal of much old and decaying chestnut timber and mature and slow growing chestnut oak is accomplished, to make room for the young and thrifty specimens of these, or even more valuable species.

"Roads and trails have been constructed in every direction. A total of 37 miles of main roads, 43 miles of byroads, and 198 miles of trails make this one of the most readily accessible, as it is one of the most beautiful and attractive mountain forest properties in the United States.

"Every effort has been made to protect these forests from fire. Rangers have been employed to patrol the woods winter and summer. Not only this, but every one living on or near the property has been encouraged not only to report but to assist in extinguishing any fires that may occur. Altogether, this estate is one of the best examples of the application of practical forestry to be found in this country."—*J. S. Holmes.*

As I send this to the printer I see in the daily papers that Mr. Vanderbilt has sold to Louis Carr the stumpage of 60,000 acres of this forest, all but about 50,000 acres of the timbered land of the estate. Mr. Carr, who will begin operations at once, has twenty years to remove the timber, and it must be done without injury to the young trees. Thus the forest will be used as heretofore, but not destroyed.

There are other large forests in North Carolina under scientific management, and if all our forest land could be owned in large bodies the problem of forest utilization and forest conservation would be easily solved. But this seems to be impossible under present conditions; and already much of our mountain land is passing under Federal control in accordance with the provisions of the Weeks bill establishing the Appalachian National Forest.

Land suited to agriculture should by no means be kept in

forest, and land that will pay best as pasture should by all means be used as pasture; but both farming and pasturing should be done in such a way as to save the soil, and with proper conservation of the soil stream regulation will take care of itself.

There is no need for keeping in forest any but our absolute forest land, by which term the forester means lands potentially more valuable for forest growth than for anything else. The seventy-six per cent of the area of our sixteen mountain counties now under forest cover is absolute forest land, the whole region being essentially a timber producing region. When the timber is removed, the thin layer of soil on the steep slopes serves the farmer's purposes for very few years, being soon washed away. Let the forest remain and serve for the production of timber, the prevention of erosion, and the regulation of water-supply.

The forests of our high mountains should then be protected for all time, since they are already becoming the chief source of hardwood in this country and furnish the material on which the wood-working interests of our own and neighboring states depend; also regulating the flow of streams, they render a service of inestimable value to the manufacturing interests of a very wide area. The wood for the cars that run on the railway from Naples to Rome came out of the Pisgah Forest, was made ready for the use of the builder in Wilmington, Delaware, and hardly more than put together and finished in Italy. The postal cards we use in this country are made from hemlock that grows in the Forest of Sunburst, this being made into wood pulp at Canton, North Carolina, and manufactured into postal cards for the United States government at Hamilton, Ohio.

Dr. George T. Winston said to me several years ago in Asheville that the material resources of western North Carolina were a blue sky, pure air, and fresh water. These at-

tract to our mountains every year thousands of tourists, who constitute that region's chief source of revenue. Cut down our forests and that will all be quickly changed.

Similarly, in our lowlands of the east, there are large areas that should never be denuded of their forests and drained for agricultural purposes, simply for the reason that their timber-value is potentially greater than their agricultural value. I recall one such area in Hyde County, which, cleared of its forest and drained, showed a heavy peat soil, though not very thick, resting upon pure siliceous sand. The peat never made a satisfactory soil, in a very dry season much of it was burned off, and today the sands are drifting before the ever-changing winds. In many cases the peat is far too thick for anything but forests to grow upon the land and bring continued profit to the owner.

One reason urged for the drainage of swamps is that they are a serious menace to health, so many people regarding them as sources of malaria; and one frequently hears the statement made that swamps are pestilential. All geographers know, however, that in our southern States alluvial lands are as a rule wooded, the Everglades and a few wet prairies near the coast forming an exception to this rule, as pointed out by Dr. Roland M. Harper. The alluvial swamps are common in calcareous regions. In the non-calcareous regions, where the climate is not too hot or too dry, we find the great non-alluvial swamps. These are higher than the surrounding country, are filled with sphagnum moss or its product, peat, and covered with valuable timber-trees. The great Dismal Swamp is an example of this kind.

Now it is well known that lumbermen and shingle splitters working in Dismal Swamp enjoy excellent health, and it is a matter of history that the water of the Dismal Swamp is preferred by sailors going out of Norfolk on long voyages,

because it keeps fresh longer than any other water, owing to the small amount of vegetable acids it holds in solution. No better antiseptic is known than the peat from which it gets its color of scuppernong wine. And many towns near to swamps, formerly full of malaria, are now enjoying health and prosperity because the women's clubs have cleaned them up, removed to a distance tin cans containing water and breeding mosquitoes, and induced the men to bore artesian wells for a pure water supply.

But along with all this comes a statement from Dr. John B. Smith, of New Jersey, one of the foremost mosquito experts of this country, who says that, "Any open swamp area, choked with grasses, so as to form pools to which fish have not free access, will serve to breed both *culex* and *anopheles;* but woodland swamps that are dark, where the water is cold, and where they are choked with bushes, do not develop mosquito larvæ." I have frequently had the same testimony from men engaged in splitting cypress shingles in several of our North Carolina swamps, the men of one lumber camp maintaining that they often suffered from rheumatism as well as malaria when at home outside of the swamp, but always recovered as soon as they returned to their work within the swamp.

Whether or not forests influence the annual amount of precipitation in any region, it is easy to see that they make for an even seasonal distribution. There is a vast difference between the evaporation from field soil and from forest soil, the leaf litter on the ground having a marked influence on this. It has been estimated that the evaporation from forest soil is only sixteen per cent of the evaporation from field soil. On the other hand, the evaporation from the crowns of the trees is enormous, and it has been found in the Russian steppes that the level of groundwater is lower beneath forests than in the open country surrounding them.

Few efforts have been made to study experimentally the influence of forest cover on the flow of springs and the discharge of rivers. The chief difficulty is to obtain two areas presenting essentially the same factors. The drainage basins studied should be situated near together, run upon the same geological formations, receive the same amount of rainfall, and have the same rate of descent. One of the basins should be deforested, and the other should have its forest growth preserved intact.

A near approach to such parallel factors was found by the Biltmore state, on the one hand in the portion of Pisgah forest drained by Davidson's River in Transylvania County, and on the other hand, in the upper drainage basin of Tuckaseegee River, in Jackson County, North Carolina. The two areas drained are geologically of the same age and structure; their headwaters are found within the same range of mountains; the rainfall of the two areas is the same; the steepness of the slope is about the same on the two watersheds.

But a marked difference is found in the treatment to which the two areas have been subjected by man. The headwaters of Davidson's River have had their woods protected from fires, from heavy lumbering, from reckless farming, and from erosion on the hillsides since 1895. The headwaters of the Tuckaseegee, on the other hand, have had their woodlands burnt over, farmed, pastured, and logged; in fact, the area has been so inconsiderately used, that, in many cases, the original litter of the forest floor has been entirely destroyed.

Now the Biltmore estate, with the help of the Hydrographic Branch of the United States Geological Survey, has been carrying on a study of these two areas. The Tuckaseegee, though it is the larger river, shows greater fluctuations in its discharge than does Davidson's River. In other words the discharge of Davidson's River is more uniform and

even than that of the Tuckaseegee. Davidson's is practically free from sediment; Tuckaseegee, at its flood-time, bears an abundance of gravel and sand which it spreads out over fertile farm lands.

The forester most interested in the problem* reports that the following factors tend to influence the rapidity of flow, if not the amount of water running from the forest-clad watershed:

1. The greater porosity of the forest soil increases its permeability; the water precipitated from the clouds sinks into forest soil more easily than into field soil.

2. The litter on the ground in the forest checks the superficial run-off of water.

3. The litter and the *debris* on the ground act as a sponge.

4. The melting of the snow is retarded under a dense forest cover. If the forest soil is frozen before snowfall, and if there has been accumulated in the forest on such frozen soil a large quantity of snow, then, indeed, this retardation of the melting process may become disastrous at a time in spring when the south wind causes the snow to melt rapidly.

5. The evaporation from forest soil in summer is reduced.

You are doubtless by this time asking yourselves, "Why have we such a magnificent body of hardwoods in our mountains? Why do our sandhills and coastal plains produce such fine lumber as we find in 'the pine-barrens'? What is the reason for the cypress, cedar, gum, white oak, and other valuable timber trees in our swamps? What are the principal factors determining forest growth?"

I have frequently asked this last question of lumbermen in different parts of the country. They are apt to answer, "Climate, determining the water supply, and geology, influ-

*Dr. C. A. Schenck.

encing the character of the soil,"—better answers than one gets from the average man of science. The New England botanists are inclined to think altitude the determining factor in forest distribution; those of the great plains are apt to emphasize the water-content of the soil. But plant geographers and geologists who are students of the soil are coming to see that, next to favorable temperature and an abundance of rainfall in the growing season, the physical and chemical nature of the soil and subsoil, along with its mineralogical composition, is the most potent factor in determining the forest growth of any region. In other words they are beginning to recognize that geological history, as it influences the composition of the soil and its relation to air and water, is almost, if not altogether, the most potent factor determining the character of forest growth.

But where diverse and seemingly opposed opinions are held tenaciously by thinking men, it is safe to consider that each and every one of them has a large element of truth; or, in other words, that all are right.

If you will examine a good map of our country showing the distribution of forests, and compare it with a weather bureau map giving the distribution and amount of precipitation, you will be impressed with the fact that the distribution and density of forests accord very closely with the distribution and amount of rainfall. The Pacific Northwest, the Southern Appalachians, a portion of the Gulf coast, and that part of North Carolina which extends out into the Atlantic Ocean for about a hundred miles beyond the normal trend of the coast, are all regions of heavy rainfall and of dense forest growth.

Next, examine a good geological map of North Carolina, and note that the line of demarkation between the coastal plain deposits and the older rocks is the dividing line between two broadly contrasted regions of forest growth which

we have always recognized, the pine-belt and the upland region of oaks—between a region of narrow-leaved evergreen conifers, and a region of broadleaved decidious trees that is, trees that shed their leaves every year. Not all the trees in the pine-belt are coniferous, however, nor are all the trees in the oak-belt deciduous.

Observation from the car window as you travel over the State will show you also that not only are these two great forest types strongly identified with broad geological conditions, but that the distribution of many species within the same class is similarly limited. Even the dip or slope of the bedding planes or other lines of structure in the rocks, as it helps or hinders drainage, may determine the species growing in a given forest.

The Triassic Sandstones, resting in a trough of ancient crystallines, produce almost exclusively a limited variety of lowly pines. The moister soils of this belt produce loblolly pines large enough for saw logs, and medium-sized white and Spanish oaks. On the drier soils are found smaller pine trees of the short-leaved varieties, and post oaks and small-sized white oaks. These forests are what are often called two-storied forest, the upper story here consisting of pines from 50 to 70 feet in height, with a lower story of hardwoods little more than half as high; but even pure stands of pine are of frequent occurrence. The soils of this section are easily eroded, and those that are finer-grained, containing some clay, bake and cake in the dry weather following a rainy season. Consequently these lands need a large measure of protection.

In the peneplain to the westward, which we designate the upland region of oaks, the forest cover varies in density and in species as we pass from formation to formation. The slate-belt, with its sheared volcanic rocks and talcose slates, lacks an adequate supply of proper plant food. These rocks

make a yellow loam, close and stiff and usually lacking depth. They do not support dense forests, but woods of scattering pines and of small deciduous trees, for these soils are poorly drained. Under other conditions the forests frequently resemble the best woods of the Triassic pine belt, with rather larger examples of the hardwood timber trees than are found there.

On this same peneplain the granite and gneiss areas of the northeast, including Franklin, Warren, Vance, and the greater part of Wake, have a gently rolling surface and generally grayish and loose top soils, deep, and often very porous. Their forests are formed of post oak, black oak, white oak, and Spanish oak, with a considerable intermixture of white, small nut, and pignut hickories. There is, of course, a little short-leaf pine throughout the region, and along the watercourses, in the hollows, and on the cooler slopes, are red oak and yellow poplar, red maple and some ash. The larger forest pines, which were never numerous, have been removed for lumber.

To the west of the slate belt we have red clay soils derived from the decay of granites and syenites and some hornblende rocks, arranged more or less in bands alternating with loose gray loams. The forests of the red clay lands are black and white oaks, white and small nut hickories, with post oak on the thinner soil along the crests of the ridges; but low in the valleys and on the steep north slopes are the northern forms common in similar situations on the rest of the oak belt.

Lying to the west of the compact red and gray loams are fine-grained sandy loams, red or reddish in color, and having a thin surface soil. The forests of this division are of pine mixed with hardwood, of which the scarlet oak is most abundant.

Of our mountain forests little more need be said than was

said earlier in my talk about the abundance and variety of species of deciduous trees, except to add that black spruce is the characteristic tree of the mountain heights, where it is generally associated with Carolina balsam, whose lower limit is about three hundred feet above that of the black spruce. These forests of dark evergreens (hemlocks) lie along the summits of our highest mountains, and are seldom found on peaks less than 5,500 feet above sea level.

There is a marked difference to be noted in the character of the forests on the sunny southeast slopes and the cool and damp northeast slopes of our mountain ranges. Along the northern slopes and in the hollows we find hemlock, birch, maple, beech, chestnut, red oak, white oak, great laurel, yellow poplar, white ash, cucumber, and buckeye. On the southern slopes and along the gravelly crests of the hills the growth is less varied, being composed largely of chestnut, white oak, red oak, black oak, and chestnut oak. The forest on the southern slopes is less dense and the trees are smaller.

In the lower mountain districts we have another region of conifers in which Ashe has recognized three distinct divisions: (1) that in which the Table Mountain and pitch pine are the dominant resinous trees; (2) that in which the shortleaf, pitch, and scrub pines are dominant; (3) that in which the white pine is the dominant tree.

The forests of the coastal plain region consist very largely of pines on the uplands, but the maritime forests lying immediately along the coast and extending for a short distance inland, and the narrow strip of transitional forest lying along the western border of the region have characteristics all their own.

The transitional forests along the western border of the coastal plain show a mingling of the coniferous forests of the pine belt with the oaks and hickories of the broad-leaved forest of the oak uplands. The forests of the pine belt con-

sist almost entirely of long-leaf, loblolly, the pond, and in some places the short-leaf pine. This is the region noted a generation ago for its production of naval stores, tar, pitch, and turpentine; and from this district, now known as "the pine barrens," the Carolina pine, yellow pine, hard pine of commerce has been cut for a generation. Though the long-leaf pine is rapidly disappearing from the State, our supply of Carolina pine is by no means exhausted. In some of our eastern counties, fields abandoned during the War Between the States have grown up in loblolly pines that are now ready for the woodsman's axe.

The forests of the lowlands have their oak-flats, in which numerous broad-leaved trees, chiefly oaks, constitute the greater part of the growth, their gum and cypress swamps, their white cedar swamps, and their pond pine pocosins, all of which now furnish to commerce timber valuable in a variety of industries. The magnolias and palmettoes of the sandy swamps of the southeastern part of this region have no value as timber trees.

An adequate treatment of the whole subject of forestry is beyond the range of this paper, and should in any event be left to the professional forester; but I can do you no greater service just now than to refer you to the admirable papers by Gifford Pinchot and W. W. Ashe on the Timber Trees and Forests of North Carolina, published in 1897 as Bulletin No. 6 of the North Carolina Geological Survey. That bulletin has, since its publication, been my constant companion on field trips to different parts of the State, where I have for more than a score of years been noting the close relationship between geology and the plant covering of the earth.

There are several interesting features of geological control that it may be of interest to mention here. One of my clients a number of years ago had a car-load of white oak and hickory rejected by a wagon maker in Louisville be-

cause the wood lacked the strength and elasticity required; but the same white oak proved to be thoroughly satisfactory in the hands of a Cincinnati furniture maker, for it had just the qualities that made it capable of receiving a high polish. It was found that the timber had been cut from the ridges, where the soil was thin; while that which grew in the rich mountain coves or upon bottom lands whose soils were derived from the Brevard schist had just those qualities the wagon maker sought in his wood. Now in the case of conifers these conditions are just reversed, the slow-growing pine having strength and elasticity.

The external appearance of trees is profoundly affected by the conditions of their growth. Cypress, which in the swamp has a spreading top and puts up knees through the water to aid in aerating its roots, has a tall spindle-shaped crown and does not show any knees above the soil if it grows on the sand hill instead of in the swamp.

Hilgard has already pointed out the differences in the form and development of trees on soils derived from different geological formations. On loam uplands, sandy ridges, flatwoods, and black prairie, for example, all near together within the State of Mississippi the post oak presented four very distinct forms, varying from a mere shrub on the sandy ridges to a tree 70 feet in height on the prairie lands. The black-jack oak presented a similar variation, presenting characters which a botanist unfamiliar with local conditions would pronounce specific.

Normally large forest trees found out of their usual habitat present an extraordinary and interesting aspect. The chestnut tree, the persimmon, the sorrel tree, the common sour gum, the chestnut oak, and the holly, all trees forty, fifty, and sixty feet in height, under normal conditions, are found on King's and Crowder's Mountains as dwarf tree-shrubs, ranging in height from three to six feet. Neverthe-

less these trees all produce an abundance of fruit in their unhomelike homes.

Similarly, on our sandy coastal plain, we have turkey oak, black-jack, scrub oak, willow oak, running oak, all growing as mere shrubs and bearing an abundance of acorns, which wild turkeys and razor-backed hogs eat directly from the limbs; and yet we have seen some of these trees growing on the rich clay loams of the up-country or in some of the fertile mountain valleys where they attained a height of more than fifty feet.

On the French Broad River just below Paint Rock is a small area of typical pine barrens. In this and other isolated areas of pine barrens, which cover sandy river bottoms and the sunny lower slopes of our mountains, are found many plants typical of the coastal plain.

The dwarf tree-shrubs are absent from Mount Mitchell and Roan Mountain, but they are found at the top of Grandfather Mountain. A limited space on Grandfather Mountain is bare and presents an alpine aspect, being clothed with lichens and mosses, and many of our high mountains known as "balds" stand above the tree line as mere grassy meadows.

All of our forest trees show different rates of growth under different conditions of soil and climate. The loblolly pine attains a diameter of eight inches in twenty-four years on the poor land of the University forest at Chapel Hill. The same tree on Hatteras Island has a diameter of twenty-two inches after twenty-four years growth. On Hatteras minute fungi attached to its roots are believed to aid in some way the growth of the tree, just as locusts, and some other trees, have the aid of nitrifying bacteria to aid them.

In North Carolina we have all the great forest types known to North America except the Rocky Mountain and the Pacific forests. The mountains of North Carolina are

the oldest forest land on the continent, and botanists and plant geographers are agreed that the deciduous forests of eastern North America have been derived from that forest which reaches its greatest development in the mountainous region of western North Carolina.

While the hardwoods of the northern United States have migrated from the mountains of North Carolina since the last glacial period, it seems equally certain that the coniferous growth on the Balsams and other high mountains were forced south at the time of the greatest extension of the ice sheet, and are able to survive now only in the cooler atmosphere of our high mountains.

Similarly, on the tops of some of the monadnocks, or residual elevations, particularly those rising above the piedmont peneplain, we find assemblages of plants whose next of kin must be sought among fossil forms of the Cretaceous and early Tertiary times. These have evidently remained over in such isolated spots while the country all around them was suffering heavy erosion.

Looking out over the Balsam range of mountains, and noting the maturity of their topography, with its roof-like slopes and clear-cut divides, it is hard to see how just such erosion-forms could result from denudation under forest cover; and I am forced to believe that most of the erosion took place before any vast amount of vegetation had gained a hold upon that land. The topographic forms are exactly similar to those of the deforested areas of the western part of the province of Chi-li, China, now so well known through the work of Willis for the Carnegie Institution.

There is no likelihood that our forests will soon if ever disappear, for man has already learned that their destruction is greatly to his disadvantage, and that even in his own lifetime. Such a campaign of education has been conducted, and his own experiences have been such that it seems hardly

likely that he will now deliberately destroy the forests, even for present profit, whether we have private ownership, State control, or government ownership in National Forests.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

MARRIAGE BONDS OF ROWAN COUNTY, N. C.

By Mrs. M. G. McCUBBINS.

Matthias Barringer to Mary Boger. September 13, 1794. Matthias Barringer and Daniel Boger (in Dutch?).

James Brackin to Sally Jeffreys. September 30, 1794. James Brackinne(?) and Samuel (his X mark) Brackin. (I. Troy, D. C.)

Christian Brown to Barbara Troutman. October 7, 1794. Christian Brown (in Dutch?) and Adam (his X mark) Troutman. (I. Troy, D. C.)

John Bullin to Catharine Shireman. November 25, 1794. John (his X mark) Bullin and Conrad Bullen (in Dutch?).

William Bates to Esther Kern. February 5, 1795. William Bates and Daniel Karn. (I. Troy.)

John Bustle to Mary Bella. August 16, 1795. John Bussell and Daniel Brown. (Cun^{m}. Harris for C. Caldwell, D. C.)

Zachariah Booth to (no name). August 22, 1795. Zachariah Booth and Matt: Troy. (Matt: Troy.)

James Bell to (no name). (No date), 1795. James Bell and Richard Gillespie.

Joseph Baker to Jane McCulloch. January 7, 1796. Joseph Baker and Nath^{l}. Johnston. (I. Troy.)

William Bracket (Brachin on front of bond) to Mary Boo. March 12, 1796. William (his X mark) Brackin and James Brackit (or Brackin?). (I. Troy.)

John Brown and Margaret Josie. April 9, 1796. John Brown and John Josie? (in Dutch?) (Tibby [torn].)

Benjamin Brookshire to Milly Bingham. July 18, 1796. Benjamin (his X mark) Brookshire and Boyd Wilson. (I. Troy.)

Charles Berryer to Elizabeth Hagey. August 5, 1796. Charles Berryer (in Dutch?) and Henry (his X mark) Hagey. (Jno. Rogers.)

Conrad Bullen to Molly Traeksler. September 18(14?), 1796. Conrad Bullen (in Dutch?) and John Weant (or Wuant?). (Jno. Rogers.)

John Buringer to Elizabeth Smith. September 22, 1796. John (his X mark) Buringer and George Barringer. (Jno. Rogers.)

Robert Benston to Lucy Hitchins. September 24, 1796. pabboth(?) Benston and Jonathan Smith.

Lewis Bryan to (no name). December 7, 1796. Lewis Bryan and Henry M^c^guyre. (Humphrey Marshall.)

Philip Boston to (no name). December 12, 1796. Philip Boston? (in Dutch) and Adam Casper. (Humphrey Marshall.)

Timothy Brown to Polly Beaty. January 11, 1797. Timothy Brown and Henry Pool. (Jn°. Rogers.)

Geo. Brandon to Siddey McGuire. January 24, 1797. Geo. Brandon and George McGuier. (Jn°. Rogers.)

Thomas Bailey to Precilla Andrews. February 13, 1797. Thomas Bayley and James Ellis. (Jn°. Rogers.)

Sam^l^. Bailey to Sucky (or Tucky?) Chaffin. March 15, 1797. Sam^l^. (his X mark) Bailey and William Glascock. (Jn°. Rogers.)

Wm. Bird to Jenny Lewis. April 2, 1797. Wm. (his X mark) Bird and Simeon (his X mark) Lewis. (Jn°. Rogers.)

James Bolin to Sarah McKnight. April 24, 1797. James Bolin and Jn° Rogers. (Jn°. Rogers.)

Moses Brown to Cathy Swink. June 10, 1797. Moses Brown and John Hampton. (Jn°. Rogers.)

Parker Baggett to Nancy Doty. June 13, 1797. Parker (his X mark) Baggett and John Doty. (Jn°. Rogers.)

Wm. Beard to Jenny Hunt. Sept. 30, 1797. William Beard and David Hunt. (Jn°. Rogers.)

William Begham to Sarah Braly. Nov. 7, 1797. Wm. Beyham and Hu. Braly. (Ad. Osborn.)

Christopher Bateman to Ann Hunter. Dec. 5, 1797. Christopher (his X mark) Bateman and David Montgomery. (Jn°. Rogers.)

Christian Beaver to Sally Stoel (Shoet?) March 6, 1798. Christian (his X mark) Beaver and Peter (his X mark) Frieze. (Edwin J. Osborn.)

William Beaty to Nancy Hattock. March 20, 1798. William Baty and Wm. (his X mark) Haddock. (Edwin J. Osborn. D. C.)

Devault Beaver to Betsy Beaver. April 24, 1798. Devault Beaver? (in Dutch?) and Peter Beaver ([?] in Dutch). (Ed: J. Osborn, D. C.)

Christopher Baringer to Mackalena Messimer. May 30, 1798. Christopher Barringer and Peter Barringer. (Matt: Troy.)

William Behook to Peggy Smith. June 9, 1798. William (his X mark) Behook and David (his X mark) Cross. (Ma: Troy.)

David Baity to Sarah Hendrix. June 20, 1798. David Baity and William Cranfill. (Ma: Troy.)

Michael Brown to Barbary Mowrey. July 30, 1798. Michael Brown and Frederick Miller. (Edwin J. Osborn.)

Conrod Bost to Maria Anne Fisher. July 31, 1798. Conrod Bost and Henry Sosseman. (Edwin J. Osborn.)

Jacob Bushart to Ann Fullenwider. December 22, 1798. Jacob Boshart and Henry follenwider. (I. Troy.)

Fielding Bevin to Polly Moore. December 24, 1798. Feelding (his X mark) Bevin and William (his W mark) West. (Ma: Troy.)

Henry Beek to Catharine Young. January 12, 1799.

Henry (his X mark) Beek and John (his X mark) Blessing (?). (Edwin J. Osborn, D. C.)

Daniel Bowman to Polly Summons. January 14, 1799. Daniel (his X mark) Bowman and Henry Giles. (Edwin J. Osborn, D. C.)

Robert Bishop to Mary Chadwick. October 29, 1799. Robert Bishop and Wheeler Chadwick. (Wm. Melbon.)

Peter Barringer to Catherine Trexler. December 10, 1799. Peter Berringer and John Trexler. (E. J. Osborn, D. C.)

Jacob Booe to Fanny Glascock. December 28, 1799. Jacob Booe and Philip Baker. (Edwin J. Osborn.)

Phillip Byal to Christean Luknbell. January, 1800. Phillip (his X mark) Byal and John (his X mark) Luckinbell. (Edwin J. Osborn.)

BIOGRAPHICAL, GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMORANDA

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

MRS. LINDSAY PATTERSON
(Lucy Bramlette Patterson)

The article, "Palmyra in the Happy Valley," in this issue of THE BOOKLET from the facile pen of Mrs. Lindsay Patterson will be of much interest to the generality of its readers. "Mrs. Patterson, young in years and younger in spirit, is wide awake to the interests of her adopted state. In the numerous essays that she has written no one can fail to have gathered therefrom much of the writer's personality. In these letters, so gay and so sad, so caustic and so gentle, so witty and so tender, so severe and so kind, one reads a many sided nature; a soul strong to stand for the right and combat the wrong, a charity that believeth all things, a pride of race which is inherent; the deep love of blue skies and little children and singing birds and the tender blooms of life." Endowed with such attributes she well deserves the appellation given her by a correspondent of the *Charlotte Observer as* "Our Lady of Letters," to which may be added "Lady Bountiful."

The Patterson family through whom she descended are Scotch-Irish. Her paternal grandfather, General Robert Patterson, was born in the town of Strabane, County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1782; came to America, 1798, with his father Francis Patterson and wife Ann (Graham) Patterson. The career of General Robert Patterson was one of startling activity and versatility. He filled a distinctive and unique place in Philadelphia. His career as a soldier was no less remarkable than his life as a private citizen. He fought through three wars and was the founder of the famous

Aztec Club. At the age of twenty-five he married Sarah Engle, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, a brilliantly intellectual woman, fit helpmate and companion for her distinguished husband. Their son, Colonel William Houston Patterson, (the father of Mrs. Lindsay Patterson) was born in Philadelphia in 1832. He was a writer, scholar of unusual ability and a devoted patron of letters, inheriting from his distinguished father some of the most marked traits of temper and temperament. He touched life at many points and filled a place of large influence. For many years an invalid, Colonel Patterson retired from active business at an early age and devoted a life of leisure to his family, his friends and his books. His library, one of the celebrated ones of Philadelphia, was composed of books largely illustrated by himself. During the last years of his life he was deeply interested in the study of Southern literature, predicting for it a great awakening, believing that the South, so long sterile after years of once rich fruition, would again blossom and give to the world a literature beautiful and lasting. At the time of his death he was engaged in writing his memoirs which would prove a valuable addition to the historical literature of our country, were it not that these memoirs were incomplete at his death, in 1904. He died at his country residence "Cavana Lee Place," Russellville, East Tennessee, where his family spent a few months every year. "Cavana Lee" was given by Mr. Hugh Graham to his daughter, Mrs. William Houston Patterson. The Graham family record goes back to the Crusaders; were followers of Richard Coeur De Leon. They came to America in 1789.

From the foregoing it will be seen that Mrs. Lindsay Patterson comes of a distinguished ancestry and from them inherits qualities of head and heart which are being reflected in her present career as a loyal daughter of Philadelphia and a devoted Southerner. She is a prominent member of the

Daughters of the American Revolution, was Vice-President General of that organization, an active member of the North Carolina Historical and Literary Society, member of the Wachovia Historical Society, the oldest society of its kind in the State. She was the Chairman of the North Carolina History Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition, which exhibit was awarded one of the three silver medals for the most meritorious exhibits, and which medal is now owned by the North Carolina Historical Society. Mrs. Patterson was born at "Castle Rock," her mother's Tennessee home, her father at the time being in ill health was ordered South for some months by his physicians. Thus it was that though a Philadelphian, she was born in the South, and so belongs to both sections, being again a Southerner by adoption, having married in 1888 Mr. Lindsay Patterson, a prominent lawyer of Winston-Salem, N. C. She finished her scholastic course at Salem Academy, North Carolina, a school so widely known throughout the South. Mr. and Mrs. Patterson's place "Bramlette," in the thriving city of Winston-Salem, is a most charming home and has ever been a social center from which has radiated a most beneficent influence. Mrs. Patterson, like her cultured father, is gifted with fine literary taste, and she conceived the design of promoting literature in North Carolina by offering some reward for meritorious achievements. Inspired by the deep heart-interest of her father, it has been given to Mrs. Patterson to become the "keeper of the light," and in furtherance of his desires and in the effort to promote their fulfillment, has presented a magnificent gift which will be not only a memorial to her father, but will serve to act as an incentive to the advancement of literature in North Carolina, the State of her adoption, in the future of which her father was especially interested. Certainly no happier idea could have been conceived by a daughter for honoring the memory of a father

and at the same time fostering and stimulating the literary spirit of our people. This prize is a loving cup which was made in the city of Philadelphia, is made of massive gold, being 16 inches high and 7 inches in diameter. The coats of arms of North Carolina, of Pennsylvania and of the Patterson family are borne on the bases of its three handles and it is studded with forty-nine gems selected by Mrs. Patterson from a large number of precious stones found in North Carolina, and bears the inscription: "The William Houston Patterson Cup" and "Cor Cordium" (Heart of Hearts).

The Cup was presented to the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina by Mrs. Patterson in 1905 and is to be awarded to that resident of North Carolina who during the preceding twelve months has published the best work, either in prose or verse—history, essay, fiction or poetry; in books, pamphlets or periodicals. At the end of ten years the Cup is to become the permanent possession of the writer winning it the greatest number of times, though if no one person won it three times, or if there be a tie, the time will be extended. No one is to formally enter the contest, and the judges, from their knowledge of our State literature, are simply to decide which North Carolina writer publishes the worthiest work between the annual meetings of the Association. Each winner is to have his or her name engraved on the prize and to retain possession of it for one year. The Board of Award consists of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, Chairman, and the occupants of the chairs of history at the University of North Carolina and Trinity College, and the Chairs of English literature in the University, Davidson and Wake Forest Colleges. The selection of the Awarding Committee was made by Mrs. Patterson. All the plan is regarded by the Committee as thoroughly happy and praiseworthy and practical, and feel that the whole State will

honor Mrs. Patterson for her patriotic action. The Cup has been won seven times:

First annual award, October 1905, was to John Charles McNeill.

Second annual award, October 1906, was to Prof. Edwin Mims.

Third annual award, October 1907, was to Dr. Kemp Plummer Battle.

Fourth annual award, October 1908, was to Hon. Samuel A'Court Ashe.

Fifth annual award, October 1909, was to Mr. Clarence Hamilton Poe.

Sixth annual award, October 1910, was to Robert Diggs Wimberly Connor.

Seventh annual award, October 1911, was to Dr. Archi bald Henderson.

THE BOOKLET has the proud distinction of having heretofore published articles from these talented prize winners, and is to be congratulated that this "Lady of Letters" and the giver of the Patterson Cup has enriched its columns with an article in this issue.*

DR. ARCHIBALD HENDERSON

Dr. Archibald Henderson, whose article on "Elizabeth Maxwell Steel: Patriot," appears in this number of THE BOOKLET, is a son of the Hon. John Steele and Elizabeth Brownrigg (Cain) Henderson. He was born in Salisbury, June 17th, 1877. His preparation for college was received in private and church (Episcopal) schools of Salisbury, and in the autumn of 1894 he entered the Freshman class of the University of North Carolina. He was graduated from the

*Authorities for facts of the above from *Charlotte Observer* and Biographical History of North Carolina.

University at the head of his class, with the degree of A.B. in 1898. He was awarded the Holt Mathematical Medal for the excellence of his work in Mathematics. In 1899 he received his Master's degree, and in 1902 his Ph.D. from the same Institution. From 1899 to 1902 he was Instructor in Mathematics in the University of North Carolina. In 1902, he was made Associate Professor of Mathematics; and in 1902-3 he was a Fellow and Tutor in Mathematics in the University of Chicago. Returning to the University of North Carolina, he served as Associate Professor of Mathematics until 1908, when he was made Professor of Pure Mathematics, which chair he has since held.

His scientific researches have been prosecuted at the University of Berlin, the Sorbonne, Paris, and Cambridge University in England. The latter University recently paid him the exceptional honor of publishing his researches upon "The Twenty-seven Lines upon the Cubic Surface." Dr. Henderson is a member of the North Carolina Academy of Science, the Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society, (of which he was president 1908-9), the Modern Literature Club (of which he was president 1906-7), the Authors' Club, London, and the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He is also a member of the Sigma Nu College Fraternity.

Dr. Henderson is most widely known as a critic of literature. He has made notable contributions not only to scientific journals, but also to the leading literary and critical periodicals in America and Europe, in five languages, notably—the Forum, Arena, Harper's Magazine, North American Review, Atlantic Monthly, La Société Nouvelle, Mercure de France, Deutsche Revue, Illustreret Tidende, Finsk Tidskrift, T. P's Magazine, Dial, Bookman, Theatre. His "Interpreters of Life, and the Modern Spirit," (1911) "Mark Twain," (1911), and "George Bernard Shaw, his Life and Work," (1911), have placed him among the foremost of American critics and have given

him an international reputation. Dr. Henderson's sincere ambition is to serve his native State, and to promote the development of literature among North Carolinians. As some one else has said of him, "His head is bursting with schemes of things that might be done." He is assuredly doing a tremendous deal to stir the imagination and stimulate the inward vision of the people of the State.

The *North American Review* recently contained a sketch of Dr. Henderson in which it said:

"Dr. Henderson has also achieved eminence internationally as a critic of literature. His essays are frequently found in the leading periodicals of Europe, as well as of the United States. His monumental, authoritative biography of George Bernard Shaw has been pronounced, by critics everywhere, to be a great work. He is widely known, both at home and abroad, for his other works, notably his appreciations of Meredith, Ibsen, Wilde, Shaw, and Maeterlinck, collected under the title, 'Interpreters of Life, and the Modern Spirit,' his study of the great humorist, Mark Twain, and his model translation from the French, with his wife, of Emile Boutroux's 'William James.' "

June 23, 1903, Dr. Henderson was married to Miss Minna Curtis Bynum, of Lincolnton, N. C., who as co-laborer with him in his literary work, has at all times, been his most helpful critic. They have two children.

PROFESSOR COLLIER COBB

A biographical sketch of Professor Cobb appeared in the January, 1912, issue. He again gives THE BOOKLET a most interesting and opportune article on "Forestry in North Carolina," a subject that should claim State-wide attention. It is to be hoped that his investigations of present conditions may awaken the people to the importance of conserving our natural resources and lead to stringent legislation on the subject before it is too late.

Professor Cobb continues to fill the Chair of Geology in the University of North Carolina.

His first article contributed to this publication, January 1905, on "Some Changes in the North Carolina Coast since 1585," is of great enlightening value.

His second article, January 1912, on "Governor Benjamin Smith," the Governor of whom Professor Cobb said: "Lived just one hundred years before his time"—for he stood for the best of what has characterized each and every administration from that date, 1810, to the present, 1912.

The editor wishes to add somewhat to the biographical sketch of Professor Cobb which appeared in the January number of THE BOOKLET, as the part of his work which has especially fitted him for the preparation of this address has been done in large part since the data for the preparation of that sketch were gathered. Mr. Cobb has been for many years lecturer on Forest Geology in the Biltmore Forest School, working with the school for one month each summer in different parts of the United States. In January, 1886, he made the first plantation on dunes in this country, at a point not far from Virginia Beach, close to what is now known as The Hollies; and this little forest flourished until it was injured by fire about two years ago.

In 1908 he was with Professor Davis, of Harvard, as a member of an international excursion for geographical study in Europe; there he incidentally looked into the forest planting in Italy, around Grenoble, in France, and around Arcachon, on the Bay of Biscay. His studies of the dune areas of our own coast have been described in part in several papers, the best known of which is "Where the Wind Does the Work," and the work on the Bay of Biscay is seen in "The Landes and Dunes of Gascony." Both papers have been reprinted many times.

Mr. Cobb is now taking part in a transcontinental excur-

sion in this country with Professor Davis and a number of European geographers, most of whom were members of the European party of 1908.

The author of the poem "Swannanoa" is unknown as far as can be ascertained. The erroneous statement in the July BOOKLET was a typographical error. The MS. was correct and read "Swannanoa. From North Carolina Reader, C. H. Wiley—1855."

THE EDITOR.

Vol. XII JANUARY, 1913 No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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Old letters, heretofore unpublished, bearing on the Social Life of the different periods of North Carolina's History, will appear hereafter in THE BOOKLET.

This list of subjects may be changed, as circumstances sometimes prevent the writers from keeping their engagements.

The histories of the separate counties will in the future be a special feature of THE BOOKLET. When necessary, an entire issue will be devoted to a paper on one county.

THE BOOKLET will print abstracts of wills prior to 1800, as sources of biography, history and genealogy. Mrs. M. G. McCubbins will contribute abstracts of wills and marriage bonds in Rowan County to the coming volume. Hon. F. D. Winston will furnish similar data from Bertie County.

Mrs. E. E. Moffitt has consented to edit the Biographical Sketches hereafter.

Parties who wish to renew their subscriptions to THE BOOKLET for Vol. XII *are requested to give notice at once.*

Many numbers of Volumes I to XI for sale.

Vol. XII JANUARY, 1913 No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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King George III.

Inscription, in General Nathaniel Greene's handwriting, on the back of picture of King George III.

Queen Charlotte.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XII JANUARY, 1913 No. 3

JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD: ARCHITECT AND BUILDER OF PUBLIC WORKS[1]

By R. D. W. Connor.

An Address Delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, December 4, 1912, upon the Presentation to the State of a Bust of Governor Morehead by the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Along the line of the North Carolina Railroad, from its eastern terminus at Goldsboro to its western terminus at Charlotte, lie eleven counties embracing six thousand square miles of territory, now one of the most prosperous and productive regions in North Carolina. During the decade from 1840 to 1850, perhaps no other State on the entire Atlantic seaboard could have exhibited a stretch of country of equal area which presented to the patriotic citizen so discouraging a prospect or so hopeless an outlook. Such a citizen traversing this region would have found public roads and methods of travel and transportation that were primitive when George III claimed the allegiance of the American colonies. Delays, inconveniences, and discomforts were the least of the evils that beset the traveler who entrusted life and limbs to the public conveyances of that period.[2] The cost of transportation was so great that the profits of one half the planters' crops were consumed in getting the other half to market, and hundreds of them found it profitless to pro-

[1]John Motley Morehead was born in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, July 4, 1796, son of John Morehead and Obedience Motley. In 1798 his parents moved to Rockingham County, North Carolina, where John grew to manhood. He was prepared for college partly under the private instruction of Thomas Settle and partly at the Academy of Dr. David Caldwell, near Greensboro. He afterwards entered the University of North Carolina, from which he was graduated in 1817. In his junior year he was appointed a tutor in the University. From 1828 to 1866 he served on the Board of Trustees, and in 1849 was President of the Alumni Association. Morehead was the sixth alumnus of the University to become Governor of North Carolina. After his graduation from the University he studied law under Archibald D. Murphey. In 1819, receiving his license to practice, he settled at Wentworth, county seat of Rockingham County, where he lived until his marriage to Miss Ann Eliza Lindsay, eldest daughter of Col. Robert Lindsay, of Guilford County. He removed to Greensboro which continued to be his home during the rest of his life.

[2]"The road [from Weldon to Gaston] was as bad as anything, under the name of a road, can be conceived to be. Whenever the adjoining swamps, fallen trees, stumps, and plantation fences would admit of it, the coach was driven, with a great deal of dexterity, out of the road. When the wheels sunk in the mud, below the hubs, we were sometimes requested to get out and walk. An upset seemed every moment inevitable. At length, it came."—Frederick Law Olmsted. "A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States," 1853-1854. Vol. I, page 348. "From personal observations, I have found the roads leading from Raleigh westward, for the distance of fifty or sixty miles, * * * decidedly the worst in the State."—Governor Morehead's message to the Legislature of 1842. Journal of the General Assembly, page 409.

duce more than their own families could use.[3] In 1853 a traveler, within thirty miles of the State Capitol, saw "three thousand barrels of an article worth a dollar and a half a barrel in New York, thrown away, a mere heap of useless offal, because it would cost more to transport it than it would be worth."[4]

Under such conditions there could be, of course, no commerce, and without commerce no markets. Such commerce as the produce of the fertile valleys and plateaux of the Piedmont section created found its way to the markets of Virginia and South Carolina; and among the people who dwelt west of Greensboro, declared Governor Morehead in 1842, "Cheraw, Camden, Columbia, * * * Augusta, and Charleston are much more familiarly known than even Fayetteville and Raleigh."[5] In all the region from Goldsboro to Charlotte, Raleigh, then a straggling country village, was the only town of sufficient importance to be noted in the United States census of 1850. This section, now the heart of the manufacturing region of the South, reported to the census takers of that year no other manufactures than a handful of "homemade" articles valued at $396,473. The social and labor systems upon which the civilization of the State was founded confined the energies of the people almost exclusively to agriculture, yet their farming operations were so crude and unproductive that a traveler, commenting on the agriculture in the vicinity of Raleigh, found it "a mystery how a town of 2,500 inhabitants can obtain sufficient supplies from it to exist."[6] This was not the view merely of an unsympathetic stranger. Calvin H. Wiley, attempting to arouse his fellow members of the Legislature of 1852 from their indifference and lethargy, after referring to the "magnificent capitol" in which they sat, exclaimed, "But what is the view from these porticoes, and what do we see as we travel hither? Wasted fields and decaying tenements; long stretches of silent desolation with here and there a rudely cultivated farm and a tottering barn."[7]

But more forcible than any other evidence, because incontrovertible, is the testimony of the United States census. The census reports of 1840 show that nearly one-third of the adult white population of the State could neither read nor write. The population of the State was at

[3]Speaking of the building of a turnpike, from Raleigh westward, Governor Morehead in his message of 1842, said: "Labor can not be difficult to obtain in a region now growing cotton at six cents per pound, corn at one dollar per barrel, and wheat so low that it takes one half to transport the other to market."—Journals of the Legislature 1842-'43, page 411. "A farmer told me that he considered twenty-five bushels of corn a large crop, and that he generally got as much as fifteen. He said that no money was to be got by raising corn, and very few farmers here [about ten miles from Raleigh] 'made' any more than they needed for their own force. It cost too much to get it to market."—Olmsted, "Seaboard Slave States," Vol. I, page 358.

[4]Olmsted: A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States. 1853-1854. Vol. I, page 369.

[5]Annual Message. Legislative Journals, 1842-'43, page 409.

[6]Olmsted.

[7]Speech in favor of his bill to appoint a State Superintendent of Common Schools.

a standstill. From 1830 to 1840, thirty-two of the sixty-eight counties of North Carolina lost in population, while the increase in the State as a whole was less than two and a half per cent.[8] The best blood of North Carolina, refusing to remain at home and stagnate, was flowing in a steady stream into the vast and fertile regions of the South and West; and that brain and energy which should have been utilized in developing the resources of North Carolina was being forced to seek an outlet in other regions where it went to lay the foundations of Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. Dr. Wiley was guilty of no exaggeration when he declared that North Carolina had "long been regarded by her own citizens as a mere nursery to grow up in"; that the State had become a great camping ground on which the inhabitants were merely tenanted for a while; and that thousands were annually seeking homes elsewhere whose sacrifices in moving would have paid for twenty years their share of taxation sufficient to give to North Carolina all the fancied advantages of those regions whither they went to be taxed with disease and suffering. The melancholy sign "For Sale" seemed plowed in deep black characters over the whole State, and the State flag which floated over the Capitol was jestingly called by our neighbors of Virginia and South Carolina an auctioneer's sign. "The ruinous effects," said he, "are eloquently recorded in deserted farms, in wide wastes of guttered sedgefields, in neglected resources, in the absence of improvements, and in the hardships, sacrifices and sorrows of constant emigration."

Such was the view which Central North Carolina presented to the keen eyes of John M. Morehead when, in the closing days of 1840, he journeyed from Greensboro to Raleigh to assume his duties and responsibilities as Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth. As desolate as the prospect was, however, Morehead's foresight saw in it not a little to give him courage. He must have realized that North Carolina was standing at the turn of the road and that much depended on the wisdom and prudence with which he himself directed her choice of future routes. Four years before a new Constitution, profoundly affecting the political life of the State, had gone into operation, from which Morehead, and other leaders who thought as he did, had prophesied great results for the upbuilding of the State. This new Constitution had paved the way for the work of a small group of constructive statesmen, of whom Morehead was now the chosen leader, who were destined to direct and lead the public thought of North Carolina during the quarter century from 1835 to 1860.

Among these men two distinct types of genius were represented. On

[8]Population in 1830, 737,987; in 1840, 753,409.

the one hand there were the dreamers,—men who had the power of vision to see what the future held in store for their country, who wrote and spoke forcibly of what they foresaw, but lacked the power to convince men of the practicability of their visions. On the other hand there were the so called practical men,—men who knew well enough how to construct what other men had planned, but lacked the power of vision necessary to see beyond the common everyday affairs that surrounded and engrossed them. Once in an age appears that rare individual, both architect and contractor, both poet and man of action, to whom is given both the power to dream and the power to execute. Such men write themselves deep in their country's annals and make the epochs of history.

In the history of North Carolina such a man was John M. Morehead. Those who have written and spoken of Governor Morehead heretofore have been chiefly impressed with his great practical wisdom,[9] and this he certainly had as much as any other man in our history. As for myself, what most impresses me after a careful study of his life and works, is his wonderful power of vision. He was our most visionary builder, our greatest practical dreamer. No other man of his day had so clear a vision of the future to which North Carolina was destined, or did so much to bring about its realization as Governor Morehead. It is no exaggeration to say that we have not now in process of construction, and have not had since his day, a single great work of internal improvement of which he did not dream and for which he did not labor. He dreamed of great lines of railroad binding together not only all sections of North Carolina, but connecting this State with every part of the American Union. He dreamed of a network of improved country roads leading from every farm in the State to all her markets. He dreamed of a great central highway, fed by these roads, finding its origin in the waters of the Atlantic at Morehead City and finally losing itself in the clouds that hang about the crests of the Blue Ridge. He dreamed of the day when the channels of our rivers would be so deepened and widened that they could bear upon their waters our share of the commerce of the world. He dreamed of an inland waterway connecting the harbor of Beaufort with the waters of Pamlico Sound and through the opening of Roanoke Inlet, affording a safe inland passage for coastwise vessels around the whitecaps of Cape Hatteras. He dreamed of the day when the flags of all nations might be seen floating from the mastheads of their fleets riding at anchor in the harbors of Beaufort and

[9] Kerr, John, "Oration on the Life and Character of John M. Morehead"; In Memoriam of John M. Morehead, Raleigh, 1868; Scott, William Lafayette, "Tribute to the Genius and Worth of John M. Morehead"; *Ibid*; Smith, C. Alphonso, "John Motley Morehead"; The Biographical History of North Carolina, Vol. VI, pp. 250–258; Wooten, Council, "Governor Morehead"; Charlotte *Daily Observer*, September 30, 1901.

Wilmington. He dreamed of a chain of mills and factories dotting every river bank in the State and distributing over these highways of commerce a variety of products bearing the brand of North Carolina manufacturers.

Such were his dreams, and the history of North Carolina during the last half-century is largely the story of their realization. It is this fact that gives to Morehead his unique place in our history. He had a distinguished political career, but his fame is not the fame of the office holder.[10] Indeed, no other man in our history, save Charles B. Aycock alone, in so brief a public career, made so deep an impression on the life of the State. The explanation is simple. The public service of each was inspired by a genuine love of the State and consecrated to the accomplishment of a great purpose. The educational and intellectual development which Aycock stimulated was based on the material prosperity of which Morehead laid the foundation. It is, then, his service as architect and builder of great and enduring public works that gives to Morehead his distinctive place in our annals, and it is of this service that I shall speak today.

When Morehead began his public career the prevailing political thought of the State was, in modern political vernacular, reactionary. Representation was distributed equally among the counties, regardless of population. East of Raleigh, where the institution of slavery was most strongly entrenched, thirty-five counties with a combined population of 294,312, sent to the General Assembly sixteen more Commoners and eight more Senators than twenty-seven counties west of Raleigh which had a combined population of 50,205 more people. A property qualification was requisite for membership in the General Assembly and inasmuch as all State officials were elected by the Legislature, not by the people directly, Property, not Men, controlled the government. The theory of Property was that the best government is that which governs least. Adherents of this school of politics taught, therefore, that government had fulfilled its mission when it had preserved order, punished crime, and kept down the rate of taxation. But another school of political thought, originating in the counties west of Raleigh, where the institution of slavery had not secured so strong a foothold, was now beginning to make itself heard. Its adherents favored a constitutional

[10]In 1821 he represented Rockingham County in the House of Commons; in 1826, 1827 and 1858 he represented Guilford County in the House, and in 1860 in the Senate. He was one of the delegates from Guilford in the Convention of 1835. In 1840 he was elected Governor, and in 1842 was re-elected. He was the permanent presiding officer of the National Whig Convention, which met at Philadelphia, June 7, 1848, and nominated General Zachary Taylor for the Presidency. By the act establishing the North Carolina Insane Asylum he was designated as Chairman of the Board of Commissioners to locate and build the asylum. In 1857 he was elected President of the association organized for the purpose of erecting at Greensboro a monument to General Nathanael Greene. He was one of the delegates from North Carolina to the Peace Congress at Washington in 1861. In 1861–'62 he was a member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States. He died at Greensboro, August 27, 1866.

convention to revise the basis of representation, to give to the people the right to elect their chief magistrate, and in other respects to make the government popular in practice as well as in form; and they advocated internal improvements, geological surveys, the conservation of resources, asylums for the insane, public schools, schools for the deaf and dumb and for the blind, and numerous other progressive measures which all right thinking people now acknowledge to be governmental in their nature. These men were the Progressives of their day.

Morehead found his place among these Progressives. As a member of the General Assembly he was among the foremost in advocating a constitutional convention. He supported measures for the building of good roads, for the digging of canals, for the improvement of inland navigation, for drainage of swamps, and for railroad surveys.[11] He opposed a bill to prevent the education of negroes, moved the appointment of a select committee on the colonization of slaves, introduced a bill providing for their emancipation under certain conditions, and displayed so much interest in measures for the amelioration of the conditions of the slaves that his opponents, when he became a candidate for Governor, charged him with being at heart an Abolitionist.[12] He endeavored to secure the appropriation of funds for the collection of material for the preservation of the history of North Carolina[13] and took a deep interest in all measures for the promotion of public education. In 1827, while he was chairman of the Committee on Education, a bill came before his committee to repeal the Act of 1825 which had created the Literary Fund "for the establishment of common schools." Morehead submitted the report of the committee, in which he said:

> Your committee believe that the passage of that act [to establish common schools] must have been greeted by every philanthropist and friend of civil liberty as the foundation on which was to rest the future happiness of our citizens and the perpetuity of our political institutions. * * * From the very nature of our civil institutions, the people must act; it is wisdom and policy to teach them to act from the lights of reason, and not from the blind impulse of deluded feeling. * * * Independent of any political influence that general education might have, your committee are of opinion that any State or sovereign, having the means at command, are morally criminal if they neglect to contribute to each citizen or subject that individual usefulness and happiness which arises from a well cultured understanding. * * * Your committee can not conceive a nobler idea than that of the genius of our coun-

[11] In the Legislature of 1821 he voted with the minority for a resolution providing for the calling of a Constitutional Convention; for a bill "to provide an additional fund for internal improvements"; in 1826, for a bill to improve the navigation of the Cape Fear River below Wilmington, and for a similar bill in 1827; for the survey of a route for a railroad from New Bern through Raleigh, to the western counties.

[12] The Raleigh *Standard* called him an Abolitionist because as a Member of the Legislature he "drew a report against the proposition of Mr. Stedman, from Chatham, forbidding the instruction of slaves." Quoted in the Raleigh *Register*, January 3, 1840.

[13] He introduced a resolution to advance money from the Literary Fund to be used "in aiding Archibald D. Murphey, of Orange County, in writing and publishing the History of this State," to be repaid from the proceeds of a lottery authorized by the Legislature for the purpose.

try, hovering over the tattered son of some miserable hovel, leading his infant but gigantic mind in the paths of useful knowledge, and pointing out to his noble ambition the open way by which talented merit may reach the highest honors and preferments of our government.

The committee, accordingly, unanimously recommended the rejection of the bill to discontinue the Literary Fund.[14] The recommendation was accepted, the bill was lost, the Literary Fund was saved, and the foundation on which our common school system was afterwards built was preserved intact.

In the Convention of 1835, in which he represented Guilford County, Morehead supported the amendments offered to the Constitution designed to democratize the State Government. Two of these amendments in particular have had a far reaching influence on our history. One of them placed representation in the House of Commons on a basis of Federal population; the other took away from the Legislature the election of the Governor and gave it to the people. To this latter change we may trace the origin of two of the most important political institutions of our own day,—the party State Convention and the preëlection canvass of the State by the nominees for State offices.

The first party State Convention ever held in North Carolina was the Whig Convention which met in Raleigh, November 12, 1839, and nominated John M. Morehead for Governor.[15] Reading the contemporary newspaper reports of this Convention shortly after attending the last State Convention held in this city in June of the present year, one is greatly impressed with the marked contrast in the two bodies. They were typical of the political conditions of the two eras in which they were held. The latter with its more than one thousand cheering, shouting, declaiming delegates, uncontrolled and uncontrollable, was truly representative of the aggressive direct democracy of the twentieth century. The former with its ninety-one sober, orderly, deliberative gentlemen of the old school, thoroughly responsive to the mallet of their chairman, was just as truly representative of the staid, self-restrained, representative democracy of the early nineteenth century.

[14]Coon, Charles L.: Public Education in North Carolina, 1790-1840; Vol. I, page 376.

[15]Ex-Gov. John Owen, delegate from Bladen, presided. A General Committee of Thirteen, one from each Congressional District, was appointed "to take into consideration the purposes for which the Convention had assembled" and to report thereon. November 13th, this committee reported, among other resolutions, the following: "Resolved, That having been inspired with a deep and lively sense of the eminent practical vigor, sound Republican principles, unblemished public and private virtues, ardent patriotism and decided abilities of John M. Morehead, of the County of Guilford, we do accordingly recommend him to our fellow citizens as a fit successor to our present enlightened Chief Magistrate, Governor Dudley."—Adopted *unanimously*. The platform of the Convention favored: (1) Economy in government; (2) Reform in the revenue system; (3) Reduction in the number of government employees; (4) Selection of government employees "without discrimination of parties"; (5) An Amendment to the Federal Constitution to abolish the Electoral College; (6) One term of four years for the President; (7) A National Bank; (8) A division of the proceeds of public lands among the States on a basis of Federal population; (9) Public education; (10) Strict Construction of the Constitution. It opposed: (1) Jackson's Spoil System; (2) Appointment of Members of Congress to Federal offices during their terms in Congress; (3) Making judicial appointments for partisan reasons; (4) Interference of Federal Officers in elections; (5) Protective tariff; (6) The Federal Government's making internal improvements "except such as may be stampt with a national character"; (7) The Sub-Treasury scheme; (8) Federal interference with slavery.

Morehead's election as Governor followed a campaign that is memorable in the history of North Carolina as the first in which candidates for public office ever made a canvass of the State.[16] But in other respects also his election and inauguration as Chief Executive marks a turning point in our history. He was the first Governor to sit in this Capitol, in itself typical of the new era then dawning upon the State;[17] and, what is more important still, he was the first of our Governors to discard the old *laissez faire* policy which his predecessors had followed since the Revolution, and to come into office with a distinct program in view. This program he outlined in very general terms in his Inaugural Address before the Members of the General Assembly, in the course of which he said:

I shall be happy to coöperate with you in bringing into active operation all the elements of greatness and usefulness with which our State is so abundantly blessed. Other States have outstripped us in the career of improvements, and in the development of their natural resources, but North Carolina will stand a favorable comparison with most of her sister States in her natural advantages,—her great extent of fertile soil, her great variety of production, her exhaustless deposits of mineral wealth, her extraordinary water-power, inviting to manufactures, all, all combine to give her advantages that few other States possess. Whatever measures you may adopt to encourage agriculture and to induce the husbandman while he toils and sweats to hope that his labors will be duly rewarded; whatever measures you may adopt to facilitate commerce and to aid industry in all departments of life to reap its full rewards, will meet with my cordial approbation. * * * It is equally our duty, fellow citizens, to attend to our moral and intellectual cultivation. * * * It is to our common schools, in which every child can receive the rudiments of an education, that our attention should be mainly directed. Our system is yet in its infancy; it will require time and experience to give to it its greatest perfection. * * * I doubt not, in due time, the legislative wisdom of the State will perfect the system as far as human sagacity can do it. And no part of my official duty will be performed with more pleasure than that part which may aid in bringing about that happy result.[18]

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[16]Morehead's opponent in 1840 was Romulus M. Saunders. The vote was, Morehead 44,484; Saunders, 35,903; Morehead's majority, 8,581. In 1842 Morehead's opponent was Louis D. Henry. The vote was, Morehead, 37,943; Henry, 34,411; Morehead's majority, 3,532. The falling off in Morehead's vote is attributable to the disorganization of the Whig party following the death of President Harrison, and the defection of President Tyler. Morehead's first inauguration was January 1, 1841; his second, December 31, 1842.

[17]Referring to this fact in his Inaugural Address before the General Assembly he said:

"You are the first legislative body that ever had the honor to assemble in its splendid halls. I am the first Executive who ever had the honor to be installed within its durable walls. It will endure as a monument for ages to come of the munificence, the liberality and taste of the age in which we live. There is a moral effect produced by the erection of such an edifice as this,—it will serve in the chain of time to link the past with the future. And if ever that proud spirit that has ever characterized us, which has ever been ready to assert its rights and to avenge its wrongs, which exhibited itself at the Regulation Battle of 1770 [1771], which burnt with more brilliance at the Mecklenburg Declaration of Indepen dence in 1775, and which boldly declared for independence in 1776,—if ever that proud spirit shall become craven in time to come, and shall not dare animate the bosom of a freeman, let it look upon this monument and remember the glorious institution under which its foundations were laid, and the noble people by whom it was reared, and then let it become a slave if it can. May it endure for ages to come—may it endure until time itself shall grow old; may a thousand years find these halls still occupied by freemen legislating for a free and happy people."—Raleigh *Register*, January 5, 1841.

[18]Raleigh *Register*, January 5, 1841.

But we should not expect a man of Governor Morehead's great practical wisdom to content himself with general observations. To reduce these general observations into a concrete, practical system was the work of his first two years in the Governor's office, and when the Legislature of 1842 met he was ready with a message outlining a complete system of internal improvements.[19] His scheme embraced the further extension of the railroad lines already built in the State, the improvement of our rivers and harbors, the construction of extensive lines of turnpikes, and the linking of all three together in one general system of transportation. One of the ablest public documents in our history, this message, for its practical bearing on the problems of our own day, still repays a careful study. With reference to the great inland waterway now nearing completion, of which the connection between Pamlico Sound and Beaufort Harbor forms an important link, he said:

Turning our attention to the eastern part of the State, two improvements said to be practicable, assume an importance that renders them national in their character. I allude to the opening of Roanoke Inlet and the connection of Pamlico Sound by a ship canal with Beaufort harbor. Frequent surveys of the first of these proposed improvements * * * establish the feasibility of this work. The advantages arising from this improvement to our commerce are too obvious to need pointing out. But the view to be taken of its vast importance is in the protection it will afford to our shipping and the lives of our seamen. The difficulty and dangers often encountered at Ocracoke Inlet render the connection between Pamlico Sound and Beaufort harbor of vast importance to the convenience and security of our commerce and shipping. It will be an extension of that inland navigation, so essential to us in time of war, and give access to one of the safest harbors on our coast, and one from which a vessel can be quicker at sea than from any other, perhaps, on the continent. In these improvements the commerce of the nation is interested; it becomes the duty of the nation to make them, if they be practicable and proper. I therefore recommend that you bring the attention of Congress to the subject in the manner most likely to effect the object. * * * We should assert a continual claim to our right to have this work effected by the general government. * * * You would be saved the trouble of this appeal if the nation could witness one of those storms so frequent on our coast—could witness the war of elements which rage around Hatteras and the dangers which dance about Ocracoke—could witness the noble daring of our pilots and the ineffectual but manly struggles of our seamen—could see our coast fringed with wrecks and our towns filled with the widows and orphans of our gallant tars. Justice and humanity would extort what we now ask in vain.

[19]This message is published in the Journals of the Legislature, Session of 1842–'43, pp. 405–422; also in the Public Documents of the same year. Doc. No. 1.

Of the conditions of transportation and travel in the central section of the State, he said:

I would respectfully invite your attention to the public highways generally. * * * From Fayetteville, the highest point of good navigation, westward to the Buncombe Turnpike, a distance of some two hundred and fifty or three hundred miles, what navigable stream, railroad, turnpike, or macadamized highway gives to the laborer facilities of transportation? None! Literally none! This vast extent of territory, reaching from the Blue Ridge in the west to the alluvial region in the east, and extending across the whole State, it is believed, will compare with any spot upon the globe for the fertility of its soil, the variety of its productions, the salubrity of its climate, the beauty of its landscapes, the richness of its mines, the facilities for manufactures, and the intelligence and moral worth of its population. Can another such territory, combining all these advantages, be found upon the face of the whole earth, so wholly destitute of natural or artificial facilities for transportation?

"What scheme, that is practicable," he asked, "will afford the desired facilities?" And in answer to this query he made two recommendations.

The remedy for these evils is believed to be in good turnpikes. * * * I therefore recommend that a charter be granted to make a turnpike road from the city of Raleigh to some point westward selected with a view to its ultimate continuance to the extreme west. * * * Should this road be continued to Waynesboro [now Goldsboro], which might be done at comparatively small expense, the farmer would have the choice of markets, of Wilmington by the railroad, or New Bern by the river Neuse.

Further he recommended:

That a charter be granted to make a turnpike from Fayetteville to the Yadkin River at some point above the Narrows, or, if deemed more expedient, to some point on a similar road leading from Raleigh westward, thus giving the west the advantages of both markets. * * * Should this road ever reach the Yadkin, no doubt is entertained of its continuance across the Catawba westward—thus giving to this road the advantages which will arise from the navigation of these two noble rivers.

Nearly seventy years were to pass before the State was ready for the execution of these plans, and it was left for the engineers of 1912 to realize what the statesman of 1842 had dreamed. A vaster work was waiting the constructive genius of Morehead.

Turning his eyes farther westward, Governor Morehead foresaw the future development of the mountainous section of North Carolina. To make this region more interesting, he declared, we have only to make it more accessible, and continuing, he said:

The sublimity and beauty of its mountain scenery, the purity of its waters, the buoyancy and salubrity of its atmosphere, the fertility of its valleys, the

verdure of its mountains, and, above all, its energetic, intelligent and hospitable inhabitants, make it an inviting portion of the State. * * * When good roads shall be established in that region, it is believed the population will increase with rapidity, agriculture improve, grazing will be extended, and manufactures and the mechanic arts will flourish in a location combining so many advantages and inviting their growth. The improved highways will be additional inducements to the citizens of other sections of our State to abandon their usual northern tours, or visits to the Virginia watering places, for a tour much more interesting among our own mountains, much cheaper, and much more beautiful—a tour in which they will inspire health in every breath and drink in health at every draught.

Governor Morehead did not expect, indeed he did not desire that the General Assembly should proceed to put all of his recommendations into immediate effect. He realized only too well that such a procedure would require enormous outlays far beyond the resources of the State, and he never forgot that debts contracted today must be paid tomorrow. Sufficient warning of the effects of such a course was not lacking. Many of the Southern and Western States embarking in wild and extravagant schemes of internal improvements had made such vast expenditures that their treasuries had become bankrupt and their people oppressed with obligations which they could not meet; and to extricate themselves they had resorted to the very simple but very effective means of repudiation. If Governor Morehead loved progress much, he detested repudiation more; and the most vigorous passage in his message is that in which he warns the Legislature against such a course. Said he:

I would recommend that whatever schemes of expenditure you may embark in, you keep within the means at the command of the State; otherwise the people must be taxed more heavily or the State must contract a loan. The pressure of the times forbids the former—the tarnished honor of some of the States should make us, for the present, decline the latter. The mania for State banking and the mad career of internal improvements, which seized a number of the States, have involved them in an indebtedness very oppressive, but not hopeless. American credit and character requires that this stain of violated faith should be obliterated by our honest acknowledgment of the debt, and a still more honest effort to pay it. I therefore recommend the passage of resolutions expressive of the strong interest which this State feels in the full redemption of every pledge of public faith, and of its utter detestation of the abominable doctrine of Repudiation. That State which honestly owes a debt and has or can command the means of payment, and refuses to pay because it can not be compelled to do so, has already bartered Public Honor, and only waits an increase of price to barter Public Liberty. This recommendation will come with peculiar force from you. North Carolina has been jeered for sluggishness and indolence, because she has chosen to guard her treasury and protect her honor by avoiding debt and promptly meeting her engagements. She has yielded to others the glory of their

magnificent expenditures and will yield to them all that glory which will arise from a repudiation of their contracts. In the language of one of her noblest sons, "It is better for her to sleep on in indolence and innocence than to wake up in infamy and treason."

The schemes outlined in Morehead's message of 1842 were laid before a Legislature controlled by the Democratic party, and the policy of that party was hostile to internal improvements. Morehead accordingly was forced to wait upon events for the consummation of his great schemes. In outlining these schemes he had given evidences of his extraordinary power of vision; the next few years were to bring him an opportunity to demonstrate his ability to transform his dreams into actual realities. This opportunity, for which he had so long waited, came with the passage by the Legislature of 1849 of the act to charter "The North Carolina Railroad Company." The history of this measure—the long and bitter contest between the East and the West over the proposed railroad from Charlotte to Danville, the statesmanlike compromise of its advocates in accepting the road from Charlotte to Goldsboro, the prolonged struggle and ultimate victory in the House of Commons, the dramatic scene in the Senate wherein Calvin Graves immolated his own personal ambition on the altar of public duty,—all this has been described so often that it is not necessary to repeat the story here. The act authorized the organization of a corporation with stock of $3,000,000, of which the State was to take $2,000,000 when private individuals had subscribed $1,000,000 and actually paid in $500,000. North Carolina had long stood at the turn of the road hesitatingly. By the passage of this act she finally made her decision. The enthusiam of Governor Morehead, who was not usually given to picturesque language, was too great for plain speech. "The passage of the act," he declared, "under which this company is organized was the dawning of hope to North Carolina; the securing its charter was the rising sun of that hope; the completion of the road will be the meridian glory of that hope, pregnant with the results that none living can divine."[20]

For the next five years, during which the private subscription of $1,000,000 was secured, the charter obtained, the company organized, the route surveyed, and the road constructed, the dominant figure in its history is the figure of John M. Morehead. In this period he performed his greatest service to the State and enrolled his name permanently among the builders of the Commonwealth. The experience of North Carolina in railroad building up to that time had not been encouraging. Both the Wilmington and Weldon and the Raleigh and Gaston railroads

[20]Report of the Directors of the North Carolina Railroad Company: Legislative Documents 1850–'51, Executive Document No. 9.

were bankrupt for the want of patronage. In the face of this fact, it was no slight achievement to raise a million dollars in North Carolina for another similar enterprise. Yet this is the task to which Governor Morehead now set himself. On June 15, 1849, he presided over a great Internal Improvements Convention at Salisbury at which measures, largely suggested by himself, were adopted for securing the stock.[21] Placed by this convention at the head of an executive committee to carry out these measures, he pushed them with a vigor, determination, and wisdom that aroused the enthusiasm of the whole State and inspired confidence in the enterprise. Speaking of his work at a convention held in Greensboro, November 30, 1849, in the interest of the road, the Greensboro *Patriot* declared that "the determined spirit of this distinguished gentleman touched every heart in that assembly and awoke a feeling of enthusiasm and anxiety, deep, startling, and fervent as we have ever witnessed."[22] On March 6, 1850, Morehead was able to announce to a convention at Hillsboro that only $100,000 remained to be taken to complete the private subscription, and then announced his willingness to be one of the ten men to take the balance. Nine others promptly came forward, subscribed their proportionate part, and thus ensured the building of the road.[23] "It is worthy of remark," declared Major Walter Gwyn, the eminent engineer whose skill contributed so much to the construction of the road, "that the whole amount was subscribed by individuals, without the aid of corporations, the largest subscription

[21]This convention was attended by two hundred and twenty-five delegates from twenty-one counties and Norfolk, Virginia. Among those present were, ex-Gov. D. L. Swain, ex-Gov. W. A. Graham, ex-Gov. John M. Morehead, John W. Ellis, afterwards Governor, John A. Gilmer, Rufus Barringer, Victor Barringer, James W. Osborne, Calvin H. Wiley, Hamilton C. Jones. Morehead was unanimously elected president. The correspondent of the Raleigh *Register* wrote that the meetings of this convention "had been looked to for some time past with the most intense interest, by the friends of the Central Railroad, as determining, to a considerable extent, the probable success or failure of that enterprise." He declared that "the Convention in every respect—the numbers, intelligence and respectability of its members, its zeal and its harmony of action—was all that even the most sanguine would have desired * * * The address of the President was, in all respects, worthy the importance of the occasion and the high reputation of the man." A Committee of Thirteen was appointed "to consider of and report upon the measures to be acted on by the Convention." This committee recommended a plan, which the Convention adopted, for securing stock subscriptions and the appointment of an Executive Committee of three to carry it into effect. Morehead was made Chairman of this Executive Committee. The other members were George W. Mordecai and Dr. W. R. Holt—The Raleigh *Register*, June 23, 1849. Similar Conventions were held at Greensboro, November 29, 1849; Raleigh, December 15, 1849; Goldsboro, in January, 1850; and Hillsboro, March, 1850. At the Greensboro Convention Governor Morehead "passed a high eulogism upon Calvin Graves, of Caswell, who had given the casting vote by which this charter of the N. C. Railroad Company had been passed," and then nominated him for president. Morehead was appointed chairman of the committee on subscriptions. He reported subscriptions of $190,800. John A. Gilmer suggested that one hundred men come forward to take the balance in equal parts. Morehead headed the list, but the requisite number was not secured. After several addresses had been delivered, Morehead rose and said "that as the speaking seemed to be over, he reckoned we had as well get to work now, and take the remainder of the stock." As only fifty-one men had taken up Mr. Gilmer's suggestion, Morehead agreed to double his subscription, if the others would. The proposition, however, was not accepted.—Raleigh *Star*, December 5, 1849. On December 15, Morehead addressed the Convention at Raleigh at which about $40,000 of stock was subscribed. He was also at the Goldsboro Convention. At the Hillsboro Convention the subscription was completed, and a meeting of the stockholders called to be held at Salisbury, to organize the company.

[22]Quoted in the Raleigh *Star*, December 5, 1849.

[23]The others were George W. Mordecai, of Wake; John W. Thomas, of Davidson; Dr. (Edmund) Strudwick, of Orange; Paul Cameron, of Orange; William Boylan, of Wake; Alonzo T. Jerkins, of Craven; Dr. A. J. DeRosset, of New Hanover; Giles Mebane, of Alamance; and a group of ten individuals in Orange who subscribed the last ten thousand.—Raleigh *Star*, March 20, 1850.

thus made to any public improvement in the Southern country." The editor of the Raleigh *Star*,[24] announced the completion of the private subscription with the following comments:

> We must be permitted to remark that the State owes much to that sterling man, Governor Morehead, for success in this enterprise; and that he who has heretofore been styled a "wheel horse" in this matter, may be justly entitled to the appellation of a "whole team." Whilst we pen these hasty lines, the deep-mouthed cannon is pealing forth from Union Square commemorative of this great deed for North Carolina. We are not of a very excitable disposition, but we must confess that it makes our blood run quicker at every peal, so that we can scarcely restrain ourselves from responding to its notes, "Huzza! Huzza! for the railroad."

On July 11, 1850, the private stockholders met at Salisbury and organized the company.[25] The board of directors unanimously elected John M. Morehead president. He was continuously reëlected president until 1855, when declining further election he was succeeded by Charles F. Fisher. During these five years of President Morehead's administration the North Carolina Railroad, truly described as "the greatest of all enterprises so far attempted by the State of North Carolina in the nature of a public or internal improvement," was constructed and opened to traffic. The surveys were commenced August 21, 1850; on July 11, 1851, at Greensboro, in the presence of an immense throng, ground for the laying of the rails was broken;[26] on January 29, 1856, the road was ready for cars from Goldsboro to Charlotte, a distance of two hundred and twenty-three miles. In his last report to the board of directors, Engineer Gwyn said that the breaking of ground for this railroad "may be justly regarded as an event which will ever be memorable in the annals of North Carolina—an era which marks her engaging with

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[24]March 6, 1850.

[25]The following Directors were elected: William C. Means, John B. Lord, John I. Shaver, Francis Fries, John W. Thomas, John M. Morehead, John A. Gilmer, William A. Graham, Benjamin Trollinger, Romulus M. Saunders, Armand J. DeRosset, Alonzo T. Jerkins. The Directors elected the following officers: President, John M. Morehead; Secretary-Treasurer, John U. Kirkland; Engineer, Major Walter Gwyn.

[26]This ceremony followed the regular annual meeting of the stockholders. The correspondent of the Raleigh *Register* gives the following account of it:

"A crowd of people appeared, ready for the celebration, such as we may safely say was never seen in our town before for numbers. It was one universal jam all out of doors. The young gentlemen who acted as marshals had hard enough work of it, to persuade this vast and unwieldy crowd into marching shape; but they at length succeeded to a degree which at first appeared impossible. The procession was formed on West Street, the clergy in front; then the stockholders; then the Orders of Odd Fellows and Free Masons, who turned out in great numbers and in full regalia; closing with the citizens generally. This immense line moved down South Street to a point on the Railroad survey nearly opposite the Caldwell Institute building, where a space of a hundred feet each way was enclosed by a line and reserved for the ceremony of the day. The north side of this space was occupied by the ladies, whose smiles are always ready for the encouragement of every good word and work. The other three sides were soon occupied by the male portion of the assemblage, from ten to twenty deep around. You may imagine, then, the difficulty which the 'rear rank' encountered in getting a glimpse of the proceedings within.

"Having the misfortune to be among the outsiders, our situation was of course unfavorable for hearing, and seeing was impossible. But we did hear nearly every word of Governor Morehead's clear, sonorous voice, as he introduced the Hon. Calvin Graves to the vast assemblage. He did this in terms eloquent and singularly appropriate to the occasion. After alluding to the necessity so long felt by our people for an outlet to the commercial world—to the inception of the great scheme, the commencement of which we had met today to celebrate—to the vicissitudes of the charter before the two houses

earnestness in honorable competition with her sister states in the great work of internal improvement which is to raise the State to that rank which the advantages of her situation entitle her to hold," and continuing, he said:

From this memorable day, July 11, 1851, there has been no faltering or despondency; all have been united heart and hand in the great undertaking; the whole State, her entire people, catching the enthusiasm which it engendered, have come forth in their might and majesty, battling in the cause of internal improvement, those heretofore signalized as laggards now pressing forward in the front rank. * * * The contractors on the North Carolina Railroad were all stockholders, and with only two or three exceptions entirely destitute of experience in the work they undertook; they commenced their contracts very generally in January, 1852, and on the first of January, 1853, without the aid of a single dollar from the treasury of the company, but relying entirely upon their own credit and means, their united labor amounted to $500,000, which, carried to the credit of their stock subscription, fulfilled the second condition of the subscription on the part of the State and brought her in as a partner in the great enterprise. This (coupling the subscription of a million of dollars by individuals, chiefly farmers, and working out a half a million on their own resources) is an achievement unprecedented in the annals of the public works of this or any other country, and wherever known (and it ought to be published everywhere) will disabuse the public mind and vindicate the energy, enterprise and industry of the citizens of the State. I have repeatedly said publicly, and perceiving no impropriety in it, I avail myself of this occasion to say that in my experience, now exceeding thirty years, I have not found on any public work with which I have been connected a set of contractors more reliable than those with whom I have had to deal on the North Carolina Railroad, and none with whom my intercourse has been so pleasant and agreeable.

It is no small tribute to the wisdom and constructive genius of President Morehead to be able to say that, of all the contracts which, as president of the road, he had to make, the only one about which any controversy ever arose, or any charge of favoritism was ever made, was one

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of the General Assembly, and the fact that it at last hung upon the decision of the Speaker of the Senate, and that its fate was decided in the affirmative by the unfaltering 'Aye' of that Speaker, Calvin Graves,—he said that no other citizen of North Carolina could so appropriately perform the ceremony of removing the first earth in the commencement of this work on which the hopes of the State so vitally depend, as to the man who pronounced the decisive 'Aye.'

"It was impossible for us to catch the full connection of Mr. Graves' speech. Some sentences we heard, glowing with that patriotic feeling which has so long distinguished him as one of the first and best sons of old North Carolina. We could only judge generally of its effect by the waving of parasols and handkerchiefs among the ladies, and the frequent and hearty applause that arose from the inner ranks of the citizens. * * * *

"At the conclusion of Mr. Graves' speech he 'broke' ground on the Railroad by digging up and depositing in a box prepared for that purpose a few spadesful of earth.

"Governor Morehead remarked that this was deposited in the box, to remain a hundred years, and then be reopened for our inspection! The crowd laughed at the ludicrousness of the idea and so did we. But it naturally awoke a graver thought. Before a tenth of a century shall pass, we dare say that numbers of those present will see the railroad cars swiftly traversing the spot where this interesting ceremony occurred. * * * *

"The annual meeting of stockholders closed on Friday morning. Nothing of importance was done during the afternoon sitting. * * * The apprehension felt by a few that something fatal to the road would happen at this meeting was very agreeably dissipated. Conciliation and harmony, and a disposition to prosecute the enterprise with all power to a successful termination marked the proceedings."—The Raleigh *Register*, July 16, 1851.

which the State Directors, for partisan political purposes, took out of his hands and referred for settlement to a committee of their own choosing.[27]

The North Carolina Railroad was only one link in the great State system which Morehead contemplated. As he himself expressed it this system was to include "one great leading trunk line of railway from the magnificent harbor of Beaufort to the Tennessee line." Writing in 1866, he attributed the conception of this scheme to Joseph Caldwell and Judge Gaston, adding:

> Charter after charter, by the influence of these great men, was granted to effect the work, but the gigantic work was thought to be too much for the limited means the State and her citizens could then command, and the charters remain monuments of *their* wisdom and our folly, or inability to carry them out. A more successful plan it is hoped was finally adopted—to do this great work by sections. The North Carolina Railroad * * * was the first [section] undertaken.[28]

The other sections were to be built between Goldsboro and Beaufort

[27]This controversy was an incident in one of the most memorable events in Governor Morehead's career. Before the passage of the act to charter the North Carolina Railroad Company, the people of the Central section of the State had asked the Legislature to charter a company to build a railroad from Charlotte to Danville, Va. The people of the East opposed this charter, and in 1849 its advocates accepted in its place the railroad from Charlotte to Goldsboro. Nearly ten years passed, therefore, before anything more was heard of the Danville Connection. In 1858 the advocates of the Danville Connection again brought forward their scheme, and asked for a charter for a company to build a road, without any aid from the State, to connect the North Carolina Railroad at Greensboro with the Richmond and Danville at Danville. The bill was introduced in the House of Commons in 1858 by Francis L. Simpson, of Rockingham, but everybody understood that it was in reality Governor Morehead's bill and he was its principal champion. The members from the East, supported by the Raleigh *Register* and the Raleigh *Standard*, immediately assailed the project as inimical to the interests of the North Carolina Railroad. The debate continued several days. It was participated in by some of the ablest debaters in the State, and was extended to embrace the whole subject and history of the State's policy toward railroads. Governor Morehead's administration of the affairs of the North Carolina Railroad was bitterly assailed. He was charged with mismanagement and with a breach of faith and betrayal of the interests of the State, his opponents claiming that, while soliciting subscriptions to stock in the North Carolina Railroad Company, he had expressly promised to abandon forever all advocacy of the Danville Connection. No more formidable attack, perhaps, has ever been made on any public man in the history of North Carolina. Arrayed against Morehead, besides the two newspapers mentioned, were Robert R. Bridgers, of Edgecombe; W. T. Dortch, of Wayne; Pride Jones and John W. Norwood, of Orange, and Dennis D. Ferebee, of Camden, and others scarcely less distinguished for ability. Morehead's defence is still remembered as one of the really great forensic triumphs in our history. Mr. J. S. F. Baird, who represented Buncombe County in that Legislature, and who was not of Governor Morehead's political faith, under date of April 29, 1912, writes of the contest:

"After the lapse of fifty-four years it is impossible for me to recall many of the incidents of the debate but this much I do remember, that Colonel Bridgers' attack on Governor Morehead was futile and did the Governor no harm, for he vindicated himself in the most thorough manner."

Two other members who themselves participated in the debate have left their testimony. John Kerr, of Rockingham County, said of Morehead's defence:

"Never was a more brilliant victory won than he achieved that day. His assailants were driven from all their positions, were pursued and routed, 'horse, foot and dragoons' * * * They were *strong men*, and the House felt the shock of battle while the conflict lasted. But when he closed his defence his assailants bore the air of deep dejection and discomfiture. The House was enraptured with the display of power on the part of Governor Morehead, and no further charges were heard against him." Hon. Thomas Settle said: "For a time the attack seemed overwhelming, and Governor Morehead's friends feared that he would not be able to repel it. For five days he sat and received it in silence, but when he arose and as he proceeded with his defence, friend, foe, and everybody else was struck with amazement. We could scarcely realize that any man possessed such powers of argument and eloquence. His vindication was so complete that his assailants openly acknowledged it." Mr. C. S. Wooten, who did not hear the debate but remembers the impression it created in the State at the time, says of Morehead's effort: "I know of but one other instance in American history that can parallel Morehead's fight and that was when Benton, solitary and alone, made his fight against Calhoun, Clay and Webster in favor of his resolution expunging from the records of the Senate the resolution censuring General Jackson. There never has been such another instance in the history of the State of such moral courage, such heroic firmness, and such a grand exhibition of iron nerve." In the heat of the contest the Danville Connection was almost forgotten in the attack on Morehead. The former was defeated by a strictly sectional vote; but Morehead achieved, according to all testimony, both contemporary and subsequent, a great personal triumph. The newspaper reports of the debate are too meager to give one anything like an adequate idea of the speeches on either side.

[28]Letter to the Stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Co. Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting, July 17, 1866.

and between Salisbury and the Tennessee boundary. In accordance with this plan the Legislature, in 1853, incorporated "The Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company," and "The North Carolina and Western Railroad Company," to which Governor Morehead referred as "the contemplated extensions of the North Carolina Railroad." Immediately after the passage of these acts, Governor Reid ordered President Morehead and the Directors of the North Carolina Railroad to make the necessary surveys. In an open letter to the Greensboro *Patriot,* Governor Morehead said of this order:

I desire to give this pleasing intelligence to the friends of these enterprises, through your valuable paper, with an assurance that the work will be commenced at as early a day as practicable. * * * Not a moment is to be lost. The deep, deep regret is that these extensions are not now in full progress of construction. The giant strides of improvement around us should arouse us to action. The ignominious and pusillanimous complaint that Nature has done so little for us is a libel upon the old dame. Let us see if it is not. * * * We have at the eastern terminus of one of these extensions one of the finest harbors, at Beaufort, for all commercial purposes, on the whole Atlantic coast. And if the improvements at the mouth of Cape Fear shall succeed, as it is hoped they will, we shall have another port surpassed by few, if any, in the South. * * * But it may be asked, what commerce have we to require such a port as Beaufort? Let the answer be, the commerce of the world. Look at the location of this port—placed at the end of the North Carolina coast, which projects like a promontory into the Atlantic, midway and within sight of the great line of navigation between the North and the South, and within thirty minutes' sail of the ocean. Nature made it for a stopping place of commerce—the halfway house between the North and the South, where steamers may get their supplies of anthracite, semi-bituminous and bituminous coal. * * * But let us take a western view of these extensions. The road running from Beaufort along the Central Railroad [the North Carolina Railroad] and to the Tennessee line and thence along the lines already in progress of construction to Memphis will not vary one degree from a due west course. Extend the same line westward (and I predict it will surely be done) to the city of San Francisco, which is to become the great emporium of the East India trade, and who can doubt that the trade of the Mississippi Valley, as well as that of the East Indies and China, will crowd our port.[29]

Under Morehead's supervision, the work of both the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, and the Western North Carolina Railroad was inaugurated.[30] On June 17, 1858, the former was completed and

[29]Raleigh *Register*, June 25, 1843.

[30]Morehead was the pioneer in developing our system of internal improvements and was the leading spirit in the building of the North Carolina Railroad. He was President for four years of the Central Road and was the Chief Contractor in building the road from Morehead City to New Bern * * * Badger was an abler lawyer, Bragg a more astute reasoner, Graham more polished and graceful, but Morehead, as a man of affairs, for broad scope and grasp of intellect, for vigor of thought, for practical common sense, for managing vast financial enterprises, was greater than either. He could stuff his pants in his boot legs, splash through the mud and build railroads while the others would rather recline in easy chairs in some cosy office and attend to their law practice, discuss literature, or talk on social topics. While building the road from New Bern to Morehead, I have seen him dressed as I have described, and his boots besmeared with the red mud of Guilford County."—C. S. Wooten.

ready for trains from Goldsboro to Beaufort Harbor; and a few months thereafter found trains running over the latter to within four miles of Morganton, while the entire route to the Tennessee line had been surveyed and partly graded. In 1866 a bill drawn in accordance with the original plan, was introduced in the Senate to consolidate these two roads and the North Carolina Railroad under the name of "The North Carolina Railroad Company." Morehead, now approaching the end of his long and useful career, strongly endorsed and supported this measure. One of his last public utterances was an appeal to the stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Company to throw their powerful influence in favor of the consummation of the great plans for which he had given the best service of his life. After giving a brief résumé of the railroad work done in the State he said:

Here let us pause and take a survey of what has been done in *seven* years towards this great work. From Beaufort harbor to Goldsboro the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company have built ninety-six miles. From Goldsboro to Charlotte you (the North Carolina Railroad) have built two hundred and twenty-three miles. From Salisbury to within four miles of Morganton the Western North Carolina Railroad have built seventy-six miles * * * making in all three hundred and ninety-five miles, from which deduct forty-three miles from Salisbury to Charlotte, and we have actually built of this great line three hundred and fifty-two miles in one continuous line. Think of it! Seven years! In the lifetime of a State or nation seven years is but as a moment in its existence. It would not cover the dawning of its existence. In the great day of a nation's improvements seven years would not be the sunrise of that day. We have done this great work in the twilight of our great day of internal improvement—a day which dawned so beautifully upon us, but which became enveloped in that gloom which shrouds the nation in mourning. But let us not despair. The day which dawned so beautifully upon us will yet reach its meridian splendor. Then let us be up and doing * * * and then the hopes, the dreams of the great and good Caldwell and Gaston will be realized. * * * You have the honor of being the pioneers in this great work executed in sections. Do yourselves now the honor to consolidate the whole and complete the original design. You, the most powerful and most independent of the three corporations, can, with much grace, propose to your sister corporations consolidations upon terms of justice and equity manifesting selfishness in naught but your name. Yield not that. The new consolidated corporation should be still "The North Carolina Railroad Company." This will be a corporation worthy of you, of your State, and of the great destinies that await it.[31]

What this great destiny was no man had foreseen so clearly as he. The traveler of 1912 along the line of the North Carolina Railroad sees the fulfilment of Morehead's dreams of 1850. He finds himself in one of the most productive regions of the new world. He traverses it from one end to the other at a speed of forty miles an hour, surrounded

[31] Letter of July 17, 1866, to the Stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Company.

by every comfort and convenience of modern travel. He passes through a region bound together by a thousand miles of steel rails, by telegraph and telephone lines, and by nearly two thousand miles of improved country roads. He finds a population engaged not only in agriculture, but in manufacturing, in commerce, in transportation, and in a hundred other enterprises. Instead of a few old fashioned handlooms turning out annually less than $400,000 worth of "homemade" articles, he hears the hum of three hundred and sixty modern factories, operating two millions of spindles and looms by steam, water, electricity, employing more than fifty millions of capital, and sending their products to the uttermost ends of the earth. His train passes through farm lands that, since Morehead began his work, have increased six times in value, that produce annually ten times as much cotton and seventy-five times as much tobacco. From his car window instead of the four hundred and sixty-six log huts that passed for schoolhouses in 1850, with their handful of pupils, he beholds a thousand modern schoolhouses, alive with the energy and activity of one hundred thousand school children. His train carries him from Goldsboro through Raleigh, Durham, Burlington, Greensboro, High Point, Lexington, Salisbury, Concord, Charlotte,—villages that have grown into cities, old fields and cross roads that have become thriving centers of industry and culture. Better than all else, he finds himself among a people, no longer characterized by their lethargy, isolation and ignorance, but bristling with energy, alert to every opportunity, fired with the spirit of the modern world, and with their faces steadfastly set toward the future.

The foundation on which all this prosperity and progress rests is the work done by John M. Morehead or inspired by him. No well informed man can be found today in North Carolina who will dispute his primacy among the railroad builders of the State. The North Carolina Railroad, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, the Western North Carolina Railroad, the connecting link between the North Carolina and the Richmond and Danville railroads from Greensboro to Danville, all bear witness of his supremacy in this field. In one of the finest passages of his message to the General Assembly in 1842 he urged the building of good country roads; today there are five thousand miles of improved rural highways in North Carolina. He recommended the building of a Central Highway from Morehead City through Raleigh to the Tennessee line; today we have just witnessed the completion of a great State Highway piercing the very heart of the State almost along the very route he suggested seventy years ago. He suggested plans for extensive improvements of our rivers and harbors; today a "thirty foot channel to the sea" has become the slogan of our chief port and the National Government is

spending annually hundreds of thousands of dollars in the improvement of the Cape Fear, the Neuse, the Pamlico and other rivers of Eastern North Carolina. He urged the construction by the National Government of an inland waterway for our coastwise vessels through Pamlico Sound to Beaufort harbor; seventy years have passed since then, this enterprise has become national in its scope, the Federal Government has assumed charge of it, and the whole nation is anticipating the completion in the near future of an inland waterway from Maine through Pamlico Sound and Beaufort Harbor to Florida. First of all our statesmen Morehead realized the possibility of establishing at Beaufort a great world port; and although this dream has not yet been realized there are not lacking today men noted throughout the business world for their practical wisdom, inspired by no other purpose than commercial success, who have not hesitated to stake large fortunes on the ultimate realization of this dream also. A twentieth century statesman sent before his time into the world of the nineteenth century, Governor Morehead, as a distinguished scholar has declared, "would have been more at home in North Carolina today than would any other of our antebellum governors. He has been dead forty years, and they have been years of constant change and unceasing development. But so wide were his sympathies, so vital were his aims, so far sighted were his public policies, and so clearly did he foresee the larger North Carolina of schools, railroads and cotton mills, that he would be as truly a contemporary in the twentieth century as he was a leader in the nineteenth.[32]

[32]See sketch by C. Alphonso Smith in the "Biographical History of North Carolina," Vol. 2, pp. 250-59.

ADDRESS OF PRESENTATION

BY J. BRYAN GRIMES, CHAIRMAN OF THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is the good fortune of the North Carolina Historical Commission to be able to offer to the State a marble bust of Governor John Motley Morehead, a memorial gift from his grandsons, J. Lindsay Patterson and John Motley Morehead. Governor Morehead's career has been so ably and amply reviewed by Mr. Connor that it is unnecessary to recount his many services to his State. He was one of those remarkable men who left an indelible impression upon his people, and we should hold his memory in most grateful esteem. Far sighted beyond his time, he saw the needs of his State with seerlike wisdom, and with rare acumen he planned a great industrial commonwealth, and his popularity and power over the people enabled him to put into operation policies whose influence was far reaching and whose benefits are still accruing. Plans that might have been regarded as the dream of a visionist, under his master mind and great executive ability became realities. His administration was distinguished for the development of commerce, agriculture, the growth of the common schools and the establishment of an institution for the deaf and dumb and blind, but it was most famed for the great system of internal improvements with which his name is inseparably linked. His greatest achievement was the building of a trunk line of railroad from the mountains to the sea—from Morganton to Morehead City. He was the father of its development and was its first president.

This road is the State's greatest single financial asset, valued today at more than $7,000,000 and built without a cent of taxation of the people. The North Carolina Railroad as planned by him to connect the Mississippi with the Atlantic at Beaufort Harbor was one of the greatest projects of the middle of the last century. His heart and brain were absorbed in uniting the East with the West, establishing a community of interest and making a homogeneous people, bound together with ties of steel. Its inestimable service in acquainting the sections and unifying our people have been its greatest value to our State. Its worth can hardly be overestimated.

Mr. Joyner, to you, representing the State, I, as Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission, have the honor to offer a bust of this master builder and great constructive statesman, John Motley Morehead.

ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE

BY J. Y. JOYNER, SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

To me has been assigned, in the absence of the Governor, the pleasant duty of accepting, on behalf of the State of North Carolina, this marble bust of John Motley Morehead.

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." This man whose memory we are met to honor today, is *facile princeps* among North Carolina's great leaders of those silent revolutions by which alone are won the greatest victories of peace.

Father and builder of the North Carolina Railroad, pioneer manufacturer, promoter of inland waterways and public highways, successful champion of public education and of charitable institutions, able advocate of all that was best industrially, morally, and intellectually for his people, gifted with the vision and enthusiam that characterizes every truly great soul, endowed with common sense, wisdom, courage, force of character, strength of will and devotion to duty that made him a great leader and a great executive in public and private business, he has won and merited his place in North Carolina history among "the few, the immortal names that were not born to die." His bust deserves this honored niche in the Westminster Abbey of our State.

As his tongue was the first to proclaim from the granite halls of this Capitol North Carolina's declaration of commercial and industrial freedom, and to point the way thereto, may the spirit of the man, incarnate in this sculptured image, speak, trumpet-tongued, through these marble lips to the countless generations of noble youth that reverently pause before it, and hearten them for high endeavor and noble achievement.

In the name of the people of the State that he served with such distinguished ability, I now accept, with gratitude to the donors, this artistic image of one of her greatest Governors and noblest sons.

A SPRIG OF ENGLISH OAK

Lieutenant Colonel Wilson Webster, of His Majesty's 33d Regiment of Foot, 1781

By REBECCA CAMERON.

One of the stories which I never wearied hearing my mother tell, was of the gallant and unfortunate Colonel Webster, of the English Army, who died in consequence of a wound received at the battle of Guilford Court House, in 1781; and was buried at Bellefont, in Bladen County; the residence of my mother's uncle-in-law, Major Hugh Waddell.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson Webster was one of the most brilliant and attractive figures in the army of Lord Cornwallis during his campaign in North Carolina. The son of a clergyman—the Reverend Dr. Webster, of Edinburgh,—he united to a thorough knowledge of the profession of arms all the graces and virtues of civil life, extreme personal beauty, and the most daring and conspicuous gallantry.

The following story of his courage and coolness is still told in the farm houses in Alamance.

Lord Cornwallis left Hillsborough on the 26th of February, 1781, and moving his forces southward, encamped on the fertile Alamance. On the 6th of March, he made a move to entrap that wary and remarkable officer, Colonel Otho Williams, of Maryland.

In the manœuvres that followed, a circumstance occurred which gave great *eclat* to an English officer.

Above thirty picked King's Mountain riflemen were ambushed in Wetzell's Mill, on Reedy Fork. They saw a British officer, mounted on a beautiful black horse, slowly approach the bank of the stream, and carefully ford the

current, apparently busied with directing the movements of a detachment of soldiers.

He was in fair rifle range all the time; and these picked men, all of whom could cut a hair at ordinary rifle distance, took deliberate aim at him, and fired thirty shots without striking either man or horse!

The officer showed no atom of fear, quietly sitting on his horse in mid-stream, while the rifle balls hissed all around him; and when the operations he was superintending were finished, as quickly riding away.

I remember hearing that one man said he was so amazed at Webster's not being struck by any of the balls, that he began to have a superstitious feeling about him, and when he fired his last shot at him, his hand was shaking so that he had to rest his rifle on one of the timbers of the mill; and even then, firing from a rest, saw his bullet fall short of the mark for which it had been aimed.

Upon asking some prisoners which officer rode a black horse in the affair at Wetzell's Mill, the reply was that it was the gallant and chivalrous Lieutenant Colonel Wilson Webster of the 33d, one of Lord Cornwallis's favorite officers. At the battle of Guilford Court House (fought March 15th, 1781) Webster commanded the 33d and 23d regiments, and opened the battle, leading his men right across an open, rolling field, as if he bore a charmed life against shot and shell, and hurling them impetuously upon the gallant 1st Maryland, whose exploits at the Cowpens the English had not forgetten, for they recoiled at their deadly fire, and gave way before the Maryland advance.

Webster, who had been severely wounded in the right knee at the first fire, rallied his men in a skirt of woods, and gallantly came back to the charge, finally routing the Marylanders with great loss, and saving the field to the British arms.

He had given his life for the day, however, for the wound he had received, although not considered fatal at first, was destined to terminate his brilliant career. He fainted on being taken from his horse, and his boot was found full of blood.

Cornwallis had his wounded moved by easy stages towards Wilmington so as to have them taken aboard his ships.

It was slow journeying over rough country, and Webster's wound, which had shattered the patella, or knee pan, took on violent inflammation, and he became so ill that on reach-Bladen County he could go no farther, and was quartered with his attendants at Bellefont, the residence of Major Hugh Waddell (who, still a minor, was then absent at an English University). Here he grew rapidly worse, and lock-jaw ensuing, he died in great agony three weeks after the battle.

He was buried on the Bellefont plantation, a mile from the dwelling house, and perhaps the same distance from Elizabethtown,—the post town and court-house of Bladen County.

* * *

The war was ended, thirty years of peace had cooled the fierce anger of the outraged colonists. Many of the victors and vanquished had "died in their beds like good Christians," and a new generation had arisen to inherit the memories, but not the animosities of the late internecine strife. Judge Alfred Moore—who as Captain Moore had shared the dangers of the Guilford battlefield—died strangely enough, as the gallant Webster had done, at Bellefont, on his way to his winter residence at Buchoi, near Wilmington.

Dying on the 15th of October, 1810, his remains were temporarily interred at Bellefont until such time as they could be removed to the family vault at Buchoi. It was decided to make the removal in the spring of 1812, and a party

of gentlemen composed of the immediate family, connections, and personal friends of the late Judge left Wilmington and made one day's drive towards Bellefont, stopping for the night at Newfields, the residence of Mr. John Waddell, who had married Judge Moore's beloved and only niece, General Frank Nash's daughter, Sallie. The party consisted of the following gentlemen: Judge Moore's two sons, Colonel Maurice Moore, of Springfield, and Alfred Moore, of Buchoi; his family physician, and friend, Dr. A. J. DeRosset, of Wilmington; Judge John D. Thomas, Major Duncan Moore, and John R. London, also of Wilmington; Captain Jack Grange, of The Grange, and Mr. John Waddell, of Newfields. The Newfields plantation is twenty-seven miles from Wilmington, and on the Cape Fear river.

During the evening, my grandfather, Mr. Alfred Moore, read aloud to the company from a copy of the *European Magazine* an account of the death and burial of Colonel Webster, thirty years before, at the Bellefont plantation.

The article excited a great deal of interest and comment, especially when someone present stated that it was currently reported that a Dr. Morse, living at Elizabethtown, had disinterred the remains, articulated the skelton, and then had it in his office. This story (although absolutely without foundation) so aroused the ire and indignation of the fiery Colonel Maurice Moore, that he exclaimed vehemently:

"If Dr. Morse has done this thing I will cut both his ears off!"

Fortunately, Dr. Morse had not committed the atrocity, so the impetuous colonel did not have to amputate his ears.

To determine the truth of the matter, however, the gentlemen decided to make search for Colonel Webster's forgotten grave, and investigate the condition of his remains. The

next morning they took boats, and accompanied by Mr. John Waddell, were rowed up the Cape Fear river to Bellefont.

It was remembered in the family that Colonel Webster had been waited upon during his last illness by one of Major Waddell's family servants, a negro man named Lisburne. (This name had been given him by General Hugh Waddell, the Major's father, it being the name of the post town, on or near General Waddell's family estate in Ireland.)

"Old Lisburne," as he was then called in contradistinction to his son and grandson of the same name—was summoned, and, upon being questioned, gave a succinct account of Colonel's Webster's last hours, the preparation of his body for burial, and the exact location of the grave.

The next morning, under Lisburne's guidance the company started on their search, and about a mile from the house, on a wooded hill came to the spot where Lisburne said the grave had been made. Thirty years had passed since the April day when the gallant young Englishman had resigned his soul to the God who gave it, and had been laid to his long, dreamless sleep beneath alien skies, and the rapid growth of a Southern forest had hidden the mound beneath a cunning network of vines and shrubs.

Two axe hands had been brought along, and in a short while the undergrowth was all cleared away, and the mossy, leaf-strown earth bared to view.

"Here is the grave, sir, right here," said old Lisburne. One of the gentlemen took an iron ramrod and sunk it down in the soft rich loam at the point indicated by Lisburne, and after one or two trials succeeded in striking what seemed be be a box or coffin.

The earth was carefully removed, and the coffin presently laid bare once more to the blessed light of day. It was in perfect preservation, and was carefully lifted out of the grave, and some of the gentlemen present proceeded to re-

move the top. The description of what followed I give, as nearly as I can recall, in the words of my grandfather's oldest daughter, the late Mrs. Hugh Waddell, who had been allowed to accompany the party:

"It was a beautiful spring day; the wreaths of yellow jessamine now festooning every tree and shrub with their fragrant blossoms; countless butterflies and bees added their bright wings and cheery hum to the sense of life and joyousness that was thrilling the vernal air.

"A mocking-bird was singing in a jessamine vine just above the open grave; and singing as if all joy and life beat in his small heart. The gay, brilliant revelry of song, gay mockery of the open grave, fascinated my childish gaze until a sudden exclamation: 'Good God! How very extraordinary!' caused me to look round.

"I saw my dear father's eyes fill up with sudden tears, as he lifted his hat, and reverently bent his head before the Majesty of Death. All eyes were bent upon the open coffin, wherein was a sight I shall never forget.

"The coffin had been uncovered, and lying within it was the rather small but elegant figure of a young and exceedingly handsome man, of apparently twenty-eight years of age. He was dressed in the gorgeous scarlet uniform of a British officer, his beautiful abundant dark brown hair was dressed in a queue, the powder still resting lightly upon its glossy dark masses; his face was pale, calm, and beautiful. The face of a sleeping youth would not have been more tranquil, or sweeter than that of the dead soldier, who had slept within the heart of Mother Earth for full thirty years.

"Upon his heart lay his cocked hat and gloves; upon his small delicate feet were a pair of riding boots well polished, with a pair of gold spurs buckled on the heels. The glitter of his epaulettes, and the gold lace on his uniform was as brilliant as if freshly burnished. Had he just dressed

himself for morning parade, and lain down to sleep he could not have been a more life-like, or more beautiful picture. The silence was intense for a few minutes, then slowly as we gazed a sort of film or veil-like mist seemed to rise between us and the sleeping hero, and in a moment the beauteous counterpart of life dissolved before our very gaze, a little handful of grey ashes settled in the coffin, and the gallant and beautiful Webster was but a poor handful of immaterial dust."

* * *

Out of the coffin was taken two copper coins that had been used to close the eyes; the rifleball that had shattered the knee pan, and ranged upward in the limb; a lock of the beautiful rich brown hair, and the gold spurs. These articles were given to the British consul—a Mr. Manning, I believe—at Wilmington, to be transmitted to Colonel Webster's surviving friends. The coffin was closed, and replaced in the grave; my grandfather reciting the commitment sentence of the burial service as it was being once more resigned into the custody of the common mother of us all. The grave was filled and turfed, and my grandfather had a pillar of heart pine hewed and erected at the head of the grave to mark the spot in case any of his family should desire to reclaim the ashes of the gallant dead.

But the outbreak of the war of 1812 or some other cause hindering, no claim for the remains was ever made; and the noble young warrior still sleeps in an exile's tomb in the land that gave him an enemy's welcome, but a soldier's grave.

It was said that Colonel Webster was engaged to be married to a lovely and accomplished young Englishwoman, who died of a broken heart a few years after his death.

The following verses written by my grandfather, shortly after the events herein described, may be of some interest in connection with the foregoing narrative.

ODE

WRITTEN BY A. MOORE, WHILST SITTING AT THE GRAVE OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WEBSTER OF THE 33D REGIMENT, JUNE, 1812.

Thy war cry is done, in the stillness of death;
The trumpet's shrill sound, or morning's first breath,
Alike are unheeded by thee.
Thy last pang is o'er, and that spirit so high,
Which rose all on fire when danger was nigh,
From care and from pain is set free.

Wild and chill blow the winter winds over thy grave,
And loud wars the stream as it dashes its wave
At the foot of the hill where ye lay;
Night's stillness is broke by the wolf's savage howl,
Respondent, the low solemn note of the owl,
Till silenced by wakening day.

Though far from thy home, and no mother's dear hand
Dressed thy wound, and then tenderly tightened the band,
Or wiped the death damps from thy brow—
O'er thy grave waves the pine, and the firefly's lamp
Burns around it the brighter in darkness and damp,
And hallows thine ashes e'en now.

Brave foe of my country, and pride of thy race,
Who the red glare of battle so oft looked in the face,
Whiles thou cheered up thy faltering band,
Accept from the son of thy foeman a tear,
A Hail! to thy spirit, if lingering near,
A sepulchre raised by his hand.

BELLEFONT, *June, 1812.* A. MOORE.

THE FIRST ALBEMARLE ASSEMBLY—HALL'S CREEK, NEAR NIXONTON

By CATHERINE ALBERTSON.

(Regent Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter D. R.)

In 1663 King Charles II granted to eight noblemen of his court a tract of land reaching from the northern shores of Albemarle Sound to the St. John's River, in Florida, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. A small strip extending from the north shore of Albemarle Sound to the southern boundary of Virginia was not included in this grant, but nevertheless the lords proprietors, of whom Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, was one, assumed control over this section, and in 1663 these noblemen authorized Berkeley to appoint a governor to rule over this territory, whose ownership was a disputed question for several years.

In 1665 this Albemarle region, as it came to be called, comprising the four ancient counties, Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans and Chowan, had become very valuable on account of the rich plantations established therein by such men as George Durant, of Perquimans, and Valentine Byrd, of Pasquotank, and the lords proprietors, as the ownership of Carolina were called, begged the king to include this strip of land in their grant. This the king did, ignorant of the vast extent of the territory which he had already bestowed upon the lords.

William Drummond, whom Berkeley, of Virginia, had appointed to govern this Albemarle country, came into Carolina in 1664 and assumed the reins of government. To assist him in his arduous duties, the lords authorized Berkeley to appoint six of the most prominent men in the new settlement to form what came to be known as the governor's council. This body of men, with the governor, acted for many

years as the judicial department of state, and also corresponded to what is now the Senate chamber in our legislative department.

That the liberty loving pioneers in Carolina might feel that they were a self-governing people, every freeman in the settlement was to have right of membership in the General Assembly, which was to meet yearly to enact the laws. After the governor, councilors and the freemen or their deputies had passed the laws, a copy of them was to be sent to the lords for their consideration. Should they meet with the approval of the proprietors they went into effect; if not, they were null and void.

In the fall of 1664, Governor Drummond began organizing the government of his new province. And on February 6th, 1665, the "Grand Assembly of Albemarle," as these early lawmakers styled themselves, met to frame a set of laws for this Albemarle colony.

The place chosen for the meeting of this first legislative body ever essembled in our State, was a little knoll overlooking Hall's Creek, in Pasquotank County, about a mile from Nixonton, a small town which was chartered nearly a hundred years later.

No record of the names of the hardy settlers who were present at this Grand Assembly has been handed down to us, but on such an important occasion we may be sure that all the prominent men in the Albemarle region who could attend would make it a point to do so.

Governor Drummond and his secretary, Thomas Woodward, were surely there; George Durant, Samuel Pricklove, John Harvey, all owners of great plantations in Perquimans, doubtless were on hand. Thomas Relfe, Timothy Biggs, Valentine Byrd, Solomon Poole, all large landowners in Pasquotank, must have been present; Thomas Jarvis, of Currituck, and Timothy Biggs, of Chowan, may have repre-

sented their counties. And all, the dignified, reserved Scotch governor, his haughty secretary, the wealthy, influential planters and the humble farmers and hunters must have felt the solemnity of the occasion and recognized its importance.

We may imagine the scene. Under the spreading boughs of a lordly oak, this group of men were gathered. Around them the dark forest stretched, the wind murmuring among the pines, and fragrant with the aromatic odor of the spicy needles. At a little distance, a group of red men, silent and immovable, some with bow and arrow in hand, leaning against the trees, others sitting on the ground, gazed with wondering eyes upon the pale-faces assembled for their first great pow-wow.

Down at the foot of the knoll the silver waters of the creek rippled softly against the shore, on its waters the sloops of the planters from the settlements near by, here and there on its bosom an Indian canoe moored close to its shores.

As to the work accomplished by this first Albemarle Assembly, only one fact is certain, and that is, the drawing up by the members of a petition to the Lords Proprietors, begging that these settlers in Carolina should be allowed to hold their lands on the same conditions and terms as the people in Virginia. The Lords graciously consented to this petition, and on the 1st of May, 1668, they issued a paper known to this day as the Deed of Grant, by which land in Albemarle was directed to be granted on the same terms as in Virginia. The Deed was duly recorded in Albemarle, and was preserved with scrupulous care.

There is a tradition in the country that the assembly also took steps for preparing for an Indian war then threatening, which broke out the following year, but was soon suppressed.

Doubtless other laws were enacted such as were necessary for the settlement, though no record of them is extant. And then the business that called them together having been

transacted, and the wheels of government set in motion, these early lawmakers returned home, to manor house and log cabin, to the care of the great plantations, to the plow and the wild, free life of the hunter and trapper; and a new government had been born.

There seems to be no doubt in the minds of such historians as Colonel Saunders, Captain Ashe, D. H. Hill, Martin, Wheeler, et al., that the first Albemarle assembly did convene in the early spring of 1665. As for the day and the month, tradition alone is our authority. An old almanac of Henry D. Turner's gives the date as February 6, and in default of any more certain dates, this was inscribed upon the tablet which the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter Daughters of the Revolution have erected at Hall's Creek church.

As to the statement that the place marked by the tablet was the scene of the meeting of our first assemblymen, tradition again is responsible. But such authorities as Captain Ashe and various members of the State Historical Commission accept the tradition as a fact. And old residents of Nixonton assert that their fathers and grandfathers handed the story down to them.

An extract from a letter from Captain Ashe, author of Ashe's History of North Carolina, to the regent of the local chapter Daughters of the Revolution may be of interest here:

"Yesterday I came across in the library at Washington this entry, made by the late Mrs. Frances Hill, widow of Secretary of State William Hill: 'I was born in Nixonton, March 14, 1789. Nixonton is a small town one mile from Hall's Creek, and on a little rise of ground from the bridge stood the big oak, where the first settlers of our county held their assembly.'"

Other documents in possession of the regent of our local chapter Daughters of the Revolution, go to show that the place and date as named on the tablet at Hall's Creek are

authentic, and that Pasquotank County may claim with truth the honor of having been the scene of the first meeting of "The Grand Assembly of Albemarle."

The Biographical Sketches will be continued in the April *Booklet.*

INFORMATION
Concerning *the* Patriotic Society
"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication of great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

Vol. XII APRIL, 1913 No. 4

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORY

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BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

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Vol. XII APRIL, 1913 No. 4

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by

THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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WILLIAM GASTON'S OFFICE
Where He Wrote "Carolina," and Where He Died.
(From a pen drawing by Jaques Busbee.)

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XII APRIL, 1913 No. 4

MY GREAT AUNT AND "CAROLINA"

BY JAQUES BUSBEE.

She is very old now, my great aunt, Louisa Nora Taylor; and she sits with folded hands and faded vision in the room which she has been unable to leave for thirty-seven years. Aunt Lou has always been upstairs as far back as I can recollect. Only on very warm afternoons she pushes her little chair (with great difficulty) out on the balcony; for she is very lame.

We always said "The Balcony" as though it was a veritable Babylonian Hanging Garden. When the flowers from the greenhouse were carried upstairs by Aunt Lou's faithful old servant, Sally Williams, it was an event. Aunt Lou sat in her room and called out directions: "Sally, put the red hibiscus in the centre of the front railing, and put the two pots of calla lilies on either side. What is it you have brought up now? Well, put the red geraniums next the calla lilies, and bring up the tenellas next."

It was most exciting. I ran up and down stairs with small pots of apple geraniums and Chinese primrose, pale and spindly from their winter quarters; and Aunt Lou would call out as I passed her door, "Jaques, don't strain yourself."

How she loved flowers! For thirty-seven years her room has never been without them. She loved even vegetable blooms. Sometimes I'd bring her a squash bloom and ask her to guess what it was, and she would say, "Oh, isn't it beautiful? I have not seen one in years—not since I was lame." Sometimes it would be an okra flower. But Aunt Lou could always guess; you couldn't fool her.

How could we have lived without Aunt Lou! After breakfast when Sally Williams had cleaned up her room (just so many beats for the mattress and so many shakes for the feather bed, so many wipes for the mirror and so many cans of water for the flower pots on the balcony) we went up to Aunt Lou for our lessons: "Reading without Tears" and ciphering, and for the girls who came along later the rudiments of plain sewing.

In the evening, that dreary interim between the time it is too late to play out of doors and too early for supper (a joyous and welcomed time for us) Aunt Lou would read aloud to us, in her wonderfully sympathetic and dramatic voice. Sometimes it would be extracts from the "Arabian Nights" or Hans Christian Anderson's fairy tales. Sometimes we wept over the stories from Mary de Morgan's "On a Pincushion."

It never occurred to us to feel sorry for Aunt Lou when we were playing out of doors and she was singing all alone up in her room. She knew so many songs. She could sing anything. She often sang the "Old North State."

"I sang it when I was a girl, but people don't sing it quite right now," she would say. "You mustn't rise on the last notes. I know, for I was the first person who ever sang it."

But I liked some other songs she sang much better—"Of Late, So Sweetly Blowing, Lovely Rose," "Yes, it Comes at Last," "Lily Dale," and best of all

> "She sat by the door one cold afternoon
> To hear the wind blow and to look at the moon,
> So pensive was Kathleen."

All this, however, is not the point at which Aunt Lou touches peripheries with State history. Ever so long ago she was a little girl, to whom for her body God made the amende honorable, and gave a voice—a clear, wonderful voice which she used with an unconscious birdlike sponta-

neity. Now and again some older man says to me, "You should have heard Miss Lou Taylor raise the tune in the Presbyterian church and lead the choir, in the days when church organs were unknown in Raleigh."

Of course I knew that Aunt Lou had been the first to sing the "Old North State" and that William Gaston had written it, but I had not listened with sufficient attention to remember the details; and so I went to her to hear again the origin of the song.

As I entered Aunt Lou's room, the Preacher was just leaving and she was telling him with circumstantial detail about her recent illness; of how I had nursed her and had sent in all haste for the doctor whom she declared she would not see.

"Of course I sent for a doctor," I put in. "When a woman who is eighty-nine years old takes her bed for the first time in thirty years, even though it be but a bad cold, it is high time to have a doctor."

"You did perfectly right," the Preacher made answer, and then said good morning.

As he closed the door—"Don't you volunteer to tell my age, sir," said my great-aunt. "It's none of your business. Keep your mouth shut unless you are asked point blank and then of course you could not tell a lie."

And just here I came near losing the story I started out to tell.

"But Aunt Lou, what about the way in which the 'Old North State' came to be written?" said I, ignoring her feminine rebuke.

"Oh, there is nothing to tell. Don't you remember? I was thirteen years old. We all went to the Town Hall to hear some Tyrolean singers. You know the State House was burned in June, '31, and the new building was not finished. Concerts and the like used to be held in Com-

mons Hall, but this was in some hall on Fayetteville street about where the present market stands. Uncle Gaston took mother, brother James and me, and I think Fanny Birdsall went too.

"Jaques, you are so stupid! Fanny Birdsall was Mr. Birdsall's daughter. He played beautifully on the flute and was clerk in the State Treasurer's office. He got us the music, before they left town, from the four brothers who sang the air—but that was afterwards.

"How do I know? It was all sung in German or some foreign tongue. At any rate I remembered one tune I thought very pretty, and next day was singing it and picking out an accompaniment on the piano when Uncle Gaston came into the parlor.

"Yes, the very same piano that was in the parlor before I was lame.

"Uncle Gaston said, 'Lou, that's a very pretty piece of music you're singing. What is it? You heard it last night at the concert? 'Twould make a nice national anthem or State Hymn.' And mother said, 'Uncle, couldn't you write some verses to fit that tune?'

"Yes, Jaques, I'd give them to you if I could find them, but they have been lost for a long time. I must have sent them to Isabel. Isabel Donaldson? Why she is Uncle Gaston's own granddaughter. Have you taken good care of those other verses I gave you that Uncle Gaston wrote for mother's scholars to sing on Mayday?

"Years later, Mary Devereux, you know I mean Mary Bayard Clarke, borrowed them to publish in a book she got up called 'Wood Notes.' But let me tell you about the song.

"Uncle came in from his office in the yard twice during the morning to see if he had the metre all right. When he came to dinner he had a paper in his hand. 'Lou,' he said, 'sing this over to see if the words fit the tune.' So Anne

(your dear grandmother) played an accompaniment on the piano and I sang it over and Uncle Gaston made two or three corrections.

" 'That's first rate,' said Uncle Gaston. 'Eliza,' he said to mother, 'you must teach your scholars to sing it.'

"When Fanny Birdsall came around with her guitar we sang it over together. Fanny sang a beautiful alto. She also played exquisitely on the guitar. Afterwards, when Mr. Birdsall got the notes from the Tyroleans, we found that I had remembered the tune almost exactly.

"Mrs. Lucas, who boarded with Mrs. Stephen Haywood, taught her singing class in mother's school the new State Hymn; and Uncle Gaston seemed very much pleased.

"Mrs. Lucas? Jaques, you are so stupid! Mrs. Mary J. Lucas was Miss Susan Stuart's aunt. Yes, of course, that makes her Peter Casso's daughter. Oh, that was before my day. Peter Casso kept the tavern in front of the State House. Yes, it was on the corner of Fayetteville and Morgan streets on the east side of the street. He died when mother was a girl.

"Don't interrupt me. Next we sang Uncle Gaston's song at a church sociable. I sang the air, Fanny Birdsall sang the alto, and Mrs. Lucas' singing class sang the chorus. Afterwards, so many people wanted the notes that Mrs. Lucas, who gave music lessons and could write music, set it down and sent it to the North to have it published.

"After that, everybody sang it. Nowadays they won't sing it right. When they come to 'forever' they go up two notes and that is wrong. They should hold the same note and go up just one note at the end. But everybody seems to do as they please nowadays. They care nothing for old ways."

Raleigh, N. C., March 17, 1913.

NORTH CAROLINA AFTER THE REVOLUTION

BY MRS. GEORGIA WORTH MARTIN.

The time that North Carolina was out of the Union, the most critical period of her existence.—*Jones.*

GOVERNORS.

1782	Alexander Martin	Guilford
1784	Richard Caswell	Lenoir
1787	Samuel Johnston	Chowan
1789	Alexander Martin (again)	Guilford
1792	Richard Dobbs Spaight	Craven

Cornwallis has surrendered. The English troops have been withdrawn from the country. Valley Forge, with its terrible suffering; Guilford Court House with its streams of blood; and the mad rush to victory at Crown Point, where two companies of North Carolinians formed the forlorn hope,[1] are left behind us. They are part of the price our fathers paid for the liberty which seems as natural to us as the air we breathe.

But it was left us as a birthright, to be watched carefully, and guarded jealously—for it was bought with blood.

From the day that the Barons forced King John to sign the Magna Charta, to the day when the men of Mecklenburg declared themselves independent of the Brittish Crown, our race has rebelled against tyranny.

And now after centuries of struggle and bloodshed, the last bond that held us to an ancient monarchy is broken, and we have cast aside the iron hand that would reach across the sea and strangle Liberty. For the first time the Anglo-Saxon stands absolutely free to govern himself; and the whole world looks on to see how he will work out his destiny.

It is the year 1782. Alexander Martin sits in the Gov-

[1] Moore's School Hist., p. 122.

ernor's seat. The Treaty of Paris has been signed, and the soldiers have returned to ravaged fields, and a land that has been for years the scene of a fierce and cruel civil strife,[1] between the Whigs and Tories. But, great in peace as in war, they begin at once the work of building up their shattered fortunes, and bringing order out of this confusion.

Civil law resumes its sway, and might is no longer right. Equity jurisdiction is established by act of the Legislature, and Morganton is made a judicial district.[2]

North Carolina, restless and turbulent under foreign rule, becomes peaceful and law-abiding under the rule of her own people.[3] And now arises the question of pay for the soldiers. There is very little money, even for the current expenses of the government; so the lands of refugee Tories are ordered to be sold, the proceeds to be used for paying the troops; and commissioners are appointed to sell them. The State lands lying west of the Alleghany Mountains are also largely devoted to this purpose.[4]

The people now devote themselves to cultivating their fields, and in developing the system of self-rule embodied in the Halifax Constitution of 1776.

So passes the year 1783.

1784 comes, and with it a new Governor, Richard Caswell, who is, according to Nathaniel Macon, one of the most powerful men that ever lived in this or any other country.[5]

This year also brings a call upon the generosity of the people. The General Government, sorely embarrassed by the war debt, proposes that those States owning vacant lands shall throw them into a common stock to be used in paying the common debt.[6]

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[1] Caruthers, Vols. 1 and 2. Wheeler, p. 104.

[2] Wheeler, p. 104. [3] Bancroft, 2-158. [4] Moore's School Hist., p. 148. [5] Cotton, Life of Macon, p. 178. [6] Wheeler, Series I, p. 92.

North Carolina, considering herself bound in honor to assume part of this debt, responds at once, and the General Assembly at Hillsboro cedes to the Federal Government all the land lying west of the Alleghany Mountains not already granted to the soldiers and the actual settlers.[1]

The Government, however, does not accept this magnificent gift, and the act authorizing it is repealed October, 1784.

But the offer to part with the land seriously endangers the peace of the young State.

The sturdy pioneers of the western territory, having with many hardships reclaimed the land from the savage Indian, view with much suspicion the act of 1784.[2] They send a messenger to the General Government asking that North Carolina's gift be accepted, and when the Government fails to take advantage of the offer, and the cession act is repealed, they determine to throw off the rule of North Carolina, and form a State of their own.

Therefore, in December of this year (1784) a Convention meets at Jonesboro, and forms a Constitution for the State of Frankland.[3] This Constitution is ratified by a later Convention.

The year 1785 opens, and John Sevier, formerly a brave soldier of the Revolution, is chosen first Governor of Frankland. Other officers, both civil and military, are appointed.

Now the General Assembly of Frankland informs the Governor of North Carolina that the people of the counties of Washington, Sullivan and Greene (East Tennessee) have declared themselves independent of North Carolina.

Governor Caswell at once issues a proclamation denouncing the whole movement as unlawful, and warns the people of Frankland that North Carolina will put down this revolt, even at the expense of blood.

[1] Moore, p. 191. [2] Wheeler, Series I, p. 92. [3] Wheeler, Series I, p. 93.

But the State of Frankland does not heed this warning, and proceeds to erect new counties, levy taxes, and exercise all the powers of a sovereign State.

Money is scarce in the new State,[1] so that the taxes are paid in "good flax linen; good, clean beaver skins; raccoon and fox skins; bacon, tallow, and good whiskey."

This gives rise to some humor at the expense of Frankland, it being said that the Governor and judges were paid with fox skins, and the sheriff and constables with mink skins.

Yet even this primitive currency is extensively counterfeited by sewing raccoon tails to opossum skins, opossum skins being worthless and abundant, and raccoon skins having a price fixed by law.

Meantime the General Assembly of North Carolina meets at New Bern and passes an act to bury in oblivion the conduct of the Franklanders, provided they return to their allegiance. They next direct that elections shall be held for members to the Assembly of North Carolina, and appoint civil and military officers for the revolting territory.

1786 presents a strange state of affairs. Two states are extending authority at the same time over the same territory and the same people. Courts are held by both governments, and military officers are appointed by both to exercise the same powers. As a necessary consequence public opinion is divided. While many favor the new government there are others who are still loyal to the old. These last are led by Colonel Tipton.

Violence is practiced by one party, and replied to with greater violence by the other. A hand to hand fight between the leaders of the factions, Colonel Tipton and Colonel Sevier is an example readily followed by the adherents of each, and brawls between the members of the opposing parties are of common occurrence.

[1] Wheeler, p. 94.

Taxes are imposed by both Governments, and the people, pretending that they do not know to whom to pay them, do not pay them at all.

Affairs have reached a crisis in Frankland for want of money, and in 1787 the Legislature meets for the last time and authorizes the election of two representatives to attend the Legislature of North Carolina. The people also send members to the General Assembly, thus acknowledging the authority of North Carolina.

The property of Governor Sevier is levied on, he is arrested for resisting the law, and is carried to Morganton; but is allowed to escape on account of his services during the Revolution.[1]

The Assembly of 1788 at Fayetteville passes an act of general oblivion and pardon to all concerned in the revolt, except John Sevier, who is debarred from all offices of trust, honor, or profit. So great a favorite is Sevier with the people, however, that in 1789 he is elected to represent Greene County in the Assembly. Such is the sense of his worth that the Legislature repeals the act disqualifying him from office, and on his taking the oath of allegiance he is allowed his seat.[2]

On the 25th of February, 1790, a deed for the western territory is executed to the United States in the words of the cession act, and in April, of the same year, Congress accepts the deed, and Tennessee is born.

In September Governor Martin announces by proclamation that he has received from the Secretary of State for the United States a copy of the act of Congress accepting the cession, and the inhabitants of the district in question "would take due notice thereof, and govern themselves accordingly."

In the meanwhile (1787), Samuel Johnston, of Chowan

[1] Moore's Hist., p. 153. [2] Wheeler, p. 97.

is elected Governor. It is to his unwearied perseverance and zeal that we owe the adoption of the Federal Constitution.[1]

Now the question of the future government of the States occupies the minds of all. Many favor a powerful central government, while others fear to part with too much of the liberty so dearly won.

A Convention of all the States is called to meet in Philadelphia. To this Convention North Carolina sends as delegates, Colonel Davie, ex-Governor Martin, Richard Dobbs Spaight, and William Blount.[2]

At Hillsboro, July 1788,[3] a Convention meets to consider the Constitution proposed by the Philadelphia Convention.

Many leading men urge its immediate ratification while others oppose it on the ground that the powers reserved to the States are not sufficiently guarded. Debates[4] run high concerning it and the populace of the country are divided in their opinions. It is said by some that if Sylla and Caesar, each in his turn, found ways and means * * * to hew his way to an imperial throne, how much easier may it be for a president of the United States to establish himself on a throne here * * * provided with sovereign power for the term of four years at once, and eligible to the same again at the expiration of that time; invested with sole command of the army * * * the way is in a manner open and plain before him * * * should he aim at sovereign power.

The convention,[5] by a great majority adopts the view that the rights of the States are not sufficiently guarded, and refuses to ratify the Constitution, except on condition of certain amendments.

The spring of 1789 sees the government of the United

[1] Jones' Defense, p. 288. [2] Wheeler, p. ... [3] Moore, p. 155. [4] Old letter, 1787. [5] Moore, pp. 155, 156.

States going into operation, George Washington being the first President of the Republic.

Alexander Martin is elected Governor of North Carolina for the second time, and in November a new Convention meets at Fayetteville and ratifies the Federal Constitution; the first ten amendments having been proposals to the Legislatures of the different States for ratification; thus removing the obstacle that had prevented its adoption at Hillsboro the year before.

The capital of the State[1] had been migrating from one town to another almost the whole of North Carolina's existence, and the Governor and his assistants lived where best suited them. The public records, also, had been moved many times.

But now the seat of Government is limited to some point in Wake County, and during Governor Martin's second term (1792) a large tract of land is bought and the city of Raleigh laid off.

Schools are being founded in different parts of the State, though in some the studies are limited to Latin and English grammar, and the Latin and Greek languages.[2]

The Halifax Constitution declared that "all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities." Accordingly, in 1789, the University of North Carolina is established by incorporating Samuel Johnston and others Trustees; and in 1792 the Trustees locate the Institution at Chapel Hill, in Orange County. Eleven hundred acres of land are conveyed to the Trustees by the citizens of the neighborhood.[3]

The first native North Carolinian to hold the office of Governor is Richard Dobbs Spaight, who is elected in 1792.[4]

The close of the year 1792 finds our State growing in wealth and prosperity. Schools are springing up; the differ-

[1] Moore, p. 159. [2] Old letter. [3] Wheeler, p. 117. [4] Moore, p. 160.

ent churches are extending their bounds. The country is becoming more thickly settled and thirteen[1] new counties have been formed. Self-rule is no longer an experiment, and North Carolina stands among her sister states with a history unstained by cruelty and oppression, and a record that demands a prominent place in the history of our country; for it was within her borders that the first American manifesto was made against the encroachments of power;[2] and it was her free people who first declared themselves independent of foreign rule.

Noblesse oblige!

"Heaven's blessings defend her!"

[1] Wheeler, p. 6. [2] Williamson, Vol. 1, p. 263.

ENFIELD FARM WHERE THE CULPEPPER REBELLION BEGAN

BY CATHERINE ALBERTSON.

Some two or three miles south of Elizabeth city on the banks of the Pasquotank river, just where that lovely stream suddenly broadens out into a wide and beautiful expanse, lies the old plantation known in our county from earliest days as Enfield Farm, sometimes Winfield.

It is hard to trace the original owners of the plantation, but the farm is probably part of the original patent granted in 1663 by Sir William Berkeley, one of the Lords Proprietors, to Mr. Thomas Relfe, "on account of his bringing into the colony fifteen persons and paying on St. Michael's day, the 29th of September, one shilling for every acre of land."

On this plantation close to the river shore, was erected about 1670, according to our local tradition, the home of the planter, two rooms of which are still standing and in good preservation. Possibly "Thomas Relfe, Gentleman," as he is styled in the colonial records, was the builder of this relic of bygone days, whose massive brick walls and stout timbers have for so long defied the onslaughts of time.

Many are the stories, legendary and historical, that have gathered around this ancient building. Among the most interesting of the latter is that connected with the Culpepper rebellion, an event as important in North Carolina history as Bacon's rebellion is in the history of Virginia.

The cause of Culpepper's rebellion dates back to the passing of the navigation act by Cromwell's Parliament, when that vigorous ruler held sway in England and over the American colonies. This act, later broadened and amended, finally prohibited the colonists not only from importing goods from Europe unless they were shipped from England, but

forbade the use of any but English vessels in the carrying trade; and finally declared that inter-colonial trade should cease, and that England alone should be the market for the buying and selling of goods on the part of the Americans. Naturally the colonies objected to such selfish restriction of their trade, and naturally there was much smuggling carried on wherever and whenever this avoidance of the navigation acts could be made in safety.

To none of the thirteen colonies were these laws more injurious than to the infant settlement on the northern shore of Albemarle Sound in Carolina. The sand bars along the coast prevented the establishment of a seaport from whence trade could be carried on with the mother country. The large, English built vessels could not pass through the shallow inlets that connect the Atlantic with the Carolina inland waterways. To have strictly obeyed the laws passed by the British Parliament would have been the death blow to the commerce and to the prosperity of the Albemarle settlement. So, for about fifteen years after George Durant bought his tract of land on Durant's Neck from Kilcokanen, the great chief of the Yeopims, the planters in Albemarle had paid but little attention to the trade laws. The Proprietors appointed no customs collectors in the little colony, and had not considered it worth their while to interfere with the trade which the shrewd New Englanders had built up in Carolina.

Enterprising Yankee ship-builders, realizing their opportunity, constructed staunch little vessels which could weather the seas, sail over to Europe, load up with goods necessary to the planter, return and glide down the coast till they found an opening between the dreaded bars, then, slipping from sound to sound, carry to the planters in the Albemarle region the cargoes for which they were waiting.

Another law requiring payment of an export tax on tobacco, then the principal crop of the Albemarle section, as it was of Virginia, was evaded for many years by the settlers in this region. Governors Drummond and Stevens, and John Jenkins, president of the council, must have known of this disregard of the laws, both on the part of the Yankee skippers and the Albemarle planters. But realizing that too strict an adherence to England's trade laws would mean ruin to the colonists, these officers were conveniently blind to the illegal proceeding of their people.

But after the organization of the board of trade in London, of which four of the Proprietors were members, the rulers of Carolina determined to enforce the laws more strictly among their subjects in far-away Carolina. Sir Timothy Biggs, of the Little River settlement, was appointed surveyor of customs and Valentine Byrd, of Pasquotank, collector of customs, with orders to enforce the navigation acts and other trade laws, so long disregarded.

There was violent opposition to this decision of the Lords, as was to have been expected, but finally the settlers were persuaded to allow the officers to perform their duty. Valentine Byrd, himself one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Albemarle, was by no means rigid or exacting in collecting the tobacco tax, and for several years longer, though the laws were ostensibly observed, numerous ways were found to evade them. The colonists, however, were by no means satisfied, for though they were successful in avoiding a strict adherence to the laws, and in continuing their trade with New England, still the fact that the hated acts were in force at all was to them a thorn in the flesh.

Matters soon reached a crisis, and the smouldering feeling of resentment against the Proprietors broke out in an open rebellion. In 1676 the Lords appointed Thomas Eastchurch governor of Albemarle and Thomas Miller collector of cus-

toms for that settlement. Both of these men, who were then in London, had previously lived in Albemarle and incurred the enmity of some of the leading men in the settlement, Eastchurch especially being in bad repute among the planters.

In 1777, Eastchurch and Miller departed from London to take up their duties in Carolina. Stopping at the Island of Nevis on their way over, Eastchurch became enamored of the charms (and the fortune) of a fair creole who there abode, and dallied on the island until he succeeded in winning the lady's hand. And Miller, whom Eastchurch appointed as his deputy in Carolina, continued on his way alone. When he reached Albemarle the people received him kindly and allowed him to fill Eastchurch's place. But no sooner had he assumed the reins of government than he began a rigid enforcement of the trade and navigation laws. Of course, the planters resented his activity in this direction and most bitterly did they resent his compelling a strict payment of the tobacco tax. Possibly, however, no open rebellion would have occurred had not Miller proceeded to high-handed and arbitrary deeds, making himself so obnoxious to the people that finally they were wrought up to such an inflammable state of mind that only a spark was needed to light the flames of revolution.

And that spark was kindled in December, 1677, when Captain Zachary Gilliam, a shrewd New England ship-master, came into the colony in his little vessel "The Carolina," bringing with him besides the supplies needed by the planters for the winter days at hand ammunition and firearms which a threatened Indian uprising made necessary for the safety of the settlers' homes.

On board the "Carolina" was George Durant, the first settler in the colony, and the acknowledged leader in public affairs in Albemarle. He had been over to England to con-

sult the Lords Proprietors concerning matters relating to the colony, and was returning to his home on Durant's Neck.

Through the inlet at Ocracoake the "Carolina" slipped, over the broad waters of Pamlico Sound, past Roanoke Island, home of Virginia Dare, and into Albemarle Sound. Then up the blue waters of the Pasquotank she sailed with "Jack ancient flag and pennant flying," as Miller indignantly relates until she came to anchor, at Captain Crawford's landing, just off the shore from Enfield Farm.

Gladly did the bluff captain and the jovial planter row ashore from their sea-tossed berths. Many were the friendly greetings extended them, both prime favorites among the settlers, who came hurrying down to Enfield when the news of the "Carolina's" arrival spread through the community. Eager questions assailed them on every side concerning news of loved ones in the mother country; and a busy day did Captain Gilliam put in, chaffering and bargaining with the planters who anxiously surrounded him in quest of long needed supplies.

Durant, though doubtless impatient to proceed as quickly as possible to his home and family in Perquimans, nevertheless spent the day pleasantly enough talking to his brother planters, Valentine Bryd, Samuel Pricklove, and others, and all was going merrily on as a marriage bell when suddenly Deputy Governor Miller appeared on the scene, accused Gilliam of having contraband goods on board and of having evaded the export tax on tobacco when he sailed out of port with his cargo a year before. A violent altercation arose, in which the planters, with few exceptions, sided with Gilliam, who indignantly (if not quite truthfully) denied the charges brought against him.

Miller at last withdrew, muttering imprecations and threats against Gilliam, but about ten o'clock that night he returned with several government officials, boarded the "Carolina"

and attempted to arrest both Gilliam and Durant. The planters, among whom were Valentine Byrd, Captain Crawford, Captain Jenkins and John Culpepper, hearing of the disturbance, anxious for the safety of their friends, and fearing lest Gilliam should sail away before they had concluded their purchases, came hurrying in hot haste to the rescue. Rowing swiftly out to the little vessel they quickly turned the tables on the governor and his officials; and to their indignant surprise, Miller and his men found themselves prisoners in the hands of the rebels. Then the insurgents, with John Culpepper, now the acknowledged leader of the revolt, at their head, rowed ashore to the landing with their captives; and in the old house at Enfield, on a bluff near the bank of the river—so goes our local tradition—the angry and astonished governor was imprisoned.

Then the revolutionists proceeded to "Little River Poynte," probably the settlement which afterwards grew into the town of Nixonton, and seized Timothy Biggs, the surveyor and deputy collector of customs, who had been wringing the tobacco tax from the farmers. Then breaking open the chests and the locks, they found and took possession of Miller's commission as collector of customs and returned to Enfield, where they locked Biggs up with Miller in Captain Crawford's house.

For two weeks the deputy governor and the deputy collector were kept close prisoners at Enfield. The revolutionists in the meanwhile drew up a document known as "The Remonstrance of the Inhabitants of Pasquotank," in which they stated the grievances that had led them to take this high handed manner of circumventing Miller and Biggs in their tyrannical proceedings. This "remonstrance" was sent to the precincts of Currituck, Perquimans and Chowan, and the planters, following the example of their neighbors in Pasquotank rose in insurrection against the other collectors of

the hated customs and export tax, and arrested and deposed the collectors.

At the end of a fortnight the insurgents decided to take Miller and Biggs to George Durant's home in Durant's Neck. So the prisoners were taken on board one of the planters' vessels; and down the Pasquotank, into the sound, and a short distance up Little River, the rebels sailed, accompanied by several vessels filled with armed men. As they passed the "Carolina," that saucy little ship which, as Miller afterwards indignantly reported to the Lords Proprietors, "Had in all these confusions rid with Jack, Ensign, Flag and pennon flying," just off the shore from Enfield saluted Culpepper, Durant and their companions by firing three of her guns.

Arrived at Durant's home, where some seventy prominent men of the colony had assembled, the revolutionists proceeded to establish a government of their own. John Culpepper was appointed Governor, an assembly of eighteen men was elected, a court convened before which Miller and Biggs were brought for trial on a charge of treason. But before the trial was ended Governor Eastchurch, who had arrived in Virginia while these affairs were taking place, sent a proclamation to the insurgents commanding them to disperse and return to their homes. This the bold planters refused to do, and in further defiance of Eastchurch the new officials sent an armed force to prevent his coming into the colony.

Eastchurch appealed to Virginia to help him establish his authority in Carolina; but while he was collecting forces for this purpose he fell ill and died. Durant, Culpepper, Byrd and their comrades were now masters in Albemarle.

The interrupted trials were never completed. Biggs managed to escape and made his way to England. Miller was kept a prisoner for two years in a little log cabin built for the purpose at the upper end of Pasquotank, near where

the old brick house now stands. In two years' time Miller also contrived to escape, and found his way back to the mother country.

For ten years the Albemarle colony prospered under the wise and prudent management of the officers whom the people had put in charge of affairs without leave or license from lord or king. But finally Culpepper and Durant decided of their own accord to give up their authority and restore the management of affairs to the Proprietors. An amicable settlement was arranged with these owners of Albemarle, who realizing the wrongs the settlers had suffered at the hands of Miller and his associates, made no attempt to punish the leaders of the rebellion. John Harvey was quietly installed as temporary governor until Seth Sothel, one of the Proprietors could come to take up the reins of government himself.

So at Enfield Farm, now the property of one of Pasquotank's most successful farmers and business men, Mr. Jephtha Winslow, began a disturbance which culminated a hundred years later in the revolutionary war; and here, in embryo form, in 1677, was the beginning of our republic—"a government of the people, for the people, by the people."

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEOLOGICAL MEMORANDA

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

MRS. GEORGIA BRYAN MARTIN,

(Neè Miss Georgia Bryan Worth.)

The article entitled "North Carolina, 1782-1793," was written by Miss Georgia Bryan Worth, of the Fayetteville Seminary, and it is reproduced in this issue of THE BOOKLET for its accuracy of historical data.

Mrs. Martin was the daughter of Mr. John M. Worth (now dead) and his wife Mrs. Josephine Bryan Worth, the daughter of Josiah E. and Sarah Hodges Bryan, of Pender County, N. C. She was granddaughter of Mr. Joseph Addison Worth and Mrs. Fatima (Walker) Worth, long residents of Fayetteville, N. C. She was born and reared in Fayetteville and educated in the Fayetteville Seminary where the facilities for education were unusually good. She was devoted to the study of history, especially that relating to her own State. She was a musician of ability, and was the organist of St. John's Church for four years. She was married to William Mortimer Martin in June, 1902. She died in August, 1905, leaving two children.

Mrs. Martin's antecedents were of pioneer stock on her maternal side. She was descended from John Evans who emigrated to America with William Penn and was Governor of the Colony when Penn returned to England in 1682 and he was Proprietary Governor of Pennsylvania in 1704. She was also a descendant of Caleb Pusey, one of the founders of Pennsylvania. She is a direct descendant of Col. Needham Bryant, the Revolutionary Patriot of North Carolina, who served at the Battle of Alamance in 1771, and afterwards was a member of the Provincial Congress, New Bern, Au-

gust 25, 1774. On her paternal side she is descended from three signers of the Mayflower Compact of 1620—Carver, Howland and Tilly.

This Compact was an agreement or covenant or coöperative act, from which was to spring not only a stable government for the little Colony, but a great series of Consitutions for free States.

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INFORMATION
Concerning *the* Patriotic Society
"Daughters *of the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication of great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. $1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

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The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

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DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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*Died December 12, 1904.
†Died November 25, 1911.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XIII JULY, 1913 No. 1

CHRISTMAS AT BUCHOI, A NORTH CAROLINA RICE PLANTATION*

BY REBECCA CAMERON.

(Regent General Francis Nash Chapter Daughters of the Revolution.)

My grandfather lived on a rice plantation on the Cape Fear River in the section known as "The Neck," a region noted for open-handed hospitality, wealth, refinement, and culture. He owned a large number of negroes and was an amiable, easy-going master, much more interested in literature than in rice planting, and preserving in his daily life many of the habits of his English ancestors.

The Christmas holidays on his plantation lasted from Christmas Eve—always a half-holiday—until the Yule log burnt in two after New Year's Day. The first work done in the New Year was the selection by the negroes of the Yule log, or, as they called it, the "Christmas back-log," for the next Christmas fire.

The driver† marshaled a gang of the best axe hands, and down they went into the swamp to select the biggest, knottiest, most indestructible cypress tree that could be found, which was felled with great ceremony, while the hands chanted a part of the "Coonah" song:

Christmas comes but once a year,
Ho rang du rango!
Let everybody have a share,
Ho rang du rango!

When the tree was cut down the butt end of the stock was measured the length of the hall fireplace "up to de gret

*Published in *The Ladies' Home Journal*, Christmas, 1891.

†One of the negroes who was selected by the overseer as a superintendent of the working force or "field hands."

house," and cut or sawed off, then hauled down to the canal and anchored, where it would get thoroughly water-logged during the ensuing twelve months.

The object of this was to keep it from being burnt out too soon, for as long as the Yule log burned the whole plantation force had holiday.

A day or two before Christmas the back-log was hauled to the house and given a bed in the sand, so that the surface water could drain off. Christmas morning, the moment the first misguided fowl "crowed for day," the back-log was carried into the great holly-wreathed hall, the massive brass andirons were dragged forward on the wide, ample hearth, a bed of wet ashes was carefully prepared, and the huge log laid on it; and then an artistic fire of fragrant, resinous lightwood and seasoned oak was built up against it, and the revels had begun.

The week before Christmas—ah! what a deliciously busy and expectant season it was.

The fanners* full of eggs that were carried into the storeroom, gave promise of endless puddings, pies, and cakes; while sundry tantalizing whiffs that were borne to us whenever we ranged near the door, and, who could keep away?—made us all long with childish eagerness to shorten the days.

Busy days they were indeed. Holly and mistletoe had to be wreathed for the hall, dining room and ball room. Candle papers were to be cut and dipped in melted spermaceti. Cake papers of most elaborate design, were to be originated by aunt's artistic fingers. All the china, silver and glass had to be washed and polished; all the finest, oldest, oddest things in the house replenishing were brought out to do honor to the great festival.

The linen closets were ransacked and dozens of the finest

*Fanners were large square split baskets, holding about two-and-a-half bushels, and were for carrying rough rice from the fans to the mortars.

damask cloths and napkins sent down to the hall closets. Relays of sheets, pillow-cases, blankets and counterpanes were put into readiness for the impromptu beds that were going to be made up wherever there was room for a man to stretch himself.

Christmas eve came at last and found the house filled with guests. We children were scrubbed within an inch of our lives, so as to be clean for Christmas, mammy well knowing the impossibility of getting one of us to consent to the daily bath next morning. Then there was a great flitting about to hang up the stockings, and mammy must take notice just whose stocking it was that hung at the foot of the bed, and whose hung on either side of the fire-place, and on the bureau knob; while mammy's own stocking, by universal consent, was given the best place in the room, and hung on a chair right before the fire-place. Then we were tucked into bed, quite sure we would lie awake to see Santa Claus, but only rousing when, at 4:00 o'clock, the horn at the quarters blew a long, clear blast, and we felt the door shake as the men staggered through the hall passage with the great back-log.

By the time our stockings were emptied and examined, grandpa, fully dressed, had come out of his room into the hall, where the servants had set out all the materials for making egg-nog on a gigantic scale. A fanner of fresh eggs, great dishes of sugar, and the claret of liquors. When the eggs were beaten to the required degree, viz.: until the yolks were the color of rich cream and the whites adhered steadily to the dish when it was turned upside down, the whole was put together in the gigantic china punch-bowl, relic of ancestral feastings across seas in "ye olde countrie," I would not dare to say how many eggs, or how much brandy and rum went into the concoction of that bowl of egg-nog.

When it was pronounced right a waiter of glasses was

filled and handed 'round to the assembled company, and then "the stand"—a great circular, claw-footed mahogany table—was lifted out on the wide front piazza, the flaming sconces were lighted, and the egg-nog bowl, surrounded by pyramids of tumblers, placed upon it. The driver, lurking somewhere in the shadows, began to beat a furious tatoo on the drum, and, as if by magic, all at once the house was surrounded by a sea of torch-bearing negroes, all the hands from the quarters, who had come over to wish "ole master" a happy Christmas, and to receive from him a glass of egg-nog apiece.

My grandfather knew every one of his negroes, big and little, by name, and his greeting was always personal to each. They came up in couples, according to age and dignity, and the unvarying formula was: "Sarvant Master; merry Christmas to you, an' all de fambly, sir!" "Thank you, Jack; merry Christmas to you and yours!"

The "drinking Christmas" is at last ended; the negroes returned to the quarters, and after breakfast reassembled again to "git Christmas," as they phrased it. All the family gathered on the front piazza, which was strung with hampers filled with all sorts of things for Christmas gifts. Grandpa invariably gave money, fifty cents in silver, to the men, a quarter to the women, and a shilling and sixpence, respectively, to "the chaps" (half-grown boys) and little children, who, in plantation parlance, were called "the trash gang." The ladies distributed the contents of the hampers. Gloves, comforters, Madras handkerchiefs, printed cotton handkerchiefs, balls, tops, knives, pipes, shawls, aprons, cravats, caps, hoods, all sorts of things that experience had taught their owners the negroes most delighted in. Barrels of apples and great waiters piled up high with gingerbread and cakes, were divided out, until the last little bow-legged tot had been made happy.

From the piazza in a straight line to the store-room filed all the negro women who were wives, "to draw Christmas," which meant getting an extra allowance of meat, rice, molasses, coffee, sugar, flour, dried fruit, and anything of the sort they chose to ask for, to make their holiday feasting. The week before there had been a great hog killing, so that fresh pork would be in abundance for every cabin at the quarters. Then everywhere revelry had full swing. The gentlemen, headed by "ole Master," went deer hunting, with a pack of hounds and out-riders, returning to "a great dining dinner," a special phrase that seemed to heighten the magnitude of the feast to the negroes.

The evening closed with a dance in the ball-room. Uncle Robin, dressed in my great-grandfather's regimentals, and looking supremely absurd, was the head fiddler, and a remarkably fine one, too. It was delightful to watch him ascend the musicians' stand, bowing with great ceremoniousness to the friendly greetings of the neighborhood gentry, from whom he was quite sure of a perfect shower of gold and silver pieces in the pauses of the dance. "Big Ben" and "Cousin Hannah's Ben," who played second and third fiddle to the old autocrat, followed with due humility behind him, quite certain of as many reproofs from him as they got quarters from the young gentlemen. The banjo player was a unique—a great, big, heavy, awkward-looking fellow, black until he looked blue—and a typical negro; the very last man on the plantation that you would have suspected of having a note of music in him, but just give him a banjo! Dan tuned languidly, with half-shut eyes, struck a note or two to test the strings, and then—if you had one note of dancing blood in your veins you belonged to him till he chose to stop.

All the negroes came over to the house "to look on," and it would have been hard to tell which half of the company—

those indoors or out—had the merriest time. Somewhere about midnight there was a general distribution of hot apple-toddy and rum-punch, and after that came the Virginia reel, and the ball was ended.

The second day after Christmas the John Coonahs* began to make their appearance. Some time in the course of the morning an ebony herald, breathless with excitement, would project the announcement: "De John Coonahs comin'!" and away flew every pair of feet within nursery precincts.

There they come sure enough! A long, grotesque procession, winding slowly over the hill from the quarters; a dense body of men (the women took no part in it, save as spectators) dressed in the oddest, most fantastic garb, representing birds and beasts and men, ragged and tattered, until "ragged as a Coonah" was a common plantation simile; with stripes and tatters of all sorts of cloth, in which white and red flannel had a conspicuous part, sewed all over their clothes in tufts and fringes. They were, indeed, a marvelous spectacle. Rude imitations of animals' heads, with and without horns, hid some faces; pasteboard masks covered some, while streaks and spots of red, white and yellow paint metamorphosed others, and immense beards of horse hair or Spanish moss, were plentiful.

The leader—for there seemed to be some regular organization among them, though I could never persuade any negro to explain it to me—was the most fantastic figure among them all. A gigantic pair of branching deer horns decorated his head; his arms, bare to the elbows, were hung with bracelets thickly set with jingling bells and metal rings;

*I have been unable to discover the origin of the Coonahs and do not know in how many of the Southern States they were known. My impression is that the custom was introduced into South Carolina by the slaves who accompanied Governor Sir John Yeamans from the Barbadoes, and from there were brought by his descendants into North Carolina, when they resettled his old colony on the Cape Fear River. They were confined altogether to the low country or tide-water region. The Coonahs were an institution principally known on the South Carolina, Georgia and Florida coast, and in New Orleans.

similar bells were fastened to the fringes of rags around his legs.

The banjo, the bones, triangles, castanets, fifes, drums and all manner of plantation musical instruments, accompanied the procession. One of the Coonahs, generally a small and very nimble man, dressed in woman's clothes, and though dancing with frantic zeal, never violated the proprieties supposed to be incumbent upon the wearer of skirts.

Once before the hall-door the leader snapped his whip with a crack like a pistol-shot. Everything stood still for an instant; we dared not draw a breath and could hear the tumultuous beating of our hearts as we pressed close to mammy or grandpa.

The awful stillness is broken by another resonant crack of the whip, and at the instant the whole medley of instruments began to play, and, with their first note, out into the open sprang the dancers. Those weird, grotesque, even hideous creatures embody the very ideal of joyous, harmonious movement. Faster and faster rings out the wild, barbaric melody; faster and faster falls the beat of the flying feet, never missing the time by the space of a midget's breath. One after the other of the dancers fall out of line, until only the woman and the leader are left to exhibit their best steps and movements.

About this time one of the dancers, a hideous travesty of a bear, snatches a hat off the head of the nearest pickaninny, and begins to go around to the "white folks" to gather the harvest of pennies with which every one is provided. All the while the dance was in progress the musical voice of the leader was chanting the Coonah song, the refrain of which was taken up by hundreds of voices.

As the wild chant draws to a close out of the hall door run a bevy of white children with laps and hats full of nuts, raisins, apples, oranges, cakes and candy, and scatter the

whole among the crowd. Such a scramble as follows! The last fragment gathered up, all at once the leader cracks his whip, and whirls around with his face from the house, and the crowd marches to the next plantation.

Some time during the Christmas week the negroes had a grand ball. There was a very large and comfortable servants' hall attached to my grandfather's kitchen, and in it the ball was held. It was made gay with holly and myrtle boughs, myrtle-wax candles in the ball-room sconces lighted the scene, aided by the immense silver branch candle-sticks, the crowning glory of the great drawing-room. Nor seldom the ball was opened by "young master hisself," who danced either with his mammy, the driver's wife, or some newly-wedded bride.

But, meanwhile, the Yule log has been slowly burning out. Uncle Tony, coming to mend the fire, discovers that the log is only two chunks now. When the family go to dinner he will carry one chunk out, extinguish the fire upon it, and lay it in the path between the house and the kitchen. The next morning he will put it away in the corner of the woodhouse to start the next year's Christmas fire. But while it lies in the path it is a sign well understood. Over the plantation has flown the news: "De back-log done burn in two, an' Cousin Tony lay um out!"

The long merry festival has ended. The negroes will dance and frolic all night long, and tomorrow, at daybreak, the overseer's horn will blow; each gang will muster under its head man, and the plantation work begin.

GENERAL WILLIAM LEE DAVIDSON

AN ADDRESS BY MAJOR W. A. GRAHAM,* DELIVERED AT THE UNVEILING OF A MONUMENT TO GENERAL DAVIDSON, VOTED BY CONGRESS, AT THE GUILFORD BATTLEGROUND, JULY 4, 1906.

Mr. President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Fourth of July celebrations are usually expected to be accompanied with flights of eloquence and streams of oratory as the deeds of our ancestors and the blessings they have secured for mankind are brought to memory. Although a century and a fourth have elapsed since he of whom I speak to you gave his life as a part of the price of the independence of America, yet so little history has been written concerning his services that a simple memorial oration would be but little understood or appreciated by my audience. In order to have true history we must first collect the "ana" or account of the individual incidents or deeds of the individual. These the annalist arranges with reference to date of occurrence and then the historian is ready for his work. Comparison of events and individuals with panegyrics, etc., follow. Today I come not with an oration, but with some "ana," some annals, some history concerning my subject, and hope I may furnish a paper that will be useful to the writer and student of North Carolina history. I fear that many of our people do not appreciate the claims of the State to the glories and blessings of the Fourth of July—hail its coming with joyful acclaim and have a just pride in all that concerns it. The men of whom you shall hear today rendered their services and gave their lives to establish the Fourth of July as an important date in the calendars of the nations of the earth.

*A biographical sketch of the writer of this article appeared in Vol. XI, No. 1.

Then while we will never cease to honor the memory of the men who followed Lee and his lieutenants in 1861-'65, let us not forget the services of those who followed Washington and Greene in 1776-'81, and the blessings they purchased for us.

In most of the States there are no localities to recall events of the Revolution. The oldest inhabitant almost recollects the first house or even when the Indians left. The military monuments relate almost wholly to the Civil War. And as the father tells his son of the hero commemorated, embellishing with real or imaginary narration, he arouses and perpetuates sectional feeling and keeps alive in the youth animosity for a portion of his countrymen. With us it is different: this battlefield, Moore' Creek, Charlotte, and the other places of revolutionary engagements, are object lessons in teaching patriotism. From almost every hill-top in my vicinity we see Kings Mountain; it aids in perpetuating the valor of our ancestors and encouraging love for the Union.

During the Civil War, when the body of the heroic grandson was interred by that of the grandfather of Revolutionary fame, pride was felt in his conduct and generations will be taught to remember it—but there was and has been no lessening of the admiration and veneration of the deeds of the grand-sire in making America a Nation.

GEN. WILLIAM LEE DAVIDSON.

Davidson's Creek, having its source a few miles north of Mooresville, in Iredell (formerly Rowan) County, flows in a southeast direction and empties into the Catawba River below Beattie's Ford, in Mecklenburg County.

Among the families that settled upon the lands of the upper portion of the creek prior to the Revolution were those of Davidson, Ramsey, Brevard, Osborne, Winslow, Kerr, Rankin, Templeton, Dickey, Brawley, Moore, and Emerson. They came principally from Pennsylvania and Maryland.

From the Davidsons the creek derived its name. They were generally Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and as was the custom of these people, organized themselves into a "congregation" for the promotion of religion and education.

Among the early settlers was George Davidson and family, from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1750. His youngest son, William Lee Davidson, was born in 1746. He was educated at Charlotte at the Academy, which afterwards became successively Queen's Museum and Liberty Hall, but probably attended the Centre Academy prior to coming to Charlotte. There is some confusion as to his name—whether "Lee" is properly a portion of it. He appears upon the muster rolls under both names. In his will, which is recorded in the office of the Clerk of the Superior Court in Salisbury, he says: "I, William Lee Davidson," and signs it "Wm. L. Davidson." This settles the question.

His pension and land grant for services are to William Davidson. He is not mentioned in the records as William Lee until he becomes lieutenant-colonel, October 4, 1777. So in historical matters he is both William and William Lee, and can not be restricted to either name. I think Lee was the maiden name of his mother, or some of her connection. His eldest son was called George Lee. His youngest son, born several months after his death and named for him, was called William Lee.

William Lee Davidson, after reaching his majority, made his home prior to his marriage with his cousin, Major George Davidson. He married Mary, the eldest child of John Brevard, and settled on Davidson's Creek at what is now known as the McPherson place, and owned afterwards by Hon. Rufus Reid. He also owned the land upon which Davidson College is located. It was sold by his son, William Lee, to the trustees of the college in 1835.

DAVIDSON COUNTY.

In 1783 the Legislature organized the county of Davidson and named the county seat Nashville, in honor of Generals Davidson and Nash. When Tennessee was conveyed to the United States this ceased to be a part of North Carolina, as did also Washington, Greene, Hawkins, Sullivan, and Sumner counties. In 1822 the present county of Davidson was formed, as the State desired to honor his name. In 1777 the county of Nash had been organized.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE.

August 26, 1835, the Concord Presbytery resolved "that the manual labor institution which we are about to build be called Davidson College, as a tribute to the memory of that distinguished and excellent man, General William Davidson, who in the ardor of patriotism fearlessly contending for the liberty of his country, fell (universally lamented) in the battle of Cowan's Ford."

THE DAVIDSON MONUMENT.

September 20, 1781, Congress enacted the following resolution:

"That the Governor and Council of the State of North Carolina be directed to erect a monument at the expense of the United States, not exceeding in value five hundred dollars, to the memory of the late Brigadier-General Davidson, who commanded the militia of the district of Salisbury, in the State of North Carolina, and was killed on the first of February last, fighting gallantly for the defense of the liberty and independence of these states."

This matter was revived in Congress at different times, notably by Senator W. A. Graham in 1841 and 1842, and attention was called to it at various times by the Society of the Cincinnati and private individuals, among them Prof. W. A. Withers, of the North Carolina A. and M. College, and later by the Guilford Battle Ground Company, and an

appropriation urged to execute the resolution of 1781, but not until 1902, through the labors of Hon. W. W. Kitchin, the present worthy Representative from this the Fifth North Carolina District, in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, was an appropriation secured. He was materially aided in its enactment by the labors of Colonel Bennehan Cameron, who represented the Society of the Cincinnati, and Col. Joseph M. Morehead, the efficient president of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, to whose patriotic services much of the work of preserving and adorning this historic field is due. By means of this appropriation of five thousand dollars, this monument has been erected. *General Davidson was a citizen of Rowan (now Iredell) County, and his services are to be credited to that county, and not to Mecklenburg, as is sometimes done.*

In 1848, in his message to the Legislature, Governor Graham recommended an appropriation for monuments to Generals Nash and Davidson, as Congress had neglected to make the necessary provision. In concluding he said:

"It would be a fitting memorial of the patriotic services and sacrifices of the illustrious dead and a perpetual incentive to the living to lead such lives, and if duty demanded it, to devote themselves to such deaths for their country."

SERVICES IN THE REVOLUTION.

The commencement of hostilities in the Revolution was not similar to a riot or outbreak where one day there is order and law, and the next strife and turmoil. The aspirations of the people individually and collectively for liberty and self-government were well fertilized by the oppressive conduct of officers of the Crown and the unfriendly legislation of Parliament. The approach of the storm was visible and preperations were made for its coming. The flouring mills were the points where neighbors met. As he communicated his ideas of liberty to comrades he sowed seed in fertile ground,

or watered that already germinating; the work continued until the harvest was ripe. The first organizations were in captain's "beats," which were the unit of organization until "townships" were introduced in 1868, then by regiment or county, then Superior Court districts or brigade, afterwards State or Province.

COMMITTEES OF SAFETY.

The first governing bodies were Committees of Safety, and were organized in New Hanover, Mecklenburg, Rowan, and perhaps other counties, as early as 1773. The county committees were generally composed of two representatives from each captain's beat. The convention, May 20, 1775, at Charlotte, was probably the Committee of Safety for Mecklenburg County. General Graham, in his address at Charlotte, May 20, 1835, says these committees continued for fifteen years or more.

Subsequent to the Revolution they usually met after the election and framed instructions to Representatives in the Legislature, that he received such instruction in 1789 and 1790 when Senator. That at that time (1835) there were laws in existence that had been suggested by these committees. The journal of the Committee of Safety of Rowan County is preserved as early as August 8, 1774, and shows existence before that date.

William Davidson appears as a member September 23d, and was probably one of the members at the organization. He is appointed a member of a committee of twenty-five to see that the resolves of the Provincial and Continental Congresses are observed. This is the first appearance of his name upon the records. At the same session he is appointed a member of a committee to cite certain persons to appear before the Committee of Safety to answer the charge of advancing the price of powder.

MILITIA SERVICE.

August 1, 1775, formation of companies of "minute men" is authorized, who shall be ready to respond immediately to the call of the committee. At this session he is mentioned as captain of militia and ordered to impress some ammunition in the possession of John Work. During this month the Provincial Congress provided for the organization of the State and he is named on the committee for Rowan County. The State simply extended the captain's beat and county organization, retaining the name of Committee of Safety, except for the State, which was called Provincial Council.

September 20th his militia company is reported as containing one hundred and eighteen men.

October 17, 1775, under the law of the Provincial Congress, he is elected a member of the Committee of Safety for the county of Rowan, the committee being now elected by the freeholders and householders of the county.

November 28th he reported a company of minute men as organized and a committee is appointed to inspect the company and see that it is composed of "able, effective men."

In December, 1775, he served under General Rutherford against the Schovilite tories in South Carolina in the "Snow Campaign," probably with his company of minute men; also in the campaign against the Cherokee Indians in the fall of 1776. (State Records, Vol. XV, p. 113.)

THE NORTH CAROLINA LINE, OR CONTINENTALS.

In August, 1775, North Carolina organized two regiments to serve "during the war." In April, 1776, in compliance with the act of Congress to furnish nine battalions "to serve during the war," four more regiments were organized, which, with the two formed the year before, six in all, constituted the nine battalions.

William Davidson was commissioned Major of the Fourth Regiment April 15, 1776.

These troops were designated the "North Carolina Line or Continentals," as distinguishing them from the militia, which retained its former organization, and was called into service by the State authorities for designated terms of service, generally three months. This distinction of troops was not observed by all the States. Massachusetts and the other New England States succeeded in having Congress to recognize nearly all their troops as Continentals, however short the term of enlistment or call to service, and thus had a large force recorded as Continentals who did not serve nearly as long as many of the North Carolina militia, and the New England States thus secured the appointment of a much larger number of general officers in the Continental force than they were justly entitled to, and obtained for their troops the benefit of the acts of the Continental Congress. The militia was under control of the State, the Continental, of Congress.

The frequent reduction of General Washington's forces to inconveniently small numbers by the return home of many of the troops of the Northern States whose short terms of enlistment would expire, interfered much with its efficiency and prevented action of importance to the American cause.

This New England Continental Army, except the officers, was with difficulty kept embodied after Washington assumed command during the siege of Boston, owing to short enlistments, and soon melted away when the British evacuated the city in March, 1776. Having had a short military service, they returned home to enjoy the comforts of the fireside and the appropriations of the Continental Congress.

In the campaign of 1776 the loss of the State of New York and the retreat through New Jersey of Washington with his depleted army is attributed to this cause.

Early in 1777 Congress, in order to remedy this evil, ordered the North Carolina brigade to march to reënforce the army of the commander-in-chief, and furnish him a force that could be depended upon for permanent and efficient service.

These troops, under Colonel Martin, Generals Howe and Moore, had "seen service" against the Schovilite tories in South Carolina; under Major-General Lee in the repulse of Clinton and Parker at Charleston, S. C., and against the Loyalists of the Cape Fear section. General Moore had died in April, 1777. General Howe was in command of the Department of the South. Colonel Nash was promoted to brigadier general and placed in command. The troops were in Charleston as late as February, but before May had assembled at Halifax and begun the march northward.

In May, 1777, Col. Alex. Martin, of the Second Regiment, writes General Washington that he has reached Alexandria, Va., with the advance of the brigade; that nine battalions, with a total of forty-five hundred men, had left Halifax as reinforcements to his army; that the men who had not had smallpox would go into camp (at Georgetown) for inoculation; that Major Jethro Sumner would proceed immediately with a command of all the immunes. A report of Major Sumner's command, ten days later, shows only one hundred and sixty men. This would indicate that 4,300 men went into camp for inoculation. The number which died can not be accurately stated. Governor Graham, in his address upon the "Life and Character of General Greene," (December, 1860), states that "an extensive burial place is still recognized in that place (Georgetown) as the sepulchre of the North Carolina troops who died there of the malady." This was twenty years before the discovery of vaccination. The disease was communicated by applying the virus from one

afflicted with it to the patient, and he had a genuine case of smallpox. Courage to endure the agonies of this camp was greater than that to face the enemy in battle.

The troops reached Washington's army in June at Middlebrook, New Jersey, and were organized by General Nash.

There is no report of the services of this brigade as a body in the campaigns under General Washington. It is only from references to service or parts of it by other officers that we procure any information. Concerning its action in the battle of Germantown in which the brigade was a part of the division of Major-General Greene, Marshall and other historians only state that General Nash was killed. It is known that Colonel Irwin and Captain Turner were killed, Colonel Buncombe was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and Colonel Polk wounded.

General Sullivan, of New Hampshire, in his report to the Governor of that State, says a North Carolina regiment, under Colonel Armstrong, in conjunction with his own division, had driven the enemy a mile and a half beyond Chew's house, before the panic occurred. The North Carolina brigade was acting as a unit, and it is possible that this was the work of the entire command with Colonel Armstrong conspicuously in the van. Davidson is promoted this date to Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifth Regiment. Tradition says for gallantry in the action.

The earliest report of the strength of the brigade on the records of the United States War Department is November 11, 1777, and shows 139 officers and 1,025 men, total 1,156 present for duty.

After the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, the Second and Third regiments were consolidated and were called the Second. After the battle of Germantown the First and Fourth were merged into the First. The Eighth Battal-

ion was disbanded, the men in it being transferred to the Second Regiment. This would indicate severe loss in the North Carolina troops in these actions.

Davidson appears as Lieutenant-Colonel of the First in 1777 and 1780. In May, 1778, Congress ordered the consolidation of the North Carolina troops into full battalions and that the officers not needed to command these battalions should return to North Carolina to command the four additional regiments to be furnished by the State. Moon's Creek, near the Virginia line, in Caswell County, on the old plank road, about midway between Danville, Va., and Yanceyville, N. C., and Halifax were named as points of rendezvous for the troops; and commissioners sent to these points to designate the officers of the respective commands. A church of the Primitive Baptists, called by the name, now marks the locality of Moon's Creek encampment. The whole to assemble at Bladensburg, Maryland.

Lieutenant-Colonel Davidson assumed command of those who met at Charlotte, being joined on the march by volunteers from other points. On reaching Moon's Creek news of the battle of Monmouth was received; that the British had gone to New York and there was no urgent need of reinforcements. Many of the men from western North Carolina took furloughs until again called to service. There was considerable dissatisfaction and some mutinous conduct on the part of some of the officers and men as to payment of bounty and fixing a definite time for service to commence. This was to be after passing the State's border.

July 18th Colonel Thackston writes Colonel Hogan about sending the paymaster at once to Colonel Davidson's relief, concerning which he (Davidson) had written him. Colonel Davidson assumed command of those who continued in service and after these disagreements were settled, moved to

Bladensburg to join the contingent that had assembled at Halifax, and thence to Washington's army. They remained with this army until November, 1779, when the North Carolina Continental Brigade was ordered to reinforce General Lincoln at Charleston.

In May the Legislature had requested the brigade to be sent south. Congress replied that this was impracticable in the summer, but it would be done in the fall. The brigade then numbered seven hundred and thirty-seven efficient men. It arrived at Charleston in March. Colonel Davidson having obtained, en route, a furlough to visit his family, did not report at Charleston before it was encompassed by the enemy and thus escaped capture at the surrender.

The muster rolls of the Continental Line show that the field officers of a regiment each had a company, the captains being omitted in organization of such companies. In Vol. XIV of the State Records, page 294, there is the roll of Lieutenant-Colonel W. L. Davidson's company on April 23, 1779. It contained, after leaving the smallpox camp, sixty-two men; nineteen of these had died, nine were in the hospital, and thirty-two present for duty, a death rate of thirty-one per cent., of dead and disabled and forty-seven per cent. The brigade suffered severely in the service with General Washington.

It served in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, going as far north as West Point (one of Davidson's men died at West Point); fought in the battle of Monmouth and shared in all the hardships of this memorable epoch of the war in that section.

The State was to supply the clothing, the national government the rations; the officers to purchase both for themselves. Both officers and men suffered severely, the arrearage of pay causing the officers to see even "harder times" than the men,

as is shown by correspondence with the State authorities. A letter from General Lockton McIntosh to Governor Caswell from the camp at Valley Forge, states that no troops suffered more in the intensely cold winter of 1777-'78 than did those of North Carolina in Washington's army.

In this service, although we see but little recorded mention of Colonel Davidson, the esteem in which he was held by his comrades and others familiar with military movements, shows that he was among the most efficient officers of the brigade.

I have never seen a report subsequent to that of Colonel Martin in 1777, that returns more than 2,000 men. Of the 4,500 men who left Halifax in May, 1777, and the reënforcements sent in 1778, only 737 effective men returned to North Carolina in December, 1779. The report for January, 1779, shows present 1,339, of whom 448 are sick. The Third Regiment reports 35 effective out of 464.

SERVICE IN NORTH CAROLINA MILITIA.

When Lord Rawdon, in May, 1780, began his advance toward North Carolina, General Rutherford, who commanded the militia of the Salisbury district, *i. e.*, of Rowan, Mecklenburg, Lincoln, Rutherford, Burke, and the counties in what is now Tennessee, called his forces into service—some for three months, the usual length of a term of service, and some for such time as actually needed.

Colonel Davidson reported to him at Charlotte for duty. General Rutherford formed a battalion of light infantry (as mounted infantry were then designated) of one hundred men, and assigned him to this command. Principally by the aid of General Graham's "Revolutionary Papers" we can connectedly follow his service from this time until death.

COLSON'S MILL.

When Lord Rawdon retired to Camden he went with General Rutherford to Ramsaur's Mill, where they arrived a few hours after the conflict had terminated. From here he marched with General Rutherford to suppress the Tory leader Bryan in the "forks of the Yadkin." The forks of the Yadkin, as mentioned in history of this time, was not the territory between North and South Yadkin rivers, but that between the creeks east of the Yadkin, mostly in what is now Surry County. Bryan, whose force numbered eight hundred, having learned of the battle of Ramsaur's Mill and Rutherford's advance against him, hastily departed to unite with Major McArthur on the Pee Dee. Colonel Davidson, with his command, which, according to Major Blount's letter to Governor Nash, numbered 160 (Vol. XV, page 6, State Records), being mounted, was dispatched down the west side of the Yadkin to overtake him, but the start he had and the celerity with which he moved, enabled Bryan to reach his friends without molestation. Learning that a party of Tories was at Colson's Mill (now probably Lowder's, in Stanly County), near the junction of Rocky and Pee Dee rivers, Colonel Davidson, on July 21st, undertook to surprise and capture them, but his movements being discerned by the enemy, only partially succeeded; he killed three, wounded four, and captured ten. He was severely wounded through the loins, attention being probably called to him by his conspicuous uniform; two of his men were also wounded. He was carried home, where he remained two months.

APPOINTED BRIGADIER GENERAL.

General Rutherford was wounded and captured at the battle of Camden, August 16th. Gen. H. W. Harrington, of the Fayetteville district, was assigned temporarily to the command of the Salisbury district. General Sumner having been

assigned to the command of the militia service other than that of the Salisbury district, had Colonel Davidson appointed to command the "horse" of his command. On August 31st the Legislature appointed Colonel Davidson Brigadier-General of militia for the Salisbury district during General Rutherford's absence, and Major William R. Davie colonel of the cavalry. These appointments met with hearty approval in the Salisbury district, but General Harrington, being offended at the appointment of General Davidson, gave notice of his resignation as brigadier-general of militia so soon as the condition of affairs in his immediate command would admit, and on November 3d tendered it to the Board of War. He complained of being deprived of command of the first brigade in the State, a deserved compliment to the Salisbury district. General Harrington had been an efficient officer and performed valuable services in the Fayetteville district. There was considerable jealousy between the militia and Continental officers when thrown in the same command.

Upon the reception of his commission General Davidson, having recovered from his wound, immediately repaired to Charlotte and entered upon his duties. He still, however, retained his commission as lieutenant-colonel in the Continental line. The militia were assembling to oppose the advance of Cornwallis, the rendezvous was at McCalpin's Creek, seven miles from Charlotte, on the Camden road.

When Ferguson moved into Rutherford and Burke counties General Davidson ordered a force of militia to assemble at Sherrill's Ford to oppose him, the supposition being that Ferguson would cross the Catawba near the mountains and move down the Yadkin in order to aid Cornwallis in crossing that stream. Colonel Francis Locke, of Rowan, one of the most gallant and useful officers of this time, commanded at Sherrill's Ford, and was to be reënforced by Colonel Williams

with the militia of Surry and other counties. Colonel Locke had won the battle at Ramsaur's Mill, three months before, when sent by General Rutherford on similar service.

CORNWALLIS AT CHARLOTTE.

The Yadkin had been designated as the place of battle and when Cornwallis advanced on the 25th of September General Sumner, with his command, immediately moved, not stopping until he had crossed at Trading Ford, near where the Southern Railroad now crosses. General Davidson took position at Mallard Creek, eight miles from Charlotte, and committed to Colonel Davie the opposition of Cornwallis' entrance to Charlotte and Davie in turn committed covering the retreat to Adjutant Graham. There seems to have been no intention to reënforce the parties engaged in the fight, but each command was expected after engaging the enemy, to escape as best he could. An account of the gallant fight at Charlotte and the Cross Roads would too much enlarge my narrative and is well told elsewhere. Cornwallis was awaiting news from Ferguson and did not advance beyond Charlotte. General Sumner did not recross the Yadkin; General Davidson kept his command at Phifer's, and by detachments annoyed the expeditions sent from Charlotte into the adjacent country for provisions and supplies, and kept Cornwallis in ignorance of the movements of his allies. These forays extended entirely around Charlotte and there were engagements almost daily, the most noted being that at McIntyre's farm, October 3d. The reports of Cornwallis and his officers testify to the gallantry of the troops and the patriotism of the Mecklenburg people in these affairs. While the militia that were called into service to oppose Ferguson were assembling at Sherrill's Ford, Colonels Cleveland, McDowell, Sevier, Shelby, Hampton, Winston, of North Carolina, and Campbell, of Virginia,

of their own accord, were assembling for the same object such of their own men as would answer their call.

When they had assembled about 1,500 men near Gilbertstown, Rutherford County, the question as to who was entitled to command could not be satisfactorily adjusted, as they were all colonels. On October 4th they sent Col. Joseph McDowell to General Gates asking for an officer to be sent to command the force. The following are extracts from this communication, viz.:

As we have at this time called out our militia without any orders from the executives of our different States, and with the view of expelling the enemy out of this part of the country, we think such a body of men worthy of your attention and would request you to send a general officer immediately to take the command of such troops as may embody in this quarter. All our troops being militia and but little acquainted with discipline, we could wish him to be a gentleman and be able to keep up a proper discipline without disgusting the soldiery.

It is the wish of such of us as are acquainted with Gen. Davidson and Col. Morgan (if in service), that one of these gentlemen may be appointed to this command.

BENJAMIN CLEVELAND.
ISAAC SHELBY.
ANDREW HAMPTON.
WILLIAM CAMPBELL.
JOSEPH WINSTON.

The North Carolina men belonged to General Davidson's command, and it is highly probable that he would have been sent.

In the meantime Colonel Campbell, having individually the largest number of men, was given command, and on October 7th the enemy was found and the battle of Kings Mountain won before a commander was sent. Soon after this General Smallwood, of Maryland, who had acted so gallantly at Camden and had been appointed Major-General or commander of the North Carolina militia in service, arrived and assumed command. General Sumner was affronted at the appoint-

ment and retired from service for a time, or until the arrival of General Greene. We have at this time quite a chapter of dissatisfaction on account of promotions. Harrington vs. Davidson, Caswell and Sumner vs. Smallwood, and Smallwood vs. Baron Stueben, if he should be placed over him.

The time for which the militia had been called in service expired in November. General Gates had been relieved of the command of the Southern army and his successor, General Greene, had arrived at Charlotte December 3d. Early in December General Davidson ordered into service another detail of militia for three months. It seems to have been General Rutherford's plan to have had his regiments divided into "details" to be called into service in succession, while in some commands when a call to service was issued, first volunteers were called for to fill it, and what was lacking in volunteers was obtained by draft. One detail had been sent to Charleston; another had been called to meet the first advance of Cornwallis; now a third is needed to be in readiness when he again enters the State.

DAVIDSON'S PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

Before the arrival and assumption of command of General Greene, November 27th, General Davidson wrote a private note to Col. Alex. Martin, suggesting a plan of campaign in opposition to Cornwallis:

NOTE TO COLONEL MARTIN.

SIR:—By this time you may be acquainted with the position the army is to take for the present. In the meantime it appears to me that the proper exertion of the militia of my district might greatly injure if not totally ruin the British army. I have been deliberating on this matter some time and submit my plan to your consideration, and hope that you will endeavor to present it or something that will be more eligible. My scheme is to send Gen. Morgan to the westward with his light troops and riflemen; one thousand volunteer militia, which I can raise in twenty days, and the refugees from

South Carolina and Georgia to join, which will make a formidable body of desperadoes, the whole to be under Morgan's direction, and proceed immediately to Ninety-Six and possess ourselves of the western parts of South Carolina, at the same time the main army to move down to the wax haws, which will oblige the enemy to divide (which will put them quite in our power), or vacate the present posts and collect on one point, in which case we can command the country, cut off their supplies and force them to retreat and fight the militia in their own way. The messenger waits. I have neither time nor room to make further observations. I think the scheme practicable and certain of success, unless the enemy be reënforced. Favor me with your opinion on this matter, and believe me, dear sir,

Your very obedient and honorable servant,

WM. DAVIDSON.

N. B.—This comes to you in a private capacity. (State Records, XIV, p. 759.)

As General Davidson's troops were all infantry, about January 1st he proposed to Adjt. Joseph Graham, who had already served one term, or three months, although exempt for three years on account of nine months' service in the Continental line, and who had just recovered from wounds received at Charlotte September 26th, to enlist a body of cavalry, promising him such rank as the number enlisted would entitle him to. In a few weeks he had fifty-five men, only three of whom were married, embodied, and he was commissioned captain.

OPPOSING CORNWALLIS.

General Greene, in opposing Cornwallis' second advance into North Carolina, disposed of his forces as follows: General Huger with the Continentals at Cheraw, S. C., on the east; General Morgan with Howard and Col. William Washington's cavalry and some North Carolina militia under Col. Joseph McDowell, near Broad river, on the west; for a central force, connecting these and prepared to act with either as occasion might require, he relied upon the militia of Rowan and Mecklenburg, under General Davidson. The militia of these counties from the formation of committees of

safety until the close of the war, while answering in full proportion all calls for troops for the line or militia service beyond the State, seem to have regarded themselves as always ready to answer calls to service in their own locality, claiming no exemptions to which any might be entitled on account of any previous service. They only asked that the call should be for fighting and not for ordinary camp duty; as soon as the fight was over they returned home, with or without leave. The history of the Revolution shows no history of greater valor and patriotism.

At the battle of Cowpens, January, 1781, General Morgan defeated Tarleton, and by death, wounds, and capture deprived Cornwallis of the service of one-fifth of the most valuable of his regular troops. Cornwallis, in his forward movement, would have to cross the Catawba; arrangements were made to annoy and injure him while so doing, and this duty was assigned to General Davidson and his North Carolina militia. General Greene seems to have had no intention of a battle with Cornwallis; he ordered General Huger, who commanded the Continentals at Cheraw, to retreat to Guilford Court House, which he himself proceeded to do, and when he joined him there continued his journey across the Dan.

General Davidson made his arrangements at the respective fords on the Catawba River; pickets of cavalry were placed at Tuckaseege, Toole's and Cowan's fords. Col. John Williams, of Surry, with two hundred men at Tuckaseege; Captain Potts, of Mecklenburg, at Toole's, with seventy; Lieutenant Thomas Davidson, of Mecklenburg, at Cowan's, with twenty-five. It was supposed that the crossing would be at Beattie's Ford, the best crossing on the river, and on the main line of travel in passing through this section. Here were assembled the Orange County militia, under Colonel Farmer, and the Mecklenburg under Col. Thomas Polk, and some of the Rowan

men. General Davidson made his headquarters at this point. General Greene having notified him that he desired to see General Morgan and Colonel Washington at Beattie's Ford, dispatched his brother-in-law, Ephraim Davidson, then only a lad, to notify them. On January 31st all parties had arrived at the appointed place within ten minutes. After an interview of half an hour they separated. The enemy appeared on the opposite bank during the conference. In THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET for April, 1906, is a detailed account of the battle of Cowan's Ford, hence I omit particulars of it. General Davidson, by the aid of Graham's cavalry, who frequently crossed the river, kept well posted as to the position of the enemy. General Greene suggested that the appearance at Beattie's Ford was probably a ruse and that Cornwallis would pass Tarleton over the river during the night at some private ford and attack Davidson in the rear at the point selected for crossing. Patrols were ordered up and down the river between the fords, to be kept moving all night. General Davidson, after Greene's departure, remarked to Captain Graham that "this was General Greene's first view of the Catawba, but he seemed to know as much about it as those who were reared on it."

General Davidson had probably learned through friends that Cowan's had been selected as the point of crossing, and moved Colonel Polk's force and Graham's cavalry to this point, where they arrived after dark and spent the night near by. Information received led them to think that the horse ford would be chosen as the route for the crossing. This information was probably gained from persons who had heard the inquiries of the officers as to the fords. The horse ford was much the best bottom and shallower water, while the wagon ford was not half the length. The horse ford reaches the bank a quarter of a mile below the wagon ford.

GENERAL DAVIDSON KILLED.

General O'Hara, supported by Tarleton, had been chosen as the force to cross at Cowan's. The British entered the water, O'Hara's infantry in front with poles to steady themselves against the swift current, Tarleton's cavalry following. About the time O'Hara moved Webster had his men to go into the river at Beattie's Ford and fire their guns, also opened with his artillery, made a feint as if he were going to cross in order to detract attention from Cowan's. As soon as Lieutenant Davidson's pickets discovered the enemy they opened fire. They were reënforced by Graham's men, dismounted, who joined in the firing. General Davidson, hearing the firing, repaired immediately to Colonel Polk's command and ordered them to move up to the wagon ford. He directed Captain Graham to give place to Polk's men and to mount his men, form on the ridge in the rear and be prepared to meet any attack, as General Greene had suggested. The enemy reached the bank before many of Polk's men got into position, and securing the crossing, immediately loaded and advancing up the bank began firing. General Davidson ordered a retreat for one hundred yards down the river. The firing became so heavy that his command fell back fifty yards farther. He ordered his men to take shelter behind the trees and renew the battle. The enemy were advancing in line, firing slowly, when General Davidson was shot, being instantly killed. The infantry immediately dispersed, going through the bushes to avoid the enemy's cavalry. Captain Graham brought off his command in order.

General Davidson was shot through the left breast by a small rifle ball. As the British carried muskets this is supposed to have been done by a Tory, who acted as pilot to the enemy in crossing the river. The enemy did not discover General Davidson's body. They buried the three other

Americans who were killed at the river, and all of their dead, including Major Hall. He fell down the river from the ford and they moved up the river on leaving. General Davidson's horse, after he fell, went to the house of Maj. John Davidson, where Jos. G. Davidson now lives, near Toole's Ford. Maj. David Wilson, who was with General Davidson when he fell, assisted by his pastor, Rev. Mr. McCaul, and Richard Harry, took the body to the residence of Samuel Wilson, where it was prepared for burial and that night interred at Hopewell church, some three miles away, by torchlight, as the night was very dark. It is stated by some writers that the body, before recovery, had been stripped of its clothing, but this is very improbable. His sword was recovered and is now preserved at Davidson College. If the clothing had been taken, the sword would not have been left. His grave is still known, although unmarked by memorial stone. Mrs. Davidson was informed of the General's death at her home some eight or ten miles away, and her neighbor, George Templeton, whose descendants still live in the community near Mooresville, accompanied her to the burial.

Thus at the age of thirty-four years fell one of the most useful men that North Carolina furnished in the struggle for independence, after more than six years service in various positions, in each of which he met the demands of the occasion.

Light Horse Harry Lee says of him in his "Memoirs":

"The loss of Brigadier Davidson would have been always felt in any stage of the war. It was particularly detrimental in its effects at this period, as he was the chief instrument relied upon by Greene for the assembly of the militia, an event all important at this crisis and anxiously desired by the American general. The ball passed through his breast and he instantly fell dead. This promising soldier was thus lost to his country in the meridian of life and at a moment when his services would have been highly beneficial to her. He was a man of popular manners, pleasing ad-

dress, active and indefatigable; devoted to the profession of arms and to the great cause for which he fought. His future usefulness may be inferred from his former conduct. The Congress of the United States in gratitude for his services and in commemoration of their sense of his worth, passed suitable resolutions."

He made his will December, 1780, appointing his father-in-law, John Brevard, his brother-in-law, Wm. Sharpe, and John Dickey executors. Only Dickey and Sharpe acted, and in 1783 presented a memorial to the Legislature of the State for settlement of amount due for his services. This was ordered paid. The matter is again referred to in the session of 1790, November 29th, and of 1792. H. J. December 5th. When he was appointed brigadier-general of the militia, he still retained his position in the "line" as General Rutherford would when exchanged, assume the command of the militia. In December, 1780, General Sumner was ordered by Congress to report the supernumerary officers of the Continental line who were unnecessary on account of the reduced number of the force, and could be dropped. General Sumner, in making his report, January 27, 1781, to General Greene, regrets that the country is to lose the valuable services of these officers. He includes General Davidson in the list, as he states, at his request. (State Records, Vol. XV, p. 501.)

On December 31, 1780, his connection with the North Carolina Continentals ended, but the dropped officers, or their widows, were to receive half-pay until seven years after the close of the war. (101, Vol. XV.)

DAVIDSON'S BRIGADE AFTER HIS DEATH.

As this paper is intended to be historical, a short notice of General Davidson's Brigade after his death is annexed. A full account of this is given in General Graham's Revolutionary Papers. They did not conclude that as the enemy had left their borders they would return home and leave him to

the attention of those whom he might next visit, but being unable to stop his advance, formed to annoy his rear and serve as best they could wherever needed until their term of service expired. They assembled at Harris' Mill, on Rocky River, the next day and started in pursuit of the enemy. On the 11th of February at Shallow Ford they requested General Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, to assume command, as there was no general officer of this State present, and Major James Jackson, of Georgia, afterwards Governor of that State, was appointed brigade major, or as we say now, adjutant-general. There were seven hundred of Davidson's men and some thirty or forty refugees from South Carolina and Georgia. General Pickens continued in command until the expiration of the three months' term of his men, early in March, and just before the battle of Guilford Court House.

General Pickens, being from South Carolina, has caused historians to credit these troops to that State. General Pickens was a brave and efficient commander and his association with the North Carolina troops entirely pleasant, but the troops were North Carolinians and their service should be credited to the State. On February 18th preparations for battle were made upon the alarm of "Tarleton is coming." It proved to be Light Horse Harry Lee, with his legion, whose uniform—dark green—was the same as that of Tarleton. This was the first intelligence that General Greene had of the whereabouts of Davidson's command or that Pickens had that Greene had recrossed the Dan. The brigade then served with General Greene until the term of service expired early in March, participating in the engagement at Clapps, Whitsell or Hart's Mills, Pyle's massacre and other points. Some of them remained longer but the last departed for home March 10.

A query, concerning which the students of history can employ themselves is: whether the seven hundred men of Davidson's brigade, nearly all of whom had seen service in two or three campaigns, would not have been more valuable in the battle of Guilford Court House than those of the raw troops of Butler and Eaton; and if it was not a mistake in General Greene to defer battle awaiting the arrival of the latter until Pickens (or Davidson's) men had been disbanded.

PAPERS RELATING TO GENERAL DAVIDSON'S SERVICES.

ROLL OF W. L. DAVIDSON'S COMPANY.

Pension Office. Book entitled "North Carolina Miscellaneous Rolls." Not paged.

Roll of Lieutenant Col. Davidson's Company on the 23d of April, 1779: (Copied from Orderly Book of Sergeant Isaac Rowel.)

First Lieutenant—Edward Yarborough.

Second Lieutenant—Reuben Wilkerson.

Sergeant—Isaac Rowel, John Horton, John Godwin.

Corporal—Jesse Baggett, Dempsy Johnson, James Thorp.

Privates—Adam Brevard, Samuel Boyd, James Boyd, Uriah Bass, Bird, Cornett, Timothy Morgan, Joseph Furtrell, Wm. Grant, Daniel Parker, Council Bass, Fifer, Barney Johnson, Richard Sumner, Sothey Manly, Booth Newton, Pioneer, Wm. Scott, Pioneer, Lemon Land, Waiter, Hardy Short, John Norwood, Joshua Reams, Buckner Floyd, Wm. Hatchcock, Solomon Deberry, Thomas Wiggins, Wm. Wilkinson, John Wilson, David Journekin, Samuel Davis.

Left at Hospital—Barnaby Murrel, Drummer, Wm. Moore, Charles Gibson, James Robards, Sterling Scott, Waiter, Hardy Portiss, Wm. Smith, Isham Jones, Lithro Lane, left at Trenton, Joshua Lewis, Robert Monger, Wm. Gray, Jos. Ward, Isaac Gunns, Chas. Thompson, John Carter, and James Goodson, died at New Windsor Hospital, Maryland; John Feasley, died at West Point; Henry Short and Caleb Woodard, at Robertson's Hospital and Matthew Murrel, Andrew Rowell, Peter Valentine, Josiah Measley, Benj. Brittle, John Clark, John Batliss and John Floyd, at Philadelphia Hospital. (State Rec., XIV, page 294.)

DAVIDSON'S COMMISSION AS BRIGADIER GENERAL.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

In the House of Commons, 31st August, 1780.

MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN:

Whereas from the late captivation of General Rutherford by the enemy in South Carolina the militia of Salisbury district is in a manner left destitute of a general officer to command them; therefore

Resolved, That William Lee Davidson be appointed Brigadier General of the militia for said district until the return of General Rutherford from captivity.

THOMAS BENBURY,
Speaker Commons.

In the Senate 31st August, 1780, concurred with.

ALEX MARTIN,
Speaker Senate.

COUNCIL OF WAR.

At a Council of War held at the camp at New Providence, in the State of North Carolina, the 25th of November, 1780, consisting of the Commander-in-Chief, Major-General Smallwood, Brigadier-General Huger, Brigadier-General Morgan, Brigadier-General Davidson, Colonel Kosciusko, Chief Engineer, Colonel Buford, Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, Lieutenant-Colonel Washington.

The Council being assembled the Commander-in-Chief acquaints them that: The want of provisions and forage in the camp, the advanced season of the year, the almost total failure of the herbage, the entire want of a magazine of salt meat and the uncertainty of providing it, the increasing sickness and the unwholesome situation of the camp, the want of any proper accommodation of the sick, the want of hospital stores and proper comforts necessary for sick and diseased soldiers, the probability of reinforcement being sent from the enemy at New York, the invasion of Virginia, and the apparent prospect of Sir Henry Clinton's supporting that invasion and commanding a coöperation with Cornwallis, the State and strength of the army compared with that of the enemy, and the expediency of reinforcement coming to our army are the motives which induced him to assemble this Council of War and request their opinion of the movement and the position that the army ought to take in the present circumstances.

The Council having fully deliberated upon the matter before them and the question being put of what position the troops ought to take, whether at or near Charlotte or at the Waxhaws or in the neighborhood, the junior member, Lieutenant Col. Washington, gave it as his opinion that at or near Charlotte should be the present

position of the army to which every other member of the Council consented but Gen. Smallwood, who was for the army's moving to the Waxhaws, taking post there for three weeks, and then returning to Charlotte.

(Signed:) H. Walter Gates.
W. Smallwood.
Isaac Huger.
Daniel Morgan.
Wm. Davidson.
Thad Kosciusko.
("Thadeus of Warsaw.")
N. Buford.
J. E. Howard.
Wm. Washington.

—. —. Clovis, Richmond, Sec'y. to Gen. Gates.

Camp Colo., Phifer's, October 6, 1780.

To Gen. Gates:

The enemy is still confined to Charlotte. The small rifle companies I have kept hanging upon their lines have been of service in checking their foraging parties. They are probably 1,800 strong, including those Loyalists they have received recruited in the Southward. Besides these they have some ununiformed tories who follow the fortunes of the army; rather a dead weight than a benefit.

A Col. Ferguson, in the British service, has by a variety of means been pernicious to our interests in the west of both the Carolinas. There has such a force taken the field against him as will probably rid us of such a troublesome neighbor. As the main strength of the British in the Southern States seems collected in Charlotte I have adopted every measure in my power to annoy them.

Wm. Davidson.

October 8th, 1780.

To Gen. Sumner:

I have the pleasure to enclose you a large packet of dispatches taken yesterday at McCalpin's creek on the way to Camden by a small party of my brigade. A detachment of 120 horses under Rutledge and Dixon almost surrounded Charlotte yesterday, attacked a pickquet at Col. Polk's mill and at a certain Mr. Elliott's brought a sentry of eight Tories who are now on their way to you. A small party of riflemen brought off fifty horses from the Tories at Col. Polk's plantation last night. Dixon lost one man killed.

I have the honor to be, etc., etc., Wm. Davidson.

(Vol. XIV, p. 644.)

CAMP ROCKY RIVER, Oct. 10, 1780.

SIR:—I have two detachments of Cavalry and Infantry, each on the enemy's line. A considerable quantity of powder was secured some time ago within four miles of Charlotte, which I knew nothing of until Sunday evening. 13 cags were brought off that night, and the remainder sixteen have this moment arrived safe, which I will forward immediately. Pray let me know if his Lordship's figures have been deciphered yet. I find he is determined to surprise me and I am as determined to disappoint him. Inclosed you have a draft of the enemy's lines which was sent to me by Col. P——k, whilst a prisoner. I believe it may be depended on. Col. Davie is very poorly. I am etc., etc.,

WM. DAVIDSON.

N. B.—Gen. Graham in an address at Charlotte, May 20, 1835, says this powder had been moved from Camden to Charlotte in the fall of 1779, and was guarded by the students of the Academy; that when there was expectation of the enemy advancing several of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration on a day agreed upon came with sacks in which they filled the powder and conveyed it to places of safety, they appeared like boys going to mill. It was concealed in separate places—afterwards afforded a reasonable supply—not much was damaged and the enemy got none. (N. C. BOOKLET, January, 1906.)

Tuesday evening a small party of my infantry fell in with two wagons on their way from Camden within two miles of Charlotte. They killed two men, took and brought off the wagons, horses and portmanteaus with officers' baggage. (Page 786.)

October 11, 1780.

To GEN. SUMNER:

Nothing new from Charlotte. Had we more men we could make their forage cost them dear. The appearance of 50 men yesterday caused 400 to return without a handful. Inform Gov. Nash.

AN OLD GRAVEYARD IN THE HISTORIC TOWN OF HILLSBORO

BY ANNA ALEXANDER CAMERON.

A very old graveyard it is, for here the earliest settlers of this ancient borough found their graves, and here the first church erected in this part of the State was built—an Episcopal church, whose rector was "Parson Micklejohn."

After the Revolutionary War the church fell into disuse, having no minister in charge, and so went to decay, nor was another Episcopal congregation gathered together again under a minister until 18—, when the Rev. William Mercer Green, now the venerable Bishop of Mississippi, was called to the pastorate of St. Matthew's, the present church, which was built on land deeded to the congregation by Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin.

On the site of the old church stands now the one in which the Presbyterian congregation worships. The graveyard having been used for many years as the public burying ground is so thickly peopled with the dead that the town authorities have forbidden further interments except in private squares, a prohibition rendered necessary by the frequent invasion of old graves. And all the terrible secrets that those old graves sometimes revealed. One day, not many years ago, the sunshine fell soft and golden into one of them where rested an old, old coffin, in which face downwards, lay the skeleton of a woman. The poor, pathetic bones were in such a position that no doubt could remain that the unfortunate creature had been buried alive and had struggled wildly to escape the horrible imprisonment, which meant a still more horrible death.

In the northwest corner of the churchyard in a small square overgrown with brambles and creeping vines, is a

gray, weather-stained tombstone on which the inscription is almost effaced, yet enough remains to tell that "Here sleeps William Hooper, signer of the Declaration of Independence," etc. One of that band of resolute patriots who wrote their names none the less firmly and boldly because thereby they were risking all but honor and the liberty they held so dear.

Across the graveyard towards the east, amongst waifs and strays, rests a bit of the world's strange driftwood. A French captain lies here, a gentleman of courage, honor and refinement. He was one of Caroline Murat's body guard, and after the downfall of the Napoleonic dynasty he left Naples and went to Spain. Subsequently, becoming engaged in a revolution on the island of Malta, he was banished and fled to New York. From thence he drifted here as a music teacher in a large female school. After holding this position for a number of years he became private tutor in the family of a wealthy gentleman of the place, and it was while thus employed that he began to lose his sight. Although treated with the most generous kindness and consideration and offered a home and every comfort for his declining years, his pride could not brook the thought of blindness, helplessness and dependence, and so he made choice of what he thought by far the most honorable alternative by ending his life.

Long ago, when the inhabitants were few, there came to the village a peddler, and he put up at a tavern kept by an old man and his wife. Anon the peddler disappeared. "Gone on," mine host said, "to other pastures green." There was just a suggestion of something mysterious about the sudden departure, for no one had seen him go. Still, nobody made it his business to inquire closely, and in time men forgot or ceased to speculate about it.

The old people passed away. The man, in a gloomy and morose old age, hung himself in his barn, and the wife disap-

peared, none knew whither. Years afterwards, in digging a grave in the churchyard, the grave diggers came to something that seemed more like a box than a coffin, and on unearthing it it proved to be a chest, inside of which was the skeleton of a man whose skull had been fractured. Amongst some of the "old people" were those who, on seeing the chest recognized it as a very peculiar one that used to stand in the passage up stairs at the tavern and which could not be found when the fixtures of the tavern had been sold. Here, then, had come to light the unfortunate peddler and the crime committed so long ago.

Within a few feet of the door of the Presbyterian church has lain in his grave for more than half a century one of the most remarkable men that North Carolina has ever produced, Archibald Debow Murphey. At the bar, on the bench, in the Assembly halls, his great intellect, deep culture, expanded views, perfect courtesy and dignity commanded the profound admiration and respect of his compeers. His far-reaching mind and keen foresight grasped and would have developed schemes for the internal improvement of his State, which, with the slow march of other minds of less impulsive genius, were yet fifty years adown the future. Deep was his learning, wide his range of thought, keen and incisive his intellect, and while others gradually developed an idea or plan, Minerva like, it sprang to life, perfect and complete in his superb mind. Far down the coming years swept his impetuous thoughts, out of range of those slower moving ones that could not keep step with the strides of his genius. Today the things he planned and argued as possible and of immense value to the development and internal improvement of the State, are realities. Then they were regarded as the wild dreams of a visionary. Judge Murphey was at least half a century in advance of his generation. At the time of his death he was engaged in preparing a history of North Carolina, and it is a source of deep

regret and irreparable loss to the State that the rich store of material he had collected was entirely lost.

Towering above all else that surrounds it, stately, clear cut, and stainless as the character of the sleeper beneath it, rises the shaft on which is carved the name of William A. Graham, and beneath which sleeps until the resurrection morn all that was mortal of one of North Carolina's noblest, most gifted and distinguished sons. A great statesman, and an able jurist, a Christian gentleman, a man who went up steadily by merit to the highest position in his native State, and to one of the highest in the National Government, and who retired from public life at eventide as he had entered it in the dawn of his brilliant young manhood *"sans peur et sans reproche."*

I see him yet, the tall, stately form erect and elegant, the fine intellectual face so scholarly and refined! A close student, a deep thinker, wise in statecraft, just in his conclusions, fearless in his advocacy of the right and faithful in his discharge of a trust. Fair as a Doric column stands the life, public and private, of this noble son of a grand old commonwealth.

Limited space forbids an extended notice of many other sleepers here worthy of most honorable mention. Frederick Nash, a distinguished Chief Justice of the State of North Carolina, a man whose fine intellect, deep culture and impartial discharge of the high duties of his office added yet further lustre to an honored name; the Rev. John Witherspoon, an able and popular divine, founder and first pastor of the Presbyterian church here; Judge Norwood and his son, the late venerable John W. Norwood, who has within the past few months gone to his rest after a long, honorable and useful life. Dr. James Webb, many years ago well known throughout a large section of the State as a physician of great merit and high character, and who was held in great respect and affec-

tion; Dr. Edmund Strudwick, who succeeded Dr. Webb, and who for eminence as a physician and skill as a surgeon had a very wide reputation, the benediction of whose life still rests upon those who loved him.

Gallant soldiers sleep amongst the dead here. Major Ben Huske, Alvis Norwood, Capt. Ed. Scott, Henry Nash, Roscoe Richards, of whom his colonel said: "I never knew a braver man. Whenever I called for volunteers for desperate work Roscoe Richards was one of the first men to step from the ranks." Frederick Nash, who laid down the burden of life far from friends and home after months of suffering amidst the dreary horrors of prison life at Elmira, N. Y., faithful unto death!

Ah! those days long ago, yet ever near in memory, when there came back to Southern homes only a coffin in place of a gallant son or brother, husband or father, who had gone forth in the strength of manhood and who was to come again, if come he ever did, feet foremost, and sometimes only the poor remnants that shot or shell had left. Vividly do I recall the burial of a brave young soldier who had been brought home from the carnage of the "Chickahominy." As we sat in the church the heavy tread of those who bore him to his rest passed by the door. Alas! they could not bring him into the church; and as we gathered around the grave in the exquisite brightness of a summer evening, while the prayers were being said, a mocking bird in a tree just above the grave sang as though all the world was mad with joy. In and out amidst the solemn words of prayer ran this liquid, rippling strain, note after note, the very sweetest a sweet bird ever sang. And when the grave was filled and we turned away, still the same glad song flowed on and on, and we left the young hero sleeping his last long, dreamless sleep, while the mockingbird sang his requiem as never bird sang before.

HILLSBORO, N. C., 1892.

ROANOKE ISLAND

Or the Landing of Captain Ralph Lane, with Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonists, on the Coast of Carolina in 1585

BY MARSHALL DE LANCEY HAYWOOD.

If sandy hills could speak and tell
What deeds in ancient days befell,
We first would hear of Redskin braves
Whose bones now moulder in their graves.

And then upon this western shore,
Where Christian never trod before,
Bold Raleigh's voyagers were seen—
Sent hither by the English Queen.

Above their ships within the bay
Floated St. George's banner gay,
While on the decks, for action set,
Stood culverin and falconet.

Then Captain Lane, with eye serene,
Gazed proudly on the quiet scene;
And when his voice the silence broke,
In solemn tones he slowly spoke:

"My noble men, so true and brave
When tempest-tossed upon the wave,
In safety we have now been brought
To this good haven which we sought.

"This fertile land, so fair and green,
We claim of right for Britain's Queen,
And our good blades, on land and main,
Shall guard it from the fleets of Spain.

"In Holy Scriptures we may read
A man once took a mustard seed
And cast it in a garden fair,
When soon its branches filled the air.

"*We* plant a nation!—may it stand
For all that makes a noble land;
And English laws shall rule this State
Where dwell the happy, wise, and great.

"May God, to Whom our fathers prayed,
Still shelter those who seek His aid;
And may His favor rest on all
Who gather at our Sovereign's call.

"So up St. George, and down with Spain!
Long may our Queen in honor reign!
We'll sweep her foes from every sea,
And make this western country free!"

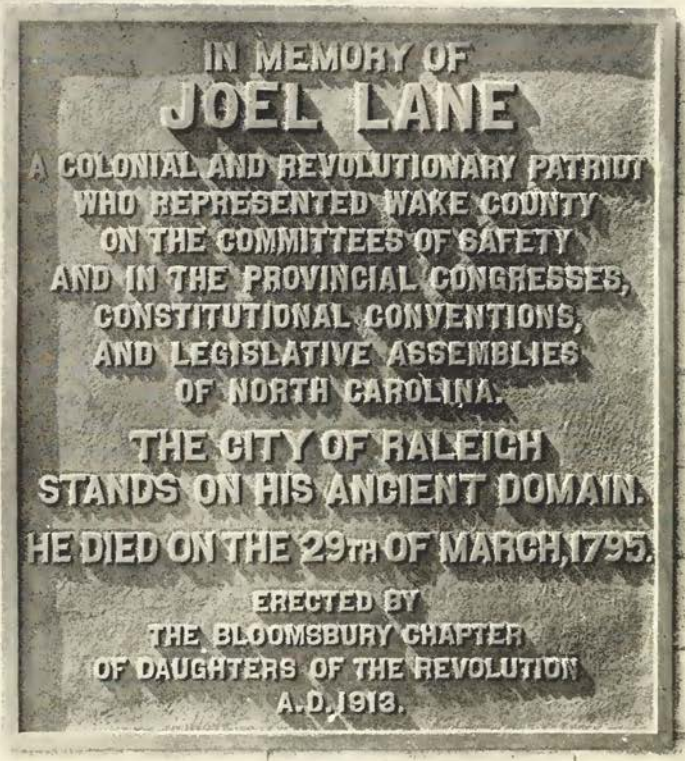
PRESENTATION OF JOEL LANE TABLET TO THE CITY OF RALEIGH

On the morning of the twenty-third of April, 1913, the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, realized one of their cherished dreams when the tablet to the memory of Colonel Joel Lane was formally presented to the city of Raleigh.

It is of bronze, and is placed on the left-hand side of the entrance to the city Municipal Building, a most appropriate location, for to Colonel Lane's influence, more than that of any of the other commissioners who were chosen by the Legislature to select a site for the permanent seat of government for North Carolina, Raleigh owes its location.

The State had been much inconvenienced and had doubtless had many vexatious and petty jealousies to adjust, with a migratory capital, first one place wishing the honor and then another. Meeting in various towns, New Bern, Hillsborough, Halifax, Fayetteville, and once at Joel Lane's residence at Bloomsbury in 1781, when Thomas Burke was made Governor of the State.

In consequence of these disadvantages a law was passed by the Legislature requiring an "unalterable" seat of government, geographically situated as near the center of the State as possible. Men of ability and discretion were chosen to act for the State, and many sites were offered. It was a most difficult problem, but Colonel Lane finally persuaded the other commissioners that the tract of land offered by him was the most desirable. It was a part of the tract upon which he resided, adjacent to the little town of Bloomsbury, which was also called Wake Court House, and which in the lapse of time has merged into the larger town of Raleigh, and its name now only remains a memory.


IN MEMORY OF
JOEL LANE
A COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOT
WHO REPRESENTED WAKE COUNTY
ON THE COMMITTEES OF SAFETY
AND IN THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES,
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS,
AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES
OF NORTH CAROLINA.
THE CITY OF RALEIGH
STANDS ON HIS ANCIENT DOMAIN.
HE DIED ON THE 29TH OF MARCH, 1795.
ERECTED BY
THE BLOOMSBURY CHAPTER
OF DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
A.D. 1913.

The city was laid off into lots and the streets were named by the commissioners. The squares not required for purposes of the State government were sold to private individuals, some of which are still owned by the descendants of the original purchasers. Today those streets lying within the bounds of the original tract are still owned by the State, though the State does not maintain them, and it still owns several squares which were reserved at that time.

Raleigh is situated midway between the mountains and the ocean, in a beautiful rolling country, where the hills of the mountains just begin to merge into the level country of the coast, and as we view our many advantages we are reminded to express ourselves as one of our historians has done, when he said: "Truly, we live in one of the favored regions of the globe." It was a wise forethought of the commissioners when they had incorporated into the law, and also in the deed executed by Colonel Lane, that Raleigh should be the unalterable seat of government for North Carolina.

It was with a sincere appreciation of these benefits that the Daughters of the Revolution desired to place this tablet to Colonel Lane's memory.

The tablet is inscribed:

JOEL LANE

COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOT
WHO REPRESENTED WAKE COUNTY ON THE COMMITTEES OF SAFETY,
AND IN THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES, CONSTITUTIONAL
CONVENTIONS AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES
OF NORTH CAROLINA.

THE CITY OF RALEIGH
STANDS ON HIS ANCIENT DOMAIN.
HE DIED ON THE 29TH OF MARCH, 1795.

ERECTED BY THE BLOOMSBURY CHAPTER,
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION,
A. D. 1913.

The presentation ceremonies were simple, the program being:

Address of Presentation—Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, State Regent Daughters of the Revolution.
Unveiling the Tablet—Miss Hinton.
Acceptance of Tablet—Hon. James Iredell Johnson, Mayor of the City.
Address on Life of Joel Lane—Mr. Joseph G. Brown, President Citizens National Bank.
Benediction—Rev. Milton A. Barber, Rector of Christ Church.

There were quite a number of people present, many of them descendants of Colonel Lane, who expressed their appreciation of the beauty of the tablet and the patriotism of the Daughters.

Miss Hinton, who presented the tablet, is a relative of Colonel Lane's, and her address is as follows:

MISS HINTON'S ADDRESS.

This month, two years ago, the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, in celebration of its first anniversary, presented to our beautiful capital city a boulder and tablet, marking the site of the old town of Bloomsbury. Today we assemble to honor the memory of the man who, although he can not be called the founder of Raleigh, it is an historic fact that it was through his influence that the capital was located at this particular point. To Colonel Lane we owe a standing debt of gratitude, for without his skillful management the location might have been six miles farther east, in which case the health of the inhabitants would probably have been affected by the miasmal vapors of the Neuse.

Colonel Joel Lane was one of the most prominent men of the county in his day. This position was won because he was a man of force and he was progressive. Were he living in this age of wonderful endeavor and achievement he would be as thoroughly at home as he was more than a hundred

years ago, and we have reason to believe that he would have been urged to accept the office of Mayor and Commissioner of Finance, and that he would advocate supplying the reservoirs of the city—not one, but several—with water from the Neuse.

As each year passes our people are more keenly alive to the value of our noble history as a guide for present and future living. This is due partly to the galaxy of historians whom we have cause to regard with pride, whose active pens have been educational, and partly to the zeal of our patriotic orders—these are the co-guardians of nation's and State's glorious past and future resplendent with promise.

By mementoes such as these we, the Daughters of the Revolution are striving to honor the memories of the men and women who labored in the long ago to make our lot happier, and to cause the coming generation to pause and seek the unknown truths, to inspire them to employ their talents in a broader sphere of usefulness.

On behalf of the Bloomsbury Chapter, North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution, and at the special request of our beloved Chapter Regent, Mrs. Hubert Haywood, it affords me extreme pleasure to present to the city of Raleigh, through her most honorable Mayor, Mr. James Iredell Johnson, this memorial tablet, asking their care of the same henceforth, and trusting that it may serve to arouse greater deeds of patriotism.

Mayor Johnson accepted the tablet in a most graceful manner, saying:

MAYOR JOHNSON'S ACCEPTANCE.

State Regent of the Daughters of the Revolution and Regent of the Bloomsbury Chapter:

It was a gracious thought which prompted the donation of the tablet to this great patriot, and it is fitting that the tablet

should be on the walls of the building which stands on the ground owned by him. The whole site of the city was originally owned by Lane, and in days to come visitors will see the tablet and learn of the man. In the name of the city of Raleigh it gives me great pleasure to accept the tablet, and thank the Daughters of the Revolution very much for the magnificent gift.

Mr. Joseph G. Brown, who is one of Colonel Lane's collateral descendants, then made this interesting and instructive talk:

MR. BROWN'S ADDRESS.

It is a very beautiful custom that has grown up in our Southland, and indeed in all sections, of setting apart one day in the joyous springtime as a Memorial Day to the heroes who gave their lives in their country's cause, a day when with loving hearts and tender hands their friends may gather about their last resting places and cover their graves with flowers while, in loving memory, they recall the deeds that made them noble in life and noble in death.

And so, too, it was a beautiful thought, born in a woman's heart, to establish this memorial—to perpetuate the memory of one who, in the days that tried men's souls, stood ever ready to lay upon his country's altar his best services, and, if need be, his life blood.

I can not withhold an expression of appreciation of the loving tenderness with which the Daughters of the Revolution have ever cherished the names and memory of those whose patriotism and devotion to country give just cause for pride to those of us through whose veins their blood courses.

Worthy indeed is your association and it ought to be strengthened in its sacred work. It should not be content,

however, simply to indulge in a pride of ancestry, or to build up a membership, dependent for their own distinction upon the deeds of their forefathers, but rather, by making known the problems which these men had to face and overcome, to induce our young people to emulate their wisdom and their valor.

We can hope for no greater good than to inspire in them a courage and devotion like that their forefathers displayed.

Standing under the shadow of this splendid edifice, which marks the beginning of a new era in the capital city of North Carolina, it requires no little stretch of the imagination to enter into and even for a brief while, to become a part of the life that pulsated in and around the little village of Bloomsbury about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Old South at any point will always be a profitable study. It is, indeed, the one unique page in our national history. To us who are gathered here today there is special interest in the story of that period and of him who has transmitted to so many of us the blood of a noble race.

As some one has well said, "It was in the old South that the first word was spoken that stirred the blood and fired the heart and marked the way of freedom from British tyranny. The very declaration of independence itself was written by a Southern hand, and a Southern General led the ragged Continentals to victory and became the father of a free republic, and for many years it was the guiding hand of patriotic Southern men that shaped the destiny of the young republic."

They were found in places of high position in the army, in the navy, in official and commercial life everywhere, and in all the expansion of the country the spirit of the South was dominant. The thrilling story of the republic can never be told without placing new laurels on the brows of Southern men.

For more than a half century, however, it seems that her scepter had departed, but today we see again the commanding spirit of the South in the persons of the chief magistrate of the nation, and of his associates in the cabinet, on the Supreme Court bench, and now in the Court of St. James, and through them and men of like mould from other sections, we may confidently expect the domination of a spirit of broad patriotism that in affairs of government will know no feeling of sectionalism, no North, no South, but one great country, one united people.

We are proud, and rightly so, of the honors our fathers won and of their achievements, whether on the field of battle or in the public forum.

And this spirit should be cultivated. It is a laudable aspiration to link our names with those of the great men of the past, and to proclaim the virtues of our ancestors. If we will but emulate those virtues our lives may be made the purer and better thereby, and our service to our country more devoted.

In such a spirit have we come today to do honor to one whose memory we revere, who was bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, and to whom so many of us are proud to trace our lineage.

We would perpetuate his memory, and by this tablet commend to those who come after us the heroic virtues which ennobled and made useful his life.

It was far back in the sixteenth century when Sir Ralph Lane, an honored Briton, founded the colony of Roanoke, and became the first English Governor in America, and although he returned to the old country and finally died in Ireland, yet it was not long before other members of the same family were on American soil, and laying the foundation for our own beloved State. They located in Halifax County,

and there was born Joel Lane to whom this tablet is erected. He came to Wake (then a part of Johnston) County in 1750.

The good Lord must have pronounced upon him the same blessing that he bestowed upon the old patriarch, Abraham, "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful and I will make a nation of thee and kings shall come out of thee."

God did bless him, and as the years have chased each other into the great abyss of the past we have seen his children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren occupying the goodly lands in every direction, from sea to sea and from the gulf to the great lakes, until their name has become legion—for they are many, and from their ranks have come, time and again, if not kings, at least princely men and queenly women, Governors and judges and distinguished leaders in civil and military life. There is scarcely a State in the Union that has not felt at some point the touch of their helpful hand, whilst in our own county almost every old family has some trace of their blood.

As far back as 1772 the name of Joel Lane appears on the roster as lieutenant-colonel. He was a member of the first Provincial Congress. For fourteen years he was State Senator, and during the troublous days of the Revolution (1781) the General Assembly met in his home.

In 1792 he deeded one thousand acres for the site of the city of Raleigh, and the ground upon which this building stands was a part of his farm. Some of us are old enough to remember the statements of our parents, as I well remember those of my mother, Lydia Lane, about the killing of deer at a stand just inside the southern entrance of Capitol Square, and of many other interesting incidents of those days, but I have not the time, nor is this the occasion to record and relate them.

It was long before Wake County was established that Joel

Lane settled in Bloomsbury. He was one of the commissioners that laid out the county boundaries.

Its first court was held on June 4, 1771, and both Joel Lane and his brother Joseph were among the members of that tribunal, there being eight others besides them. He was for many years a justice of the court, and during the war its presiding justice. He was a trustee of the State University and in 1791 offered to donate to that institution 640 acres of land if it would locate thereon.

Following his ancestors he was an adherent of the Church of England, he kept the fasts religiously, and led his family in daily devotions.

He occupied many positions of trust and in them all served with great fidelity. The commission to locate the capital of the State, which had no permanent abiding place until 1788, met in his home, and although some criticism was made because, while accepting his hospitality, they selected his land as a permanent site, yet he evidently retained the favor and good will of the people, for he continued to serve them in the Senate as late as 1795, in which year he died.

It is a pity that no stone marks his last resting place. His grave on Boylan Avenue is covered by the home of one of our citizens.

I have endeavored to be brief, so that I might not weary you with a repetition of details that are so thoroughly familiar.

Only a few days ago a well-known local writer, Col. Fred Olds, gave an interesting story of an imaginary visit of Joel Lane to his old home. Instead of the scattered village he found a splendid city, her streets and sidewalks well paved, her business houses modern and well equipped, and some of them almost penetrating the clouds, her little inn replaced by splendid hotels, a beautiful capitol building, a splendid post-

office, a spacious auditorium, an attractive Country Club, reached by cars operated by the same mysterious power that converts her nights into day. And many wonderful things he found the people doing, such as talking with each other at long distances over the wires, speeding across the country in lightning motor cars, and flying through the air like birds.

Little wonder he found no familiar face and nothing to remind him of the Bloomsbury of long ago, and that in his utter loneliness he was content to go peacefully back to his quiet resting place.

It is well thus occasionally to spend a brief while recalling the faces and forms and characteristics of those long gone. Their memories are sacred to us yet. We pay obeisance to our honored dead.

> Yet turn we forward to the future's call,
> By beacon lights of progress onward led,
> And dedicate, whatever fate befall,
> Unto our country's needs, our lives,
> Our strength, our all.

These simple services were closed with the benediction by the Rev. Milton A. Barber, Rector of Christ Episcopal Church, of which Colonel Lane was a most devoted member, and one of its most influential pioneer laymen.

With this conclusion, the Daughters, happy with the thought that they had accomplished the object for which they had so pleasantly worked together, and with thanks to the many friends who had given them assistance, bade each other good-bye, with renewed affection and esteem.

Emily Benbury Haywood,
(Mrs. Hubert Haywood)
Regent Bloomsbury Chapter, D. R.

Raleigh, N. C., May 27, 1913.

DEED OF JOEL LANE FOR SITE OF CITY OF RALEIGH

This Identure made the fifth day of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred & ninety two, between Joel Lane, Esquire of Wake County, of one part, and Alexander Martin, Esquire, Governor of the State of North Carolina, of the other part, Witnesseth that the said Joel Lane, for the sum of one thousand three hundred & seventy eight pounds, current money of North Carolina, to him paid by Frederick Hargate, Esquire, Chairman of the Board of Commissioners appointed by Act of Assembly passed in dec^{r} in the year one thousand seven hundred & ninety one, to determine on the place for holding the future meetings of the General Assembly and for the residence of the Chief Officers of the State of North Carolina—the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged—Hath granted, bargained & sold, aliened and enfeoffed, released and confirmed and by these presents Doth grant, bargain, & sell, alien and enfeoff, release and confirm to the said Alexander Martin, Esquire and his Successors in Office for the time being a certain tract or parcel of Land in Wake County to the Eastward of and near to Wake Court-house, containing One thousand acres, more or less and bound as follows: Beginning at four sasafras, two white oaks, two persimmons, and an elm on Rocky Branch, thence north ten degrees East three hundred & thirty four poles to a stake in the Run of a Spring Branch, thence East three hundred and twenty seven poles to a small Hickory & Red Oak, near a craggy Rock—thence north forty poles to a stake near a Red Oak—then East one hundred and fifty eight poles to a Stake in the center of a Red-Oak a Hickory & two post Oaks,—then South two hundred & eighty one poles to a White Oak in Joshua Suggs Line,—then South fifty seven degrees west two hundred &

fifty six poles to a young Hickory,—then North eighty four degrees west one hundred and thirty poles to a Post Oak—then west one hundred and forty eight poles to a White Oak on the Rocky Branch,—then up the Branch, the various courses thereof to the Beginning; and all the Woods, Timber, Trees, Ways, Waters, Springs, Emoluments & advantages to said tract of land belonging:—To have & to hold the said Tract of Land, with all the Appurtenances, to the said Alexander Martin Esquire, and his Successors in Office for the time being for the sole use & benefit of the State of North Carolina forever,—And the said Joel Lane, for himself & his Heirs, doth covenant bargain & agree to & with the said Alexander Martin Esquire & his Successors in Office: that he the said Joel Lane & his Heirs shall & will warrant & defend the premises, with the appurtenances to the said Alexander Martin & his successors in Office for the time being, for the Benefit of the State as aforesaid against himself & his Heirs, and against the lawful claim of all persons forever, —In witness whereof the said Joel Lane hath hereunto put his Hand & Seal the day & year first above mentioned.

JOEL LANE (Seal)

Signed sealed & delivered
in presence of
WM. CHRISTMAS
WILLIE JONES
JOSEPH BROWN
Ackd.
April 5th 1792—

Received of Frederick Harget, Esquire chairman of the Board of Commissioners authorized to purchase Lands for the permanent Seat of Government a warrant on the Treasurer

for the sum of One thousand three hundred & seventy eight pounds currency, in full of the consideration Money above mentioned. JOEL LANE

Ackd.

Witness

THOS. BLOUNT.

Wake County. June Term, 1792.

Then was the above Deed duly acknowledged in Open Court by Joel Lane Esq. and ordered to be registered.

H. LANE C. C.

Enrolled in the Registers Office of Wake County in Book L and page (illegible) this 6th day of June 1792.

JAS. HINTON Register

Examd. by SOL GOODRICH.

Surveyed for the Governor of the State for the time being & his Successors in office for the use of the State by order of the Commissioners appointed by the General Assembly to fix on and purchase a place for the future and unalterable place for the Seat of Government A Tract of Land containing One Thousand Acres, the Courses & Distances as described in the Above Plot. WM. CHRISTMAS, *Surv'r.*

31st. Day March 1792.

ROWAN COUNTY MARRIAGE BONDS

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. M. G. McCUBBINS.

Josua Cox to Mary Neal. May 17, 1769. Joshua Cox, Adam Mitchell, Thomas Niel, and Richard Cox. Witnesses: John Duncan, William Bostin (?), and Samuel (his X mark) Shaw.

John Conger, jr., to Mary Ross. June 5, 1769. John Conger and Jonathan Conger. (Thomas Frohock.) A note of consent from John Conger, dated June 5.

Anthony Coons (Coors?) to Roxanna Simmons. June 16, 1769. Anthony (his X mark) Coons, Peter Simmons? (in Dutch), and Benj^{n} Milner. (John Frohock.)

John Cook (Coots?) to Mary McCueston. July 18, 1769. John Coots, Hugh Foster, Walter McCueston, and Francis McNary(?). (Thomas Frohock and William Mebane.)

Robert Cherry to Sarah McCuistan. July 31, 1769. Robert Cherry, John McCuistin, and John Anderson. (Charles McAnaley.)

John Cole to Nancy Purlee. August 26, 1769. John Cole, Adam Harmon (Herin?). (Thomas Frohock.)

James Cathey to Isabell Sloan. February 14, 1770. James Cathey, Arch^{d} Sloan, and Robert Gordon. (John Frohock.)

Joseph Cartwright to Eve Miller. March 24, 1770. Joseph Cartwright and Michael Miller. (Thomas Frohock.)

David Collins to Thompson (or Thompsey) Posting. October 1, 1772. David (his X mark) Collins, Henry Zevely, and Alex Brown.

William Craige to Ann McPherson (or McApherson). October 7, 1772. William Craig and William Steel. The bride's brother, Joseph McPherson, gives note of consent,

dated October 2, 1772 (as bride is an orphan) and Susanna Linn is a witness. (Max: Chambers.)

Hugh Campbell to Elizabeth Greer. October 15, 1772. Hugh Campbell, Robert Rogers, and Robert Linn. (Ad: Osborn, C. C.) A note from bride's father, Robert (his X mark) Greer, giving his consent, October 15, 1772. Witnesses: James White and Samuel Jirwin.

William Cathey to Else Hagan. October 24, 1772. Will Cathey and John Hagin.

Thomas Caradine to Elizabeth Bell. January 7, 1773. Thomas Caradene and John Cathey. (Ad: Osborn.) A note of consent from bride's father, Thomas Bell, dated January 6, 1773, and witnessed by David Roan.

QUERY

Simon Murphy and Sarah Duke were married in North Carolina about 1760. He came from Virginia and she, I think, lived in North Carolina. They came to the upper part of South Carolina and settled in Union County soon after marriage. They had two sons in the Revolutionary War. Simon may have fought also. Can any one give me information about the Duke family? Address,

Mrs. L. D. Childs,
2202 Plain Street,
Columbia, S. C.

RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. SOPHRONIA HORNER WINSTON, BORN SEPT. 24, 1861; DIED FEB. 18, 1913

IN MEMORIAM

WHEREAS, God in His divine love and wisdom has called from the blessings of her earthly home to the brighter life of "the Great Beyond" our beloved member, Mrs. Sophia Horner Winston; therefore be it

Resolved, That the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, mourns the inexpressible loss sustained in her death.

That they are truly thankful for the radiating influence of her beautiful life, whose talents were conscientiously employed for the uplifting of mankind, her State, and her country, and are cognizant of the fact that our Society has lost one of its most brilliant, useful and faithful members, who though associated but a short period with our organization, has left there the impress of her phenomenal gifts.

That they will miss through the coming years her wise counsel and the inspiring enthusiasm and optimism that her presence ever insured, fully realizing that to have known and been associated with her has been a rare privilege.

That we tender to the bereaved family our warmest sympathy in this great sorrow.

That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Society and a copy sent to the family.

MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
MARTHA H. HAYWOOD,
MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD,
Committee.

ELIZABETH THROCKMORTON, LADY RALEIGH

From an engraving in the collection of A. B. Andrews, Jr.

Vol. XIII OCTOBER, 1913 No. 2

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by

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SIR WALTER RALEIGH*

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT OLD FORT RALEIGH ON ROANOKE ISLAND, NORTH CAROLINA, AT THE CELEBRATION OF VIRGINIA DARE DAY, AUGUST 19, 1913.

BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD,

Member Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, General Historian of the Sons of the Revolution, Historian of the Masonic Grand Lodge of North Carolina, Historiographer of the Diocese of North Carolina, etc.

My Friends and Fellow-Countrymen:

To be invited to appear before this company today, amid such inspiring surroundings, is an honor which might well flatter the pride of any true American, and I value it most highly. For many years I have been a member of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, but never until last night was it my privilege to set foot upon Roanoke Island.

The purchase and reclamation of the site on which stand the remains of this old fortress were due to the efforts of the late Professor Edward Graham Daves, a native North Carolinian residing in the city of Baltimore. This scholarly gentleman associated with himself a number of patriotic persons who were interested in historical and antiquarian work, and soon raised funds sufficient for the purchase of Fort Raleigh. During the Christmas holidays of 1893, I first had the pleasure of forming the acquaintance of Professor Daves when he came to my home town and delivered an interesting and instructive lecture on Roanoke Island and the daring Englishmen who first discovered and colonized it. In the

*Owing to the length of this paper, parts were omitted in delivery.

THE BOYHOOD OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH

After a painting by Sir John Millais

following April I spent several happy days at his hospitable home in Baltimore, and there learned more of the work he had so much at heart, but a few months later I was greatly shocked to hear of his death, which occurred while he was on a visit to Boston. His only son at present surviving is Mr. John Collins Daves, of Baltimore, now vice-president of this Association. From its organization up to the time of his death, Professor Daves was president of the Association, and he was succeeded in office by his no less patriotic brother Major Graham Daves, of New Bern, in this State, who zealously pushed forward the work. After the death of Major Daves, which occurred in 1902, Vice-President William D. Pruden became acting president, and later was succeeded by the present incumbent, the Reverend Robert Brent Drane, D.D. Both Mr. Pruden and Doctor Drane have rendered and are still rendering valuable services to the good cause of keeping alive the glorious memories of this spot.

Nor must I fail to mention those who have filled the office of Secretary-Treasurer of this Association. The first Secretary-Treasurer was Professor John Spencer Bassett, a student and teacher of history, born in our State but now residing in Massachusetts. Upon his resignation, Mr. A. B. Andrews, Jr., of Raleigh, was chosen. Miss Leah D. Jones (now Mrs. Charles L. Stevens), of New Bern, next succeeded; and, in turn, gave place to Mr. William Blount Shepard, of Edenton, who discharged the duties of that office until his much-lamented death last January. Mr. Shepard's successor is the present capable and energetic incumbent, Dr. Richard Dillard, also of Edenton.

In making choice of a subject on which to speak this morning, I have selected Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the greatest men of whom the annals of England can boast, and also one of the most versatile—statesman, colonizer, explorer, fort-builder, ship-builder, historian, courtier, soldier, sailor,

scientist, chemist, poet, and orator. An English writer, Hepworth Dixon, has said: "Raleigh is still a power among us; a power in the Old World and in the New World; hardly less visible in England than in America, where the beautiful capital of a chivalrous nation bears his name." To Raleigh belonged the masterful mind and guiding hand which first sent forth English civilization to this continent and this spot more than three centuries ago.

There are countless variations in the spelling of the surname Raleigh,* but only one pronunciation—with a very broad Devonshire accent on the first syllable, as if it were written Rawley, and that was the way it was written when young Walter was entered as a student at the University of Oxford. He himself wrote it Ralegh, in later life. Historians, as a general rule, use the orthography Raleigh, which is the form I shall adopt—from force of habit, as our State so named its capital city, wherein I have spent my life.

When this land of ours was first discovered the "Virgin Queen" of England called it Virginia in honor of herself, but let me remind you that *North Carolina* is the "Virginia" of Queen Elizabeth and Sir Walter Raleigh. The present State of Virginia was not settled until 1607, when Elizabeth had been in her grave four years and when the heroic Raleigh was mewed up in the Tower of London by that great Queen's unworthy successor. The eminent English historian, James Anthony Froude, in his work entitled *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century,* says: "Of Raleigh there remains nothing in Virginia save the name of the city called after him." Ladies and gentlemen, there *is* a very small village called Raleigh somewhere in West Virginia (which State was a part of Virginia until 1862), but I have personal knowledge of the fact that Doctor Froude was slightly mistaken in his supposition that the "city of Raleigh"—North Carolina's

*Stebbing's Life of Raleigh, pp. 30-31.

beautiful capital—is in Virginia. I was born in the city of Raleigh, my home still stands within its limits; and it grieves me beyond measure to see so great a historian as Froude complacently present my native town to our sister State of Virginia. I refuse to be moved in any such way. And then, too, Virginia has recently drawn so heavily upon North Carolina in the matter of *men* that she should be willing for us to keep both the city of Raleigh and Roanoke Island with this old fortress built by Sir Walter's colonists. There is scarcely an institution of any importance in Virginia today which has not had to come to North Carolina for its president. Among these are the University of Virginia, Washington and Lee University, the Union Theological Seminary, the Randolph-Macon Woman's College, the Virginia Life Insurance Company, and the Virginia Trust Company, while the general manager (though not titular president) of the Old Dominion Trust Company is also a North Carolinian. In view of all this, Ladies and Gentlemen, it does seem to me that Virginia should be duly grateful for what North Carolina has already done for her, and leave us in the quiet and undisturbed possession of Roanoke Island and our capital city of Raleigh.

But I am drifting from my subject. I came here not to discourse upon self-exiled North Carolinians residing in Virginia, but to call your attention to the career of Sir Walter Raleigh, under whose patronage came the English explorers who claimed this land in the name of Queen Elizabeth in the year of our Lord 1584.

It may be well to state, at the outset, a fact already known to most of you, that Raleigh himself never saw the North American continent, though he was twice in South America. Nevertheless his was the world-vision and his was the purse without which the expeditions to this place would not have been undertaken so soon.

Many of my hearers may recall the striking observation of Macaulay concerning the navy of Great Britain in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Said that historian: "There were gentlemen and there were seamen in the navy of Charles II. But the seamen were not gentlemen, and the gentlemen were not seamen." However true this may have been in the days of King Charles, it was widely different in the reign of his great predecessor Queen Elizabeth, many of whose fleets and vessels were commanded by men of high birth as well as approved valor. Sea-fighting was then considered a gentleman's trade, and there was no surer road to the Queen's favor than to join the ranks of those who were her main reliance when struggling with Spain for the freedom of the seas. In all England there was no shire so prolific of these hardy aventurers as Devon, the birthplace of Raleigh. Says the novelist Kingsley: "It was the men of Devon, the Drakes and Hawkinses, Gilberts and Raleighs, Grenvilles and Oxenhams, and a host more of 'forgotten worthies' whom we shall learn one day to honor as they deserve, to whom England owes her commerce, her colonies, her very existence." Sir Walter Raleigh was related by blood to the Gilberts, Grenvilles, and Drakes, as well as other noted Devonshire families, including the Courtneys, Carews, St. Legers, and Russells.

In a recent biography of Sir Walter Raleigh by William Stebbing (who uses the orthography Ralegh) an account of the Raleigh family is given as follows: "The Raleghs were an old Devonshire family, once wealthy and distinguished. At one period five knightly branches of the house flourished simultaneously in the county. In the reign of Henry III a Ralegh had been Justiciary. There were genealogists who, though others doubted, traced the stock to the Plantagenets through an intermarriage with the Clares. The Clare arms have been found quartered with those of Ralegh on a Ralegh

pew in East Budleigh Church. The family had held Smallridge, near Axminster, from before the Conquest. Since the reign of Edward III it had been seated on the edge of Dartmoor, at Fardell. There it built a picturesque mansion and chapel. The Raleghs of Fardell were, writes Polwhele, 'esteemed ancient gentlemen.' But the rapacious lawyers of Henry VII had discovered some occasion against Wimund Ralegh, the head of the family in their day. They thought him worth the levy of a heavy fine for misprision of treason; and he had to sell Smallridge." Wimund Raleigh, whose wife was a Grenville, left a son Walter, born in 1497. This Walter engaged at times in seafaring, and owned three separate estates, viz.: Fardell, Colaton-Raleigh, Wythecombe-Raleigh, and Bollams. His third wife was Mrs. Katherine Gilbert, widow of Otho Gilbert of Compton Castle and Greenway Castle, and a daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun of Modbury. To this marriage were born several children, among whom was Sir Walter Raleigh, of whom I shall speak today.

Walter Raleigh, afterwards known to fame as Sir Walter Raleigh, was born at Hayes, in Budleigh Parish, Devonshire. Some accounts give 1552 as the year of his birth, though the inscriptions on several of his oldest engraved portraits seem to indicate that he was born in 1554. Two pictures, slightly differing, of the house where he was born may be found in the first volume of the *History of North Carolina,* by Francis L. Hawks, and in the fifth volume of *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography.* Raleigh's father, having determined that his son should have educational advantages becoming his station in life, entered him as a student in Oriel College at the University of Oxford, in 1568. In the following year young Raleigh went abroad and pursued his studies in the University of France, but left that institution to fight as a volunteer under the renowned Huguenot leaders the Prince

de Condé and Admiral Coliguy. He was present at the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour; but was absent from Paris, though still in France, at the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. In 1576 he was again in London, but a year or two later went to the Netherlands and assisted the Hollanders in their warfare against the Spaniards under the Duke of Alva.

Soon after Raleigh's return to England from the Netherlands his thoughts began to turn to the New World beyond the seas. His eldest half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, had set hope on western discoveries as early as 1566, but at that time Queen Elizabeth was unwilling for him to absent himself from Ireland, where he was president of the English colony recently established in Munster. By 1578, however, Gilbert renewed his efforts, and was engaged in fitting out a fleet of eleven ships at Dartmouth, in Devonshire. This enterprise Raleigh joined, but only seven of the eleven ships could be gotten to sea. Gilbert was Admiral of the fleet, Carew (afterwards Sir Carew) Raleigh, a brother of Walter, was Vice-Admiral, and Walter Raleigh commanded the *Falcon*. Though Gilbert had announced that he was going on a voyage of discovery, the unusually heavy armament carried by his ships led many to believe that the "discovery" of Spaniards was his chief aim. This fleet went to the Azores, and possibly as far as the West Indies, engaged in an undecisive fight with a Spanish sea-force, and lost one ship, which foundered in a gale—the others returning to Dartmouth in 1579.

After his return to England with Gilbert's fleet, Raleigh spent some time in London; and, in June, 1580, was sent to Ireland as captain of a company which was to operate against the insurgent natives and their Spanish allies, the latter of whom had landed in that country to join forces with the enemies of England. These Spaniards, with the assistance of some Italians, had built Fort del Oro at Smerwick in county

Kerry, and had heavily garrisoned that stronghold. The Lord Deputy of Ireland, Baron Grey of Wilton, together with the sea forces of Admiral Sir William Winter, besieged this fort in due time, and it later surrendered unconditionally. By Lord Grey's order, Raleigh and one Macworth (another officer of the besiegers) marched in and put to the sword more than four hundred Spaniards and Italians, also hanging such of the Irish as could be found there. Some of the foreign officers of rank were spared and held for ransom. Though Lord Grey gave the order for this butchery, we are forced to doubt if Raleigh had any scruples in performing his part of the bloody work. Of him his biographer Stebbing says: "Towards American Indians he could be gentle and just. His invariable rule with Irishmen and Anglo-Irishmen was to crush." While Raleigh remained in Ireland he engaged in numerous skirmishes with the insurgents, also serving as a member of the temporary commission for the government of Munster. Returning to England in 1581, he first attracted the personal notice of the Queen by throwing his handsome cloak over a muddy place in her pathway at Greenwich, thereby saving her shoes from being soiled. This incident was first recorded in 1662 (less than fifty years after Raleigh's death) by Fuller in his *Worthies of England*. Sir Walter Scott, as many of my hearers may remember, gives a graphic account of this piece of gallantry in the novel *Kenilworth*.

Whatever may have been the cause of Raleigh's rise in the favor of Queen Elizabeth, he soon became a man of great wealth in consequence of patents and monopolies received through royal grants. In 1583 he was given portions of all revenues from the wine licenses of the kingdom, thereafter aggregating from eight hundred to two thousand pounds sterling per annum. In 1584 he was knighted—an honor always sparingly bestowed by the hand of Elizabeth. In the

year following he was made "Warden of the Stannaries"—which, translated into our American language, means Supervisor of the Tin Mines. He became Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall, and Vice-Admiral of the two counties of Cornwall and Devon in 1585. In 1585 and 1586 he represented the shire of Devon in Parliament; and, in the latter year, obtained a vast land-grant (about forty thousand acres) in the Irish counties of Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary. This grant also included the salmon fisheries of Blackwater. He received, in 1587, grants of English lands in the shires of Lincoln, Derby, and Nottingham, which had been forfeited by Anthony Babington and other conspirators against the life of Elizabeth. He also became Captain of the Queen's Guard, thereby being thrown into personal attendance upon Her Majesty.

I have already spoken of Raleigh's venture with Sir Humphrey Gilbert when the latter's fleet went on a western voyage in 1578. In 1583 Gilbert fitted out another expedition of a similar nature. In his fleet of five vessels the largest was the bark *Raleigh,* furnished by Sir Walter Raleigh, who earnestly desired to command it in person, but the Queen needed his services at home, and forbade his departure from England. After two days sailing, the *Raleigh* left the remainder of Gilbert's fleet and returned to Plymouth, on account of sickness which had broken out among her crew, but the admiral continued on his way with his four remaining ships. He finally reached a place which is now a part of Newfoundland, and formally took possession of that locality in the name of Queen Elizabeth. The expedition to Newfoundland was the last voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. On his return he refused to take refuge in his largest ship, the *Golden Hind,* but cast his fortunes with those who manned the *Squirrel,* a little craft of ten tons, whose decks were already overburdened with heavy ordnance. In the midst of a great storm, south

of the Azores, the heroic Gilbert was last seen, calmly sitting in his little ship with a book in hand, while night was approaching. As he got within hailing distance of his comrades on the other vessels he called out the ever-memorable words "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land," and a little later his anxious friends on the *Golden Hind* saw the lights of the *Squirrel* disappear from the face of the waters.

The tragic ending of this voyage of his beloved brother did not deter Sir Walter Raleigh from further efforts to colonize America. In 1584, the year following, on the 25th of March (which was New Year's Day under the old Julian Calendar, then in use) he secured from Queen Elizabeth a charter or Letters Patent, empowering him or his heirs and assigns to "discover, search, find out, and view such remote heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people." He was also authorized to fortify any new settlements made under his authority and to "encounter and expulse, repel and resist, as well by sea as by land, and by all other ways whatsoever, all and every such person or persons whatsoever, as without the especial liking and license of the said Walter Raleigh, and his heirs and assigns, shall attempt to inhabit within the said countries." It was provided that the laws enacted for the government of the new settlements should be "as conveniently as may be, agreeable to the form of the laws, statutes, government, or policy of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith now professed in the Church of England." This charter contained many other provisions, which it is not my purpose here to quote. Suffice it to say that Raleigh was thereby given what he most desired—an opportunity to extend the sovereignty of England over the lands and waters of the New World.

For the carrying out of his plans, Raleigh secured the

services of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, two stalwart English sea-captains, and fitted up for their use two barks, "well furnished with men and victuals," in which they sailed out of the Thames on the 27th of April, 1584. Fortunately for history, a record of this voyage has been preserved in the volumes of Hakluyt, it being in the form of a report to Sir Walter Raleigh, written by Captain Barlowe. On June 10th the explorers reached the Canaries, and just a month later wended their way through the West Indies. They found the climate there very unwholesome, and many members of the two crews were taken sick. They tarried twelve days to recuperate and take on fresh supplies, and then struck out for this locality where good climate may always be found in abundance. Delicate odors from our Carolina coast were wafted to them before they sighted land, for Barlowe tells us that on the 2d of July "we smelled so sweet and so strong a smell as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured that the land could not be far distant; and, keeping good watch and bearing but slack sail, the fourth of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land, and we sailed along the same a hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance or river issuing into the sea."

Though the above quoted record says that the voyagers first reached our coast on the 4th of July, we must remember that the Independence Day we now celebrate on the Fourth of July does not fall on the same anniversary; for, between the Julian Calendar or "old style" then used and the Gregorian Calendar or "new style" now used, there is a difference of ten days, making July 14th the present anniversary of the coming of Raleigh's first expedition in 1584.*

*In the 18th century (Washington's birthday for example) the difference was eleven days, not ten.

As already stated, Captains Amadas and Barlowe sailed up our coast one hundred and twenty miles before effecting a landing. Finally an inlet was discovered, and the explorers sailed in. Barlowe tells us that "after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither," two boats were manned and a landing effected. After this, formal proclamation was made, declaring that England's sovereign was "rightful Queen and Princess of the same," and that the newly discovered country should be held for the use of Sir Walter Raleigh by authority of the Letters Patent issued to him by Her Majesty.

Some difference of opinion exists as to which of the numerous North Carolina inlets Amadas and Barlowe first entered. Many believe that the inlet they used has since been closed by storms which have piled up sand-bars where the old channel ran. It is not my purpose to discuss that matter here. It is sufficient for us to know that they were "conducted in safety to the haven where they would be," that they first returned thanks to God for deliverance from the dangers of the deep, and then began viewing the lands adjacent to their anchorage.

The narrative of Captain Barlowe goes quite into detail explaining the habits and traits of the natives, the location of lands and waters, the fauna and flora of the country, and many other interesting conditions there existing, but too long here to be quoted.

The ships were anchored for two days before any natives were seen by the explorers. On the third day they espied a small boat containing three men. Two of these remained in their canoe, and the third walked up the shore near the ships, later being taken on board and presented with some articles of apparel. After viewing the ships with interest, he returned to his own boat, later beginning to fish, and came back with a large supply of fresh fish which he presented to the English. The next day numerous Indians were seen in

small boats, among them being Granganimeo, brother of the savage monarch who held sway in that locality. The king himself, Wingina by name, had recently been wounded and hence was unable to do the honors of the occasion. Granganimeo left his boats and came up the shore, followed by forty of his braves. These spread a mat upon the ground, and the king's brother seated himself thereon, as did four of his principal followers. When the English approached the shore, they were invited to a seat on the mat by the Indians. Then Granganimeo "made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and breast, and afterwards on those of his visitors, to show that all were one, at the same time smiling and making the best show he could of all love and familiarity."

Speaking of the natives Captain Barlowe says: "After they had been divers times aboard the ships, myself, with seven more, went twenty miles into the river that runs towards the city of Skycoak, which river they call Occam; and the evening following we came to an island which they call Roanoak, distant from the harbor, by which we entered, seven leagues." Thus was this island of Roanoke discovered by the English. On it was a small village of nine houses, well fortified after the Indian fashion. Granganimeo being absent from this village, his wife came to the waterside to meet the explorers, and entertained them with much pomp and ceremony, commanding her tribesmen to attend their wants, and feasting them with a profusion of savage hospitality. Of the natives it is recorded: "We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age."

After trading with the Indians for some time, learning as much as they could of the country, and mapping the outlines of the coast for future use, the explorers once more betook themselves to their ships and sailed back to England,

arriving safely about the middle of September. They took with them two natives, Wanchese and Manteo, of whom I shall have more to say later on.

At the end of Captain Barlowe's narrative is a "record of some of the particular gentlemen and men of account" who were witnesses of the events which had transpired. They were: Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, Captains; and William Greenvile, John Wood, James Browewich, Henry Greene, Benjamin Wood, Simon Ferdinando, Nicholas Petman, and John Hewes, members of the ship's company.

One laughable mistake occurred during the stay of the English in the vicinity of Roanoke Island. When they first arrived, they pointed to the mainland and made signs to an Indian that they wished to know the name by which the whole continent was called. The Indian, not understanding, replied: "Win-gan-da-coa." So it was duly reported to Sir Walter Raleigh that the domain which the Queen had granted him was named "Wingandacoa," and it was formally recorded under that name in the contemporaneous descriptions and on the maps of the newly discovered country. When later voyagers learned more of the dialect used by the savages, they ascertained that when the Indian had said "Win-gan-da-coa" his remark (when translated) meant: "You wear gay clothes."

When Amadas and Barlowe returned to England with their tales of strange adventure, and glowing accounts of the discoveries they had made, also showing Wanchese and Manteo in their wild and gorgeous costumes, the effect on the public mind was almost magical. Sturdy adventurers of all ranks and classes eagerly sought an opportunity to gain fortunes in expeditions across the Atlantic. Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen," was so impressed with the accounts brought back by Amadas and Barlowe that she named the new land "Virginia" in honor of her single condition in life. As for Sir

Walter Raleigh, his fame spread far and wide, and he at once sought opportunities to send forth other fleets. As commander of his next expedition he was fortunate in securing the services of his kinsman, Sir Richard Grenville, member of an ancient Devonshire family whose name has been spelled in almost as many ways as that of Raleigh. Sir Richard himself signed it "Greynvil," the printed accounts of his voyages have it recorded "Greenville" and "Granville," many (if not all) of his descendants write it "Granville," and historians generally use the orthography "Grenville," which last mentioned style I shall adopt. The naval annals of the world can not boast of a more heroic figure than this selfsame Sir Richard Grenville, who was afterwards mortally wounded while fighting one English vessel, the *Revenge,* against a Spanish fleet of fifty-three ships—an exploit immortalized by Tennyson in his poem *The Revenge, a ballad of the fleet,* 1591.

It was on the 9th day of April, 1585, that Sir Richard Grenville sailed out of Plymouth with the second expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh. Grenville's fleet consisted of the following ships: the *Tiger,* the *Roe-Buck,* the *Lion,* the *Elizabeth,* the *Dorothy,* and two small pinnaces. The "principal gentlemen" in this expedition are set down as Master Ralph Lane, Master Thomas Candish [Cavendish], Master John Arundell, Master Raymund, Master Stukeley, Master Bremige, Master Vincent, and Master John Clarke. Some of these, we are told, were captains, and others were needed for their "counsel and good discretion." Among these latter were Thomas Hariot, the historian of events occurring on the voyage, and John White, an artist whose paintings of Indian life are still preserved in the British Museum. We shall learn more of White later on. Ralph Lane, who afterwards won the honor of knighthood, was Grenville's second in command, and was later left at Roanoke Island as Governor of the

Colony. After leaving England on its voyage to America, the fleet touched at the Canaries and Antilles, and then anchored at Cotesa, a small island near the island of St. John. The voyagers rested a day at Cotesa, and then sailed over to Mosquito Bay, on the island of St. John. There Grenville landed with some of his men and erected a fortification, later adding to his fleet by building a new pinnance, which was finished and launched on the 23d of May. The Spaniards on the island sent a flag of truce and protested against the erection of this fortress, but Grenville somewhat cooled their resentment by saying he had only stopped for supplies; that he would depart from their shores in peace if these supplies were furnished, but would use force if they were not. The Spaniards promised compliance, but failed to keep their word, whereupon Grenville set fire to his fortification and sailed away, bent on squaring up matters with the Dons. Within the next two days he captured two Spanish frigates, ransomed the officers and some passengers of rank, and placed Lane in command of one of these vessels. The fleet needing salt, Captain Lane went to the southwest side of the island of St. John, and landed twenty men who threw up an entrenchment, after which they commenced to get salt. We are told that, when the Spaniards beheld Lane, there "came down towards him two or three troops of horsemen and footmen, who gave him the looking and gazing on but durst not come near him to offer any resistance." So Lane sailed off and rejoined the fleet, after which they went to the island of Hispaniola (now called Hayti), which was reached on the 1st of June. Upon news of their arrival at Hispaniola, the Spanish Governor sent them a courteous message, promising to call and pay his respects. He accordingly came on the 5th of June, "accompanied by a lusty friar and twenty other Spaniards, with their servants and negroes." Thereupon Grenville, with his officers and various crews, dressed up in

their gayest attire to receive them. The English, both officers and men, were feasted sumptuously and provided with all manner of costly entertainment during their stay, and left with great good will towards the Spaniards, though the chronicler of those events stated in his narrative that the Englishmen believed that the courtesy of the Spaniards was due to fear of Grenville's formidable armament. If the Spaniards had been stronger, it was added, the English might have received the same treatment which had been accorded their countrymen Sir John Hawkins at San Juan d'Ulloa, Captain John Oxenham near the Straits of Darien, and divers others who had tasted Spanish cruelty.

After leaving Hispaniola, Grenville's fleet touched at numerous small islands on its voyage northward, and finally came to the coast of what is now North Carolina but which these explorers called Florida. On the 23d of June, it was stated that they "were in great danger of a wreck on a breach called the Cape of Fear." On the 26th, Ocracoke Inlet (then called Wococon) was reached, and two days later the *Tiger* was run aground and sunk through the treachery (not then discovered) of Simon Ferdinando, by whom she was piloted. The settlers sent word of their arrival to King Wingina at Roanoke Island on July 3d, and three days later Manteo, who had returned to America with the voyagers, was sent ashore.

Fearing to go further through the inland waters in the large ships, many of the officers and crew set off, on July 11th, in well armed and fully provisioned pinnaces and other small boats to explore the mainland. On the 16th of July occurred the first act of English hostility towards the Indians—the beginning of countless bloody onslaughts and savage reprisals which were to follow throughout the succeeding centuries and extend down to a time within the memory of men still living. An Indian had stolen a silver cup belonging to one of the Englishmen. A party was sent to demand its

return. This demand not being complied with, the village and grain crops of the Indians were burned (the savages themselves having fled), and the attacking party returned to the fleet, on the 18th, at Wococon or Ocracoke Inlet.

At the end of July the English received a call from their old friend Granganimeo, who visited the fleet in company with Manteo. Granganimeo was shown through the ships of the fleet, and kindly entertained during his stay.

On August 5, 1585, Captain John Arundell, having been ordered to return to England, did so. The remainder of the fleet, under Sir Richard Grenville, set sail on August 25th, leaving a garrison or colony of one hundred and seven men on Roanoke Island.* The English Governor or "General" of the colony was Ralph Lane, heretofore mentioned. These colonists under Lane remained on the island nearly a year. Of Lane personally, the historian Hawks observes: "He had the rough courage of a soldier of his day, he endured hardships with his men, he had judgment to see that Roanoke Island was not a proper site for the colony, and to devise a plan by which two parties, one on the land and the other on the water, should attempt to meet and find on the Chesapeake Bay a better locality, of which he had heard from an Indian prince, his prisoner. He had wit and prudence enough to secure the fidelity of that prisoner by keeping his only son as a hostage; he pursued the wise policy of attaching that son to him by great personal kindness. * * * The personal attachment he had created in his young hostage was the means of discovering a widespread plot for the destruction of the colony by the natives." The young hostage, just mentioned, was Skiko, son of Monatonon, King of the Chawanooks or Chowan Indians. When Skiko was first captured, he attempted to escape, and Lane threatened to have his head cut off, thereby frightening him into better discipline. He

*For list of colonists under Lane, see Hakluyt (1810 edition), Vol. III, pp. 310-311.

later treated him with marked kindness, in consequence of which he remained a friend of the English throughout the remainder of their stay.

Lane's only sources of information concerning the interior of the country, except that in his immediate neighborhood, were the statements made to him by the Indians, and hence his accounts are not always accurate. Like the ancient Herodotus (who recorded the wonderful tales told him by all travelers and thereby gained an unenviable reputation for mendacity) Lane was often misled, but narratives of what came under his personal observation are trustworthy. One laughable inaccuracy in the geographical knowledge of the early settlers (probably based on Indian authority) was the belief that a near-by river flowed out of the Gulf of Mexico or some bay in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean! Another account said that this river gushed out of a huge rock at its source, and this rock was so close to a great western sea that in storms "the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh stream, so that the fresh water, for a certain space, groweth salt and brackish."

During the stay of Lane's colony at Roanoke, Granganimeo died, and thereby the English lost a trusty friend. Upon his death, for some reason not given, his brother, King Wingina, changed his name to Pemisapan. Thereafter he entered into numerous confederacies with other tribes for the destruction of the whites, but these conspiracies were thwarted by the vigilance, courage, and sagacity of Lane, aided by timely warnings from Manteo, young Skiko, and other friendly Indians. Old Ensenore, father of King Wingina *alias* Pemisapan, was also friendly to the colonists, but he died on the 20th of April 1586. Wanchese, who had gone to England in company with the friendly Manteo, became a lifelong enemy of the English, for some cause which does not now appear to be recorded.

Soon after the death of the King's father, the Indians (having no one to restrain their unfriendly designs) entered into a gigantic conspiracy for the purpose of exterminating the whites. The plan was to go secretly by night and set fire to the houses occupied by Lane, Hariot, and other chief men of the colony; and, when they rushed from the flames, undressed and unarmed, to shoot them down, afterwards slaughtering and dispersing their followers. The secret of this conspiracy was communicated to Lane by young Skiko. The evil genius at the head of the proposed uprising was King Pemisapan, formerly known as Wingina, and Lane promptly determined to strike the first blow, and once for all rid his colonists of their inveterate enemy. He sent word to the savage king that he wished to meet him. The chief accordingly came to a place specified, with a large following of armed tribesmen. At a given signal the king was shot down with a pistol, and a general battle ensued. In the course of the melee, which proved a defeat for the savages, their leader (who was supposed to be dead from the pistol wound) suddenly sprang up and took to his heels. As he ran, an Irish boy who held Lane's petronel (a hand-gun or large pistol) wounded him again, but he disappeared into the forest, pursued by an Irishman named Edward Nugent. Lane and some of his men soon followed, and met Nugent coming out of the wilderness with the King's head in his hand. Thus were the settlers freed from their bitterest and most formidable enemy, and for some time thereafter they were little troubled by unfriendly savages.

During their entire stay on the island of Roanoke and in its vicinity, the colonists were industriously engaged. They shot game, caught fish, and planted corn in proper season, all the while keeping armed watch against the approach of unfriendly Indians. Nor were their old enemies the Spaniards

out of mind, as they had no assurance that these would not pay them an unfriendly visit by water.

In the Roanoke company of colonists was a courageous captain, Edward Stafford by name, of whom Lane says: "I must truly report of him, from the first to the last, he was the gentleman that never spared labor or peril, either by land or water, fair weather or foul, to perform any service committed unto him." This officer was sent with a well-manned boat to the vicinity of an inlet, with instructions to be on the watch for any ships which might be sent from England. On June 1, 1586, Stafford sent a messenger to Lane with the information that he had sighted a great fleet of twenty-three sail; but, as he could not make out whether they were friends or foes, all should be on their guard. Great was the joy of the colonists when the commander of this formidable fleet turned out to be the renowned Admiral Sir Francis Drake, circumnavigator of the world, whose daring warfare against the Spaniards had been the wonder of all Europe, and who was to gain a fame still greater two years thereafter by his share in destroying the "Invincible Armada" of King Philip.

Like a true patriot, Drake placed the resources of his well manned and thoroughly equipped fleet at the disposal of the colonists on Roanoke Island. A bark, pinnaces, canoes, munitions of war, food, clothing, and all else needful, were offered them, with a sufficient complement of seamen to man such craft as should be left for their use. In accepting this generous proffer, Lane requested Drake to receive on his fleet and take to England all men whose health had suffered during their stay in America, and to replace them with capable seamen and skilled artisans. The admiral was also requested to leave a ship to convey the colonists back to England two months thereafter, in August, if a promised relief expedition under Grenville's command should not be sent to them by their patron Sir Walter Raleigh. With the advice of his

captains, Drake decided to leave the *Francis,* a brig of seventy tons, and to put provisions on board in sufficient quantities to supply a hundred men for four months. Two pinnaces and four smaller boats were also to be left, with Captains Abraham Kendall and Griffith Herne to direct navigation. While these preparations were in progress a great storm arose and continued for some days. All vessels in the fleet, including the *Francis,* were driven out to sea many miles; but Drake returned with a much larger bark, the *Bonner,* of one hundred and seventy tons, and tendered her to Lane in place of the *Francis,* with like conditions and equipment. Wishing to have the advice of his officers in the determination of a matter so important, Lane called a council and it was the opinion of all that "the very hand of God seemed stretched out to take them from hence," for the relief expedition under Sir Richard Grenville had been promised them before Easter, and that season was long passed. England, it was believed by those at Roanoke, had so much to occupy her armies and fleets against traitors at home and enemies abroad, that the needed help could not be sent across the water, so all the colonists decided to return at once in the English fleet. Drake thereupon sent up pinnaces to bring off their belongings, among which were valuable maps and charts of the country. These latter, unfortunately, were washed overboard and lost while the men were endeavoring to place them aboard ship. The colonists themselves, however, got safely on board, and Drake "in the name of the Almighty, weighed his anchors" on the 19th of June, 1586, arriving in the English harbor of Plymouth on the 27th of July.

Though delayed by many vexatious circumstances beyond his control Sir Walter Raleigh had not been unmindful of the welfare of the colonists left at Roanoke, and sent (but too late) a well-provisioned ship for their relief. This ves-

sel arrived not long after Lane and his men had departed in Drake's fleet. Finding the former settlement abandoned, the relief ship returned to England, but not in time to communicate the discouraging news to another expedition of three ships sailing by Raleigh's orders under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. Finding none of his countrymen at Roanoke, but unwilling to abandon England's claim to the land, Grenville left fifteen of his men to hold possession of the island, and returned to England with his ships.

In the next year, 1587, Raleigh perfected plans for another attempt at colonizing Roanoke, and wisely came to a realization of the fact that no colony could be made permanent without the presence of women. He therefore issued a charter or commission constituting John White as Governor, with twelve councilors, under the corporate name of "The Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia." Ninety-one men, seventeen women, and nine boys made up the company. Two more, Virginia Dare and another baby named Harvie, were born after the arrival in America, making one hundred and twenty-one white persons in all.* In this expedition was the faithful Manteo, who had again visited England, and now returned to his native wilds with the whites. With him was another friendly Indian, named Towaye.

The three ships bearing the colonists of 1587, sailed out of Portsmouth, England, on the 26th of April, and arrived at Cowes, on the Isle of Wight, the same date, tarrying in the latter place for eight days. Leaving Cowes, they reached Plymouth on the 5th of May; and, on the 8th of the same month, began their westward journey. On the 16th of May, Simon Ferdinando, the pilot, to whose former base conduct I have already alluded, abandoned the fly-boat in the Bay of Portugal, rejoined the fleet, and remained to practice more treachery later on. The captain (Edward Spicer) and the

*For list of colonists under White, see Hakluyt (1810 edition), Vol. III, p. 348.

daring crew of this fly-boat were not so helpless as the pilot supposed they would be. They immediately set sail in their little craft and safely crossed the Atlantic, rejoining their comrades at Roanoke.

Sailing as before stated, the fleet with the colonists under Governor White passed through the West Indies, stopping at various islands there for drinking water, salt, game, and other supplies, and started northward from Hispaniola about the 6th of July, arriving ten days later at Cape Fear, where the traitor Ferdinando came near causing another wreck, his design being thwarted by the vigilance of Captain Edward Stafford, of whose courage and good conduct in the previous expedition under Lane, I have already spoken. On July 22d, Hatorask (Hatteras) Inlet was reached, and there the large ships anchored. Governor White manned a pinnance with forty of his best men and started for Roanoke Island, where he hoped to find the fifteen men left by Grenville in 1586, the preceding year. None of these fifteen could be found, but the bones of one (who had been murdered by the savages) were discovered. It later was learned that all had been treacherously slain, except some who escaped in a small boat and were probably lost.

The day after his arrival at Roanoke, Governor White and a strong body of his men walked to the north end of the island, where the "city of Raleigh" had stood. They found the fort destroyed, but many of the small dwelling houses were in fair condition, and the party immediately set to work repairing these huts. On the 28th of July, George Howe, one of the colonists, was shot and killed by some Indians who were the remnants of Wingina's tribe, with whom was Wanchese. On the 30th of the same month, Captain Stafford took a party, with Manteo as guide and interpreter, and met the Indians on August 1st, offering to make peace with them, forgetting all past differences. The savages promised

that their chiefs would come in for a conference on this subject and give their answer in the course of the next seven days. Nothing being heard in that time, Governor White and Captain Stafford headed a party of colonists which attacked an Indian encampment and wounded one or more before it was discovered that they had fired upon a friendly tribe from Croatan. The account of this transaction says: "Although the mistaking of these savages somewhat grieved Manteo, yet he imputed their harm to their own folly, saying to them that if their weroances [chiefs] had kept their promise in coming to the Governor at the day appointed, they had not known that mischance."

Both in America and England instructions in the principles of the Christian religion had been imparted to Manteo, the never-failing friend of the whites; and, before the colonists left England, Sir Walter Raleigh had expressly commanded that this Indian should be baptized as soon as practicable after arrival in his old home on Roanoke. It was probably decided that this ceremony should take place in America in order that the example might have the effect of causing other Indians to embrace Christianity. Manteo was accordingly baptized on Roanoke Island on the 13th of August, at the same time being (by Raleigh's orders) created Lord of Roanoke and of Dasamonguepeuk, as a reward for his faithful service. This was the first administration of the sacrament of baptism, according to the rites of the Church of England, which ever took place within the limits of the present United States. Five days later, on the 18th, a daughter was born to Ananias and Eleanor Dare, this little girl's mother being a daughter of Governor White. As she was the first child born in the new country, she was called Virginia, by which name she was baptized on the first Sunday after her birth.

During the latter half of August it was determined to send back to England for further supplies, but great difficulty was

experienced in securing the services of any officer to undertake the mission. All the colonists finally united in a request that Governor White himself should go. This request was at first refused, White saying that his return would be looked upon by the public in England as a desertion of those whom he had persuaded to undertake the voyage to America, and would consequently bring great discredit upon his name. He also had misgivings about his personal belongings, which he feared might be lost when the colonists moved further inland, as it was their intention to do later on. The colonists then grew even more importunate, and White finally consented, with much reluctance, after being given a signed certificate wherewith to justify his course in departing from the colony which he had been sent to govern. He accordingly set sail with one ship and a fly-boat on the 27th of August, 1587. At the outset of this return voyage, quite a number of the fly-boat's crew were disabled by the breaking of a capstan. Later the two crafts separated, as the larger one (with the marplot Ferdinando on board) wished to trade at the island of Tercera. White would not delay, but proceeded in the fly-boat. All on board came near perishing for lack of drinking water, and the boat lost its course in consequence of foul weather. Finally those on the boat sighted a port, which turned out to be the Irish town of Smerwick (the scene of Raleigh's bloody work in 1580), and there the crew gained much needed help. From Smerwick the boat proceeded to Dingen, five miles distant. There the boatswain, the boatswain's mate, and the steward died on board, and the master's mate and two other sick sailors were taken ashore. On November 1st, Governor White took shipping for England on another boat, and arrived in due time at a port in Cornwall.

In April, 1588, Governor White made a futile attempt to return with supplies for the relief of Raleigh's colonists

who had been left on Roanoke Island. The failure of this attempt was due to the fact that the English went out of their way in an attempt to secure Spanish prizes, were beaten in a sea-fight which ensued, and finally were forced to return for repairs. A few weeks later the great Spanish Armada came. Then all the ships and seamen in England were needed for purposes of national defense. Two more years elapsed before White had another opportunity to return to America, even then going as a passenger on a ship whose first object was trading with or fighting against Spaniards in the West Indies, after which it was to sail northward and see if any of the colonists could be found on or around Roanoke Island. The narrative of his experiences on shipboard, during this voyage, White communicated to Richard Hakluyt, dating his letter of transmittal at "my house at Newtown in Kilmore, the 4th of February, 1593," which was several years after his return. The small fleet of three ships, in which he took passage, sailed out of Plymouth on the 20th of March, 1590. They cruised in the vicinity of Spain and on the north coast of Africa for a few weeks and then set sail for the West Indies. On May 7th, fresh water was secured on the island of St. John, in the West Indies, and a large Spanish prize was taken on the next day. Then followed numerous sea-fights, and pillaging by land, in the territory of the Spaniards. On July 2d, White's old friend Captain Edward Spicer, joined the fleet at Cape Tyburon, after a long voyage from England. We also find mention of Captain Lane, who was probably Ralph Lane, former Governor of Roanoke. On the 13th of July the coast of Florida came into view, and on August 3d the fleet sighted what is now the coast of North Carolina, but was forced out to sea in a storm, to avoid ship-wreck on the banks. Later the inland waters were entered, and, on the 15th, Roanoke Island was in close view. From this island was seen to arise a column

of smoke, which raised hopes that the colonists were still in the vicinity of the locality where they had been left. A diligent search for them proved fruitless. On the 16th of August, White went ashore, accompanied by Captains Spicer and Cooke, with a sufficient armed escort. Orders were left with the master-gunner on shipboard to have shots fired, at stated intervals, from two minions and a falcon (small pieces of ordnance) to attract the attention of any English who might be in the neighborhood; but reverberating echoes were the only answer. On going ashore in the direction of another column of smoke, the fire was located, but no human being—white man or Indian—was found near it. The party, being much fatigued, camped on the island for the night, but later returned to the ships.

On the 17th of August, the greatest catastrophe of the voyage occurred when a boat containing eleven men capsized in trying to enter an inlet, and seven were drowned. Those lost were the gallant Captain Spicer, to whose daring at sea I have alluded more than once, also Master's-Mate Ralph Skinner, Surgeon Hance, Edward Kelley, Thomas Bevis, Edward Kelborne, and Robert Coleman. The remaining four were saved by the heroic efforts of Captain Cooke and four stout seamen who rowed to their rescue. The sailors were much disheartened by this deplorable accident, but Governor White and Captain Cooke prevailed on them to proceed with an exploration of the vicinity which they wished to make. Before Roanoke Island was again reached, dark had settled, and another great fire was seen in the woods. White's narrative of the voyage says: "When we came right over against it, we let fall our grapnel near the shore and sounded with a trumpet a call, and afterwards many English tunes of songs, and called to them friendly, but we had no answer. We therefore landed at daybreak; and, coming to the fire, we found the grass and sundry rotten trees burning about

the place." White and his companions went through the woods for a considerable distance, and then sailed around the island until they reached the point where the colony had been left in 1587. Upon the departure of White for England in 1587, it had been agreed that if the colonists removed, they should cut on trees and posts the name of the locality to which they had gone, and a cross should be cut over the name if they were distressed. Upon one tree were found the letters C R O, and C R O A T O A N was cut on another, but both were without the sign of distress agreed upon. Of the further investigation White says: "We entered into the palisado, where we found many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four iron fowlers, iron sacker shot, and such like heavy things, thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grass and weeds. From thence we went along the waterside toward the point of the creek, to see if we could find any of their boats or pinnace, but we could perceive no sign of them, nor any of the falcons or small ordnance which were left with them at my departure from them. At our return from the creek, some of our sailors, meeting us, told us they had found where divers chests had been hidden, and long since digged up again and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoiled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captain Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made two [*sic*] years past by Captain Amadas, where we found five chests that had been carefully hidden of the planters, and of the same chests three were my own, and about the place many of my things spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armor almost eaten through with rust. This could be no other than the deed of the savages, our enemies at Dasamonguepeuk, who had watched the departure of our

men to Croatoan, and, as soon as they were departed, digged up every place where they suspected anything to be buried. But although it much grieved me to see such spoil of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the island our friends."

Returning from the scene of desolation at the old fort, White, Cooke, and the remainder of their party regained their ships, and then determined to proceed to Croatan. After losing several anchors in a storm and suffering other mishaps, however, it was determined to go to the West Indies for repairs, spend the Winter there, and return in the Spring to the vicinity of Roanoke for a further search. The captain of one vessel, the *Moonlight,* objected to this plan, as his ship was in bad shape generally and needed supplies, so he forthwith sailed for England. The remaining vessels pursued their course to the West Indies, took several Spanish prizes, and later joined a large fleet of warships under the command of Admiral Sir John Hawkins. This admiral was watching for a Spanish fleet which was known to be in the West Indies; but, by the counsel of his officers, he later decided that his ships should "spread themselves on the coast of Spain and Portugal, so far as conveniently they might, for the sure meeting of the Spanish fleet in those parts." In this last mentioned plan the ship on which White sailed did not join, as its captain determined to return to England. Leave was accordingly taken of the redoubtable Hawkins on Sunday, the 13th of September, and White reached Plymouth, in England, on the 24th of October.

The fate of the colonists left on Roanoke Island in 1587 is one of the unsolved mysteries of the ages. Some believe they were massacred. Others contend that, when all hope for help had been abandoned, they became absorbed into the

tribe of Croatan Indians, whose friendship for the whites had been so often manifested. Mr. Hamilton McMillan and Dr. Stephen B. Weeks have written monographs in support of this contention, while Bishop Cheshire and others have vigorously argued the contrary. As a single word, cut on a tree, was the only message found, I shall not endeavor to discuss the conflicting theories. In the words of Mrs. Margaret J. Preston, a Virginia poetess:

"The mystery rests a mystery still,
Unsolved of mortal man;
Sphinx-like, untold, the ages hold
The tale of CRO-A-TAN."

Some writers have ignorantly charged that Raleigh heartlessly abandoned the Lost Colony of 1587, and made no effort to discover and rescue its members. This is far from true. One old nautical historian, Samuel Purchas, while referring to the year 1602, says that Raleigh then sent Captain Samuel Mace, who had been to Virginia twice before, on another voyage to hunt for the Lost Colony "to whose succor he had sent five several times at his own charges." By the time Mace returned from this voyage, Raleigh had been attainted as a traitor, his estates had been confiscated, and he could do no more.

As every one knows, Raleigh's explorers brought back with them an edible tuber, theretofore unknown to Europeans, called the potato. Raleigh experimented with it on his estates in Ireland with so much success that it became the chief foodstuff of that country and is generally called the Irish Potato after the land to which it was transplanted. Thus an importation by Raleigh, who had often wasted Ireland with the fire and sword, has often been the salvation of that country when other food crops have failed. Tobacco, too, was brought from the New World, and Raleigh was joined by his friends in acquiring its use by puffing it from small silver bowls.

We have all heard the story of how Sir Walter's first smoke was interrupted by an alarmed servant who dashed a cup of spiced ale in his face to extinguish the fire.

Art and archæology in our day are also debtors to the Roanoke colonists, for Governor White was a talented artist, who not only made maps of the new land but also water-color drawings of the natives. His paintings of the Indians are still preserved in the British Museum. At the time of the Jamestown Exposition, in 1907, Colonel Bennehan Cameron, of this State, employed a competent artist to make copies of these paintings for the use of the North Carolina Historical Exhibit; and, after the close of the Exposition, he presented them to the North Carolina Hall of History in the city of Raleigh, where they may still be seen.

And now, as Raleigh bade farewell to his cherished hopes of colonization on this spot, we must say farewell to the sad story of its failure. The prosecution of these noble but unsuccessful designs cost an immense sum, and not a few lives. I have already told how seven men were drowned by the capsizing of a pinnace; and others, who are known to have sought safety in small boats amid the horrors of Indian warfare, were doubtless lost at sea. These sad circumstances lend a touch of reality to the beautiful poem *Hatteras,* by the late Joseph W. Holden, of Raleigh, wherein a skull cast up on Cape Hatteras is supposed to voice its tale of the past and warning to the present in these lines:

"When life was young, adventure sweet,
I came with Walter Raleigh's fleet,
But here my scattered bones have lain
And bleached for ages by the main!
Though lonely once, strange folks have come,
Till peopled is my barren home;
Enough are here: oh, heed the cry,
Ye white-winged strangers sailing by!
The bark that lingers on this wave
Will find its smiling but a grave!"

It was in 1588 that all true Englishmen flew to arms at news of the coming of the great fleet which the Spaniards in their pride called the "Invincible Armada." On sea and land every available man was mustered into the service of the realm which was so much imperiled. The lion-hearted Queen herself, though no longer young, laid aside womanly apparel and rode through the great camp at Tilbury in a full suit of armor, encouraging her people in a speech filled with expressions of confidence in their fidelity and valor. In the course of her address she said: "We have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects, and therefore I am come among you, as you see at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of battle, to live or die amongst you all."

In the defense of England against the Spanish Armada it is needless to say that Raleigh played the part of a loyal subject and true man. When a council of nine was formed to consider the state of national fortifications and defenses, Raleigh sat in that body, being styled "Lieutenant-General of Cornwall." The only member of this council below the rank of knighthood was Ralph Lane, former Governor of Roanoke, and he was later knighted in recognition of his many services to the kingdom at home and abroad. In both England and Ireland, Raleigh was active in disciplining the levies raised to defend the realm against the Armada; and, when it became apparent that no fighting was soon to be done on land, he relinquished his army commands and betook

himself to the channel, there aiding materially, as captain of a ship, in the destruction of the Spanish war vessels.

In March, 1589, after having spent more than forty thousand pounds in his attempt to plant colonies in "Virginia," with no financial returns for the outlay, Raleigh, as Chief Governor, sold his rights to trade (though not his patent) in that locality to a corporation or company composed of Thomas Smith, John White, Richard Hakluyt, and others.

In 1589, as a retaliation for the Armada, the English fitted up a fleet for the purpose of restoring Don Antonio to the throne of Portugal, and thereby weakening Spanish influence in that kingdom. Six warships and one hundred and twenty volunteer vessels, under Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris, went on this expedition. With them sailed Raleigh in a ship of his own. The English burned Vigo, destroyed two hundred vessels in the Tagus River (many of them containing stores for a new invasion of England), and attacked Lisbon. Aside from the capture of valuable spoils little else was accomplished.

In 1592, Philip of Spain was believed to be fostering further hostile designs upon England, and Elizabeth decided to divert his attack by sending a fleet against the Spanish possessions in Panama. Raleigh was placed in command of the English fleet. On May 6th, he set sail, but on the next day he was overtaken in a swift-sailing boat by Sir Martin Frobisher, with the Queen's peremptory order to return to England and to leave his fleet under the joint command of Frobisher and Sir John Burgh. Raleigh remained with the fleet long enough to give particular directions to his two successors in command and then sailed back to England, much puzzled to know the reason of his recall. He was not left long in doubt. Court gossip, connecting his name with that of a maid of honor, Elizabeth Throckmorton, had come to the ears of the Queen and she promptly sent the

offending courtier to the Tower of London. A letter written at the time says of Raleigh and Miss Throckmorton: "It is affirmed that they are married, but the Queen is most furiously incensed." The exact date when Raleigh's marriage to Miss Throckmorton took place does not appear, but the Queen later needed his services and ordered his release, though it took him a long time to regain the favor of his royal mistress. As for his wife, she became his heroic and devoted friend and companion throughout the remainder of his life, in adversity and prosperity alike, never ceasing her labors in his behalf until his head rolled from the block in 1618. She was a daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, then deceased, a former councilor at the court of Elizabeth. Lady Raleigh is described as tall, slender, blue-eyed, and golden-haired.

As England was not an absolute monarchy even in the days of Elizabeth, and as Raleigh had been committed to the Tower without due process of law, he might possibly have secured an earlier release through legal means, but chose a more unique method, by writing a letter to Robert Cecil, trusting that it would come to the eye of the Queen. As the Queen was going away from the vicinity of the Tower for a short season, her imprisoned courtier sent forth a lamentation in these words: "My heart was never broken till this day that I hear the Queen goes away so far off—whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison all alone. While she was yet nigher at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less; but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks like a nymph; sometimes sitting in the shade like a Goddess; sometimes

singing like an angel; sometimes playing like Orpheus. Behold the sorrow of this world! Once amiss hath bereaved me of all! Oh Glory, that shineth in misfortune, what is become of thy assurance? * * * She is gone in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one thought of mercy." When we reflect that the Queen, at the time this letter was written, was in her sixtieth year, gray-haired, wrinkled, and ugly as the proverbial home-made sin, we are almost tempted to doubt Sir Walter's sincerity in painting her as a beautiful fairy princess with all the entrancing attributes of heavenly angels, heathen deities, and earthly heroes. Raleigh's imprisonment in the Tower was not rigorous. He was in the custody of his cousin, Sir George Carew, Master of Ordnance in that strong-hold, and the Queen had given orders that his friends should have free access to him, while servants attended his every want. Even his offices were not taken away from him, and he discharged his duties by deputies. On one occasion when it came to his ear that the Queen would soon pass down the Thames in her barge, he asked Carew to let him be disguised as a boatman and go near the barge under guard, that he might feast his eyes on the royal object of his adoration once more. The request was of course refused, whereupon Raleigh became frantic and attacked his keeper in seeming desperation, though no further harm was done than the injury of his Cousin George's new periwig.

There is a homely old saying that "fair words butter no parsnips," and Raleigh soon discovered that they were equally powerless to unlock the gates of the Tower of London. But his release came in September. In that month Frobisher and Burgh returned to Plymouth with the fleet of which he was still the titular "General" or Admiral, and with them brought many valuable spoils taken from the Spaniards, so the services of Raleigh were needed in making partition between the Queen and those who financed the voyage. Among

the latter was Admiral Sir John Hawkins, who had urged that Raleigh should be sent. He accordingly went to Plymouth under guard. Though one of Raleigh's contemporaries had described him as "the best hated man of the world in court, city, and country," his reception at Plymouth did not seem to indicate it. Referring to his arrival there, Robert Cecil wrote: "I assure you, sir, his poor servants, to the number of one hundred and forty goodly men, and all the mariners, came to him with shouts of joy. I never saw a man more troubled to quiet them. But his heart is broken, as he is extremely pensive, unless he is busied, in which he can toil terribly. The meeting between him and Sir John Gilbert was with tears on Sir John's part. But he, finding it known that he has a keeper, whenever he is saluted with congratulations for liberty, doth answer, 'No, I am still the Queen of England's poor captive.' I wished him to conceal it, because here it doth diminish his credit, which I do vow to you before God is greater among the mariners than I thought for." Finally the Queen's anger simmered down, and Raleigh was relieved from his nominal captivity.

In 1594 Raleigh secured a charter from Queen Elizabeth for his first expedition to Guiana, on the northern coast of South America. As a preliminary he sent one of his most experienced officers, Captain Jacob Whiddon to spy out the route and report his findings. Upon Whiddon's return, Raleigh's expedition sailed in 1595. With him were his nephew, John Gilbert, son of Sir Humphrey, and Captain Laurence Keymis. On the voyage to South America the forces of Raleigh captured and burned the town of St. Joseph on the island of Trinidad. On the continent of South America the explorers penetrated far inland, up the Orinoco River, and enjoyed most friendly relations with the natives, who had suffered much from Spanish cruelty and were conse-

quently willing to render all aid and assistance to the English upon learning that they were enemies of Spain. Much time was spent in explorations by Raleigh before he left the continent. It was his hope to sail northward for the purpose of making a personal attempt to find and relieve his settlers here on Roanoke, but he was prevented by storms and other circumstances. While in South America he collected much ore, as samples, though he did not engage in mining on a large scale. On his return voyage the Spanish towns of Cumana, Santa Maria, and Rio de la Hacha refused to furnish his fleet with supplies, and were sacked and burned in consequence. Before Raleigh left England his enemies had prophesied that he would never return, but would enter the service of Spain. This absurd charge was disproved by his return, and then those same enemies sought to discredit his account of discoveries, especially of precious ores. Some modern historians—Hume and others—have branded Raleigh's narrative as a collection of lies, but recent discoveries of rich gold fields in Venezuela (a part of Raleigh's Guiana) have partly or wholly justified his statements. In 1596, in fulfillment of a promise to the Indians to return to Guiana, Raleigh sent Captain Keymis with the ships *Darling* and *Discovery,* laden with presents for the Indians. In the meantime San Thome, in Guiana, had been heavily fortified by the Spaniards, so Keymis avoided that town and went towards the mines by another route. Later he returned to England, bringing with him little more than samples of gold ore. Thus ended Raleigh's earlier expeditions to Guiana—ventures to be resumed near his life's end, as I shall relate hereafter.

When rumors of the coming of the Spanish Armada of 1588 first reached England, Raleigh had boldly volunteered for an expedition to sail into the Spanish harbors and burn the ships of King Philip while they were being fitted up. This advice was rejected as the dream of a desperate vision-

ary. Eight years later, however, in 1596, when news came that the indefatigable Philip was building another fleet (sixty ships) for an invasion of Ireland, where he hoped for many allies, Raleigh again urged Elizabeth to strike the first blow, and this time his advice was followed. The result was a brilliant success. With the English fleet of ninety-six sail, went twenty-four Dutch ships, making one hundred and twenty vessels in all. On these ships were fourteen thousand English and twenty-six hundred Dutch troops. Lord Admiral Howard and the Earl of Essex were in joint command. This fleet divided itself into four squadrons, one of which was commanded by Raleigh, under whom were thirteen hundred and fifty-two sailors and eighteen hundred and seventy-five soldiers. The fleet sailed out of Plymouth on June 1, 1596, and, on the 20th of the same month anchored within half a league of Cadiz. In the attack on that city the following day, Raleigh led the van in a vessel called the *Warspright,* with a crew of two hundred and ninety men. As the *Warspright* advanced, followed by five other English ships, four huge galleons appeared, bearing the usual saintly names of those "children of the Devil," the Spaniards. They were the *St. Philip,* the *St. Matthew,* the *St. Andrew,* and the *St. Thomas*—"those Apostles aforesaid," as Raleigh afterwards called them. All of these galleons moored under the guns of Fort Puntal, with three galleys about each; and then the batteries on sea and land opened a furious cannonading on the invaders. The largest Spanish ships were the *St. Philip* and the *St. Andrew,* which had been with the fleet of fifty-three which sank the ship *Revenge* and killed its commander Sir Richard Grenville, Raleigh's kinsman. Raleigh now vowed that he would be "revenged for the *Revenge* or second her with his own life." This was no idle boast. Though the *Warspright* was nearly sunk, the ships of the other English commanders came rushing to her assistance,

and two got the start of her, but Raleigh was unwilling to relinquish his perilous post of honor, so he again succeeded in running ahead and blocked further advance by laying his ship athwart the channel in order, as he said, that "none other should outstart him that day." He and his crew next grappled the *St. Philip,* and were soon reinforced by the other English vessels, when a wild panic seized the Spaniards, who ran their galleons aground and attempted to burn them, but the English were too quick for this and captured all but the *St. Philip* and the *St. Thomas* which were blown up by their captains. The English spared the lives of their captives, but the Dutch partly paid off their score for Alva's cruelties by mercilessly butchering prisoners until the forces of the Lord Admiral and Raleigh beat them off. These Flemings, Raleigh declared, contributed little or nothing to the winning of the victory. Toward the close of the sea-fight, Raleigh was badly wounded in the leg, but had himself borne ashore on the shoulders of his men when the land forces disembarked. After landing, the troops, under the chief command of Essex, first swept eight hundred Spanish horsemen from their path, and then captured all the fortifications of the city except the castle; and that, too, surrendered on the next day. Spoils of the town and ransoms for wealthy prisoners were the rewards of the victors. Said Raleigh: "We stayed not to pick any lock, but brake open the doors; and, having rifled all, threw the key into the fire." The "key" here alluded to was the city of Cadiz, which had been described as one of the three keys of the kingdom of Spain. Other localities around Cadiz were also sacked and burned, and the victorious expedition finally returned to England, Raleigh arriving there ahead of the rest on August 6th.

Raleigh's splendid services at Cadiz restored him in a large measure to the good graces of Queen Elizabeth, and

he once more became an inmate of her Court, where there was a bitter rivalry between himself and Essex.

So happy were the English over their victories in Spain that, in 1597, they organized a campaign against Spanish possessions in the West Indies. This expedition by sea is known as the "Islands Voyage." Time will not allow me to go into its full details. In the course of the cruise, Raleigh landed without orders and stormed the strongholds of the island of Fayal, thereby kindling anew the jealousy of his chief commander, the Earl of Essex, who arrived too late to share the honors of the day. Numerous rich ships of the Spaniards also fell a prey to the English on this voyage.

I can not here tell in full the story of the feud between Raleigh and Essex, but it was bitter and lasting. Though Raleigh was at his post, as Captain of the Guard, when the fallen Earl was in later years led to the block, he withdrew before the final stroke for fear it should be charged that he gloated over the execution. In later years, when it was charged that he had a hand in the destruction of his former rival, he said: "It is true that I was of an opposite faction, but I take God to witness that I had no hand in his death. * * * My soul hath many times been grieved that I was not nearer to him when he died, as I understood afterwards that he asked for me, desiring to be reconciled."

In 1600, Raleigh was advanced to the important post of Governor of the Isle of Jersey, and greatly improved the conditions of that locality by his administration of its affairs.

The great Queen Elizabeth died in the early Spring of 1603, and gave place to the cowardly descendant of a warlike race of Scottish monarchs, King James the First of England and Sixth of Scotland. Before the arrival of James in London, his mind had been poisoned against Raleigh by the latter's enemies, and he was not long in stripping Elizabeth's former favorite of all the honors held by him. In a short

time Raleigh was deprived of his posts as Captain of the Guard and Governor of Jersey, likewise being shorn of the monopolies and special privileges conferred by the late Queen. He was also ejected from Durham House (an episcopal residence) and Sherborne Castle upon which he held long leases. If he could now conveniently be proved a traitor, the efforts for his destruction would be crowned with complete success. Finally that opportunity presented itself when Lord Cobham became involved in a conspiracy to seat Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne of England. In an effort to save his own life, Cobham had accused Raleigh; later the conscience-stricken nobleman retracted his charge; afterwards renewed it, with more retractions later, and this was the farcical evidence upon which Raleigh was convicted. In much bitterness of spirit he wrote his wife: "All my services, hazards, and expenses for my country—plantings, discoveries, fights, councils, and whatever else—malice hath now covered over. I am now made an enemy and a traitor by the word of an unworthy man."

On September 21, 1603, Raleigh was indicted for having conspired to deprive the King of his Crown, to alter the true religion, and to levy war. The trial was begun in Winchester on November 17th, Lord Chief Justice Popham presiding. The eminent legal dignitary just named had been, by turns, a gambler, a drunkard, and a highwayman, afterwards mending his ways to some extent and reading law. With Popham sat many other men of note, the King being careful to select one or more whom he knew to be bitter enemies of Raleigh. Attorney-General Coke, Serjeant Hele, and Serjeant Phillips were attorneys for the prosecution. In that day the laws of England did not give prisoners the advantage of counsel, and hence Raleigh had to plead his own cause, which he did with ability, dignity, and decorum. I shall not trouble my hearers with an account of this trial. The absurdity of the

accusation is now admitted by all men, while the underhanded displacement of impartial jurymen and the disgraceful conduct of the King's attorneys will ever remain as blots upon the justice of the reign in which they occurred. In speaking of the behavior of Attorney-General Coke during the trial, an eminent Baltimore lawyer, J. Morrison Harris, said in an address on Raleigh before the Maryland Historical Society in 1846: "The conduct of Coke, the King's attorney, was disgraceful to the position he occupied—to the sovereign he represented—to the profession to which he belonged—the age in which he lived—and the manhood he shamed. He was, throughout the trial, ungenerous and unjust; overbearing and cruel; brutal and insolent." Continuing, Mr. Harris says: "Venality soiled the ermine of the judge, and power controlled the decision of the jury. The former pronounced his doom with as much alacrity as he had formerly shewn in taking purses on the highway, or bribes upon the bench; and the latter, in their eagerness to perform their part well, *overdid* it; so that the malignant Coke, when he heard that they had found him guilty of *treason,* exclaimed to the messenger: 'Surely thou art mistaken; *I myself only accused him of misprision of treason!*' " The programme for Raleigh's conviction having been duly carried out by the jury, he was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. He petitioned for a reprieve, writing to Cecil: "Your Lordship will find that I have been strangely practiced against, and that others have their lives promised to accuse me."

On December 10, 1603, James granted Raleigh a reprieve and the prisoner was carried from the place of trial at Winchester back to London, where he was confined in the Tower to await the King's pleasure.

In his work entitled *Her Majesty's Tower,* Hepworth Dixon says: "The most eminent and interesting prisoner ever lodged in the Tower is Raleigh; eminent by his personal

genius, interesting from his political fortune. Raleigh has, in higher degree than any other captive who fills the Tower with story, the distinction that he was not the prisoner of his country but the prisoner of Spain." And so he was, during the latter part of his captivity. While in the Tower he did not spend his time in useless repining, but well exemplified the truth of the old lines:

"Stone walls do not a prison make
Or iron bars a cage;
A free and quiet mind can take
These for a hermitage."

The story of Raleigh's confinement is a long record of noble literary and scientific achievements, too numerous to relate. The most important of his productions was a *History of the World,* which would have immortalized his name if he had no other title to distinction. Some of his poetical productions are most charming.

Though the statement may be strong, I doubt if there has ever been a man in the history of the world of whom so many biographies have been written as those which treat of Raleigh's career. Numerous publications of his works have also been made, the standard edition being issued in eight volumes by the University of Oxford in 1829, the first volume in this series giving two separate biographies (written many years before), one by William Oldys and the other by Thomas Birch, and the last volume containing a collection of his poems.

At times Raleigh's confinement in the Tower was light, and at times oppressive beyond reason. Within the confines of that gloomy stronghold "Raleigh's Walk" still preserves his name. Once, during his imprisonment, to test the effect which his death would have upon the public mind, the news was spread abroad that he had committed suicide. Later his captors tempted him to take that step by placing weapons

within his reach and turning his mind to the subject by discoursing upon that custom of the old Romans when they wished to end the ills of life. When conversations took this turn, Raleigh "spoke very gravely against self-murder, saying that for himself he would die in the light of day and in the face of his countrymen."

In his confinement Raleigh had many unflinching and influential friends, among the most devoted being Prince Henry, heir apparent to the throne, whose untimely death added to the misfortunes of the captive. Prince Henry constantly labored for Raleigh's release and visited him frequently in the Tower, while the prisoner sought to return the kindness by giving his royal visitor the benefit of his long experience in state-craft and military operations on land and water. One naval treatise he wrote for the especial instruction of Henry. Queen Anne was also Raleigh's friend. Among the countless throngs who sought his society while he was a prisoner was Thomas Hariot, who had been one of the voyagers to Roanoke Island, and to whose pen we of the present day are indebted for much of the early history of English colonization on this spot. Raleigh readily and generously gave of his means to enable Hariot to pursue his studies; and, when powerless to render him further assistance, sought and obtained for him congenial employment in the service of the Earl of Northumberland, a patron of letters and benefactor of scholars.

Raleigh was a sailor at heart and took a keen interest in the welfare of the mariners of his country. While in the Tower he contrived a process, designed for their benefit, whereby salt water could be made fresh and used for drinking purposes. Later he was deprived of his chemical apparatus, and the secret was thereby lost, not being re-discovered until modern times.

At times Raleigh had his heroic and devoted wife as the companion of his confinement, and one of his sons was born

in the Tower. Lady Raleigh exhausted every means in the interest of her husband during life, and called down curses (later fulfilled) upon those who robbed him and his children of Sherborne Castle and other property which his wealth had beautified. The Sherborne estate alone had brought an income of five thousand pounds annually, and yet in later years, by way of restitution, Raleigh was only given eight thousand pounds in satisfaction of the ninety-nine year lease which he had held. In speaking of Raleigh's family it may be here mentioned that he left two sons: Walter (unmarried), to whose death in South America I shall later call attention; and Carew (1605-1666), who was educated at Oxford, was a Cavalier in the Civil War of the next reign, member of Parliament, coöperator with Monk in the Restoration, and Governor of Jersey, the post formerly held by his father. The maiden name of his wife was Philippa Weston, at the time of her marriage widow of Sir Anthony Ashley. By this marriage Carew Raleigh had two sons, Walter (a knight, who died unmarried); and Philip, who married and left four sons and three daughters. Through them Sir Walter Raleigh doubtless has descendants now living.

Though King James could not be moved by mercy to order the release of Sir Walter Raleigh from the Tower, his cupidity was finally responsive to appeals in the prisoner's behalf. Raleigh still had hopes of great wealth to be found in the Spanish possessions in Guiana, in South America, where he had voyaged before, in 1595, and James was not averse to having a chance at such a share as would fall by law into the Royal treasury, though too cowardly to hold himself answerable to Spain for having authorized the sailing of this expedition. Raleigh was accordingly released from the Tower in 1616, and for the last time sailed westward on the 28th of March, 1617. With the eight thousand pounds allowed him for his lease on Sherborne Castle, with some purchase money

which had been paid Lady Raleigh for landed property held in her own right, and the sale of family plate, Raleigh risked his all in this expedition, though history sometimes accuses him of going on this voyage when he knew it would be unsuccessful. While in the Tower he had agreed to either bring back a ton of rich gold ore from Guiana, or return and spend the remainder of his days in prison. Raleigh's flagship, the *Destiny,* was commanded by his son, Captain Walter Raleigh, and with him also sailed a nephew, Captain George Raleigh. Sir Walter Raleigh attempted to keep the destination of his expedition a secret, but his confidence was betrayed by the King himself in an attempt to shift from his own shoulders all blame in the eyes of the Spanish minister in London. Hence before Raleigh had gotten well out to sea, his destination was known in the Court of Madrid. King James had authorized Raleigh to seek gold in territory which he knew was then occupied by Spain. He likewise knew that the supposed feeling of the Devil for holy water was a Damon and Pythias friendship in comparison with the hatred which existed between English and Spanish colonists in the New World, and yet he sought to convince Spain that he had no unfriendly motive in authorizing Raleigh to proceed westward. Raleigh's fleet finally reached the mouth of the Orinoco River, in South America; but there he became ill, and hence was unable to head the expedition which was preparing to march inland. The leadership of these land forces he confided to a veteran sailor who had been with him in Guiana before, Captain Laurence Keymis, with Captain George Raleigh, second in command. Keymis first met a Spanish force, which he routed, and then took possession of the town of San Thome. Further up the road towards the mines of which he was in search, another Spanish detachment was discovered to be in ambush, and so formidable were their numbers that Keymis deemed it prudent to

return to the ships. In the course of the fighting which had occurred Raleigh's son and namesake was killed. This young man had been a wild character in youth, but doubtless had gathered wisdom in his more mature years, as evidenced by so prudent a commander as his father entrusting him with important posts on both land and water during this expedition. His death was of course a deep grief to his father. The failure of the expedition to the mines was a source of much disappointment to Raleigh, and his reproaches to Keymis caused the unfortunate Captain to commit suicide. The chances of success in Guiana now being most unfavorable, Raleigh made a voyage all the way to Newfoundland in order to re-fit and renew his efforts against the Spanish possessions in South Ameria. In Newfoundland a portion of his crew became mutinous, and he deemed it advisable to return to England, which he accordingly did. Prior to his return, Don Diego Sarmientos. de Acuna, Count Gondomar, diplomatic representative of Spain at the English Court had made formal complaint to King James on account of the breach of peace which had been committed by his fleet-commander at a time when no war existed between England and Spain, and had denounced Raleigh as a pirate. King James was then making every effort to effect a match between Prince Charles, his heir, and a Spanish princess, so he basely denied all responsibility for the expedition he had authorized, and issued a proclamation for the arrest of Raleigh, who was accordingly taken into custody and re-committed to the Tower. Says Mr. Harris, in the address already quoted: "A writ of Privy Seal was then despatched to the Judges, commanding them to order its [the former warrant's] execution. They shrank from the flagrant injustice. They declared that neither the writ of Privy Seal, nor even a warrant under the Great Seal, could authorize them, after so long an interval of time, to execute the sentence without first affording the prisoner an

opportunity of pleading in person against it; and they resolved to bring him to the bar by a writ of *habeas corpus,* to answer why execution should not be awarded against him." The King approved this plan, and Raleigh was hurried from a sick bed to the bar at Westminster. It is needless to tell of the outcome of these proceedings, wherein, at the instigation of Spain, an illustrious Englishmen was doomed to die on the false charge that he had—sixteen years before—plotted to dethrone King James in favor of Arabella Stuart, a claimant who then had the warm support of Spain. With all haste, James signed the death warrant, and Raleigh was led to the block in Palace Yard, on October 29th (November 8th new style) 1618. On the day of execution the High Sheriff offered his prisoner a slight delay in order that he might warm himself before he said his prayers, but this offer was declined, Raleigh saying that an ague, to which he was subject, would soon come on again and cause his enemies to say that he quaked from fear. He met his death with courage and Christian fortitude. To a question from Dean Tounson, as to his religious belief, he replied that he died in the faith professed by the Church of England, and hoped to have his sins washed away by the precious blood of our Savior Christ. He carefully felt the edge of the executioner's axe, remarking that it was "a sharp remedy but a cure for all diseases." As he was about to kneel on the block he was told to turn his face toward the east, but answered that it was "no matter how the head should lay if the heart were right." At the request of friends, however, he did face eastward. Then he gave a signal, and the fatal blow was struck.

Soon after Raleigh's death, when King James was still striving to effect a Spanish match for his son, he caused a letter to be written to one of his representatives in Spain, saying that he "had caused Sir Walter Raleigh to be put to death CHIEFLY for the giving them [the Spaniards] satis-

faction." In commenting on this admission, Dr. Hawks truly observes: "No further evidence is necessary. Raleigh was murdered and James was his murderer." And the memory of Raleigh left its mark on the heart of that murderer; for, in later years, when young Carew Raleigh was brought to Court by his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, that nobleman soon carried him therefrom because the conscience-stricken King was haunted by the lad's resemblance to his father, declaring that he "looked like Sir Walter Raleigh's ghost."

In personal appearance Raleigh is represented to have been tall and well-proportioned, with thick curly locks, beard, and mustache, full red lips, bluish grey eyes, high forehead, and long bold face. A number of portraits of him were painted, among these being more than one by Federigo Zuccarro, a Florentine artist who lived in England during the reign of Elizabeth. One of the Zuccaro portraits was handsomely copied in oil, several years ago, by order of Mr. Walter F. Burns, who presented the reproduction to Chief Justice Clark, of the Supreme Court of this State. Though highly valuing this beautiful gift from an esteemed friend, the Chief Justice generously decided that a more appropriate place for it to be displayed would be the Mayor's Office in Raleigh, so he presented it to that city. Mr. Burns, at whose order this copy was made, is a grandson of Captain Otway Burns, commander of the privateer *Snapdragon* in the War of 1812-'15, an American successor of the daring sea-rangers of the reign of Elizabeth.

In an address delivered in the city of Raleigh before the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, on November 4, 1909, the Right Honorable James Bryce, Ambassador from Great Britain to the United States, said, referring to those who have both made and written history: "Such an one was the famous man who may be called the first founder of North Carolina and whom you have fitly

commemorated in the name of the chief city of your State—Sir Walter Raleigh. The adventurer is always an attractive type, because spirit, courage, and love of discovery have a perpetual fascination, and when the explorer or conqueror has aims not wholly selfish, we are glad to palliate his faults. Raleigh had his faults, but he was a fine specimen of the bold, versatile, keen-witted, large-visioned man of the Elizabethan age, not very scrupulous, but with gifts which engage our sympathy, and rich in intellectual power. He was both a man of action and a man of letters, and might, had circumstances allowed, have shone as brightly in the latter as he did in the former field. He was a true Elizabethan in his intellectual culture, in his largeness of spirit, in his far-reaching imagination—a worthy contemporary of Shakespeare and Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser and Francis Bacon."

Though North Carolina's capital city of Raleigh is, in itself, a monument "more lasting than brass," a plan is now on foot to erect in that city a bronze likeness of Sir Walter Raleigh that coming generations may behold the majestic form of this great fore-runner of English civilization in America. A sum something upwards of a thousand dollars (made up of small contributions) has already been placed in the hands of the treasurer of the association which is to erect this monument, Mr. Joseph G. Brown, President of the Citizens National Bank, of Raleigh, and this sum will doubtless be increased to a proportion which will creditably carry out the patriotic plans of the promoters of this worthy enterprise.

In Dixon's work on the Tower of London, already quoted, that author says of the execution of Raleigh: "That day was thought to be a very sad day for Englishmen. The partisans of Spain went mad with joy. Yet the victory was not to Spain. A higher power than man's directs the course of

a nation's life; the death of a hero is not a failure, for the martyr's blood is stronger than a thousand swords. The day of Raleigh's death was the day of a new English birth. Eliot was not the only youth of ardent soul who stood by the scaffold in Palace Yard, to note the matchless spirit in which the martyr met his fate, and to walk away from that solemnity—a new man. Thousands of men in every part of England, who had led a careless life, became, from that hour, the sleepless enemies of Spain. The purposes of Raleigh were accomplished in the very way his genius had contrived. Spain held the dominion of the sea, and England took it from her. Spain excluded England from the New World, and the genius of the New World is English."

In closing these remarks I can not do better than quote the beautiful lines of North Carolina's most gifted poet, Henry Jerome Stockard, when treating of the same heroic character of whom I have spoken today:

"And he still lives, the courteous and the brave,
Whose life went out in seeming dark defeat.
The Tower held not his princely spirit immured,
But in those narrow dungeon walls he trod
Kingdoms unlimited by earthly zones,
And from its dismal gates passed unafraid
To an inheritance beyond decay,
Stored in the love and gratitude of man.
He lives in our fair city, noble State,
Puissant land—in all each hopes to be!
He lives in noble words and splendid dreams,
In strenuous actions and in high careers,
An inspiration unto loftier things."

ABSTRACT OF VOLUME I OF BATTLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

The Constitution of 1776 instructed the General Assembly to provide one or more universities. The charter of the University of North Carolina was granted in 1789, mainly by the influence of General William Richardson Davie. The Trustees were the prominent men of the State. There was a meeting of these Trustees within a month after the charter was ratified, the Senator from Bertie, Charles Johnson, ancestor of the present Mayor of Raleigh, then President of the Senate, being Chairman. At a meeting soon afterwards, General William Lenoir, President of the Senate, was elected permanent President of the Board. Subscriptions were asked for. General Benjamin Smith, of Brunswick, afterwards Governor, donated 25,000 acres of military land warrants to be located in West Tennessee. In 1835 these were sold for $14,000.

It was voted to locate the University within fifteen miles of Cyprett's Bridge over New Hope Creek in Chatham County, and a committee of the Board selected the site on the eminence in Orange County known as New Hope Chapel Hill. About 1,300 acres of land were donated for the purpose. A village was laid out and lots sold, the words "New Hope" being omitted in the name of the village.

On October 12th, 1793, the corner-stone of the first building, the Old East, was laid with Masonic ritual, General Davie being Grand Master. Reverend Samuel E. McCorckle, D.D., delivered an able and wise address.

It was concluded not to have a President but only a "Presiding Professor." A Presbyterian divine, Reverend David Ker, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, was chosen. The doors were opened for students January 15, 1795, but, owing

to the rainy weather and muddy roads, the first to arrive two weeks afterwards was Hinton James of New Hanover. It was near a month before others came, but by May the numbers increased to 41 in the spring and near 100 in the fall. Charles Wilson Harris, of Cabarrus County, graduate of Princeton with high honors, was chosen Tutor. The next year he was Professor of Mathematics and on the resignation of Dr. Ker, Presiding Professor. Having determined to be a lawyer, Professor Harris induced the Trustees to elect in his place Rev. Joseph Caldwell, likewise a high honor graduate of Princeton, and a Tutor.

Professor Harris induced the students to form a Literary Society. This was in June, 1795. It was called the Debating Society. Three weeks afterwards the Concord Society was formed, and the next year Debating was changed to its Greek equivalent, Dialectic, and the Concord was transformed into the Philanthrophic. James Mebane was first President of the former and James Gillespie (or Gillaspie) of the latter. Dr. Kemp P. Battle is proud of the fact that he, as President in 1848, and the venerable James Mebane, President of 1795, jointly presided over the Dialectic Society on the dedication of a new Hall.

The first scheme of studies was the work of Dr. McCorckle. In the latter part of the same year a "Plan of Education," the work of General Davie, was adopted. He relegated the young and untaught boys to a Grammar School. The more proficient were grouped in the Collegiate Department. It is noticeable that in choice of studies, for example French for German, and with large liberty of election for scientific studies, Davie was twenty-three years ahead of President Jefferson's noted plan of the University of Virginia. But when Dr. Caldwell in 1804 became President, he naturally introduced the classical curriculum of Princeton. This was

continued substantially for many years, in 1858 liberty to elect Civil Engineering and Agricultural Chemistry being allowed.

About this time there were repeated efforts by lotteries and by soliciting private subscriptions to obtain funds for completing the South, then called Main Building. President Caldwell journeyed to many points in the State for the purpose with considerable success. Larger donations had been ceived from General Thomas Person and Major Charles Gerrard, the latter being in Tennessee land warrants not then convertible into money.

In 1812 Dr. Caldwell resigned the Presidency for the Chair of Mathematics. In his place was chosen Rev. Robert Hett Chapman, D.D., of the State of New York. On account of his being a Federalist in the hot blood times of the war with Great Britain, he had a stormy time. In 1810 he resigned his office and was succeeded by Dr. Caldwell.

About this time the University had a few years of prosperity. The Legislature had given to the University a large number of land warrants to be located in Tennessee. These had been granted to North Carolina Continental soldiers, who had died without leaving heirs, or who could not be found. Tennessee after becoming a State in 1796, claimed that she was entitled to the warrants by right of eminent domain. The Trustees appointed Archibald D. Murphey and Joseph H. Bryan of Bertie, a Congressman, to represent their interests before the Legislature of Tennessee. After much difficulty a compromise was granted by that body. One third were allotted to the University and two thirds to colleges in that State. Owing to funds thus obtained the institution was prosperous until the panic of 1825. President Caldwell was allowed to visit Europe for the purchase of books and apparatus. The teaching force was increased. Elisha Mitchell became Professor in 1818, at first of Mathematics, in 1826

changing to Geology and Mineralogy. In the same year, 1826, James Phillips accepted the Chair of Mathematics. These two were strong members of the Faculty for many years; Dr. Mitchell until 1857, when he lost his life on Mount Mitchell, and Dr. Phillips in 1867, when he died suddenly at Prayers in Gerrard Hall.

Owing to the panic of 1825 the sales of the Tennessee lands of the University ceased and the University was much impoverished. In 1835 Dr. Caldwell died after a most painful and long-continued disease.

In order to place the management of the University on a business basis, an Executive Committee of seven Trustees in and near Raleigh was, in 1835, formed with full power. As the land market had improved the Committee empowered Charles Manly and Samuel Dickens of Tennessee to sell all the University lands in that State. This was done and about $170,000 was realized. The late Governor David Lowry Swain was chosen President and the University, having an assured income, entered on a career of prosperity.

The professors who have not been named, worthy of mention, are: James S. Gillespie (or Gillaspie), 1797-'9, who was also Presiding Professor; Archibald D. Murphey, 1800-'01; William Bingham, 1801-'05; Andrew Rhea, 1806'-14; William Hooper, 1817-'37; Ethan A. Andrews, 1822-'28; Denison Olmsted, 1817-'25; Shepard K. Kolloch, 1819-'25; Nicholas M. Hentz, 1826-'31; Walker Anderson, 1833; William Mercer Green, 1838-'49; Manuel Fetter, 1838-'68; John DeBernière Hooper, 1838-'48.

Of these Murphey became an eminent judge, and a distinguished pioneer in the advancement of public schools; Bingham was the founder of the Bingham School; William Hooper, an eminent divine and President of Wake Forest College; Andrews, joint author of a widely known Latin Grammar; Olmsted began the first Geological Survey of the

State, which was continued by Dr. Mitchell, and was author of scientific school books; Walker Anderson became Chief Justice of Florida; Green, Bishop of Mississippi and Chancellor of the University of the South; Hentz, author of a valuable treatise on the Arachnidæ (Spiders); Hooper and Fetter accurate scholars in their departments.

In 1847 the Commencement was honored by a visit from the President of the United States, a graduate of 1818, James K. Polk, with his Attorney-General, John Y. Mason, a graduate of 1816. Twelve years later James Buchanan, with Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, a graduate of 1831, was present at the exercises.

The University steadily increased in numbers, the maximum in 1857 being 461. Then on account of the threatening war there began to be a diminution, until in 1860'61 there were only 376. Although the numbers of the Faculty and students greatly diminished and the salaries of the Faculty were only partially paid, President Swain pluckily kept the exercises carried on all during the war. Even a truncated Commencement was held in June, 1865.

The University sent to the army 42 per cent of all students from 1830 to 1867, viz., 1,068. Of the younger alumni, 1850 to 1862, 57 per cent, 842 out of 1,478. Dr. S. B. Weeks ascertained these facts and adds that 312 lost their lives. There were 702 officers and 365 privates. Out of 5 Tutors, 4 lost their lives. Out of a Faculty of 14, some old and ministers of the gospel, 6 volunteered for the war. It is stated that out of 84 in the class of 1860 all became soldiers except one, detained by ill health.

In 1858 the new Caldwell monument was erected by the Alumni, of marble in the place of the weather-beaten sandstone shaft near the new West Building. President Polk made the motion and gave the first contribution.

The Trustees in 1859 made an investment, which by the

fortunes of war caused the bankruptcy of the University. They subscribed for $200,000 stock in the Bank of North Carolina. They paid cash for $110,000 but incurred a debt to the bank for $90,000. The bank stock became worthless but the debt remained. The final outcome will be seen in the second volume.

Dr. Battle has a chapter giving the characters, virtues and failings of the Professors, Tutors, officers and servants of the University during the three decades prior to the closing in 1868; President Swain, Mitchell, Phillips, Fetter, Hooper, Green, Deems, Judge Battle, Graves, Sr., Hubbard, Wheat, Shipp, Martin, Hepburn, Hedrick, C. Phillips, Brown, S. Phillips, Smith, Kimberly.

Of the servants he describes Dave Barham and Doctor November. He also faithfully gave the breaches of discipline by the students, the humorous pranks and the punishments. He described the hazing which was stopped for several years by a Freshman barricading himself and firing with pistol on his assailants, drawing blood but not killing. The cessation was voluntary, in consideration of the free pardon of offenders. In the sport of throwing fireballs the old belfry was burned and a bell of uncommon tone destroyed.

Under the old regime all students were required to attend prayers twice a day except on Saturday when the afternoon service was dispensed with. They were also required to attend religious services on Sunday and Bible classes in the afternoon. Professor Green and Dr. Mitchell for years officiated alternately in the Chapel. About 1848, when the Episcopal church edifice was completed, Professor Green started an agitation for allowing students exemption from Chapel services, provided they would attend elsewhere. This was resisted by President Swain, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Phillips and others of the old school. After a long controversy, which did not cease with the departure of Bishop Green to Missis-

sippi, the question was settled in 1860 by allowing exemptions to communicants, to those whose parents requested such exemption, and to those declaring that their consciences did not allow them to attend Chapel worship. President Swain granted special exemptions with liberality.

In 1854 the curriculum was extended in the direction of scientific studies. Tutor Charles Phillips was elected Professor of Civil Engineering and spent a year at Harvard preparing for its duties. Benjamin S. Hedrick took charge of Agricultural Chemistry. The Trustees did not allow its officers to be active in politics, and as Professor Hedrick published a letter advocating the election of Fremont, in the inflammatory state of the public mind incurring widespread odium, he resigned by request. Mr. John Kimberly took his place.

The University with fluctuating numbers had during the war continuous exercises. The professors were paid in Confederate money, which rapidly depreciated, and were only able to live by strictest economy. The Trustees gave some help by granting leave to cut firewood from their woodlands. One hundred-dollar gold bonds were issued to the professors, one to each, but the distress was severe. At the close of the war there was due them $7,000 for which 8 per cent bonds were given. The University owed $103,000 and the assets were $200,000 of worthless bank stock and other securities of insignificant value. Valuable members of the Faculty, *e. g.*, Professors Hepburn and Martin, were forced to seek other fields of labor.

In 1867, the affairs of the University being desperate, an effort was made towards a reorganization. To effect this the Faculty resigned their offices but were requested to hold their chairs until the Commencement of 1868. When that time came it was evident that the Trustees would lose their places under the Reconstruction Constitution of 1868. They

therefore reëlected the President and all the professors. The new Trustees treated this reëlection as invalid and vacated all the chairs.

In the foregoing condensed narrative it has been found necessary to omit much of the first volume of the history, which contains full accounts of the following subjects among others:

1. Early meetings of Trustees.
2. Journal of the Committee who selected the site.
3. Sale of lots in the new village.
4. Letters of Charles W. Harris and Dr. Caldwell from Chapel Hill.
5. Subsequent careers of Dr. afterwards Judge, Ker and of Professor Harris.
6. Early rules and queries of the two Literary Societies.
7. Letters of John Pettigrew giving social life of the early students.
8. Wild conduct of early students.
9. The first Commencement and graduates.
10. The "great Secession" and its cause.
11. The trials of Dr. Chapman.
12. Letters of Slade and other students.
13. Dr. Caldwell's narrative of his European trip.
14. Judge Murphey's address.
15. Judge Gaston's address.
16. Legislature refuses relief.
17. The Droomgoole myth.
18. The Harbinger journal and contents.
19. Sketches of professors and graduates.
20. History of the Buildings and much other matter.
21. Subsequent careers of Alumni.

KEMP P. BATTLE.

THE NAMING OF WAKE COUNTY

His peers to him attention gave,
With listening air; and aspect grave,
While thus the worthy Baron spoke:
"Our lovely shire a name must take;
And, bring of all this promise fair,
The garden spot, I here declare
That Beauty's self that name should make
And I propose sweet Esther Wake."

With loud acclaim the name they hail.
A name that ne'er in time shall fail,
Wherever heard, whenever spoken,
To be to every heart a token
Of Beauty's power, and soft control
O'er manhood's ardent soul.

1856.

These lines were written by the late Dr. William Cameron, of Hillsboro, North Carolina, and embody the tradition that Wake County was named by Governor Tryon in honor of his sister-in-law, Miss Esther Wake, of Ireland, who was perhaps the only popular member of the royal Governor's family in the Colony; and who is said to have been very beautiful and amiable, and much given to field sports and hard riding.

There is or was a ford on Eno long known as "Miss Esther Wake's Ford." Perhaps some of our old country folk know it still

REBECCA CAMERON.

CAPTAIN JAMES IREDELL WADDELL

BY CAPTAIN S. A. ASHE.

At the end of four long years of terrific struggle, it was Lee himself who said: "God bless North Carolina." With the part our soldiers bore so resolutely, so gloriously, we are all somewhat familiar; but while the great theatre of action was on land, there were perils and high resolves, and crowning glories also on the deep. Beleagured and blockaded as were the Confederate States, the Stars and Bars were borne across the oceans, and were carried in triumph around the world. There were heroes of the seas as well as of the tented field. Such a one was James Iredell Waddell—a descendant of Hugh Waddell, who won great fame in the Colonial wars, and who in Stamp Act times proudly bore the plume of a stalwart patriot. Also, he was a grandson of General Francis Nash—who, under Washington, received his mortal wound on the bloody field of Germantown; while through his arteries coursed the hot blood of many other warriors of the olden time.

He was born in Pittsboro, on July 13, 1824. His father was Francis Nash Waddell, and his mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Davis Moore.

In the ante-bellum days the vocations open to a young gentleman in North Carolina were the law, or medicine; the life of a planter, or a military career. The latter suited the temper of James Iredell Waddell; and in September, 1841, when seventeen years of age, he received the appointment of Midshipman and was ordered on duty at Norfolk. That was before the Naval school was established at Annapolis, and the boys were required to go on cruises, studying while at sea, and afterwards were examined for promo-

tion. Young Waddell had hardly donned his uniform before his fighting blood showed itself.

An older Midshipman, by name of Wearing, was offensive to him, and Waddell promptly called him to the field of honor. In the encounter the high-spirited Carolinian received a wound in the hip that caused him to limp a little all through life.

The record at the department is simply: "On leave to recovered from the effect of a duel." Years afterwards when the naval service was undergoing the transformation incident to the introduction of steam, when science was being added to the necessary attainments of Navy Officers—when the style of men like John Paul Jones, Johnson Blakely and Lawrence and Decatur was becoming obsolete—and steam, and machinery, and turrets and armor plates were about to supplant the gallant sailing frigates, the change was loudly bemoaned; and at that time, among those who were being educated for the service, the pluck of Waddell was an inspiration; and his sense of honor, his fearlessness, his bearing and prompt challenge of an older officer to mortal combat—made him an ideal hero, and invested him with a halo among the young fighters who dreamed of a future career famous for carnage and glory.

The record of his service in his junior years shows that he served on the Pacific; that on the breaking out of the war in Mexico he was ordered to the Gulf—and was on duty in the blockade of Vera Cruz, and was in the battle of Palo Alto, being with the sailors and marines sent by Commodore Conner to the assistance of General Taylor.

In 1848, having passed his examination, he was on duty at the Observatory at Washington. Three years later, he was ordered to the practice ship at Annapolis, and then to the Germantown—a vessel named to commemorate the battle in

which his distinguished grandfather received his mortal wound.

* * * * * * *

In 1848, he had married at Annapolis, Miss Ann Sellmon Iglehart, and had thus become connected with some of the old established families of that region. Their home was at Annapolis where he was again on duty when I first knew him in 1858. He was a splendid specimen of manhood. He was six feet, one inch in height, with a powerful frame, weighing more than two hundred pounds, well proportioned, with a fine person. His features were well cut, betokening resolution and decision. He had a noble bearing, intelligence kindled his eye, and withal gracious and courtly, he was radiant with kindliness. Mrs. Waddell was small in person. She was a lovely and affectionate woman. They had no children, and the life of each seemed centered in the other. Though long married, they still were lovers. It was agreeable to observe them, the strong great man—the lovely, little woman—wandering over the grounds together—happy in themselves, a charming idyl of real life.

His life was as a spotless mirror; bright, effulgent with honor; adorned with virtue and with high attributes—while his person and noble countenance recalled the lines:

> A combination and a form indeed
> Where every god did seem to set his seal
> To give the world assurance of a man!

The following summer he was on the practice ship; and at sea, when he had leisure, he daily occupied himself in studying international law. Without premonition of the future, he then acquired that knowledge of international law which served him so well on the sudden occasion in after years.

As an officer, he was a disciplinarian, without being harsh; exacting, but not tyrannical. He commanded obedience, and

compelled respect; but there was nothing to beget any feeling of repugnance among those subject to his orders.

He returned from his last cruise as an officer in the United States Navy August, 1861, and tendered his resignation, which the Department refused to accept.

On a dark and stormy night early in January, 1862, he, with his brother-in-law, Mr. Iglehart, shipped as oystermen on board an oyster dredging boat and sailed out into the Chesapeake; and after some striking adventures, narrowly escaping capture, made good their way into Dixie.

The Navy Department at Washington struck his name from the navy roll, spitefully entering on the record, "Dismissed."

Lieutenant Waddell who had been the ordnance officer at the Naval station at Drewry's Bluff, was in 1864 sent abroad to carry on the work of distressing the commerce of the enemy. Vessels carrying the United States flag had measurably disappeared from the Atlantic ocean. But in the Pacific a whaling fleet was still to be found, and it was important to destroy it.

The Navy department selected Lieutenant Waddell for that service. His reputation as a seaman was superb, and he enjoyed the entire confidence of the department.

Captain Bulloch, the representative of the Confederate government in Europe, had succeeded in purchasing the Sea King, a vessel built for the East India trade, and on her maiden voyage. She was commodious and well adapted to carrying a large complement of men; sailed well under canvas, and had her screw propeller so adjusted that when not in use it could be raised out of water. In September, 1864, flag-officer Barron at Paris, pursuant to instructions from the department, gave to Lieutenant Waddell his particular directions.

His orders were to the effect that he should proceed to London and sail on the steamer Laurel to the Island of Madeira. The Laurel had already on board a cargo apparently of merchandize—but really of cannon and munitions of war, which had been invoiced as machinery and other innocent goods and chattels.

The difficulties that beset Confederate operations abroad were almost insurmountable; the British authorities being vigilant to give no offense to the United States.

The Sea King, a new screw steamer, however, had been secretly purchased, and she also set sail for Madeira.

On October 19th the two vessels met off Funchal, and, a preconcerted signal being given, recognized each other, and proceeded to an anchorage on the shores of an uninhabited island some miles distant, where the transfer of stores was rapidly made, and Lieutenant Waddell read his commission, and raising the Confederate flag over the Sea King, christened her the Shenandoah. The little nook in which the vessel lay was well protected and the sea was smooth. The day was bright and lovely, and Lieutenant Waddell was inspired by the auspicious circumstances with the confident hope of success. In thirteen hours the consort had discharged every conceivable outfit intended for the Shenandoah, and then remained only to receive such passengers as were to return.

Captain Waddell has left an account of the cruise of the Shenandoah—from which I make some quotations: "I now felt," says Waddell, "that I had a good and fast ship under my feet—but there was a vast deal to be done, and to accomplish all that a crew was necessary."

In picking out the crew of the two vessels in England particular efforts were made to secure adventurous spirits who might be induced to enlist on the Shenandoah. No married

man was shipped, and none were taken except with the hope that when the time came they could take service under the Confederate flag; but out of the 55 men present only 23 were willing to adventure in such an undertaking.

Waddell's force was indeed so weak that they could not weigh anchor—without the assistance of the officers. These were young Confederates who had been sent abroad for such service, the first Lieutenant being William C. Whittle, of Virginia, whose fine capacity rendered him of great assistance to Captain Waddell. The officers threw off their jackets, and amid hearty cheers, soon had the anchor hanging at the bow; and the Shenandoah entered upon her new career, throwing out to the breeze the flag of the South and taking her place as a Confederate cruiser on her ocean home, as a war vessel duly commissioned according to the law of nations. That flag, wrote Waddell, "unfolded itself gracefully to the favoring breeze and declared the majesty of the country it represented, amid the cheers of a handful of brave hearted men—and the Shenandoah dashed upon her native element, as if more than equal to the contest—cheered on by the acclamations of the Laurel, which was steaming away for the land we love—to tell the tale to those who would rejoice that another Confederate cruiser was afloat!"

But work was to be done! The Sea King was to be metamorphosed into a cruiser, and armed with a battery for which she was not constructed. The deck was to be cleared, the stores put away, the guns mounted, gun ports cut in the vessel's sides, and the ship put in readiness to uphold the honor of the Confederate flag. All was to be done in mid-ocean, without an organized force, and with a small crew never before associated together.

While the situation was itself embarrassing, other embarrassments forced themselves on the mind of Captain Wad-

dell. In his memoir of his cruise, he wrote: "The novel character of my political position embarrassed me more than the feeble condition of my command, and that was fraught with painful apprehensions enough. I had the compass to guide me as a sailor, but my instructions made me a magistrate in a new field of duty and where the law was not very clear even to the lawyers. I was on all matters to act promptly and without counsel; but my admirable instructions and the instincts of honor and patriotism that animated every Southern gentleman, who bore arms in the South, bouyed me up with hope and supported me amid the difficulties and responsibilities bearing upon me."

Noble man! chivalrous soul! brave heart; We here, after these many years, behold you raising aloft in those distant waters the sole and solitary Confederate banner that then floated upon the bosom of the ocean. Alone it is borne by the breeze over the great waste of waters—the only emblem of our nation's sovereignty upheld beyond the limit of our beleagured States. We now realize the difficulties that beset you. We know the perils of the deep—the storms and hurricanes that sweep the ocean—the fury of the wild waves moved by mighty winds—but these, these have no place in your thoughts as you unfold the flag of your country then heroically struggling for existence, but your mind is intent only on the honor of your countrymen!

The Shenandoah was a composite vessel—the frame of iron, the hull of teak—six inches thick; she could steam about nine miles an hour—could condense about 500 gallons of water a day; and used about twenty tons of coal a day; was very fast; under favorable circumstances—making 15 miles an hour under sail.

I am much indebted for some account of life on board the Shenandoah to Lieut. W. C. Whittle and also recently have

had the pleasure of talking over the same subject with Lieutenant Grimball, both of whom were schoolmates with me at Annapolis and who were Captain Waddell's main dependence for assistance in his long and adventuous cruise.

Captain Whittle says: "Captain Waddell though brave and courageous was naturally discomfited and appalled at the work to be done.

"The battery consisted of four 8-inch smooth bore cannon, two rifled Whitworth 32-pounders and two 12-pounder signal guns.

"Every man and officer pulled off his jacket and rolled up his sleeves, and with the motto 'Do or die,' went to work at anything and everything. The Captain took the wheel frequently, steering the ship, to give one more pair of hands for the work to be done. We worked systematically and intelligently, doing first those things that were most imperatively necessary. By the 22d of October, after four days of hard work, the decks were cleared, the guns mounted, and the carpenters began to cut portholes in the sides of the ship."

Five days later, the Shenandoah entered upon her first chase, and made a prize. And then other prizes followed. From these prizes they secured twenty enlistments, increasing the crew from nineteen to thirty-nine; so, including the officers, they had all told sixty-two men, besides the prisoners, who were now and then sent away on some bonded vessel.

On December 8th, they made Tristam da Canha, near St. Helena, and passing to the east of Africa, they reached Melbourne, Australia, January 25, 1865. There they landed all their prisoners, and after refitting left on February 18th. After leaving the harbor, a number of men who had secreted themselves on board, came on deck and enlisted, increasing their crew to 144 men.

Sailing northward in May, after many adventures and

capturing many prizes, they reached the shores of Kamskatka.

Captain Whittle says: "We were in the Arctic and contiguous regions during the summer. It was most interesting, as we went north towards the pole, to mark the days grow longer and longer, and to experience the sun's being below the horizon a shorter and shorter time, until finally the sun did not go out of sight at all, but would go down to the lowest point, and without disappearing, would rise again. In short, it was all day.

"We went up as far as Gifinski and Tansk Bays, but could not enter for ice, from fifteen to thirty feet thick. Frequent captures were made, and the smoke of the burning vessels made landmarks against the skies."

It was now in the middle of summer, and on June 23 Waddell captured two whalers, which had left San Francisco in April and had on board papers of April 17th, in which was found the correspondence between General Grant and General Lee, and a statement of the surrender at Appomattox; but the same papers also contained President Davis's proclamation from Danville, declaring Lee's surrender would only cause the prosecution of the war with renewed vigor.

How harrowing must have been this news to these daring Confederates, then amid floes of ice in the Polar Ocean! But they were men of nerve. Whittle says: "We felt that the South had sustained great reverses; but at no time did we feel a more imperative duty to prosecute our work with vigor. Between June 22d and 28th we captured 24 whaling vessels, eleven being taken on the 28th."

Some of the prisoners expressed their opinion that the war was over; but notwithstanding, eight of the prisoners taken that day enlisted on board the Shenandoah.

On June 29th, the Confederate flag was flying in the

Arctic Ocean; but on that day Waddell turned his prow away from the pole and passed southward through Bering Straits.

In July 5th, they passed the Aleutian Islands, one of which was a volcano and was in a state of eruption, smoke and fire issuing from its peak. That was the last land seen by the Shenandoah for many days.

Let us pause for a moment and consider the strange situation of this Confederate cruiser—a war vessel representing the sovereignty of a nation that had expired amid the throes of disaster;—in mid-ocean, separated by thousands of miles from any friendly hand, subject to vicissitudes—uncertain of the present; apprehensive of the future.

Brave hearts, true men, bold seamen! They feared not the fury of the waves, nor the storms of the ocean, but they knew well man's inhumanity to man! They knew that the Navy Department of the United States, freed from the restraints imposed by fear of retaliation, would be vindictive and tyrannical to the last degree.

That department had always proclaimed the Southern people rebels, and their cruisers only pirates. On the land we had forced a recognition of belligerent rights: but at sea we had been powerless to retaliate.

On August 2d, when in north latitude 16 degrees and 122 west longitude, seeing a sailing bark, the Shenandoah made chase under steam and sail, and overhauled her at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. It proved to be the British bark Barraconta, thirteen days out from San Francisco, en route to Liverpool. When the British captain was asked for the news of the war, he inquired in astonishment:

"What war?"

"The war between the United States and the Confederate States."

"Why," said he, "that war has been over ever since April. What ship is that?"

"The Confederate ship, Shenandoah," was the reply.

Then came the information of the surrender of all the Confederate forces, the capture of President Davis, and the entire collapse of the Confederate cause; and the additional information, says Whittle, "that Federal cruisers were searching for us everywhere and would deal summarily with us, if caught. Files of recent papers confirmed it all. The information was appalling. We were bereft of country, bereft of ground of hope or aspiration, bereft of a cause for which to struggle and to suffer!

"That independence for which our brave people had so nobly fought, suffered and died, was under God's ruling, denied to us. Our anguish of disappointed hopes can not be described!

"Naturally our minds and hearts turned to our dear ones at home. What of the fate of each and all who were dear to us? These were the harrowing thoughts that entered into our very souls, the measure and intensity of which can not be portrayed.

"Then of ourselves! We knew the intensity of feeling engendered by the war—and particularly in the breasts of our foes towards us.

"We knew that every effort would be made for our capture, and felt that if we fell into the hands of the enemy, fired as their hearts were, we could not hope for a fair trial and judgment. Even during the war, we had been opprobriously called pirates, and we knew if captured, we would be summarily dealt with as such.

"These were reflections that disquieted us, but they caused no demoralization, or craven fear, but were borne by true men with clear consciences, who had done their duty as they

saw it, with all the powers given them by God. It was a situation desperate to a degree to which history furnishes no parallel. The first duty was to suspend hostilities and to proclaim such suspension.

"The following entry was made in the log book August 2, 1865, the Shenandoah then being off the coast of Mexico: 'Having received by the bark Barraconta the sad intelligence of the overthrow of the Confederate government, all attempts to destroy shipping or property of the United States will cease from this date, in accordance with which First Lieutenant W. C. Whittle received the order from the commander to strike below the battery and disarm the ship and crew.'

"The next step was to seek asylum with some strong nation, strong enough to maintain the ruling of the law of nations and resist any demand for our surrender to our enemies, so that we might have a full and fair trial."

Writing of that critical time, Captain Waddell, wrote: "My own life had been checkered, and I was tutored to disappointments. The intelligence of the issue of the fearful struggle cast a deep stillness over the ship's company, and would have occupied all my reflection, had not a responsibility of the highest order rested upon me—as to the course I should pursue, which involved not only my personal honor, but the honor of that flag intrusted to me, which had thus far been triumphant. I determined to run the ship for a European port—which involved a distance of 17,000 miles—a long gantlet to run, and escape. But why should not I succeed in baffling observation and pursuit? The ship had up to that time traveled 40,000 miles without accident. I considered it due to the honor of all concerned to avoid anything that had a show of dread—under the severe trial imposed upon me: that such was my duty as a man and an

officer in whose hands was placed the honor of my country's flag and the welfare of my command."

And so Waddell determined to sail for England. No longer did he have legitimate authority, for his commission expired with the collapse of the Confederacy; yet so well disciplined had his crew become, that to the very end the conduct of his crew was remarkable.

On the 15th of September, running at the rate of 15 miles an hour, the Shenandoah turned Cape Horn, and took her course northward for Liverpool. "We passed many sails," says Whittle, "but exchanged no signals. We were making no new acquaintances." They crossed the equator for the fourth time on October 11, 1865. On October 25th, in the afternoon, when about 500 miles south of the Azores, they sighted a supposed Federal cruiser. Their courses converged. The stranger was apparently waiting for the approaching vessel.

Quoting now from Captain Waddell: "The situation was one of anxious suspense. Our security, if any remained, depended on a strict adherence to our course. Deviation would be fatal; boldness must accomplish deception. Still we forged towards the sail, and it would be madness to stop. Darkness finally threw her friendly folds around the anxious hearts on the little ship and closed the space between the vessels. What a relief! We could not have been four miles away."

The Shenandoah's head was then turned southward and steam ordered. It was the first time she had been under steam since crossing the equator on the Pacific side; indeed, the fires had not been lighted for a distance of more than 13,000 miles. The Shenandoah ran fifteen miles to the eastward and then steamed north for 100 miles, when a strong southwest wind dashed her to within 700 miles of Liverpool.

A calm then ensued, leaving the Shenandoah in sight of eleven sails during daylight, but the ship was continued under sail until night again took her in its friendly embrace. After furling all sails, the vessel was put under steam and pushed her way towards the desired haven.

The Shenandoah entered St. George's Channel on the morning of November 5th, just 122 days from the Aleutian Islands. "We saw no land," says Captain Waddell, "after leaving the Aleutian Islands until the beacon light in St. George's Channel was seen exactly where it was looked for. We had sailed 23,000 miles without seeing land and still saw the beacon exactly where we expected."

The daily calculation of the ship's position was very accurate, when that fact is considered. It was indeed a most remarkable record in navigation. They received a pilot after night, and when he was informed of the character of the vessel, he said: "I was reading a few days ago of her being in the Arctic Ocean." Asked for American news, he said the war had gone against the South. That was in November. Lee's surrender was in April.

"The quiet satisfaction seen in all countenances," says Captain Waddell, "for our success in reaching a European port was unmistakable."

Indeed, there was cause. The chief danger was now past. On the morning of the 6th of November, 1865, the Shenandoah steamed up the Mersey, bearing aloft the Confederate flag. A few moments after she had anchored, a British naval officer boarded her—to ascertain the name of the steamer—and he gave Captain Waddell official information that the American war had terminated. No longer was there any Confederacy! The Southern States were again a part of the United States.

The Confederate flag, representing neither people nor

country, an emblem of an era that had closed in the history of mankind, was then sorrowfully lowered, this historic act taking place at 10 a. m. on the 6th of November, 1865. The vessel was then given in charge to the British government.

For a day or two some correspondence was in progress between the British and American authorities in regard to the Shenandoah, her officers and crew. But on the 8th of November the crew were suffered to depart, and soon the British government turned the vessel over to the United States authorities, by whom she was sold to the Sultan of Zanzibar, and later she was lost at sea.

She was the only vessel that carried the Confederate flag around the world, and she bore it at her mast head seven months after the surrender of the Southern armies and the obliteration of the Southern Confederacy.

In her cruise of thirteen months, she ran 58,000 miles and met with no accident; and for a period of eight months she did not drop her anchor. She destroyed more vessels than any other ship of war known in history, except alone the Alabama, and inflicted heavy loss on the commerce of the United States.

The feeling of the United States was so intense against Captain Waddell that he lingered some time in Europe before venturing to return to America. Finally he came, and in 1875 the Pacific Mail Company, owned largely by Englishmen, running lines of steamers from San Francisco to Japan and Australia, engaged him as commander of one of its fine steamships. For some years he continued in that service, but on one of his return trips, as he was nearing the coast, his vessel struck a rock or bar not laid down in any chart, some thirteen miles from shore, which had doubtless been thrown up by a recent earthquake. He had 420 passengers on board, many being women and children. He at

once took personal command, and by the perfect discipline he had maintained among the crew, he controlled the excited passengers. Indeed his was a personality that would inspire confidence under all circumstances. Through an opening fifty feet long, water poured into the vessel. He put all men at the pumps, turned toward the shore and got his boats and life rafts ready. He got within three miles of land before he found it necessary to abandon the sinking vessel. Rapidly he had the women and children transferred to the small boats, and then the men, and then the crew—until at length he alone remained the sole human being upon his fated ship. Then hurrying the boats away, he himself stepped upon a life raft, and when not more than fifty yards away, the great vessel plunged into the waves, creating a vortex of waters from which he barely escaped. But no soul was lost. His perfect self-command, his perfect discipline, secured the safety of every passenger. They were landed without trouble on the neighboring shore, and the admirable conduct of Captain Waddell won the highest praise.

But after that he determined to abandon a career upon the sea, and eventually returned to Annapolis.

Later, there being much trouble in controlling the fleet of oyster boats on the Chesapeake that set at defiance the laws of Maryland, the governor of that State invited Captain Waddell to take charge of the State guard boats in the Chesapeake. He soon established order and made the oystermen respect the law.

He continued in this service at Annapolis until his death, March 15, 1886, being then in the 62d year of his age. The Legislature of Maryland was in session at the time and adjourned to do him honor. The old Confederate soldiers formed in line and marched to his residence. General George H. Stuart acted as marshal and the pall-bearers were

Captain Morris, Captain Murray, General Bradley Johnson and other distinguished Confederates, while the escort of honor was commanded by Colonel William Morris. The governor and State officers participated.

Indeed it was a State funeral—the only one, that we remember, ever accorded to a Confederate in a State north of the Potomac.

Thus was laid to rest this brave son of the Cape Fear, who never ceased to love his native soil and his friends and kindred in North Carolina. His life was full vicissitudes, but his guiding star was honor, and he was a shining example of all that is admirable in human character and all that is meritorious in human conduct.

Like many other heroes of the great drama, he has passed away and his grave is adorned with flowers by the loving hands of patriotic women—Confederate women, who suffered for the lost cause and who perpetuate its sacred memories. In the time of sorrow, they and their Confederate sisters throughout the Southland bore themselves with unsurpassed fortitude, and in these later days, they treasure the hallowed past and keep bright the fame of our fathers and brothers and tenderly pay deserved tribute to their honored dead. Duty, Christian duty, is their watchword, and the people of North Carolina and of the South in the ages to come—the descendants of our people here to remote posterity—will bless them for their noble, patriotic and devoted work in preserving the unsullied records of the heroes of the Southern Confederacy.

MARRIAGE BONDS OF ROWAN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. M. G. McCUBBINS.

John Cochran to Elizabeth Patten. February 7, 1773. John Cochran, Richard paton and Andrew Cochran. (Ad: Osborn.)

John Chambers to Rebecah Graham. June 13, 177..... John Chambers and Jas. Cathey. (Ad: Osborn.) A note of consent from bride's father, James Graham, dated June 13, 1774, witnessed by George Howard.

Hugh Cathey to Jane Bailey. August 4, 1774. Hu: Cathey and James Brandon. (Ad: Osborn.) A note of consent from bride's father, Charles Bailey, dated August 3, 1774.

Richard Cathey, to Elizabeth Giles, a spinster. September 6, 1774. Richard Cathey and William Giles. (Ad: Osborn.)

Hugh Cunningham to Elizabeth Smith, a spinster. September 15, 1774. Hugh (his X mark) Cunningham and John Johnston. (Ad: Osborn.)

James Cooke to Anne McConnell. August 15, 1774. James Cook and Joseph Dickson. (Ad: Osborn.)

Leonard Crider to Margaret Vervele. February 14, 1775. Leonard Crider (in Dutch?) and George Gonter. (Ad: Osborn.)

John Campbell to Juda Peterson. February 15, 1775. John Campbell, William Brandon and John Lock. (No name.)

Henry Chambers to Agness McHenry. May 11, 1775. Henery Chambers and John McHenry. (David Flowers.)

William Clark to Sarah Jones. August 17, 1775. William Clark and George Gonder. (David Flowers.)

John Calahan to Jane Templeton. August 19, 1775. John Calahan and George Templeton. (David Flowers.)

James Cowen to Easther Lewis. August 22, 1775. James Cowan and Henry Dobbin. (David Flowers.)

John Carson to Sarah Slaven. August 31, 1775. John Carson and Robert Nevins. (David Flowers.)

Joshua Crowdir to Rebecca (Rebena?) Smith (a spinster) January 19, 1776. Joshua Crowder and Arch[d] Kerr.

Arthur Chambers to Ruth Woods. May 9, 1776. Arthur Chambers and Samuel Woods. (Ad: Osborn.)

Robert Chambers to Lettice Boyd. May 10, 1776. Robert Chambers and Robert Boyd. (Ad: Osborne.)

Valentine Calahan to Elizabeth McCreedy. May 28, 1776. — Callahan and James Bone (?). (Ad.: Osborn.) A note from Andrew McCreedy.

Samuel McCorkle to Elisabeth Gillespie. June 29, 1776. Samuel McCorkle and Adlai Osborn. (No name.)

David Craige to Mary Foster. July 20, 1776. David Craige and Adlexander Brown. (Ad: Osborn.)

Benjamin Cowen to Anne Henley Jenkins. April 9, 1778. Benjamin Cowan and William Cowan. (Ad: Osborn.)

James Coyle to Jean Harrington. September 12, 1778. James Coile and William (his X mark) Harrington. (Ad: Osborn.)

Joseph Chambers to Mary Campbell. September 14, 1778. Joseph Chambers and George Reed. (Ad: Osborn.)

Daniel Clenard to Mary Hinkle. November 8, 1778 (?). Daniel (his X mark) and Geo. (his X mark) Hoover. (Jno. Macay.)

Eleazer Cummins to Isabell (?) Caswell (?). December 15, 1778. Eliazar Comens and James Fraser. (William R. Davie.)

Jonathan Cox to Mary Konne (?). May (?) 8, 1779. Jonathan Cox and Joseph (his X mark) Cox. (Jo. Brevard.)

N. B.—This is mixed and Joseph may have married instead of Jonathan.

Robert Carlisle to Elizabeth Cash. February 3, 1779. Robert Carlile and John Cochran. (Ad: Osborn.)

Christophel Cupp to Prusilla Landuse. May 17, 1779. Christophel Cupp (?) and Johannes Cochenour ? (these are in Dutch?) (Ad: Osborn.)

John Cochran to Margret Huston. September 9, 1779. Jno. Coghlan and Jno. Bailey. (Ad: Osborn and Jo. Brevard.)

Hugh Cunningham to Mary Kent (?). February 10, 1780. Hugh Cunningham and Jonathan Conger. (B. Booth Boote.)

Isaac Cowin to Mary Pelton. November 8, 1780. Isaac (his X mark) Cowin and Nicholas (his X mark) Aldredge. (H.? Giffard.)

Thomas Cook to Ann Clayton. January 20, 1781. Thomas Cook and Lambert Clayton.

George Clark to Elizabeth Allen. March 14, 1781 (?). George Clark and John Smith. (Ad: Osborn.)

James Cook and Margaret Thompson. June 22, 1782 (?). James Cooke and John Hide (?).

James Chambers to Margret Erwin. October 19, 1782. Abraham (his X mark) Ervin. (Ad: Osborn.)

Lambert Clayton to Serah Davidson. December 14 (11?), 1782. Lambert Clayton and Jas. Ker. (H. C. Caule.)

Joseph Crofts to Sarah Wells. December 16, 1782 (3?). Joseph Crofts and Thos. (his X mark) Willis. (William Crawford.)

John Current to Susanna Remington. December 13 (19?), 1782. John Current and William Clark. (William Crawford.)

Albert Carson to Ellie Patterson. December 20, 1782. Robert Carson and James Patterson. (?) H. C. Caule.

William Craige to Deborah Orman. 1783. William Craig and Joseph Chambers. (Wm. Crawford.)

Samuel Cummins to Elizabeth Nevins. January 28, 1783. Samuel Cummins and John Edgard. (William Crawford.)

Amos Church to Elizabeth Swink. February 25, 1783. Amos (his X mark) Swink and Henry Giles. (A mistake surely. (William Crawford.)

Samuel Cowin to Phebe Lewis. Jun. (?) 14, 1783. Samuel Cowan and Samuel (his X mark) Lewis. (Wm. Crawford.)

Jacob Clever to Christina Billing. August 11, 1783. Jacob Clevey (?) and Leonard (his X mark) Ca.?

James Kilehand to Mary Wason. August 14, 1783. James W. Calahan and John Wason. (Jno. McNairy.)

John Chriwer (?) to Cathrin Kup (?). November 1, 1783. John (his X mark) Chriver and Peter Brown.

Isaac Cowin to Sarah Stewart. December 18, 1783. Isaac (his X mark) Cowin and David (his X mark) Stewart. (Jno. McNairy.)

(To be Continued.)

Biographical Sketches of the contributors to this issue of The Booklet have been published heretofore as follows:

Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood.....Vol. VIII, 1
Dr. Kemp P. Battle.....Vol. VII, 2
Captain S. A. Ashe.....Vol. IX, 4

Vol. XIII JANUARY, 1914 No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XIII JANUARY, 1914 No. 3

NEW YEAR'S SHOOTING, AN ANCIENT GERMAN CUSTOM

By Major Wm. A. Graham.

The Germans who came from the Fatherland direct or via Pennsylvania to the country adjacent to the Catawba River and perhaps to other sections of the State brought with them the custom of "New Year's Shooting," which from the opening words of the sermon seems to have been a custom in the old country in which the tenants on New Year's Eve, going to the mansion of the Baron or Landlord, delivered an address and saluted him by firing their guns.

It was not a carousal of boys on a spree, but one of the steadiest, and generally an elderly man, was the preacher, who promptly left if there was any misbehavior.

The custom has now become almost obsolete, but there are still a few communities who prepare for the visit of the shooters by having a supply of eatables on hand for them.

Assembling about midnight, they went from house to house until sunrise, having designated some place where they would breakfast. Here the preacher left and the others, principally the young people, spent some time in drinking, dancing, prize shooting and other festivities common to the Christmas season in those days.

The desire was to reach the house unobserved by the occupants. Assembling before the house, the preacher called out three times: "Hello, Major (or William) Graham!" At

the third call the landlord answers, "Hello." Then follows the sermon:

Good morning, Landlord and Landlady!
Sons and daughters and all who are within your house.
I wish you all a happy New Year in this year of our Lord 1914.
I wish you all great health, long life, which God will bestow you on,
Keep joy, peace and encouragement and God will bless your whole intent.
On your house and all therein
I wish you all a blessing.
Praise Him in times of all
Who gives you houses, lands and all.
The poor and needy praise the Lord
Who blessings need of every sort.
In every part I wish you ease,
That God may give you luck and peace.
God preserve the house that you are in,
Where you go out, where you come in.
In this world both man and wife
Grow tired of this earthly life
And seek an eternal rest,
Choosing some other subject for the best.
And I wish from my heart
From this world we do depart
We may all sing new hymns
Like David did in former times.
But you are like that frail flower,
Born to flourish but an hour,
That with the sun does uprise,
Unfolds, and with the evening dies.
Such and so withering are our earthly joys
Which time and sickness soon destroys.
A thousand wretched souls have fled
Since the last setting sun;
But the Lord hath lengthened out our thread
And still our moments run.
Great God, let all our hours be thine,
Then shall our sun in smiles decline.
Never build your hopes too high,
But keep God always before your eye,
And that you and I are born to die.
Time by moments steals away,
First the hour and then the day,

Small the daily loss appears,
But soon it doth amount to years.
Sad experience may relate
What a year the last has been;
Crops of sorrow have been great
In this vain world of sin.
That they must lie within the tomb
The sons of Adam know is their certain doom.
As runs the glass, man's life does pass.
Xerxes the Great did surely die;
This must be the case with you and I.
I have this New Year's morn called you by your name,
Disturbed you of your rest, meant no harm by the same;
Here we stand upon your land
With guns and pistols in our hand.
And when we pull trigger and powder burn,
You'll hear the roaring of our guns.
Here we are in your yard,
A little distance all apart.
And, as it may be your desire,
Our guns shall either snap* or fire.
As I hear no objection,
We'll now proceed to your protection.

After the sermon comes the firing. Beginning at the head of the line each one fires until all have shot. A loud report is highly prized and to secure this by overloading sometimes the guns burst or are kicked out of the hands of the person firing. Others fire with the muzzle pointed to the ground to increase the volume of the report. A large attendance at New Year's shooting was considered a good omen for the next wheat crop, caused by the settling of the powder smoke upon the ground. The firing over, the preacher says:

If you are a man of grace,
Come to the door and show your face.

The landlord opens the door, the shooters enter, exchange the compliments of the season, partake of such entertain-

*If on account of sickness or other cause, firing is not desired, the landlord calls out "Snap."

ment as has been prepared and then proceed to the next house, continuing the march until sunrise.

It is a pretty manner of extending New Year's salutation and it is to be regretted that it will soon be obsolete.

The original sermon was in German, and in many places it was preached in that language prior to 1860. There are several versions in English; the one I have given is the one used in the neighborhood of the writer.

Mr. R. M. Beal, of Lincolnton, gives the following version as that used by him and his associates:

THE NEW YEAR'S SHOOTING.

Good morning, Landlord and Landlady,
Sons and daughters and all that are within thy house.
I wish you a happy New Year,
Great health and long life,
Which God bestow upon you in mercy
As long as you are upon the earth.
I hope you lovers of every kind,
Please your heart and please your mind,
Whose heart is pure, whose hands are clean,
Whose tongues still speak the things they mean,
No slander dwells upon your tongue
You hate to do your lovers wrong.
A state of sin I despise
But love the honor in the eyes,
Don't be too proud, don't build your hopes too high,
Keep God always before your eye
And recollect you are born to die
As well as I.
The hoar frost that shrouds the ground,
The hail that sends the dreadful sound,
The icy hand the rivers hold
From the dread arms of winter's cold,
The branches we are ordained to shoot
From David's stock to Jacob's root,
To this New Year's morning 1914
I have called you by your name
And meant no harm by the same.
If these proceedings don't agree,

Make us an answer se-ri-ous-ly,
That we may hold our credit by
And burn our powders in ægy sly—
But since it has been your desire,
Guns and pistols shall snap and fire.

EARLY TIMES ON THE CAPE FEAR

By Captain S. A. Ashe.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY OF COLONIAL DAMES AT BRUNSWICK, N. C.

As, when some devotee repairs to a sacred shrine and lifts his silent thoughts to the throne in Heaven, his being becomes penetrated with the softening atmosphere of the hallowed sanctuary and his piety is nourished by his emotions; so, on such an occasion as this, when we draw nigh to these venerable ruins, where our forefathers gathered in years long past, and which speak to us of their patriotic deeds in perilous times, our own natures must be uplifted and our patriotism strengthened and made more fervent.

Here we find visible objects connecting us with an interesting past and attesting the verity of legends and memories that we dearly cherish. Here at the gateway of our noble river stands a monument that speaks to us of the very beginning of life upon the Cape Fear, of the first settlement, of its early days, and of its growth, development and expansion. But more particularly it is a mournful memorial of the conflicting interests between the newer city—Newton it was originally called—and the first town laid off as a center for the trade and commerce of the people. The younger sister, with her superior advantages, survived the contest and won the victory; and Wilmington became the great heart of the Cape Fear region, sending warm blood of energy and intelligence through the arteries of the country, and growing in strength and importance in every succeeding generation; while Brunswick faded away with the Colonial days, and her ruins here are only vestiges of the Colonial period. They bid us pause and reflect upon their history.

They recall to our remembrance, the important changes that Time has wrought among us. The services held within these walls were those of the Church of England, the ministers being under the authority of the Bishops of London; and the worshippers with loyal hearts gloried in being subjects of His Sacred Majesty, the King. The fountain of honor, the resplendent source of earthly glory, was the beloved and revered Monarch who sat on his throne in his royal palace across the water. His ministers ordered our affairs, selected our Governors, appointed our counsellors and local officers, and allowed or annulled the enactments of our legislatures. Yes, then our forefathers were British subjects, and earnestly and anxiously sought the smiles of their Sovereign, and had neither hope nor desire for any change.

There is no record of the arrival of the vessel that brought here the pioneer family. She came with bended sail across yonder bar and boldly coursed the broad harbor and drew near to the haven where she would be. There were anxious mothers—the children, the household servants, and all the accompaniments of the family. Oh! noble river: thus was borne upon your bosom the first germs of a people destined in time to occupy a vast country and by their deeds and virtues to become famous on the pages of history. Ah! that bark! freighted with precious lives, animated with high hopes of a happy future here on the virgin banks of this splendid river: maids and matrons; brave, courageous and enterprising men—they come to found a people; to lay the foundations of a settlement amid the solitude of an unbroken wilderness. But soon the axes ring; great trees fall; clearings are made; houses rise, and settlers hasten to make new homes on these broad and placid waters.

With these first enterprising families, nearly every one

of us here present today is, perhaps in some way, connected; and it is from such a standpoint, that we children of the Cape Fear find a particular interest in the incoming of our Fathers, in their first clearings, in the first family prayers that ascended from the hearthstones of old Brunswick, and in the redemption of our loved section from its original condition of primeval wilderness.

Among the immigrants from foreign parts were men of learning, culture, and social position, and they found congenial society. Indeed social conditions on the Cape Fear were exceptionally fine. The native sons, children of South Carolina and of Albemarle, could boast refinement, as well as wealth and strength of character; and preëminent among all were the Moores and their kinspeople, who were called by those who had antagonistic interests, "The Family." "The Family" was not on easy terms with the new Governor, Gabriel Johnston, who with his immediate friends had purchased lands around Newton, and had cast the whole influence of the administration in favor of that town and against Brunswick. And so after a hot and strong fight, by very doubtful tactics, the Governor carried his point and Newton took its place among the few incorporated towns, under the name of Wilmington: and, backed by all the official influences of the administration, and of others interested in its land values, and sustained by a more thriving trade because of its superior location, it soon became the chief emporium of the Cape Fear and the local seat of government.

But still there centered in Brunswick many interests. There an elegant and refined society held sway; and later other Governors resided there, as well as some of the Crown officers.

At length, however, New Bern became the established seat of government and the residence of the Governor; and,

perhaps because of its exposed position during the periods times of the Revolution, Brunswick was entirely deserted, and passed into history, its light going out with the end of the Colonial period.

But to us, as long as this ruin endures, it will be a memorial of exceeding interest. It recalls to us the joyous aspect of the social side of Colonial days. Here was a seat of elegance, refinement and culture, and of a fine hospitality unsurpassed anywhere in the Southland.

Here gathered the Colonial dames who imparted a charm to daily life, and whose gracious presence cast a refining and elevating influence throughout the Cape Fear region. These were indeed the Colonial Dames of the earlier times.

You know, fair ladies, the immutable order of nature—evolution—development. First, the bud; then the flower.

In a spacious garden that adorns the banks of our beloved river, fit for some modern Maecenas and his elegant spouse, where a multitude of roses beautify nature, one can see some lovely buds of the variety known as American Beauty—in time, by natural processes, these become full blown, glorious roses—the admiration of all who love perfection in nature.

The Colonial Dames of Old Brunswick were as the lovely buds: the Dames of today—are the perfect development—the glorious full blown American Beauties: living roses in a veritable garden of Hesperides with heavenly souls and divine forms, and whose charms and graces make them actual goddesses for the souls of men to worship.

Such a picture is only an illustration of what was to be found in all the mansions that adorned the banks of the Cape Fear. Happy indeed was life in these abodes of culture and refinement; there being abundant crops, increasing

wealth and social pleasures that gave a delightful flavor to the placid current of happy existence.

But there were occasions of excitement. The course of public affairs often ran in channels calling for bold and courageous action.

In the system of government, as the Governor represented in Proprietary times the will of the Palatine or of the Lords Proprietors, and, in after years, he received his instructions from the Colonial office, his relations to the people were those of a foreign ruler; while, on the other hand, the Assembly represented the people, and its mouthpiece was the Speaker. The Speaker stood before the people as a champion of their rights and principles; he was the guardian of their liberty. In him was reposed the public trust of maintaining and defending their sacred rights against all encroachments; and his courage, patriotism, and devotion constituted the very ark of their safety. Although his position was not so exalted as that of the representative of His Sacred Majesty, the King, yet the power of the Speaker with the people at his back was greater and more important than that of the Royal Governor.

For fifty years, with some slight intermissions, this high and responsible post was entrusted by the people to a single family. For fifty years Maurice Moore's family connections controlled and directed public affairs in North Carolina, and so wisely, vigorously, and patriotically managed the cause of the people, that in nearly every conflict with the successive Governors they won the victory.

The Parliament of the British Empire in 1765 usurped the authority of taxing the Colonists. To admit it was to court the chains of political slavery. The asserted right was stoutly denied. To assist the King, each Colony had been used by taxing itself to raise a fund and present

it to the King, under the name of "an aid"; but because of the great expense incurred in the war, then ended, Parliament resolved itself to lay a tax on the Colonists as on all other British subjects. A resolution declaring that policy was adopted by Parliament, almost without debate. But when the next year a bill was introduced to carry the resolution into effect, it met with considerable opposition in the House of Commons, for the protests of the Colonists were not unheeded. Still the ministry, under Lord Bute, persisted, and the measure was carried. All America was at once stirred. Bold and courageous action was taken in every Colony, but in none was a more resolute spirit manifested than here upon the Cape Fear. The Governor was Tryon, who had but lately succeeded to that office. He was an officer of the army, a gentleman by birth and education, a man calculated by his accomplishments and social qualities to shine in any community. He sought the Speaker of the House, and asked him what would be the action of the people—"Resistance to the death," was the prompt reply. That was a warning that was full of meaning. It pledged the Speaker to revolution and war in defense of the people's rights.

The Assembly was to meet in May, 1765. But Tryon astutely postponed the meeting until November, and then dissolved it. He did not wish the members to meet, confer, consult, and arrange a plan of opposition. He hoped by dealing with gentlemen, not in an official capacity, to disarm their antagonism and persuade them to a milder course. Vain delusion! The people had been too long trained to rely with confidence on their leaders to abandon them now, even though Parliament demanded their obedience.

The first movement was not long delayed. Within two months after the news had come that the odious act had

been passed, the people of North Carolina discarded from their use all clothes of British manufacture and set up looms for weaving their own clothes. Since Great Britain was to oppress them, they would give the world an assurance of the spirit of independence that would sustain them in the struggle. In October, information was received that Doctor Houston, of Duplin County, had been selected in England as Stamp-Master. At once proceedings were taken to nullify the appointment. At that time Wilmington had less than 500 white inhabitants, but her citizens were very patriotic and very resolute.

Rocky Point, fifteen miles to the northward, had been the residence of Maurice Moore, of Speaker Moseley and Speaker Swann, Alexander Lillington, John Swann, George Moore, John Porter, Col. Jones, Col. Merrick, and other gentlemen of influence. It was the centre from which had radiated the influences that directed popular movements. Nearer to Onslow, Duplin and Bladen, than Wilmington was, and the residence of the Speaker and other active leaders, it was doubtless there that plans were considered, and proceedings agreed upon that involved the united action of all the neighboring counties. At Wilmington and vicinity, were Harnett, DeRossett, Toomer, Walker, Clayton, Gregg, Purviance, Eustace, Maclaine and DuBois; while near by were Col. Waddell, Maurice and James Moore, the Davises, Howe, Smith, Grange, Ancrum, and a score of others of the loftiest patriotism. All were in full accord with the Speaker of the Assembly; all were nerved by the same spirit; all resolved to carry resistance, if need be, to the point of blood and death.

We fortunately have a contemporaneous record of some of their proceedings. "On Saturday, the 19th of last month,"

says the *North Carolina Gazette,* published at Wilmington, in its issue of November 20, 1765:

"About 7 o'clock in the evening, near five hundred people assembled together in this town and exhibited the effigy of a certain honorable gentleman; and after letting it hang by the neck for some time, near the courthouse, they made a large bonfire with a number of tar barrels, etc., and committed it to the flames. The reason assigned for the people's dislike to that gentleman was from being informed of his having several times expressed himself much in favor of the Stamp Duty. After the effigy was consumed, they went to every house in town, and brought all the gentlemen to the bonfire, and insisted on their drinking 'Liberty, Property, and No Stamp Duty,' 'Confusion to Lord Bute and all his adherents'; giving three huzzahs at the conclusion of each toast. They continued together until 12 of the clock, and then dispersed without doing any mischief."

Doubtless it was a very orderly crowd; since the editor says so. A very orderly, harmless, inoffensive gathering; patriotic, and given to hurrahing; but we are assured that they dispersed without doing any mischief.

And continues the same paper:

"On Thursday, the 31st of the same month, in the evening, a great number of people assembled again, and produced an effigy of Liberty, which they put into a coffin and marched in solemn procession with it to the churchyard, a drum in mourning beating before them; and the town bell muffled ringing a doleful knell at the same time; but before they committed the body to the ground, they thought it advisable to feel its pulse, and, finding some remains of life, they returned back to a bonfire ready prepared, placed the effigy before it in a large two-armed chair, and concluded the evening with great rejoicings on finding that Liberty had still an existence in the Colonies.

"Not the least injury was offered to any person."

The editor of that paper, Mr. Stewart, was apparently anxious to let his readers know that the people engaged in these proceedings were the very soul of order, and the essence of moderation. So far they had done no mischief and offered no injury to anyone. But still they had teeth, and

they could show them. Ill fared any man who stood in their way.

The next item reads:

"Saturday, the 16th of this instant, that is November: William Houston, Esq., Distributor of stamps for this Province, came to this town; upon which three or four hundred people immediately gathered together, with drums beating and colors flying, and repaired to to the house the said Stamp master put up at, and insisted upon knowing 'Whether he intended to execute his said office or not.' He told them, 'He should be very sorry to execute any office disagreeable to the people of this Province.' But they, not content with such declaration, carried him into the courthouse, where he signed a resignation satisfactory to the whole. They then placed the stamp master in an arm chair, carried him around the courthouse, giving at every corner three loud huzzahs, and finally set him down at the door of his lodging, formed a circle around him, and gave three cheers. They then escorted him into the house, where were prepared the best liquoirs, and treated him very genteelly. In the evening a large bonfire was made and no person appeared on the streets without having "Liberty" in large capital letters on his hat. They had a table near the bonfire, well furnished with several sorts of liquors, where they drank in great form, all the favorite American Toasts, giving three cheers at the conclusion of each."

"The whole was conducted," says the editor, "with great decorum, and not the least insult offered to any person."

This enforced resignation of the Stamp-Master was done under the direction of Alderman DeRossett, who received from Houston his commission and other papers, and necessarily it was a very orderly performance. The ringing huzzas, the patriotic toasts, the loud acclaim, echoing from the court-house square, reverberating through the streets of the town, but Mr. Stewart is quite sure that no mischief was done, and not the least insult was offered to any person. These and other similar proceedings led the Governor to send out a circular letter to the principal inhabitants of the Cape Fear region, requesting their presence at a dinner at his residence at Brunswick on Tuesday the 19th of November,

three days after Dr. Houston resigned; and after the dinner, he conferred with these gentlemen about the Stamp Act. He found them fully determined to annul the Act, and prevent its going into effect. He sought to persuade them, and begged them to let it be observed at least in part. He plead that if they would let the act go into partial operation in the respects he mentioned, he himself would pay for all the stamps necessary. It seems that he liked the people, and they liked and admired him; and difficult indeed was his position. He was charged with the execution of a law which he knew could not be executed, for there was not enough specie in the Province to buy the necessary stamps, even if the law could be enforced; but, then, the people were resolved against recognizing it in any degree. The authority of the King and of the Parliament was defied, and he, the representative of the British Government, was powerless in the face of this resolute defiance. While still maintaining dignity in his intercourse with the people, the Governor wrote to his superiors at London, strongly urging the repeal of the law. A week later the stamps arrived in the sloop of war, the Diligence. They remained on the sloop and were not landed at that time.

Now there was a lull; but the quietude was not to remain unbroken. In January two merchant vessels arrived in the harbor, the Patience and the Dobbs. Their clearance papers were not stamped as the Act required. The vessels were seized and detained while the lawfulness of their detention was referred to the Attorney-General, Robert Jones, then absent at his home on the Roanoke. But the leaders of the people were determined not to submit to an adverse decision. They held meetings and agreed on a plan of action.

In view of the crisis, on January 20th, the Mayor of the town retired to give place to Moses John DeRossett, who had

been the foremost leader in the action previously taken by the town. One whose spirit never quailed was now to stand forth as the head of the Corporation.

On the 5th day of February, Capt. Lobb, in command of the Viper, had made a requisition for an additional supply of provisions, and Mr. Dry, the Contractor, sent his boat to Wilmington to obtain them. The inhabitants, led by the Mayor, at once seized the boat, threw the crew into the jail, and in a wild tumult of excitement, placed the boat on a wagon and hauled it through the streets with a great demonstration of fervid patriotism. The British forces on the river were to receive no supplies from Wilmington; their provisions were cut off, and they were treated as enemies—not friends, so long as they supported the odious law of Parliament. Ten days later came the opinion of the Attorney-General to the effect that the detained merchantmen were properly seized and were liable to be confiscated under the law. This was the signal for action. The news was spread throughout the counties, and the whole country was astir. Every patriot "was on his legs." There was no halt in carrying into effect the plan agreed upon. Immediately the people began to assemble and detachments, under chosen leaders, took up their march from Onslow, Bladen and Duplin. On the 18th of February, the inhabitants of the Cape Fear counties, being then assembled at Wilmington, entered into an association, which they signed, declaring they preferred death to slavery; and mutually and solemnly they plighted their faith and honor that they would at any risk whatever, and whenever called upon, unite and truly and faithfully assist each other, to the best of their power, in preventing entirely the operation of the Stamp Act.

The crisis had now arrived. The hand of destiny had

struck with a bold stroke the resounding bell. The people, nobly responding, had seized their arms. At all times, when some patriot is to throw himself to the front, and bid defiance to the established authority of Government, there is a Rubicon to be crossed—and he who unsheathes his sword to resist the law must win success or meet a traitor's doom. But the leaders on the Cape Fear did not hesitate at the thought of personal peril. At their call, the people, being armed and being assembled at Wilmington, chose the men who were to guide, govern and direct them. They called to the helm John Ashe, the trusted Speaker of the Assembly, and associated with him Alexander Lillington and Col. Thomas Lloyd, as a Directory, to manage their affairs at this momentous crisis. Their movement was not that of an irresponsible mob. It was an orderly proceeding, pursuant to a determined plan of action, under the direction of the highest officer of the Province, who was charged with maintaining the liberties of the people. In effect, it was the institution and ordaining of a temporary government.

It was resolved to organize an armed force and march to Brunswick; and Col. Hugh Waddell was invested with the command of the miltary. Let us pause a moment and take a view of the situation at that critical juncture. Close to Brunswick in his mansion, was Governor Tryon, the representative of the King; no coward he, but resolute, a military man of experience and courage. In the town itself were the residences and offices of Col. Dry, the Collector of the port, and of other officers of the Crown. Off in the river lay the detained merchant vessels and the two sloops of war, the Viper, commanded by Capt. Lobb, and the Diligence, commanded by Capt. Phipps, whose bristling guns, 26 in number, securely kept them; while Fort Johnston, some miles away, well armed with artillery, was held by a

small garrison. At every point flew the meteor flag of Great Britain. Every point was protected by the ægis of His Sacred Majesty. For a subject to lift his hand in a hostile manner against any of these was treason and rebellion. Yes, treason and rebellion, with the fearful punishment of attainder and death: of being hanged and quartered.

Well might the eloquent Davis exclaim, "Beware, John Ashe! Hugh Waddell, take heed!"

Their lives, their fortunes were at hazard and the dishonored grave was open to receive their dismembered bodies! But patriots as they were, they did take care—not for themselves, but of the liberties of their country. At high noon, on the 19th day of February, the three Directors, the Mayor and Corporation of Wilmington, the embodied soldiery and the prominent citizens moved forward, crossed the river, passed like Cæsar the fateful Rubicon, and courageously marched to the scene of possible conflict. It was not only the Governor with whom they had to deal, but the ships of war with their formidable batteries, that held possession of the detained vessels. It was not merely the penalties of the law that threatened them, but they courted death at the cannon's mouth, in conflict with the heavily armed sloops of war, from whose power they had come to wrest the merchantmen. But there was neither halt nor hesitation.

As they crossed the river, a chasm yawned deep and wide, separating them from their loyal past. Behind them they left their allegiance as loyal British subjects—before them was rebellion—open flagrant war; leading to revolution. Who could tell what the ending might be of the anticipated conflict!

There all the gentlemen of the Cape Fear were gathered, in their cocked hats; their long queues; their knee-breeches

and shining shoe buckles. Mounted on their well-groomed horses, they made a famous cavalcade, as they wound their way through the sombre pine forests that hedged in the highway to old Brunswick. Among them was DeRossett, the Mayor, in the prime of manhood, of French descent, with keen eye, fine culture and high intelligence; who had been a soldier with Innes at the North; bold and resolved was he as he rode, surrounded by Cornelius Harnett, Frederick Gregg, John Sampson and the other Aldermen and officers of the town.

At the head of a thousand armed men, arranged in companies, and marching in order, was the experienced soldier, Hugh Waddell, not yet thirty-three years of age, but already renowned for his capacity and courage. He had won more distinction and honors in the late wars at the North and West than any other Southern soldier, save only George Washington; and now in command of his companies, officered by men who had been trained in discipline in the war, he was confident of the issue. Of Irish descent, and coming of a fighting stock, his blood was up, and his heroic soul was aflame for the fray.

Surrounded by a bevy of his kinsmen, the venerable Sam and John Swann; and his brothers-in-law, James, George and Maurice Moore; by his brother, Sam Ashe, and Alexander Lillington, whose burly forms towered high above the others; by Horne, Davis, Col. Lloyd and other gallant spirits, was the Speaker, John Ashe, now just forty-five years of age—on whom the responsibility of giving direction chiefly lay; of medium stature, well knit, olive complexion, and with a lustrous hazel eye, he was full of nervous energy—an orator of surpassing power, elegant carriage and commanding presence. Of him Mr. Strudwick has said: "That there were not four men in London his intellectual

superior," and, that at a time when Pitt, Fox, Burke, and that splendid galaxy of British orators and statesmen gave lustre to British annals.

How, on this momentous occasion, the spirits of these men and of their kinsmen and friends, who gathered around, must have soared as they pressed on resolved to maintain their rights. Animated by the noble impulses of a lofty patriotism, with their souls elevated by the inspiring emotions of a perilous struggle for their liberties, they moved forward with a resolute purpose to sacrifice their lives rather than tamely submit to the oppressive and odious enactments of the British Parliament.

It was nightfall before they reached the vicinity of Brunswick, and George Moore and Cornelius Harnett, riding in advance, presented to Governor Tryon a letter from the Governing Directory, notifying him of their purpose. In a few minutes the Governor's residence was surrounded, and Capt. Lobb was inquired for—but he was not there. A party was then dispatched towards Fort Johnston, and thereupon Tryon notified the British Naval Commanders and requested them to protect the Fort, repelling force with force. In the meantime a party of gentlemen called on the Collector, Mr. Dry, who had the papers of the ship Patience; and in his presence broke open his desk and took them away. This gave an earnest of the resolute purpose of the people. They purposed to use all violence that was necessary to carry out their designs. Realizing the full import of the situation, the following noon a conference of the King's officers was held on the Viper; and Capt. Lobb, confident of his strength, declared to the Governor that he would hold the ship Patience and insist on the return of her papers. If the people were resolved, so were the officers of government. The sovereignty of Great Britain was to be enforced.

There was to be no temporizing with the rebels. The honor of the Government demanded that the British flag should not droop in the face of this hostile array. But two short hours later, a party of the insurgents came aboard and requested to see Capt. Lobb. They entered the cabin, and there, under the royal flag, surrounded by the King's forces, they demanded that all efforts to enforce the Stamp Act cease. They would allow no opposition. In the presence of Ashe, Waddell, DeRossett, Harnett, Moore, Howe and Lillington, the spirit of Capt. Lobb quailed. The people won. In the evening the British commander, much to the Governor's disgust, reported to that functionary—"That all was settled." Yes. All had been settled. The vessels were released; the grievances were redressed. The restrictions on the commerce of the Cape Fear were removed. The attempt to enforce the Stamp Act had failed before the prompt, vigorous and courageous action of the inhabitants. After that, vessels could come and go as if there had been no act of Parliament. The people had been victorious over the King's ships; with arms in their hands, they had won the victory. But the work was not all finished. There, on the Diligence, were the obnoxious stamps, and by chance some loyal officer of the government might use them. To guard against that, the other officers were to be forced to swear not to obey the act of Parliament, but to observe the will of the people. Mr. Pennington was His Majesty's controller, and understanding that the people sought him, he took refuge in the Governor's Mansion, and was given a bed and made easy; but early the next morning, Col. James Moore called to get him. The Governor interfered, to prevent; and immediately the Mansion was surrounded by the insurgent troops, and the Directory notified the Governor, in writing, that they requested His Excellency to let Mr.

Pennington attend, otherwise it would not be "in the power of the Directors appointed to prevent the ill consequences that would attend a refusal." In plain language, said John Ashe, "Persist in your refusal, and we will come and take him." The Governor declined to comply. In a few moments he observed a body of near five hundred men move towards his house. A detachment of sixty entered his avenue. Cornelius Harnett accompanied them, and sent word that he wished to speak with Mr. Pennington. The Governor replied that Mr. Pennington was protected by his house. Harnett thereupon notified the Governor that the people would come in and take him out of the house, if longer detained. Now the point was reached. The people were ready; the Governor was firm. But Pennington wisely suggested that he would resign, and immediately wrote his resignation and delivered it to the Governor,—and then he went out with Harnett and was brought here to Brunswick, and required to take an oath never to issue any stamped paper in North Carolina: so was Mr. Dry, the Collector: and so all the Clerks of the County Courts, and other public officers. Every officer in all that region, except alone the Governor, was forced to obey the will of the people and swear not to obey the Act of Parliament.

On the third day after the first assemblage at Wilmington on the 18th, the Directors, having completed their work at Brunswick, took up the line of march to return. With what rejoicing they turned their backs on the scene of their bloodless triumph! It had been a time of intense excitement. It had been no easy task to hold more than a thousand hot and zealous patriots well in hand, and to accomplish their purposes without bloodshed. Wisdom and courage by the Directors, and prudence, foresight and sagacity on the part of the military officers were alike essential to the

consummation of their design. They now returned in triumph, their purposes accomplished. The odious law was annulled in North Carolina. After that, merchant vessels passed freely, in and out of port, without interference. The stamps remained boxed on shipboard, and no further effort was made to enforce a law which the people had rejected.

Two months after these events on the Cape Fear, Parliament repealed the law, and the news was hurried across the Atlantic in the fleetest vessels. The victory of the people was complete. They had annulled an act of Parliament, crushed their enemies and preserved their liberties. Thus once more were the courageous leaders on the Cape Fear, in their measures of opposition to encroachments on the rights of the people, sustained by the result. On former occasions they had triumphed over their Governors: now in coöperation with the other provinces, they had triumphed over the British Ministry and the Parliament of Great Britain.

While in every other province, the people resolutely opposed the Stamp Act, nowhere else in America was there a proceeding similar to that which was taken at Wilmington. Nowhere else was the standard of Liberty committed to the care of a Governing Directory, even though its creation was for a temporary purpose; nowhere else was there an army organized, under officers appointed, and led to a field where a battle might have ensued. Had not His Majesty's forces yielded to the will of the insurgents, the American Revolution would have probably begun then—and here—on the soil of Old Brunswick.

The repeal of the Stamp Act was hailed on both sides of the water with every demonstration of joy. The city of London was illuminated with bonfires and every churchbell rang out its joyous peals. With still greater satisfaction.

did the Colonists welcome the news of their triumph and of peace! The furious storm of popular resentment was succeeded by a wave of loyalty and love. In that era of goodwill, Governor Tryon overlooked all differences—except as to three of the chief actors in the affair. He had some caustic words for DeRossett, the courageous Mayor of Wilmington; he suspended from his office as Judge, Maurice Moore; and he nourished enmity with John Ashe; so, when the new Assembly met, the wave of loyalty being at its height, Ashe, perhaps not wishing to be a cause of disturbing it, refrained from seeking reëlection as Speaker, and remained away from the Assembly for three days, until another Speaker, more agreeable to his Excellency and more in accord with the prevailing sentiment, should be chosen. John Harvey, from the Albemarle region, who had not been personally concerned in the Stamp Act trouble, was elected Speaker; and the Assembly, radiant with happiness, and zealous to display their loyalty and affection, hastened to abandon its strenuous opposition concerning the location of a capital for the Province, and begged the King to establish it in New Bern, and also appropriated a large sum for the erection of a residence for the Governor, and entrusted the money to Governor Tryon, to be disbursed at his discretion. And so it came about that a few years later, the Governor removed from Brunswick to New Bern, the people having erected there for him one of the finest buildings in America as an outgrowth of the Stamp Act troubles on the Cape Fear. But while Parliament repealed the Stamp Act, it would not entirely relinquish its claimed right to tax the Colonists. Eight years later it taxed tea imported into America. Boston would not allow a cargo of taxed tea to be landed, but threw it overboard. As a punishment that port was closed. No vessel was allowed to enter or depart from

it. All work there ceased. The people suffered for food. Again the patriots of Wilmington assembled. They declared the cause of Boston to be the cause of all. Men and women, alike—indeed the Colonial Dames taking the lead—subscribed liberally, both money and provisions; and Parker Quince tendered his vessel to carry the cargo, and he sailed with her himself to Salem freighted with the generous offerings of the Cape Fear people.

And not only did Wilmington respond nobly, but she called on others to contribute. On the 24th of July there was a general meeting of all the counties of the Cape Fear, and a committee was appointed to urge the entire province to join in the good work, and contributions were collected from the interior at New Bern and sent forward from there as well as from the Cape Fear.

And that same meeting took a still more important action. The Governor could postpone or dissolve a meeting of the Assembly. It was desirable to have a body representing the people, that he could not dissolve. It was desirable to establish a governing body for the Province, different from the Assembly which was a part of the Colonial Constitution. This meeting at Wilmington appointed a committee to call on the counties to elect a revolutionary body to direct affairs in North Carolina, and the committee sent out handbills urging all the counties to take that revolutionary action. Pursuant to that recommendation, the first Provincial Congress was elected, and met at New Bern on August 24th, and after that the local affairs of the people were generally managed by revolutionary committees. Gradually the connection between the people and the British Government was being severed, and the first great step was the calling of the Provincial Congress by the people of the Cape Fear.

Blind and passionate, Parliament had proceeded to pass measures of fearful import, as if to force the people to desperate resistance. First, they decreed that any one charged with resisting their proceedings should be carried to England and be tried there, instead of in his own country; next, asserting their right to modify and annul the government of any Colony, they passed a bill seriously modifying the government of Massachusetts, in utter disregard of the rights of the people under their charter; and then, as if to show what they deemed a model government for the Amerierm Colonies, and what the people here might expect, they established a government in Canada in which the people had no legislature, but the power of making the laws was vested exclusively in a Council appointed in England. These measures appalled America. There was no other topic of conversation, no other subject of thought, but the imperiled rights and liberties of the people. The dangers foreshadowed by the first Stamp Act had now come in terrible form; no longer were the people to be British subjects, but British slaves. The iron entered into the souls of men, and again our forests and fields resounded with the cry of "Resistance unto death." In the intervening decade Moses John DeRossett, Hugh Waddell, John Harvey and other patriotic spirits had passed away; while Hooper, Iredell and other great souls had reached the stage of action. John Ashe was still in the forefront among the leaders. He had been Colonel of the militia of New Hanover, but declining a reappointment by the Governor, about the first of March, 1775, he organized a regiment of troops, not under the laws of the Province, and was elected by them to be their Colonel. Robert Howe likewise organized troops in Brunswick, and was engaged in drilling them. Events now moved rapidly. On April 19th, occurred the battle of Lexington, the news

by couriers reaching Wilmington on May the 6th, and the excitement became intense. At New Bern feeling ran equally high, and Governor Martin, who had succeeded Tryon, feared to remain in his palace. Sending his wife and children to New York, he fled to the protection of the garrison at Fort Johnston, arriving there on the 2d of June. He had already applied to General Gage for a supply of arms and ammunition to arm his loyal adherents, and now he concerted measures to organize the Highlanders and the loyalists in the interior. In command of the fort, he could readily dispatch emissaries through the country, and his holding it was a menace to the people, for information was received of his purpose to strengthen it and increase the garrison. Indeed he had applied for ten thousand stand of arms, to equip the loyalists of the interior. The patriotic leaders learning his intention, deemed it time to act, and it was resolved that the fort should be dismantled and, if possible, the cannon removed. Gov. Martin, however, on hearing that steps were being taken for this purpose, acted quickly. He fled from Fort Johnston, taking up his quarters on the sloop of war, the Cruiser, and removed all the ammunition on board a transport, and dismounted the cannon, placing them under the guns of the sloop of war. The Patriot forces had been put in motion and Brunswick was the appointed rendezvous. There Howe brought his contingent from Brunswick County; there three hundred were marching from Bladen; and there Ashe, with a part of his New Hanover regiment, arrived on the evening of the 17th of July on a schooner from Wilmington. Learning of the removal of the military stores to the transport, Ashe formed the plan of burning her with fire rafts; but later that design was abandoned, and the next evening five hundred men marched from Brunswick to Fort Johnston; and

Ashe with his own hands applied the torch, and the Fort was burned and demolished. They had driven the Royal Governor from North Carolina soil; and they had destroyed the fort built for the protection of the people, which Martin had resigned to convert into a foothold for his loyal adherents. This was an act of war, and in the then circumstances, was open treason. But bold hearts fear no consequences. The irrevocable step was taken. No apprehensions could deter the Cape Fear people. As for the leaders, the Royal Governor awarded them high distinction. He urged on the King that in all proclamations of amnesty an exception should be made of John Ashe, Robert Howe, Cornelius Harnett and Abner Nash, Nash having been the leader in seizing the cannon at the Governor's mansion at New Bern.

The struggle then begun to assert the immemorial rights of the people as British subjects, soon changed its aspect, and had for its object entire separation from Great Britain and complete independence. At the very outset no other people were bolder than the inhabitants of Wilmington and the people of the Cape Fear, and none were more fixed and more resolute in their purpose, and none made greater sacrifices in the cause of independence. According to their plighted faith, they went forward in the cause, and freely offered their lives and sacrificed their fortunes, and they emerged from the long and doubtful struggle with only their sacred honor preserved, and their liberties secured as the cherished heritage of their posterity. As long as Freedom has her votaries, the daring deeds of our Cape Fear people must ever receive the highest applause, and those who would learn the lessons of patriotism can find in the courageous leaders of those old days, examples of virtue and heroism, which they may emulate, but which they cannot hope to excel.

ABSTRACT OF VOLUME II OF DR. K. P. BATTLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1868-1912

Under the Constitution of 1868 the Trustees of the University were appointed by the Board of Education, not by the General Assembly. They were new men as a rule, who held this office for the first time. Only five of the old Board were reappointed, and only one of them had been at all active. The Executive Committee was composed of the members of the Board of Education, eight in number, including the Governor, and three Trustees elected by the Board Trustees.

The Board met on the 23d of July, 1868. They declared the offices of President and Secretary-Treasurer, and the chairs of the Professors to be vacant. President Swain contended that under the Constitution he was still President. His contention was not recognized and was cut off by his death.

The Board referred the election of a teaching staff to the Executive Committee. These chose Solomon Pool, late an University Assistant Professor of Mathematics, then holding an appointment in the United States Revenue service, President, and the following Professors: Alexander McIver, a first honor graduate of 1853, late Professor in Davidson College, Professor of Mathematics; Fisk P. Brewer, Professor of Greek; an Honor Graduate of Yale, Brother of Judge Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, son of Rev. Josiah Brewer, Missionary to Turkey; David Settle Patrick, Professor of Latin, Graduate of 1856, Principal of a high school in Texas; James A. Martling, Professor of English, Principal of high school in Missouri, brother-in-law of Superintendent Ashley; George Dixon, Yorkshire,

England, Lecturer on Chemistry, Botany and Theoretical Farming. R. W. Lassiter, of Oxford, was elected Secretary and Treasurer.

The sale of the landscrip by the late Trustees was disapproved and efforts were made to rescind it but without success. As Congress stopped for awhile the location of lands by the late Confederate States, the purchaser delayed payment. There was therefore no income from this source. The General Assembly declined to grant an appropriation for the support of the University, and as tuition was offered free, there was no income. The consequence was that after the experiment of a year, few students appearing, the doors were closed in 1870.

The University being forced into bankruptcy by the failure of the Bank of North Carolina, the Federal Court decided that such of its property as is necessary for its life could not be sold, because it is a part of the State. But property held for investment was subject to sale. The Court then allotted to the University its buildings and contents and nearly six hundred acres of land.

At the instance of Professor McIver, after he became Superintendent of Public Instruction, an effort was made to revive the University. A meeting of the Alumni was called. The Trustees of 1868 were asked to resign in favor of new trustees, to be nominated by the Alumni. It was thought that Governor Caldwell would appoint these nominees. As resignations were not forthcoming the scheme fell through.

The friends of the University then obtained a constitutional amendment, giving the appointment of Trustees to the General Assembly, who in 1874 elected a new Board of Trustees. This was resisted by Governor Caldwell, who claimed that nomination by himself and confirmation by the

Senate were demanded by the Constitution. But the Supreme Court decided that the election was valid.

When the act of Congress prohibiting the location of the landscrip was repealed, $125,000 of this fund went into the hands of the Trustees of 1868. They had invested it in Special Tax Bonds of the State and some not special tax. In accepting the landscrip, the State agreed to make good any loss in the principal of the fund. The new Trustees therefore petitioned the General Assembly to pay the University $7,500 a year, being six per cent interest on $125,000. This was done by a majority of one in the House but a two-thirds majority in the Senate. The Special Tax Bonds were destroyed by the Trustees according to the act.

The buildings being greatly in need of repair a committee, of which K. P. Battle was chairman, was appointed to solicit contributions from Alumni and other friends of education. They secured $20,000 promised, of which over $18,000 was collected. Mr. P. C. Cameron superintended repairs, which cost over $13,000. The rest of the fund was used in paying professors.

The Board met in June 1875, to elect professors.

For the Chair of Mathematics was chosen Rev. Charles Phillips, D.D., of wide reputation in that department, of which he had been the head in the University and at Davidson College.

Rev. Adolphus Williamson Mangum, a high honor graduate of Randolph-Macon College, whose sermons had wide reputation, was Professor of Philosophy.

To the Chair of Natural Sciences was elected Alexander Fletcher Redd, Alumnus of Virginia Military Institute, who had charge of Chemistry and Physics in the Horner School.

Mr. John Kimberly, once Professor of Agricultural Chem-

istry in this University, was chosen to the Chair of Agriculture.

The Professor for the Chair of Engineering and the Mechanic Arts was Ralph Henry Graves. He was a first honor student of this University. He then was distinguished at the University of Virginia, attaining the degree of Bachelor of Science, and Civil and Mechanical Engineering. He was then Professor of Drawing and Technical Mechanics in the Virginia Polytechnic College, after which he was a teacher in the School of Horner and Graves at Hillsboro.

To the Chairs of Greek and French was elected John deBernière Hooper, a first honor graduate of this institution. He was then tutor and professor of Latin and French. Resigning in 1848 he was Principal of schools in Warren, Fayetteville and Wilson.

George Tayloe Winston was made Adjunct Professor of Latin and German, soon to be full professor. A first honor Alumnus of this University, of the United States Naval Academy and graduate and Instructor of Cornell University.

It was determined to have no President. Professor Phillips was elected Chairman of the Faculty. The exercises were ordered to begin on the 1st of September but the formal opening was on the 5th. On this occasion there was much enthusiasm, Governor Brogden making a stirring address.

The Dialectic Society was reopened by Judge W. H. Battle and Mr. T. M. Argo, and the Philanthropic by Colonel W. L. Saunders. There had been no meetings since the suspension of 1868.

The number of students reached 69. The experiment of a Chairman of the University proved unsatisfactory, chiefly owing to the ill health of Dr. Phillips. In 1876 the Board resolved to elect a President. Kemp P. Battle, a first honor graduate of 1849, Tutor of Mathematics 1850-'54, ex-State

Treasurer, a Trustee, member of the Raleigh bar, Secretary and Treasurer of the University, was chosen by over three-fifths majority. He began at once to bring the University to the attention of the people by printed circulars and by educational addresses. On his recommendation the Trustees decreed that the anniversary of the laying the cornerstone of the first dormitory (Old East), October 12, 1793, should be a holiday (University Day).

The next year, 1876-7 there was increase of numbers to 126.

At the commencement of 1877, Governor Vance delivered his admirable address on the Life and Character of David L. Swain.

In the summer of 1877 was held the first Normal School in the United States connected with a university or college. It had signal success. The latest modes of teaching, by experts from North and South were adopted. Lectures were delivered by eminent men of the State. Professor John J. Ladd, of New Hampshire, the Superintendent of Public Schools of Staunton, Virginia, was Superintendent of the school, President Battle being in general charge. Sessions were regularly held until 1884 inclusive and were a potent factor in breaking up the general education lethargy. Women were admitted in 1877 by courtesy, afterwards by law.

The total number in the eight schools were 2,480 some teachers of course attending more than once. According to the testimony of Dr. Barnas Sears, the eminent Manager of the Peabody Fund, of Governor Vance, President A. D. Hepburn, Colonel Bingham, Superintendent Scarborough, President Pritchard and many other eminent educators, the school was one of the greatest movements for education ever had up to that time in the State. It stimulated the growth of Graded Schools, introduced kindergarten instruction, and

kindled desire to work for the uplifting of our youth in the hearts and minds of such men as McIver, Alderman, Joyner, Noble and others, whose names are conspicuous in this beneficent work.

The establishment of the Agricultural Experiment Station, which has been of conspicuous benefit to farmers, was the work of the University, President Battle being the first to advocate it by pen and speaking, and the headquarters were for some years at Chapel Hill.

By 1881 the subscriptions in excess of what was needed for repairs were exhausted. Application was made to the General Assembly for relief. As no appropriation for support had ever been granted to the University much opposition was experienced. An elaborate printed argument was made in answer to the objections. The Alumni Association had a meeting in Raleigh, at which Mr. P. C. Cameron and President Battle made addresses on the history of the institution and at a banquet afterwards many members of the General Assembly made short speeches. Five thousand dollars annually was obtained, Governor Jarvis giving powerful help.

In 1882 the State University Railroad was finished, Miss Julia J. Spencer, daughter of Mrs. Cornelia P. Spencer, now Mrs. Love, driving the last spike. A dinner was given by the ladies of Chapel Hill to the hired convicts. On account of meagreness of funds it was built 10 2-5 miles, to the nearest point on the North Carolina raliroad, now called University Station. It was necessary to use the most rigid economy. President Battle was the President and General R. F. Hoke, Superintendent, both without salary. The Richmond and Danville Railroad Company, the lessee of the North Carolina Railroad Company, bore much the larger part of the cost, taking payment in stock.

The completion of the railroad increased the attendance

at Commencements, so that it became necessary to build Memorial Hall. Tablets commemorative of great men of the University adorn its walls, and in addition the names of the alumni who lost their lives as Confederate soldiers. It accommodates 2,400 persons seated and by using the aisles a much larger number.

In 1885 a successful effort was made to obtain from the General Assembly a grant of $15,000 in addition to the $5,000 voted in 1881, Governor Scales using his powerful influence in behalf of the bill. This with the $7,500 interest of the Land Grant made $27,500. Adding tuition receipts and interest from donations, there was now the largest income in the history of the institution. There was added to the faculty: For the English Language and Literature, Rev. Thomas Hume, D.D., LL.D., of Virginia; for the Science and Art of Teaching, Professor Nelson B. Henry, of Missouri; for Modern Languages, Professor Walter Dallam Toy, of Virginia; for Agricultural Chemistry and Mining, Wm. B. Phillips, Ph.D., of North Carolina; for Assistant Professor of Mathematics, James Lee Love, Ph.B.; for Natural History, Assistant Professor George F. Atkinson, Ph.B.

The University did not long enjoy the whole of this unusual income. The farmers of the State were stirred up to demand a separate institution for Agriculture and Mechanical training. The $7,500 a year Land Grant was taken away, and it became necessary to dispense with two professors and one assistant professor.

In 1889 the centennial of granting the charter was celebrated with great eclat. Numerous alumni and representatives of other institutions were present and the speeches were models of eloquence and appreciation of the institution.

At the Commencement of 1890 the Alumni History Chair

was endowed, Judge James Grant and General Julian S. Carr being the largest contributors. President Battle by request, visited many cities and towns and procured additions to the amount then raised.

In 1891 President Battle, after fifteen years service, resigned his office receiving laudatory resolutions from the Trustees, faculty and students. George T. Winston, LL.D., who had shown eminent abilities dealing with University problems, who had become widely and favorably known as President of the State Teachers' Association, and by able public addresses, was unanimously elected as his successor.

The inauguration of the new President was on October 14, 1891. Addresses were made by ex-President Battle, by President D. C. Gilmer, of Johns Hopkins University, and by Hon. Walter H. Page, now Ambassador to Great Britain. Then President Winston outlined the policy of his administration in his usual clear and strong style.

President Winston began an active canvass of the State for students, and had great success, the numbers increasing by 1895 to 471. The State appropriations were likewise increased. The attacks on the University he met with such ability, ridicule and sarcasm that they finally ceased. His resignation in 1895 was received with much regret. He accepted a call to be President of the University of Texas, subsequently returning to his native State as President of the Agricultural and Mechanical College.

In the same year was held the centennial of the opening of the doors for students on January 15, 1795. The exercises were exceedingly instructive and interesting. Hon. Alfred Moore Waddell spoke on the University up to 1860; Mr. Henry Armand London on 1860 to 1875; Mr. Adolphus H. Eller, 1875 to the date. Dr. Stephen B. Weeks gave an exhaustive study of the University in the Civil War. Mr. James

D. Lynch furnished a beautiful ode, which by his request was read by Dr. Alderman. Mrs. C. P. Spencer contributed a stirring ode.

At the centennial banquet toasts were responded to by Governor Elias Carr, Hon. Robert W. Winston, ex-Governor Thomas M. Holt, Major William A. Guthrie, Mr. Herman H. Horne, Hon. Locke Craig, Dr. Charles D. McIver, Hon. Marion Butler, Professor Alexander W. Graham, Hon. Josephus Daniels, Dr. Paul B. Barringer. About $12,000 was pledged for building a new hall for offices and lecture rooms, to be called Alumni Hall.

After passing resolutions of regret at the departure of President Winston and appreciation of his services, Professor Edwin A. Alderman was elected his successor. Dr. Alderman was a first honor graduate of the University, won the Mangum medal for oratory, was eminently successful as a graded school superintendent, as organizer of Teachers' Institutes, as President of the State Teachers' Associations and Professor of Teaching and History in Summer Schools, in the Normal and Industrial College, and the University. Besides being an inspiring teacher, he has a wonderful gift of oratory, not excelled as a speaker on educational topics.

The formal inauguration of President Alderman was on the 27th of January, 1897. The occasion was brilliant. The General Assembly took a recess in its honor and a large number of representatives of State Universities and Colleges attended. Mr. Robert H. Wright spoke in behalf of the students, Dr. K. P. Battle in behalf of the faculty, then Governor Russell delivered into Dr. Alderman's hands the charter and seal of the University with appropriate and eloquent words. Dr. Alderman replied accepting the office as a clear duty.

The next speaker was the very able Professor N. M. But-

ler, now President of Columbia University, New York. He proved that this is a century of education. Then came Dr. Alderman's masterly address, outlining the functions of a true university.

On 21st February, 1897, the Trustees passed an ordinance admitting women to the post-graduate course. Applicants have been few in number; but among them have been brilliant students. Women attended the Summer Normal School but never heretofore the University curriculum.

In the same year the Department of Pharmacy was added to the curriculum and Dr. E. V. Howell was elected Professor. The Summer School of 1897 was under the management of Professor Clinton W. Toms. He was soon afterwards elected Professor of Pedagogy but declined the post and went into lucrative business.

The successive Summer Schools are described, the last, that of 1912, under the management of Profesosr N. W. Walker, having an increased attendance, 471. The close was signalized by the acting of an interesting play founded on North Carolina History, called Esther Wake. It was composed by Professor A. Vermont, one of the teachers, Superintendent of the Graded Schools of Smithfield.

In this year the cornerstone of the Alumni Building was laid. General J. S. Carr made the presentation to the Trustees and Hon. F. D. Winston delivered the address of acceptance. Both speeches were in handsome style.

For the first time in our history Judge Thomas C. Fuller delivered an address on the practice of the law, of great value not only to law students but to the public at large also.

In 1899 the University lost one of her most learned and widely known professors, Dr. John Manning, Dean of the Department of Law. At a meeting held in his honor addresses on his life, character and services were delivered by

Dr. Kemp P. Battle, Dr. Eben Alexander, Dr. J. Crawford Biggs, Mr. M. A. Newell of the Law School and President Alderman.

Hon. James Cameron MacRae, late a Justice of the Supreme Court, was deemed by the Trustees eminently worthy to take his place.

In the same year Mr. George M. McKie was made Instructor in the Art of Expression. Professor Cobb dropped Mineralogy from his title and was Professor of Geology. Professor Harrington resigned the Chair of Latin and Greek and was succeeded by Dr. Henry M. Linscott and ex-Judge Biggs yielded his professorship of Law to Dr. Thomas Ruffin, and resumed active practice.

In 1900 Dr. Alderman resigned the Presidency and accepted that of Tulane University. His parting address was full of feeling and wise counsels to his Alma Mater.

The Commencement of this year was devoted mainly to the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the reopening, or re-birth of the University. Elaborate historical addresses were delivered by ex-President Battle, his subject being "The Struggle and Story of the Re-birth of the University"; by ex-President George T. Winston, on "The First Faculty, Its Work and Opportunity"; by Mr. Wm. J. Peele, on "The Students of 1875." Lastly was a masterly address by President Alderman on "The University; Its Work and its Needs." Nearly the whole of President Winston's most able address and much of those of Peele and Alderman are given in the text of this history.

At this time were begun by the munificence of Mr. James Sprunt, of Wilmington, annual historical monographs on subjects of North Carolina history. The first was Biographical sketches of the Delegates and Officers of the Convention of 1861, by James G. McCormick, to which was added the

"Legislation Enacted by the Convention, and Legislation proposed but rejected," by Dr. K. P. Battle.

The second was "The Congressional Career of Nathaniel Macon," by Edwin M. Wilson and Macon's Letters, annotated by Dr. Battle.

These give an idea of the character and scope of the Sprunt publications, which are annually issued, since 1907, under the supervision of Drs. Hamilton and Wagstaff.

The presentation of the Carr Dormitory was made by Colonel W. H. S. Burgwin, and the acceptance was by Hon. R. H. Battle. Both speeches were pronounced to be in excellent taste.

Dr. Francis Preston Venable in 1900 was chosen unanimously as President in the place of Dr. Alderman. On October 12th he gave a rapid review of the history of the University. His first report shows a faculty of 35 with 527 students. He showed that the University has furnished 25 Governors, 105 Judges, 17 United States Senators, 66 Federal Representatives, 600 members of the State Legislatures and leaders of every community. The majority of the superintendents and principals of graded schools were traced to Chapel Hill.

In 1900 were completed the Mary Ann Smith Dormitory and the Alumni Building, also new heating plant, water and sewerage.

In 1907 Dr. K. P. Battle and Rev. Dr. Thomas Hume resigned their professorships and accepted Carnegie pensions.

The cornerstone of the library, the building of which was donated by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, was laid with Masonic honors. Hon. Francis D. Winston was the orator and his address was interesting and eloquent. In 1908 there were Memorial services in honor of Professor Gore and Mrs. C. P. Spencer. Reunion exercises were held of certain war classes.

namely, of 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861. These were very interesting, Mr. James P. Coffin, of Arkansas, being the chief speaker. Resolutions commendatory of the work of Dr. K. P. Battle were read from the rostrum by Colonel Paul B. Means by order of the Board of Trustees. Colonel Means accompanied them with a full history of Dr. Battle's labors for the University.

On University Day Dr. Venable reported the faculty 94 in number; students 790. The address of the occasion was by Hon. Elmer E. Brown, United States Commissioner of Education. The new Biological Laboratory was named after General Wm. R. Davie.

Public exercises in 1909 were held in honor of the one hundredth birthday of General R. E. Lee, the orator being Dr. Woodrow Wilson, now our President. He made a masterly analysis of the great Southerner.

In 1910 began an experiment in student government, it being committed to the presidents of the various classes, an undergraduate in law, medicine, and pharmacy, and a member of the Senior class elected by the Council. They are acting wisely and effectively. Appeal from their decision can be taken to the faculty.

At the Commencement of 1910 the chief interest was in the reunion of the classes of 1860 and 1870. Of the former 83 out of 84 entered the Confederate Army. The chief speaker was Major W. A. Graham. The class of 1870 was composed of those who would have graduated in that year, if the University had not been closed. Ex-President George T. Winston and Dr. Richard H. Lewis, of Raleigh, were the very effective speakers. Mr. Alexander J. Feild eloquently detailed the history of the class of 1855.

The Raleigh Department of the University Medical School, Dr. Hubert A. Royster, Dean, was discontinued. Al-

though it had done excellent work it was impossible to place it on a proper basis without a great increase of funds, which could not be procured.

The annual meeting of the Association of School Superintendents was held in Chapel Hill. State Superintendent J. Y. Joyner presided, and many educational topics were discussed.

The excellent Dean of the Law School, ex-Judge James C. MacRae, died amid the general grief. He was succeeded by Prof. L. P. McGhee.

University Day was peculiarly honored. The speakers were President Daniel H. Hill, of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, Professor W. C. Smith of the State Normal and Industrial College, President R. H. Wright of the Eastern Training School, President Howard E. Rondthaler of Salem Female College, Pres. W. R. Thompson of the Stonewall Jackson Training School, and Mr. C. L. Williams, a Senior, in behalf of the University. Meetings, banquets and speeches among the Alumni were held in many distant localities.

In 1911 there were interesting meetings of the war classes of 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868. Of the class of 1861, called by name the "Great War Class," came first Captain Thomas B. Haughton, Captain J. M. B. Hunt and Lieutenant-Colonel E. E. Edmondson in attendance. Each of the other classes was represented by veterans, some of whom made short speeches.

At this time Dr. Albert R. Ledoux, of New York, donated $5,000 to establish a fellowship in Chemistry. He was the first Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, then located at Chapel Hill. The General Assembly appropriated $300,000 for sundry buildings and the Trustees of the Peabody Fund $40,000 for an Education Building.

In 1911, University Day address was by Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, of the University of Virginia.

In 1912 the Medical Building was dedicated, the speakers being Dr. R. H. Lewis, President Venable, Dr. Isaac Manning, Dr. A. A. Kent, President of the State Medical Society, Dr. Richard H. Whitehead, of the University of Virginia, and Dr. Edgar F. Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Its name commemorates President Caldwell.

On May 12, 1912, died Mr. Richard H. Battle, a first honor graduate of 1854, long Trustee and Secretary-Treasurer of the University. He was a leader of the Raleigh bar and had held high office in the State. He donated shortly before his death a valuable law library to the University.

At Commencement Dr. H. H. Horne was the Alumni orator. The Commencement orator was Dr. Edwin Anderson Alderman, President of the University of Virginia.

On July 15th died Rev. Thomas Hume, D.D., a most accomplished scholar, eminent divine and inspiring teacher.

Three handsome dormitories were erected, named respectively Kemp Plummer Battle, Zebulon Baird Vance and James Johnston Pettigrew.

In addition to the free tuition granted by the General Assembly to those of bodily infirmity, to ministers and sons of ministers, and to those preparing to teach, there are attached to the institution eight fellowships, 86 scholarships, and the Deems and Martin Funds for loans to indigent students. There are also 13 prizes offered for excellence in scholarship.

A list of scientific and historical publications is given showing active work by members of the faculty. This is only a small part of their labors.

The annual lectures by eminent men, delivered under the John Calvin McNair will, on Harmony of Religion and

Science, were given by Dr. Frank H. Smith, Dr. Francis L. Patton, President David Starr Jordan, Dr. Henry Van Dyke, President A. T. Hadley.

The debates with other universities, North and South, show that this University won in 25 competitions and lost in only 10.

A full description by Dr. Joel Whitaker, an Alumnus prominent in athletics, showing the part taken by the University in football and baseball, is given. In both, especially in baseball games the University gained the majority. To these are added the tennis matches and the athletic meets, in which the University holds fine record. The mass meetings are chronicled and also a specimen of student cheers and yells.

Dr. Battle describes minutely the walks around Chapel Hill to romantic spots, such as Piney Prospect, Meeting of the Waters, Judge's Spring, Otey's Retreat, Laurel Hill, Fern-banks, etc. To which should be added the beautiful Arboretum created in the east of the Campus by the labor and taste of Dr. W. C. Coker.

Then follows a poem on the "Roaring Fountain," by Mrs. Spencer, and one on Chapel Hill (Zion Parnassus), by Rev. Mark John Levy, now of Chicago.

Additional information in regard to President Swain, Dr. James Phillips, and others is given, and in order to show that the pranks of our students detailed in Volume I were not unprecedented. Similar, or worse, frolics of students of Columbia University prior to 1800 are given.

In the appendix is valuable information.

1. List of Trustees under the Constitution of 1868.

2. List since the reopening 1875-1912.

3. Senators and Representatives who voted for the revival of the University.

4. Lists of those who voted for the appropriation to the University in 1881 and 1885.

5. List of subscribers to the revival of the University, about $20,000 in 1875.

6. Stockholders in the Gymnasium Association.

7. Donations to the Library and Chair of History.

8. Description of the General University and Society Catalogues.

9. Description of the Faculty of 1912.

10. Degrees in course 1877 to 1912.

11. Portraits in the University Library and the two Society Halls.

12. Specimens of the Dramatic and Musical efforts of the students.

13. Names of the Alumni in high offices not mentioned in Vol. I., compiled by Hon. Walter Murphy.

Lastly is a full index of the book prepared by Mr. Putnam.

We are unable for lack of space to give the names of all the eminent men who preached Baccalaureate and Y. M. C. A. sermons, and delivered the Alumni, Commencement, University Day, and other addresses. The list shows that the students were privileged to listen to the great men of the country, divines, statesmen, scientists, educators, journalists and others, including the President and Secretary of State and of the Navy of the United States together with Governors and Judges galore.

The total number of students in 1912-'13 was 837.

Teachers at Summer School, 463.

Professors 46, Instructors 13, Fellows and Assistants 24. Total engaged in teaching 83.

Of the number of students 610 were undergraduates, 23 were graduate students, 131 in the Law School, 54 were in the Medical School, 32 were in Pharmacy.

MARRIAGE BONDS OF ROWAN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. M. G. McCUBBINS.

John Don (spelt Dunn on outside of bond) to Sarah Cross. May 26 (or 29), 1758. John (his X mark) Doun, Andrew Cathey and James (his X mark) Douthey. (The above men are planters of "Roan County.")

Morgan Davis to (no name given). January 19, 1763. Morgan Davies, Benjamin Evans and Madad (his X mark) Reed. (John Frohock.)

John Douthit, Jr., to Elinor Davis. March 9, 1764. John Douthit, Jr., Phillip Howard, Jr., and James Davies. (Thomas Frohock.) (A note from the bride's father, James Davies, Sr., giving his consent. It is addressed to John Frohock and dated March 8, 1765.)

Marshall (his X mark) Duncan, Jr. to (no name given). April 2, 1765. Marshall (his X mark) Duncan, Jr., Marshall (his X mark) Duncan, Sr., Thomas (his T mark) Denston Rogers. John Duncan, John (his X mark) Callahan, Darby (his D mark) Callahan are witnesses.) (A complete marriage bond was enclosed in the above giving the bride's name—Bety Densten Rogers "Daughter of the widow Catharine Densten Rogers"). (John Frohock).

William Dobbins to Eliz: Erwyn. September 8, 1768. William Dobbins, Alexander Erwyn and Joseph Luckie. (Thos. Frohock.)

William Doornall to Margaret King. February 14, 1769. William (his W mark) Doornall, William Alexander and William Milliken. (Tho. Frohock.) A note of consent from Thomas King dated February 13, 1769, in which the groom's name is spelt "Doornell."

James Dobbins to Margaret McNight. January 24, 1770. James Dobbins, James McKnight and James McKoun. (Thomas Frohock.)

William Douthit to Sarah Job. January 31, 1772. William Douthit, George (his X mark) McNight and John Douthit, Jr. (Thomas Frohock.) A note from bride's father, Thos. Job, dated January 28, 1772. He and the clerk spell the groom's name "Douther."

John Dunn to Frances Petty. March 23, 1775. John Dunn and Waightstill Avery. (Ad: Osborn.)

Benjamin Davis to Isbell Holland. February 6, 1776. Benjamin Davis and John Conger. (Ad: Osborn.)

James Daniel to Rebecca Atherton (a widow). April 5, 1779. James Daniel and David Woodson. (Ad: Osborn.)

Jacob Debalt to Elizabeth Goodman. June 5, 1779. Jacob Debalt (in German ?) and John Misenheimer. (Jo. Brevard.) (It is possible that Elizabeth Goodman may have become the bride of John Misenheimer as his name is placed with the groom's.)

Thomas Degle to Rebecca Nealy. July 24, 1779. Thomas (his X mark) Degle, and Thomas Renshaw. (Jo. Brevard.) (Thomas Renshaw's name also appears in the groom's space as above.)

Conrad Dooty to Lovis Hoover. August 27, 1779. Conrad (his X mark) Dooly and Conrad (his X mark) Shaver. (Ad: Osborn.)

Joseph Davis to Susanna McCrary. December 28, 1779. Joseph Davis and William Silvers (?). (B. Booth Boote.) (Messrs. Davis and Silvers (?) are planters.)

John Davidson to Nancey Brevard (spinster). November 27, 1779. John Davidson and Joseph Byars. (B.

Booth Boote.) (Messrs. Davidson and Brevard are planters.)

Andrew Donnell to Agnes Braiy. September 29, 1779. Andrew Donnell and John Braly (Braty ?). (Jo: Brevard.)

William Duffy to Prudence Carson (spinster). August 1, 1780. William Duffy and John Carson. (H. (?) Giffard.)

David Duncan to Cathrenah McCulloh. Ad (?) Brandon. January 6, 1766. David Duncan and James Carson. (Thomas Frohock.)

Thomas Donnohoi to Ann Lyhins (?) (Syhins). July 9, 1767. Thomas (his X mark) Donnahoe and Hugh Montgomery. (John Frohock.)

Valentine Day to Eve Reigher. August 4, 1767. Valentine Day and Christopher Sprayher (in German ?). (Thomas Frohock.)

William Davidson to Mary Brown. December 10, 1767. William Davidson, Hugh Brevard and James Holmes. (No name.)

Clevears (?) Duke to Lucy Smith. June 13, 1768. Clevears Duke, John Wyld and George Magonne. (John Frohock.) A complete bond is enclosed in which Duke signs his name "Clevers Duke" and Thomas Frohock adds his signature. (John Frohock is Clerk of the Superior Court.)

John Dunn to Sarah Grier. March 8, 1782. John Dunn and John Johnson (?). (T. H. McCaule.)

John Darcey, (or Dancey) to Abigail Davis. August 27, 1783. John Dancey and Myock (?) Davis. (No name.)

Mark Dedman to Hanna Baily. November 7, 1785. Mark dedmon and William (his X mark) Baily. (Max: Chambers.)

Peter (?) Dowell to Elizabeth Collier. September (?) 7, 1785. Richard Dowell (no witnesses unless the bond is not signed by the groom who may be Peter Dowell. (No name.)

Joseph Dial to Margaret Hinkle. March 13, 1786. Joseph Dial and Jesse Hinkle. (W (?) Cupples.)

James Dauson to Jane Citchen. August 16, 1786. James (his X mark) Dauson and Hugh Gray.

(To be Continued.)

Vol. XIII APRIL, 1914 No. 4

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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Mrs. E. E. MOFFITT.

*Died December 12, 1904.
†Died November 25, 1911.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XIII APRIL, 1914 No. 4

MEMORIES OF 1865-1871

By Prof. J. T. Alderman.*

"Lest we forget."

Virgil in the Aeneid gives a graphic description of the long siege and final destruction of Troy the native city of the Trojan hero Aeneas. Long years of wandering and suffering had passed, but the memory of Aeneas was active and in recounting those direful afflictions he exclaims with touching pathos:

"Quaeque ipsi miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui."

A half century has passed since the banner under which the southern soldiers fought was furled and laid to rest. The men in gray encompassed by overwhelming numbers finally laid down their arms and turned their war-stained faces toward the ruined homes of their beloved Southland.

No treaty of peace had been arranged and signed at a friendly court; no specific indemnity had been claimed and adjudicated which could be met and satisfied; no terms were arranged by which the dignity and honor of a liberty loving people could be sustained in their hour of disappointment and defeat. Only a complete subjugation more galling and humiliating than had ever been known in the annals of warfare awaited them. These men who had taken up arms in a cause which they felt was just returned to their desolated homes conscious of an integrity untarnished by the results of the war. It must now be their chief concern to re-

*See Biographical Sketch, Vol. VI, pp. 209, 210, 211, January Booklet, 1907.

establish their homes and restore the forlorn spirits of those most dear to them and again set up the domestic penates which, perchance, had escaped the ravages of fire and sword.

The people of the South from the establishment of the Federal Union had been loyal to the government and had furnished a large proportion of the men who gave it stability and character among the family of nations. They held to the doctrine of "States' Rights" as guaranteed to them by the Constitution. They delegated to the general government those powers named in the compact and stood firmly by the compromises made by the men who arranged the government. They were proud of the "Stars and Stripes," and were jealous for the good name of the Republic. They felt secure in the great Union and prospered in their private and state affairs. Culture and refinement were the boast of southern life. Hospitality was open and unbounded by state lines and social conditions. The broad plantations were aglow with prosperity and master and servant felt the stimulating influence of thrift and industry. All worked together in harmony to make a people happy. Truely it was the "Sunny South."

The people of other sections, jealous of our standing and influence in the shaping of national affairs, had in the early years of the nineteenth century determined to crush the South by any means that could be devised. The most plausible pretext that could be presented to strike a popular sentiment was the abolition of slavery in the South. They had found that the slave could not be made profitable in New England and the North, so the slave dealers carried him to the farmers of the South and sold him for full value. With the money they returned to their homes in the North and immediately were seized with an unbounded sense of philanthropy and love for the down-trodden negro, whom their ship masters had stolen from the jungles of Africa. The

southern people were not seafaring people and owned no sea-going vessels.

Songs and stories were written to inflame the minds of the people ready to be aroused to a most frenzied agitation. As a result the war came on and the nation was torn asunder in deadly conflict.

Deliberately the North planned to humiliate the South in every particular. Regiments of liberated slaves were organized to fight their former masters. Confederate prisoners were placed under negro guards whose language and actions toward them were brutal in the extreme. The helpless men were tortured by the cruel soldiers in black, and if a high-strung prisoner dared resent their insolence by word or look, he was put to tortures unbearable. Handling guns carelessly, they were frequently discharged among the prisoners, then, reports were made that it was done to quell insurrection. The North refused to exchange prisoners. They freely admitted that it was bad policy to let the men get away from them, as each man they let go was equal to four of their own. With every facility for taking care of the Confederate prisoners they were ill treated and poorly fed, while the South was exhausted in her resources and had but little to maintain the soldiers and the Federals held in southern prisons. When Gen. Lee was asked to order that the scant rations be given to the soldiers and let the prisoners go without, he rose to the greatness of a true man and said, "While we have a crust we will divide with our prisoners."

The historic "Sherman's march to the sea" has never had its equal among civilized nations. Indeed Hell did break loose in Georgia and continued to engulf in its sulphurous smoke and ashes all the region it touched through the Carolinas. Sherman himself declared that "A buzzard could not follow in his wake without taking his rations with him." Old men, women and children were treated in the most horrible

manner and no effort was made by the officers to restrain the brutal men. It was an invasion for plunder. In my father's home no article of value that could be moved was left. Clocks, pianos, furniture of every kind was hewn to pieces, beds were ripped open and the feathers were carried away by the winds. Choice pieces of bed-covering of beautiful and rare designs made by my mother in her girlhood days were roughly folded and put upon the sore-backed mules for saddle blankets. The counterpanes upon which she had spent so much care and labor making them rare and dainty were torn from the beds and used for every rough and foul purpose. Precious heirlooms which were so highly prized for the association of loved ones in the long ago were torn into shreds or carried away. Dresses and all wearing apparel fared no better fate. The soldier seemed to take delight in abusing and demolishing before her eyes those things upon which she had bestowed especial care in trying to make home comfortable and attractive. Not a piece of bedding was left except the heavy mattresses and one quilt which in the rummaging had fallen behind an old chest. Every piece of table ware of any value was gone. The soldiers set fire to the house and would have succeeded in burning it had not my mother followed them and put out the flames.

My father was a minister and had not been called into the army. His library was pillaged and depleted. The soldiers took his hat from his head, his watch from his vest pocket, his purse of Confederate money; they carried away all of his clothes except those he had on. These desperadoes were not camp followers, they were the regular soldiers in blue uniforms, and were marched up in line with flag and music, the officers were with them. My father tried to get some protection, but they swore at him and told him to send for Wheeler's cavalry if he wanted protection. They compelled him at the point of a bayonet to shoulder a heavy

wagon wheel and carry it about two hundred yards and put it on a wagon which was broken down so they could load it with corn to carry to the camp. Previous to this they had hung him to a tree to make him tell where the horses were concealed; as they had found them in the meantime they let him down.

My father and Mr. Gray Culbreth had hidden their horses in a dense marsh or swamp with briars and matted underbrush. The mud and water was a foot or more deep and almost impassable on account of its roughness. It was a dark densely tangled place nearly a mile through. The Yankees came to Mr. Culbreth's home first. They demanded the horses but no one would tell where they were. After a number of threats the officers said, "We will make you tell"; they then placed a rope around his daughter, a beautiful girl of seventeen, and mounting their horses and with a stroke of a keen whip drove her through the mud and briars to the hiding place of the horses. It was months before she recovered from the harsh treatment and exposure.

The cattle were ruthlessly shot down in the lots and left otherwise untouched. Not a living thing of value was left on the place, except one hen which had made her escape under an old barn. When the army came to the place on the 15th of March, 1865, we had plenty of provisions such as were found on a well-provided farm to last the family for two years. They left the granaries and barns empty; no scattered corn was left that might serve to feed the children.

I was a boy and proud of a beautiful little horse that my father had given me. A Yankee made me hold my horse for him to mount and ride away. I never saw my horse again. I had a small beautifully bound Bible which I had as a present from my father; a soldier put it into his pocket and carried it away.

My mother and sisters were made to hear the vilest oaths

and the most insulting language that foul-mouthed men could utter. The wearing apparel of the young ladies was taken out and after rude jests were thrown into the mud for the horses to trample. It had been very difficult to secure silks and other fancy goods for the ladies to wear, but the girls had saved some from the old dresses of their mothers with jealous care for special occasions, even these did not escape the savage hands but were either carried away or were torn to shreds. The children's toys and keepsakes and playthings fared no better.

One of Sherman's staff officers, Major George Wade Nichols, who was an eye witness to such scenes, playfuly describes their habitual acts of plunder and rapine. He describes the soldiers searching for hidden treasures, poking every foot of soft ground to find the hidden plate, jewelry, and other rich goods. He says that watching these proceedings was one of the pleasurable excitements of the long march. He gives a full page picture of one such scene; the men have found the hidden box of jewelry, a lone woman is standing on a porch begging for the watch that had been her mother's while the cruel jests are playing upon the faces and lips of her tormentors. These acts of plunder took place in full view of the commissioned officers and no restraints were offered.

In one place a gentleman found a marauding Federal soldier trying to outrage his daughter. For the protection of his daughter he killed the soldier with blue coat and brass buttons on. The father was soon apprehended and hanged.

The system of tortures practiced was not for obtaining provisions and sustenance for the invading army, but mainly for the purpose of securing the valuables of the people along the way. Dr. Bachman presents the following picture:

"When Sherman's army came sweeping through Carolina, leaving a broad track of desolation for hundreds of miles, whose steps were

accompanied with fire and sword and blood, reminding us of the tender mercies of the Duke of Alva, I was near the home of a Mrs. Ellerbe, a lady seventy years old. I witnessed the barbarities inflicted on the aged as well as the young and delicate females. Officers high in command were engaged in tearing from the ladies their watches, their wedding rings and other mementoes of those they loved and cherished. A lady of declicacy and refinement was compelled to strip before them that they might find watches and other valuables concealed under her dress."

Species of torture known only to the Spanish Inquisition were brought into play to force the poor negroes to tell what they knew concerning the valuables of their white people. Coolly and deliberately those hardened men proceeded on their way as if they had perpetrated no crime, for they were sustained by the officers with Federal commissions in their pockets.

It is not pleasant to rehearse the scenes of actual occurrence of those unhappy days, but they made history and led to serious conditions which followed in their effort to restore our homes in peace. These things are facts, and why should not our children know the facts? Of course there are those who would like to have the veil drawn across this period. They may well blush to have their deeds brought to light. The facts ought to be known. What have we to be ashamed of? Those who committed the crimes are hailed as heroes, while those who suffered they would call traitors.

Attila, the Scourge of God, led the savage Huns from the north of Europe and devastated the sunny plains of Italy. Cortez and Pizarro dealt out cruelty and treachery upon the unlettered and barbarous inhabitants of Mexico and Peru. The frenzied leaders of the French Revolution were men of low origin and were determined to destroy the better classes. But here in a civilized land we see a great army, commanded by officers commissioned by the United States government, with the Stars and Stripes in one hand and fire and sword in

the other, devastating the homes of a defenseless people, pouring out bitter denunciations and wreaking their vengeance upon helpless women and children.

Sunday morning, March 19, 1865, was the dreariest day I ever saw. The sky was hazy with smoke and the sun appeared to come through the red-tinged atmosphere with difficulty. All nature seemed charged with the bodings of evil. We were cold and hungry. The little children were crying for food. It was a Sabbath morning, but there was no peaceful rest in our home. All was distress, for there was nothing from which our mother could prepare the morning meal. The Yankee cavalry came again early. They were looking to see if anything had been left that could be of use in preserving life. This was the fourth day of their pillage and every thing was gone.

Suddenly they stopped their plundering, for the drum sounded. We heard the roaring of cannon in the distance. I heard an officer say "There is trouble ahead." We afterward learned that it was the battle of Bentonsville, twenty miles distant. The men wheeled into line and dashed away. The incessant roar of cannonading produced a feeling of awe in our young minds, that the succeeding years have not effaced.

During the years prior to the Civil War and up to its close there had been a kindly feeling of friendship between the negro slaves and the white people. They had been faithful and true to the white people in all those trying times. Hundreds of young men in the Southern army had their faithful servants who stood by them and protected them, often at the expenses of their own lives. The negroes on the plantations managed the farms well and furnished supplies for the southern army. They talked fondly and eagerly about our soldiers in the camps and at the front.

If they had been let alone there would have been no hostility between the races to this day. It was only when instigated by designing men who were really enemies to both white and black that antagonism began to disturb the friendliness that was almost universal between the races in the South. There were exceptions it is true, but the masses of the negroes even when they knew that they were freed from bondage felt kindly toward their former masters.

But even this condition was too good to be allowed to exist in the South. The North had determined to humiliate the people and make the yoke galling and bitter. The negroes were taught that the white people of the South were their enemies and must be hated as such. They were encouraged to become insolent and assert their equality and demand immediate social recognition. They were made to believe that if their demands were not welcomed and acceded to that it was their duty to burn or otherwise destroy the property of their former masters. Emissaries by the thousands came among them to inflame their minds and passions and to work upon their superstitious natures and lead them to acts of violence. Before the war they had as a rule been faithful to every trust and outrages such as have so often happened since were unknown. The white people felt kindly toward them. There was no antipathy toward them because they had been freed, it was not of their doing and no one blamed them. The men of the South would have sympathized with them and they would have lived side by side in peace. But this could not be, for it was decreed at Washington that the South should drink to the bitter dregs and no device or plan that could humiliate must be left unenforced.

Seeing the dark shadows that overhung the South, hundreds of the best men sought security and opportunity in the far distant West. Those who remained felt the pall darker days to come.

Even under these adverse conditions we managed to get along with a semblance of peace until white men of the baser sort, men who had been deserters or "bushwhackers" during the war, combined with the negroes and organized what was known as the "Union" or "Loyal League." Just what was carried on in their meetings we could only judge by results. The negroes became insolent and unbearable, but the white men who were with them were ten times worse. The negroes were encouraged to acts of violence, to theft, to become loud in their demands, to acts of outrage upon helpless women—a thing never before known among them. We feared the negroes where they were in large numbers but much more the men who led them on. We never knew when it might be our turn to see the midnight sky lighted up by the blazing barn, the mills burned to the water line, or even the dwellings burned to ashes—frequently done by spiteful men and charged to an innocent negro.

The presence of the Federal soldiers in every community encouraged the negroes, who had now become insolent, to acts of violence and outrage, and if the sufferers complained were answered with a sneer or an oath and dared to touch the negro or interfere with his liberties. There was no appeal. The courts were powerless, the administration of affairs was a farce because the officers were themselves of the baser sort or dared not antagonize the Yankee soldier who was ready at all times to interfere against the better citizens. The military is usually a protection to the proper welfare of a community, but here was a spectacle of the military being deliberately used to suppress the good and protect the vile. Property, life or honor was not secure at any time.

Those were times that tried men's souls. How well do I remember the intense anxiety of my parents if the girls were out of their sight without protection.

The brave men of the South had laid down their arms at

Appomattox, they had been paroled and made to swear not to take up arms again. In fact they were almost without arms or any means of defense. But the vilest reptile will strike when he is imposed upon. Could the men in whose veins flowed the blood renowned at Alamance, and Mecklenburg, and Manassas, and the Wilderness, lie still like belabored hounds while every species of insult was heaped upon them? Must they let every spark of manhood vanish and see their homes ruined! The conditions must be met and their families and property saved. But how! The Yankee soldiers were quartered in every community and what could our people do? Open resistance would be useless as they would be immediately apprehended as rebels and instigators of treason as was often done.

Every white man who had taken any part in the Civil War was disfranchised and not allowed to participate in the administration of civil affairs. Only the class known as deserters and desperadoes were left to coöperate with the negroes in running the local, county, and state affairs. Orders were issued from Washington to the soldiers quartered in each locality to "forbid and prohibit the assembling of bodies of citizens under any pretense." Military governors were set up over the States as foreign satraps had been placed over conquered nations in the heathen days of old. Irresponsible men came from the North as adventurers to take advantage of our misfortune and usurp authority and fill the time honored stations of trust and honor and despoil the remaining resources of revenue.

Then came the period of Reconstruction so called. Volumes have been written about the horrors of this period. It was not my purpose to add to the volume of literature on the subject, but to give the experience of one who passed through the times as a boy.

Here was an example of the people who had been instru-

mental perhaps more than any other section of the Union in making a great Republic, who had furnished its share of the strongest statesmen of all time, who had furnished the finest examples of statecraft and legal ability, where civilization and culture had reached their highest perfection,—a people foremost in sending the light of the Gospel to the hungering souls of the earth, a people whose ancestry was of the purest stock, whose hospitality had been open to all good men everywhere—a people from sheer hatred and malice to be blotted politically from the face of the earth, and to be reconstructed by such a mongrel set as was collected in Washington and those sent to the South to perform the great transformation. The annals of history have never presented a greater farce.

The sanctity of the church service was invaded. During the existence of the Confederate Government the Episcopal Church inserted in its Book of Common Prayers a prayer for the President of the Confederacy. After the war closed the prayer for the President was left out altogether, whereupon Major-General Wood issued an order by which all the Clergy of that Church "were suspended from their functions and forbidden to preach or perform divine service," unless they should pray publicly for the President of the United States. This took place in Alabama.

On a cold November day in 1871 I witnessed an occurrence in Mayesville, S. C., which caused my blood to boil in my veins. I recite this because it was an example of what was going on all through the Southland.

Old Colonel Mayes was one of the most cultured and polished gentlemen whom I ever knew. He was an old-time planter with broad plantations around him. His sons were successful men, he had given them beautiful homes around his plantation. Before the war he had been a member of the United States Congress. He was a public spirited man

and had been honored by his State. He was quiet, reserved, and dignified—an old-time gentleman. He had furnished succor and help during the war. A large number of the negroes were freed on his plantations; among them was one who had given a great deal of trouble as the worst among the lot. On the November day above referred to an election was being held on the platform of the railroad station. This special negro who had given Colonel Mayes so much trouble was conducting the election. The general amnesty bill had just been passed by Congress and this was the first effort the old man had made after the close of the war to cast a ballot. The negro ordered him to take off his hat and hold up his right hand. There was the picture. The old gentleman, tall and straight, full of honors and the weight of years, the cold November winds driving the long locks of his white hair, his hand raised repeating the oath after the negro.

One day I was busy in the store when a negro came in and read to me a summons to go with him as a witness in a petty trial. I went and found a little renegade Yankee holding a magistrate's court. I and the magistrate were the only white men present.

The negroes were urged to make advances and demand social equality. With a few exceptions, however, they displayed better judgment than their advisers; and refrained from what would have brought on a war between the races. The counsel of the well trained and better class of negroes prevailed to a great extent among them.

These are a few of the scenes and memories that still linger with me. Michael Angelo decorated the walls of St. Peter's with his immortal picture of "Crownless Desolation," in which he portrays the purgatorial griefs of those subjugated by the ruthless cruelty of war. Could the artist have visited our Southland after the smoke of battle had cleared away a new impetus might have touched his brush. Cities de-

stroyed; towns and villages laid waste; churches, schools, and other public buildings rotting; every industry destroyed; landscape horrors and flame-scarred wastes; all of these were the evidences of a once prosperous and happy people.

Fostered by the dominant powers at the North, the Union League had gathered into its ranks all of the lower class of the people as well as the newly liberated negroes who were thus encouraged to take part in public affairs and lord it over their former masters. Conditions were beyond description and were growing more tense every day. There was no help to be expected from the magistrates or the courts, for all were of the same character.

But the spirit of the men of the South again asserted itself and those who had surrendered at Appomattox and the younger men saw that something must be done to protect the honor of the home. We knew not whence it came but the order known as the Ku Klux Klan came to our relief. Others have discussed the origin and merits of the great movement. Memory takes us back to the time when there seemed to be a lifting of the dark clouds along the horizon and hope again beckoned our loved ones to take courage and calm their fears.

In the first volume of THE BOOKLET, Mrs. T. J. Jarvis presented two most excellent papers on the Ku Klux Klan. William Garrott Brown in the May number of the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1901, gives a most delightful article on the subject. In 1877 James Melville Beard wrote a very readable book entitled "The Ku Klux Klan." His book came out so soon after the Congressional investigation of affairs in the South that he wrote very cautiously, but it is easy to read between the lines.

The Congressional reports of the Commission sent to the States where the order existed are very full of interesting matter but nearly all filled with venom toward those implicated. Prof. Hamilton, of the State University, has written

a book on the Reconstruction period which promises to be a valuable addition to our literature on the subject.

Tom Dixon's books, while fanciful and dramatic, revealed conditions as they existed in many sections. Many other publications have been presented through papers and magaiznes, but none have given the history in full of the great movement. Many valuable articles have been printed in our state papers, but there should be a specific treatise put up in a more permanent form. The experiences of Judge Kerr, Joe Turner, and Randolph Shotwell, and perhaps a hundred more should not be forgotten.

ANSON COUNTY

By Mrs. J. G. Boylin.

On account of the distance from the Bladen Court House, where the settlers, all of the Pee Dee section who numbered between two or three hundred tithables, had to go to return their taxes, the distance being a hundred miles or so, the following act was passed in 1749 for the establishing of a county, and St. George Parish, and appointing a place for court house, and prisons, and stocks.

This act was passed by the council, and General Assembly, numbering fifty-four members, held at New Bern courthouse. The ast was read as follows:

"We pray that it may be enacted by his excellency, Gabriel Johnston, and the General Assembly of this Province, and by the authority of the same, That Bladen county be divided by a line, beginning at the place where the South line of this Province crosseth the Westernmost branch of Little Pee Dee river, then by a straight line to a place where the commissioners, for the running of the Southern boundary of this line crossed that Branch of Little Pee Dee called Drowning Creek, then up the branch to the head, then by a line to run as near as may be equidistant from Saxapaw river, now near Chatham, and Great Pee Dee river and that the upper part of the said county, and Parish, so laid off and divided be erected into a county, and parish by the name of Anson County, and St. George Parish and that all the inhabitants to the Westward, shall belong, and appertain to Anson County, and that said Anson County shall enjoy all and every privilege, which any other county, or parish in this province holds or enjoys."

This new County was named for Lord George Anson, a famous English Navigator, who was born in April, 1697, and died in June, 1762. Between the years 1724 and 1735 he was engaged in active service along the coast of the Carolinas. To commemorate his daring deeds and protective service to the colonists, this county of Anson, and a town, Ansonborough, in South Carolina preserve his name. His long

service on the coast of the Carolinas, however useful, was in no way brilliant, but he was popular with the colonists.

At this time Anson County included all of Western North Carolina from New Hanover and Bladen, on the East, to the state line on the West.

Anson county is one of the oldest counties of the state. On a map dated 1783 it shows this county to have been the fifteenth county that was founded. Little Pee Dee river extended to Bladen and the Saxapaw formed a part of the boundary of what is now Chatham County.

From Anson County were formed the following counties, and for the same reason that Anson was taken from Bladen. The settlers were becoming more numerous, and too, they were now being called to attend the courts, either to attend to their own business, and sometimes as jurors and witnesses. An act was passed to establish Rowan County in 1753. At this time Rowan extended to Virginia. Mecklenburg was taken from Anson in 1762. Montgomery County in 1778 and on account of the high waters of the Pee Dee Richmond was taken in 1779.

In the year 1754 at a general assembly held at Wilmington an act was passed for laying out a town on John Jenkins's place on the south side of the Pee Dee river to be known as Gloucester. Charles Robinson, Caleb Howell, Thomas Tomkins, William Forbes and Edmond Cartlege were appointed commissioners with full power and authority to lay off the fifty acres of land. It was to be divided into lots of one half acre each, with convenient streets, and squares, a lot for a court house, jail, church, churchyard and market to be reserved. Any person had a right to take up one of these lots, upon the payment of forty shillings proclamation money, to be paid to the treasurer if he intended to become an inhabitant. Thomas Tomkins was appointed treasurer. Each owner was required to build a good frame store or brick

house no less than twenty-four feet in length, and sixteen feet in width.

This town was situated where the road leading from Cheraw crosses the road leading from Maskes Ferry to Camden in Anson County. This land was bought from William Best by Captain Patrick Boggan. In the year 1786, some of the commissioners having died, James Marshall, Stephen Pace, Jonathan Jackson, Frederick Wilobey were appointed commissioners who were to build the public buildings.

In 1787 the name of the new town was changed to Wadesboro, taking this name from Col. Wade of Revolutionary fame.

An academy was founded in 1800 for the town of Sneedsboro, with William Pegues, Thomas Godfrey, Allen Chapman, William Pierce, Isaac Jackson, Laurence Moore and John Battle as trustees.

In 1802 an act was passed to establish an academy in Wadesboro. The trustees were as follows: James Marshall, Robert Troy, James Goodrich, Joseph Ingram, Sr., Tody Robinson, Pleasant May, John Jennings, Esq., the Rev. William Taylor, Rev. John Culpepper, and Rev. Daniel Gould, Joseph While, William Threadgill, Jesse Beverly, James Coleman, James Hough and Augustus Shepherd.

In 1781, August 4th, Col. Wade called out half of his regiment, and was joined by parties from Richmond, and Montgomery, and proceeded against the Tories, numbering between four and five hundred on Drowning Creek, who were engaged in disarming the settlers within twenty miles of the Pee Dee and carrying off men, who were fit for service across Downing Creek, into what they called the protected land. After a sharp engagement at Beatler's Bridge on Drowning Creek, lasting until twelve o'clock at night the Tories drew off. A dozen Tories having been killed, while Wade only lost four.

On Fanning's return from Wilmington he heard that Wade was going to attack McNeill, who held the protected ground. There was a narrow causeway, through which Wade would have to cross. At Wade's first attack eighteen of Fanning's horses were slain, but the Tories at once dismounted and made a deadly assault, firing as they advanced. In this encounter Wade lost nineteen men, with fifty-four prisoners taken, and two hundred and fifty horses, while Fanning only lost one man, with a few wounded.

Another interesting event was the massacre at Piney Bottom and the revenge taken by the Whigs.

When Gates was defeated at Camden, the British overran South Carolina, and many of the Whigs fled from the Pee Dee section into North Carolina. Among them was Col. Wade. He with Col. Culp decided to return home, and having loaded their wagons with salt and such other articles as were needed in the Pee Dee section. Having crossed the Cape Fear, at McNeil's Ferry, night approaching they took up Camp. That night John McNeil having learned where this company of Whigs were camping sent runners out to collect the Tories, many of whom were lying out in the swamps and other places, with directions to meet at Long Street to pursue Wade the next night.

Just a little before day they came upon Wade and his party encamped on Piney Bottom, a branch of Rockfish, all being apparently asleep. The Tories fell upon the Whigs, killing five or six of them. The rest escaped leaving everything behind.

A motherless boy who had been taken by Col. Wade, being aroused by the firing of the guns, not being fully awake cried "Parole me, Parole me." Duncan Furgeson, a renegade deserter, told him to come he would parole him. He dropped on his knees begging for his life, but seeing this man approaching him he jumped up to run. Furgeson overtook him

and split his head open with a broad sword, so that one half fell on one shoulder and one on the other. The wagons were plundered, the officers taking the money, the men whatever they could carry away. The Tories burned the wagons, and pretended to bury the dead, but the bodies were afterwards found scratched up by the wolves, but were buried by Whig scouts. As soon as Culp and Wade reached home they collected about a hundred men, all swearing that they would never return until they avenged the death of the motherless boy. On Thursday they camped on the land of Daniel Patterson, the piper, on Drowning Creek. They caught him and whipped him until he gave the names of all those who were at Piney Bottom. They then entered into Moore County and captured and murdered all who had been connected with the massacre. Gen. Wade had John McNeil tried for his life on account of the robbery and murder committed at Piney Bottom. He was acquitted on account of not having witnesses.

1765—1768.

Gov. Tryon says that the first trouble that grew into the war of the Regulation began in Anson and spread to Orange. At this time Samuel Spencer was Deputy Clerk of the pleas for Anson. In the year 1768 a mob tried to take possession of the court house (at this time the court house of Anson was old Mt. Pleasant, now called the Hooker Place, owned by the heirs of the late T. J. Ingram). Col. Spencer went to the door and demanded what they would have. They answered that they had some matters to settle and wanted the use of the court house. Col. Spencer read them a clause in the act of Parliament of George the First against riot and unlawful assemblies, at which the mob became very much enraged and threw up their clubs and threatened to tear down the court house and jail. They then proposed for a few of their company to represent them and set forth their griev-

ances. Col. Spencer retired to his desk for transaction of his business, whereupon the whole mob entered, demanding the reason for their being taxed.

Col. Spencer explained to them the necessity of reasonableness of taxation. In this time one of them took Mr. Needlock, a magistrate, aside and another took the other justices off the bench and entirely obstructed the proceedings of the court. They held consultations among themselves and decided to let the court house stand, and passed resolutions to resist the sheriff in collecting taxes. Before they dispersed they elected Mr. Charles Robinson as representative to the General Assembly in place of Mr. John Crawford, without giving the Governor the trouble of issuing a new writ of election on that vacancy.

Each member of the mob took oath that in case any officer made distress on any goods or the estate that he with other assistance would go and take it from the officer, and restore it to the party from whom taken, and in case any one who joined this company of regulars for the nonpayment of taxes should be in prison or under arrest or otherwise confined that he would immediately raise as many of said subscribers as necessary to set said person and his estate at liberty.

All these troubles were represented to Gov. Tryon in a letter written by Col. Spencer. In reply Gov. Tryon gave Col. Spencer authority to raise the Anson regiment of militia to enable him to secure and bring to trial the ringleaders and suppress any future trouble. On the 17th of May, 1768, Gov. Tryon issued a proclamation to the county of Anson commanding and requiring all persons interested in any way or connected with this insurrection to disperse and retire to their respective homes. In case they refused he commanded all officers, both civil and military, to use all lawful means of suppressing the same.

This outbreak on the part of Anson County seems to have been the first open resistance, to the oppression of the officers of the crown. Even as early as this date the great principle was laid down "that taxation and representation" should always be associated, that neither Parliament, nor the Governor, nor any other power had the right to tax the people without their consent freely given through their representatives in the General Assembly.

On March 19, 1771, Governor Tryon called for fifty volunteers from Anson to march against the insurgents. There were 2,550 volunteers called from the Province.

The delegates from Anson to the first Provincial Congress held at New Bern were Samuel Spencer and William Thomas. Delegates to the third Congress, which met at Hillsboro, 1775, were Thomas Wade, Samuel Spencer, William Thomas, David Love and William Pickett. The field officers were appointed at this Congress. The regimental muster was held at the home of Griffith Lacy. Samuel Spencer was Colonel; James Auld was Major.

Samuel Spencer, one of the State's most prominent men of Revolutionary times, is buried on the land of his relative, Mr. S. P. Spencer, on Smith Creek about a mile from the Pee Dee River, with no slab to mark his grave.

This is what the *Fayetteville Gazette* of 1794 says of his death:

"At his seat in Anson County on the 20th circuit the Hon. Samuel Spencer, LL.D., one of the Judges of the Superior Court of this State. His Honor's health having been declining about two years, but he has performed the last circuit three months since, and we understand he intended to leave home in a few days for this town where Superior Court is now sitting had it not been for the following incident.

"He was sitting on his piazza with a red cap on his head, when it attracted the attention of a large turkey gobbler.

The Judge being sleepy began to nod. The turkey mistaking the nodding and the red cap for a challenge to battle made so violent and unexpected attack on his Honor that he was thrown from his chair on the floor and was so beat and bruised that he died in a few days."

Samuel Spencer is the progenitor of some of the most prominent people in the State, namely Londons and Jacksons.

A Philadelphia paper at the time of this occurence makes this (Zhi deppre) criticism:

"In this degenerate age,
What host of knaves engage,
And do all they can to fetter braver men.
Dreading that they should be free.
Leagued with scoundrels pack,
Even turkey cocks attack
The red cap of liberty."

I am greatly indebted to Col. F. J. Coxe for a great part of this interesting data, which he collected while a student at the University of North Carolina, which I have used in this paper. I have consulted Wheeler's and Ashe's histories, also Colonial Records.

THE PFLEGERIN

By Adelaide L. Fries.

It was a mere matter of business that set me delving among the memoirs in the Salem Archives. From the beginning—, that is to say, from 1753,—it has been the custom in Wachovia at the funeral of a member, to read an account of the life of the deceased, and many of these memoirs, autobiographies in their major part, were deposited on the Archive shelves, where they have rested until this present, as forgotten as the men and women of whom they spoke. When some impulse of patriotism, love of order,—what you will,—led me to undertake the making of an Index, it was with the expectation that the work would be monotonous in the extreme. Except to fill a gap in a genealogical table, who cares where Johann Schmidt was born and when he died, or, indeed, whether he died or was born? And yet now and again there came a surprise, and some time-yellowed page would outline a life so typical of the period, so full of human interest, that all the old longing for the story-writer's gift welled up afresh, and its absence seemed almost a tragedy—the threatened reburial of men and women who lived again after a lapse of more than a century.

When I was a child I read a story of which only the mysterious title remains in memory, "The Story That Wouldn't Be Told." Why it did not wish to be told, or how it avoided the telling, is long since forgotten, but in contradistinction to that shy tale the memoirs have haunted me and insisted upon relation, and reluctant obedience is at last given. No attempt is made to weave a modern-style romance,—that is left for some more gifted pen,—but the simple life of a real woman

*See Biographical Sketch, Vol. IX, p. 236, April Booklet, 1910.

is presented, as she moved through the scenes of a country village a century and more ago.

It was a perfect day in late October, 1766, but the slight, fair-haired girl, seated on the trunk of a fallen tree, gazed with unseeing eyes upon the masses of gold and crimson leaves that hid all but a hundred or two feet of the road over which she had but lately come. So far as foliage was concerned it had been a royal progress, that journey southward from Pennsylvania, for day after day the slowly-moving heavily-laden wagons seemed just in the wake of the first sharp frost of the season, and the forests all along the way had flung out their red and yellow banners as though to give the travellers glad greeting.

The little company, however, was royal only in the faith which was leading them to a new home in a distant colony. In outward seeming they were simple enough,—the sturdy drivers of the stout horses, a minister of the Gospel and his wife, three women and a dozen young girls, several of whom were now busily putting away the remains of the midday meal, preparatory to the start on their further journey.

To them Johanna gave as little heed as to the beauties of the autumnal landscape, for the weeks of travel had developed an almost military precision of life, and each served in turn with the deftness born of experience. To-day she was free, and something in the surroundings of the noon rest had taken her back to the hills of New Jersey, where her eyes had first consciously seen the autumn glory; the removal thither from Connecticut having taken place when she was little more than an infant.

How well she remembered that day in 1756 when the rumors of months crystallized into definite news of Indian war, and preparations were made for hasty flight; and a Moravian, coming to her father's mill for meal, cheerfully

returned without his intended freight in order to convey the Colvers and their effects to Nazareth and to safety. Her parents, who had long awaited an opportunity to join the Moravians, gladly accepted a position in a neighboring village, an older sister was sent to Bethlehem, and Johanna and a younger sister were placed in a little school just being started in Nazareth to care for children who like herself had been driven in by the war from unprotected districts.

The lessons taught in the school were of the simplest. She learned to speak German, to read and write in German and English, to cipher, to knit, to sew, and to share in the varied activities of the household. Religious instruction was also carefully given, and not until she was older would she see the real pathos of her inner life during that time. Of imaginative mind and emotional temperament, the tenderly told stories of the Saviour's love and care had at first the strange effect of driving her almost frantic with terror, for her father, unwilling to have his child baptized by other than a Moravian pastor, and unable to secure the services of one in his far-off Connecticut home, had neglected the rite altogether, and being unbaptized she became obsessed with the idea that she was wholly in the power of the Evil One, and beyond the reach of the love which her soul craved. Too shy to hint her trouble the poor little thing struggled on, and at last light began to break in on the eager mind, and she found courage to pray, to hope, and finally to speak to the kindly woman in charge of the children, who dispelled her fear, comforted the tender little heart, and promised that when she was older she should receive adult baptism, and assured her that meanwhile she was perfectly safe in the Saviour's keeping.

A year in the Bethlehem school gave opportunity for more study, and of this she gladly availed herself; then her long cherished wish was granted, and she was baptised, admitted to the Choir of Older Girls and placed with other young

girls of the congregation in the Sisters' House, there to learn the serious business of self-support. An interruption came in the form of a severe illness, through which she went to the very gates of death, but they did not open, health and strength returned, and now she was one of those selected to go to the new little Moravian settlement in North Carolina, there to begin a Choir of Older Girls, as the older women of the company were to form the nucleus of the Choir of Single Sisters. Would she like the new home? Would the work be harder or easier than in Bethlehem? Would she, perchance, be asked in marriage? There were many more brethren than sisters in Wachovia so far, and all the young women who had come with earlier parties had been quickly wedded. And if an offer came would she wish to accept it, or would she rather be Vorsteherin of the Single Sisters like Sister Krause, and manage the money, or better yet, be Pflegerin, like Sister Schmidt in Bethlehem, and have all the Sisters look up to her, and listen to what she said, and have even the minister consult her? On the whole that sounded attractive, and— But Sister Krause's voice was calling her to take her place in the wagon, and air-castles vanished in the wearily impatient wish that the journey was over and she could rest.

Very cheerful the little village looked next day as they drove into it, and were warmly welcomed, bountifully fed, and conducted to the house which had been set apart for their use. And how interesting it was in the morning to go here and there, seeing the places already familiar through letters, and hearing retold the stories of early experiences in the wilderness. Here was the cabin to which the first settlers came on that chill November day in 1753, and in which they held their first lovefeast while the wolves howled in the forest near by. Well might they howl, for their day was done! Some were to fall before the hunter's gun, and the rest would

vanish before the onmarching civilization of which that carefully selected group of colonists was the sign. Here was the church, center of the village and of the village life, with its bell, whose daybreak peal had more than once startled lurking Indians into believing themselves discovered, and had so averted the attack. The substantial walls and loopholed attic made the church almost a fort, and beside it was the stockade, whose protection had been shared by many a frightened farmer, coming to the village for shelter during the troubled years of Indian warfare. High on the hill lay the little graveyard, and at its foot the garden of medicinal herbs, eloquent reminder of the good Dr. Kalberlahn, whose fame had spread far and wide, but who, alas! had been one of the first victims of the epidemic of 1759. Then there were the shops for the tailor and the shoemaker, the homes of married people, the newly-opened Sisters' House, and the Brothers' House occupied by the unmarried men. There was also the village kitchen, a source of surprise to the casual visitor, but the quite-to-be expected thing in the eyes of the new arrivals for the pioneer Moravian settlers had been quick to realize the value of practical coöperation, and it was their system of community organization, "the labor of all for the good of all," which made possible the almost phenomenal industrial success of the earlier years in their first villages. Then there was the mill a mile or two away, the farm and the dairy,—plenty of work for willing hands; and when the fatigue of their trip was over the Sisters and Older Girls were assigned to tasks suited to their strength and ability. In that little village, if nowhere else in the world, all work was honorable, the cow-herd and the cook were as carefully selected as the merchant or the minister, and all met together in the conference which made the plans and gave to each his share of labor.

It seemed to Johanna that everybody was happy except

herself, and that she was not made her the more unhappy. The fact is that the sensitive nature, which would later make her so dearly beloved for her quick sympathy and ready aid of all who came to her for advice or help, was now finding temporary expression in a morbid craving for approval, and a tendency to droop—and, it must be confessed, to pout,—under real or fancied reproof, to her own sorrow and to the annoyance of all about her. She did not understand herself, and no one fully understood her, but they were patient with her; and by and by she learned the hard lesson of self-control, and was admitted to the Holy Communion. In those days privilege of the Sacrament was highly prized and carefully guarded, and each Communion-day was preceded by heart-searchings, deep though tender; and it happened not infrequently that quite an interval elapsed between the taking of vows in baptism or confirmation and admission to the Lord's Table. To Johanna the granting of this privilege was the sign and seal that her strivings after a higher life had found favor with God and man, and from that hour she "thanked God and took courage."

But she never learned to really like Bethabara, and her thoughts turned with ever increasing longing to the new town being built six miles to the south. Salem—"Peace"—the very name seemed to her a prophecy! When she came to Wachovia the work was just begun; since then she had listened eagerly to every word concerning it, as the young men who had gone thither from Bethabara and the hired laborers built first a Brothers' House, then homes for married people, and, ultimately, a Congregation House, with the meeting-hall in its second story. There was something fascinating about a town all prepared as to houses before the people came. How happy the Brethern must be when their own particular house was finished, and the company of builders could welcome into it the young men and boys who had remained in

Bethabara. Perhaps even happier were the four who having toiled earnestly at town-building, were now to be wedded, three to move into three of those empty waiting houses, while the fourth went to the farm near by. Who before had ever attended a quadruple wedding? All Bethabara was interested, but Johanna, who knew all the brides, and was warmly attached to two of them, was in a tingle of excitement from the day when her friends told her of their acceptance of the proposals to the hour of the solemn bethrothal service, and the still more solemn exchange of marriage vows in the presence of the entire population of the village.

Later there followed the consecration of the meeting-hall in Salem, organization of the new congregation, and installation of the pastor and other officers, and at last, at last, word was received that the rooms for the Single Sisters were ready. The breath of Spring was in the air and in Johanna's soul that April day, and when their few possessions were arranged in the new rooms, and they knelt for their first evening prayer in Salem, her throbbing heart chanted joyfully: "Home—peace, home—peace!"

And peace remained with her through all the following years, despite difficulties and hardships not a few. At first it was a struggle to provide the bare necessaries of life, for remunerative work was scarce; but the Sisters tilled their garden, sewed, and washed, and knit, and spun, and helped in the homes of married people, and by their united effort the hardest years were safely passed. Then came the Revolution, with its manifold anxieties, which in their turn passed away. And Johanna was like a plant, rooted in the shadow and coming rapidly into blossoming when brought to the light. Appointed assistant to Sister Pflegerin Quest, she was so helpful, and showed so much tact in her relation to the other Sisters and Older Girls, that she was soon made "house dienerin," and charged with the supervision of all household af-

fairs. This position also made her a member of the Congregation Council, composed of the leading men and women of the congregation, for in those days the women were accorded a much more active voice in matters of the town and Church than they were permitted to have in later times.

Johanna threw her whole heart into her work, dedicating her life to the service of her Church among the Sisters, and in 1780 she was received as an Akoluthe. She now began actively to plan for the erection of a separate house for the Single Sisters, as their rooms in the Congregation House were becoming overcrowded, in spite of the fact that each year some Sisters married and moved into other homes. It had, indeed, always been the intention that there should be a Sisters' House, but while their Choir was small and poor it seemed wiser to wait. Money was still very scarce, but a few hundred dollars were held in reserve for that purpose, and Johanna began to collect small offerings from the Sisters and little girls, and cherished them in faith that a way would open. Then permission was given to ask aid from congregations elsewhere, as well as of friends in the village; and in 1783 preparations were begun for building.

But her faith was not so soon to be rewarded. On a cold winter night in January there rang through the sleeping town the weird, piercing cry of "F-i-r-e! F-i-r-e!" Hastily dressing, men and women seized their buckets and hurried to the scene, there to form in two long lines, the men passing full buckets of water, and the women returning them empty to be refilled. But it was in vain, and when morning came the tavern was a smoking ruin, and Jacob Meyer and his family were without a roof over their heads. Every house in the village was already full, but place was cheerfully made for the accommodation of the Meyers, and quite as promptly it was decided that the tavern must be at once rebuilt, the ma-

terial already gathered for the Sisters' House being used as far as it would go.

For another year, therefore, Johanna and her associates waited, with what patience they could command, and at last the tavern was completed, work on the Sisters' House was recommenced, the cornerstone was laid with appropriate ceremonies, the walls were raised, and the day of dedication approached.

It so happened that just at this juncture Bishop Watteville visited Salem, as the representative of the Unity's Elders' Conference. The Revolution had left many problems for which his wise counsel was much needed, but details of the congregational life were just as carefully considered. One point discussed was that Sister Pflegerin Quest and Sister Vorsteherin Krause were growing old and scarcely able to conduct the affairs of the growing Choir. Sister Quest was asked whether she would relinquish her position and go to Bethabara, there to teach the school for little girls as long as her health permitted, to which she cheerfully agreed. Sister Krause was retired, with the understanding that she would help as much as she could, and the mantles of both fell on Johanna Colver, the timid child, the moody girl, now the ablest and best beloved Sister. Humbly but trustfully she accepted the call, and was installed by Bishop Watteville a few days before the Choir House was finished.

The 5th of April, 1786, was probably the happiest day of Johanna's life. At the head of her Choir, surrounded by sympathizing friends, she moved from the Congregation House to the new Sisters' House, which was opened with impressive and appropriate ceremonies. There, a few days later, Bishop Watteville solemnly consecrated her a Deaconess of the Moravian Church, and she entered upon eleven years of earnest and successful service.

The duties and responsibilities of her position were mani-

fold. According to the Principles laid down, the Single Sisters' Choir was to be "a garden of the Holy Ghost," wherein girls and women were to be trained "for all kinds of service; it might be for marriage, or for work in the Choir, among children, or in families, or as Choir Sisters passing their days in quiet and union of heart with the friends of their souls, thinking with deep interest on the things of the Lord, and praying for them." As Pflegerin Johanna was charged with "the care of the inner or soul life of her Choir Sisters," not only those of adult years, but even wee maidens just growing out of babyhood. Dearly she loved these little folk, and sought to win their confidence, so that even in tender years she might draw them into communion with her Saviour. In modern times there is no one person in the community who quite takes the place that Johanna Colver filled. Many of the mother's duties, of the Sunday School teacher's opportunities, of the pastor's responsibilities, were hers, and, as the girls grew older, she helped them to find means of self-support, and was their trusted confidante in all the perplexing problems of young womanhood, while to the older Sisters she gave her affectionate interest, and to the aged her tender care.

As Vorsteherin she was the treasurer, the business manager of the Choir,—a position bringing many difficulties and anxieties, for to complete their House the Sisters had been obliged to borrow a considerable sum from the Salem Congregation, from potter Gottfried Aust and tanner Johanna Herbst, and to keep up the interest and pay off the principal was no small task, even with the help of all the Sisters, and the unfailing support of tanner Herbst, who would never accept any interest on his loan, and finally gave them the principal as well.

Not to every one is it given to see the end as well as the beginning of an undertaking, but one year before Johanna died she had the joy of knowing that the debt was fully paid, and

that her cherished House would pass unencumbered into other hands,—for that she would soon leave it she knew full well. One of the marvels of Johanna's life was that she accomplished so much despite her bodily weakness. In the very month in which she became Pflegerin the first attack of lung trouble manifested itself, though for some years an occasional hemmorhage seemed to have little effect upon her strength. A vacation in Pennsylvania refreshed her after the strain incident to an epidemic from which many of the Sisters suffered in 1792, but in 1795 the disease took firm hold on her, and her strength gradually but steadily failed. Toward the end she suffered much, and oh, how she longed for rest! "Dear Saviour, pity me, and bring these painful hours to a close. I am ready to go, and there is naught to keep me here," so she prayed in an hour of utter weariness, though as a rule she waited with utmost patience for the final summons. Asking a friend to read her the Daily Texts for some days ahead, that for March 5th was reached, "The Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory," Isa. 60:19. "Oh, that I might go home on that day," she exclaimed; "think of the joy and wonder, to go out into the sunshine, into the day that shall have no end." And even so it was. On the 5th of March, 1797, she peacefully fell asleep, while her weeping Sisters, gathered in an adjoining room, sang hymns wherewith to comfort their aching hearts. Soon the trombonists gathered in front of the House, and throughout the village people paused to listen to the message floating out on the evening air:

A pilgrim, us preceding,
  Departs unto her home,
The final summons heeding,
  Which soon to all must come,
O joy! the chains to sever
  Which burden pilgrims here,
To dwell with Christ forever
  Who to our souls is dear.

The second stanza, though used at the departure of any unmarried Sister, might have been Johanna's own statement of her life's ideal, and many an eye grew moist as the tune was recognized:

My happy lot is here
The Lamb to follow;
Be this my only care
Each step to hallow,
And thus await the time
When Christ, my Saviour,
Will call me hence, with Him
To live forever.

Once more the sweetly solemn strains stole over the village, this time breathing a prayer that each who listened might in turn find ready entrance into that heavenly mansion; and as the last note sank into the evening silence quivering lips whispered with sorrow and yet in perfect trust: "Sister Pflegerin Colver has indeed gone home."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MRS. SPIER WHITAKER nee HOOPER

By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

Mrs. Spier Whitaker was born in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and lived there during a large part of her girlhood. Prior to her marriage she was Miss Fanny DeBerniere Hooper, the second daughter of Professor John Deberniere Hooper of the University, who was the son of Archibald Maclaine Hooper, the well-known editor and writer of Wilmington, North Carolina—a contributor on historical subjects to various journals—who married Miss Charlotte DeBerniere. Fanny DeBerniere Hooper's mother was before her marriage Miss Mary Elizabeth Hooper, daughter of William Hooper, D.D., LL.D., scholar and litterateur, a Professor in the University of North Carolina, later President of Wake Forest College, and the author of *Fifty Years Since, Force of Habit, Sacredness of Human Life, Imperfections of Primary Schools,* and many other sketches. He married Frances Pollock Jones, daughter of Colonel Edward Jones, Solicitor-General of North Carolina, who was born in Ireland, and Mary Mallett Jones who was the daughter of Peter Mallett, member of one of the Committees of Safety in the Revolution and Commissary of the fifth and sixth regiments of the Continental Line. Mary Elizabeth Hooper was the great granddaugher of the William Hooper who was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, son of Reverend William Hooper, second rector (1747-1767) of Trinity Church, Boston. She (Mary Elizabeth Hooper) was the granddaughter of William Hooper, son of the "Signer," who married Helen Hogg, daughter of James Hogg of Hillsborough, North Carolina, a native of Scotland who came to America in 1774, was influential in the Revolutionary period, and married Miss

FANNY DeBERNIERE HOOPER WHITAKER

This picture is a copy of a daguerreotype taken about the time of her marriage. There is no good recent picture.

Alves. J. DeBerniere Hooper was the grandson of the "Signer's" brother George—who married Katharine Maclaine, daughter of Archibald Maclaine of Wilmington, prominent among Revolutionary patriots. The one son of this marriage, Archibald Maclaine Hooper—father of Professor J. DeBerniere Hooper, before mentioned as the father of Fannie DeB. Whitaker—married, as has been said, Charlotte DeBerniere who was the daughter of Colonel John DeBerniere of the British army who had married near Belfast, Ireland, Miss Anna Jones, daughter of Conway Jones of Rostrevor, and whose grandfather, Jean Antoine DeBerniere, a Huguenot of noble birth, had fled from French persecution and settled first in Ireland.[1]

It will be seen from the foregoing that Mrs. Whitaker was descended from those who bore a considerable part in the period of the American Revolution—William Hooper, Archibald Maclaine, Peter Mallett. Names might be cited to show that patriotic interests and military records are to be found also in collateral branches and that force of talent has been evident in these lines. Among these names there is that of an ancestral uncle, Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General Thomas Clark of the Revolutionary army. A brother of J. DeBerniere Hooper was Johnson J. Hooper, lawyer, Secretary of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, a conspicuous and influential editor, one of the most successful humorous writers of the day—author of "Simon Suggs," "Widow Rugby's Husband" and "Other Tales of Alabama," etc.

The late Mrs. C. P. Spencer, in a memorial of J. DeB. Hooper in 1886, says:

"The Hooper family is one long and well known in North Carolina and other Southern states. Wherever known they are strongly marked by certain family traits; a high-toned, passionate sense of

[1] The genealogical data for this sketch was furnished by Miss Bessie Lewis Whitaker.

honor, a quick and generous sensibility, a love of letters, combined with intellect of a fine and flexible quality. In many of them these mental gifts are accompanied by a rare strain of subtle humor, imparting to their conversation and writings the real Attic flavor and salt."

Miss Fanny Hooper imbibed much of great educational value from the atmosphere of her home. Her father, revered by all who knew him, was "justly dear to learning, to social life, to the cause of education, and the Church of God,"[1] her mother a "sweet, high-minded, 'other-worldly' woman."[2] She has said that her parents instilled into their children[3] a love of learning and, at a time when such matters were comparatively ignored, imbued them with a knowledge of and admiration of a worthy ancestry. She was formally educated at the Chowan Female Institute, Murfreesboro, North Carolina—a school well known at this period for thorough scholarship and high standards—where she graduated at the head of her class and was the valedictorian. Her essay, a humorous production entitled "Lucifer Matches" was written in verse and is preserved today as a happy effort of the girl whose mind showed at this early age the vivacity and brilliant tendencies retained and developed through life.

She married July 31, 1866, Mr. Spier Whitaker, son of Colonel Spier Whitaker, of eastern North Carolina—a lawyer learned and widely successful, essentially a "gentlemen of the old school," Attorney-General of North Carolina for four years, later a resident of Davenport, Iowa. Spier Whitaker, the son, was, at the time of his marriage to Miss Hooper, an alumnus of the University of North Carolina, one of the fifty-seven of the members of the historic class of 1861 who

[1] William Mercer Green, Bishop of Mississippi.

[2] Dr. E. A. Alderman in an address on William Hooper.

[3] The children of J. DeBerniere Hooper and Mary E. Hooper:
Helen DeBerniere Hooper (deceased), who married James Wills.
Fanny DeBerniere Hooper (deceased), who married Spier Whitaker.
Henry DeBerniere Hooper (deceased), who married Jessie Wright.
Julia Charlotte Hooper, who married Ralph Graves.

left the University for the battlefield a few weeks before the end of the course that was crowned nevertheless, through the University diplomas, by an alma mater ready to yield approval and award degrees to honorable sons[1] He was First Lieutenant and Adjutant of the Thirty-third North Carolina Regiment, Lane's Brigade, Hill's Division, Jackson's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia. As a Confederate soldier, he served with distinguished gallantry during the four years of the war—literally from Bethel to Appomattox. He was captured at New Bern by Burnside and was a prisoner of war for about four months at Governor's Island, the "Rip Raps," and Fort Delaware. He was at Harper's Ferry, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Gettysburg—in fact in every battle of his regiment except one. His services were conspicuous many times during the war and the commendation accorded him after Gravelly Hill has been often quoted. He afterwards became one of North Carolina's ablest lawyers, "his reputation extending far beyond State bounds."[2] He rendered able and important service to the State as Chairman of the Democratic State Executive Committee in 1888 when he conducted a campaign "with a skill and success that were phenomenal."[3] As a Judge of the Superior Courts of the State he has left an enviable record—a record bearing close investigation and study. "He brought to the Bench a mind well stored with legal learning and his decisions showed him equipped for determining knotty points of the law continually arising.[4] During the time he served as Judge he concentrated the great force of his will and effort upon the ameliora-

[1] "Commencement day was on the first Thursday in June, 1861. Only thirty out of the eighty-seven graduates were present. The diplomas of the absent were forwarded to them. Very likely some of them reached their owners on the battle-field, but I never heard of it-"—*Dr. Kemp P. Battle.* (See Battle's History of the University, Vol. I). The foregoing note may account for the statement, sometimes heard, that the diplomas of the class of 1861 were delivered on the battle-field.

[2] Daily Call, Raleigh, 1889.

[3] Daily Call, Raleigh, 1889.

[4] News-Observer Chronicle, 1894.

tion of conditions in the jails and county homes of the State. He was appointed Major of the Sixth Regiment United States Volunteers in the war with Spain, 1898-99, which regiment though on active duty in this country and Porto Rico, was never engaged in battle.

An esteemed friend and college-mate and Confederate army comrade of Judge Whitaker's thus referred to him after his death: "He possessed an excellent mind which was of a philosophic turn and cultivated in many fields of literature. He was an able lawyer and was distinguished as a logician. He was a man of a high sense of honor and to his intimates was a most delightful companion, whose quaint humor added piquancy to their enjoyment of his company.[1] In reference to his wife, the subject of the present sketch, another valued friend of the early days of strong associations, recently said: "She was indeed an unusual woman—and as a young maiden, so lovely in person, so bright and fascinating. She developed into a woman of rare intellectual gifts and doubtless her intelligent husband by his association with her stimulated her mental powers and gave them play so that they were not repressed, notwithstanding her household cares."[2] The homage he accorded her, the stimulus he gave through his own need of intellectual sympathy in life's mental interests, and his influence that caused her yielding to the solicitations of friends—these did contribute much towards her being known beyond her home. For finely equipped as she was, she shrank from all initiative and from being to the slightest extent before the public.

After her marriage, she lived in Raleigh, North Carolina, for some months, but as her husband soon became engaged in much practice in eastern North Carolina, they, within a year, began residence in Enfield, Halifax County, North

[1] Major E. J. Hale in Fayetteville Observer 1901.
[2] Captain S. A. Ashe of Raleigh, N. C.

Carolina, which place was their home until the year 1882 when they came with their five children[1] to Raleigh. Here she lived until the death of her husband in July, 1901. After some intervening years spent partly with her sisters in Chapel Hill and partly in Raleigh, she and her daughter in 1907 followed her two youngest sons to Birmingham, Alabama, where she resided until her death on November 28, 1911. This brief statement, covering the period of her married life and another decade of thought and love and service can only suggest the real biography. Her intense delicate, sensitive nature knew no compromise in life's duties. There is not much more to say than that, as was said by one who loved her, "her large heart and large mind were given in large, unstinted service," this service given first in accordance with the heart's first dictates but shutting out none of the wide and universal sympathies. Mental and spiritual activity was necessary for her—that activity that tends to development and benefit if not to absolute rest of mind and the happiness of the unquestioning.

Literary, historical, patriotic interests played a part in her life. The North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution, founded by her and made up even now of her personal friends, desires to pay a tribute to her and to trace at the same time the history of the society by showing something of her work in connection with it during her long residence in Raleigh and by pointing out her contributions to the history of the State and her efficient patriotic interests.

In 1894—September 10th—she was asked by the National

[1]The children of Fanny DeBerniere (Hooper) Whitaker and Spier Whitaker are:
DeBerniere Whitaker, University of North Carolina, Engineer. Vice-President and General Manager Juragua Iron Company, Santiago de Cuba.
Bessie Lewis Whitaker, A.M., University of North Carolina: Teacher. Present address, Bertram Hall, Cambridge, Mass.
Percy duPonceau Whitaker, B.S., University of North Carolina. Advertising Counsel, Denver, Colorado.
David Spier Whitaker, University of North Carolina. Merchandise Broker, Denver, Colorado.
Vernon Edelen Whitaker, University of North Carolina. General Agent A. B. & A. R. R., Atlanta, Georgia.

Society of the Daughters of the Revolution, through the Secretary of the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the Revolution, to consider the position of regent for the Society in the State of North Carolina, the reason for the request being based, said the Secretary,[1] on her "interest in such matters as well as ancestral and other qualifications." She became a member of the National Society of the Daughters of the Revolution December 18, 1894. She was appointed State Regent for North Carolina for a term extending from January 7, 1895, to January 1, 1899. She was retained as Regent by the North Carolina Society until her resignation, formally tendered July 6, 1902.

Her work in creating conditions for the establishment of a State Society began immediately after her appointment. Gradually, constantly, and persistently she interested her friends in the work and the objects and, on October 19, 1896, the anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis, she organized the North Carolina Society. Her work in effecting the organization was accomplished under difficulties; for, even so recently, women were not as easily aroused as now to a sense of the importance of an opportunity for preserving family records and contributing to the cause of historical research and the inculcating of historical interests. Before beginning this work, she had made a careful study of the history and standards of the National patriotic societies and it was the strict and unvarying requirement of membership through lineal descent that determined her allegiance to this particular society. In January, 1897, the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution adopted a provisional State Constitution and By-Laws, the objects as stated in this constitution being to "perpetuate the patriotic spirit of the men and women who achieved American independence; to commemorate Revolutionary events—especially those con-

[1] Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood, Raleigh, N. C.

nected with North Carolina; to collect, publish and preserve the rolls, records and historic documents relating to that period; to encourage the study of the country's history; and to promote sentiments of friendship and common interests among the members of the Society." It was through the zeal and ability of Mrs. Whitaker as regent and the able coöperation of other women that the growth of the Society became assured and that its influence steadily widened.

In the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register,* October, 1900, Vol. 1, there is an outline by Mrs. Whitaker of the activities of the society, in which she shows that it had labored steadily to promote the objects for which it was established as set forth in its constitution, in line with which, among other activities, a hall had been rented for business meetings where historical and other papers were read and these and other matters germane to the Society were discussed and where were kept its nucleus of a library and a collection of relics; a genealogical department established as an adjunct to the Society; a gold medal offered to a pupil of the Raleigh Graded Schools for an essay on an assigned historical subject; steps taken towards marking hitherto neglected graves of soldiers of the Revolution in Wake County; resolutions sent (in 1898) to United States Senators and Representatives from North Carolina (at request of the Ticonderoga Historical Society, Ticonderoga, New York), advocating the passage of a bill for the Government ownership and preservation of old Fort Ticonderoga; an appeal made through a circular letter (May, 1898) to the House of Representatives in Washington for the appropriation of ten thousand dollars to carry into effect two resolutions of the Continental Congress in 1778 and 1781 for the erection of monuments to Brigadier-General Francis Nash and William Lee Davidson of North Carolina; a movement inaugurated May 4, 1898, when troops were being organized for the Span-

ish War for the formation of a Soldiers' Aid Society, etc. The movement that has proved perhaps of most lasting benefit to the State is referred to as the "publication of THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, containing articles of great historic value, for the most part contributions from distinguished writers of the State." "This," she continues, "formerly under the able management of its first editors, Miss Martha Helen Haywood and Mrs. Hubert Haywood, with the former of whom the idea of its publication originated—*palmam qui meruit ferat*—is now in the hands of Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton and Mrs. E. E. Moffitt." As late as May 12, 1912, Captain S. A. Ashe wrote of THE BOOKLET thus: "I recall the origin of THE BOOKLET. A noble oak has grown from the acorn. What an advantage it has been to the State! How many subjects have been explored—how many historical incidents have been rescued from oblivion—what a medium it has been of thought—what a stimulus to writing for the public to read. Our people before THE BOOKLET began were not in the habit of writing for the public. Now many use the pen as if they had been brought up in New England. I rejoice in the good it has brought our people."

Mrs. Whitaker was the very heart of THE BOOKLET enterprise. It was she who gave it living force, she who seemingly not active in its publication was the vital spark that gave it action.

As stated by Mrs. Whitaker in the outline in the *Historical Register,* the direct object of THE BOOKLET was to "begin a fund for the rearing of a monument to the first signers of an American Declaration of Independence—the patriotic ladies of the famous Edenton Tea Party of October 25, 1774, whose declaration antedated by nearly two years that of the vestry of St. Paul's Church in the same town, by seven months that of Mecklenburg, and by a year and eight months the National Declaration at Philadelphia." It was Mrs.

Whitaker who proposed that the Society attempt to create a fund for the "purpose of commemorating the heroism of the women of the Revolution by erecting a memorial to the too-much-ignored ladies of the historic Edenton Tea Party of 1774." Correspondence retained by her attests the interest and response on the part of prominent men who coöperated with her and the Society in the work of securing historic testimony as to the occasion of the Edenton Tea Party. She also appealed directly to persons in England who had access to records there. Evidence of the incident alluded to—casually mentioned by Wheeler in his *History of North Carolina*—was secured in an authoritative record which had been published in the *Morning Chronicle* and *London Advertiser* in England and she also obtained directly from England a list of the fifty-one ladies who signed the Edenton document, endorsing on October 25, 1774, the resolves of the provincial deputies who had held a Congress in New Bern, North Carolina, the preceding August. After some years the object proposed was accomplished by the Society through the publication of The North Carolina Booklet, referred to in the foregoing—the publication devoted to developing and preserving incidents in the history of the State which previously had not received sufficient recognition and notice, the publication that achieved success through the work and skill of members of the Society who volunteered to take charge of it, and through the historical contributions of educators and historians of the State. The first issue appeared in May, 1901. On October 24, 1908, a bronze tablet was erected in the Capitol in Raleigh which bears this inscription: "Erected by the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution to the fifty-one ladies of Edenton who by their patriotism, zeal and early protest against British authority assisted our forefathers in the making of this Republic and our Commonwealth." Considerable thought

was given to the form of the memorial. There is this reference to it in a letter from the writer of the present sketch, who is a member of the Society, to Mrs. Whitaker: "Your idea of the memorial that, instead of a shaft or statute or painting, it should have the educational form is an admirable one. You formulate ideas. Would that they could materialize! And I think they will, though a long time after this."

Mrs. Whitaker was one of the charter members of the *State Literary and Historical Association,* organized in Raleigh October 23, 1900. She became a member of the *Colonial Dames of America,* May 27, 1897; in 1900 she was second vice-president of that society in North Carolina.[1] On January 3, 1901, she organized the Raleigh local circle of Colonial Dames. She was a member of the recently organized National Society known as the Descendants of the Signers. She evidently considered membership in the Huguenot Society of America—though we have obtained no record of the membership—as there is correspondence relative to her eligibility through the lines DeBerniere and Crommelin. Although she did not actually and directly engage in work for the Daughters of the Revolution after the death of her husband in 1901, her influence and her name never ceased to be connected with it. Her formal resignation was tendered July 6, 1902. The record of the meeting of that date has the following statement in regard to it: "The resignation was received with profound regret and the Secretary requested to express the sentiments of the Society in the loss they sustain in her withdrawal. She has been Regent from the organization of the Society, and to her untiring zeal and labors the Society owes its existence today."[2] After her removal to Birmingham she was made an honorary

[1] See North Carolina Colonial Dames Directory for 1900.

[1] Raleigh News and Observer, July 6, 1902.

life member of the Society. A clipping from the Raleigh paper, the date of which is missing, states that "Mrs. Spier Whitaker, founder of the Society of the Daughters of the Revolution in North Carolina, was elected Honorary Regent for life by a unanimous standing vote."

Mrs. Whitaker's tenderest allegiance was always with the old Southern Confederacy. Her name was among the first on the roll of the Daughters of the Confederacy in Raleigh, for on April 14, 1896, she became a member of the Johnston Pettigrew Chapter of that Society. Her feeling for the cause may be found in her own expression, in reference to various organizations in which she was interested—"the Daughters of the Confederacy being by far the closest to my heart."

In response to requests of compilers and editors she from time to time showed the facile pen and the work of the student and scholar. Her writing, unfortunately, must be sought where it was placed not on her own account but solely in the interest of some cause or to record some life she knew. Her circular letter written to enlist the first interest in the formation of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution—prepared first upon the request for a contribution to the Monumental, or Ladies' Edition of the *News and Observer* on the occasion of the unveiling of the Confederate monument in Raleigh, May 20, 1895—is still extant and is an appeal replete with fine distinctions, delicate touches, and fervid feeling. The purport may be seen in these words: "In our devotion to these unsuccessful, tear-crowned heroes and that Confederacy, unique and radiant, which is in eccentric orbit through stormy skies descending, blazed for a brief space among the constellations of the nations and went out in darkness, let us not forget those who participated in the triumphant struggle of the Revolution, from whom our Southern Chivalry derived and *inherited* that splendid courage and

heroism which have forever glorified both themselves and the cause for which they fought." Traces of her pen may be found among various papers and circular letters issued by the Society from time to time. And we find preserved occasional newspaper and pamphlet articles from her pen, the titles of which being somewhat as follows: "North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution," March 25, 1901, in *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register.* "Daughters of the Revolution," in *Literary and Historical Activities,* 1900-1905. "Just to the South" (Letter) in the *Democrat,* Clinton, North Carolina, June, 1905. "North Carolina Descendants of Signers of the Declaration of Independence," Raleigh *News and Observer,* July 3, 1907. "William Hooper and His Descendants" (answer to communication), Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot,* July 3, 1907, and *Asheville Gazette,* August 14, 1907. "Colonel (or General) Thomas Clarke"—article not signed, Raleigh *News and Observer,* July 31, 1892.

She was called upon to supply family book-plates for use in publications; apparently the Hooper and Maclaine plates were included in some elaborate book on the public, semi-public, and private libraries of the Thirteen Colonies, compiled by James Terry in 1904. As a close student of family history, she was asked to contribute a number of biographical sketches of historical and genealogical interest, embodying fruits of her research for family data, to the *Cyclopædia of American Biographies* (Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States), edited by John Howard Brown, published by the James H. Lamb Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1901. These articles include as titles the names Archibald Maclaine Hooper, George DeBerniere Hooper, John DeBerniere Hooper, Johnson J. Hooper, William Hooper, Clergyman; William Hooper, Signer Declaration of Independence; William Hooper, Educator, Edward Jones, Johnston Blake-

ley Jones, Abraham Rencher, Joseph Caldwell. The eleven sketches, not signed, and apparently not credited on any list of contributors, are acknowledged in part through a statement which appears in the published sketch of J. DeB. Hooper, as follows: "The data used in preparing the sketches of the Hooper family which appear in this work were furnished by Mrs. Spier Whitaker, a careful student of the annals of the family." The editor also acknowledges this extensive material relating to the Hooper family in a private letter of January 22, 1900, in which he speaks of her "invaluable assistance" in the matter of preparing the sketches, referring at the same time to the necessity for utmost conciseness and the final making of the sketches as nearly like those she sent as consistent with the scope of the Encyclopædia. Private memoranda establish the fact that there was also personaly acknowledgment of the Jones, Rencher, and Caldwell sketches. For THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET of July, 1905, she contributed a valuable account of the life and times of William Hooper, the "Signer," with a genealogical account of the Hooper family. She wrote by request for the *Biographical History of North Carolina* a life of Thomas Clark of the Revolution, which sketch, however, is still held by the editors, awaiting publication in one of the later volumes to be issued within the next few years. In an early volume of the same work, a part of her sketch of her husband, Spier Whitaker, is published. The full sketch and another separate account of the Whitaker family are still unpublished.

Obviously it has been difficult to locate some of her writing. Probably some of her work is not to be found at all. Her object in writing was clearly not for personal recognition; it may be understood from her own remark in correspondence of 1894 with some editor or publisher, when she says "I hope I am not too late, *being exceedingly anxious that*

the facts should be accurately stated." As some one has recently said, "It is characteristic of her that she should have *lost* herself and her name and the credit due her in the work. She was so self-effacing—or rather so unaware—so unconscious of herself and her rarity."

A robust constitution gradually weakened under the strain of disease too insidious to be recognized until its work had become advanced. Death was not expected until a few days before the end. The calamity to her family was felt as a distinct shock by the many friends in her own State of North Carolina, in Alabama, and elsewhere, for she was widely known and loved. The funeral was held from Christ [Episcopal] Church, Raleigh, North Carolina, to which congregation she had belonged. The interment was in Oakwood Cemetery by the side of her husband.

Hers was a rare mind, of many gifts and marked originality. A too highly sensitive nature, and, for many years, a slight lameness due to rheumatism, had made her for some time almost a recluse. But far from being self-centered, she was always appreciative of friends, always thoughtful of others, much occupied with correspondence, full of interest in all that went on about her in home and town, an accurate and comprehensive reader, an indefatigable student, and a close observer of current events. Her remarkable fund of information was evident both in her speech and writings and her quick perception, unusual memory, and originality made her delightful in conversation. Interested to the last days of her life, when she was well-acquainted with pain, in details of home-making, full of broad, genuine sympathy and great charity—with a mind and heart occupied with great subjects and with great depths of affection—she was a womanly woman whose greatest weakness was an underestimation of herself and an unwarranted reserve. Keenly interested in all intellectual movements and problems and

strongly favoring the saner, quieter efforts of women to take part even in legislation and government, she herself, endowed as she was with beauty of person and beauty of mind and heart and soul, wished to live the simplest life of greatest retirement. As said by one who knew her for many years, "She was a noble woman, one of the best God sends to this earth."[1]

The picture of Fanny Hooper as a girl of seventeen, still in possession of her children, is loveliness itself. The glimpses of her girlhood, as pictured in words by those who knew her then are not less beautiful. In this youth she married Spier Whitaker, the young soldier and law-student who proved his worth and nobility as she did hers. Her life was primarily given to the love and sacrifice and the work and the joys of wife and mother. Incidentally she contributed much thought and influence where it was of value in her time. Her friends as well as her five children "rise up and call her blessed" while mourning her loss and grieving that she was not spared longer for love and service and for the blessing of her presence for those who can not understand her going.

[1] Dr. Kemp P. Battle, University of North Carolina.

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THE BOOKPLATE OF GOVERNOR GABRIEL JOHNSTON.

Vol. XIV JULY, 1914 No. 1

The North Carolina Booklet

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of The Booklet is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. Editor.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XIV JULY, 1914 No. 1

HERALDRY AND ITS USAGE IN THE COLONY OF NORTH CAROLINA

By Mary Hilliard Hinton

(Heraldic Artist, North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution; Historian-General, Daughters of the Revolution, 1912-1914; Chairman Committee on Historic Research, National Society Colonial Dames of America, 1912-1914, etc.)

In this age of materialism, in a land thoroughly democratic, it is a marvel that there should be a revival, so to speak, of an important science of the mediæval era, indissolubly linked with the days of Chivalry. Its popularity has increased to such an extent that persons attaining sudden eminence have been known to order Arms to be designed at great cost. Some later repose beneath tombs adorned with the assumed badge of distinction. Others, without authority, appropriate those that belong lawfully to persons of the same surname, between whom there is no known connection. Cases can be cited where people have displayed on their stationery certain crests because they were more pleasing to behold than their own.

In preparing this paper it has been considered advisable to first speak of the origin and history of Heraldry and its uses and abuses before touching upon its relation to the Colony of North Carolina.

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF HERALDRY.

Heraldry is a science. These notes relate only to the English acceptation of the fascinating study. The French and Germans have different rules. They are more confusing and far less rigid. The handsomest works bearing on this sci-

ence are prepared by the French—they are very costly and the styles are so ornate with all their gorgeous embellishment that one is reminded of the overcrowded interior of the Italian palaces—too loaded down to be in good taste.

Most erroneous ideas prevail regarding this branch of Art. The thought that one who uses armorial bearings, to which he is rightfully entitled, is a snob is simply ridiculous. A Coat of Arms is as much one's personal property as his name. It comes in the same way—by inheritance. To discard the one would be as sensible as to reject the other. In mediæval times Coat Armor was the sole means of distinguishing a knight. Consider the warrior armed *cap-à-pie,* mounted on a charger similarly encased in armor; unless one beheld the crest and Arms there was no means of recognition.

The origin of this very fascinating science is veiled in obscurity. Some armorists allow fancy to play no small part in their solutions and eagerness to claim a greater antiquity for "this once cultivated study." One has asserted that Adam bore a red shield with a silver escutcheon thereon, showing that Eve was an heiress. Others say that laws regarding it came from heaven. Mr. Charles L. Camp, the noted Connecticut armorist, claims a most ancient origin for this science. Many of us are familiar with his beautiful work shown in the Connecticut Building at Jamestown Exposition and the decorations on some of the covers of the *Journal of American History.*

Not granting that Heraldry's origin was divine, it must be admitted that Moses ordered each of the twelve tribes and their families to bear their own separate standard and ensign, in order that they might be distinguished in their wandering through the wilderness. In the Book of Daniel we find reference to symbols—when it is written that "the king sealed it with his own signet and the signet of his Lords," while it is recorded in the Book of Kings that Jezebel

"wrote letters in Ahab's name and sealed them with his seal." Other allusions can be found therein, but it is to the signs of ancients they bear analogy, not the Heraldry of the present. A similar instance can be found in a Greek tragedy of twenty-five centuries ago, where a soldier bore a shield containing a torch with the words, "I will fire the city," which evidently related only to that occasion—nothing is said to prevent the thought that he used other devices at other times and did not hand it down to posterity. On the contrary Heraldry, as we know full well, is permanent and hereditary.

We will consider a few later authorities on this subject. Sir John Ferne claims that we took Arms from the renowned hieroglyphics of Egypt. Sir William Dugdale states that Arms were first used by great commanders in war to distinguish different personages and their followings. Alexander Nisbet in writings on Heraldry declares that the genesis of Arms extends to the primitive ages deriving its origin from Nature—that all people in all ages employed signs and marks to distinguish the noble—the ignoble being conspicuous by absence. The heroes of Homer, Ovid and Virgil bore various signs on their shields as badges for recognition. Alexander the Great bestowed badges on his officers and soldiers for deeds of bravery and to arouse ambition in his army. These were to be borne on banners, pennons and armor, at the same time order was issued in his dominions that he alone should take or bestow such emblems. The precedent then established has held good throughout the succeeding ages with sovereign princes in their possessions. Some armorists trace the beginning of Heraldry to the Romans, some of their customs resembling the later use of Arms. Their civil and military laws will ever attract attention and those familiar with their history clearly see their ardent patriotism and excite their emulation, the desire to win laurels and afterwards present them to the public gaze.

Much comment has been given the descriptions of the emblems borne by the various Roman families which show the propensity of the human race for "decorative embellishment" —the Romans indulging in the inclination as means of perpetuating any glorious action or attainment. As has been said the genesis of Heraldry has been shrouded in mystery, but of one thing we are positive. All nations in all ages have used figures of creatures, vegetables, and symbols to express the bravery and prowess of their leaders or nations, just as names are employed. We learn from the discourses on science by C. Agrippa that various countries adopted emblems of distinction, for instance, an ox was the badge of the Egyptians, the Romans bore the renowned eagle and the letters S. P. Q. R.; the Goths a bear; the Athenians an owl; the Franks a lion; the Saxons a horse. This custom of bearing a national emblem has been retained to our own times.

Symbols, emblems and devices were used from earliest times. Hieroglyphics expressed thoughts. The first ships had signs on the foredeck, for instance, the vessel in which St. Paul sailed bore the badge of Castor and Pollux. The tribes of Israel used emblems that adorned the entrance to the tents. The contentions that the Romans used the eagle on their ensigns and the Egyptians the ox, was a branch of Heraldry was without foundation. There is no connection between this and the present science.

The last of the eleventh century seems to have been the date upon which reliable heraldic authorities, such as William Cambden, Sir Henry Spelman and others have settled as the time when families assumed hereditary Arms. They were so called from the fact that military men wore these symbols of honor in martial engagements and at tournaments, or jousts. On the helmets and shields, as well as other warlike implements appeared the armorial bearings of the

owner. The term "Coat of Arms" was derived from the custom of embroidering the same on a coat worn above the coat of mail, as Heralds have done to the present day. The Germans and French were the first to regard Heraldry as a science. It was introduced into England about the twelfth century and into Scotland at an earlier date. When the vast armies of Christendom assembled on the plains of Palestine it was essential to have some means of recognition for the knights encased in armor, so at that early period it can be stated the use of Coat Armor was established.

The tournaments of the Middle Ages greatly encouraged Heraldry. These engagements were contests of strength and skill and contestants were knights of patrician birth, no one could become a candidate unless he could prove four lines of gentle birth, including paternal and maternal sides of his house. It was called a tournament when many engaged, a joust when there were but two contestants. Both man and horse were encased in armor. The lance was used till broken or lost, then the sword, mace, or battle-ax was taken up. If a man was unhorsed, the play was resumed on foot—fair play was the distinctive feature of these pastimes.

The candidates for the contest visited the lists some days before, perfectly armed, displaying the armorial bearings on the shield. The esquires of each respective knight preceded him on horseback, bearing the helmet and lance, to which was attached a small flag with the armorial bearings thereon. The sound of trumpet heralded the approach. The presiding judges accepted or rejected the candidates. The mode of challenge was thus: The admitted knight touched the shield of his opponent with the reverse of his lance, or the sharp point. The first required the arms of courtesy; the spear had a ball attached to its point and blunt weapons were used; the latter demanded the same arms as those required in actual warfare. Often fatal wounds ended the

jousts. Some noble lady presented the prize, a chaplet, or a similar ornament, to the victorious knight. As has been shown, the Arms were the sole means of identifying the competitors.

The church approved of Heraldry. Banners were brought by the Crusaders for the treasured blessing of the priests. These, carrying additional honorable charges won in Palestine, were hung in the churches, and the more permanent means of preserving the same distinctions were preserved in the glass of the windows, the frescoes of the walls, the tombs, the tiles of the floor or the carved stone itself.

Heraldry attained the zenith of its popularity in the fourteenth century and flourished till the passing of armor when the armorial bearings were no longer essential to recognition. The use of Arms has still been retained by the leading nations of the world showing alliance and noble birth. "The Iron Cross" of the present cannot be more prized than the heraldic trophy bestowed upon the mediæval warrior for valiant service on the field of battle.

The devices used in the Middle Ages were so simple any one—ignorant or learned—could decipher the meaning. The mansions, almost without exception, were ornamented with the family Arms—these are still seen in foreign lands. The window was a favorite point for decoration. The followers each bore the master's badge on his sleeve. The inns hung out the crests and badges, along with its name, of the nobility, such as: "Bear and Ragged Staff," the "Eagle and Child," the "Rose and Portcullis," the "Chequers." Inns near abbeys assumed ecclesiastical devices, such as the Cross Keys of St. Peter.

In "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After," we find this allusion:

"Here is Locksley Hall, my grandson, here the lion-guarded gate
There is one old Hostel left us where they swing the Locksley shield
Till the peasant cow shall butt the lion passant from the field."

Reference is here made to the Dymoke crest, a "lion passant," which is above the quaint gateway of Scrivelsby Court, while there is a "leaden cow" in these ancient grounds.

The arms assumed were frequently indicative of the profession of the armiger (bearer of arms) for example, the three little round balls one sees on many places in Florence were the devices of the haughty Dukes of Medici, so chosen because they were originally apothecaries.

THE USES AND ABUSES OF HERALDRY.

Having given a brief outline of the origin and history, we shall proceed to explain its significance as applied in modern times.

The ignorant invariably ask, "Now do tell me the meaning of this ship, or that snake, or ragged lion's head?" To understand the true meaning an armorist *must* be acquainted with the history of a house.

The modern uses are given below. Heraldry is employed in various ways. The chief one being engraving the armorial bearings on silver, on seal rings and bookplates. They can be cast in bronze, carved on wood, painted in oils or water colors, sketched with pen and ink, or India ink, framed and hung in the hall, library or dining-room. They can be embroidered on the household, or personal linen, painted on china and carriages, chased on cut glass, engraved on rings, and last, but by no means least, adorn the stationery, visiting cards, and wedding invitations. The late Empress of Austria simply had her name "Elizabeth" engraved on her card beneath the imperial crown. In Colonial days they were carved on tombs, which has greatly aided the genealogist to-day. In the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII it was customary in England to paint the Coat of Arms in the upper right-hand corner of portraits. In In some of the masterpieces of Holbein is shown this fashion.

While only armigers can display these devices on their personal possessions, any one is allowed the right to hang paintings, etc., of these ancient reminders of the age of Chivalry, worn by any ancestor, whether of the same name or not, in their habitations. In Virginia the custom is universally adopted, so it is in New England, but in North Carolina, one rarely finds in sight these mementoes of by-gone days.

A slight knowledge of Heraldry is requisite to a thorough understanding of the works of Scott, Shakespeare and Tennyson. An armorist must know something of French and a little Latin and interpret Old French which is frequently puzzling.

Abbotsford affords an illustration of the ideal baronial hall. There in "the Great Hall," in the exquisite carving of the woodwork, the delicately tinted stained glass of the windows, in a border running around, are the Coats of Arms of the ancestors of Sir Walter Scott, who were entitled to use them. On the three beams overhead are carved shields, each bearing charges in the appropriate tinctures and metals. The last three of the middle beam are plain. These the faithful guide points out and announces that Scott said they would have belonged to his ancestors, but had never been found.

Heraldry has been of great assistance in archæological pursuits; it can be called the "Handmaid of History," and in genealogical research proves indispensable. The work recently issued in the Bowles family was easily compiled through the aid of tombs, brass tablets and armorial bearings as found in old English churches.

To-day we see the Arms of extinct noble families adopted by those of a similar name without authority. Herbert Spencer, in one of his essays published in the "Westminster Review" in 1854, says: "Coats of arms which served to distinguish men in battle, now figure on the carriage panels of retired tradesmen. Once a badge of high military rank, the shoulder-knot has become on the modern footman, a mark

of servitude. The name Banneret, which once marked a partially-created Baron—a Baron who had passed his military 'little go'—is now, under the modification of Baronet, applicable to any one favored by wealth, or interest, or party feeling. Knighthood has so far ceased to be an honor that men honor themselves by declining it."

Mr. S. Gough Nichols says: "In the early days of Heraldry, if a man adopted the arms belonging to another family he was proceeded against by the rightful owner as a man would be now were he to steal the property of another," and he quotes the case of Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in August, 1385.

There has been in the past few years a marked revival of this ancient custom of using Coats of Arms in this country. It does not partake of a monarchical tendency, for a land whose flag was designed from the Arms of her greatest hero, and where orders are organized with a view to perpetuating her history and instilling the duty of patriotism, which encourage a regard for Heraldry, cannot claim citizens who are not loyal to dearly-bought liberty, principles and standards. The fact that Tiffany employs regularly four armorists in his Fifth Avenue establishment, shows the demand for such delicate workmanship.

Mrs. Roger A. Pryor in her work, "The Mother of Washington and Her Times," writes of Heraldry in the Old Dominion: "Virginia families used the Arms to which they had a right with no thought of ostentation—simply as something belonging to them as a matter of course. They sealed their deeds and contracts with their family crest and motto, displayed their Arms on the panels of their coaches, carved on their gate-posts and on the tombstones of their people; for such had been the custom in the old country which they fondly called 'home.' "

There is but one dishonorable charge in Heraldry. This

must be borne for all time. The noble, not the ignoble, deeds are recorded.

Do you remember the scene in "The Monastery," where soldiers are descending upon the village of Kennequahair, the present town of Melrose, when the Abbot of St. Mary's ascended to the battlements of the lofty monastery, followed by Edward Glendenning, for a sight of the approaching army?

"Look at the banner," said the Abbott; "tell me what are the blazonries?"

"The arms of Scotland," said Edward, "the lion and its treasure, quartered, as I think with three cushions—can it be the royal standard?"

"Alas! no," said the Abbott, "it is that of the Earl of Murray. He hath assumed with his new conquest the badge of the valiant Randolph, and hath dropped from his hereditary coat the bend which indicates his own base birth."

No one could read "Kenilworth" without remembering the queer old character—Master Michael Mumblazon, who was a stationary guest of Sir Hugh Robsart at his ancient seat of "Lidcote Hall." Scott thus describes him: "He was an old bachelor of good family but small fortune, and distantly related to the House of Robsart; in virtue of which connection Lidcote Hall had been honored with his presence for the last twenty years. His company was agreeable to Sir Hugh, chiefly on account of his profound learning, which though it only related to heraldry and genealogy with such scraps of history as connected themselves with these subjects, was precisely of a kind to captivate the good old knight; besides he found in having a friend to appeal to when his memory as frequently happened proved infirm, and played him false concerning names and dates, which and all similar differences Master Michael Mumblazon supplied with due brevity and discretion. And indeed in matters concerning

the modern world he often gave his enigmatical and heraldic phrase, advice which was well worth attending to, or in Will Badger's language, started the game while others beat the bush."

When young Tressilian started on his second search for the choice of his heart, the unfortunate Amy, the herald addressed him thus: "You are going to court, Master Tressilian, you will please remember that your blazonry must be *argent* and *or*—no other tinctures will pass current."

"Mumblazon produced a bag of money containing three hundred pounds in gold and silver of various coins, the savings of twenty years, which he now without speaking a syllable upon the subject dedicated to the service of the patron whose shelter and protection had given him the means of making this little hoard."

Some families have their surnames handed down on their shields—for instance, the Rye, Sparrow, Swann, Bullock, Roosevelt families, as well as hosts of others, have Arms of this kind. Occasionally the charges of the Arms are a pun on the bearer's name, as in the case of Miles Standish, whose shield was adorned with three standing dishes. Instead of armorial bearings being taken from the surnames in some cases the surnames trace derivation from the charges of the shield, for example, Sir Simon Lockhard of Lee, accompanied the Black Douglas with the heart of the Bruce on that fatal journey to Palestine. After the death of that great soldier in Spain he was appointed to take charge of the sacred trust on the return homsward. On account of that mission Sir Simon's name was changed from Lockhard to Lockheart and a man's heart with a padlock was painted on his shield. In memory of that ill-fated expedition the Douglases added to their escutcheon a heart with a crown upon it.

The colors have great significance and are connected with

the family history, therefore unless familiar with the annals of a house the armorist cannot decipher the full meaning. The Draytons of "Drayton Hall," South Carolina, bear this Coat of Arms, "Argent, a cross engrailed gules," while the Warners of "Warner Hall," Virginia, bear the same Arms with different tincture and metal—"Vert, a cross engrailed or." There is a vast difference of course in the meaning, but one who is not conversant with the past glory of each line could only interpret that each original Grantee made a crusade as the cross ever indicates. No one could surmise the significance of the Pollok crest, borne by Thomas Pollok, Colonial Governor of North Carolina, unless familiar with the incident in the life of his remote ancestor, Pollok of Balgray. When one of the retinue of James IV of Scotland, during one of those hunts in the Highlands, that that monarch keenly enjoyed, the said Pollok of county Renfrew beheld a furious wild boar bearing down upon the king, and, realizing his danger, shot an arrow that killed the animal instantly. For this delivery the king bestowed upon his protector, a crest consisting of a wild boar pierced with an arrow and the motto, "audacter et strenue." Had this narrow escape occurred in France a *fleur-de-lis* would have been granted as a charge on the shield. When a deBernière saved the life of Louis XI of France recognition of the service was the addition of a *fleur-de-lis* in the center of his shield, which charge has been retained ever since by the deBernières. A progenitor of the Lenoirs of "Fort Defiance," in the Happy Valley, North Carolina, won the silver *fleur-de-lis* on a canton gules, in the upper left-hand corner of their Arms by serving France or the French king.

The manner in which American women of prominence display the crest and motto on their personal belongings is ludicrous. Some English women are not more careful. Crests and mottoes, because they partake exclusively of a military

character *can only be used by men and never by women.* A woman cannot transmit Arms unless she is an heiress, or co-heiress, a term which merely implies she was the representative of her father and does not indicate that she is the owner of property. She may have had brothers who died without issue and still be the heiress of her father at his death. The husband of an heiress or co-heiress places her Arms over his own in an escutcheon of pretense and their children inherit the privilege of quartering their father's with their mother's Arms. A notable example in history of quartering is the Coat of Arms of the Dymokes, Hereditary Champions of the kings of England, which displays fifteen quarterings, indicating fourteen marriages with heiresses. These alliances rendered that house one of the wealthiest in Great Britain at one time. A maid bears her father's Arms on a lozenge, after marriage. If not an heiress, she uses her husband's Arms on the bachelor's shield, and when a widow bears the same on a lozenge.

In 1483 the College of Heralds was established in England to verify and register Grants of Arms. Many abuses were found which eventually demanded the Herald's Visitations early in the following century. These were for the purpose of revising and recording genealogies of families who could claim Arms. All persons who can trace descent from those progenitors whose Coat Armor was accepted at a Herald's Visitation, inherit Arms.

With this guarantee it matters not whether the War of the Revolution or the War between the States has swept over our country, destroying innumerable proofs of such an inheritance, the dearly bought heirloom belongs as much to the American as to the English branch representing the knight who in the long ago won a sovereign's favor with some valiant deed.

The ruling of William Dugdale, Garter King of Arms,

dated 18 June, 1668, is of such importance that it is herewith given:

"It is incumbent that a man do look over his own evidences for some seals of armes, for perhaps it appears in them, and if soe and they have used it from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reigne, or about that time, I shall then allowe thereof, for our directions are limiting us soe to doe, and not a shorter prescription of usage."

To-day Ulster King of Arms observes this heraldic law and accepts any Arms by Patent, borne continuously for three generations, or for a century. The attempt by a certain historical society to abolish the usage of Coat Armor in America on the grounds that the connecting link between the British and the American lines can seldom be authentically established is unwarrantable, with the high authority in favor thereof.

The Arms-bearing Americans are chiefly those who have descended from the Knickerbocker families of New York, the Cavaliers of the South, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Puritans of New England and the Huguenots. These have the same title to Arms as have their cousins over the sea. The fact that such eminent Americans, builders of the nation, as the Washingtons, Adamses, Livingstones, Van Rensselaers, Lees, Jays and others established the precedent of using armorial bearings, prove their descendants are heirs to the same heritage, therefore no objection can be raised on the grounds that it is an unsuitable proceeding for inhabitants of a republic of the New World.

As to the use of Heraldry in America Washington expressed himself thus on the subject and his opinion should overrule all prejudice in the matter:

"It is far from my design to intimate any opinion that Heraldry, Coat Armor, etc., might not be rendered conducive to public and private use with us, or that they can have any tendency unfriendly to the purest spirit of republicanism. On the contrary, a different conclusion is deducible from the practice of Congress and the

states, all of which have established some kind of Armorial devices to authenticate their official instruments."

There has probably never been an armorist in America who possessed such a thorough knowledge of the science of Heraldry as the late William H. Abbott. An Englishman by birth he became identified with his adopted State of New York and his death leaves an unfilled place. His workmanship was excellent and his "Heraldry Illustrated" is a volume that is indispensable to the student of this ancient branch of Art. The recently published work on Heraldry by Arthur Huntington Nason has been pronounced a remarkable production and has won high praise from authorities abroad.

At this present day genealogy is at the zenith of its popularity in America. Statistics reveal the fact that there is constantly a greater demand for books on this subject in the Library of Congress than for any other. As this study arouses and leads to a similar interest in Heraldry, it seems an unwise omission that our public libraries are poorly equipped in heraldic literature. Private libraries can be cited that are better provided with such works. That of Mr. Joseph J. Casey of New York is wonderful in this special line. He probably owns the most extensive and complete collection of volumes on Heraldry and genealogy in this country. It has been the dream realized of a lifetime, securing and preserving these choice tomes, many of which are in French. Through his wife the General Society Daughters of the Revolution has been enriched by these rare treasures, Mrs. Casey having for more than twenty years filled the responsible office of Registrar-General of that Society.

What is true of our great libraries, is more pronounced in the public libraries of North Carolina. There is not one of these that possesses a collection of this kind that can com-

pare with the heraldic library of Mrs. Charles Beall of Arden, Buncombe County, who is an armorist as well as artist of great talent, having had the advantage of studying for a long period under Bouguereau at Paris.

The popularity of Heraldry has awakened the enthusiasm and talent of several daughters of the Old North State, who today are accomplishing good results in armorial painting. The late Mrs. Annie Iredell Robertson, whose recent death is deeply lamented by a large circle of friends and acquaintances, and which is indeed a loss to the State, was an heraldic artist of considerable note. Each year at the State Fair there are exhibited samples of this line of Art.

SOME NOTES ON CAROLINA HERALDICA.

Some historians, of whom Fiske was one, assert that North Carolina was settled by indentured servants, the undesirable overflow of Virginia and other unenviable sources. That may be true in part, as it was in other Colonies, but the entire population was not of that class. Some who came hither from Virginia in quest of grants of land were the younger sons of prominent families, the elder sons falling heir to landed estates and the ancestral seat while many, coming directly from a foreign land, were of the best type. There exist proofs to-day showing these founders of the Colonies were armigers. On Colonial documents extant can be seen their armorial seals, and again on the tombs of some of the Colony's most distinguished statesmen are found engraven Arms almost obliterated by time and vandalism, like that of Governor Charles Eden, removed from its first resting place to St. Paul's Churchyard, Edenton, North Carolina. Scattered throughout the State are treasured silver heirlooms that bear either the crest and motto, or the entire Coat of Arms. Then there are those who came to this from other Colonies who have never displayed any desire to continue

the use of an heritage that without doubt the founder of the American branch of these families regarded as his very own. Bookplates also adorned the libraries of some of the most prominent leaders of this Province. William Hooper's bookplate appeared in the July, 1905, issue of THE BOOKLET. Col. Cadwallader Jones', also that of Major Cadwallader Jones, is exhibited in the Hall of History at Raleigh, also that of Governor Gabriel Johnston, which forms the frontispiece of this number of THE BOOKLET, a photograph of which is in the Johnson collection in the same building. There are many more in existence.

As the reader glances over Crozier's *General Armory* he finds only the five following families of the Old North State, viz.: Burgwin, Hunt, Morehead, Johnstone and McFarland, who are included in the list of nearly two thousand Americans entitled to bear Coat Armor. While Crozier did an excellent work in Heraldic research, this volume can by no means be regarded as exhaustive even though he does state it is the most comprehensive work of the kind published. But few volumes of this nature have been printed in America. With the many famous names linked with the genesis of this Colony it does seem strange that they should not have been deemed worthy of enrollment with those of the other notable Colonists. In another later work, "Virginia Heraldica," published in 1908, in a limited edition, there appear the names of two hundred and seventy-five families who settled in the Old Dominion entitled to Armorial bearings, and there are many more who can claim a similar distinction that have been omitted.

Although North Carolina may not have possessed as long a roll of armigers among her settlers, one who has made a study of the subject has discovered that a goodly number came from English antecedents who were granted Arms scores of years ago, perhaps centuries since.

The list given in these brief notes by no means comprises the names of all the families in the Old North State who have inherited the right to bear Coat Armor. The following, generations ago, in distant lands over the sea, for valiant deeds of service to king or country were rewarded with Coats of Arms, and their descendants of the same name, to-day can rightfully use their inheritance:

ALSTON.
(Saxham Hall, Suffolk, and Odell, County Beds., England.)
Azure, ten etoiles or, four, three, two, one.
Crest—A crescent argent, charged with an etoile or.
Motto—Immotus.

BATTLE (Battayll, or Battaille.)
Purp. a griffin segreant, with a bordure engrailed or.
Crest—Out of an antique crown or, a dexter arm ppr. holding a cross crosslet fitchée in pale gules.

ASHE.

BLOUNT.
Barry, nebuly of six, or and sable.
Crest—An armed foot in the sun.
Motto—Lux tua mea via.

BRYAN.
(A photograph of the original Grant of this Coat of Arms is in the possession of descendants in Florida, but the proper heraldic description so far is unknown.)

BRYAN. (Ireland.)
Argent, three piles gules.
Crest—A Saracen's head erased at the neck sable.

BODDIE, or BODY. (Nash County.)
(Essex, England.)
Argent on a fesse azure three pelicans, or, vulning their breasts gules; on a canton argent, two staves raguly, in saltire of the fourth, a ducal coronet, or.
Crest—On the middle of a staff raguly gules a ducal coronet, or.

BULLOCK.
(Arborfield County Berks., England; an ancient family in that shire several members of which served the office of sheriff in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.)
Gules, a chevron between three bulls' heads cabossed argent, armed or.
Crest—Five Lochaber axes, handles or, blades ppr. bound with an escarf gules, tassels or.

BURRINGTON.

BURGWIN. (John Burgwin, New Hanover County, 1760.)
(Hereford, England.)
Per fesse indented or and gules, three escallops counterchanged.
Crest—A sword and key in saltire.

BURWELL. (Granville County.)

CAMERON. (Orange County.)

CARR. (Edgecombe County.)
Azure, on a chevron argent three mullets of the first.
Crest—A lion's head erased, or.

COBB.
(Adderbury, County Oxford, and Sindringham, County Norfolk, England.)
Sable, a chevron, gules, between three dolphins embowed naiant argent, a chief or.
Crest—An elephant, or.

COFFIN.

CRAWFORD.
(Scotland.)
Gules, a fesse ermine.
Crest—An ermine argent.
Motto—Sine labora nota.

DEBERNIERE.
(France.)

DRAKE.
(Devon, England.)
Quarterly, 1st and 4th, Argent a wivern, wings displayed and tail nowed, gules; 2nd and 3rd, Sable, a fesse wavy, between two polar stars argent.
Crest—An eagle displayed, gules.

EDEN.
(West Auckland, County Durham, England.)
Gules on a chevron argent between three garbs or banded vert, as many escallops, sable.
Crest—A dexter arm in armour embowed, couped at the shoulder ppr. the hand grasping a garb bendways, as in the arms.
Motto—Si sit prudentia.

EDWARDS.
Argent, a fesse ermines between three martlets or.
Crest—On a ducal coronet argent, a tiger passant or.

EVERARD.
(Much Waltham, Essex, England.)

Gules on a fesse wavy between three etoiles, argent a mullet of the field.

Crest—A Moor's head couped at the shoulders, sidefaced ppr. wreath about the temples argent and azure.

FINLEY.

Barry of six, sable and or.

GILMER.

(Scotland.)

Azure, a chevron between two fleur-de-lis in chief or; and in base a writing pen full feathered, argent, with the badge of Nova Scotia as Baronet.

Crest—A garland of laurel ppr.

Motto—Perseveranti darbitur.

HALL.

Argent on a chevron between three columbines azure stalked and leaved vert, a mullet of six points or.

Crest—A talbot's head erased.

Motto—Turpiter desperatur.

HAY.

HARVEY.

HAYWOOD.

HINTON. (Chowan Precinct.)

(Chilton Foliot and Earlscott, County Wilts, England.)

Per fesse indented, argent and sable, six fleur-de-lis counterchanged.

Crest—An eagle's leg erased entwined by a serpent.

HICKS.

Gules a fesse wavy betweeen three fleur-de-lis, or.

Crest—A buck's head couped at the shoulders or, gorged with a chaplet of roses gules.

Motto—Tout en bon heure.

HOLLIDAY, or HOLLADAY. (Chowan Precinct.)

(Bromley, Middlesex, England.)

Conferred upon Sir Walter Holladay by Edward IV in 1470, and brought to America by Captain John Holladay in 1702.

Sable, three helmets, argent, garnished, or, a border of the last.

Crest—A demi-lion, ppr., rampant, resting his paws on an anchor, azure.

Motto—Quarta salute.

HOLT, or HOLTE.

(Lancashire and London, granted 18 June, 1582.)

Argent, on a bend engrailed sable three fleur-de-lis of the field.

Crest—A dexter arm embowed in armour ppr., garnished or, holding in the gauntlet a pheon sable.

HOSKINS.

HUBBARD.

(Durham, England.)

Sable, in chief a crescent, argent, and in base an etoile of eight points (or) between two flanches ermine.

Crest—A wolf passant, or.

Motto—Vincit amor patriae.

HUNT. (Thomas Hunt, Pasquotank County, 1659.)

(Bucks., England.)

Azure, on à fesse argent between three cinquefoils or. a lion passant gules.

Crest—A boar's head couped and erect between two ostrich feathers.

JOHNSTON. (Gabriel Johnston, 1734.)

(Dumfries, Scotland.)

Argent on a saltire sable; on a chief gules three cushions or.

Crest—A winged spur or.

Motto—Nunquam non paratus.

JONES. (Willie Jones.)

Argent ermine, three lions rampant sable.

Crest.—Unicorn sejant, argent.

KEARNY.

(Ireland.)

Sable on a chief argent, three wheat sheaves, vert.

Crest—A ruined castle in flames, ppr.

Motto—Ich dien (I serve).

LENOIR. (Caldwell County.)

(France.)

Azure, three chevronels or.; on a canton gules a fleur-de-lis argent.

Motto—Le noir de Nantes.

LEWIS. (Granville County.)

(Wales.)

Argent, a dragon's head and neck, erased vert, holding in the mouth a bloody hand, ppr.

Crest—A dragon's head and neck erased vert.

Motto—Omne solum forti patria est.

LINDSEY, or LINDSAY.

(Scotland.)

Quartered. 1st and 4th: Gules, a fesse chequy, argent, and azure. 2d and 3d: Or., a lion rampant gules, the shield debruised of a ribbon, in bend sable over all.

Crest—A cubit arm in armor, in pales, holding in the hand a sword erect argent on the point a pair of balances of the last.
Motto—Recta sed ardua.

LONDON.
(Norfolk, England.)
Argent, three crosses—crosslet in bend, cottised gules.
Crest—An armed arm holding a sword ppr., hilt and pommel or, between two dragons wings, argent.
Motto—Fidelis et audax.

LOVE.
(Hampshire, England.)
This Coat of Arms is composed of the Arms of the Loves of Nuton and the Arms of the Loves of Basing.
Loves of Nuton:
Vert, a lion rampant, or., charged on the shoulder with a cross patée gules.
Crest—Out of a ducal coronet (or) a cross formée, gules, thereon a bird argent.
Loves of Basing:
Argent, three bars gules, in chief three lions' heads erased gules.
Crest—A cross formée, fitchée, gules, thereon a bird, argent.
Motto—Amor ab amando.

MACON.
Azure, a bend between three etoiles, or.
Motto—Dadextram misero.

MCFARLAND. (John McFarland, 1770.)
Argent, a saltire wavy between four roses gules.
Crest—A demi-savage grasping in his dexter hand a sheaf of arrows, and pointing with the sinister to an imperial crown, or.
Motto—This I'll defend. In a compartment above the crest the word "Lochsloy."

MCCULLOH.
(Myrtaun, Scotland.)
Ermine a fret engrailed, gules.
Crest—A hand throwing a dart ppr.
Motto—Vi et animo.

MOREHEAD. (Guilford County.)
(Scotland.)
Argent, on a bend azure three acorns, or., in chief a man's heart ppr., within a fetterlock sable. The whole surrounded by an oak wreath ppr., acorned or.
Crest—Two hands conjoined grasping a two-handed sword ppr.
Motto—Auxilio dei.

MOSELEY.

Quarterly, 1st and 4th, Sable a chevron between three battleaxes displayed, argent. 2d and 3d: or., a fesse between three eagles displayed, sable.

Crest—An eagle displayed sable.

Motto—Mos legem regit.

NASH.

NEEDHAM, 1625.

(Viscount Kilmorey, Ireland.)

Pearl, a bend, sapphire, between two buck's heads cabossed and attired, diamond.

Crest—On a wreath a phœnix in flames ppr.

Motto—Nunc aut nunquam.

Supporters—The dexter, a horse pearl. The sinifler, a stag ppr.

PESCUD.

(Hampshire, England.)

Ermines (black) on a chief or., three griffins sejant sable.

Crest—A griffin sejant d'or, the dexter claw raised beaked and membered or.

POLLOK.

(Balgray, county Renfrew, Scotland.)

Vert, a saltire argent between a buglehorn in each flank and another in base or, stringed gules; in chief a mullet of the second.

Crest—A boar passant quarterly, or. and vert, transpierced with an arrow ppr.

Motto—Audacter et strenue.

PUREFOY.

(Misterton and Drayton, county Leicester, England; seated at former place so early as 1277, and at the latter in the year 1397. The derivative branches were the Purefoys of Caldecote, Barwell, Wolvershill, Shalleston, Wadley, etc.)

Azure, three stirrups, or.

Crest—A dexter gauntlet, or, the inside azure, fingers grasping a broken tilting spear of the second.

Motto—Purefoy ma joy.

RICHMOND.

RUFFIN.

ROSE.

Or, three water bougets, azure.

Crest—A hawk ppr.

Motto—Audio.

SEAWELL.

(Warwickshire, England.)

Sable, a chevron between three bees argent.

Crest—A bee or.

SKINNER.

SWANN.

(Southfleet and Denton Court, county Kent, England.

Azure, a chevron ermine, between three swans, argent.

Crest—A demi-talbot salient gules, collared or.

TURNER.

(Thorveston, Devon, England.)

Sable, a chevron, ermine, between three fers-demoline or; on a chief argent, a lion passant gules.

Crest—A lion passant gules, holding in the dexter paw a laurel branch vert.

WASHINGTON.

(Northampton, England.)

Argent, two bars gules, in chief three mullets of the second.

Crest—(1) Out of a ducal coronet or, a raven wings endorsed ppr. (2) Out of a ducal coronet or an eagle, wings endorsed sable.

Motto—Exitus acta probat.

WHITFIELD.

Argent, a bend plain between two cottises engrailed, sable.

Crest—A stag's head, or, coming out of a palisado coronet, argent.

WILLIAMS.

Sable, a lion rampant argent, armed and langued gules.

Crest—A fighting cock.

Mottoes—(1) Cognosce occasionem. (2) Yeynodwy fydd.

WILLIS.

Argent, three griffins passant sable; a bordure engrailed gules and bezantée.

Crest—A griffin segreant holding a spear piercing a boar's head, sable.

Motto—Defende rectum.

WINSTON.

As will be observed some of the surnames in this list belonged to our Colonial governors who were in the Colony a short while, others lived and died here but left no descendants. Again some of the names were represented in the Colony by the spindle side of the house, like Willis, Crawford, etc.

In publishing these notes the writer has not endeavored to delve into a science that has been handled by scholars who have made it a study and about which they have given volumes to the public. This has only been an effort to present

a brief outline of its history and usage, especially in our own Province of North Carolina, with the hope that some light may be thrown on a topic about which, as a rule, we know comparatively little and that it may interest the readers of THE BOOKLET. Heraldic research has produced in her mind an ambition to gather material for a volume on "Carolina Heraldica." All North Carolinians who can aid in this undertaking are requested to furnish what data they may have in their possession, which will be gratefully received.

References: Abbott's "Heraldry Illustrated"; Boutell and Aveling's "Heraldry Ancient and Modern"; Crozier's "General Armory"; Burke's "General Armory"; "A Royal Lineage"; "Genealogical Column" of Richmond *Times-Dispatch;* "A Corner in Ancestors" of *The Democrat,* Nashville; various unpublished private papers of North Carolina families, etc.

THE STATE OF FRANKLIN

By Captain S. A. Ashe.*

(Extracts from the 2d volume of Ashe's History of N. C. Mss.)

On August 21, 1776, the Council of Safety of North Carolina, which was invested with the functions of government when the Provisional Congress was not in session, met at the house of Mr. Joel Lane in Wake County. A petition was received from the settlements on the Watauga and Holston, called by the inhabitants there "The Washington District," setting forth that about six years earlier they had begun to locate in that territory, and finding themselves outside of Virginia, had formed a court and adopted the Virginia laws, and had enlisted a company of riflemen under Capt. James Robertson, stationing them on the frontier to guard against an attack by the Indians. They asked that they might be annexed to North Carolina, promising to be governed by the Council and to lack nothing in the glorious cause of America. The petition was signed by John Carter, John Sevier, William Bean, and others as a committee, and to it were attached more than a hundred names of settlers on the Watauga and Nolachucky, among them being David Crockett. The Council directed that they should hold an election on October 15th, and choose five delegates to represent Washington District in the Congress of the State to meet at Halifax on November 10th.. This was the first connection between the settlement beyond the mountains and the Province or State of North Carolina. In 1767, under instructions from the Crown, Governor Tryon had established a line running along the crest of the Blue Ridge, beyond which the whites were not to settle—but some adventurous

*A Biographical Sketch of Captain S. A. Ashe, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, appeared in the Booklet, Vol. IX, No. 4.

men had pressed down from Virginia to the waters of the Watauga, and others from North Carolina had joined them, and by 1776 the settlement had extended south of the line dividing Virginia territory from that of North Carolina. Those in Virginia were under the law of that Province; those south of the Virginia line established a local government for themselves, and adopting Virginia laws, called their settlement, "Washington District." They followed the directions of the North Carolina Council, and in October, 1776, elected delegates to the North Carolina Convention, who took part in framing the State Constitution. That fall treaties were made with the Indians by which they surrendered their right to the lands on the Nolachucky, Watauga and New rivers, and the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina was extended beyond the settlements; and Washington District became a county of North Carolina.

Further to the west, Kentucky had received many accessions, and in 1779 James Robertson had established a camp at a salt-lick on the Cumberland River, separated by impassable mountains from the Watauga settlements. The next year others followed in boats down the Tennessee to the Ohio, and then ascended the Cumberland to Robertson's cabins. Although much harassed by the Indians, they held their ground, and so increased in numbers that in 1783 the North Carolina Assembly incorporated that region into a county, calling it Davidson, and naming the central settlement Nashville. At the same session, North Carolina made some provision for her soldiers now returning to their homes, wearing the laurel leaves of victory. There was set aside as a bounty for the veterans of the war an extensive domain from the point where the Cumberland River crossed the Virginia line, south fifty-five miles—then westward to the Tennessee, and Martin Armstrong was appointed the surveyor to locate their grants, and on the east of the Cumber-

land Mountains, in the valley of the Powell River, in extinguishment of their claims for lands purchased from the Indians, more than 200,000 acres were allotted to Richard Henderson and his associates.

And now the soldiers crossed the mountains to take possession of their bounty lands, and population flowed in with a rush to occupy the fertile tracts along the Powell and the Clinch, while others passed on to the distant Cumberland. The old Washington District was subdivided into Washington, Sullivan and Greene counties.

The State was burdened with a heavy debt, while the Confederacy of the States was on the point of falling to pieces because of its inability to pay its debts.

In its sore straits, Congress had urged the States to cede their unsettled western territories for the benefit of the Union.

The North Carolina Legislature, adopting the suggestion, offered to cede her entire territory beyond the mountains, although it was thought to contain one-tenth of her population. The proceeds of the unoccupied lands thus ceded were to be for the payment of the creditors of the United States. This measure was deemed by some as unjust, weakening the security of the creditors of the State and depriving the inhabitants of a chief asset for the payment of their public indebtedness. William R. Davie made vigorous opposition, and under his leadership General Person and thirty-six other members filed a strong protest against it. In particular it met with the disfavor of the representatives of the interior counties, and even some of those from beyond the mountains strenuously objected. But the purpose to contribute to the common fund of the Union was strong, and, besides, there were both political and economical reasons for the cession. The inhabitants of the territory were entirely segregated, and the administration of public affairs, rendered difficult as well

as expensive by the remoteness of the region cut off by impassable mountains, had been so unsatisfactory that many of the people were discontented and desired separation. And so, despite much earnest opposition, the bill was hastily passed without the subject having been discussed at all among the people of the State. There were, however, several conditions attached to the donation. It was to be accepted by Congress within twelve months. As a provision for orderly government, the territory was to have the North Carolina Constitution, until the inhabitants themselves should change it; and there was to be no regulation made by Congress tending to the emancipation of slaves, other than should be directed by the new State itself. This last condition was inserted because Congress had already manifested a disposition to legislate against slavery. When an ordinance was being framed for the government of the Northwest territory, a provision prohibiting slavery in that region failed only by the vote of Richard Dobbs Spaight, one of the North Carolina delegates, much to the irritation of Thomas Jefferson, who ardently urged the provision. Three years later, in 1787, when a second ordinance was passed, Jefferson was successful and slavery was forever prohibited in that extensive region.

There was a further provision in the act of cession that until Congress should accept the gift, the sovereignty and jurisdiction of North Carolina, in and over the territory and the inhabitants thereof, should remain in all respects as if the act had not been passed. So with respect to government in the territory, the existing government was not disturbed; nor was it to be disturbed until Congress should accept the gift; and then it was provided that the Constitution under which the people had lived should continue to be their fundamental law until changed by themselves.

Subject to the condition mentioned North Carolina in June, 1784, made the tender of one-half of her territory,

already somewhat settled, and with population pouring into it, for the benefit of the Union. Truly it bespoke a high patriotism. No other State had been so liberal in sustaining the common government. If during the war North Carolina's contributions for the cause had been unsurpassed, now in time of peace she again set an example for her sisters to follow.

Some unexpected events, however, quickly followed the passage of the act. When the measure was being considered some of the representatives from the counties embraced favored its passage, while others stoutly opposed it. The sentiment of the leaders was divided, but the people for the most part hailed it with satisfaction. For some time courts had not been regularly held beyond the mountains, and the laws were not fully enforced. Settlers were daily encroaching on the lands of the Indians, who had become irritated because of prolonged delay in delivering to them goods, agreeably to a treaty stipulation, in compensation for territory already relinquished. These circumstances aroused a spirit of hostility and several of the encroaching settlers were murdered. A feeling of unrest, perhaps of insecurity, began to pervade the settlement. And, so, when the news was received of the act of cession among the greater number of people it fell on willing ears. It was urged that the State had neither sufficiently enforced law nor given adequate protection; and soon the people numbering some thirty thousand, hardy and self-reliant, moved forward with eagerness to assume the function of self government. Doubtless, also, the vista of public honors in a separate and independent commonwealth was pleasant and alluring to aspiring leaders and quickened them to action. There was some objection; but the voices of those who doubted were drowned in the general commotion. Although not authorized under the act of the legislature, a movement was made to hold a popular con-

vention. Without delay the counties of Washington, Sullivan and Greene elected delegates, who assembled at Jonesboro in August, 1784.

It is the first step that always costs. This irregular action, not anticipated nor authorized by North Carolina, was the beginning of events that led to grievous disappointments and deplorable anarchy. The idea of independence had been urged with great zeal and had taken strong hold on the public mind. The proceedings of the Convention were opened by reading the Declaration of Independence; the act of cession was approved; and initial steps were taken to establish a new government; and an association was adopted and signed to maintain independence. John Sevier presided over the Convention and gave direction to affairs. One of the heroes of Kings Mountain he had long been the most important personage in that region, and was esteemed for his capacity and character, no less than for his bravery and vigorous action. Under his direction it was determined to call a second convention for the purpose of framing a constitution, and in the interim it was resolved that the new State should establish a government similar to that of North Carolina.

In August the election was held under the new law and in October the North Carolina Assembly met at New Bern. As Governor Martin's term was to expire in the spring, a successor was now to be chosen. Caswell and Nash were the aspirants, the former becoming the victor by twenty votes. Caswell was in full sympathy with Martin in regard to the Union; Nash stood with Rutherford in regard to the Tories. There were divergences, but as yet no well defined parties.

The people had not generally approved the act of cession. Davie and his followers had been sustained at the election, and the new Assembly was in sympathy with that faction. Besides, a new cause of dissatisfaction was now brought to the attention of the members.

Virginia and New York had in December, 1783, agreed to convey to Congress the unsettled territory beyond the Ohio; but Massachusetts and Connecticut had set up a claim for a part of that region for themselves; and these and other States were makings demands on Congress for the repayment to them of bounties paid to their troops, and were presenting claims for other military expenses incurred for local purposes. These demands, so at variance with North Carolina's liberality, excited disgust and aroused indignation. The Assembly directed the Governor to make up North Carolina's expenditures and to insist on payment; and, it appearing that other States had not passed acts levying taxes for the Union similar to those passed by North Carolina, money collected by these acts was directed to be turned into the State treasury; and further, since Congress had not yet accepted the gift of the western territory, the Assembly repealed the act of cession, the vote in the House being 37 to 22. So within six months after the offer was made, it was withdrawn. Having determined to retain the territory, the Assembly created a new judicial district, called the District of Washington, covering the four western counties, and appointed John Haywood to preside, and David Campbell an associate judge; and John Sevier and was appointed brigadier general of the district.

Sevier had been the central figure in the movement to establish a new State, but on learning of this action of the North Carolina Assembly he was satisfied with it and urged that no further steps ought to be taken looking to separation. A majority of the inhabitants, however, determined to persist, and Sevier's advice was disregarded. Nevertheless he exerted his influence to such good purpose as to prevent the election of delegates to the approaching convention in two of the counties. Elsewhere his opposition was ineffectual, and finding the popular current for separation too strong to be

stemmed, he at length yielded to it and became a member of the new convention and presided over it. That body framed a constitution similar to that of North Carolina, which was submitted to the people for their consideration, to be rejected or ratified by a convention to assemble thereafter; and it ordered an election for members of Assembly. The Assembly so elected convened in March, 1785. At its first session it elected Sevier governor of the State for a term of three years, and David Campbell presiding judge of its courts; and also appointed State and county officers. The old county officers who had been commissioned by North Carolina were for the most part retained in their respective offices. The county of Greene was divided, and two new counties erected, one named Sevier, and the other in compliment of General Caswell; while an academy was incorporated, called in honor of Governor Martin, as the State itself had been called Franklin in compliment of Dr. Franklin, then of great influence in the Continental Congress. The salaries* of the officers were fixed at moderate amounts; and, there being a scarcity of currency, it was enacted that the produce of the country should be received at certain fixed values in payment of all taxes, public debts and salaries. This was entirely similar to the early practice of Albemarle and North Carolina; and the same custom had prevailed in some other States and communities. Good flax linen was rated at 3s. and 6d. per yard, linsey at 3d., beaver and other skins at 6s., raccoon and fox skins 1s. 3d., woolen cloth at 10s., bacon 6d. per lb., good distilled rye whisky 2s. 6d. a gallon, peach or apple brandy at 3s. a gallon, country made sugar at 1s. per lb., deer skins 6s., good tobacco 15s. the hundred, etc.

On learning that the people were taking steps to form a separate State, Governor Martin in 1785 dispatched a special messenger to General Sevier notifying him of the repeal of

*The word salary had its origin in the practice of paying the old Roman soldiers their stipends in salt.

the act of cession and warning him and the people to desist from their revolutionary proceedings and be obedient to the laws of North Carolina. But the admonition was disregarded. The legislature of Franklin was then in session and made a formal reply, as also did Governor Sevier, declaring their purpose to proceed; and Colonel William Cocke was directed to hasten to Philadelphia and solicit Congress to admit the State of Franklin into the Union. North Carolina, they said, had cast them off and they did not mean to return.

On receiving these replies Governor Martin convened his council, and on April 25 published a manifesto requiring the inhabitants beyond the mountains to abandon their purpose to form a new State, and to return to their allegiance. He declared that the people of North Carolina were unwilling to part with them—as indicated by the result of the recent election for members of the Assembly; that all their grievances had been remedied; that a military district had been created for them, and a brigadier general appointed; and also that a resident associate judge had been appointed to hold their courts. But both his entreaties and warnings were equally unheeded. Undismayed by the Governor's proclamation, Sevier and his associates, although denounced as being in revolt, held fast to their new constitution and revelled in the delights of independence. Evan Shelby, now appointed brigadier in the place of Sevier, and John Tipton, the colonel of his county, and Colonel James Martin, the Indian agent, all men of great influence, exerted their utmost power to arrest the progress of events, but without avail. Finding that the western counties persisted in their course and defied the authority of the State, Governor Martin issued a call for the Assembly to meet in New Bern on June 1.

In the meantime the people of Franklin were not inactive. They proceeded to administer the affairs of the new State with resolution and determination. Colonel Cocke, on reach-

ing Philadelphia about the middle of May, met with much favor at the hands of Congress, and that body, with scant courtesy to the North Carolina delegates, manifested its sympathy in his mission by urging North Carolina to retrace her steps and annul the repealing act and execute a conveyance of the western territory to the Union. Thus matters stood at the opening of June when Martin's term expired and Caswell entered on the administration. Although the legislature had been called to meet with the new Governor, a quorum did not attend, and Caswell was left to deal with the novel situation without the aid of the Assembly.

And, indeed, conditions beyond the mountains became more acute and claimed his anxious attention. Affairs there were rapidly assuming an alarming aspect. To placate those who were insisting on independence he wrote letters and addresses kindly in their tone, holding out the hope of an early separation, when the people should be sufficiently strong to maintain a government and protect themselves from the Indians; and as indicating his good will, he declared that he himself expected to lay his bones on the western waters. But at the same time he sent forward the civil and military commissions ordered by the legislature and insisted on a loyal obedience to the authority of the State. In some of the counties these commissions were accepted; in others they were refused. The two factions, that sustaining the independent government called Franks by themselves and rebels by the others, were almost on the point of coming to blows. Each represented and sustained the authority of a government that the other opposed. Clashing between the two courts and county officers was inevitable. To avert trouble, in March General Evan Shelby, acting in behalf of those adhering to North Carolina, and Governor Sevier entered into an agreement that while the respective courts might try criminal cases they should not proceed to any civil business except to

prove wills and deeds, and that the inhabitants might pay their taxes either to North Carolina or to the State of Franklin as they might select; and further, that the sheriffs and jailors under the Franklin government should receive felons committed by the North Carolina courts. This agreement, tolerating North Carolina authority, was, however, immediately repudiated by the Franklin Legislature, then in session.

That body, rejecting every purpose of temporizing, acted with vigor and vehemence. It passed an act punishing, with fine and imprisonment, any person who should act as a magistrate, or in any other civil capacity, under the authority of North Carolina, and it directed the Governor to raise the militia and oppose by force the operation of any North Carolina law, authorizing a bounty of 400 acres of land to those who would enlist; and, to draw the wavering to their side, a land office was opened where grants were to be obtained on very easy terms. Sevier's attitude, which had been moderate, now was completely changed. He wrote to Caswell: "We shall continue to act independent and would rather suffer death, in all its various and frightful shapes, than conform to anything that is disgraceful." The purpose to maintain independence was fixed and strong, while those who adhered to North Carolina were equally resolute and determined. The division between the two parties among the inhabitants was clearly drawn, and the circumstances of every day intensified the estrangement. Toleration gave way to bitterness. In May the situation was so acute that General Shelby notified Caswell that hostilities were about to begin, and, unless the government interfered, bloodshed would at once take place. It was no part of Caswell's policy to precipitate a situation where he would have to subjugate the inhabitants, although in revolt. He hastened to urge the officers holding North Carolina commissions to use the utmost

moderation. To dampen their ardor and restrain their action, he declared that he could not send them any assistance, and he begged them not to engage in a civil war. His information was conflicting. David Campbell assured him that nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants favored separation, while Thomas Hutchins reported that, although the people of Greene were much divided, in the other two counties two-thirds were willing to return to their allegiance. In the meantime the force, which the Assembly had directed to be raised to cut the road to Davidson, was being recruited; and Colonel James Martin, the Indian agent, went among the Indians to prevail on them to desist from hostilities. At length towards the close of April, General Shelby called together Tipton, Maxwell and Hutchins, the Colonels of the three counties, and they united in urging that the only hope of averting bloodshed was for North Carolina to send from Burke a thousand men to uphold her authority. Intent on the supremacy of their faction and on the suppression of their opponents, they sought to strengthen their cause by a display of force that would deter the Franks from persisting in their defiance. But it must not be forgotten that they held commissions from the State charging them with the duty of upholding and maintaining her supremacy. Caswell, however, relied on gentler means of persuasion and hoped for the healing influence of time. In the meanwhile, further in the interior the savages were murdering the settlers. The Mississippi was claimed by the Spaniards, who, from their stronghold at Mobile, had free communication with the tribes in the interior, while the Frenchmen on the upper Mississippi had trade relations with the Indians, which bred a jealousy of the encroaching pioneers. The savages were thus influenced to continual warfare. In June, from the Cumberland came a cry for immediate help. Anthony Bledsoe wrote: "Nothing but the distress of a bleeding country could induce

me to trouble you on so disagreeable a subject. * * * Inclosed you have a list of the killed in this quarter since our departure from this country to the Assembly. This, with the numbers wounded, with the large numbers of horses stolen from the inhabitants, has in a degree, flagged the spirits of the people." And the next month, James Robertson advised Governor Caswell that there had been a hot war with the Chicamauga Indians; that he had raised 130 men and gone to the front, where he found that the Indians had been joined by Frenchmen from Detroit who were inflaming them to hostility. In one of the encounters, three Frenchmen and a French woman had been killed. He urged the Governor to hurry on the force the Assembly had ordered for their protection. The commander of that detachment, Major Thomas Evans, had met with such obstacles that the middle of August found him still east of the Blue Ridge, and Caswell indignantly ordered him to proceed, not delaying to open the road to Nashville but pressing on to the relief of the people. Evans, however, could not scale the Alleghany Mountains. Diverted from the direct course, he passed through Cumberland Gap and made his way into Kentucky, his men cheerfully enduring their march through the wilderness where no supplies could be obtained. In Kentucky he could purchase no provisions either on public or private credit, and was driven to furlough his men until by their labor they could procure sufficient food to last them to Nashville. At length, in the middle of October, he reached Davidson County, after a toilsome journey of 400 miles. There he found the inhabitants were being daily murdered, and he hurried advices home that he himself was hourly expecting attack.

While such was the critical condition on the Cumberland, on the Watauga influences were silently at work, undermining the foundations of the new State. The moderation and

firmness of the North Carolina Assembly, its tender of oblivion and remission of taxes, together with the hope held out of eventual consent to the separation, had a softening influence on the public mind. But for a period there was so much bitterness, and the current was so strong for separation, that General Shelby himself yielded to it, resigned his commission as brigadier, retired from the service of North Carolina, and recommended to Governor Caswell that separation should be conceded. Yet notwithstanding his defection, and despite the strenuous efforts of Sevier to sustain his government, the enthusiasm that had attended the first movements for independence gradually disappeared. When the August elections came on, only two counties failed to elect representatives to the North Carolina Assembly. In Greene, David Campbell, the presiding judge of Franklin State, and in Washington, where the Sevier party had been strong, Colonel Tipton were elected to the Senate. Sullivan elected General Joseph Martin and Hawkins sent to the House of Commons Henderson and Marshall; all of whom and their colleagues had at one time been adherents of the new State. Only Sevier and Caswell counties, well on the frontier—where land had been occupied contrary to the North Carolina laws, stood faithful. The former lay between the Little Tennessee and the French Broad within the Indian reservation, where more than 1,000 families had located, and the latter in the forks of the French Broad and Holston. Still there were many who yet adhered to Franklin; and in all the counties conflicts were continually arising between the courts held under the authority of the two different States. In Washington County particularly these clashings reached a great height, being colored by personal enmity as well as political antagonism. In that county resided both Governor Sevier and Colonel John Tipton, neighbors and once friends; but when on the repeal of the Act of Sessions Colonel Tipton

abandoned the new government which he had aided to frame and renewed his allegiance to North Carolina, withdrawing his support from Governor Sevier, a bitter personal feud sprang up between them. And this was intensified by the circumstance that, while Colonel Tipton was the clerk of the North Carolina County Court, James Sevier, a son of the Governor, became clerk of the Franklin Court, and each dominated the justices and officers of their respective courts. In August, 1787, Colonel Tipton, at the head of some fifty men, undertook to take the records of the Franklin Court, and quickly two hundred of the Franks embodied to oppose him. A rumor was then spread that the purpose was to seize Governor Sevier, and fifteen hundred of his followers rushed to protect him. The error, however, was made known, and no blood was shed; but there were personal encounters between Tipton and the Seviers.

About that time Governor Sevier, seeing that the tide was turning against the continuance of his government, determined on strengthening his cause with the people by prosecuting an Indian war. Far to the south the Creeks were giving trouble, and Governor Sevier entered into arrangements with the Governor of Georgia for their conquest. In September, with some difficulty, a quorum of the Franklin Assembly met at Greeneville, but confidence in the new State had ebbed so fast that Sevier was able to secure the passage of an act providing the means for carrying on the projected war only by a compromise. He agreed that two delegates might be chosen to attend the North Carolina Assembly and make such representations as they should think proper. Judge Campbell and Landon Carter were elected delegates for this purpose, the former having been already chosen to represent Greene County in the State Assembly. This action indicated that the last stage was being reached in the existence of the new State. Gradually the Commonwealth of

Franklin was passing away. Hardly had the Assembly adjourned, and it was the last Assembly of Franklin that met, before Governor Sevier began to prepare for his campaign. In the great bend of the Tennessee, in the Creek country, lay some very desirable land, and it was arranged that this should be reserved for the Franklin volunteers. On November 28 Governor Sevier announced that every private should have 640 acres in the great bend, and officers in proportion; and the work of enlistment went briskly on.

The General Assembly met at Tarboro on November 19, and both the representatives elected by the counties beyond the mountains and the delegates chosen by the legislature of Franklin, attended the session. The former were admitted to seats, and the latter given a respectful hearing when they urged the continued desire of the people for separation. The Assembly, however, held steadfast to its purpose. James Martin was appointed brigadier of the district, and a special committee was directed to report measures to quiet the disorder in the western counties. They advised a further extension of the act of pardon, and that all suits for nonpayment of taxes should be discontinued; and these measures were adopted. The policy of mediation and conciliation was bearing its fruits and North Carolina was supplanting the State of Franklin, whose legislature had ceased to exist, whose judicial officers were no longer acting, and whose Executive after March would have no claim for the exercise of authority. Governor Sevier's term was to end on March 3, and no successor had been chosen; and, there being no Assembly, none could be chosen. The State of Franklin was about to expire by a natural dissolution, and without any great convulsion or bloodshed. But now an incident occurred attended by unfortunate consequences.

During the fall of 1787, a judgment having been obtained against Governor Sevier in one of the local Carolina courts,

an execution against his property was put in the hands of the sheriff. The levy was made on some of his negroes on his plantation, and for fear of interference, the sheriff removed the negroes to the premises of Colonel Tipton for safe keeping. It was a great error in judgment and an improper exercise of power. Necessarily it inflamed Governor Sevier and was a personal affront that he would not brook. Had no such incident occurred the State of Franklin would probably have faded away, leaving, doubtless, a memory of disappointment but without pangs of bitterness. At the moment, Sevier was in Greene County collecting volunteers for the expedition against the Creeks. On learning of this seizure of his property and the removal of his negroes to the premises of Colonel Tipton, he dispatched a messenger to Caswell County, February 15, saying that the Tipton party had got very insolent; and that he had ordered fifteen men out of every company to turn out. He was "satisfied that a small exertion will settle the matter to our satisfaction." Tipton, on being informed of Sevier's action, wrote on February 25, "The rebels are again rising. Sevier is now making his last effort. * * * This day they are to meet at Greene. To-morrow at Jonesboro, and Wednesday, if not before, they push here." And he called for aid. A few friends reached him in time. But soon the Governor with 150 men and a small cannon appeared on the scene and demanded an unconditional surrender. Tipton valiantly defied him. Truly Sevier's situation was embarrassing. He had no desire for bloodshed. His commission as Governor was to expire within three days, and his State had virtually ceased to exist. Stigmatized as a rebel by the Carolina officers, he doubtless comprehended that to use military force against the Carolina authorities placed in jeopardy the lives of himself and his followers. It was levying war and high treason. For nearly four years two conflicting governments

had been carried on in that wilderness; and despite personal enmities, despite the clashing of the courts and the antagonistic authority of the militia officers, there had been no serious collision. This of itself is high evidence of the wisdom, courage and moderation of Sevier, as well as of the forbearance of the inhabitants generally. Now circumstances springing from his personal affairs brought the Governor face to face with an emergency threatening bloodshed. He had probably hoped to redress his wrongs by a show of superior strength; but a hard fate had brought him into a position from which he could not retreat with credit, nor proceed without hazarding consequences for which he had no heart. He became a prey to conflicting emotions—sad and dejected. There was no assault made on the house; but some firing took place, not in Sevier's presence. Those passing into Tipton's premises were fired on, and one or two killed and wounded, but there was no engagement. At length, in the early morning of February 29, Colonel Maxwell of Sullivan County, to whom Tipton had appealed for aid, approached with his militia. He had made a night march. The weather was very cold, and there was a blinding snow storm. As he neared the scene about sunrise, Maxwell saw Sevier's men advancing, and a collision occurred. Maxwell's militia discharged a volley and raised a great shout, which led Tipton to sally out, taking Sevier's party in the rear or flank. As it probably had never been Sevier's purpose to engage in battle, he and his men quickly dispersed, followed, but not aggressively, by the militia. On March 3 Sevier sent a verbal message that if his life was spared, he would submit to North Carolina. Tipton, in reply, offered to cease hostilities, giving Sevier and his party until the 11th to submit to the laws. The Council of the Franklin State made reply that they would be obedient to the laws of the Union, and they wished a convention of the people called at once.

As for Governor Sevier, they stipulated that he should be left at liberty to act for himself; and he, with some anxiety, required a plain understanding as to what he could depend on. Ten days later General Joseph Martin, the brigadier of the district, appealed to General Kennedy to bring about a reconciliation. He declared that he would be sorry to imbrue his hands in the blood of his countrymen, but "nothing will do but a submission to the laws of North Carolina." This is the only way, he urged, that would relieve Governor Sevier from a very disagreeable situation. He offered Kennedy a commission under North Carolina, and urged him to prepare for action, as a general Indian war was expected. Martin's conciliatory steps and firm action had a very salutary effect. All opposition ceased, every trace of the State of Franklin disappeared.

In the meantime Sevier, no longer Governor, left Washington County and took shelter in the distant settlements. A period of repose now set in; but in June Sevier, having gathered some forty bold and daring men, fell on the Indians on the Hiwassee and killed twenty of them, following this with another raid and bringing in fourteen scalps; and then, in July, he made a third invasion of the Indian country which precipitated an Indian war.

Notwithstanding that the State of Franklin had fallen, Sevier and his friends indulged a hope that the State Convention, which was to meet at Hillsboro in July to consider the proposed Federal Constitution, might cede the western territory, or otherwise provide for a separation, but that body adjourned without action favorable to their desires. On the other hand Governor Johnston, because of advices from General Martin called his council to meet at Hillsboro in July, and on receiving information of Sevier's battle with Maxwell while the Convention was still in session, he wrote to Judge Campbell: "It has been repre-

sented to the Executive that John Sevier, who styles himself Captain General of the State of Franklin, has been guilty of high treason in levying troops to oppose the laws and government of this State, and has with an armed force put to death several good citizens. If these facts shall appear to you by the affidavit of credible persons, you will issue your warrant to apprehend him." Judge Compbell, however, took no action. Later, Judge Samuel Spencer crossed the mountains to hold court at Jonesboro, and he issued a warrant for the arrest of Sevier. On the evening of October 9 Sevier with a number of men had a violent altercation with one Deadricks in Washington County, and Colonel Tipton, armed with the bench warrant and doubtless feeling that his hour of triumph had arrived, hastened in pursuit with a body of horsemen. At early dawn the posse surrounded the premises of Widow Brown, where Sevier lodged that night, and at sunrise the arrest was made. Sevier was taken to Jonesboro, and then was conveyed to Morganton for trial. It is said that he was treated with great discourtesy and malevolence, and for a time was subjected to the indignity of being handcuffed, but the details are obscure, and the circumstances were such as to require unusual care on the part of those charged with his safe keeping. In a letter to the General Assembly he alleged that he "was treated with wanton cruelty and savage insult," and he complained of being "borne off out of the district" for trial. Arrived at Morganton he was released on parole to visit a brother-in-law in the vicinity. The court being convened, he attended agreeably to his parole. In the meantime, two sons and other friends had followed to rescue him. "At night, when the court broke, and the people dispersed, they with the Governor, pushed forward towards the mountains with the greatest rapidity and, before morning, arrived at them, and were beyond the reach of any who might think proper to pursue." Appa-

rently no further effort was made to capture him. At the November session of the Assembly following, the act of pardon and oblivion was again passed, but it was provided that Sevier was so far excepted that he should not be entitled to hold any office under the State. But the act operated to pardon his alleged offense of high treason, and put a stop to the proceedings in court against him.

Congress and the States of Georgia and North Carolina had taken measures with the view of quieting the hostility of the Indians; and on a conference a firm peace was agreed to. But shortly afterwards, Sevier with a considerable force made his way to one of the Indian towns, and finding all the braves absent on a hunt, he brought away twenty-nine women and children, and again the people on the frontier realized the necessity of taking measures for protection. On January 12, 1789, some twenty of the prominent men of Greene County met in convention and "resolved to petition North Carolina to divide the State and cede the territory west of the mountains to Congress, and that John Sevier keep the command of the inhabitants." On being informed of these proceedings Governor Johnston wrote to General Martin that "Sevier appears to be incorrigible; and I fear we will have no peace in your quarter till he is proceeded against to the last extremity"; but he directed Martin to act with prudence and conciliation both in regard to the inhabitants and the Indians. Before summer came, however, Sevier had abandoned his opposition to the State of North Carolina. At the August election he was chosen to represent his county in the State Senate, and he appeared along with the other members when, in November, the Assembly met at Fayetteville. His disabilities had not been removed; but during the session he presented a memorial to the body. On November 30 a committee, drawing a veil over his particular offense, reported that "when the people in the western coun-

ties first attempted to subvert the government, Sevier opposed them and prevented elections from being held in two of the counties; and that he was not as highly reprehensible as many others." A bill was therefore passed including him in the general pardon; and he took his seat in the Assembly, and further, it was declared that he still held the office of brigadier general under his original appointment in 1784. And thus the last vestige of the State of Franklin was, by conciliation and moderation, buried out of sight, without the punishment of any person for engaging in the insurrection, and Sevier, who for years had been the central figure in the revolt was, on his first submission to the laws of the commonwealth, admitted to a seat in the Assembly and restored to the honors and emoluments of military commander in his district.

SIR RICHARD EVERARD, BARONET, GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1725-1731, AND HIS DESCENDANTS IN VIRGINIA.*

By Marshall DeLancey Haywood.†

Sir Richard Everard, Baronet, of Much Waltham, in the county of Essex, England, was the last Governor of North Carolina under proprietary rule. His administration was brought to a close in 1731, two years after the sale of that province to the Crown, by the Lords Proprietors, in 1729. He came of ancient lineage in the land of his nativity.

From *Betham's Baronetage of England*‡ we learn that the family's earliest ancestor, of whom any record is preserved, was Ralph Everard, who flourished in the thirteenth century, during the reign of Henry III. His descendants lived at Much Waltham—or Waltham Magna, as we first find it written—and were among the landed gentry of the shire. Sir Anthony Everard received the honor of knighthood in 1603, and was succeeded by his brother, Hugh, who held the

* From Publications of Southern History Association (Washington, D. C.) October, 1898, pp. 328—339.

† A Biographical Sketch of Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, appeared in The Booklet, Vol. VIII, No. 1.

‡ Vol. 1, 368, 369.

office of High Sheriff, in 1626. The latter's son, Sir Richard, was advanced to the dignity of Baronet, in 1628, and beecame the father of another Richard, who inherited his title and estate. Sir Hugh Everard, a son of the last named, "signalized himself" in the Flemish Wars, and was the father of Governor Everard, fourth baronet.

Wright, in his *History of Essex,** says that Governor Everard sold the family's ancestral estate, Langleys, to discharge debts with which it was encumbered, and afterwards purchased a much smaller one at Broomfield.

To avoid confusing the similar surnames, it may be well here to observe that there was likewise a family of Everard (seated at Ballybay, county of Tipperary, Ireland), which included a line of baronets whose title was created in 1622, and finally became extinct.† Several of these also bore the name Richard, but no relationship seems traceable between them and the Everards of Much Waltham, in Essex.

In 1725, Governor George Burrington, who had made things a trifle too hot for his adversaries in North Carolina, was removed from office by the Lords Proprietors. Thereupon a memorial was presented by Sir Richard Everard, of Essex, asking that he might be appointed to the vacancy. This request being granted, he set out for America, and on the 17th of July was sworn in, before the Provincial Council at Edenton, as governor, captain-general, admiral, and commander-in-chief of the colony."‡

On the 1st of November, 1725, the Assembly of the Province met at Edenton, and was prorogued by Governor Everard until April, in the following year. Upon inquiry from the burgesses, as to his reason for such a course, Sir Richard refused to discuss the question; and replied that, since they had seen fit to dispute his authority, he would stand by the

* Vol. I, 196.

† Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetage (1844 edition), p. 604.

‡ Colonial Records of North Carolina, II, 559, 556.

decision. It was thereupon unanimously resolved, by the members of the Assembly, that their pretended prorogation was illegal, contrary to the laws of the province, and an infringement upon the liberties of the people. It was further resolved that, at its next meeting, the House would proceed to no further business until the privileges, then withheld, were restored and confirmed. The Assembly further proceeded to make itself pleasant by sending a memorial to the Lords Proprietors, wherein the loss of Burrington was greatly deplored and deep concern expressed at the prospect of so vile an administration from the new Governor, who was declared to be entirely influenced by a few irreligious persons of immoral character.*

Soon after this Sir Richard became involved in a dispute with the Rev. Thomas Bailey, on account of some praise bestowed by the latter upon the recent administration of Governor Burrington and that gentleman's "vast character." A riot resulted, led by the Burrington faction, which carried Bailey in triumph to the court house, where he was prevailed upon to favor his friends with a sermon. After this, Everard had the pleasure of paying his respects to the Rev. Thomas, in a letter to the Bishop of London, wherein he described the missionary as a riotous individual, much given to drunkenness, whose vile actions had caused him to be run out of Philadelphia into Virginia, whence he escaped to North Carolina. But the vestries of Hyde and St. Thomas soon came to the rescue of their parson's reputation, and declared him to be a most pious and exemplary minister, well deserving of encouragement.†

The Assembly, which had been prorogued to meet in April, 1726, convened at the appointed time, and was addressed in a spirit of conciliation by the Governor, who sought to impress upon it the necessity of harmonious ac-

* Colonial Records II, 576, 577, 578.
† Colonial Records II, 579, 580, 581, 604, 624.

tion. The reply to this expressed pleasure at the good intentions avowed, but declared that the most effectual method of seeking redress would be to lay aside all formalities of speech. Then followed a catalogue of grievances, entitled "Exclamations of the Injured & Oppress'd." Shortly after receiving these "exclamations" the Governor became ill and again prorogued the Assembly, which was not much improved in humor thereby.*

Governor Burrington had lingered in the province, after his removal from office, and was an interested observer of these occurrences. Before the Assembly met, he had made himself rather disagreeable to Everard, by going to that gentleman's house and calling for satisfaction, also indulging in some questionable language, which the writer, having quoted in two previous sketches, does not deem it necessary here to repeat. Suffice it to say, that Sir Richard's "damn[d] thick skull," as Burrington politely termed it, remained unscalped, contrary to the charitable intentions of his assailant, who soon found it convenient to leave Edenton.†

A few months later, Edmond Porter was also taken with a fit of belligerency and attacked Secretary Lovick, but fared worse; for the latter was joined by Governor Everard, Attorney General Little, Colonel Worley, and a few more official dignitaries, who soon gave the aggrieved Mr. Porter more satisfaction than he knew what to do with.‡

The next bellicose individual, who ran amuck of the Governor, was Dr. George Allen (or Allynn, as he signed himself), a "Chyrurgeon" or "Practicer of Physick & Surgery." This gentleman was generously donated to North Carolina by the city of Williamsburg, Virginia, where an indictment had been found against him for cursing King George and Governor Drysdale. After his arrival in Edenton, he was

* Colonial Records II, 609, 613, 622.
† Colonial Records II, 647 *et seq.*
‡ Colonial Records II, 659.

again brought before the courts for damning the King "while a drinking of clarett." But, from the nature of an undertaking he had in view, one might suppose it was something stronger than claret which Dr. Allynn drank; for he wanted to go to Hanover and get King George's estate, as that monarch owed him money! Being offended by Governor Everard, the worthy chirurgeon armed himself with a sword and two pistols "loaden with powder and ball," wherewith he went in search of his adversary. Sir Richard disarmed him of his horse pistol, but he then resorted to a pocket pistol "and did continue to raise sedition & mutiny" till driven off by numbers. On being summoned to court, he increased his arsenal by the acquisition of a gun, and it was some time before the provost marshal could get him into custody. When his trial came off, he plead guilty and was released upon the payment of costs.*

Even this did not close the list of Everard's quarrels, for he afterwards figured in another altercation, with John Lovick; and had to defend his house against a motley assemblage described by him as being composed of Major Joseph Jenoure, Thomas Betterly, Peter Osborne, Tom y^e^ Tinker *alias* Cockram, Robert Robinson, Peter Young, Charles Cornwall, James Roe, Richards Robbins, a carpenter, two foreigners, a tall Irishman, and divers others, who, when commanded to depart, refused to do so, and struck one of the Governor's servants, breaking his head.†

In addition to his disputes within the colony, Governor Everard had to contend with enemies in England, who represented him as too much given to intoxicants.‡ Thereupon, the Provincial Council was requested to express itself as to the truth of this allegation, and unanimously declared that he had never come before the public "disguised in drink."

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* Colonial Records II, 653, 710, 718, 824; III, 220, 223.

† Colonial Records II, 824.

‡ Colonial Records II, 724.

It is little to be wondered that, after a few years of experience with the civil discords of North Carolina, Sir Richard was even melted into expressing some sympathy for his old enemy, Burrington, who had undergone a similar ordeal. Such, indeed, is the tone of a letter written by him in 1729, in which he deplores his hard lot in being sent to rule so incorrigible a people, whose sole occupation in life seemed to be the abuse of their official superiors.*

The only event of importance, which marked Everard's administration, was the settlement of the long disputed boundary question with Virginia, by commissioners appointed from the two colonies for that purpose.† Colonel Byrd's famous *History of the Dividing Line* gives a humorous account of the party's experiences; and a more modern discourse, from North Carolina's standpoint, will be found in the able address, delivered November 26, 1879, before the Historical Society, in Wilmington, by the Honorable George Davis, of that city.

When appointed Governor of North Carolina, in 1725, Sir Richard was somewhat advanced in age. In December, 1705, he had married Susannah Kidder, a daughter and coheiress of the Right Rev. Richard Kidder, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was killed in his Episcopal Palace at Wells, by a falling chimney, during the great hurricane, in November, 1703. Governor Everard left four children. His sons, Richard and Hugh, both succeeded him, in turn, and died without issue, whereupon the baronetcy became extinct.

The younger Sir Richard, fifth baronet, was an attorney-at-law, while in North Carolina, and remained there after inheriting his father's title. He was a representative in the Provincial Assembly from Beaufort county, in 1739; and

* Colonial Records III, 19.
† Colonial Records II, 740.

from Bladen, in 1740.* His death occurred two years later, on the 7th of March, 1742.

Sir Hugh, sixth baronet, succeeded his brother and resided for a time in Georgia, where he married, but left no issue.†

As to the Governor's two daughters: Susannah married David Meade, an American gentleman who will be mentioned later; and Anne became the wife of George Lathbury.‡ Of Mr. Lathbury and his descendants—if he left any—the writer knows nothing.

Governor Everard's family does not seem to have made a very favorable impression on the people of North Carolina, and his "pack of rude children who gave offence daily" were the objects of special complaint. The Provincial Council declared that he had set up a sort of Inquisition, and would order servants of the colonial gentry to appear at his house, where they were questioned upon oath as to whether any disrespectful remarks had ever been privately made, by their masters, concerning the Governor's household.§ In addition to his immediate family, the name of James Everard—possibly a relative—also appears in the records, as an attorney-at-law.¶

One charge, more creditable than the average in its nature, stated that Sir Richard was an ardent Jacobite, who

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* Colonial Records IV, 346, 493.

† So says Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetage (1844 edition), p. 190. The Secretary of State, however, writes from Atlanta, Georgia, as follows: "The name 'Everard' does not appear anywhere in the records of this office. If Sir Hugh ever came to Georgia, he never owned any land or held any official position." Though Burke gives 1745 as the date of Sir Hugh's death, it would seem that the title was thought to be still extant by Betham (in 1801) and by Kimber (in 1771), when those authors compiled their baronetages; for the works here mentioned, do not treat of extinct titles. Kimber speaks of Sir Hugh Everard as "the present baronet, who now enjoys the title and estate." Vol. I. p, 348. All three of these works refer to Sir Hugh as residing in Georgia, but neither Betham nor Kimber mention his marriage.

‡ Betham's Baronetage I, 369.

§ Colonial Records II, 660.

¶ Colonial Records III, 4. (As Richard, Jr., was an attorney, this name may ave been erroneously entered for his.)

had figured in the Preston Rebellion of 1715, and desired to celebrate the Old Pretender's birthday (June 10th) in North Carolina.* When the death of George I. was announced, he is said to have exclaimed, "Then adieu to the Hanover family, we have done with them!"

As heretofore mentioned, Everard's administration was brought to an end by the sale of North Carolina to the Crown, by the Lords Proprietors, in 1729. During that year, Burrington was again appointed Governor, but did not qualify until the beginning of 1731,† and Sir Richard continued in office for the space intervening.

After his removal, Governor Everard went to Nansemond, Virginia, and thence to England. At Nansemond, his daughter, Susannah, was married to David Meade, by whom she became the mother of seven children. They were:

I. David Meade, of Macox, in Prince George county, Virginia, who afterwards removed to Kentucky. He married Sarah Waters, only child of Col. William Waters, of Williamsburg, Virginia.

II. Richard Kidder Meade (an aide-de-camp, during the Revolution, to General Washington), who married, first, Elizabeth Randolph, daughter of Richard Randolph, the elder of Curles; secondly, Mrs. Mary Randolph, *nee* Grymes, widow of William Randolph, of Chattsworth, and daughter of Benjamin Grymes.

III. Everard Meade (an aide-de-camp during the Revolution, to General Lincoln), who married, first, Mary Thornton, daughter of John Thornton, of North Carolina; secondly, Mrs. Mary Ward, *nee* Eggleston, widow of Benjamin Ward, and daughter of Joseph Eggleston, of Egglestetton, in Amelia county, Virginia. The distinguished Revolutionary officer, Major Joseph Eggleston, of Lee's Legion, was Mrs. Meade's brother.

* Colonial Records III, 4.
† Colonial Records III, 211.

IV. Andrew Meade, of Octagon, in Brunswick county, Virginia, who married Susannah Stith, daughter of Captain Buckner Stith, of Rockspring, in the same county.

V. John Meade, who died young.

VI. Anne Meade, who married Richard Randolph, the younger, of Curles.

VII. Mary Meade, who married Colonel George Walker.

It is not within the scope of this brief biography to give an account of Governor Everard's more remote offspring. From his grandchildren, just named, many of the most noted families in Virginia, Kentucky, and throughout the Southern States in general, trace their descent.

The marriage of Susannah Everard to David Meade, of Nansemond, is mentioned in *Betham's Baronetage,* and some of the other works on heraldry that we have had occasion to quote, and also in *Campbell's History of Virginia,** which contains the following:

"Andrew Meade, first of the name in Virginia, born in County Kerry, Ireland, educated a Romanist, came over to New York, and married Mary Latham, a Quakeress, of Flushing, on Long Island. He afterwards settled in Nansemond, Virginia, and for many years was burgess thereof; from which it appears that he must have renounced the Romish religion. He was prosperous, affluent, and hospitable. He is mentioned by Colonel Byrd in his Journal of the Dividing Line run in 1728. His only son, David Meade, married, under romantic circumstances, Susannah, daughter of Sir Richard Everard, Baronet, Governor of North Carolina. Of the sons of David Meade, Richard Kidder Meade was aide-de-camp to General Washington; Everard Meade aide to General Lincoln."

The same authority also says:

"The name of Richard Kidder is said to be derived from a bishop of Bath and Wells, who was from the same stock with the Meades of Virginia."

This personage will easily be recognized by the reader as Sir Richard Everard's father-in-law, Bishop Kidder, whose

* History of Virginia, by Charles Campbell (1860), p. 690.

death in the great cyclone has already been mentioned. To have called him an ancestor of the Meades would be more explicit. As David Meade was an only son of the family's progenitor in America, all members of the connection who bear the name, as well as many other of his descendants, are also descended from Governor Everard. But Andrew Meade also left a daughter, Priscilla, who married Wilson Curle, of Hampton, Virginia, and her descendants, of course, are not of the Everard stock.

During the Revolution it was Colonel Richard Kidder Meade's painful duty to superintend the execution of Major André. In recounting that tragic event to Colonel Theodorick Bland, junior, under date of October 3, 1780, he wrote: "Poor Andre, the British adjutant-general, was executed yesterday; nor did it happen, my dear sir (though I would not have saved him for the world), without a tear on my part. You may think this declaration strange, as he was an enemy, until I tell you that he was a rare character. From the time of his capture to his last moment, his conduct was such as did honor to the human race. I mean by these words to express all that can be said favorable of man. The compassion of every man of feeling and sentiment was excited for him beyond your conception."*

Both Colonel Richard Kidder Meade and Major Edward Meade were original members of the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati.

In his well-known work on *Old Churches and Families in Virginia,*† the Right Rev. William Meade, late Bishop of that State, who was a son by the second marriage of Colonel Meade,‡ of Washington's staff, gives an account of the union

* Bland Papers II, 34.

† Vol. I, Article XXIV, p. 292 (edition of 1872).

‡ Col. R. K. Meade left no surviving children by his first marriage. For the issue of his second marriage, see Memoir of Bishop Meade, by Bishop Johns, p. 10, note.

of his ancestor, David Meade with Susannah Everard, as follows:

"The God of Love was present at their first interview, and made them feel the effects of his disposition at the same moment. But there was a considerable lapse of time between their first meeting and marriage. Her father was Governor Everard, of North Carolina, then living with his family in Edenton, and was unwilling to leave his daughter in the wilds of America when he should return home. When about to sail—the ship in which they were to embark lying in Hampton Roads, then called Nansemond River—there was no other house at that time, convenient to the place of embarkation, at which they could be well accommodated but Andrew Meade's. To this they went; and, being detained some weeks by adverse winds, or other causes, the earnest entreaties of a most affectionate father, almost distracted with the thought of parting with his only son (who was determined to follow her) at length prevailed, and they were immediately married."

Here endeth the "Story of Susannah," and, with it, we close our account of the descendants of Governor Everard. In returning to the old baronet's personal history, little remains to be said. As his successor qualified on the 25th of February, 1731, Sir Richard probably left Virginia during the following Summer, though history fails to give us the exact date. His death occurred on the 17th of February, 1733, in London, two years after his retirement from office.

The *Daily Journal*, for Monday, February 19th, contains the following obituary:

"On Saturday morning at 6 o'clock, died at his house in Red Lyon street, Holbourn, Sir Richard Everard of Much Waltham in Essex, Bart: late Governor of North Carolina, descended from a very ancient family in the county of Essex. Sir Richard married Susanna, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Dr. Richard Kidder, formerly Bishop of Bath & Wells, by whom he has left two sons and two daughters, and is succeeded in his honours and estate by his eldest son, now Sir Richard Everard."

In its issue of Wednesday, February 21st, the *Daily Courant* says:

"On Tuesday, the corpse of Sir Richard Everard was conveyed from his late dwelling house in Red Lyon street, Holbourn, with great solemnity to be interred at Much Waltham, Essex."

At his old home in Essex, here mentioned as the burial place of Sir Richard, many memorials of the family were preserved, including recumbent effigies of Sir Anthony Everard and his lady, who lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among other persons of note, there interred, are also Sir Hugh Everard, Baronet—father of the Governor—who died in 1706, and Sir Richard Everard, Knight, who died in 1611.

Again reverting to North Carolina, it must be confessed that little good accrued to the province from Governor Everard's administration. He had been born and reared in the upper class of English society and was too far advanced in age to adapt himself to a change of situation. In a colony which required more than ordinary activity to develop its resources, he sought to preside with dignified ease; and, when aught unclean came "betwixt the wind and his nobility," dignity and temper, alike, were too quickly cast aside. But, before indulging in overmuch adverse criticism, we should remember the difficulties with which he was forced to contend. Though endowed with less patience than the average mortal, his trials and vexations were indeed sufficient to test the forbearance of a saint.

"So may he rest; his faults lie gently on him!"

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Vol. XIV OCTOBER, 1914 No. 2

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
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The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XIV OCTOBER, 1914 No. 2

Extracts from Remarks Delivered at Roanoke Island Celebration August, 1914

By Dr. Howard E. Rondthaler

The interest attaching to this historic spot may be thought to express itself in a three-fold direction: it is an interest in place, an interest in time, and an interest in people.

THE PLACE.

Few spots could be found throughout the length and breadth of our land which would furnish a fairer and more striking setting for the wonderful scene which history has placed upon this fair island. There is here a rare combination of climate, soil, verdure, and expanse of sea which produces upon the visitor a lasting impression. As I looked over the deck of our steamboat last night just after sunset, when the shadows were beginning to gather around the promontory of this island, I rejoiced in the conviction that in all these centuries there could have been practically no change in this landscape, and that what we saw last night was essentially the same sight which greeted the eager eyes of Sir Walter Raleigh's Expedition 330 years ago.

I know of few places of historic interest where the natural features must have changed so little. Strange to say, this is largely true because the record of Roanoke Island and of Fort Raleigh is written in the sand. We have perhaps been taught that the rock with its flinty face is the most imperishable and changeless of monuments, and that the sand is a very synonym for shift and change. I venture to challenge this conception and to prove my claim. May I remind you that those are the most ancient mountains in our land which

have changed the most. Weathered by time and corroded by the passing of the years, the iron face of the rock suffers steady but certain modification, whereas, the sands of this island, showing as they do the actual bastioned outlines of Fort Raleigh, have preserved unchanged a record which, if built in stone, would long ere this have crumbled into ruin. In addition, the comparative isolation of this portion of Roanoke Island, and the density of forest just here, preserves for us intact every landscape detail as it was in the days of the first settlement.

In the introductory remarks and the hearty words of welcome to which we have just listened, you will have noted the genial allusion to the varied products of field, forest, vineyard and sea which have contributed always to making this a favored spot, and a place of comfort and attractiveness. It was, in a sense, on this very account that the early pioneers sought it out, for, if I have read their record correctly, they sailed during the last few days of the voyage guided rather by their nostrils than by their compass. May I recall to you the very words from the diary of Barlowe: "The second of July (1584) we found shoal water, where we smelled so sweet and so strong a smell as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured that land could not be far distant."

It is probably difficult for us to fully appreciate the historic reach of this remarkable spot. In the span of three centuries it stands the very foundation of our civilization. When the first explorers climbed these sandy slopes, planted the British flag where we shall shortly fly it again, and built this fort upon the very spot where we are now met, the world, as we think of it to-day, was but little known, and beyond the continent of Europe and portions of the East, and certain islands of the sea, all other lands were unmapped, largely unknown, and barely, if at all, visited by even the pioneers of civilization.

It is not without significance that the spot selected for the first Anglo-Saxon settlement should be mid-way between the rigors of the North and the enervating influences of the extreme South. Here where we are gathered there is an extraordinary climatic condition, due to the proximity of the Gulf Stream, which gives this section, and notably this particular island, such a combination of favorable climate that if Sir Walter Raleigh had been furnished with every geographical resource of the present day, with a map complete in all details of the whole of Eastern United States, with a botanical survey of the Eastern States, and with a climatic report from the weather bureau, he could not have discovered anywhere along our coast any other spot whatever where all conditions are so extraordinarily combined in so favorable a degree.

When in years to come the settlement of Roanoke Island is everywhere recognized, as it undoubtedly will be, and this place is honored with those memorials which sooner or later our nation will place here, the visitor will continually rejoice, as do we to-day, in this rare blending of place and historic occasion and in this most favorable setting for the pioneer scene of American history.

THE TIMES.

It is of course difficult in the midst of these genial surroundings, when families have assembled from so many adjoining counties, when there are, I am told, visitors from so many distant points, and when we have already obtained promising glimpses of overladen picnic baskets—it is, I repeat, difficult to achieve the historic reach of time which belongs to this particular spot. We must drop back, not one nor yet alone two, but even three and one-third centuries. We must think ourselves back into the days when the minds of men were engaged with dreams of heroic adventure, and when particularly the Englishman, inspired by Queen Elizabeth, was seeking to make himself the master of even the most distant lands.

Events happening in times so far remote are likely either to be so far removed from the thought and experience of present days that they cease to be living and real events, or else they are surrounded of necessity with so much historic obscurity that their very dimness of outline tempers the quality of our interest.

It is a matter of profound satisfaction that we are so excellently furnished with accurate data relative to the story of this island and that out of what is, at least for America, a most remote past, every detail is preserved for us with clear and clean-cut accuracy.

Happily the story of the settlement of Roanoke Island carries with it the marks of absolute accuracy, and we need not fear lest some day some more penetrating historian may be able to dismiss it as a myth.

It is absolutely true, therefore, that three and one-third centuries ago these very events which we are celebrating to-day transpired on this very spot, and every aid which will assist us to turn back our thoughts and re-people this island with its first settlers will serve to deepen our delight and interest in this remarkable page of American history.

Not alone the State of North Carolina, but the whole nation, owes a debt to this organization, namely, the Roanoke Island Memorial Association. Yonder memorial stones, appropriately modest and in quiet keeping with these forest surroundings, mark indeed the foundation stone in the story of the history of our nation. To us these days are our ancient history. From them we trace the growing story of our people and to them we must ever return when we seek the cradle of our nation's birth.

As in every movement which lies at the foundation of some enterprise, things, in themselves apparently small, often come to have great and lasting import. I stood the other day on a mountain ridge far to the west of us where a falling rain drop might by the divergence of a fraction of an inch

have its whole future course determined either into the Atlantic to the east or into the Mississippi to the west. So in the first moments of the history of our civilization a slight divergence of circumstance might, and probably would, have caused changes astonishing in their present import. Had not Columbus, over-persuaded by his sailors, and contrary to his own best judgment, swung his tiller through fifteen degrees of the circle, he himself would first have sighted land perhaps at this very spot, certainly not far from here, and the civilization which would have sprung up in the historic heart and gateway of the United States—for I take this spot to be the heart and gateway of our nation—would have been Spanish and not Anglo-Saxon, and the bloody story which characterizes the early history of Central America and Mexico would have been instead the strange story of our own land and country.

So, too, in these first beginnings 330 years ago, events, apparently insignificant, become momentous in their ultimate importance.

It is, I believe, within the bounds of historic fact to state that because of the mere breaking of a cable rope the ultimate story of the Roanoke Island settlement is destined to be forever shrouded in mystery.

I quote from Governor John White's diary of his fifth and last voyage, 1590, when he was returning to the colony he had left on this island:

"We came over against the north side of the island and sounded with a trumpet a call, and afterwards many familiar tunes of songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answer; we therefore landed at day break, and coming to the fire we found the grass and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went through the woods to that part of the island directly over against Dasamonguepeuk, and from thence we returned by the water side round about the north point of the island until we came to the place where I left our colony in the year 1586. In all this way

we saw in the sand the print of the savage's feet of two or three sorts trodden in the night; and, as we entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree, in the very brow thereof were curiously carved these fair Roman letters, C. R. O., which letters presently we knew to signify the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon between them and me at my last departure from them; which was, that in any way they should not fail to write or carve on the trees or posts of the doors the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoke fifty miles into the main. Therefore at my departure from them in Au., 1587, I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name a cross (†) in this form; but we found no such sign of distress, . . . and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance (to the fort) had the bark taken off, and five feet from the ground in fair capital letters was graven C R O A T A N without any cross or sign of distress.

. . . I was greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the island our friends.

* * *

The next morning it was agreed by the captain and myself, with the master and others, to weigh anchor, and go for the place at Croatan where our planters were. . . . So then they brought the cable to the capstan, but when the anchor was almost aport the cable broke, by means whereof we lost another anchor, wherewith we drove so fast into the shore that we were forced to let fall a third anchor, which came so fast home that the ship was almost aground by Kendrick's Mounts; so that we were forced to let slip the cable, end for end. . . . Being thus clear of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some loss; for we had but

one cable and anchor left us of four, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; it was therefore determined that we should go to St. John or some other island to the southward for fresh water, and it was further proposed that if we could anyways supply our wants of victuals and other necessaries at Hispanolia, St. John or Trinidad, that then we should continue in the Indies all the winter following, and at our return visit our countrymen at Virginia."

Had therefore White's ship ridden out the passing storm of that night, he and his men would doubtless have landed shortly upon the mainland, and in a little while would have solved for all time the disappearance of the settlers, and would have written for us in clear characters the whole chapter in this strange and fascinating story.

THE PEOPLE.

These men and these women were English, and this flag which we shall soon hoist is the English flag, flown then as now over many lands and many seas. I have read with amazement the record of the personnel of this party of settlers. There were sailors; there were soldiers of fortune; there were sons of nobility; there were men of culture, students of literature and of the arts and sciences.

This little island was trod by the feet of a notable group of men whose names have left their wide and lasting imprint upon the world's civilization: Cavendish, the bold and distinguished sailor who circumnavigated the globe; Thomas Hariot, highly distinguished as a mathematician and scientist; John White, explorer, artist and scientist, whose maps and drawings still preserved furnish invaluable material for early studies in native American life, and the great Sir Frances Drake, destroyer of the Spanish Armada.

We must think today of the sturdy seamen who, with stirring triumph, first climbed these sand-hills and planted this flag. His successor to-day flies the English flag from the rising to the setting of the sun. I have thought this very week

how proudly would be stirred the heart of old Sir Walter Raleigh could he have read that calmly masterful declaration issued less than forty-eight hours ago when the Lord High Admiral of the English Navy declared to the world that the English flag had cleared the seas lying yonder to the east of us, and that traffic and travel were now safe from the Bermudas to the Arctic because the English Admiralty declared it so. They who first trod these island shores were the ancestors of the sea-loving Englishman of to-day.

When night falls on this quiet island it is perhaps easier to people these forests with the ninety-six men, seventeen women, and nine children of the past. But of all those whose vision hovers about us here, and whose memory we seek to honor on this Anniversary Day, there is one who is peculiarly enshrined in the very inner heart of the story of Roanoke Island.

If we stand in splendid admiration at the courage and high chivalry of those early men of pioneer endeavor, what shall we say when we think of that gentle woman, Eleanor, daughter of Governor White and wife of Ananias Dare?

Into her heart what thoughts of the quiet scenes of old England in the midst of these forest solitudes, what emotions must have strained her eyes when the last ship sailed homeward, and when the last tie had been severed with the old and beloved homeland? This foundation story in the history of our nation is a story of fearless men, of courageous women, and last and most of all it is the story of an infant child. Into the shadows of that night, Tuesday, the 17th day of August, into the stillness of this great and noble forest, into the loneliness of this isolated island there came that plaintive sound of which the poet Tennyson speaks:

> "An infant crying in the night,
> An infant crying for the light,
> And with no language but a cry."

Where in all history of our land, yea and of other lands, is there a story which surpasses this in its appeal of natural

beauty, of heroic chivalry, of motherly courage and of shrouded mystery. The shrine of the new-born American nation, as we view it here, is indeed the shrine of an infant child, and in a sense, as was once the case centuries ago, we and succeeding generations ever stand with reverent awe about the birth-place of a little child, and in this spirit we read with tender interest on yonder simple granite stone these gentle words:

> Near this place was born on the 18th of August, 1587,
> VIRGINIA DARE,
> The first child of English parents born in America—
> Daughter of Ananias Dare and Eleanor White, his wife,
> members of another band of colonists sent out by Sir
> Walter Raleigh in 1587.

General Francis Nash

AN ADDRESS BY HON. A. M. WADDELL

DELIVERED AT THE UNVEILING OF A MONUMENT TO GENERAL NASH, VOTED BY CONGRESS, AT THE GUILFORD BATTLE GROUND, JULY 4, 1906

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Guilford Battle Ground Company.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

An ancient maxim declares that Republics are ungrateful. We are to-day in the presence of a noble and enduring proof of its falsity. A great statesman declared that no monument ought to be erected to a public character until a hundred years after the period of his active services, for there could be no absolute assurance of their permanent value until the lapse of that time.

To this supreme test the public character and services of which I shall speak on this occasion have been subjected, and they have gained additional lustre in the alembic of the years. Those services ended, and he who performed them closed his earthly career more than a century and a quarter ago upon one of the battlefields of the American Revolution, and to-day we are assembled to witness the final execution of his country's long-declared purpose to perpetuate his memory by the erection of this solid and beautiful work of art.

Such a tribute by a great nation to an unselfish patriot, a brave soldier and accomplished gentleman who sacrificed his life for the establishment and maintenance of the liberties of his country, is honorable to it, and, if the dead be conscious of the deeds of the living, must be grateful to his spirit.

Little did he dream when death confronted him on that bloody field in Pennsylvania that, in the far distant future, on the ground where another battle was fought in the same cause, and within fifty miles of his own North Carolina home,

assembled thousands would witness the unveiling of a nation's monument to his memory. His only hope and aspiration, as his letters prove, was that his country would be victorious, and that he would soon return to his loved ones to pass the remainder of his days in the peaceful enjoyment of domestic life. The full realization of this hope was denied him, in common with many another hero and patriot who gave his life to the cause, but the larger hope prevailed, and his country triumphed. Great indeed and far-reaching was that triumph, for it revolutionized human history and established forever—at least among people of Anglo-Saxon origin—the doctrine of government by the people. There have been lapses in the practical enforcement of this doctrine, but it has always persistently asserted itself and will continue to do so to the end of time. It is our inheritance from which we can never be divorced, and for the priceless possession we are indebted to the heroic men who in an apparently hopeless contest of seven years duration finally forced its acceptance at the point of the bayonet and proudly proclaimed it to an astonished world.

The man with the blood of the American Revolution in his veins who can regard with indifference the career of any soldier of that struggle who gave his life for his country is unworthy of the privilege which he enjoys as an American citizen. If whenever that glorious era of the birth of liberty is celebrated, he does not feel a thrill of admiration and reverence for the men who by their valor and patient sacrifices made it immortal, he is a degenerate.

Some years ago an American statesman declared that the government of the American Colonies by George III was the best government then existing on earth, and he was right in his judgment, for there was no government on earth at that time which fully recognized the rights of the people, and the British government came nearer to it than any other. So much more honor to the American subjects of that government for their demand for the fullest rights and privileges of

British subjects, and, when these were denied, to assert the right of resistance to oppression. They began it in North Carolina long before the Revolution, and even after their open resistance to the Stamp Act in 1765 for nearly ten years they declared again and again—George Washington being a leader in such declaration—that they did not desire, or contemplate a separation from the British crown, but when finally driven to the wall they turned and deliberately declared themselves independent. The first Declaration of Independence was made at Charlotte on the 20th May, 1775, and the first instruction to representatives in the Continental Congress to declare for independence was given by the Convention at Halifax on the 12th April, 1776.

How these bold declarations were sustained by North Carolina people when the issue of battle was presented, is a story that ought to be made familiar to every school child in the State. The duty assigned to me today can only embrace a fragment of it, but that fragment covers a career of which every North Carolinian should feel proud.

A few miles below Farmville, in Prince Edward County, Virginia, and in the forks of the Appomattox and Bush rivers, there was in 1732 a large landed estate of more than 5,000 acres, which had been settled by a gentleman from Tenby, Pembrokeshire, South Wales, who from the time of his arrival in Virginia to the day of his death was prominent and active in affairs, both of church and State. The county of Prince Edward was a part of Henrico County prior to 1754, and therefore the earlier record of this gentleman is credited to the latter county.

He was presiding Justice of the county, and is said to have attended the sessions of the court in great state, with a coach and four, being received by the sheriff at the door very ceremoniously. He had been sheriff of Henrico County, and after the formation of Prince Edward County was the first member of the house from that county. He was associated with the leaders of the Colony and helped to build old St. John's Church in Richmond, where Patrick Henry after-

wards delivered his celebrated philippic, and in 1757 was appointed colonel of a regiment that was sent to protect the frontier against the Indians.

This gentleman, John Nash, before coming to America with his brother Thomas, had married Anna Owen, daughter of Sir Hugh Owen of Tenby, and he named his estate in the forks of the Appomattox and Bush rivers, "Templeton Manor," after the town of Templeton, near Tenby. On this estate he lived in the style and with the abounding comforts that characterized the life of a wealthy Virginia planter of that period, and there brought up the four sons, and four daughters who were born to him, all of whom personally, or in their children, reflected honor upon his name and their own. Indeed it may be safely asserted that there are few families in the country that produced, in proportion to their numbers, more distinguished men in civil and military life than his. The oldest of his sons, Col. Thomas Nash, married Mary Reade, and removed first to Lunenburg County and represented that county in the House of Burgesses and thence to Edenton, N. C., where he died in 1769, leaving an only daughter, Anna Owen Nash, who married in 1771 the Rev. John Cameron, of Petersburg, Va. Their children were Judge Duncan Cameron, of Raleigh, Judge John A. Cameron, of the United States District Court of Florida; Dr. Thomas Cameron, of Fayetteville, N. C., and William Cameron, of Ellersly, Orange County.

His second son was Col. John Nash, the second, who was a colonel in the Revolution in 1781, represented Prince Edward County in House of Delegates in 1778, was the founder and a member of the Board of Trustees of Hampden Sidney College, inherited the estate of Templeton by devise from his father, and died in 1803.

The third son of Col. John Nash, was Abner Nash, who, after succeeding his father as representative from Prince Edward, moved to New Bern, N. C., and was a member of the Provincial Congress at Halifax in the years 1774-'5-'6, which body appointed him, among other committees, on one to pre-

pare the constitution of the new State. He was an able lawyer, the first Speaker of the first House of Commons, and the second Governor of the State, 1779-'81, and a member of the Continental Congress, 1782-'86, and died in New York during the session of Congress, December 2, 1786. He was the father of the late Chief Justice Frederick Nash, of our Supreme Court.

And now we come to the fourth and youngest son of Col. John Nash (original owner of Templeton Manor) General Francis Nash, in whose honor this memorial arch has been erected.

Like his brothers Thomas and Abner, he too removed to North Carolina, but selected his residence in a different part of the State—Hillsborough—a town which even then had begun to be historic. He came there a young lawyer seeking his career, and soon made his mark. He had never held any office, but some time after settling there he was appointed Clerk of the Superior Court of Orange County, and also a Captain under the Crown. He commanded his company in the battle of Alamance in 1771, and his steady conduct attracted attention. He was a member of the Provincial Congress that met at Hillsborough in August, 1775, and was elected by that body September 1, 1776, Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Regiment of the Continental Line, of which James Moore was elected Colonel.

That regiment, with the militia under Caswell, Lillington and others, won the first victory of the Revolution at Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776. Colonel Moore having been appointed brigadier-general immediately after that fight, Nash became colonel, his commission dating from April 10, 1776. On the first of June, Sir Henry Clinton's fleet with Cornwallis's forces, left the mouth of the Cape Fear for Charleston, and immediately the first and second regiments under General Moore started for that place, arriving on the 11th. The British fleet opened fire on Fort Moultrie on the

28th of June, and Cornwallis's troops tried to land, but were beaten off by Colonel Thompson's South Carolina Rangers and a battalion of two hundred picked men from Nash's regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, and these North Carolina troops received high praise from the commanding general (Charles Lee) for their conduct.

After the defeat of the British the North Carolina regiments were concentrated at Wilmington, where they were rigidly drilled and disciplined until about the middle of November, at which time they were ordered to the North to re-enforce General Washington's army. They marched as far as Halifax on the way, but were kept there for three weeks, and were then counter-marched to the vicinity of Charleston again to meet another threatened attack by the British, who were near St. Augustine, Florida. On the 5th of February, 1777, Colonel Nash was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, and assumed command of the brigade.

The States of Georgia and South Carolina were endangered, and because of the urgent request of those States the North Carolina troops were kept for their defense until March 15, 1777, when they were again ordered to join General Washington, who was retreating through New Jersey with great loss, and in extreme danger. They resumed their former route, passing through Wilmington, Halifax, Richmond, Alexandria and Georgetown to Philadelphia. Their splendid reputation had preceded them, and the result was that their march through Virginia and Maryland was a succession of enthusiastic receptions by the people.

After a few days stop in Philadelphia, some of the regiments arrived at Washington's camp at Middlebrook, New Jersey, about the last of June, 1777. The brigade was held at Trenton for about ten days in July, and from there General Nash wrote one of the two or three letters of his that are still in existence. It was a letter to his wife dated July 25th, and shows that he was thoroughly competent, and understood

the strategy of the commander-in-chief, although they were both at that time uncertain as to the British commander's real point of attack. "When I left Philadelphia, which was a week or ten days ago," he says, "I expected that we should have proceeded directly to headquarters. However, I received a letter from General Washington directing me to remain at this place until further orders, under a supposition that the late movements of the enemy might probably be only a feint in order to draw our army as far to the north as possible, and then by a forced march endeavor to gain Philadelphia, before the necessary succor could be afforded. In which case, we being directly in their route, should probably have it in our power to retard their progress, until our army could get up with their rear. However, from some accounts received this morning (to-wit, that a considerable part of their fleet had been discovered moving up the North River), I think there cannot remain a doubt that their operations are intended against that quarter. General Washington, in consequence of this intelligence, has moved with his whole army within twenty miles of Fishkilns, about one hundred miles from hence, where he means to remain until the designs of the enemy are reduced to a certainty. I have been re-enforced since I came here by one regiment of Virginians and an artillery corps with six brass field pieces, making the strength of my brigade, in the whole, about 2,000."

* * * * * * * * * *

"This morning for the first time I have seen a general return of the state of our army, and it is with pleasure I inform you that we have now on the field, of continental troops, effective, upwards of 20,000, exclusive of those in Canada, which I suppose amount to 4,000 or 5,000 more; add to this a most admirable train of artillery, and 700 Light Horse equal at least to those of the enemy in discipline, equipage and everything else, is it possible with such an army and a Washington at their head that Americans can have

anything to fear? No, dear Sally, I now feel the fullest assurance that can be founded in human events, that nothing less than the immediate interposition of Providence (which I will not suppose to be excited in favor of tyranny and oppression) can prevent us from the invaluable blessings of liberty, freedom and independence. With these assurances I rest satisfied, with the blessing of Heaven, of returning to you ere long crowned with victory, to spend in peace and domestic happiness the remainder of a life, which, without you, would not be worth possessing."

This accession of force, so greatly needed and longed for by Washington, not only served to stop his retreat, but stimulated him to assume the aggressive against his opponent, Sir William Howe, who had embarked his forces by water to the head of Elk, in Maryland, with the intention of moving on Philadelphia. Washington and Howe fought at Chadd's Ford on the Brandywine, September 11, 1777, and Howe won the battle and took possession of Philadelphia. The North Carolina troops at Brandywine had to oppose the flanking movements of Lord Cornwallis, and although compelled with the rest of the division to retreat, they did so not only in good order, but with repeated attacks on the enemy, and they aided in bringing off the field the artillery and baggage of the division to which they were attached.

In less than a month after Brandywine, namely, on the 4th of October, 1777, the battle of Germantown was fought, in which Nash led the North Carolina troops. They behaved splendidly and won great praise from Washington. They were in the reserve force under Major-General Stirling, and were thrown into the attack on the right. General Nash was leading them into action down the main street of Germantown, when a round shot shattered his thigh, killing his horse and throwing him heavily to the ground. He tried to conceal the extent of his hurt by covering the terrible wound with his hands, and cheered on his men, saying: "Never mind me. I

had a devil of a tumble; rush on, my boys; rush on the enemy; I'll be after you presently." But he was mortally wounded, and was carried to a private residence, where after lingering in greatest agony for three days, he died on the 7th of October, 1777. His last words were: "From the first dawn of the Revolution I have been ever on the side of liberty and my country." He was buried in the Mennonist graveyard at Kulpsville, with military honors, and General Washington issued the following order for the funeral:

"Headquarters, Toamensing, October 9, 1777.

"Brigadier General Nash will be interred at 10 o'clock this forenoon, with military honors, at the place where the road where the troops marched on yesterday comes into the great road. All officers, whose circumstances will admit of it, will attend and pay this respect to a brave man who died in defense of his country.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

The shot that killed him also killed his aide, Major Witherspoon, and was a stray one fired by a retreating enemy who had been driven for two hours or more, and were, as they themselves supposed, hopelessly defeated, when an accident saved them, and reversed the situation. There was a heavy fog and no breeze to dispel it or the smoke from the guns which so completely enveloped the field that it was impossible to see more than fifty yards. Two of the American columns mistook each other for the enemy, and each thought the other a re-enforcement with which it was unexpectedly confronted, and so, as Washington expressed it: "In the midst of the most promising appearances, when everything gave the most flattering hopes of victory, the troops began suddenly to retreat, and entirely left the field in spite of every effort that could be made to rally them." In the same letter, however, he says: "In justice to General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army whose conduct I had opportunity of observing, as

they acted immediately under my eye, I have the pleasure to inform you that both officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry that did them the highest honor."

More than once he referred to the death of General Nash as a deplorable loss to the army and to the cause for which he fought, and letters from the most distinguished citizens of the State and country, and newspaper articles on the subject justify the belief that General Nash was very highly esteemed as a soldier and gentleman, and that both in his military and civil life he won the affections of his associates by his generous and unaffected conduct. Thos. Burke, then a member of Congress, and afterwards governor of the State, writing to Governor Caswell, says he was "one of the best, the most respected and regretted officers in the Continental Army," and Governor Caswell himself said that he "left no equal among the officers who survived him."

George Washington Parke Curtis, in his "Recollections of Washington," speaking of General Nash's death and burial, uses the following language: "He lingered in extreme torture between two and three days and died, admired by his enemies—admired and lamented by his companions in arms. On Thursday, the 9th of October, the whole American army was paraded by order of the commander-in-chief to perform the funeral obsequies of General Nash, and never did the warrior's last tribute peal the requiem of a braver soldier or nobler patriot than that of the illustrious son of North Carolina."

Many traditions of his physical comeliness, especially when mounted, have been preserved among his descendants, and one in particular I remember as told to me by a venerable man who said that one of General Nash's soldiers told him that the general was the handsomest man on horseback that he ever saw. Colonel Polk, who was one of his officers, was fond of reciting his attractive qualities, and (as another venerable gentleman told me), when describing the wound that crushed

his leg, invariably concluded his eulogium by saying, "and he had the finest leg that was ever hung on a man!" But his physical beauty seems to have been only the complement of his moral and intellectual attributes, for he was one of the most enlightened, liberal, generous, and magnanimous gentlemen that ever sacrificed his life for his country.

And here it may not be inappropriate to record an incident of minor importance, but of some interest in connection with the events occurring on this battlefield of Guilford Courthouse and with which the name of General Nash is associated. The incident is one which rests on a family tradition and is as follows: Judge Maurice Moore, his father-in-law, had imported from England a thoroughbred horse named "Montrose," and a mare called "Highland Mary," and had given to General Nash their colt, a splendid bay named "Roundhead." When General Nash went into the army he left this favorite horse at his residence in Hillsborough, and during his absence David Fanning, the Tory leader, made a raid on Hillsborough and stole the horse. After Nash's death his body servant Harry, who was with him at Germantown, where he was killed, came home, and at the urgent request of General Wm. R. Davie, who had been made commissary general, was turned over to him as his servant. Harry had been distressed at the loss of his master's favorite horse, and at the battle of Guilford Courthouse he had suddenly exclaimed: "Look yonder at that officer riding Roundhead!" The officer was Lord Cornwallis, and very soon after this the horse was killed under him. Cornwallis had two horses killed under him that day, according to all accounts, and some say three. The tradition to which I refer says the servant Harry not only recognized the horse at first, but after he was shot went to him and identified him. The faithful servant saw his master killed four years before in Pennsylvania by the British, and now within fifty miles of his home witnessed the death of his favorite horse on this battle ground by the

Americans, who were shooting at his rider, the commander of the British army.

General Nash married Miss Sally Moore, daughter of Judge Maurice Moore, and sister of Judge Alfred Moore, afterwards of the Supreme Court of the United States, and had only two children. These were girls, the elder of whom, Ann, died at the age of 13, and the younger of whom, Sarah, married Mr. John Waddell, a rice planter on the lower Cape Fear River.

Some time after his death his widow married Gen. Thomas Clark, who had succeeded him as lieutenant-colonel and finally as brigadier-general in the Continental Line, but they left no children.

One month after General Nash's death the Continental Congress, on the 4th of November, 1777, expressed its appreciation of the heroic services he had rendered, and directed that a monument should be erected to his memory. The resolution of Congress was in the following words:

"Resolved, That His Excellency, Governor Caswell, of North Carolina, be requested to erect a monument of the value of $500 at the expense of the United States in honor of the memory of Brigadier General Francis Nash, who fell in the Battle of Germantown on the 4th day of October, 1777, bravely contending for the independence of his country."

That resolution remained unexecuted because the State of North Carolina was then, and for some years afterwards, engaged in a life-and-death struggle for self-preservation, and had no time to expend in the erection of monuments to her heroes. No monuments were erected, so far as I know, either by the general government or any State until long after the Revolution was ended, and therefore no blame could be justly attached to our State for not complying with the resolution at that time.

But the patriotic spirit of a stranger to our State and people, John F. Watson, Esq., of Philadelphia, prompted him

seventy years ago to induce the citizens of Germantown and Norristown to erect a monument over the grave of General Nash, which was done, and for this deed his name should be gratefully remembered by every true North Carolinian.

There have been persistent efforts for fifty years to have this resolution of Congress carried into execution by Congress, but from different sources opposition has with equal persistency interposed until these efforts ceased, from sheer desperation, to be made. But the patriotic Society of the Cincinnati, when re-organized in North Carolina, took charge of the matter, and from their meeting in 1896 annually pressed it upon Congress through the senators and representatives from our State until 1903, when the bill was passed making the appropriation asked for. It would be an act of injustice, however, while accrediting the Society of the Cincinnati and the North Carolina senators and representatives fully with their action, not to record the fact that by his unremitting labors and fortunate acquaintance with leading senators and representatives from all parts of the country, the chairman of the committee of the Cincinnati, Col. Bennehan Cameron, is entitled to a larger share of credit for this legislation than any other individual, and it gives me great pleasure to make public acknowledgment of the fact. After a careful examination of the whole history of these efforts and their final success this award of merit to Col. Cameron as the chief instrument in accomplishing the result cannot be justly withheld. And in this connection I wish to say that the design for this noble arch and its construction is attributable to the skill and taste of another North Carolinian, Capt. R. P. Johnston, of the Engineer Corps of the United States Army, who gave much time and care to the work, and has just reason to be proud of its final accomplishment.

Of course it goes without saying that in all these efforts to secure this monument the devoted and patriotic President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, Major Morehead, has

been an indefatigable and active ally of the Cincinnati* and of the senators and representatives of our State, and that his services in that behalf merit and should receive the fullest recognition. It was only in keeping, however, with his whole record as president of the company to which he has unselfishly devoted so large a part of his time for some years past.

And a nobler work these gentlemen never did, for from his first appointment as lieutenant-colonel to the time of his death, General Nash enjoyed the confidence of all his superior officers and the affection of the soldiers under his command to a remarkable degree. His career was a brief, but brilliant one, and ended on the field of glory, when he was only thirty-five years old. It is unquestionably true, and therefore just, to say that there was no officer of the American Revolution who acquired in the same period a more solid reputation for soldierly qualities, or who died more universally regretted than he, and that therefore his country for which he willingly gave his life has never erected a monument to a Revolutionary hero and patriot that was more richly deserved than this which has been unveiled to-day.

*NOTE.

We concede the right of private opinion, of course, and we appreciate the speaker's very complimentary words gracefully spoken of us. But since after its usual custom these unveiling ceremonies were held upon its grounds by the Guilford Battle Ground Company, and since this pamphlet is edited and published by the company, silence here would be construed into acquiescence in the opinion here expressed, from which the company emphatically dissents. The Continental Congress voted appropriations for monuments to Generals Francis Nash and William Lee Davidson which were never erected. In 1841-'2 the late Governor W. A. Graham, then senator in Congress from North Carolina, and in 1888 Senator Vance, we are told, and in 1896 the North Carolina

Society of the Cincinnati, endeavored to revive these appropriations, but failed in their efforts, and the inference is that a pursuance of the same method and advancement of the same arguments would have continued to fail. But in 1902 the Guilford Battle Ground Company furnished the Hon. W. W. Kitchin arguments and considerations which enabled him—to whom beyond all others merit is due for work done in Washington—to secure the appropriation by a two-thirds majority in the house, where a majority could never be secured, though attempted for sixty years. This was effected, too, over the objection of Speaker Cannon and his active opposition. Mr. Kitchin told the House that the Battle Ground Company (or Association as it ought to be called) of North Carolinians had purchased, redeemed, beautified and adorned the famous Revolutionary Battlefield of Guilford Court House; that in its poverty it was continuing its struggle of fifteen years for its continued adornment, and that Congress should therefore, among other reasons, vote the appropriation and place the monuments at Guilford. Mr. Kitchin was then addressing many members of Congress who knew that thus to aid the Battle Ground Company was not only to honor North Carolina's noble dead, but that it was also to make of this battlefield for all time, a monument to troops for their respective States who fought here under Greene in 1781. This two-thirds majority illustrated the difference in effect upon Congress between the mere introduction of bills and resolutions and the reclamation, after vast toil and expenditure, of this famous battlefield.

The resolution, as adopted, placed the disbursement of the funds, erection of the monuments, etc., in the hands of the Secretary of War, who should, however, act jointly with the Governor of North Carolina "in the selection of a location for the said monuments." The authority was soon placed by the Secretary of War in the hands of Hon. C. B. Aycock, the then governor, exclusively, and very soon a bitter contest arose

before the governor between the Society of the Cincinnati and the Battle Ground Company—the Cincinnati desiring to locate the monument elsewhere than on the Guilford Battle Ground. Full evidence as to who secured the appropriation, and whose wishes were therefore entitled to prevail in their location, was laid before the Governor, the legally constituted and final authority in the matter, and after patient, painful, conscientious consideration, the Governor put them at Guilford, where they now stand.

The supposed influence of Colonel Cameron, Chairman of the Committee of the Cincinnati, is here ascribed to his acquaintanceship with different members of Congress, and in this connection we have heard the name of Senator Wetmore, of Rhode Island, mentioned specifically. We now re-publish and append two letters which show that the company had its representative in Washington; that he labored among influential members, and that his labors were effectual:

UNITED STATES SENATE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 24, 1903.

DEAR SIR:

Since receiving your letter of February 16, I have conferred with Senators Pritchard and Simmons, as well as Mr. W. W. Kitchin, and find that all are in favor of erecting the statues of Generals Nash and Davidson on the Guilford Battle Ground. I have today addressed a letter to the Secretary of War, a copy of which is herewith transmitted, enclosing your letter to me on this subject.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE PEABODY WETMORE.

Colonel Joseph M. Morehead, Greensboro, N. C.

UNITED STATES SENATE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 24, 1903.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

I desire to call your attention to the enclosed letter dated February sixteenth, addressed to me by Colonel Joseph M. Morehead, President of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, who, during the consideration of the bill for the statues of Generals Nash and Davidson, both in the House and Senate, manifested the greatest interest in it. You will notice that he is very much exercised lest another site be chosen than the Guilford Battle Ground. I have conferred with Senators Pritchard and Simmons, of North Carolina, as well as with Mr. W. W. Kitchin, member of the House from that State, who all agree that the statues should be erected on the Guilford Battle Ground. I might also add that the Guilford Battle Ground was the only place mentioned when the bill was under consideration in the House.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

GEORGE PEABODY WETMORE.

Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of War.

JOSEPH M. MOREHEAD,

President Guilford Battle Ground Company.

Early English Survivals on Hatteras Island

By Collier Cobb

Notwithstanding the uniformity of American life, which has impressed the European visitor to this land as our country's most serious drawback, there are still a few secluded spots, isolated land areas around the borders of our continent, whose inhabitants have escaped the blighting influence of predigested breakfast foods, Associated Press dispatches, syndicated stories, trust made school books, and that great destroyer, the schoolmaster.

Physiographic features here present such uniformity over vast areas that the few unique spots of land which might produce inhabitants of varying types are set apart as state or national parks, or forests, to be used as playgrounds for the people. Even the mountain section of North Carolina, which Southerners are fond of calling "The Switzerland of America," probably because it possesses not one feature of Swiss scenery, has become thoroughly modernized and Americanized, and there is not another town of its size in our country so thoroughly cosmopolitan as Asheville, our mountain metropolis, has become during the last two decades. The arts and crafts of the mountains had practically disappeared during that time, and had to be taught anew to the women of the Biltmore estate, whose mothers and grandmothers, less than a score of years ago, were skilled weavers of exquisite tapestries.

In a land where journeys are made from the plains of the interior to Longwood or Atlantic City for a summer's outing, or from Carolina to the geysers of the Yellowstone for a fortnight's holiday, and all this with as much ease and comfort as staying at home, there is little left but the monotony of American life that so deeply impressed Mr. James Bryce when he was writing his "American Commonwealth."

The sand reefs of the North Carolina coast before the advent of motor boats in that region just a decade ago, afforded a large measure of seclusion, and that safety which comes from isolation, safety from the incursions of tourists and pleasure seekers, and from exploitation by magazine writers.

The most interesting of these reefs was then three days' journey from almost any point, but when you had made the journey you had gone back three centuries in time. Though known to every one by name, and dreaded by all seafaring men as the graveyard of American shipping, hardly a score out of our eighty millions of population had ever set foot on this island. Even all the fingers of one hand were not needed to count the dwellers on the mainland who were personally acquainted with this dangerous sand-reef and its mild-mannered people. To most men it is a sort of world's end, as indeed it has been to many a poor mariner; and even to the few who know it best it is a veritable foreign land at home.

Hatteras Island is an elbow-shaped sand-spit, forty miles in length measured around the elbow, and from half a mile to five miles in width. It lies along the very border of the continental shelf, a hundred miles beyond the normal trend of the coast, and almost within the Gulf Stream. It occupies the center of the quadrangle made by the parallels 35 degrees and 36 degrees, north latitude, and the meridians 75 degrees and 76 degrees, west longitude.

The geological history, physiographic features, and climatic conditions of this island have been made a subject of special investigation by the writer for something like a score of years. But since geography is a study of the earth as man's physical environment, and geology a study of the earth as a field for the devolopment of organic life, the geologist must of necessity have an interest in the influence of environment on the human organism. The purpose of this paper is to deal with this human interest in one of its phases, the influence of isolation as it shows itself in the preservation of old English words and

the ancient forms of speech once common to our group. On this island, in spite of Nature's changes, with all her storms and buffetings, we find words in daily use that have never here drifted from their mediæval moorings.

When I reach any point on the island, my friends who have not seen me land invariably ask: "How did you come? Did you come in a boat, or did you travel?" *Travel,* in this case, means to walk. Once I was told that I could reach a certain sand dune by traveling about two acres, across a palmetto swamp, an *acre,* in this case, being a furlong, or eighth of a mile, an old English use of the word.

"How do you go home when you get to the country? Do you go by boat up the river, do you go by train, or do you travel?" I was asked by a man who knew my fondness for walking. "I do not know what I should do if we lived in the country where we could not hunt or fish, for I had rather starve than have my husband dig potatoes," one good woman said to me. By *country* they mean the mainland opposite the island, this woman explaining it to me as, "some such place as North Carolina, or even New York, or Norfolk, or Raleigh, or Chapel Hill; anywhere off The Banks," meaning by *The Banks,* the line of sand reefs along the North Carolina coast, and using the word country very much as Britishers would say "the continent." On The Banks, then, a traveling salesman would be a tramp peddler.

Now this use of *travel,* as meaning to walk, to move along on foot, was common in England in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and I have found it used several times in Hakluyt's Voyages. It is used with a somewhat different pronunciation, but in exactly the same sense, to-day, in corners of Ireland, of Yorkshire, and of Scotland. I have never met with this use of the word in North America except on Hatteras Island; though among the Sioux Indians of the North and Northwest there is in use a kind of trailer made of two lodge poles attached to a horse, like shafts, having a sack of skins lashed

to the cross-bars behind the horse, and used for carrying goods, or for sick or wounded persons. The Indian name for this vehicle is *travay,* but the word used in this way is more nearly related to working than to walking.

This Hatteras Island use of *country* is the original use of the word, as meaning the "land opposite." It occurs in this sense to-day nowhere else, so far as my observation goes. *Continent* is used for the mainland on some of the islands farther north, as on Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. The lady who used country in this way had been but recently married, and the bridegroom had furnished the trousseau, an ancient custom that prevails to-day nowhere else in North America, and one that is falling into disuse here.

I have always taken a kodak with me when visiting the island, and the chief pleasure derived from its use has been the taking of pictures of my friends there. On one of my early visits to Hatteras a young man asked:

"Won't you make a picture of my *may* and me?"

"I'll be delighted to," I replied; "but what does your lady-love look like?"

"You may not think her pretty, but she's a *couthy* girl, and *canty* too."

Here were words I had never heard before, but I soon came to understand their meaning, after I had met many of the island people who were "couthy women and trusty men." I have often met the word *may* in old English love songs, meaning a maid, a fair woman, a cousin, a sweetheart. It is used most often as meaning maid, of which it is really a contracted form, and dates back to the middle of the fourteenth century or beyond that time.

Couthy, besides meaning tender, sympathetic, motherly, as applied to these good women, or affable, pleasant, agreeable, like a familiar friend, has another meaning, which is well illustrated by the statement, "Will Watkins looked so kind and couthy-like to Lucy Lowe."

Canty means merry, brisk, lively, as in the old couplet,

> A cozy house and a canty wife
> Keeps aye a body cheerly.

Cant was the first form of this adjective, and *trusty,* of course, means trustworthy. This is a use familiar to us.

I promised to meet the young people at nine o'clock the following morning to make the picture. At nine the young fellow came alone. When I asked why he had not brought the lady, he said: "She scooped me," meaning that she had got the better of him, run away from him, scampered off at the last moment. "And," he added, "she could fleech you, young man." *Fleech* is from the French, *flechir;* it passed into Middle English, as *to bend,* then to *flatter.* Here again were words that I had never heard before; but I found that he meant she could flatter me into loving her, and then run away from me. Nothing so remarkable about that girl after all!

Another time the young man described her to me as *smicker.* I took it to mean that she was neat in her person and elegant in her manners, as he did mean, and rightly; but his friend told me that it really meant that "she was soft on him." What a strange mixture of mediæval English and modern slang! I inadvertently mentioned the young man's name to the lady's mother, who said, "Oh, he scunners me," meaning "He disgusts me," which would seem to be a causative use of what meant "to loathe."

Here a kelpie is a water-sprite, an animal of the sea, a water-dog of some kind. "A kelpie is a sly devil; but you might possibly catch one, for he always roars before a storm at sea." A Hatteras man looking on a seal in a Norfolk park told me he had never seen a kelpie, but he imagined that a seal looked very much like one; and all along this coast kelpie is a common given-name for a dog, especially for a water spaniel. In the Scotch he appears to be more like a horse, and foretells drowning.

All of the words mentioned so far are found in old English or Scottish ballads, and several of them occur in one of the three mermaid songs heard occasionally along The Banks. These songs are now rarely heard except from the older women, and they seem ashamed to be caught singing them. It has been with the greatest difficulty that I have ever persuaded them to repeat the words of an old song for me while I took it down from their dictation.

I have constantly met with other words in the speech of these good people, which I was inclined to regard as careless or slovenly pronunciations, believing that "indolence doth much corrupt our language." In this class I place the pronunciation of words with the omission of certain letters; as, daugher (daughter), waer (water), buer (butter), leer (letter), and a host of others; faute (fault), fause (false), wanut (walnut), plead (pleased); others of unusual pronunciation, as trod (trot), throcked (thronged), leuch (laugh), birk (birch, sixteenth century form), egal (equal, like the French), thoct (thought, Scotch spelling, O. E.), sweet (sweetheart), fant (infant), wonders (wondrous), wharrel (quarrel, in Middle English, but French in origin), know (knoll), fole (fool); and others whose origin is not so evident, as throddy (plump), sleek, in good condition, as applied to a steer or to a mullet; cracker (boaster, cf. Burns and our "cracking jokes"), in which case Mr. Roosevelt's "crackerjack" would not be a "bully chap," but a boasting clown.

There are other words in which there seems to be the insertion of a letter; as bloast or bloust for brag, and still others with which we are familiar, but used here in an unfamiliar sense, as blabber, "a great blabber" meaning simply a great chatterer (goes back to fourteenth century and miracle plays); bloater, a chubby child; cant, gossip; cap, surpass, in "I can cap you at that," or "I can cap your story," like our "cap the climax," or the game of "capping verses"; accord, agree, in "Let's accord before we eat."

Abash means bring discredit on, and was used by a student from the coast in a speech made in a literary society at the University of North Carolina, in the sentence, "Shall we abash our national honor?"

Abrade may mean to sicken or nauseate: as "Cornbread and fish abrade his stomach," said by my hostess when I was really sick from too much tramping over dunes in an August sun.

Many of the words in my list are used with meanings other than those we now associate with them. *Fause* means a tidal creek or a ditch, as well as false. *Wanut,* used in warnit-know and warlock-knot, means a knot in timber or a particular knot in a rope, a very tight knot, and it is also used as a verb meaning to tighten, as the rope in rigging. *Birk* also means a smart young fellow, one who needs the birch, no doubt; and an interdune area, wet and grown up with aspen or cottonwood switches, was described to me as *birky.* Birkie in old Scotch has this meaning, and the verb *birk* in Scotland means to answer sharply. In the broadest part of the island near Buxton there are *knows* of sand covered with tall pines.

These words may be mere slovenly pronunciations, but if they are due to mere indolence, it is an indolence that affected our ancestors when they were laying the foundations of the English language, as many of them date back to the age of Chaucer; and they show as diverse origins and as fine a blending of different characters as the Englishman himself. Some of these pronunciations are natural musical variations.

In a Methodist church at Kinnakeet, on Hatteras Island to the north of the Cape, a young mother nursing two children sung to them a mermaid's song,

> Follow, follow through the sea,
> To the mermaid's melody,
> * * *

the tune harmonizing very well with that of the hymn,

> Come Thou fount of every blessing,

which the congregation was singing. This was in 1895, and yet the tune was essentially the same as that of Ariel's song in The Tempest,

Full fathom five thy father lies,
Of his bones are coral made—
* * *

sung in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and the music written out in the middle of the seventeenth century by John Banister. I have also heard Rosalind's Madrigal (1590) sung from the rigging of a ship, the sloop *Loreda,*

Love in my bosom like a bee,
Doth suck his sweet;
Now with his wings he plays with me,
Now with his feet.
* * *

In the third line the singer said "he tickles me" instead of "he plays with me."

But the question naturally arises: How came this Elizabethan and other English here? In any one of several ways, or in several different ways. There are strong reasons for believing that the lost colony of Roanoke fled to the protection of its friends, the Hatteras Indians. This question was discussed by the writer many years ago. Then there are records of wrecks off Hatteras from 1558, when a ship was cast away near Secotan, manned by white people, and some of its crew preserved by the natives, and 1590, when Captain Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Hance, the surgeon, and others, eleven all told, were washed overboard from the ship of Raleigh's adventurers, to the present time, when many of the inhabitants of the island are there because their forefathers were wrecked there and preferred to remain on the island and make it their home. The language of the island, particularly the older forms of speech found there, is that of the better classes, or at least the middle classes in England in the days of Queen Elizabeth. The Raleigh voyagers having counted among their number gentlemen adventurers from all parts of the kingdom, it is not difficult to imagine that these forms were introduced by them.

The fact is interesting in itself, however we may account for it, and it will soon be a thing of the past, as the traveler and the tourist, the schoolmaster and the trader, are fast making even Hatteras like the rest of the world. The writer's acquaintance with the island began in his early childhood, and he has noted greater changes in the speech of the people since the coming of the daily mail in motor boats, just ten years ago, than he had observed in the preceding thirty years, and the songs of the mothers and the grandmothers are well nigh forgotten by the daughters.

JANUARY, 1910.

The Weather

By Col. R. B. Creacy.

Of all things terrestrial the weather is the most fickle, variable and uncertain. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and no man knoweth whence it cometh, or whither it goeth, said the inspired writer, and the wind is the most potent factor in the government of the weather. The weather prophet is often an object of derision, and the weather bureau, one of the most expensive pets of the government, as often contradicts as it confirms its predictions.

The seasons come and go, spring follows winter, and summer spring, when one season differs from another—and winter sits smiling in the lap of spring, men put on their overcoats and cry out aghast, "they never saw the like."

But yet in the ordering of Providence some general laws govern the tides of times. Tradition hands down to us seasons that have been without precedent in the memory of man.

The year 1816 has left a memory still memorable; every month of that famous year had a killing frost, no fruit matured, and the great staple of Indian corn was a withered product, and when gathered readily commanded seven dollars a barrel in the market, and was hardly to be had at that price. The winter was one of unprecedented severity. Albemarle Sound was frozen over, and old Parson Pettigrew crossed the ice from Mackey's Ferry to Edenton on foot, having a canoe drawn behind him for greater security. There has been but one season since that time when the Albemarle Sound was solidly frozen over. In the early twenties the citizens of Edenton barbecued an ox on the bay, and Dr. James Norcom,* a leader in festive sports, and a prominent citizen, led

*Dr. James Norcom was a skilled surgeon of the War of 1812, recommended by Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia and appointed by Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina. A handsome portrait of him by Reynolds, an American artist, is now owned by his descendant, Miss Penelope C. Hoskins Norcom, of Hertford, North Carolina.—The Editor.

the minuet with the belles of Edenton in a dance on the ice around the smoking roast.

But these were exceptional seasons. There are certain laws which generally govern and which all men understand. The north wind has a ball of ice in its breath and the "sweet South" comes to us breathing on a bank of violets, "giving and taking odor." The tides rise and fall, and when they rise wiseacres shake their heads, put on their weather caps and predict rain, and when it falleth dry weather is predicted, but yet often the reverse is true. So let us take comfort and take time and tide and circumstance with a welcome hand and thank God for his omnipotent government.

The Cary Will.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. I, Mary Cary, of Virginia Surry County do hereby make my last will and testament, that is to say, principally, and first of all I give recommend my soul into the hands of almighty god that gave it, and my body I recommend to the earth to be buried in decent christian burial at the direction of my executor: nothing doubting at a general resurrection I shall receive the same agein by the mighty power of god, and as touching such worldly estate wherewith it has pleased god to bless me in this life, that is to say, I give and bequeath unto my brother Shemuel Kearne my gold studs, a pair of silver mounting spectacles double jointed, and one hundred dollars, also I give and bequeath unto my nephew, Henry Crafford, all my money, that is in the bank of England, the four per cent bank, six silver table spoons, two salt spoons, a case of bottles, one small deal box with papers, and a book or two, one pair of weight and scales, also I give and bequeath unto my neice Crafford my blue satin quilt and ten dollars. Also I give and bequeath unto my neice Leah Hilliard a pair of silver mounting spectacles, single jointed, a set of china and a silver cream pot, one tea tray, one work basket, two napkins and ten dollars. Also I bequeath unto my neice Elizabeth Pettway my watch without the seal, a pair of silver buckles set with stones with some of the stones mist out of them, one floor carpet, one deal chest, a bread basket, two napkins, one shift, a striped lute string coat and habit, a muslin apron and handkerchief, a cap ribons all knotted and edging upon them, one pair of silk stockings, one pair of cotton ditto; one pair of new stays, my large black satin cloak, a pair of gloves, my horse and chair gears, one homespun habit striped with red paint, and fifty dollars, my silver chain and pincushion rim and hook, a spice morter and pestle. Also I

give and bequeath unto me neice Martha Arrington a muslin-net habit and a dimity coat, a muslin apron handkerchief, a linen apron, one trunk that my sister had put her clothes in, one lute string orange colored habit, one home spun habit, a pair of sheats, my yellow grounded habit, cap, a pair of gloves and twenty dollars. Also I give and bequeath unto my nephew Crafford Kearne, twenty dollars, also I give and bequeath unto my two neices Ruth and Drusiller Kearnes two twins, one feather bed, bolster, two pillows, two pillow cases, one pair of brown sheats, one pair of cotton sheats, blue and white counterpain, two blankets, one small cap trunk, two upper coats two under coats, two shifts, two pair of stockings, two muslin aprons, two handkerchiefs, four habits and twenty dollars. Also I give and bequeath unto my neice Barbara Kearne my new feather bed and bolster; two pillows and mattress, four pillow cases one set of bed curtains two window curtains of the same, one base three blankets four sheats, one check counter with red in it, one bed quilt, one bed side carpet, my round top clothes trunk and flat top clothes trunk, my walnut box and all that is in it, after the Legacies is taken out, my looking glass, dressing table, and glass soap box, tea chest and cannisters, six silver tea spoons and silver tea tongs, a mourning ring with William Bennett wrote on it, a blue lute string body of a habit, a striped lute string body of a habit, one muslin apron, two *two* handkerchiefs cap ribins with edging, my short black silk coat, a garnet necklace, one pair of silk stockings, one pair of gloves, one Bible a prayer book with a green cover, a young mans companion, a box iron and heaters, a tea kettle, and a copper kettle, six knives and forks, six napkins, two table clothes marked number one and two, one tin pot with two handles and twenty dollars. Also I give and bequeath unto my nephew Adam Kearne one Dictionary and twenty dollars. Also I give and bequeath unto my neice Leah Kearne twenty dollars. Also I give and bequeath unto my neice Sarah Kearne, twenty dollars. Also I give and bequeath unto my neice Suzanna Mary Kearne,

twenty dollars and a ring with one stone in it. I lend unto my neice Eve Bradley twenty for her own use,—it is my desire that all my land in North Carolina and South Carolina factery and what property soever can be found in South Carolina be sold and equally divided amongst all mentioned in my will, also I do give and bequeath unto my dear nephew Henry Crafford, one hundred dollars and after my funeral charges is paid I leave all the remainder that is not mentioned in my will to be equally divided amongst all named in my will. I do leave my dear nephew Henry Crafford executor to this my last will and testament.—IN WITNESS whereof I set my hand this six day of November 1801 and fixt my seal

MARY CARY (Seal)

Signed, seal'd and delivered in presence of
John Judkins, Mary Pettway
her
Ann X Amy
mark

At a court held for Surry County June the 26th, 1804.

The within written testament and last will of Mary Cary deceased was presented in court by Henry Crafford the executor therein named, and the same being proved by the oaths of John Judkins Gt. Mary Pettway and Ann Amy witnesses thereto was by the court ordered to be recorded. And on the motion of the said executor, who made oath and gave bond with Josiah Wilson Gt. his security in the sum of ten thousand dollars conditioned as the Law directs, certificate is granted him for obtaining a probate thereof in due form.

A copy teste

A. S. Edwards, Clk.

Mary Cary was the widow of James Cary. In May, 1780, he was appointed a major by Lord Cornwallis, and shortly

afterwards by Lord Rawdon he was made Colonel of Militia of the Province of South Carolina, and served under them and General Stewart until the evacuation of South Carolina, December, 1782. He served in the forts of Wateree and Congaree rivers. Being a Tory, of course his American possessions were confiscated. His possessions thus seized consisted of 2262 acres of land, 14 negro slaves, 26 horses, 109 head of black cattle, 35 head of sheep, 363 head of hogs, also tools, plate, furniture, provisions, flax, indigo, madder and cotton; a library valued at £50; the whole valued at £6304-8-0, for which he sought compensation from Parliament. He received a small allowance for the same. His lands were situated in South Carolina, and his residence was there during the Revolutionary War.

Mary Cary was before her marriage Mary Kearne, or Kearney, of Virginia. She married first William Bennett, of Northampton County, North Carolina. She was the sister of Elizabeth Kearney, who married Carter Crawford, or Crafford, of Virginia. The Crawfords come of a distinguished line that has been traced far into the shadowy past and through Sir Ronald Crawford, the grandfather of Sir William Wallace.

The following legatees mentioned in the Cary will, viz., "my neice Leah Hilliard," "my neice Elizabeth Pettway," "my neice Martha Arrington," and "my dear nephew Henry Crafford" were the children of Carter Crawford and Elizabeth Kearney, born August 27, 1745; died October, 1825. The eldest, Leah, married Isaac Hilliard, of Nash County, North Carolina, born July 28, 1738; died June 25, 1790. Their home was "Woodlawn," on Swift Creek, about eleven miles from Rocky Mount. The tract of land consisted of 20,000 acres. Among old letters found in the family there have been found some addressed to "Major Isaac Hilliard." He must have served in the Revolution.

The silver and furniture of Leah Crawford Hilliard can be found now in the possession of her descendants scattered

throughout North Carolina. Her miniature is now owned by a member of the Perry family. Martha Crawford married Joseph Arrington, and has many descendants in this State. Her portrait belongs to Miss Rowe Wiggins, of Wilmington, North Carolina. Captain Henry Crawford (the brother), of Bacon Castle, Surry County, Virginia, never married. He died in 1825, leaving a large estate.

Biographical Sketches of Contributors.

Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Biographical Editor, has been prevented from preparing a sketch of Dr. Howard Rondthaler for this issue of THE BOOKLET.

A sketch of the late Hon. Alfred Moore Waddell, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, appeared in THE BOOKLET of July, 1907, Vol. VII, No. 1.

Biographical sketches of Prof. Collier Cobb, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, appeared in the January, 1912, and the October, 1912, issues of THE BOOKLET.

The readers of THE BOOKLET will have the pleasure of another article from his gifted pen in this number entitled, "Early English Survivals on Hatteras Island." It has been printed five times, and has had a very flattering reception across the water. There is hardly a European university in which it has not been put to some use.

This paper was a talk delivered for the first time to the English Literature class at Peace Institute, Raleigh, in January, 1910, and published in the *University Magazine* from a report furnished the author by one of the young ladies of the class. Professor Cobb, of course, has made some corrections in the report. The paper appeared in the *North Carolina Review,* February 6, 1910, with the title, "On the Island of Hatteras," given it by Mr. R. D. W. Connor. It was commented on by a number of papers at a distance, and reviewed in *The Geographical Journal* (London: The Royal Geographical Society), September, 1910. Several reprints have been made to meet the European and British demand. Our readers will be pleased to learn that Professor Cobb has on hand material for other studies in anthropogeography, as

French Survivals in the Lowlands of North Carolina, The German Element in Up-country Carolina, Scottish-Highland Survivals in the Carolina Highlands, etc.

Professor Cobb has done excellent work. Few North Carolinians enjoy the international reputation that he has won, and THE BOOKLET is always honored in securing contributions from him.

Vol. XIV JANUARY, 1915 No. 3

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

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The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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The North Carolina Booklet

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The Creative Forces in Westward Expansion: Henderson and Boone[1]

By Archibald Henderson.

As focus of the old West, Kentucky has always loomed large in the national imagination as the habitat of the American border hero. Boone and Kenton, Harrod and Clark, Callaway and Logan, lurk vast in the wings of the national theatre, dramatic protagonists magnified to almost superhuman proportions in the mist of a legendary past. About them floats the aureole of traditional romance. Wrought with rude but masterly strength out of the hardships and vicissitudes of pioneer life, the heroic conquest of the wilderness, the mortal struggles of border warfare, this composite figure of Indian fighter, crafty backwoodsman, and crude surveyor has emerged as the type-figure in the romance of the evolution of American character. This model, with its invincible fascination and predominantly heroic attributes, has overshadowed and obscured the less spectacular yet more fecund instrumentalities in the colonization and civilization of the West. To-day, in the clarifying light of contemporary research, illuminating social and economic forces, the creative and formative causes of colonization and expansion, the individual merges into the group; and the isolated effort assumes its true character as merely a single factor in social evolution. We have come to recognize that the man of genius obeys a movement quite as much as he controls it, and even more than he creates it. In the pitiless perspective of historic evolution,

1A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Charleston, S. C., December 30, 1913. It is reproduced here, with the permission of the editor, from the *American Historical Review*, October, 1914.

the spectacular hero at first sight seems to lessen; but the mass, the movement, the social force which he epitomizes and interprets, gain in impressiveness and dignity.[2]

The hero of the pioneer West, Daniel Boone has played the lofty role of exemplar of the leadership of the *hinterland* movement of the eighteenth century. At the hands of that inaccurate and turgid amanuensis, John Filson, Boone has been apotheosized, in approved Scriptural fashion, as the instrument of Providence, ordained by God to settle the wilderness. Nor was this superstitious delusion confined to Filson. "An over-ruling Providence," says Boone, in speaking of himself, "seems to have watched over his life, and preserved him to be the humble instrument in settling one of the fairest portions of the new world."[3] Fancy has played erratically about this sane and simple figure, envisaging him in countless disguises, from the primitive man returning to nature (after Rousseau) to the genius of modern communism (after Spencer). At the hands of the earlier biographers, Boone has taken on the hue and tone of an unsocial and primitive figure, as unreal as an Indian from the pages of Chateaubriand, perpetually fleeing from civilization in response to the lure of the forest and the irresistible call of the wild. At the hands of later biographers, Boone is fantastically endowed with the creative imagination of the colonizer and the civic genius of a founder of states. In the face of such disparities of romantic distortion, wrought upon the character and role of Boone, the true significance of the westward expansionist movement suffers obscuration and eclipse. Scientifically historic investigation must relegate to the superstitious and the gullible, to the panegyrist and the hero-worshipper, the providential interpretation of our national history.

Meantime, there remains to narrate the just and authentic story of westward expansion, and to project the true picture of Boone as the typical figure of the expert backwoodsman in

2 *Cf.* Henderson, "The Beginnings of American Expansion," *North Carolina Review*, September and October, 1910.

3 Memorial to the Legislature of Kentucky, January 18, 1812.

the westward migration of the peoples. Only thus shall we secure the correct perspective for the social, political, and economic history of the colonization of the West. Such a recital must unmask the forces behind Boone, the chain of social causation, the truly creative forces in the expansionist movement. In such recital, Boone is shorn of none of those remarkable powers as explorer, scout, pathfinder, land-looker, and individual Indian fighter which have given him a secure niche in the hall of national fame. It involves the recognition, nevertheless, that his genius was essentially individual rather than social, unique rather than communistic. In the larger social sense, it involves the further recognition that those of Boone's achievements which had the widest bearing on the future and ultimately effected national results were accomplished through his instrumentality, not in the role of originative genius and constructive colonizer, but in the role of pioneer and way-breaker. Boone's pioneering initiative and his familiarity with Indian temperament found the best field for their most effective display under the guidance of the constructive mind and colonizing genius of Henderson. Boone acted as the agent of men of commercial enterprise and far-seeing political imagination, intent upon an epochal politico-economic project of colonization, promotion, and expansion. Boone may have been the instrument of Providence, as he so piously imagined; but it is inbubitable that he was the agent of commercial enterprise and colonial promotion.

I

The exploration and colonization of the West, with the ultimate consequence of the acquisition of the trans-Alleghany region, was not the divinely appointed work of any single man. In reality, this consummation flowered out of two fundamental impulses in the life of the period, the creative causes of territorial expansion. Intensive analysis reveals the further cardinal fact that it was two racial streams, the one distinguished by unit-characters, individualistic, democratic,

the other corporate in interests, communistic, with aristocratic attributes—their temporary co-ordination and subsequent sharp mutual reaction—which constituted the instrumentalities for the initial steps in the westward expansionist movement. The creative forces which inaugurated the territorial expansion of the American people westward found typical embodiment, the one in a great land company intent upon carving out a new colony, the other in the supreme pioneer and land-looker of his day.

The prime determinative principle of the progressive American civilization of the eighteenth century was the passion for the acquisition of land. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), which left the boundaries of France and England in America unsettled, Céloron de Bienville was despatched in the spring of 1749 to sow broadcast the seeds of empire, the leaden plates symbolic of the asserted sovereignty of France. Through a grant to the Ohio Company, organized in 1748, and composed of a number of the most prominent men of the day in Virginia, England proceeded to take possession without the formal assertion of her claims; and Christopher Gist, summoned from his remote home on the Yadkin in North Carolina, made a thorough reconnaissance of the western region in 1750-1751. Almost simultaneously, the Loyal Land Company of Virginia received a royal grant of eight hundred thousand acres, and in the spring of 1750 despatched Thomas Walker westward upon his now well-known tour of exploration.[4] The vast extent of uninhabited transmontane lands, of fabled beauty, richness, and fertility, excited dreams of grandiose possibilities in the minds of English and colonials alike. England was said to be "New Land mad, and everybody there has his eye fixed on this country."[5] To Franklin and Washington, to the Lees and Patrick Henry, to Lyman and Clark, the West loomed large as the promised land—for settlement, for trade, for occupation—to men brave

4 J. S. Johnston, *First Explorations of Kentucky* (Filson Club Publications).

5 Johnson MSS., XII., No. 127.

enough to risk their all in its acquisition. The royal proclamation of 1763 gave a new impetus to the colonizing spirit, dormant during the early years of the war, and marks the true beginning of Western colonization. The feeling of the period was succinctly interpreted by Washington, who, in describing the "rising empire" beyond the Alleghanies, denominates it "a tract of country which is unfolding to our view the advantages of which are too great and too obvious, I should think, to become the subject of serious debate, but which, through ill-timed parsimony and supineness, may be wrested from us and conducted through other channels."[6]

The second determinative impulse of the pioneer civilization was *Wanderlust*—the passionately inquisitive instinct of the hunter, the traveler, the explorer. A secondary object of the proclamation of 1763, according to Edmund Burke, was the limitation of the colonies on the West, as "the charters of many of our old colonies give them, with few exceptions, no bounds to the westward but the South Sea."[7] The Long Hunters, taking their lives in their hands, fared boldly forth to a fabled hunters' paradise in the far-away wilderness, because they were driven by the irresistible desire of a Ponce de Leon or a De Soto, a Stanley or a Peary, to discover the truth about the undiscovered lands beyond the mountains. The hunter was not only thrilled with the passion of the chase in a veritable paradise of game: he was intent upon collecting the furs and skins of wild animals for lucrative barter and sale in the centres of trade. Quick to make "tomahawk claims" and assert "corn rights," the pioneer spied out the rich virgin lands for future location, there to be free from the vexatious insistence of the tax-gatherer. "The people at the back part of those [North Carolina and Virginia] and the neighboring colonies," writes Dunmore to Hillsborough as late as 1772, "finding that grants are not to be obtained, do seat themselves without any formalities wherever they like

6 *Cf.* Hulbert, *Washington and the West.*

7 *Annual Register*, 1763, p. 20.

best."[8] To exploit the land for his individual advantage, eventually to convert the wilderness to the inevitable uses and purposes of civilization: such was the mission of the pioneer. Acting-Governor Nelson, of Virginia, referring in 1770 to the frontier settlements, significantly remarks: "Very little if any Quit Rents have been received for his majesty's use from that Quarter for some time past; for they [the settlers] say, that as His Majesty hath been pleased to withdraw his protection from them since 1763, they think themselves bound not to pay Quit Rents."[9] The axe and the surveyor's chain, along with the rifle and the hunting-knife, constituted the armorial bearings of the pioneer. Again, with individual as with corporation, with explorer as with landlord, land-hunger was the master impulse of the era.

In a little hamlet in North Carolina in the middle years of the eighteenth century, these two determinative principles, the acquisitive and the inquisitive instincts, found a conjunction which may justly be termed prophetic. Here occurred the meeting of two streams of racial tendency. The exploratory passion of the pioneer, given directive force in the interest of commercial enterprise, prepared the way for the westward migration of the peoples. That irresistible Southern migration, which preceded and presaged the greater wandering of the peoples across the Alleghanies a quarter of a century later, brought a horde of pioneer settlers from the more thickly populated sections of Pennsylvania, and a group of gentlemen planters from the Old Dominion of Virginia, to the frontier colony of North Carolina—famed afar for her fertile farm lands, alluvial river bottoms, and rich hunting grounds. The migratory horde from Pennsylvania found ultimate lodgment for certain of its number in the frontier county of Rowan; the stream of gentlemen planters from

8 "State Paper Office, America, Vol. 192, No. 7," is the reference attached to the transcript in the Virginia State Library, Aspinwall Collection, pp. 77-81. Presumably the modern reference to the original is, Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 989.

9 Nelson to Hillsborough, October 18, 1770. Bancroft Transcripts, Library of Congress.

Virginia came to rest in the more settled regions of Orange and Granville. From these two racial and social elements stem the fecund creative forces in westward expansion.[10]

II

In the first half of the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania felt the impetus of civilization from the throngs of immigrants who flocked into the Neshaminy Valley, the Cumberland Valley, eastward to the Delaware, up the river to the Lehigh, and into the twilight zone of uncertain title towards Maryland. "These bold and indigent strangers," says Logan, Penn's agent, in 1724, "gave as their excuse when challenged for titles that we had solicited for colonists and they had come accordingly."[11] Aside from these bold squatters, who asserted that "it was against the laws of God and nature that so much land should be idle while so many christians wanted it to work on and to raise their bread," came innumerable *bona fide* purchasers of land, fleeing from the traditional bonds of caste and aristocracy in England and Europe, from religious persecution and favoritism, to a haven of refuge, where they received guarantees of full tolerance in religious faith and the benefits of representative self-government. From East Devonshire in England came George, the grandfather of Daniel Boone, and from Wales came Edward Morgan, whose daughter Sarah married Squire, Daniel Boone's father—conspicuous representatives of the Society of Friends, drawn thither by the representations of the great Quaker, William

10 In the history of this epochal movement there is one of the most singular of *lacunae*—a gap almost unprecedented in a period of American life so industriously studied. Close scrutiny of the Draper Collection, generally presumed to be the court of last resort for the career of Boone, as well as of Draper's correspondence, reveals the significant fact that the voluminous records of Rowan, where Boone lived for a quarter of a century prior to his removal to Kentucky, eluded the watchful eye, if not the curiosity, of the indefatigable Draper. An intensive study of these county records, the Draper MSS., the Henderson, Burton, Hogg, Hart, and Benton papers, taken in conjunction with a wider research into the careers of Daniel Boone and Richard Henderson, made by the writer, effects a new distribution of perspective and affords a rational *expose* of the early expansionist movement.

11 Hanna, *Scotch-Irish*, II. 60, 63.

Penn, with his advanced views on popular government and religious toleration.[12] Hither, too, came Morgan Bryan from Ireland, where he had gone from Denmark, settling in Chester County prior to 1719; and his children, William, James, and Morgan, the brothers-in-law of Daniel Boone, were intimately concerned in the subsequent westward migration.[13] In 1720 the vanguard of that great army of Ulster Scots, with their stern, rugged qualities of aggressive self-reliance, appeared in Pennsylvania. In September, 1734, Michael Finley, from County Armagh, Ireland, presumably accompanied by his brother Archibald, landed in Philadelphia; and this Archibald Finley, a settler in Bucks County, according to the best authorities, was the father of John Finley or Findley or Findlay, Boone's guide and companion in his famous exploration of Kentucky in 1769-1771.[14] Hither, too, came Mordecai Lincoln, great-grandson of Samuel Lincoln, who had emigrated from England to Hingham, Massachusetts, as early as 1637; and this Mordecai, who in 1720 settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania, was the father of Sarah Lincoln, who married William Boone, and of Abraham Lincoln, who married Anne Boone, William's first cousin.[15] Early

12 George Boone, with his wife, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1717; and his son George, on his arrival, produced a certificate from Bradnich meeting in Devonshire. Edward Morgan was a member of Gwynedd monthly meeting. *Cf.* Original Minutes of Abington and Gwynedd Monthly Meetings, Pa.

13 *Cf. Bryan's Station* (Filson Club Publications, No. 12); also W. S. Ely, *The American Ararat* (Publications of the Bucks County, Pa., Historical Society); MS. History of the Bryan Family, owned by Col. W. L. Bryan, Boone, N. C.

14 Ely, *The Finleys of Bucks* (Publications of the Bucks County, Pa., Historical Society); also Ely, "Historic Associations of Neshaminy Valley," *Daily Intelligencer* (Reading, Pa.), July 29, 1913. While Archibald, the father, spelled the surname Finley, it appears from an autograph in the possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society (Draper MSS., 2 B 161), that the explorer spelled it Findlay.

15 Mordecai Lincoln was the great-great-grandfather of President Lincoln. There was another connection between the Boone and Lincoln families: Mary Lincoln, daughter of Abraham Lincoln (1736-1806) and Anne Boone Lincoln, married a Joseph Boone. For data concerning the Boone and Lincoln families, I am indebted to Mr. Andrew Shaaber, the librarian of the Historical Society of Berks County, Pa. *Cf.*, also, *The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln*, by Tarbell and Davis.

settlers in Pennsylvania were members of the Hanks family, one of the descendants being Abraham Hanks, grandfather of the Abraham Hanks of Prince William County, Virginia, who accompanied William Calk on his journey with Richard Henderson over Boone's trail in 1775.[16]

The rising scale of prices for Pennsylvania lands, changing from ten pounds per hundred acres and two shillings quit-rents in 1719 to fifteen and a half pounds per hundred acres with a quit-rent of a half-penny per acre in 1732, soon turned the eyes of the settlers southward in the direction of new and cheaper lands, the prices for which decreased in inverse ratio to their distance from Pennsylvania. In Maryland, in 1738, lands were offered at five pounds sterling per hundred acres. Simultaneously, in the valley of Virginia, free grants of a thousand acres per family were being made; and in the Piedmont region of North Carolina, the proprietary of Lord Granville through his agents was disposing of the most desirable lands to settlers at the rate of three shillings proclamation money for six hundred and forty acres, the unit of land division, and was also making large free grants on the condition of seating a certain proportion of settlers. The rich lure of these cheap and even free lands set up a vast migration southward from Pennsylvania in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1734 the Bryans migrated to Virginia, obtaining a grant near Winchester, whence they removed to the Forks of the Yadkin in North Carolina about 1750.[17] In 1750 the Boones, soon followed by the Hanks and Lincoln families, migrated southward to Virginia; and shortly afterwards, Squire Boone, Sr., with his family, settled at the Forks of the Yadkin in Rowan County. From 1740 there was a ceaseless tide of immigration into the valley of the Yadkin, of the Scotch-Irish and Quakers from Pennsylvania. In a letter to the Secretary of the Board of Trade

16 The original manuscript diary of William Calk is now in the possession of one of his descendants, who permitted me to examine it. William Calk's companion, Abraham Hanks, was the maternal grandfather of President Lincoln.

17 Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia.*

from Edenton, North Carolina (Feb. 15, 1750-1), Governor Gabriel Johnston says, "Inhabitants flock in here daily, mostly from Pensilvania and other parts of America, who are overstocked with people and some directly from Europe, they commonly seat themselves towards the West and have got near the mountains." Writing from the same town on September 12, 1752, Bishop Spangenburg, of the Moravian Church, says that a considerable number of the inhabitants of North Carolina have settled here "as they wished to own land and were too poor to buy in Pennsylvania or New Jersey"; and in 1753 he observes that "even in this year more than 400 families with horse wagons and cattle have migrated to this State. . . . "[18] The immensity of this mobile, drifting mass is demonstrated by the statement of Governor William Tryon that in the summer and winter of 1765 "upwards of one thousand wagons passed thro' Salisbury with families from the northward, to settle in this province chiefly."

This southward-moving wave of migration, predominantly Scotch-Irish and English, with an admixture of a Welsh element, starting from Pennsylvania in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, swept through Maryland, and in the middle years of the century inundated the valley of Virginia and the Piedmont region of North Carolina. About Salisbury, the county seat of Rowan, now rapidly formed a settlement of people marked by strong individuality, sturdy independence, and virile self-reliance. The immigrants, following the course of the Great Trading Path, did not stop at Salisbury, but radiated thence in all directions. The Morgans, Quakers and Baptists, remained in Pennsylvania, spreading over Philadelphia and Bucks counties; the Hanks and Lincoln stocks found refuge in Virginia; but the Boones and the Bryans founded their settlement at the Forks of the Yadkin. A few miles distant was the tiny hamlet of Salisbury, consisting of seven or eight log houses and the courthouse

18 For these several statements, *cf. N. C. Col. Rec.*, IV. 1073, 1312; VII. 249.

(1755).[19] The Boones and the Bryans, quickly accommodating themselves to frontier conditions much ruder and more primitive than those of their Pennsylvania home, immediately began to take an active part in the local affairs of the county.[20] The Boones quickly transferred their allegiance from the Society of Friends to the Baptist Church, worshipping at the Boone's Ford Church on the Davie side of the Yadkin; the Bryans, on the other hand, moved perhaps by the eloquence of the gentle Asbury, who often visited them, adopted Methodist principles.[21] In this region, infested with Cherokee and Catawba Indians, Captain Anthony Hampton with his company of rangers actively patrolled the frontier; and Daniel Boone won his spurs as a soldier under the sagacious Indian fighter, commander of Fort Dobbs, Hugh Waddell.[22] Through the wilderness to the westward, across the mountains, and into the valley of the Holston, the nomadic Boone roamed at will, spying out the land, and hunting and trapping to his heart's content. In such an environment was bred the Pennsylvanian, Daniel Boone, of Quaker stock, with Baptist proclivities. Humble in origin, but strongly marked in his individual democracy, Boone learned the stern frontier lessons of frugality, self-repression, and self-reliance. Here he tasted the sweets of freedom and developed the roving instinct which later marked him out as the supreme pioneer of his time. Chafing under the hampering restrictions of com-

19 *N. C. Col. Rec.*, V. 355 *et seq.*

20 Squire Boone, shortly after his arrival in the neighborhood, was chosen justice of the peace; and Morgan Bryan was soon appearing as foreman of juries and director in road improvements in the county.

21 Says the Rev. Francis Asbury in his *Journal*, in speaking of his frontier congregations: "In every place the congregations were large, and received the word with all readiness of mind. I know not that I have spent such a week since I came to America. I saw everywhere such a simplicity in the people, with such a vehement thirst after the word of God, that I frequently preached and continued in prayer till I was hardly able to stand" (I. 174). *Cf.* also Sheets, *History of Liberty Baptist Association*, and J. T. Alderman, *The Baptists at the Forks of the Yadkin* (Baptist Historical Papers.)

22 Archibald D. Murphey, "Indian Nations of North Carolina," MSS. Collections, N. C. Historical Commission. *Cf.* also Alfred Moore Waddell, *A Colonial Officer and his Times;* and Draper's manuscript Life of Boone.

munity life and realizing himself to be unsuited to the monotonous routine of farming, he was irresistibly impelled by his own nomadic temperament to seek the wider liberty of the wilderness. It is measurably more than surmise to say that he sought wider fields in the vague hope of enjoying there a larger degree of individual freedom under the impulse of pioneer democracy. Virginia and Pennsylvania contributed liberally to the formation of the national character in the cradle of the West. At this precise moment in history was to emerge, out of North Carolina, after a sojourn of a quarter of a century, the incarnation of the individual democracy which afterwards was to exert such a profound effect upon the development of American civilization, and to produce in time an Andrew Jackson and an Abraham Lincoln.[23]

III

Simultaneous with the streaming of the peasant Quakers and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians into the Piedmont region of North Carolina,[24] having as consequence the gradual evolution of the embryonic forms of pioneer American democracy, was proceeding another movement into the counties of Orange and Granville, of families of quality and superior position, destined to exert in equally distinctive ways an ineffaceable impress upon the development of the West. In the middle years of the eighteenth century, attracted by the lure of rich and cheap lands, many families of Virginia gentry, principally from Hanover County, settled in the region ranging from Williamsborough on the east to Hillsborough on the west. Hither came the Hendersons, the Bullocks, the Wil-

23 *Cf.* Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1893. In this same frontier environment which shaped the Boones and the Bryans, was born a few years later Andrew Jackson; and Mr. William Jennings Bryan is descended from a brother of the Bryan whose daughter was married to Daniel Boone.

24 S. B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery;* also *William and Mary College Quarterly,* XII. 129-134; Henderson, *Life and Times of Richard Henderson; Biographical Hist. of N. C.*

liamses, the Harts, the Lewises, the Taylors, the Bentons, the Penns, the Burtons, the Hares, and the Sneeds.[25] There soon arose in this section of the colony a society marked by intellectual distinction, social graces, and the leisured dignity of the landlord and the large planter. Here was forming a new society, constituting the social link between the wealthy and predominant asistocracy in the East and the rude frontier democracy in the West. A similar type of society, that of Piedmont Virginia, produced such champions of the new democracy as Jefferson and Patrick Henry—a society composite of independent yeomen and their leaders, the large planters. It was sharply differentiated from the colonial society of the coast, being inherently democratic in instinct and aristocratic in tone. "Never scarcely in England have I seen more beautiful prospects," writes James Iredell in testimony of the beauty of the lands of Granville,[26] and its richness and productivity as agricultural and grazing land were demonstrated by the yield of great crops of Indian corn and other grain, and the vast droves of cattle and hogs. So conspicuous for means, intellect, culture, and refinement were the people of this social group—a people with "abundance of wealth and leisure for enjoyment," says the quaint old diarist, Hugh McAden[27]—that Governor Josiah Martin, passing through Granville and Bute counties on his way from Hillsborough in 1772, significantly remarks: "They have great pre-eminence, as well with respect to soil and cultivation, as to the manners and condition of the inhabitants, in which last respect the difference is so great that one would be led to think

25 W. H. Battle, "Memoir of Chief Justice Leonard Henderson," *N. C. Univ. Mag.*, November, 1859; T. B. Kingsbury, "Chief Justice Leonard Henderson," *Wake Forest Student*, November, 1898; R. W. Winston, "Leonard Henderson," Frank Nash, "Hillsborough, Colonial and Revolutionary," Nash, "History of Orange County," *N. C. Booklet.* The author has also had the privilege of examining the valuable collection of Hart-Benton MSS., kindly placed at his disposal by Miss Lucretia Hart Clay, of Lexington, Ky.

26 McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I, 434.

27 Foote, *Sketches of N. C.*

them people of another region."[28] From this society came such eminent democratic figures as the father-in-law and preceptor of Henry Clay, Thomas Hart; his grandson, the "Old Bullion" and "Great Pacificator" of a later era, Thomas Hart Benton; Richard Henderson, president of the colony of Transylvania, known to his contemporaries as the "Patrick Henry of North Carolina"; John Penn, signer of the Declaration of Independence; William Kennon, eloquent advocate of the Mecklenburg Resolves of May 31, 1775; and others almost equally distinguished. Like the society of the Virginia Piedmont, it was, to employ the words of Turner, "a society naturally expansive, seeing its opportunity to deal in unoccupied lands along the frontier which continually moved toward the West, and in this era of the eighteenth century dominated by the democratic ideals of pioneers rather than by the aristocratic tendencies of slave-holding planters."[29] From the cross-fertilization of this society of gentry, of innate qualities of leadership, democratic instincts, economic cast, and expansive tendencies, with the primitive, pioneer society of the frontier, frugal in taste, responsive to leadership, ready and thorough in execution, there was evolved the militant expansive movement in American life. Out of the ancient breeding-ground of North Carolina, from the co-operative union of transplanted Pennsylvania and Virginia stocks, came at the same moment the spirit of governmental control with popular liberty, and the spirit of individual colonization, restive under control. In the initial co-ordination of these two instincts, with the subsequent triumph of the latter over the former, is told the story of the beginning of American expansion.[30]

Soon after his arrival in Rowan, Squire Boone, Sr., resid-

28 *N. C. Col. Rec.*, IX. 349. Martin comments: "These advantages arise I conceive from the vicinity of Virginia, from whence I understand many, invited by the superior excellence of the soil, have imigrated to settle in these counties."

29 Turner, "The Old West," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proc.*, 1903.

30 See Henderson, "The Pioneer Contributions of North Carolina to Kentucky," *Charlotte Observer*, November 10, 1913.

ing at the Forks of the Yadkin some twelve miles from Salisbury, was chosen as one of the worshipful justices of the county court. From the earliest sessions of the court, three years before the erection of a court-house, he acted in this capacity, deciding the many simple questions arising under frontier conditions: registering the branding marks for cattle; selecting constables and road-overseers, and their routes; determining the scale of prices of foods and liquors for the licensed hostelries; and the like. By the end of 1756 he was presiding in the new courthouse—a frame-work structure, thirty feet long and twenty feet wide, provided with an oval bar and "cases" for the attorneys. One of the attorneys who occupied one of these "cases" and argued suits before Squire Boone was a young man of Granville County, whose geniality had won him many friends and whose ability had won him a large legal practice.[31] "Even in the superior courts where oratory and eloquence are as brilliant and powerful as in Westminster-hall," says an English acquaintance of Henderson's, "he soon became distinguished and eminent, and his superior genius shone forth with great splendour, and universal applause." Wedded to the daughter of an Irish lord,[32] and moving in the refined circle which included a Richard Bennehan, an Alexander Martin, a John Penn, a William Hooper, and their compeers, he was nevertheless conspicuously democratic by conviction and in practice. His law partner, who married the widow of Lord Keeling, was John Williams—a stout exponent of the principles of democracy. Among his intimate friends was that "aristocrat in temperament, but democrat in politics," Thomas Hart, whom an acquaintance, Dr. J. F. D. Smyth, described as "an accomplished and complete gentleman." Henderson was well acquainted with Squire Boone, frequently appearing on legal business before

31 The earliest court records of Granville County show that he and his first cousin, John Williams, enjoyed the most extensive practice in the court.

32 Kingsbury, "Chief Justice Leonard Henderson," *loc. cit.*

him; and likewise formed the acquaintance of his son, Daniel, the nomadic spirit, hunter, and trapper, who occasionally told him bizarre and startling tales of his wanderings across the dark green mountains to the fair valleys and boundless hunting grounds beyond. These stories of Western explorations Henderson heard from the lips of Daniel Boone himself, who was eager to remove to the West at the first convenient opportunity.[33]

Daniel Boone was an explorer of remarkable individual initiative. Prior to 1769 he had already traveled as far as Florida on the south and as far as Kentucky on the west. During the period from 1763 to 1769, doubtless through his long extended absences and his enforced neglect of affairs at home, he became deeply involved financially. His nomadic instincts, with the consequent neglect of the work on his farm, seem to have prejudiced even his father against him. The heavy indebtedness which he incurred—indeed the entire career of the simple-hearted pioneer demonstrates his constitutional carelessness in business and financial transactions—involved him in suits instituted against him by some of the most prominent citizens of Salisbury—John Lewis Beard, the philanthropist and devout churchman; Dr. Anthony Newnan, the active Whig; Hugh Montgomery, the wealthy landlord of Wilkes; John Mitchell, and others.[34] In this hour of his poverty and distress, Boone turned to his friends, the law partners, Henderson and Williams. "A person so just and upright" as Boone could have become involved in such financial difficulties only through a certain naive indifference to the forms of law and heedless neglect of customary business precaution. In reference to this gloomy period in Boone's career, Thomas Hart wrote his brother Nathaniel in 1780: "I have known Boone in times of old, when poverty and distress had him fast by the hand; and in

33 Draper's MS. Life of Boone.

34 Court records.

these wretched circumstances I have ever found him of a noble and generous soul, despising everything mean."[35]

In the earlier years of Boone's residence in Rowan, at some time prior to 1763, Richard Henderson first formed the acquaintance of Boone. The fact of cardinal importance is that he knew Boone in a two-fold capacity—not only as hunter, trapper, and explorer, but also as surveyor and road-maker. Not without distinct historic significance was it that in the year 1763, and so, at the same time with England's futile proclaimed estoppel of purchase of lands from the Indians by individuals or corporations without crown grants,[36] Richard Henderson one day arose from his "case" in the tiny courthouse of Rowan, and facing the "oval bar" which supported the elevated bench from which Squire Boone, as one of the "worshipful justices," had for a decade dispensed rude justice, moved the following:

It is ordered that a Waggon Road, the best and nearest, be built from the Shallow Ford upon the Yadkin River to the Town of Salisbury, and the following persons are appointed to lay off and mark the same, to wit, Daniel Boone, Morgan Bryan, Samuel Bryan, and James Bryan . . . and accordingly they appear upon Notice and be qualified before the nearest Magistrate for their Faithful discharge of their office, etc.

When the time was ripe for the defiance of the edict of crown governors against purchases from the Indians without

35 Morehead's *Address*, at Boonesborough (1840), p. 105, note.

36 The royal proclamation of October 7, 1763, avowed it to be His Majesty's "fixed determination to permit no grants of lands nor any settlements to be made within certain fixed Bounds . . . leaving all that territory within it free for the hunting grounds of those Indian subjects of your majesty." Text in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXVI. 14-19 (1908). In his elaborate papers on the subject of British Western policy, Professor C. W. Alvord, however, successfully maintains that the royal proclamation of 1763 did not set permanent western limits to the colonies, and that it was the intention of the Board of Trade to promote westward expansion by the peaceful purchase from time to time, under royal authority, of land situated in the Indian reservation. *Cf.* "The Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXVI.; "The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix," Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1908.

royal grants, upon the basis of the royal proclamation of 1763, it was but natural that Henderson should engage as the man best fitted to spy out the wilderness of Kentucky and later to cut out a passage thereto through the dense and tangled laurel thickets—a passage far-famed in history as the Wilderness Road—his friend "Dan Boone," as he familiarly called him, whom he had known for many years as a most competent scout and expert road-cutter in the frontier county of Rowan.

IV

The designs which Henderson and his associates cherished for the acquisition of Western lands found early expression in some form of organization. After the proclamation of 1763, which assured the lands at least temporarily to the Indians, these men realized that these lands must eventually be thrown open to colonization.[37] They accordingly organized themselves into some sort of company, for the purpose of engaging an expert scout and surveyor to spy out the Western lands, and later to examine into the feasibility of making a purchase ultimately from the Indians. Their original intention, indubitably, was to colonize the territory thus to be acquired. But when the clouds of war finally gathered and a clash with Great Britain loomed threatening and imminent on the horizon, their original plan of extensive colonization inevitably assumed momentous political consequences; and in the event they endeavored to found a fourteenth American colony in the heart of the Western wilderness.

This company, so far as known, has left no documentary record of its activities in the earlier stages of its existence.

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37 The chief object of the proclamation of 1763 was to allay the alarm of the Indians; and in pursuance of this idea the colonists were positively prohibited from making settlements on the Indian lands. Nevertheless the roving bands of determined settlers along the Indian border rendered the situation critical. In the very preamble of the proclamation, the Lords of Trade describe the sovereign as "being desirous that all Our loving subjects, as well of Our Kingdom as of Our Colonies in America, may avail themselves with all convenient Speed, of the great Benefits and Advantages which must accrue therefrom, etc." The veiled intent of the Board of Trade, it would appear, was to control, not to prevent, expansion westward.

All the evidence points to the fact that it consisted of three partners only: Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, and John Williams. The organization first bore the name of "Richard Henderson and Company." Some years later, after the plans for colonization had passed the stage of preliminary investigation, new partners were successively added. The name of the organization, "Richard Henderson and Company," was altered, first to the "Louisa Company," and then to the "Transylvania Company."[38]

The first exploration which Daniel Boone ever made on behalf of Richard Henderson and Company was in the year following the royal proclamation of 1763. The partners evidently anticipated Washington in the realization that the proclamation was only a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. Boone was vastly impressed by the Western territory as a field for settlement, and was eager on his own account to move his family to this new region. It is clear that he anticipated removal to the West with his family, as the immediate result of his first exploration in the interest of Henderson and Company.[39] Boone's enthusiastic descriptions of the Western wilderness retailed to Henderson and his associates, Hart and Williams, doubtless aroused in their minds the first suggestion of the larger opportunities for settlement and investment afforded by the rich but tenantless West. Accordingly they engaged Boone, who upon all his pioneering and hunting expeditions continued to penetrate further and further westward, to do double duty upon his next expedition. Boone was instructed, while hunting and trapping on his own account, to make a wider cast than he had ever made before, to examine the lands with respect to their location and fertility, and to report his findings upon his return.

38 Kentucky MSS., I; Draper MSS. *Cf.* Alden, *New Governments west of the Alleghanies before 1780* (Madison, Wis.)

39 The county records show that in the early part of this same year, viz., on February 21, 1764, Daniel Boone and his wife "Rebeckah" sold all their property in North Carolina—consisting of a home and 640 acres of land.

The expedition must have been transacted with considerable circumspection. In 1767 George Washington, writing to his agent, Crawford, with reference to threatened future competition for the best Western lands, shrewdly counsels: "All this may be avoided by a silent management, and the operation carried on by you under the guise of hunting game."[40] With a business sagacity like that of Washington, who was later to learn of Henderson's desire to found an independent colony in the West, Henderson fully realized that the exploration must be conducted with circumspection, if the lands were to be secured.[41] Boone proved himself a thoroughly satisfactory agent for the examination of the country, his trustworthiness being in no small measure due to his ingrained taciturnity and his faculty of keeping his own counsel. It is obvious, however, that Henderson gave to Boone, as Washington gave to Crawford, discretion to trust the secret of his errand to those in whom he could confide and who might assist him in making further discoveries of land. In one instance, at least, the circumspect Boone deemed it prudent to communicate the purpose of his mission to some hunters in order to secure the results of their information in regard to the best lands they had encountered in the course of their hunting expedition. In the autumn of 1764, during the journey of the Blevins party of hunters, to their hunting ground on the Rock Castle River, near the Crab Orchard in Kentucky, Daniel Boone came among the hunters, at one of their Tennessee station camps, in order, as expressed in the quaint phraseology of the day, "to be informed of the geog-

40 Washington to Crawford, September 21, 1767. Sparks, *Life and Writings of Washington*, II. 346-350. In the same letter, Washington admonishes Crawford to "keep the whole matter a secret, or trust it only to those in whom you may confide, and who can assist you in bringing it to bear by their discoveries of land."

41 The meagreness of our information on the subject of this initial exploration may thus be naturally explained. An acquaintance of Henderson mentions that the latter preserved the strictest secrecy about his earlier land ventures. Repeatedly taxed afterwards with having acted as the agent of the land company, Boone consistently and most honorably refused to violate Henderson's confidence.

raphy and locography of these woods, saying that he was employed to explore them by Henderson and Company."[42] In this tour of exploration, Boone hunted and scouted through the valleys of the Tennessee and the Holston, but did not penetrate to the fabled region of Kentucky. His companion on this expedition was his relative, Samuel Callaway, and together they accomplished a two-fold object: hunting and trapping on their own account, and secretly prospecting and exploring on behalf of the land company.[43]

V

Just why Henderson and his associates did not act immediately upon the report brought back by Boone and Callaway—a report doubtless highly favorable, as was the case with all the "news of a far country" brought home by the pioneers—there is no extant explanatory evidence. Henderson and Williams, as law partners, were engaged in an extensive and lucrative law practice; and in the prosecution of their profession spent a large proportion of their time in traveling from one end of the extensive colony of North Carolina to the other.[44] The heavy obligations of this extensive and rapidly enlarging law business in all probability sufficed to delay the immediate prosecution of the Western enterprise.

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42 Haywood, *Tennessee*, p. 35 (1823 Ed.) The accuracy of Haywood's testimony in this instance must be recognized as indisputable. Judge John Haywood was intimately associated, both personally and legally, with Richard Henderson's two sons, Archibald and Leonard; and his successor to the post of reading clerk to the North Carolina House of Commons, in 1789, was his friend, Major Pleasant Henderson, Richard's brother, and pioneer with Boone at Boonesborough, and with Robertson at the French Lick. On his removal to Tennessee, Judge Haywood formed the personal acquaintance of many of the pioneers, from whom he received innumerable accounts of their personal experiences. Notable figures among the pioneers in Tennessee, such as James Robertson, John Sevier, and Timothee de Monbrun, were personally known to the Tennessee historians, Haywood and Putnam.

43 Ramsey (*Annals of Tennessee*) unearthed the fact that Boone, while acting as the secret agent of the land company, was accompanied by Callaway—a fact which Ramsey, with his intimate knowledge of the pioneers and their history, probably derived directly from Callaway or his immediate descendants.

44 *Cf.* McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I. 96-97; Henderson, *Life and Times of Richard Henderson*, Ch. II.

It was not, indeed, until several years later that Henderson and Company once more actively interested themselves in the problem of Western investment and colonization. In the *Virginia Gazette* of December 1, 1768, a newspaper in which he advertised, Henderson must have read with astonishment not unmixed with dismay, that "the Six Nations and all their tributaries have granted a vast extent of country to his majesty, and the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and settled an advantageous boundary line between their hunting country and this, and the other colonies to the southward as far as the Cherokee River, for which they received the most valuable present in goods and dollars that was ever given at any conference since the settlement of America." It was now generally bruited about the colony of North Carolina that the Cherokees were deeply resentful because the Northern Indians at the treaty of Fort Stanwix had been handsomely remunerated for territory which they, the Cherokees, claimed from time immemorial.[45] Henderson, who had consulted often with Boone and reflected deeply over the subject, foresaw that the Western lands, though ostensibly thrown open for settlement under the aegis of Virginia, could only be legally obtained by extinguishing the Cherokee title. His prescience was directly confirmed by royal action, when Stuart, Superintendent for Indian affairs in the Southern Department, at the treaty of Hard Labor, October 14, 1768, acknowledged the Cherokee title by establishing the western boundary as a line running from the top of Tryon Mountain (now in Polk County, North Carolina, on the South Carolina line) direct to Colonel Chiswell's mine (now Austinville, Virginia), and

45 *Cf.* Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Filson Club Publications, No. 16); also Henderson, "Forerunners of the Republic: Richard Henderson and American Expansion," *Neale's Monthly*, January, 1913.

thence in a straight line to the mouth of the Great Kanawha River.[46]

It was at this crucial moment that the horse peddler, John Findlay, Boone's old friend of the Braddock campaign, wandered into the valley of the Yadkin. Findlay had actually been successful in reaching Kentucky in 1752; and now delighted Boone with his stories of the desirability of the country and the plentifulness of the game. The conjunction was a fortunate one in many respects. Boone was heavily in debt to his attorneys, the firm of Williams and Henderson, for legal services, and to other prominent citizens of Rowan County. Indeed he had been summoned to appear in Salisbury at the March term of court. John Findlay, John Stuart and Daniel Boone all came to Salisbury to attend court, Judge Henderson arriving on March 5.[47] The attested presence at Salisbury of Boone, Findlay and Stuart, three of the six explorers of Kentucky in 1769, simultaneous with Henderson, only a short time before the departure of Boone's party on their tour of exploration, makes it certain that the final conference to devise ways and means for the expedition was held at this time and place. Certain it is that on May 1, 1769, Daniel Boone as the confidential agent of Richard Henderson and Company, accompanied by five companions,

46 *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VII, 851-855. "Should they [the Cherokees] refuse to give it up," writes Johnson to Gage (December 16, 1768), with reference to the action at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, "it is in his majesty's power to prevent the colonies from availing themselves of the late session in that quarter, till it can be done with safety and the common consent of all who have just pretensions to it." *Cf.* Stone, *Life of Sir Willim Johnson*, II, 307; *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia*, 1770-1772, preface, p. xix.

47 Court records. See also "Diary of Waightstill Avery." *N. C. Univ. Magazine*, 1856. Judge Henderson left Salisbury for Hillsborough on March 16.

left his "peaceable habitation" on the Yadkin for a two years' exploration of Kentucky.[48]

Boone and Findlay visited Kentucky in 1769, not only to hunt and trap, but "for the purpose of examining the country."[49] Boone himself relates that he and Stuart, after getting settled in their camp, "proceeded to take a more thorough survey of the country";[50] and the entire course of Boone's actions during this period demonstrates that some powerful influence held him in Kentucky until his work of exploration was completed. Had Boone desired merely to discover a location for his own and neighboring families living at the Forks of the Yadkin, he might easily have discovered such a location in Madison and Garrard counties, which he first visited, or in the neighborhood of Station Camp Creek, in Estill County. Had he desired merely to hunt and fish and trap, he might well have found satiety in the proximity of his first camps. But there was a motive deeper than the desire to discover a location for a few families, or to range far and wide in search of game which was bounteous in plenty in his immediate vicinity. This motive was, assuredly, to employ Boone's own words, "to recruit his shattered circumstances"; and his financial obligations were to Williams and Henderson for legal services, and to other prominent citizens of Rowan County. The prosecution of the task of exhaustively exploring the Kentucky area was indubitably undertaken by Boone in the effort to meet these financial obligations.

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48 Aside from numerous authorities, from Peck, who studied Boone's career during Boone's own lifetime, down to the author of *The Winning of the West*, there is the testimony of those historical students who were fortified by the contemporary documents—Lossing, who examined the Transylvania papers lent him by President D. L. Swain, of the University of North Carolina, in 1856 (Swain's original letter to Lossing is now in the writer's possession); Hall, who examined the vast mass of evidence in the Hogg Papers, chiefly letters of the partners of the Transylvania Company; and Putnam, authentically informed through his intimate personal acquaintance with the early pioneers as well as through his unrivalled collection of pioneer documents. Thus, independently, from North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, the fact is related in identical form, from documentary evidence, as well as from personal record.

49 Filson.

50 "Memorial to the Legislature of Kentucky."

Disheartened by his disasters, his two captures by the Indians and the loss of all his peltries, Boone would otherwise have welcomed the opportunity to return to North Carolina with his brother Squire, who came out with supplies.[51] It is extremely likely, in the light of subsequent events, that Squire Boone bore a message from Henderson to Daniel Boone, urging upon him, now that he was in the country, to remain in it long enough to secure a more detailed knowledge of its geographical and topographical features. With Squire Boone, John Stuart and Alexander Neely as companions, Daniel Boone at once began that elaborate series of explorations ranging from the Kentucky River on the north to the Green and Cumberland rivers on the south. By the first of May, 1770, the exploration of Kentucky had only just begun; so that Boone, fixed in the resolve to accomplish the undertaking upon which he had been despatched, preferred to remain alone in Kentucky while Squire returned home. From this time forward, Daniel Boone ranges far and wide through north-central Kentucky, visiting the Big Lick and the Blue Lick, exploring the valleys of the Kentucky and the Licking, and traveling as far down the Ohio as the Falls, the present Louisville. In July and again in September, following a second return to the settlement for supplies, Squire rejoined Daniel in Kentucky, and from December, 1770, until March, 1771, they scouted through the southern and western portions of Kentucky, exploring the valleys of the Green and Cumberland rivers, and hunting in company with the Long Hunters, among whom were Kasper Mansker, who discovered the lick that bears his name, and Henry Skaggs, who, because of his knowledge of the Cumberland area, as reported by Boone to

51 *Cf.* Boone's *Autobiography* (Filson). It is problematical, but not unlikely, that Squire Boone was sent out with these supplies for Daniel Boone and party by the land company. It is noteworthy that Squire Boone was accompanied on his journey by one of the Neely family, Alexander, for whom Henderson had hitherto acted as legal counsel.

Henderson, was subsequently engaged to act as the agent of the land company, fixing his station at Mansker's Lick.[52]

On his return to North Carolina in 1771, Boone's glowing description of Kentucky "soon excited in others the spirit of an enterprise which in point of magnitude and peril, as well as constancy and heroism displayed in its execution, has never been paralleled in the history of America."[53] In 1772, the Watauga settlers secured from the Cherokee Indians, for a valuable consideration, a ten years' lease of the lands upon which they were settled. Boone, who had established friendly relations with James Robertson, communicated to Henderson the details of the leases and purchases which Robertson, Brown, and Sevier had made of the rich valley lands. After consulting with the Indians, Robertson informed Boone, acting as Henderson's confidential agent, that he believed, if the inducement were large enough, the Indians would sell. Following his own disastrous failure to effect individual colonization without attempting to secure by purchase the Indian title, in 1773, Boone in 1774 advised Henderson and his associates that the Cherokees were disposed to sell the Kentucky area.[54] Having previously assured himself of the legal validity of the purchase, and after personally visiting the Cherokee chiefs in their principal village to secure their consent to the sale, Henderson proceeded to reorganize the land company,

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52 An exhaustive study of Boone's itinerary has been made by the present writer, in order to fix the exact route which he followed. In addition to the wealth of local materials, the Draper MSS., including Draper's Life of Boone, are rich in information on the subject. Through the personal investigations of Mr. John P. Arthur, of Asheville, N. C., who went over Boone's route in North Carolina, as well as the researches of the present writer, this portion of the route has recently been marked by the Daughters of the American Revolution under the direction of Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem, N. C. *Cf. Home and Country*, April, 1914; *Sky-Land*, September, 1914.

53 Morehead's *Address*, at Boonesborough (1840).

54 In a little newspaper, *The Harbinger*, published at Chapel Hill, N. C., in 1834, the venerable Pleasant Henderson, brother of Richard and fellow-pioneer with Boone at Boonesborough, writing from Tennessee, relates that in 1774 Richard Henderson was "induced to attempt a purchase of that country (the Kentucky area) from the Cherokee Indians through the suggestions and advice of the late Col. Daniel Boone."

first into the Louisa and then into the Transylvania Company. With the aid of his associates he carried through the treaty of Sycamore Shoals, purchased for £10,000 sterling the Indian title to the greater portion of the Kentucky area, and commissioned Boone to cut out a passage to the heart of Kentucky. Boonesborough became the focus of the great struggles for predominance on the Western frontier.[55] There was the struggle of the white man against the red man, of the colonial against the Briton. There was the struggle of the Transylvania Company, first against Royal authority, and then against the authority of Virginia. But deeper than all was the struggle between the spirit of individual colonization as embodied in the pioneers, and the spirit of commercial enterprise as embodied in the Transylvania Company. The conflict between the individualistic democracy of the pioneer and the commercial proprietorship of the Transylvania Company was settled only when George Rogers Clark, with iron hand, forced upon Virginia his own selection as virtual military dictator of the West. The drastic settlement of that conflict also made possible the most spectacular and meteoric campaign in Western history—closing only when Clark and his unterrified frontiersmen grounded their arms in Kaskaskia and Vincennes.[56]

55 *Cf.* the writer's *Life and Times of Richard Henderson;* "The Beginnings of American Expansion"; and "Forerunners of the Republic: Richard Henderson and American Expansion," *loc. cit.* In a supplementary paper, the present writer purposes to detail, *in extenso*, the history of this expansionist movement from 1772 onward. All the accounts hitherto given of this momentous episode in our national history are singularly fragmentary and inaccurate. The recent discovery by the present writer of many documents not hitherto accessible to historical students clarifies the entire situation. Only now for the first time is it possible to throw into true perspective Boone's abortive effort to invade Kentucky in 1773, his relation to the Transylvania Company in the capacity of confidential agent, Henderson's prudent procedure in securing the highest legal sanction for the purchase, the details of the "Great Treaty" of Sycamore Shoals, the invasion of Kentucky in 1775, and the subsequent history, both governmental and corporate, of the Transylvania Company.

56 Henderson, "Forerunners of the Republic: George Rogers Clark and the Western Crisis," *Neale's Monthly*, June, 1913; James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 1771-1781 (Ill. Hist. Soc. Publications, Vol. VIII); Turner, "Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era," AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, I, 70-87, 251-269.

In his appeal to the Kentucky legislature, the octogenarian Boone says that he "may claim, without arrogance, to have been the author of the principal means which contributed to the settlement of a country on the Mississippi and its waters, which now (1812) produces the happiness of a million of his fellow-creatures; and of the exploring and acquisition of a country that will make happy many millions in time to come." The present research compels us to discount the high-flown language of the ancient petitioner for land. Boone was the pathfinder and way-breaker—wonderful independent explorer and equally skilled executant of the designs of others.[57] But to Henderson, Hart, Williams, and their associates, animated by the spirit of constructive civilization, rather than to Boone, with his unsocial and nomadic instincts, belongs the larger measure of credit for the inauguration of the militant expansionist movement of Western colonization. The creative causes of the Westward movement were rooted, not in romance, but in economic enterprise, not in Providence, but in political vision. It was the Transylvania Company which at its own expense successfully colonized the Kentucky area with between two and three hundred men; and with true revolutionary ardor defying the royal authority as expressed through the crown governors of the colonies of North Carolina and Virginia, exhausted all means, through appeals to the Continental Congress, to Patrick Henry, Jefferson, and the Adamses, and finally to the legislature of Virginia, in their ultimately fruitless efforts to create a fourteenth American colony. And yet, despite this failure, Henderson and his associates furnished to the world "one of the most heroic displays of that typical American spirit of comprehensive aggrandisement of which so much is heard to-day."[58] It is a coincidence of historic significance that just one day after the dropping musketry at Lexington and Concord was heard round the world, Henderson and his little band reached the

57 *Cf.* Henderson, "Forerunners of the Republic: Daniel Boone," *Neale's Monthly*, February, 1913.

58 Hulbert, *Pilots of the Republic.*

site of the future Boonesborough. Here the colonists reared a bulwark of enduring strength to resist the fierce incursions of bands of hostile savages during the period of the American Revolution. Unquestionably the strenuous borderers, with their roving instincts, would in any event ultimately have established impregnable strongholds in the Kentucky area. But had it not been for the Transylvania Company and Daniel Boone, no secure stronghold, to protect the whites against the savages, might have been established and fortified in 1775. In that event, the American colonies, convulsed in a titanic struggle, might well have seen Kentucky overrun by savage hordes, led by English officers, throughout the Revolution. In consequence, the American colonies at the close of the Revolution would probably have been compelled to leave in British hands the vast and fertile regions beyond the Alleghanies.

The Old North State

(*Carolina*)

By Mrs. Julia E. Cain.

Grand "Old North State," we love thee, we love thee,
From the blue skyland to the waving sea.
We love thy hills, thy streams, thy mountains grand—
Thy golden, waving fields, all o'er the land.
We are proud of thy forests, towering high,
Lifting their peaks aloft to the sky—
The sturdy oak, the long leaf pine,
The walnut, the maple, and the trumpet vine—
Thy luscious fruits and flowers rare,
With all the world beyond compare.
Oh! grand Old North State, we love thee, we love thee,
From the mountain top to the billowy sea!

We are proud of thy sons—aye, every one,
Who fought our battle and victory won,
Who stand for the right, who crush the wrong,
While bursts from their hearts sweet liberty's song;
Who justice and honor and truth proclaim,
Writing in history thy fair, good name.
Oh! grand Old North State, we are proud of thee,
From the mountain top to the billowy sea—
From Currituck to Cherokee!

We are proud of thy daughters, thy women grand,
Who bless our homes, all over the land,
In peace, in war, a patriotic band,
Working, giving, with true heart and hand.
Oh! grand Old North State, we bless thee, we crown thee,
From the blue skyland to the waving sea.

Thy flag doth wave all o'er the State,
Our hearts beat true, to liberty great,
And ready are we, at our country's call,
To defend our homes—our land, *aye all.*
Oh! grand Old North State, we *crown thee, we bless thee,*
From mountain top to the waving sea—
From Currituck to Cherokee!

The Contributions of North Carolina to the Development of American Institutions*

Commencement Address at Wake Forest College, May 21, 1914, by Simeon E. Baldwin, M.A., LL.D., Governor of Connecticut; Professor of Law in Yale University; formerly President of the American Historical Association and of the American Political Science Association.

There is no State of the Union which has not done something, good or bad, towards the development of American institutions; but the part thus taken by those of them who wear the proud title of the Old Thirteen is the most conspicuous. It is they in whose honor were devised the thirteen stripes upon our flag. The older and the newer States are alike represented by its stars: the stripes perpetuate the memory of the Old Thirteen alone.

It is they only who have a background of ancient history. I say ancient; for the creation of one of our newer States, born into purely American and republican surroundings, is separated from the first settlement of Plymouth or the Carolinas, under English and monarchical auspices, by a tract of time of whose length years are no measure.

One of our American historians has said, and not untruly, that the men of the colonial era undertook "to develop thirteen autonomous States out of as many land companies."[1] This was a harder task for the people of the two Carolinas than for those of any other of the colonies. Their charter scheme, as developed by the Proprietaries, was vitally un-English and un-American. So far as it bore the stamp of any nationality, it was Roman.

The first Earl of Shaftesbury who, as Lord Ashley, was one of the grantees in both the charters from Charles II.,

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1 Chamberlain, *John Adams*, etc., 150.

was the author of the English *Habeas Corpus Act of* 1679, which has done so much to secure the freedom of the individual against the power of government. It is one of the paradoxes of history that he, ten years before, with the aid of his private secretary, the philosopher, John Locke, prepared the original constitution for the government of the Carolinas adopted by the Proprietaries, which, had the freemen ever really accepted it, would have set up here forever a formidable bar to the growth of republican institutions.

By its terms, you will recollect, a territorial nobility was set up, the highest in rank bearing the German title of Landgrave.

There was to be a parliament, meeting in one chamber, but by Article 79, "To avoid multiplicity of laws, which by degrees always change the right foundations of the original government, all acts of parliament whatsoever, in whatsoever form passed or enacted, shall, at the end of a hundred years after their enacting, respectively, cease and determine of themselves, and without any repeal become null and void, as if no such acts or laws had ever been made."

One provision which, if in force to-day, would be unpopular with some of this audience, was directed against lawyers. "It shall be," reads Article 70, "a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward; nor shall any one (except he be a near kinsman . . .) be permitted to plead another man's cause till before the judge in open court he hath taken an oath that he doth not plead for money or reward, nor hath nor will receive, nor directly or indirectly bargained with the party whose cause he is going to plead, for money or any other reward for pleading his cause."

By Article 95, no one could hold an estate or become a freeman, or even reside in the province, who did not acknowledge a God and that he is to be publicly and solemnly worshipped. This, no doubt, is the inherited cause for the clause in the present Constitution of North Carolina, debarring

atheists from office. But two other States now hold to that position.[2]

All elections, under the Locke scheme (Article 32), were to be by ballot. In 1760, this regulation, which had been continued in force until that time, was repealed and *viva voce* voting substituted. This brought North Carolina in line with England and most of the Southern colonies.[3] A few years later, however, she reverted to her original plan, and it was made the subject of a constitutional provision in 1776. Her Constitution of that year was the first which, in any State, required the ballot.[4]

In one respect, however, she differed from all these. Free negroes, born in the State, who paid public taxes, were held to be citizens, and entitled to vote at elections, if not before, certainly after the Constitution of 1776.[5] It was this, in fact, more than anything else, that occasioned the calling of the Constitutional Convention of 1835, by which their right of suffrage was taken away.

There is little else in the "Fundamental Constitutions" of 1669 of which any substantial trace survived the Revolution. They never went into full effect, and were substantially abrogated by the Lords Proprietors, in 1693. The division of the Carolinas into two provinces, followed by the surrender of the Proprietary title to the Crown, early in the eighteenth century, put an end to the aristocratic government devised by Shaftesbury and Locke. From that time on till 1776, the problems of North Carolina were the same with which the other English colonies had to contend.

As the tension of the bonds between them and the mother

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2 Arkansas and South Carolina, Report of American Historical Association 1899, I, 121.

3 McKinley, The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen Colonies, III.

4 It had been a feature of the West Jersey Concessions of 1676-7, and of Penn's Frame of Government, promulgated in 1683.

5 Thorpe, Constitutional Hist. of the U. S., I, 176; *State v. Manuel*, 4 Dev. & Battle Law Rep., 25; Report of Am. Hist. Association for 1895, 276.

country increased, North Carolina was the first to declare herself in favor of throwing off allegiance to the British crown.

We may or may not take the view that the story of the Mecklenburg County resolutions of May 20, 1775, is a myth.[6] Legends are the foundations of history, and the date solemnly placed upon the great seal of North Carolina ought not lightly to be disregarded. But were we to accept all that has ever been claimed for the time of that action and the words in which it was expressed, Mecklenburg County could only speak for itself. On April 4, 1776, the provincial congress at Halifax spoke for the State at large. This body unanimously empowered the delegates from North Carolina in the Continental Congress to concur in action by that body, should it be taken, "in declaring independency and forming foreign alliances." She was thus, in the words of Bancroft.[7] "the first colony to vote an explicit sanction to independence."

In the Convention at Hillsborough, in the latter part of 1775, a further step had been advocated by many. Dr. Franklin's scheme for a permanent confederacy of all the colonies was brought forward by one of the delegates, but it was decided that such an organization ought only to be set up in the last necessity, and then only after consultation with the Provincial Congress.

Soon after the Declaration of Independence had created the United States of America, North Carolina elected a Convention to frame a Constitution. One of her most prominent citizens, Governor Burke, consulted John Adams, the leading authority in the country on the subject, in regard to the proper form to adopt. Adams advised placing the State on the footing of an independent sovereign; having a bicameral legislature; requiring annual elections; but choosing judges for

6 See the paper of Messrs. Salley and Ford. Am. Hist. Review, April, 1906.

7 Hist. of the U. S., V, 238.

life. It was a maxim of public science, he wrote, that "where annual elections end, there slavery begins."[8]

In general his recommendations were followed, and with the result that the Constitution for North Carolina outlasted every other of the Revolutionary period except that of Massachusetts, which was also modeled largely upon Adams' advice.

North Carolina had, under the Fundamental Orders (Art. 75), biennial elections. When these were superseded by Royal authority, annual elections were substituted, and this continued to be the scheme until 1836, when an amendment to the Constitution reëstablished the original system.

In thus abandoning annual sessions, North Carolina led the way for the whole country. They are now retained in only two States.

On this anniversary day of one of her collegiate institutions, it is not to be forgotten that North Carolina was the first State of the American Union to put into her Constitution a provision for public education. Article XLI of that instrument, adopted December 18, 1776, declares "that a school or schools shall be established by the Legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices, and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities." Only three other of the constitutions of this period contain any provisions on this subject.[9]

The establishment of the University of North Carolina, towards the close of the eighteenth century, was followed, in 1822, by the appointment of one of the Professors as State Geologist and Mineralogist. His report, as such, published in 1824 and 1825, on the Geology of the State, presented the first survey of such a nature made by any of the States,[10] and

8 Life and Works of John Adams, I, 209, 211; IV, 195.

9 Hildreth, Hist. of the U. S., III, 385.

10 Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, VI, 593.

thus became the beginning of a long series of studies which have revealed to the country its natural sources of wealth.

The Constitution of 1776 required the chief officers of the State to be Protestants, or, at least, not to deny the truth of the Protestant religion. It also declared that all officers must acknowledge the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments. Only one other State did that. As time went on and the Roman Catholic church became stronger, some of its members were appointed to high office. They took the ground that a Roman Catholic, simply by being such, did not deny the truth of the Potestant religion: on the contrary, they said, he believed most of its doctrines, though adding more. William Gaston, when appointed to the bench, took this ground, and it was approved by Chief Justice Marshall and Chief Justice Ruffin, whom he consulted. To put the matter beyond the limits of question, the Constitutional Convention of 1835, after full debate, substituted for *Protestant* the broader term, *Christian.*[11]

Few now seriously dispute that under our system of government the courts have implied power to test the validity of every statute by the touchstone of the Constitution. We inherited this doctrine from the era of the Confederation, and the courts of North Carolina early came to its support. Her Constitution of 1776 guaranteed the right of trial by jury in all controversies at law respecting property. The General Assembly passed a statute requiring suits against purchasers of confiscated estates to be dismissed on motion. Such a motion was made in such a suit in 1786, and the court, a year later, denied it, on the ground that the law violated this constitutional guaranty, and was therefore void. The decision thus rendered was the second ever rendered in the English-speaking world to the point that if a written statute

11 Great American Lawyers, III, 72, 76, 111.

conflicts with a written constitution, the statute must give way.[12]

North Carolina was the first State to affirm the principle of freedom of incorporation for the promotion of a business enterprise. By an Act passed in 1795, she allowed any persons, who desired, to incorporate themselves for the purpose of building and maintaining canals.[13] This was the first legislation of the kind since the beginnings of the Roman empire.[14] Other of the American States had before allowed individuals to incorporate themselves for certain charitable purposes. It was the far-sighted policy of North Carolina, which extended this principle to organizations for business purposes. They builded better than they knew. Soon followed elsewhere, in and out of the United States, it was destined, during the next century, to work a world-wide economic revolution.

In one respect North Carolina, in my opinion, has exercised an unfortunate influence on our judicial institutions. The English-speaking nations stand alone in the world in their division of the functions of a decider of civil causes between one man, whom we call a judge, and a dozen others whom we call a jury. By the common law of England, from whom we derived this practice, the judge had a double duty: to decide any points of law that might be raised, and to guide the jury on the path to a right conclusion on the facts. Legal questions on which counsel seriously differed seldom occurred; but disputes as to the facts of the case were incident to every jury trial. The English judge was accustomed to express his

12 *Bayard v. Singleton*, Martin's Reports, 48; Baldwin on *The American Judiciary*, 100, 110; Coxe on *Judicial Power and Unconstitutional Legislation*, 248. The court also relied on the supremacy of the Articles of Confederation. The next Legislature (November, 1787) enacted that the treaty with Great Britain was part of the law of the land, and to be enforced in all courts accordingly. Stat., Rev. of 1819, I, 559. See the history of the first decision (given in New Jersey in 1780, in the case of *Holmes v. Walton*), in the American Historical Review, IV, 456.

13 Chapter 432, Laws of North Carolina, Ed. 1821, I, 769.

14 Report of the American Historical Association for 1902, I, 274.

own opinion, if he thought it would promote a proper decision as to what facts really had been established by the proofs, and how far these were, if found by the jury to exist, controlling in their effect. In 1796, North Carolina, which, down to that time, had followed in this respect the rule of the common law, abrogated it. Chief Justice Ruffin, soon afterwards, in a well-known case, did what he could to minimize the effect of this statutory prohibition of an ancient practice.[15] But legislatures are stronger than judges. The Act of 1796 in North Carolina set up one of the early precedents in support of diminishing judicial power, which have gradually, in most of our States, made the American jury a very different thing from the jury of the common law.

The courts of North Carolina rendered an important service to the country, in leading the way towards placing the American law of charities on a broad foundation. It was long a question of warm dispute at the bar, whether our courts of equity had the jurisdiction over charitable trusts possessed by the English Chancellors, independently of the ancient statute of charitable uses, passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In 1819, the Supreme Court of the United States, in an elaborate opinion by Chief Justice Marshall, took the negative view. If this precedent were to be generally followed, and the statute made the sole test of what was a lawful charity, many bequests for worthy purposes would be sure to fail. The next year, after full argument, the English doctrine as to equity jurisdiction was recognized in the Supreme Court of North Carolina.[16] Other States followed the reasoning which had led to this result. Horace Binney, one of the greatest of American lawyers, by his researches in the rolls of the English Chancery, demonstrated before the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Girard College case, that Marshall was wrong. The great Chief Justice's decision was

15 *State v. Moses*, 13 North Carolina Law Reports, 452.

16 *Griffin v. Graham*, 8 North Carolina Law Reports, 96.

finally overruled, and the North Carolina doctrine of charities established in its place.[17]

North Carolina was the last of the States represented in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 to ratify its work. She was also the last State to become a member of the Southern Confederacy. The cause of delay, in both cases, was, at bottom, the same. It was her conviction that, in large affairs, existing political relations ought not to be disturbed without strong cause. It was political conservatism. It was the quality which made her and South Carolina, her early sister, the only States which maintained a general property qualification for office until after the Civil War.[18]

When the Federal Convention met, in 1787, North Carolina was in territory the largest State but one[19] of the Old Thirteen. Her geographical conditions justified the statement, in the official report of her delagates to the Gopernor of the doings of the Convention, that North Carolina was doubtless the most independent of the Southern States, for her people were able to carry her own produce to market.[20] Being thus independent in her position, she offered the fairest field for the last battle ground against those who in 1787 were for the entire reconstruction of the government of the United States. She naturally stood for State sovereignty in everything where it was not vitally necessary to accord supremacy to the States acting together, or to the people of all of them,[21] speaking in each.

At the time when North Carolina was to express her judgment on the merits of the new Constitution, two great men were contending for the mastery in the arena of theoretical politics: Jefferson and Hamilton. North Carolina sided from the first with Jefferson. He was representing us abroad in

17 *Russell v. Allen*, 107 United States Reports, 163, 167.

18 Report of the Am. Historical Association for 1899, I, 114.

19 Georgia.

20 Farrand, *Records of the Federal Convention*, III, 84.

21 Report of the American Historical Association for 1905, I, 104; see State Records of N. C., I, 390.

1788, but wrote to his friends here that he favored the ratification of the new Constitution by nine States, which would insure an organization under it, and rejection by the other four, unless and until it was strengthened by a bill of rights.[22] Under the leadership of Willie Jones, the first Constitutional Convention, held in that year at Hillsborough, substantially followed this advice. Without either ratifying or rejecting the new Constitution, it declared that bill of rights and twenty-six amendments ought to be laid before Congress and a new Convention of the United States that should or might be called for such purposes of amendment. The most important of the principles thus put forward were incorporated in the Constitution, on the recommendation of the first Congress, secured largely by the action of North Carolina in refusing an unconditional ratification.

Hardly had the Supreme Court of the United States been organized when suits were brought in it against several of the States to collect debts due from them to citizens of other States. Chief Justice Marshall, as a member of the Virginia Convention, had declared that the Constitution gave no authority for such actions. Hamilton had taken the same ground in the Federalist.[23] With only one dissenting opinion, however, the Justices of the Court took the other view. This dissent was by Mr. Justice Iredell of North Carolina. The States, he said, were sovereign as to all matters concerning which sovereignty had not been granted to the United States. It was the settled law that a sovereign could not be sued in court. Consequently the States, being sovereign, could not be so sued, except in the few cases specially authorized in the Constitution of the United States. The plaintiff in the case at bar was a private citizen suing for a contract debt. There was no special authority for such a suit, and therefore, in his opinion, it should be dismissed.

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22 Jefferson's Writings, Library Ed., XVIII, 14; Bancroft, *History of the Constitution*, II, 459, 460; Elliott's Debates, IV, 226.

23 Thorpe, *Constitutional History of the United States*, II, 266, *et seq.*

A storm of protest swept over the United States when the decision of the Court was announced. Governor Hancock, of Massachusetts, one of the States that had been sued, called a special session of the Legislature to consider the matter, and declared that this new doctrine tended to a consolidation of all the States into one government "which would at once endanger the nation as a Republic, and eventually divide the States united."[24] The speedy result was the adoption of the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution, which prevented any such suits for the future, and struck out of existence those already brought.

The United States, under the Articles of Confederation, were what a recent English writer has declared that every independent nation is—"the organization of organizations."[25] They were a feeble organization of thirteen strong organizations. The ordinary nation has for its constituents all its people, but they are organized politically in various territorial divisions, such as counties, towns, and cities, and socially in various business, or ecclesiastical, or institutional divisions. Some of them are associated in the form of banks, or railroads; others as or around universities; as churches and dioceses; or as societies of a less formal character for promoting particular theories of human conduct.

The constituents of the United States of the Revolution and of the Confederation were thirteen peoples, not one. Each of these peoples were grouped in different forms of organization, under a local government of their own; but the United States, as such, claimed no authoritative jurisdiction over any of these groups in any State, and had none over the State itself.

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 attempted a compromise between those who were for abandoning this system of government entirely, and those who thought it could be strengthened and preserved. It is certain that the great

24 Thorpe, *Constitutional History of the United States*, II, 290.

25 Lindsay, *The Political Quarterly*, I, 140.

majority of the people of North Carolina were originally opposed to the ratification of the Constitution. The Hillsborough Convention of July 21, 1788, would probably have voted it down without debate, had it not been for the influence of James Iredell.[26] She had found herself strong enough, alone, to handle a very serious insurrection by the suppression of the "Regulators," and later to put down the rising designed to found the new State of Franklin, and to convict, in 1787, its leader, John Sevier, of high treason. During the Revolution, she had seen most of the Regulators siding with the British, and feeble as the government of the United States then was, she had found herself, with the aid of that government, still able to cope with any invading force, and all their Tory auxiliaries.[27] Her worst enemy was her own over-issues of paper money, and with that problem, she, like Rhode Island, preferred to deal for herself. Why then should she join the States which were seceding from a confederation which by its terms, to which each had solemnly agreed, was to last perpetually?

The leaders of North Carolina so far had held its course steadily, from the first, in one direction: away from aristocracy; towards popular institutions. They endeavored to make, and they did make, the new government more closely a government of the people, before accepting its authority.

Any strongly marked national characteristic that makes for good is a national asset. It endears the State to its people. It is their voice. It speaks the habit of their mind. In the case of a private business concern, long established and well reputed, a part of its property, well recognized by law, is the good will of those who know on what principles it has been conducted. Much more is the good will of its people of value to a State. That spirit of conservatism which has always marked North Carolina has helped to steady the course of

26 Elliott's Debates, IV, 4.

27 Life and Works of John Adams, VII, 308; Report of Am. Hist. Association for 1894, 180, 209; Winsor, *Narrative, etc., Hist.*, VII, 190; Tarleton's Campaigns, 119, 270; State Records of N. C., I, xiv, xviii.

American government. It was fostered by the circumstances of her earlier history. It was strengthened by the nature of her main industry. Agriculture binds the man to the land, and in the land there is something of the eternal and unchangeable. Conservatism detaches itself from the transitory. It makes for unity in political action. It is unwilling to have untried forms of government imposed upon it. It distrusts abstract philosophies, unripened by time.

There is a certain unity in the history of North Carolina. The Royal province, of which she originally formed a part, soon broke in two. South Carolina followed the ways of cities; North Carolina those of the country and the farm.

Half a century later North Carolina broke in two. The people of the mountains pushed the frontier Westward and laid the foundations of Tennessee. For the people on the Atlantic slope, the current of industry followed the waters toward the sea. Agriculture added to itself commerce and manufacture.

The twentieth century came. It found North Carolina still mainly a State of the country and the farm, but, towards the West, of a rough country and rocky farms. The everlasting hills still stood as they were two hundred years before, the home of sturdy mountaineers, largely reflecting the manners and the ideals of the American of two centuries before.

It is no bad thing for a State to have representatives of the thought of the eighteenth century uniting for the shaping of her institutions with representatives of the twentieth. On the one hand, it assures the permanence of popular government: on the other, it guarantees the benefit of whatever new means time brings to make popular government more truly by the people and for the people.

I come from a State which calls itself the Land of Steady Habits. North Carolina and Connecticut were alike chartered by Charles the Second. He gave to North Carolina a charter of aristocracy, and to Connecticut a charter of democracy. He gave to North Carolina the harder task. She

must win for herself what was the birthright of Connecticut. How has she marked her progress to the goal?

Let me recapitulate what seems to me the highest of her achievements. In what great things did she press forward first, and set the pace?

1. In declaring for independence of Great Britain, in April, 1776.

2. In providing by her Constitution of December, 1776, for a secret ballot, and for public education at public cost.

3. In passing, in 1795, the first general incorporation law for business purposes since the time of the Roman empire.

4. In discarding annual for biennial elections, in the amendments to her Constitution in 1835.

The first step, if anything, it costs something to make. These five steps that I have mentioned, each in its day, worked a great innovation in American institutions, and one of them—that towards freedom of incorporation—in universal political science.

We of other States are glad in these things to recognize the primacy of North Carolina, and to congratulate her on the public service she thus has done to the country and the world.

Sir Walter Raleigh as a Poet

By Nina Holland Covington.

When that gorgeous Pageant, the Age of Elizabeth, comes upon the stage of history, there is no more splendid figure among the actors than that of Sir Walter Raleigh, who makes his spectacular appearance before the queen by throwing his velvet coat upon the muddy ground so that she may walk over dry-shod. Characteristic indeed of the man and of the age is this anecdote of Raleigh's young years. The romantic courtier lived in a period well suited to his varied talents and accomplishments, for it was an age of war, of exploration, of colonization, of learning, of wit, of extravagance in speech and dress, and an age which gave fullest encouragement to literature.

Perhaps the most important thing in Raleigh's career as it affected history was the fact that he made numerous attempts to establish settlements in America, and although these settlements were not permanent, nevertheless, as has been so well said,* "You cannot measure great events with a yard-stick. Men die, ideas are immortal. The idea of another England beyond the Atlantic, conceived by the master mind of Sir Walter Raleigh, was the germ from which, through the development of three centuries, has evolved the American nation of the twentieth century. There is a vital connection, both physical and spiritual, between Roanoke and Jamestown. Among those who founded Jamestown were ten of the men who had co-operated with Raleigh in the settlements at Roanoke. In these men we have the physical connection between the two, while to the idea conceived by Raleigh and to the spirit of conquest and colonization which his attempts on this island called into existence, the English race in Europe, in Asia, Africa and Australia and the islands of the sea, and in America, owes the world-wide prominence which it to-day

*R. D. W. Connor *"Sir Walter Raleigh and His Associates,"* Booklet, Vol. X 1, No. 3.

enjoys among the races of mankind. Nothing can be clearer, therefore, than that we, in looking back over the events of the last three centuries, can hail the Roanoke settlements as the beginning of English colonization in America and throughout the world."

But though Sir Walter Raleigh is most important as a colonizer, that was but one side of this versatile hero of history, for he was also a courtier, soldier, manager of men, explorer, business man, historian and poet. Perhaps his poetry has not been, after all, very important in English literature, and he certainly is not well known as a poet, nor can he be ranked as one of the great poets of England, but still there is merit enough in his verse to lift it far above mediocrity.

The poems of Raleigh that have come down to us are not numerous. The "Cynthia" has long been lost, and there are only about twenty other poems which can be correctly ascribed to him. No attempt was made in Raleigh's lifetime to collect his poems, and, for some time after his death, his poetry was not considered important enough to be preserved. In the first collection of his poems there were only three poems; in the second there were only nine. It has taken careful research work to gather together these long neglected poems of Raleigh, and there is still dispute among critics and literati as to whether certain poems generally accepted as Raleigh's are really his or not. It is not often that men of action have either time or inclination to write verse. It is the man who has leisure to dream dreams, and to think deeply over the mysteries of nature and humanity who usually gives the world its great poems. But still, Sir Walter Raleigh, busy as he was during the years in which most of his poetry was written, wrote, besides the long poem "Cynthia," about twenty other poems which are of interest and literary value. The poem "Cynthia" itself must have contained, it is thought, about ten thousand lines—equal in length to two books of the "Faery Queene."

Spenser, who acknowledges that he owed much to his inter-

course with Raleigh (they were neighbors in Ireland), and who was most grateful for Raleigh's encouragement as the "Faery Queene" was being written, dedicated the first three books to Raleigh with the sonnet which begins:

> "To thee that are the summer's nightingale
> Thy sovereign Goddess's most dear delight."

And Raleigh appended to these first three books of the "Faery Queene" the sonnet which begins:

> "Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay,
> Within that temple where the vestal flame
> Was wont to burn: and, passing by that way,
> To see that buried dust of living fame,
> Whose tomb fair Love and fairer Virtue kept,
> All suddenly I saw the Faery Queene,
> At whose approach the soul of Petrarch wept;
> And from thenceforth those graces were not seen
> For they this Queen attended, in whose stead
> Oblivion laid him down on Laura's hearse,
> Hereat the hardest stones were seen to bleed,
> And groans of buried ghosts the heavens did pierce;
> When Homer's spright did tremble all for grief
> And cursed the access of that celestial thief."

a sonnet which, though it is far too extravagant in sentiment, nevertheless contains some fine lines. Milton admired it, and imitated it in his sonnet beginning:

> "Methought I saw my late espoused saint
> Brought to me like Alcestis from the tomb."

Marlowe's well known pastoral poem, "The Passionate Shepherd to his Love," called forth a reply from Raleigh that was musical, bright and clever, with that touch of bitterness that so many of the Elizabethan lyric poets affected. It was written probably in 1599, and mentioned and quoted in Walton's "Complete Angler" in 1653 as a poem "made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his younger days."

Belonging also to Raleigh's younger period is the beautiful elegy on Sir Philip Sidney, which would alone give him a place in English literature. Edmund Gosse says of it: "It blends the passion of personal regret with the dignity of public grief as all great elegiacal poems should. One stanza might be inscribed on a monument to Sidney:

"England withhold thy limits, that bred the same;
Flanders thy valour, where it last was tried,
The camp thy sorrow, where the body died;
Thy friends thy want: the world thy virtue's fame."

The poem over the authorship of which there has been so much dispute, "The Lie," is, like all of Raleigh's poems, dignified in tone, and has that independent, spirited air which doubtless Puttenham meant to describe when he said, in his "Art of English Poetry," "For ditty and amorous ode, I find Sir Walter Raleigh's vein most lofty, insolent, and passionate." It is not known exactly when "The Lie" was written, but it seems probable that it belongs to that period of his first imprisonment in the Tower after his secret entanglement with Elizabeth Throckmorton. The first two stanzas will show the character of the piece. Bitter, haughty, defiant in tone, smooth and rippling in measure, it easily takes its place among the striking poems of our language, and is important as being representative of the poetry of the period. For, extravagance of expression, smoothness of phrase and rhythm, with a slight cynicism, were the characteristics of the lyric poetry of this age of English literature:

"Go, Soul, the body's guest,
Upon a thankless arrant:
Fear not to touch the best;
The truth shall be thy warrant.
Go, since I needs must die,
And give the world the lie.

Say to the court, it glows
And shines like rotten wood:
Say to the church, it shows
What's good, and doth no good:
If church and court reply
Then give them both the lie."

And particularly interesting to us, because it seems rather bold on Raleigh's part, and more openly defiant that he ever expressed himself elsewhere, is the third stanza:

"Tell potentates, they live
Acting by others' action.
Not loved unless they give—
Not strong, but by a faction:
If potentates reply
Give potentates the lie."

Entirely different from this is "Sir Walter Raleigh's Pilgrimage," which is perhaps the best known of his poems. The poem is very beautiful and full of striking metaphors. The last stanza is especially interesting and startling, and from what is implied there this poem is often said to have been written the night before he died. But most critics seem to agree that it belongs to the time following the trial at Winchester when Raleigh, having been convicted of treason, thought that the king would have him immediately executed. And Raleigh's supposed accomplices, Markham, Gray and Cobham, were actually led out before his (Raleigh's) very eyes for their execution, and then, on the scaffold, their lives were saved by the king's pardon. This was on the tenth of December, 1603. Gosse, Archdeacon Hannah and others think that the "Pilgrimage" was written on the night of the ninth of December.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S PILGRIMAGE

Give me my scallop-shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My script of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation.
My gown of glory, hope's true gage;
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.

Blood must be my body's balmer;
No other balm will there be given;
Whilst my soul, like quiet palmer,
Travelleth towards the land of heaven;
Over the silver mountains,
Where spring the nectar fountains:
There will I kiss
The bowl of bliss;
And drink mine everlasting fill
Upon every milken hill.
My soul will be a-dry before;
But after, it will thirst no more.
Then by that happy blissful day,
More peaceful pilgrims I shall see,
That have cast off their rags of clay,
And walk apparelled fresh like me.
I'll take them first
To quench their thirst
And taste of nectar suckets,
At those clear wells
Where sweetness dwells,
Drawn up by saints in crystal buckets.

And when our bottles and all we
Are filled with immortality,
Then the blessed paths we'll travel,
Strowed with rubies thick as gravel;
Ceilngs of diamonds, sapphire floors,
High walls of coral and pearly bowers.
From thence to heaven's bribeless hall,
Where no corrupted voices brawl;
No conscience molten into gold.
No forged accuser bought or sold,
No cause deferred, no vain-spent journey,
For there Christ is the king's attorney,
Who pleads for all without degrees,
And He hath angels, but no fees.
And when the grand twelve million jury
Of our sins, with direful fury,
Against our souls black verdicts give,
Christ pleads His death, and then we live.

Be thou my speaker, taintless pleader,
Unblotted lawyer, true proceeder!
Thou givest salvation even for alms;
Not with a bribed lawyer's palms.
And this is mine eternal plea
To Him that made heaven, earth, and sea,
That since my flesh must die so soon,
And want a head to dine next noon,
Just at the stroke, when my veins start and spread,
Set on my soul an everlasting head!
Then am I ready, like a palmer fit,
To tread those blest paths which before I writ.

Of death and judgment, heaven and hell,
Who oft doth think, must needs die well."

The references to his trust in God that occur in the "Pilgrimage" are found in all of the writings of the latter part of Raleigh's life. Beginning his career as gay courtier, with so little care or reverence for religion and God that people spoke of him as an atheist, the troubles of his last years seem to have made him deeply religious. In that remarkable unfinished attempt of his, "The History of the World," we have frequent passages to show how prominent a part reliance upon God was playing in Raleigh's life during those thirteen long years of his imprisonment.

In regard to the lost poem "Cynthia," written to Queen Elizabeth, and in her praise, Gosse says, "The long passage which we have in Raleigh's poem, *The Continuation of Cynthia,* is, I think beyond question, a canto almost complete of the lost epic of 1589. It is written on the four line

heroic stanza adopted ten years later by Sir John Davies for his *Nosce teipsum,* and most familiar to us all in Gray's "Elegy." Moreover it is headed "The Twenty-first and Last Book of *The Ocean to Cynthia.*" Another note in Raleigh's handwriting styles the poem "The Ocean's Love to Cynthia," and this was probably the full name of it. Spenser's name for Raleigh, the Shepherd, or pastoral hero, of the Ocean is, therefore, for the first time explained. The twenty-first book suffers from the fact that the stanzas, but apparently not many, have dropped out in four places. With these losses, the canto contains 130 stanzas, or 526 lines. Supposing the average length of the twenty preceding books to have been the same, *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia* must have contained at least ten thousand lines. Spenser, therefore, was not exaggerating, or using the language of flattery towards a few elegies or a group of sonnets, when he spoke of *Cynthia* as a poem of great importance. As a matter of fact, no poem of the like ambition had been written in England for a century past, and if it had been published, it would perhaps have taken a place only second to its immediate contemporary, "The Faery Queene." Archdeacon Hannah places the poem, *The Continuation of Cynthia,* in his volume of Raleigh's poems, as belonging to the era of 1603-1618—Raleigh's years of imprisonment—and includes, with the "long passage" mentioned by Gosse, two fragments which lead him to this conclusion. Gosse thinks the fragments were written in this period, but that they have nothing to do with "Cynthia," since the meter is entirely different. Gosse is probably correct in his view—the meter proof being almost conclusive evidence that the fragments do not belong to the "long passage." However that may be, the long passage of "The Continuation of Cynthia" is in the same vein and meter as the lost part of "Cynthia," and gives us a good idea of the character of that poem.

To describe, then, this part of "Cynthia," is to describe the whole poem. Soft and subdued in tone, worshipful, but not merely flattering in sentiment, with the gentle, sad movement

of the elegiac meter and containing some of the most beautiful imagery we can find in his poems, the fragment that we have makes us regret deeply the loss of the whole.

In August, 1618, the year of his death, Raleigh wrote his "Petition to the Queen, Anne of Denmark." Anne made an effort to save him, but in vain. On October 28 he was executed. The poem is the last appeal of a doomed man to his queen, and the sad, resigned tone of his petition seems to indicate that he feared the appeal would be in vain. It closes with these pathetic lines:

"If I have sold my duty, sold my faith
To strangers, which was only due to One;
Nothing I should esteem so dear as death.

But, if both God and time shall make you know,
That I, your humblest vassal, am oppressed,
Then cast your eyes on undeserved woe;

That I and mine may never mourn the miss
Of Her we had, but praise our living Queen,
Who brings us equal, if not greater bliss.

On the night before his execution Raleigh wrote the last poem of his life after bidding farewell to his faithful wife, the Elizabeth Throckmorton, for whose love he had forfeited his place as one of the favorites of Queen Elizabeth:

"Even such is time, that takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us with but earth and dust;
Who, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days;
And from this earth, this grave, this dust,
My God shall raise me up, I trust."

On the chill morning of October the twenty-ninth, 1618, Raleigh went out so bravely to his death that those who witnessed it have handed down to posterity in words of admiration and praise the account of the glorious end of Sir Walter Raleigh.

And so died on the scaffold one of England's bravest, most progressive, patriotic and learned men. Upon the history of France is the stain of the blood of Joan of Arc. The darkest blot upon England's pages of history is the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Biographical and Genealogical Memoranda

Compiled and Edited by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

A biographical and genealogical sketch of Dr. Archibald Henderson appeared in the October number of The Booklet in 1912. Since that time the subject of this sketch has added volumes to literature. It becomes necessary and highly proper that the continued activity be noted in The Booklet of any one of our contributors, many of whom are young—not yet in the zenith of life. Dr. Henderson's contribution this month is his brilliant historical essay: "The Creative Forces in Westward Expansion: Henderson and Boone." Like other of his creations, it will be hailed with delight by our readers. It is due to Dr. Henderson to record here the various activities that have won for him the distinguished place he holds in the literary world.

The literary passions of his childhood were Joel Chandler Harris ("Uncle Remus") and Samuel L. Clemens ("Mark Twain"). *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn,* the latter his favorite of all others, he came almost to know by heart. He happened one day to read that William Archer, the great English critic, said that "*Huckleberry Finn* was the best story written on either side of the Atlantic in the preceding twenty-five years." This dictum so expressed his own deliberate, if immature, conviction that it awakened in him a genuine respect for literary criticism. The incident marks the beginning of his concern for literary criticism.

He read Cooper's and Scott's works, and in fact read almost everything coming under his eye in his father's extensive library, except "Les Misérables," that enormous tome which looked too formidable to tackle. Later it appealed to him on a rainy day as the last resort. He read uninterruptedly until the word "Finis" stared him in the face! Well for him; its moral purpose and uplifting idealism made a profound and

lasting impression upon him. For the future he resolved to judge a book not by its physiognomy, not solely in terms of literary art, but also in terms of humanistic purpose.

With a father's influence as a churchman, instilling into him the principles of honor, uprightness and truth; a mother's and grandmother's influences as idealistic preceptors, the young lad grew up under such examples as laid the foundation for manhood's success.

This sketch would be incomplete if there were omitted mention of an occurrence that had much to do with shaping his career. After marriage in 1903, at which time he received only the meagre emoluments apportioned an associate professor in a university, he realized the need of adding to his exchequer, and accordingly he resorted to his pen in the effort to balance the deficit. He wrote for the clever magazine, *The Readers,* an essay two and a half pages long entitled *"The Present Vogue of Mr. Shaw."* Imagine his surprise shortly afterwards to receive a check for $25.00. In his heart he never really dreamed that any one would look at his writings. Thus encouraged by this tangible recognition, he began writing under the *nom de guerre* of "Erskine Steele" essays for different papers. These essays awoke great curiosity and provoked high tributes for the unknown author. It was some years before the original of "Erskine Steele" became known to the public. During that period he had won a place for himself in the national magazines over his own signature.

With the best advantages for a fine education, a retentive memory, patient industry and deep penetration, Dr. Henderson may be justly described an exceptionally erudite man.

As publicist, he has worked unremittingly, and often at considerable financial sacrifice, for the uplift of his State and the South.

As scientist, he has made important contributions to mathematical journals, and won the recognition of such famous

institutions of learning as Cambridge University (England) and the University of Chicago.

As man of letters, he has won the reputation of being the leading critic of the modern drama in the United States.

As public speaker, he is sought all over the country; a leader in this line.

As historian, he is the acknowledged authority on the movement of Westward Expansion during the period from 1750 to 1800.

Dr. Henderson raised the funds to erect a great memorial to "O. Henry," North Carolina's greatest man of letters. He has labored to honor North Carolina and her genius always; and has written appreciations of Christian Reid, John Charles McNeill, Margaret Busbee Shipp, O. Henry, etc.

He has been a pioneer in North Carolina in advocacy of woman suffrage. His writings on suffrage have attracted national attention. He has made able speeches in North Carolina on the subject.

He has written much since October, 1912. His article, "The Creative Forces in Westward Expansion," appeared in the *American Historical Review,* October, 1914. He has been invited to be a contributor to the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.* His article, "The Invasion of Kentucky" (1775), appeared in the last issue of that magazine (1914). His article on George Washington and the Declaration of Independence appeared in the *North Carolina Review,* February, 1912.

"The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," *Journal of American History,* Vol. VI, No. 4 (October-December, 1912).

"Forerunners of the Republic," *Neale's Monthly* (N. Y.), January-June, 1913.

"Richard Henderson: His Life and Times," *Charlotte* (N. C.) *Observer,* Sunday issues, March 9 to June 1, 1913.

"Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Trail," published in *Salisbury Evening Post,* July 4, 1914.

"The Inauguration of Westward Expansion," in *News and Observer* (Raleigh), July 5, 1914; *Charlotte Observer* (Charlotte), July 5, 1914.

"European Dramatists" came from the press on December 20, 1913. This work consists of a collection of essays which treat of six representative modern dramatists outside of the United States, some living, some dead—Strindberg, Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Wilde, Shaw and Barker. For this work Dr. Henderson has received the highest tributes from scholars, dramatists, newspapers and magazines. Edwin Markham's recent pronouncement that Archibald Henderson "stands to-day as the chief literary critic of the South and in the fore-front of the critics of the nation," calls especial attention to the new book. *The Pall Mall Gazette,* of London, says: "Dr. Henderson is one of the most vivacious of the younger writers of the day on matters of the theatre, and here he is at his liveliest."

Dr. Henderson keeps entirely abreast with the times. He is a member of the "American Historical Association," "Mississippi Valley Historical Association," "Ohio Valley Historical Association," "North Carolina State Literary and Historical Association," "North Carolina Sons of the Revolution," and although entitled to membership in, he has not yet joined, the "North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati."

Dr. Henderson was recently honored by being chosen national representative of the "Drama League of America" for the States of North Carolina and South Carolina. He is a member of the Drama League of America, the Poetry Society of America, and the Author's Club of London.

During the last ten years, in addition to the books which he has published, Dr. Henderson has published considerably over one hundred essays. These have appeared in five different languages, in great magazines and representative journals throughout the world. This great productivity and

publication in so many countries have contributed much to building up his European reputation as a literary critic.

Dr. Henderson's latest achievement was the materialization of his efforts to commemorate the work of "O. Henry" (William Sidney Porter), a native of Greensboro, N. C., considered the greatest American short-story writer of his day.

It was December 2, 1914, when, under the auspices of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, there was presented to the State a bronze memorial tablet to "O. Henry," designed by the famous American sculptor, Lorado Taft, and purchased with funds raised by popular subscription.

It has recently been stated that there are States in the Union which buy twenty-five copies of Dr. Henderson's books for every one copy sold in North Carolina. His writings are doubtless better known in Boston, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati and Philadelphia than they are known in Raleigh, Charlotte, Greensboro, Wilmington, and Winston-Salem; and they are more widely read in England, Germany and Norway than in North Carolina.

Dr. Henderson's latest book is "The Changing Drama." The reputation won by him as a dramatic critic—in particular of the modern drama—is evidenced by the fact that many hundreds of copies of "The Changing Drama" were sold in advance of publication (October 31, 1914). Already this book is hailed by critics as the ablest and most brilliant book on the modern drama ever written by an American, and regarded by many as "the standard work on the subject."

On the 23rd of June, 1903, Dr. Henderson was married to Miss Minna Curtis Bynum, of Lincolnton, N. C., a lady of rare accomplishments, having been awarded the degrees B. A. and M. A. from the University of North Carolina in June, 1902. She is the daughter of the late Rev. Wm. Shipp Bynum, a noted Episcopal preacher of his day. Mrs. Henderson, herself a woman of brilliant literary attainments, is the helpmate of her husband in his literary work, and indeed "the sum of all that makes a just man happy."

*GOVERNOR SIMEON EBEN BALDWIN.

Hon. Simeon Eben Baldwin, Governor of Connecticut, was born at New Haven February 5, 1840, the youngest son of Roger Sherman Baldwin, Governor of Connecticut and United States Senator. On his mother's side he is a descendant of Governors Haynes, Wyllys and Pitkin, of Connecticut. He was educated at Hopkins Grammar School of New Haven, Yale College, the Yale and Harvard Law Schools, and was admitted to the bar at New Haven in 1863, where he practiced his profession before both the State and the United States courts for thirty years.

In 1893 was appointed an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Errors, and in 1907 Chief Justice. Has since held places of honorable distinction.

He has been president of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, the American Historical Society, the American Bar Association, the Association of American Law Schools, the International Law Association, the American Social Science Association, and is now (1912) president of the American Political Science Association, the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Trustees of Hopkins' Grammar School, and the Connecticut Society of the Archæological Institute of America, and Director of the Bureau of Comparative Law of the American Bar Association. He is a member of the American Antiquarian Society, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Institute of Arts and Letters, a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, a corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and the *Institut de Droit Compare* of Brussels.

*Facts from Legislative History and Souvenir of Connecticut, Vol. VIII, 1911-1912.
Also *Review of Reviews; Who's Who in America.*

He received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Harvard in 1891, and from Columbia in 1911.

He has published a "Digest of the Connecticut Law Reports," "Modern Political Institutions," "American Railroad Law," "Illustrated Cases on Railroad Law," and "The American Judiciary." He is also one of the authors of "Two Centuries' Growth of American Law." He has contributed numerous articles to magazines in United States and foreign countries.

Governor Baldwin has long been the dean of the Yale Law School, and represents the best element of the old-line Eastern Democracy. He is a lecturer and writer on subjects vital to the interests of his state and country.

Governor Baldwin has won for himself the character of a just man, a respecter of law as the basis of civil society, and is a firm believer in the precepts of Christ. Richard Hooker, that great philosophical prose writer of the sixteenth century, has given its best definition: "Of law no less can be acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God; her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage; the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempt from her power."

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BOATING A SHAD SEINE, ALBEMARLE SOUND

Vol. XIV APRIL, 1915 No. 4

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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The North Carolina Booklet

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The Fisheries of Eastern Carolina

By William J. Leary, Sr.

The eastern part of the territory lying north and northeast of the Albemarle Sound is hemmed in by the sand shore of the ocean, which is usually called the "Banks," which defends it from the violence of the mighty storms, and the great billows of the Atlantic. Think of the million of grains of sand which receives the shock of the storm-driven waves, whose force is gradually spent among them, without harm, or loss to the "Banks." The "Banks" form the eastern boundary to various and vast sounds, which receive the flowing waters of useful and navigable rivers, draining pleasant and fertile lands, filled with the most hospitable people. These sounds and rivers abound in the finest fish on earth, affording food for millions of people. From the earliest dawn of civilization the people of this earth have been feeding on the fishes of the waters, both small and great. We feel sure of this, because from the earliest times we find undisputed evidence of their existence; and that they were used as food. The methods employed in catching them seem to have been, in the start, of the crudest sort; but no doubt they were just as toothsome as they are now. We wish that the evidence of fish and the fisheries were not quite so meager as we now find it; so little value is generally placed upon present every-day affairs, that current events relating thereto pass without being recorded, or noticed in any substantial manner.

It seems that the earlier colonists found the Indians catching fish in weirs, as well as with hooks made from bones and other hard substance or material; and that they caught them

very rapidly. We suppose the earlier settlers brought with them from the old country the methods of fishing which they had been taught; and no doubt used them successfully in our waters, as we do now.

There have been serious contentions of late years as to who started, or introduced, the seine for shad and herring fisheries on the Albemarle and its tributaries. There are statements, on both sides of the question, from respectable authorities regarding the matter. We shall therefore endeavor to treat each side in a conservative manner, and do them justice as we see it. It seems that Richard Brownrigg, of Wingfield, on the Chowan River, an emigrant from Ireland, was the first man who fished with a seine for shad and herring on the Chowan River. "As early as 1769, and probably earlier, Richard Brownrigg was engaged in catching herring, packing them and shipping them salted to foreign parts." The following copy of a letter taken from "The Life and Correspondence of James Iredell," written by Thomas Iredell, of St. Dorothys, Jamaica, to his nephew, James Iredell, then the Collector of Customs for Edenton, N. C., would seem to sustain and support this statement:

"St. Dorothys, Jamaica, July 10, 1769.

"Dear Nephew: I have already wrote you by this conveyance. I have determined of a runaway negro I send to you. His name is Spencer. Dispose of him as you can, and by first opportunity remit net proceeds in red-oak hogshead staves, and *about twenty barrels of herrings*. . . . I am told the gentleman who carries on the herring fishing is a Mr. Brownrigg, a brother to Councillor Brownrigg, of this Island, with whom I am intimately acquainted. He is a gentleman greatly esteemed here, and married into a very genteel family—the widow of a man of fortune.

"Your Affectionate Uncle,

"THOMAS IREDELL."

Dr. Richard Dillard, a relative of the Brownriggs, states that Thomas Brownrigg succeeded his father, Richard Brownrigg, in this profitable business, and later on, established fisheries on the Albemarle Sound, at Belvidere, and perhaps at other places.

In the Episcopal Church, St. Paul's, at Edenton, N. C., there is a tablet to the memory of the Rev. Daniel Earle, its rector in 1759. He was the clergyman who established the first classical school for boys in the State, at his home near the Chowan River, called Bandon. About the time of the Revolution the church had become somewhat dilapidated, the worshippers few in number. Parson Earle was a faithful minister and also a successful herring fisherman. It is related that one Sunday when he arrived in Edenton by way of his one-horse gig to conduct services he found chalked upon the church door, the following doggerel, to-wit:

"A half built church,
And a broken down steeple;
A herring-catching parson
And a dam set of people."

He was afterwards styled "The herring-catching parson." Parson Earle fished at his home place, Bandon, on the Chowan River and was a contemporary of Richard Brownrigg. During this period seine fishing was considered hazardous and impracticable in the broad and tempestuous waters of the Albemarle Sound. Col. R. B. Creecy stated, "Towards the close of the 18th century, about 1790 or 1795, it is thought a seine fishery was established by Lemuel Creecy just within the mouth of the Yeopim River, and in full view of the Albemarle Sound." Before the death of Lemuel Creecy a fishery was established at old Sandy Point Beach, on the Albemarle Sound by Joshua S. Creecy, Thomas Benbury and General Duncan McDonald, a connection by marriage. This we think was the first venture of seine fishing on the Albemarle Sound, and we think this was in 1814. It was followed, probably next year, by a fishery at Skinner's Point, about three miles from Edenton, established by Charles W.

Skinner and Josiah T. Granberry, both of Perquimans County. These ventures proving safe and profitable, were soon followed by the establishment of other fisheries on the Albemarle Sound and its tributaries.

Probably the next fishery established was at Eden House on the Chowan River by Joseph B. Skinner, Capt. Paine and William D. Lowther. There could not be found three men more unlike. Mr. Skinner was a cool-headed, clear-headed, intelligent, retired lawyer. Capt. Paine was a roarer, the embodiment of energy, and carried things by storm without calculation of cost or consequences. William D. Lowther was a quiet, modest, diffident,, imperturbable gentleman, delicate as a girl and too unselfish and gentle for this rough world. Once when a storm was raging, the boats out and everything in peril, Capt. Paine was full of vim. He had several times passed Mr. Lowther, sitting on a log, whistling a soft monotone and gazing at the sky. Capt. Paine passed him at a run, stopped before him, slapped him on his bald head and squalled: "Mr. Lowther you are fit for nothing but the kingdom of heaven."

Other seines came quickly. The writer in the *Fisherman & Farmer* refers to the Greenfield fishery as established by R. B. Creecy half a century ago. It was established by him, but not a half century ago, as the writer unkindly insinuates. It was established in 1848. "Mr. Josiah Collins, the elder, also established, about the beginning of this century, a fishery on Edenton Bay, but it was comparatively small, and was probably located at Collins' Point, or what is now called Cherry's Point." Mr. Joseph B. Skinner was also a fisherman in his time; he was born January 18, 1781, and died December 22, 1851. He was a very remarkable man in a great many respects, and his business methods brought to him a considrable estate. He resided on his plantation just beyond the limits of the town of Edenton; the property now owned by Mr. R. E. Chappell. When Mr. Skinner lived there we believe it was called the Manor House. He was an able law-

yer, with excellent judgment and business foresight. Among the important things he did, it is stated, he first started the fishing of seines on the waters of the Albemarle Sound, and the first to perceive their great importance, and the first, by his energy and enterprise to bring this knowledge to the use and benefit of the community at large, and to develop this great natural industry. In the spring of 1807 he began a fishery at Eden House, on the Chowan River, and as he acquired knowledge and experience in seine fishing, his broad and active mind grasped the greater problem of fishing upon the broader and greater waters of the Albemarle Sound. The seines fished before this were much smaller, and did not compare with the seines attempted by Mr. Skinner on the Albemarle Sound. After he had thought the matter out and saw success ahead of him, he needed funds to carry out the projected scheme. He knew Mr. Josiah Collins well, for he had been a client of his for many years. Mr. Collins was, perhaps, the wealthiest man in the community, and to him he applied for such money as he desired. Mr. Collins was also a successful business man, and when Mr. Skinner approached him on the subject, he did not take much stock in the project, but expressed himself frankly, and said he thought the scheme visionary and impracticable. As stated above, Mr. Collins was wealthy and had some experience in seine fishing, as he had a fishery on Edenton Bay, a most beautiful sheet of water. However, Mr. Skinner had the courage of his convictions, and proceeded with his plans and the purpose to establish a fishery on the Albemarle Sound, which he finally did, and met with great success—such success that his example was followed by others. He created at that time a new source of wealth, and added annually hundreds of thousands of dollars to the industrial products of the country.

Before this time the herring and shad fisheries had been confined to the Chowan River, the Roanoke River and their tributaries, and it is said were few in number and of small extent. Mr. Skinner was a most deserving citizen of our

State. It is a pity that there are so few facts recorded of our largest interests and of the people who have given them impetus and promoted them by their great skill and ability. To sustain the statements relative to Mr. Joseph Blount Skinner stated above, we give very respectable authority, to-wit: In a letter to the Reverend Thomas H. Skinner, a brother of Mr. Joseph B. Skinner, Judge H. Nash, in writing of Mr. Skinner from Hillsborough, N. C., November 29, 1852, stated: "To your brother, I have always heard, the residents on the Chowan and the Albemarle section are, in a great measure, indebted for their fisheries. Not that he was the first to spread the seine in their waters, but that he was the first to perceive their great national importance, and the first, by his enterprise and energy, who brought that knowledge to the use and benefit of the community at large. To him the State is indebted for having led in developing this great national interest." In a brief obituary nótice by Governor Iredell, written in January, 1852, on Mr. Joseph Blount Skinner, he stated: "Mr. Skinner also gave the first impulse to that valuable branch of industry in that section of the State, the herring and shad fisheries. The fisheries had been confined to the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers and their tributary streams, and were few in number, and of small extent. Mr. Skinner, with his characteristic energy, first ventured upon the experiment, then deemed visionary and impractical, and launched his seines upon the wide and oft-vexed Albemarle itself. His example has been followed until the northern shore of the sound is literally studded with fisheries, creating a new source of wealth, and adding annually hundreds of thousands of dollars to the industrial products of the country. Such a man may emphatically be styled a great public benefactor. Richly did Mr. Skinner earn the distinction. Deep should be the gratitude of the public, and ever should his tomb be encircled by a garland of merit, more precious than the warrior's laurel."

Governor Iredell certainly used strong words in setting forth the merits of Mr. Skinner in relation to his connection with the fishing interest. The Reverend Mr. Thomas H. Skinner, in referring to the statement of Judge Nash above set out, says: "The Judge is right in saying that 'he was not the first to spread the seine in their waters,' if he uses the plural form 'waters' by analogy, or continuity of the two waters which he mentions, but he was first, as Governor Iredell says in his obituary notice of him, to spread the seine on the Albemarle Sound. I know this well, for I was a member of his family when, in the spring of 1807, he began his fishery at Eden House."

The nearest approach to a fishery on the sound before this date was one the first Mr. Collins established on Edenton Bay; but this was comparatively very small; was not on the sound, and when my brother informed Mr. Collins of his project in which he was about to engage, and inquired if he would let him have a loan to facilitate its execution, the venerable man frowned on the undertaking as venturous, if not impracticable. Independently of all men, he proceeded; one of his friends, a man of much executive tact and force, he associated with himself in the management of operations, but he provided all the means and kept the chief superintendence of everything in his own hands. It was the writer's fortune to serve as a sort of subaltern clerk, being in his sixteenth year, in this the first of the fishing season on the shores on the Albemarle.

Some amusing things are told of Mr. Skinner even to this day. On one occasion the Episcopal church was repaired, and Mr. Skinner attended the auction sale, when the pews were to be let out to the highest bidder; he had assessed the pews at a rate which would secure at least enough to cover the expenses. But, except himself, there were no bidders at the price he set. All the most desirable pews were pronounced his by the auctioneer. One of the wealthy parishioners approached Mr. Skinner and asked him what he was going to do

with those pews. Among the pews he had rented was one this gentleman had been occupying with his family. Mr. Skinner replied: "God bless me, sir; I am going to bring my negroes to church." The gentleman said: "You are not going to put them in the best pews in the church where the *elite* sit, are you?" His prompt answer was: "Yes, sir." They soon got around him, and the pews were sold again, at the price he had assessed. It is unnecessary to state that he turned the amount received into the Parish treasury.

The following is from the pen of that versatile writer, Dr. Richard Dillard, of Edenton, N. C.: "The herring fishing seems to have been a very old industry even in Great Britain. Some authorities say it was going on during the time of the Spanish Armada, and Swinden, in his history of the Antiquities of Great Yarmouth, says that 'herring fishing' began there as early as 495. It is now one of the most important industries in the United Kingdom, and the herring fisheries of Scotland and Ireland are still world famed. Richard Brownrigg having emigrated from Wichlow on the coast of Ireland, it is very natural that he should have undertaken in his adopted home the pursuits of his native section. So, not long after reaching this country he cleared his first fishery at Winfield on the Chowan River, and I am quite sure he was the father of the fishing industry in the Albemarle section, at least he is the earliest of whom there is any authentic record. Colonel Creecy, in his criticism, has confounded him with his son, Thomas Brownrigg, who fished later at the same place, and also on the Albemarle Sound. The earliest mention of fisheries on the court house records here is in the wills of Richard Brownrigg and Rev. Daniel Earle. Richard Brownrigg's, dated October 7, 1775, recommends to his executors that "due attention be made in carrying on the mills and fisheries in all their branches," and a section from Parson Earle's, dated 1785, reads thus: "I give to my beloved wife, Charity Earle, the plantation on which I now live, for the period of her natural life, except the fisheries and the houses

built for the use of said fisheries." From 1774 to 1775, says Iredell in one of his notes, 6,325 barrels and two quintals of herring were exported from Edenton to Southern Europe, Africa and West Indies. In 1787 there is record of 5,328 barrels having been exported from here, to say nothing of home consumption. The catch must have been large, as the price was low. There seems to have been a premium paid to every one who exported fish from here, from the old records of the custom house. I extracted the following: "February, 1798, paid Stephen Carpenter $3.96 for premium on 22 bbls. of fish exported by him," and "Feb. 28, 1798, paid John Little $124.00 for premium on 694 bbls. fish exported by him." There are also a number of similar items.

In speaking of fish and the introduction of seines into our waters, Moore, our historian, says: "At that time (1815) two Northern men had introduced a long seine worked by windlass and horse power at Lawrence's Point on the Chowan, six miles below Colerain; soon others were put in, two thousand yards in length, requiring six horses and fifty men and women in their handling. Prior to this time the spring catch had always been by the means of short float nets and weirs." Major Moore further says: "The fishing business had received an enormous impetus since 1815." See the edition of 1880, page 17 of his history.

There has been considerable discussion as to who was the first man that introduced seine fishing in these waters, and it strikes me that the sworn statement of Mr. Joseph B. Skinner, which we shall quote in this paper, will settle the question, so far as he is concerned. We know that he was an honorable man, and would not claim anything but what was right. And then, again, it seems that there is no conflict in the contentions made by the several persons to the controversy; each statement may be true, without coming in conflict with the other. The evidence given by Mr. Skinner is clear and to the point and sustains his reputation for ability, learning and vigor of thought. His reputation as a lawyer at the bar was

most excellent. The fact that Mr. Josiah Collins employed him in a professional way, was strong evidence of this. We, therefore, believe that his statement, when conservatively considered and analyzed, will, beyond question, throw so much light on the question at issue, that we shall hear no more from anyone as to who did use first the large seines in use in the Albemarle Sound.

In Collins vs. Benbury, Iredell's Law, Volume V, page 118, which by chance we have just laid our hands on, we find a statement under oath from Mr. Skinner himself: "The plaintiff then called upon Joseph B. Skinner, who stated that in 1807 he, in connection with another gentleman, established the *first large fishery on the waters of the Albemarle Sound;* that at the place which the plaintiff fished, a small seine was employed in 1798, but was, after that time discontinued; that in 1817, a company of gentlemen employed a seine at the same place, about three hundred yards long, but it was small in comparison with the length of the seines now used in these waters of the Albemarle; that a seine about the same length was employed at this beach for several years in succession, but how many he could not state; * * * * * Upon cross examination Mr. Skinner stated that according to the usage, by which the right of fishing was enjoyed on the Albemarle Sound, if the owner of any of the land on the sound wished to establish a fishery and he found it necessary to his interest to fish the waters opposite the lands of the next proprietor, he had a right to do so provided no fishery was then established and used by such proprietor. But if the owner of the adjacent lands afterwards established a fishery on his lands, then the owner of the land had the right to fish the water opposite his lands, though the water had been before occupied by the seine of another person; that in the case of two fisheries established near the line dividing two tracts of land, each one of them had the right to shoot his seine into and fish the water opposite the land of the other, whenever it became necessary to do so by reason of the current running

up or down; that in the case last mentioned, when the current was running down, the owner of the lower fishery would shoot his seine into, and fish the water opposite the land of the owner above; and so, when the current was running up, the owner of the upper fishery would shoot his seine into the waters opposite the land below; that until the owner of land lying on the Albemarle Sound established a fishery by building the necessary houses, clearing the water of stumps, logs, etc., and providing a seine, every citizen of the State had a right to fish the water opposite the land, and between the shore and the channel; and after a fishery had been established, whenever the owner ceased to fish it, the citizens of the State had the right to fish the waters which had been occupied by the seine. The witness was enquired of, if he knew any custom regulating the rights of fishing, where two fisheries were so situated upon an indented position of the shore of the sound that each would be obliged to occupy the same water in fishing the water opposite their respective shores. He said he did not know of any custom regulating the rights of fishermen whose fisheries were so situated, as he knew of no fisehries so situated. In such a case, he supposed they would have to come to some understanding."

Testimony of John H. Leary was about the same as Mr. J. B. Skinner's as to the establishment of Sandy Point Fishery, and he stated that in consequence of the facilities for shipping produce, all the lands on Albemarle Sound were more valuable than lands of the same fertility, at a distance from the sound.

Porte Crayon visited our fisheries in the early part of the year 1857, when the seines were placed out in the waters of the Albemarle Sound by the means of flats, called bateaux, propelled by oars, handled by men, and drawn in from the waters of the sound by means of windlasses drawn by mules or horses. Most of our people recall this means of bringing in and carrying out the seines. He gives this graphic description of the beach and the fishery, to-wit: "In the foreground

was the landward boat moored to the beach, while her swarthy crew were actively engaged in piling up the seine as it was drawn in by the exertions of four lively mules at the windlass hard by. In the centre, upon a bank a little elevated above the water, rose a group of sheds and buildings, alive with active preparation. Beyond these the seaward boat appeared, while upon the surface of the water, enclosing the whole beach in a grand semi-circle, swept the dotted cork line of the seine. To complete this scene of bustle and animation on land and water the air furnished its legions of fierce and eager participants. Numerous white gulls, fish-hawks, and eagles hovered over or sailed in rapid circles over the narrow cordon of the seine, at times uttering screams of hungry impatience, then darting like lightning to the water and bearing away a struggling prize in his beak or talons. It was wonderful to observe the brigand-like audacity with which these birds follow up the nets and snatch their share of the prey, sometimes almost within arm's length of their human fellow-fishermen and fellow-robbers. But we must not tarry too long at the table. The approaching cries of the mule-drivers at the windlasses warn us that the seine is gathering in, and on sallying forth we perceive that the dotted semi-circle of cork line is narrowed to the diameter of fifty paces. Both boats are at hand, their platforms piled high with enormous masses of netting, like great stacks of clover hay. The windlasses have done their part, and the mules discharged from their labors, as they are led away by the conductor, to celebrate the event with their cheerful braying. All hands now leave the boats, and, at a signal from the chief, dash into the water waist deep to man the rope. A train of women, armed with knives and bearing larger tubs, is seen hastening down the bank. Within the circuit of the net one may already see a thousand backs and fins swimming rapidly over the surface of the water. Every eye is lighted with excitement. 'Hard cork!' shouts the captain. 'Mind your lead, thar!' yells the lieutenant. 'Hard

cork, mind lead! ay, ay, Sir!' roar the fifty black dripping tritons as they heave the heavy net upon the beach. Behind the cork line where the seine bags the water now is churned to foam by the struggling prey, and the silvery sides of the fish may be seen flashing through the strong meshes. The eager gulls shriek at the sight, and sweep unheeded over the busy fishermen. One more hurrah, and the haul is landed, a line of wide planks is staked up behind, the net withdrawn, and the wriggling mass is rolled upon the beach—ten or fifteen thousand voiceless wretches, whose fluttering sounds like a strong rushing wind among leaves. 'To the boats! to the boats!' and away go the men; now the boys and women rush knee-deep into the gasping heap. The shad are picked out, counted, and carried away to the packing-house. The rock are also sorted, and then the half-savage viragos seat themselves in line, and begin their bloody work upon the herring. With such unmerciful celerity they work, that the unhappy fish has scarcely time to appreciate the new element into which he has been introduced ere he is beheaded, cleaned and salted away. If you now raise your eyes to look for the boats, you will see them already far on their way out in the sound, the voice of their captain mingled with the cries of the disappointed gulls. In the operations of the fisheries there are no delays. Success is in proportion to the promptitude and energy displayed in every department, and from the beginning of the season to the end they are driving night and day without intermission. The powers of endurance are as heavily taxed as in the life of a soldier campaigning in an enemy's country.

"About midnight Porte Crayon was aroused by the hand of the manager on his shoulder: "If you wish to see a night haul, now is your time, sir; we will land the seine in fifteen or twenty minutes." Mr. Crayon sprung to his feet, and hastily donning his vestments, repaired to the beach. Here was a scene similar to that which he had witnessed during the day, except that the picturesque effect was greatly

enhanced by the glare of the fires that illuminated the landing. The wild swarthy figures that hurried to and fro carrying pine torches, the red light flashing over the troubled waters, the yelling and halloing suggested the idea that these might be Pluto fishermen dragging nets from the Styx, or maybe a dance of the demons and warlocks on Walpurgis Night.

"The product of these fisheries constitutes a most important item in the wealth of this section, and during the fishing season (which begins about the middle of March, and lasts until the middle of May) their success is a bright subject of as general conversation and all-absorbing interest to the inhabitants as is the yearly overflow of the Nile to the Egyptians. To establish a first-class fishery requires from five to ten thousand dollars of outlay; and the management employs from sixty to eighty persons, all negroes except the managers. These are for the most part free negroes, who live about in Chowan and the adjoining counties, and who, as the season approaches, gather in to the finny harvest as to an annual festival.

"At Belvidere, the seine used was twenty-seven hundred yards long and twenty-seven feet deep, which is packed upon the platforms laid on the sterns of two heavy ten-oared (flat) boats (known by us as bateaux) which are rowed out together to a point opposite the landing beach, about a mile distant. Here the boats separate, moving in opposite directions, and the seine is played out from the platforms as they row slowly toward their destined points—the eastward boat following a course down the stream and parallel to the beach, the landward boat curving inward towards the shore at the upper end of the fishery, thus heading the shoal of fish as they journey upward to the spawning grounds. The top line of the seine is buoyed with numerous cork, while the bottom, which is attached to the lead line, sinks with its weight. When the seine is all played out, heavy ropes, made fast to the staves at the ends, are carried in to the great wind-

lasses at either end of the fishing ground, at this place about eight hundred yards apart. The aggregate length of the seine with these ropes is not less than two miles and a half, the process of winding being now continued by lines tied to the lead line of the seine, which, as they successively appear, are attached to consecutive windlasses nearing the centre. The boats follow to receive the net until they arrive at the innermost windlasses of one-mule power, which are not more than sixty or eighty yards apart. Here, as before described, the men handle the rope themselves, land the haul, take up the intervening net, and put out immediately to do it all over again. The whole process takes from five to seven hours, averaging four hauls per day of twenty-four hours. The shad and the herring are the staple crop for packing. The miscellaneous fish are sold on the beach, eaten by the fishermen and plantation negroes, or are carted with the offal to manure the adjoining lands. The refuse fish commonly taken are sturgeon, rock, cats, trout, perch, mullet, gar, gizzard-shad or ale-wife, hog-choke or flounder, lampreys, and common eels. The bug-fish is sometimes taken; in its mouth it carries a sort of parasitical bug."

The article from which we have so extensively quoted was published in Harper's Monthly Magazine, No. LXXXII, March, 1857, Vol. XIV. It is a most excellent article and will repay anyone for the time spent in reading it, and looking at the illustrations, which are good. We have given his description of the beach, because it covers the ground thoroughly; and we do not believe this paper would be complete without such a description—in fact it is a part of the history of the fishing interest. If Mr. Porte Crayon could visit us again, in our day, he would find a different state of affairs; new methods of taking fish, caring for them, manner of shipping, and the kind shipped—which embraces the most of them mentioned by him as refuse fish, the rock and sturgeon especially.

The idea of shipping fish in ice to the northern markets was first adopted by Mr. G. J. Cherry, who shipped shad and herring in barrels covered with bagging. Later on Col. R. G. Mitchell introduced fish boxes, which are extensively used by all classes of our fishermen, in making shipments of iced fish for the market.

In 1869 Captain Peter M. Warren, a resident of Chowan County, applied steam as a motive power to drive windlasses used at fisheries for drawing in seines—this was a great help to the fishermen, and a decided advance in such methods. In 1879 Captain Warren extended the application of steam as a motive power to the bateaux used by fishermen at their fisheries. No one but a fisherman could really appreciate the advantages thus afforded. Our recollection is that this scheme was tried out at Drummond's Point Fishery near the mouth of Yeopim River, now owned by John G. Wood, Jr., but then owned by J. L. G. Smith from Long Island, New York, a member of the Bull Smith family of that island. He stated his family got this name from a trade by a member of it, with some Indians for a tract of land. For a certain consideration he was to have all the land he could ride a bull around in a given time. By his ride he won a considerable tract of land, and his family the name and distinction of the Bull Smith family. It was currently reported at the time that Mr. Wiley Rea, a carpenter, was the man who first suggested to Captain Peter M. Warren the idea of applying steam as the motive power to windlasses and steam flats for hauling in seines. We know that it was currently reported at that time, during which Captain Warren and Mr. Pea were together a great deal. There cannot be any doubt of the fact that Captain Warren put the schemes or methods into operation. An idea stillborn is of no value at all, and as far as the world is concerned amounts to very little; it is the advance or progress made that tells; and judged by the practical results accomplished, Captain Warren deserved all the credit he ever got for the work he did.

In connection with the fishing done at Drummond's Point fishery, it is said that four hundred thousand herring were caught at a single haul. It was impossible to land so many fishes at one time, and the seine had to be anchored out and smaller seines used until the most of them were landed before the haul could be finally made. We have been at fisheries when between one and two hundred thousand herrings were caught, and at that time we do not think it was unusual. Some years ago at Greenfield fishery there was a haul of 75,000 herring; and it was said the several hauls before and after this haul were few in comparison with it. It was supposed the seine caught the entire shoal of herring, which shows fish must swim together in the water like birds flock together in the air. There are no seines fished on the shores of Chowan County at this time, having been supplanted by a cheaper method of fishing, which is known by the name of "Dutch Net." This net is called the "Dutch Net" because it was introduced into the water of the Albemarle Sound in 1869 by Captain John P. Hettrick and his brother, William Hettrick, Pennsylvania Dutchmen, who had been fishing with these nets in the Great Northern lakes for whitefish. During the Civil War Capt. John P. Hettrick came down here as a Federal soldier and seeing the sound, and inquiring about the fish which abounded in its waters, he concluded he would come down with his nets as soon as the war was over and he could do so. The first of these were fished at Sandy Point, about ten miles below Edenton, N. C., on the north side of the sound. They were cheap, as stated, and proved a great success, and were readily adopted by our people, with the result that the seine fisheries on our side of the sound are not fished any longer. Skinner's Point Fishery was considered the best shad fishery we had in Chowan; and Greenfield was considered the safest as the seasons run, and the best herring fishery on the sound.

Avoca has always been considered the best shad fishery on the Albemarle Sound and the largest rock-fish fishery. At a

single haul as many as forty-six thousand shad have been taken, and one hundred and eighty thousand herring, and thirty eight thousand pounds of striped bass, which are considered very large catches of these kinds of fish. In an article recently written by Mr. J. H. Etheridge, of Colerain, N. C., the statement is made that in 1878 a haul was landed at Colerain that counted out over a half million (of herring), and in 1882 one of two hundred and sixteen thousand. He also states there are a crowd of witnesses who can and will testify to these facts; and from 1878 to 1883 the average catch was fifteen million per season. The Dutch nets which have changed the method of catching shad and herring are thus described: The stakes are about three by six inches in size, separated by short intervals in a line; the stakes are driven some four or five feet into the bottom or bed of the sound, and the nets are stretched out and fastened to them with several pounds or inclosures in which the fish are arrested in their migratory movements up the waters, hunting for the spawning grounds, and seeking an outlet, enter the net and being unable to find their way out are taken up with dip nets. The line of nets may extend in the sound a thousand or more yards. The fish follow the leads and finally get into the hearts or pounds from which they are taken as stated. The boats used are flat bottomed, so that they can easily cross the line at the top of the heart, pound or pod. A great many herring are caught in these nets, but not so many shad in proportion to the numbers that come into our waters. We have advanced some in looking after the by-products, heretofore wasted or used for fertilizers. We have two canning factories for the roe from the herring that are cut for salting and packing down. And it is convenient for the housekeeper to have in her pantry; in fact we know of nothing more convenient or handy to have around. The roe makes a most delightful dish for breakfast or supper.

The fishing business for years back has been one of the largest (conducted) in this section of the State; millions of

shad, herring, rock, perch, and other fish are shipped from Edenton alone; and many other thousands and millions from Dare County, Hertford and Elizabeth City, N. C., during the annual spawning season of these fish. This business gives employment to hundreds of people, both male and female. The fishing season lasts about seventy-five days, beginning in March and ending about the middle of May in each and every year. It is an interesting sight to be at one of these fisheries and witness what is called a "haul." The seines extend out from one to two miles and then are pulled in as stated by Porte Crayon. The cutting and packing of these fish is most interesting, and it is wonderful to see how rapidly the men and women accustomed to this kind of work can cut and clean these fish—as many as two or three thousand an hour. We believe our seine fisheries when in full blast were the most extensive inland fisheries in the world, as well as the most profitable. The seine fisheries in Dare County, located at Croatan and elsewhere, were among the best, and were generally fished by the Davises, Palins and others of Elizabeth City. Sheriff W. T. Brinkley, a native of Chowan County, was the owner of one of these fisheries for years, during which period he was a resident of Dare, and lived in Manteo or nearby.

The fish-catching in the east of North Carolina in 1897 was 142,326,000, valued at $1,583,600.00, and we are satisfied that earlier records will show a much larger catch. In 1873 under the direction of U. S. Fish Commissioner Baird, about 45,000 shad were hatched out at New Bern, and 100,000 striped bass at Weldon, N. C., and all of these were planted in local waters. In 1875 shad hatching was attempted at New Bern by Mr. Milner on behalf of the general Government but no noteworthy results were obtained. In 1877 the State of North Carolina began fish cultural operations on its own account. In May Mr. Frank M. Clarke, of Michigan, was engaged, through Professor Baird, to superintend shad hatching on the Neuse; little success was obtained owing to

unfavorable seasonal conditions. In the fall of 1877, a trout and salmon hatchery was constructed at Swannanoa Gap by Mr. W. F. Page, assisted by Mr. S. G. Worth, who enlarged and improved the hatchery, and the incubation of brook trout eggs and California salmon eggs was begun shortly thereafter. The shad hatching in 1878 was noteworthy. The site of the operations was Salmon Creek, at the head of the Albemarle Sound, and the season was most successful, a million of fry being produced. In 1879 a hatchery was built by the State at Morganton, at which salmon, trout and carp were hatched and distributed, but was abandoned in 1882. Shad hatching was continued by the Government at the mouth of Chowan River, the steamer Lookout being employed in this work. In 1880 the State had a fish hatchery at Avoca, and secured the eggs from the Sutton and Scotch Hall beaches; the operations proved successful, and the State continued to operate the hatchery at Avoca until 1884, and during the year 1882 of this period adopted the McDonald hatchery jar, being the first State to employ this most important device. In 1884 Mr. S. G. Worth, at a place on the Roanoke River, aided by the U. S. Commissioner of Fisheries, took over four millions of striped bass eggs, since which time a great many eggs have been hatched and distributed in the waters of this State and others. At Edenton there is a most successful fish hatchery, under the superintendency of Mr. W. E. Morgan. One hundred and forty millions of shad eggs have been incubated in one season; this was in the year 1913. One of our citizens said of Mr. Morgan, who is a cultured gentleman: "I wish to say something relative to the efficient management in which the shad eggs and fry have been handled. Never during my stay have things been kept in such perfect shape and neatness; all due to the skillful management of our worthy and esteemed friend, Superintendent W. E. Morgan, who was sent to Paris, France, by the U. S. Fish Commission, to look after our Government's interest, and to other expositions, thus giving him much and varied experience. He is always nice and

has pleasing manners, and is capable of handling help with great ease. The percentage of incubations have been much greater than any previous year; all due to Mr. Morgan's skillfulness and attention to the business in which he is untiring, and it leads to the greatest success." We know Mr. Morgan personally, and this gentleman has not said any more in commendation of him than he deserves. He is on the job at all times.

Sturgeon fishing was first introduced by Capt. A. T. Cann, in 1889; he came from the State of Delaware. The nets used for catching these fish are from 600 to 1,000 yards long, and are made of large cotton twine with meshes from 12 to 16 inches. Only one of them is usually fished to a boat carrying two men. They have no stakes, as they are not required, anchors being mostly used. One time the sturgeon were quite numerous, but they have so thinned out that it hardly pays to fish for them in our waters at this time. It is a great pity, and the State ought to take some action in the matter, so that their utter extinction will not be accomplished. A large sturgeon is worth about one hundred dollars. These fish are from five to nine feet in length, and weigh from one hundred and twenty-five to three hundred pounds. As many as three hundrd of these fish have been taken during a season of about sixty days, from one net, but it is said one hundred and fifty a season was considered good. The roe is used for cavier, a great German dish, and is highly prized; as well as most valuable. The roe from four or six sturgeon will fill a keg. The offal has great fertilizing property and is said to be more valuable than shad or herring offal.

We have endeavored to secure data that could be considered accurate and reliable, and we have selected only such data as we have considered of historical value. We have just received a letter from Mr. E. H. Walke, who fished for many years at the famous Avoca fishery, a cut of which we hope will accompany this article. Mr. Walke states: "That on the 6th of May, 1876, we made two hauls of Rock fish; the first

was 38,000 lbs., the second was 13,000 lbs., both in one day. In 1877 we made a haul of herring of 188,000 by actual count, or 60 stands that held 3,000 herring to the stand. In 1901 I made three hauls of shad, to-wit: 45,000, 46,000 and 44,000 respectively; making 135,000 in the three hauls. This is the largest fishing we ever done. In 1886 I caught 105 sturgeon at three hauls." We are very glad that Mr. Walke let us have these figures, as they show the actual catch at the Avoca fishery during the years stated, and are, therefore, of historical value. The statement of the figures sustain the importance of legislation for the protection of the young fish, and for their propagation, as the catch of these fish of today is nothing like the hauls Mr. Walke writes of.

We feel greatly indebted to Dr. Joseph Pratt, State Geologist, and Dr. Hugh M. Smith for facts secured from their written works, and Dr. R. B. Drane, Dr. Richard Dillard, Mr. John G. Wood, Sr., Mr. W. H. Walke, and others, for the facts upon which we have based the statements in this article.

Fiscal and Economic Conditions in North Carolina During the Civil War

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The hard task of war is not confined to the battlefield, nor its heroism to the soldier and sailor. Upon non-combatants rest the duties of repleting the ranks decimated by mortality, of providing supplies with a diminishing number of laborers, and of keeping open the channels of trade and commerce. War is therefore a test of economic resources as well as of military force and skill. In the light of this fact the contest between the Union and the Confederacy was an unequal one; for in the North during that conflict, agricultural productivity was but slightly impaired, manufactures prospered, the inventive genius flowered, and the crisis in the currency was met by the National Bank act. On the other hand, in the South, cotton, the staple crop, declined from 4½ million bales in 1860 to approximately ½ million bales in 1864, while the blockade so interfered with export trade that the price on the local markets declined with the decrease in production. Manufactures did not increase sufficiently to meet demands and there was no stroke of genius to prevent a collapse of the currency. Yet the supreme test of the Confederacy was not its inferiority in resources, but the ways and means by which the odds were met. Surely the temper of the Southern people from 1861 to 1865 cannot be fully comprehended without some acquaintance with the methods by which the non-combatants contributed to the "Lost Cause." The subject must be approached from two angles: one is that of the government of the Confederate States and its policies, the other the measures of the State governments. Of these the former has been more widely treated. In the future larger account must be taken of war legislation in the

several States and its effect on the people. It is therefore hoped that the present discussion of fiscal and economic conditions in North Carolina from 1861 to 1865 may not be untimely.

A.—The State Finances.

There were three financial problems in North Carolina in 1861. One was the inequalities in the system of raising revenue. Land, personal property, income from professional services, dividends and profits were taxed according to value at different rates, while slaves were taxed as polls, and slaves below the age of twelve and above fifty were exempt. Thus land valued at $97,672,975 in 1860 yielded $195,124, while slaves valued at $162,866,763 (valuation of 1863) through the poll tax paid only $122,148. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1860 the issue of ad valorem taxation of all property, including slaves, had been raised by the Whig party and its defeat was due very largely to the excitement of national issues. How far a war in defense of the slave system would affect the question of taxing slave property at its real value, remained to be seen. The second problem was that of the State debt. From 1848 to May, 1861, $9,749,500 of bonds had been issued. These were mainly for aid to railroads and other works of internal improvement. During the war $1,370,000 previously authorized were issued. For the redemption of the bonds a Sinking Fund had been established in 1856, consisting of the State stock in the Raleigh and Gaston and the North Carolina railroads. Whether the fund would be preserved for its original purpose or used in supporting the new debt created by the war was a matter of importance. The Literary Fund, from which the public schools were supported, consisting of approximately $3,000,000 worth of securities in 1860, was likewise threatened. Finally there was the problem of finding ways and means for the equipment and support of the State troops, and of meeting other expenditures incurred by the war. The magnitude of this task may be realized by contrasting the public fund,

which met the regular expenses of the government, in 1861 and the years immediately following. For the fiscal year ending October 31, 1861, it was $3,523,981.25. By the same day in 1862 it was $13,297,973.60, a year later it was $16,208,440.88, while in 1864 it declined to $6,936,672.08. This expansion of income was the paramount fiscal problem of the war. Its solution also shaped the policy toward taxation, the Sinking Fund, and the Literary Fund. It therefore demands careful consideration.

A. I.—Revenue.

The principal measure by which the increase in the State's income was accomplished was the issue of treasury notes. These were authorized by two bodies, the legislature and the Secession Convention which, after four sessions, finally adjourned in May, 1862. The first extra session of the legislature authorized the alternate issue of treasury notes and six per cent. bonds to the amount of $5,000,000, of which $2,750,000 were to be treasury notes.[1] At the second extra session $1,800,000 of notes were authorized.[2] The first session of 1862 authorized $1,500,000 more, fundable in six per cent. twenty year bonds, and the treasurer was given liberty to increase the issue by $3,000,000.[3] At the adjourned session of 1863, $400,000 were also authorized.[4] Likewise the regular session of 1864 authorized $3,000,000, and the adjourned session of the same year, $3,000,000.[5]

Thus $15,450,000 of treasury notes were authorized by the legislature. The convention was also liberal in the matter. At its first session it authorized $200,000 of notes.[6] This was followed at the second session by $3,000,000 six per cents exchangeable for six per cent. bonds.[7] At the third

1 Laws, 1860, I Extra Session, ch. 4.
2 Laws, 1860, II Extra Session, ch. 18.
3 Laws, 1862-3, ch. 29.
4 Laws, Adjourned Session, ch. 35.
5 Laws, 1864, ch. 23; Adjourned Session, ch. 18.
6 Ordinance, I Session, 34.
7 Ordinance, II Session, 16.

session $1,500,000 were authorized which, as well as the notes of the former session, were fundable in eight per cent. bonds.[8] At the fourth session $2,000,000 more was authorized, also fundable in bonds.[9] Thus $6,700,000 in notes were authorized by the convention, making, with those authorized by the legislature, $22,150,000. Moreover the convention assumed the State's quota of the Confederate tax, to be funded in seven per cent. notes.

The total amount of notes issued was left to the discretion of the Treasurer and the Governor. They were guided by the legislative appropriations and the amount formerly in the treasury. According to the Treasurer's report at the end of the war $8,507,847.50 had been issued and $3,261,511.25 had been retired, leaving in circulation $5,246,336.25. To insure the circulation of the notes the Treasurer was directed not to accept in payment of obligations to the State the notes of those banks that would not honor the treasury notes.[10]

A second method by which the vast increase in revenue was attained was the issue of bonds. The legislature at the first extra session authorized the issue of $2,250,000, and the convention also authorized $3,000,000.[11] Banks purchasing the bonds were relieved of the obligation of specie payment so long as any portion of the bonds remained unredeemed and were allowed to issue their notes of less denomination than one dollar to the extent of five per cent. of their capital stock paid in, provided such action did not infringe upon their charters. In 1862 $5,000,000 additional were authorized, and in 1863, $2,000,000.[12] Moreover the State assumed its proportion of the Confederate war tax; to meet it notes were to be issued, convertible in seven per cent. bonds, the amount of bonds actually issued being $1,384,500, the as-

8 Ordinance, III Session, 35.
9 Ordinance, IV Session, 39.
10 Laws, II Extra Session, ch. 18.
11 Laws, I Extra Session, ch. 4; Ordinance, I Session, 34.
12 Laws, 1862-63, ch. 29; Adjourned Session, ch. 26.

sumption expiring after 1862.[13] Finally aid in the construction of the Chatham Railroad was given to the extent of $249,000 in bonds.[14] Thus the total bond issues for war and allied purposes were $13,120,500. There were also issued $1,370,000 of bonds authorized prior to 1861, making a bonded debt at the close of the conflict of $24,240,000.

The market value of bonds and notes is one of the interesting phases of war finance. The notes depreciated, and in 1865 the following scale of depreciation was adopted:[15]

Month.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	
January	----	$1.20	$3.00	$21.00	$50.00
February	----	1.30	3.00	21.00	50.00
March	----	1.50	4.00	23.00	60.00
April	----	1.50	5.00	20.00	100.00
May	----	1.50	5.50	19.00	----
June	----	1.50	6.50	18.00	----
July	----	1.50	9.00	21.00	----
August	----	1.50	14.00	23.00	----
September	----	2.00	14.00	25.00	----
October	----	2.00	14.00	26.00	----
November	1.10	2.50	15.00	30.00	----
December	1.15	2.50	20.00	----	----
December 1-10	----	----	----	35.00	----
December 10-20	----	----	----	42.00	----
December 20-30	----	----	----	49.00	----

Depreciation was naturally accompanied by speculation in the securities, which was especially notable during the first two years of the war. Notes were purchased by the speculators and exchanged for bonds, yet in 1862 the price of six per cent bonds ranged from 112 to 120, and actual depreciation of bonds does not seem to have set in until the latter part of 1864, when a $1,000 bond was worth $1,850 in Confederate treasury notes, or $74 in specie.[16] Several influences checked the depreciation of notes from influencing to any great extent the value of bonds; one was that the treasurer in 1862 adopted the policy of issuing bonds in certificate rather than the coupon form, thus requiring the holder to

13 Ordinance, III Session, 21.
14 Private Laws, 1860-61, ch. 131; Ordinance, III Session, 7.
15 Laws, 1866, ch. 39.
16 Treasurer's Report, 1864.

travel to the treasurer's office to secure his interest.[17] Another was the custom of paying the expenses as far as possible in Confederate, rather than North Carolina notes.[18] Also the State went into the market for its own bonds, and also bought from itself. For this purpose the Sinking Fund was used. Thus in 1863, it was reported that the Sinking Fund had transferred to the treasury, $719,000 for bonds whose face value was $602,000, and the next year it was reported that the Sinking Fund had bought in the market $131,050 of bonds at a premium of $171,495.26.[19] It is also interesting to notice that the State bonds issued prior to 1861, and held by the Fund were transferred to the treasury. Some Confederate bonds were also purchased by the Fund and some were paid in as dividends of the North Carolina Railroad. Consequently at the close of the war the securities of the Sinking Fund, with the exception of the railroad stock, were Confederate and State war bonds. The ante-bellum debt, for which the fund has been created, remained an obligation of the State, and by 1866, $364,000 were due and unpaid.[20]

A similar use was made of the Literary Fund. Since this fund was used for educational purposes and was therefore of vast social importance, its history during the war justifies a more extended notice than the Sinking Fund. I therefore quote from a study of the Literary Fund elsewhere published.[21] "In order to meet the increase in expenditures made necessary by military affairs, there was a feeling that the fund should be used. This peril was averted by the efforts of Dr. Calvin H. Wiley, who had been elected Superintendent of Common Schools in 1852. He persuaded the Governor and the Council of State to oppose such a measure, secured the support of the North Carolina Educational Associa-

17 *Standard*, June 25, 1862.
18 Ordinance, I Session, 35.
19 Comptroller's Report, 1863, 1864.
20 Treasurer's Report, January, 1866.
21 Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, July and October, 1914.

tion, which had been organized in 1857, and of many of the county boards of education. Consequently a bill to use the Literary Fund for other than educational purposes was defeated in the Legislature. However, the counties were relieved from the duty of levying local taxes for education, with the result that some counties used the educational tax for military purposes, and others suspended collection of school taxes until the war should end. Also no distribution from the Fund was made in the fall of 1861, nor in the spring of 1862, and from evidence of a later date it seems that the income of the Fund was temporarily used to meet the financial crisis brought about by the war. Yet the school system did not collapse during the war; in the spring of 1865 the Superintendent was receiving reports from every section of the State.

"As the resources of the Fund were not diverted and as the expenditure for school purposes diminished, the deficit of $22,137.17 at the close of 1861 was wiped out by the end of 1862. Also in the latter year the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad redeemed $50,000 of its bonds held by the Fund. In 1863 a State loan of $96,086 was repaid, the dividend of the Wilmington and Weldon quadrupled, and that of the Wilmington and Manchester Railway—for stock in which 2,000 shares of the Wilmington and Weldon stock had been exchanged in 1852—also yielded a dividend of twenty-five per cent. Consequently in spite of increased appropriations for the deaf, dumb, and blind, at the close of the fiscal year 1863, there was a balance of $250,974 to the credit of the Fund, and the matter of investments again became of importance.

"In 1862 the new trustees of the Literary Fund were appointed by Governor Vance. These were William E. Pell, Professor Richard Sterling, and William Sloan. Carelessness and inefficiency on the part of their predecessors were soon disclosed. No stock certificate for the 5,404 shares of the Bank of Cape Fear could be found; notes for loans to in-

dividuals had been allowed to run until worthless; bonds of the State had not been endorsed, and a payment on the bond of the Clinton Female Institute had not been credited. In 1863 a new office, Treasurer of the Literary Fund, was created by the Legislature, and Mr. Richard H. Battle was appointed to fill it. This activity of the trustees was not long lived. It proved difficult to get the members to meet as often as seemed necessary, and for this reason in 1863 the matter of investments was referred to a committee of Governor Vance and Mr. Pell, with power to act. They made no written account of their work, but from the reports of the Comptroller it is evident that they invested $651,575.59. Of this, $476,675.59 was invested in State bonds, as follows: In six per cents, $112,500 in April, 1863; $31,000 in November and December, 1863, and January, 1864, at a premium of $49,490 and accrued interest of $705.75, and $110,250 in March, 1864, with accrued interest of $437.50; in eight per cents, $15,000 in November, 1863, at $24,000 premium and $279.29 interest; in December, $9,000 at $15,070 premium and $203.74 accrued interest; in January, 1864, $3,000 at $5,610 premium; in February, $36,000 at $62,925 premium and $1,027.31 interest. Moreover, in November, 1863, $175,000 was invested in Confederate bonds.

"These investments are among the most interesting ever made by the trustees. The purchases were made in paper currency while the bonds were redeemable in gold; hence the high premiums. But from this standpoint the investments were unwise, for in November, 1864, the Treasurer reported that a North Carolina State bond of $1,000 brought $1,850 in Confederate currency, and only $74 in specie. An inventory of the securities of the Literary Fund late in 1865 showed a shrinkage of $153,583.06, compared with the amount held in 1860."

No consideration of the value and depreciation of the State bonds and treasury notes would be complete without reference to the attitude of North Carolina toward the funding

policy of the Confederate Government. In March, 1863, Congress provides for the funding of outstanding Confederate notes; those above the denomination of $5 to be accepted at their face value for bonds, until April, 1864, after which they were to be taxed one-third; notes less than $5 were fundable in bonds until July, after which they were to be taxed likewise; and those of $100 or above, if not funded by April, were to be no longer receivable by the government, and were to be taxed one-third of their face value.[22] Now the North Carolina convention had made Confederate notes receivable for taxes and obligations to the State. Two problems therefore arose. One was for the State to outlaw or continue to receive the notes in question; the other was to fund the notes in the treasury. The legislature of Virginia set an example by repudiating the notes for the payment of taxes, while the Richmond banks refused to accept them in the discharge of debts. A similar policy was recommended by the treasurer of North Carolina.[23] However, it met the opposition of Governor Vance. "If one issue of Confederate notes is good," said he, "then all are good, since the same honor is pledged for their ultimate redemption." He also held that the policy of repudiation would bring endless confusion if adopted by the State. The legislature followed the advice of the Governor.[24] It condemned repudiation, either direct or indirect, and provided for an earlier collection of the taxes, so that the treasurer could exchange as many notes as possible for bonds and new notes.[25]. However, in 1864, the policy of repudiation was adopted, following the Confederate law of February 17, of that year.[26] Undoubtedly the rapid depreciation of the North Carolina notes in 1863 and 1864

22 Schwab, The Confederate States, p. 52.
23 Treasurer's Report, June 29, 1863.
24 Governor's Message, Extra Session of 1863.
25 Report of Committee on Currency; Laws, 1863, called session, ch. 13.
26 Laws, 1864, Adjourned Session of 1863, ch. 15.

was caused to a large degree by the repudiation and depreciation of the Confederate notes, with which they were exchangeable.

The final means of meeting the increase in the expenditures was taxation. The first tax policy was to adopt the principle of ad valorem taxation, which had been rejected in the campaign of 1860. The first step to this end was made by an act of September, 1861, but its thorough application was in the law of 1863. According to the statute of that year an ad valorem tax of two-fifths of one per cent was levied on all real estate, slaves, money and solvent credits, investments, manufacturing establishments, household and kitchen furniture, plate and carriages; two per cent on dividends from manufactures, steamboats and railways; ten per cent on the receipts of non-resident insurance companies and brokers, also all manufacturers were required to pay into the treasury net profits above seventy-five per cent over the cost of production.[27] The interesting feature of this legislation was the taxation of slaves at their value. The first official valuation of slave property was therefore made, amounting to $162,866,763; the income yielded, $642,973.83; whereas the value and income from land were $131,513,732 and $513,-799.82. In 1864 the ad valorum rates were changed, respectively, to one-fifth of one per cent, two and one-half per cent and five per cent. Another method of increasing the revenue was to raise the rates on the poll and licenses, the poll being raised from eighty cents in 1860, to one dollar and twenty in 1863, and three dollars in 1864.[28] The result of the new tax laws was to increase the revenue from taxes from $696,763 in 1860 to $1,873,004 in 1863.

A. II.—Expenditures.

Expenditures as well as revenue vastly increased, leaping from $3,536,687.67 in 1860 to $3,750,039.74 in 1861, to

27 Laws, 1862-3, ch. 57.
28 Laws, *passim*.

$12,167,734.72 in 1862, to $15,078,922.97 in 1863, and declining to $6,368,573.57 in 1864. By far the largest item in these expenditures was that for military purposes, being $2,198,038.02 in 1861, $6,751,920.30 in 1862, $8,942,724 in 1863, and $3,865,272.92 in 1864. These expenditures were divided among three departments as follows.

First was the Quartermaster's. Its duty was to purchase, manufacture and transport supplies, and also to pay the troops. It was not organized until late in 1861, the expectation at the opening of the war being that the Confederate Government would equip the troops. As the task proved too great, it was assumed by the State, with the provision that there should be reimbursement for expenditures. Soon there was conflict between the operations of the Department and that of the Confederacy, well stated by Governor Vance in 1862: "During the administration of my predecessor an arrangement was entered into, according to a resolution of the General Assembly, with the Quarter Master's Department of the Confederate Army by which North Carolina was to receive commutation for clothing her troops and clothe and shoe them herself. And in our agreeing to sell to the Confederate States all the surplus supplies that could be procured in the State, they agreed to withdraw their agents from our markets and leave the State the whole field without competition. This would have enabled the State to clothe and shoe her troops comfortably, and it could have furnished to the Confederate States all that was to be had at reasonable rates; but it was immediately violated. The country was soon and is still swarming with agents of the Confederate States, stripping bare our markets and putting enormous prices upon our agents. This is especially the case in regard to shoes and leather. The consequence has been our troops could not get half supplies from home, and nothing at all from the Confederate Government, because of our agreement to furnish them ourselves."[29] The commutation plan was

29 Message, November, 1862.

abandoned in 1862; thereafter the State sent supplies directly to its troops.

Undoubtedly the most interesting enterprise of the State in securing supplies was the direct trade between Wilmington and Liverpool, carried on by vessels purchased by the State, in the face of the Federal blockade. This enterprise was conceived by Adjutant-General Martin, who made the suggestion to Governor Vance soon after Vance's inauguration in 1862. Vance took the matter under advisement. Vance, a few days later, held a lengthy conference on the matter. "The Hon. B. F. Moore took very strong grounds against the State entering into the blockade business, and finally told Vance and General Martin that if they engaged in the business they would both be liable to impeachment. General Martin took the ground that the laws of the State made it his duty to supply clothing to the troops then in the field; that a large sum of money was appropriated for the purpose without any restriction as to where purchases were to be made; that the supplies of the State were not adequate; that the Confederate States were paying the State large sums of money for clothing; that the Confederate notes could be turned into cotton and with cotton bonds buy the ship and clothing without any additional expense to the State, the cotton bonds and cotton itself to be used simply as bills of exchange, where neither the State notes nor Confederate currency would be available. As to the purchase of a ship, General Martin took the ground that he had as much right to do that as to purchase many other articles not mentioned in the law, it being well known that transport ships are a part of the equipment of all modern armies. The Governor reserved his decision, but next morning, when called for it, decided to support General Martin in his effort to sustain the army."[30] When the Legislature met it approved the Governor's action by appropriating $2,000,000 for the pur-

30 Gordon, in History of the Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-1865, I, 28-29.

chase of a vessel and clothing.[31] Accordingly the British steamer Lord Clyde was purchased for $175,000, and its name was changed to the Advance. In 1863 one-half interest in the vessel was sold, and one-fourth interest was purchased in four other vessels, the Don, the Hansa, and two others in course of construction, one of which, the Annie, was completed. Hon. John White was sent to England as State agent. He made a contract with Alexander Collie & Co., of Liverpool. According to this the State issued cotton and rosin bonds, which were promises to deliver cotton and naval stores within thirty days after the end of the war. These bonds were given a ready market value by redemption in cotton and naval stores, which were shipped through the blockade, and by the deposit of $1,500,000 of State bonds. The actual amount of cotton and rosin bonds sold is unknown. In 1863 Governor Vance reported that 2,010 bales of cotton had been sent to Liverpool, and in 1864, that 228,000 barrels of rosin were pledged by warrants.[32] The sale of the bonds was so successful that the $1,500,000 of State bonds had not been used in 1864.

The imports from the blockade were extensive and varied. Blankets, cloth, shoes, socks, flax, thread, sheet iron, paper, leather, wool, cards, bluestone, copperas, belting, flannels, needles, buttons, trousers, bleaching powder, awls, envelopes, and caps were brought in. The amount sold was estimated in 1864 at $2,672,990, the amount forwarded to the Ordnance Department at $488,870.45, and the value of goods on hand at $3,274,691.[33]

But the blockade operations were destined to failure. In their very nature there was a large element of chance, well defined by Treasurer Worth: "We raise money in Europe under the disadvantages always attaching to a borrower of doubtful credit—buy with gold thus obtained and sell what

31 Resolution of November 27, 1862.
32 Message, 1863 and 1864; Treasurer's Report, 1864.
33 Blockade Statements, Documents of 1864.

costs a dollar in gold for four dollars in Confederate currency, the four dollars being worth about twenty cents in the currency we pay. This is speculation with a vengeance and exhibits about as much common sense as has been usual for three years past." [34] Moreover, during the last year of the war adversity overtook the blockade runners. The cordon of Federal ships guarding the coast became tighter, and as early as July, 1863, the captain of the Advance advised White, the State Agent, to sell the vessel to the Confederate Government.[35] The policy of the Confederate Government was also restrictive. It required that one-third the space in all outbound vessels be reserved for its own trade. Vance appealed to President Davis in behalf of the vessels in which the State had an interest, without result. Congress was then addressed and an act repealing the law was passed, but it was vetoed by the President. A new act exempting vessels owned by states was passed; it also met a veto. However the Advance was excepted from the operation of the law by executive action. The other vessels had to submit. The law was fatal to them, for by contract the State had only one-fourth of the outbound cargo and when the law was applied this was reduced to one-sixth.[36] Finally, the Advance was captured by the Federal blockading squadron in the summer of 1864.

This misfortune was due to the seizure of the supply of foreign coal reserved for it on the dock at Wilmington by the Confederate authorities for use of the cruiser Tallahassee. The Advance put to sea with North Carolina coal, which raised such a dark column of smoke from the furnaces that the vessel was easily located by the Federals.

By these influences the blockade operations were so restricted that they were no longer profitable. The accounts were handled exclusively by the executive, without auditing

34 Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, I, 275-276.
35 Andrea to Vance, July 30, 1863 (Vance Mss.).
36 Vance to Davis, March 77, '64; March 26; Vance to Collie, Aug. 5, '64; Seddon to Vance, Jan. 14, '64 (Vance Mss.).

by the treasurer or comptroller. In 1864 Governor Vance estimated the profits at $2,495,187.57, but Treasurer Worth doubted the accuracy of this statement.[37] Early in 1865 Vance ordered White to settle up the accounts with Collie & Co., but the Confederacy collapsed before this could be done. Collie & Co. were deeply interested in the fortunes of North Carolina, and at one time sent $20,000 for use among the unfortunate non-combatants. In August, 1865, W. Collie suggested to Vance that a cotton contract be made between his company and the State similar to that in force during hostilities.[38]

The total expenditures of the Quartermaster's Department reported were $16,212,853, of which $4,000,217 were for pay and bounties of soldiers, $2,150,998 for cotton, and the remainder for supplies of various.[39]

The second department of military expenditures was that of Ordnance. Its activities were not so full of interest as the Quartermaster's, but they were of equal importance. In 1861 the manufacture of arms was undertaken. The arsenal at Fayetteville, which had belonged to the United States, became an arsenal of construction, for which $200,000 was appropriated. Contracts were also made with private companies. A Wilmington corporation manufactured swords and bayonets, another in Guilford County filled one contract for 300 rifles per month, and supplied approximately 10,000 rifles. The Governor was authorized to subscribe to the stock of companies manufacturing gunpowder. He thereupon subscribed $10,000 to a mill at Raleigh, and when it was burned, $20,000 towards rebuilding. The investment was successful, for $500,000 worth of powder was sold to the Confederate Government, in addition to that supplied to the State. The total expenditures of the Ordnance Department were $1,673,308.[40]

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37 Message, 1864; Worth Correspondence, *passim.*

38 W. Collie to Vance, August, 1865 (Vance Mss.).

39 Comptroller's Reports, *passim;* Regimental History, I, p. ----.

40 Regimental History, I, 43; Laws, 1860, First Extra Session, ch. 1; Second Extra Session, ch. 2; Comptroller's Reports.

The third department of military expenditures was that of Subsistence, which furnished food supplies. Its operations were very effective. In the first months of the war a large amount of foodstuffs were purchased in Kentucky before embargoes were established by the railroads. In the latter part of 1862 the counties in the northeastern part of the State, which were soon about to be overrun by the Federals, were stripped of cattle, vegetables and forage in cooperation with the Subsistence Department of the Confederate States. Also a corps of agents were employed who were always ready to purchase supplies from the civilians. Wrote the Chief Commissary, "I made up my mind that if the people would part with their commissary stores and take paper money for payment, General Martin should have what he called for. The consequence was that my supplies grew during the whole war, and at the close of it I was feeding about half of Lee's army." However, in March, 1865, Governor Vance reported that the Subsistence Department had broken down, and urged that as many people as possible contribute to the support of one soldier for six months with a ration of eighty pounds of bacon and 180 pounds of flour. The total expenditures of the Subsistence Department were $1,667,725.[41]

The military expenditures thus far outlined extended approximately to May, 1864, and amounted to $19,553,886. By November, 1864, the total amount was estimated at $21,923,407.73[42]. According to agreement the State was to be reimbursed by the Confederate Government. By November, 1864, $8,091,892.23 had been received, leaving a balance due of $13,831,515.50.[43]

The financial burdens of the war were not confined to military expenditures. Suffering among the people and demoralization of economic resources made necessary State aid

41 Regimental History, I, 37; Northup to Vance, Nov. 2, 1862; Vance to Northup, Nov. 8, 12; Vance, Proclamation, March 1, 1865.
42 Treasurer's Report.
43 *Ibid.*

to the unfortunate and large appropriations for general necessities of life. Most prominent of these expenditures were those for the manufacture of salt. The Convention authorized the expenditure of $100,000 for this purpose, and the appointment of a State Salt Commissioner. Works were erected at Morehead City, and after the capture of that place by the Federals the works were transferred to Wilmington. There they were suspended when yellow fever broke out in 1862, but were later reopened. In 1864 their productivity was diminished by the policy of the Confederate authorities which impressed some of the laborers for the defense of the city. An attack by the Federals did some injury. Another source of salt was the mines of Saltville, Virginia. Governor Vance made a contract with Stuart Buchanan & Co., of that place, by which the State of North Carolina could mine salt for a consideration of $30,000. His action was unauthorized, but was approved by the legislature when it convened. The salt manufactured or mined under State supervision was apportioned among the counties and sold for less than market prices; for example, in 1864, the State price was $7.50 per bushel, while the market price was $19. The total appropriation for salt was $38,258.93.[44]

The total number of men in the Confederate armies from North Carolina has been estimated at 125,000, while the census of 1860 gave the State a male population between the ages of 20 and 60, of 128,889. The support of the wives and children at home became a problem and a public duty. For this purpose large appropriations were made in 1862, '63 and '64, totalling $5,000,000, but only $1,947,141.59 were reported spent. This sum was apportioned among the counties according to white population, and the distribution within each county was left to the county courts.[45] For hospital purposes $600,000 were appropriated, but only $25,000 was re-

44 Ordinance II, Session No. 6; IV, Session No. 18; Laws, 1862-3, ch. 22; Governor's Message, *passim;* Report of Salt Commissioner; Worth Correspondence, Vol. I, *passim.*

45 Comptroller's Reports, *passim.*

ported as spent. For vaccination, $7,628 were spent. For the relief of the people of Washington $50,000 were appropriated and $30,000 were spent.[46]

The expenditures for salt, the support of soldiers' families, medical and relief work, were $2,048,028.52. If this sum be added to the military expenditures, a total of $23,971,-436.25 is derived, which may be considered the financial burden of the war in North Carolina.

By the end of 1864, although the expenditures for the year ending October 31, were less than for 1863 or 1862, the condition of the treasury was serious. There were outstanding obligations amounting to $5,100,780.34, consisting of $2,668,365 of coupons unpaid, $94,000 of principal, temporary loans amounting to $508,473,$682,685.72 for the support of soldiers' families, $908,006.62 for military purposes, $24,300 for the Surgeon General, $185,000 for sick and wounded soldiers, and $20,000 for the people of Washington. To meet these obligations there were in the treasury $1,526,-412.86, leaving a deficit to be supplied of $3,576,367.48. Treasurer Worth recommended turning the entire support of the army over to the Confederate Government and an increase of taxation rather than the further issue of treasury notes. The measure adopted by the legislature was the authorization of $3,000,000 of treasury notes and a reduction in the ad valorem schedules. The finances of the next few months remain a closed page, for in the spring the Confederacy collapsed, and the Convention of 1865 repudiated the notes and bonds issued during the war.

B.—General Economic Conditions.

The strain of the war upon the life of the people increased year by year. During the first year the chief economic evils were those rising from speculation and the lack of sufficient manufactures. The suspension of specie pay-

46 Treasurer's Report; Laws, 1864, ch. 23.

ments by the banks in December, 1860, and the issue of a vast amount of treasury notes naturally inflated prices. The demand of supplies for the armies and the withdrawal of men from civil to military life had a similar effect, by diminishing production. Speculation, therefore, became rife at an early date. Said an editorial in the Raleigh *Standard*, "We have repeatedly said, that the extortion and speculation now practised in the South are doing more to hasten our subjugation than anything else beside. Every thoughtful person in the country not involved in the high crime of beggaring the people and the government must see it. Look at the deadening, chilling effect of this speculation mania upon the large masses of the people whose sons and brothers are in the army. Everyone is melancholy and dejected, not at the ill success of our arms, but at the certain disaster which is being brought upon the country by the speculators. The worst enemies of the Confederacy are those who speculate upon salt, flour, bacon, corn, leather, cotton and wollen goods. Many have become suddenly rich, both Jews and Gentiles, and they have no concern except to keep the war raging that they may make money."[47]

A number of measures were taken to minimise the evil of speculation. The convention made engrossing, forestalling, or conspiracy to control prices a misdemeanor.[48] The Governor issued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation for thirty days of salt, bacon, pork, beef, corn, meal, flour, potatoes, shoes, leather, hides, cotton, cloth, yarn and wollen cloth, except for military or public purposes. It was renewed from time to time.[49] To the same end were an ordinance of the convention and laws of legislature prohibiting the distillation of spirituous liquors from grain, sugar cane, molasses, rice, dried fruit or potates.[50] The Governor was

47 *Standard*, November 5, 1862.

48 Ordinance, II Session, 19.

49 Such a proclamation was issued by Governor Clarke; also by Vance, which was renewed from time to time, the last renewal that I have noted being in July, 1863.

50 Ordinance, III Session, 24; Laws, 1862, ch. 10.

authorized to appoint agents to purchase provisions and store them for sale to the people. Governor Vance reported in 1863 that 50,000 bushels of corn, 250,000 pounds of bacon, and a quantity of rice were thus secured in the fall of 1862.[51] The Confederate Government also attempted to check speculation by exempting from military service the employees of these factories whose owners would agree to sell their products at not more than seventy-five per cent above the cost of production. In North Carolina only a few corporations responded. Vance worte as follows to one manufacturer:

"If the standard of patriotism was no higher in the great mass of the people, we might treat with the enemy tomorrow and consent to be slaves at once and forever. Poor men, with large and often helpless families, go forth to suffer at $11 per month, supporting their wives and children God knows how, with flour at $20, shoes and cotton goods at fabulous prices, and yet men who stay at home in protected ease reap a harvest of wealth, which might be truly called a harvest of blood from the necessities of the country, and can not afford to take seventy-five per cent above the cost for the garments for which their protectors stand guard and do battle for their liberties."

The Confederate Government proposed that the government take over the mills, but Vance would not consent.[52]

Futile but interesting was the action of a convention of appraisers representing all States of the Confederacy which met in Augusta, Georgia, in 1863. It recommended that the legislature of each State levy a tax on all articles sold over the price fixed by the appraisers of the State, equal to the difference between the price fixed and the actual price.[53]

How deep was the feeling among the people on the matter of speculation is shown by many letters written to Governor Vance. One from a soldier's wife reads as follows:

51 Laws, 1862-63, ch. 15; Vance, Message, Nov., 1863.
52 Vance to Fries, Oct. 10, 1862.
53 Document 13, 1864-5.

"I have four little children and myself. The government allows me $19 per month. I have to pay from $28 to $30 per barrel for corn, $1 per pound for bacon and I cannot live at such rates. I have had to pay fifty cents per pound for salt all this year and the very highest prices for everything until I have paid out. My husband has been in the army 16 months. He has toiled and undergone hardships not only for me and my children but for those poor timid chicken-hearted speculators who are afraid to go themselves; then when I get out of something to eat and want to buy they would take the last cent for breadstuff enough to last me one week." [54]

The following prices, based on the Raleigh market, illustrate the high cost of foodstuffs during the war:

	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
Bacon, lb.	$ .33	$1.00	$5.50	$7.50
Beef, lb.	.12	.50	2.50	3.00
Pork, lb.	--	1.60	4.00	5.50
Sugar, lb.	.75	1.00	12.00	30.00
Corn, bu.	1.10	5.50	20.00	30.00
Meal, bu.	1.25	5.50	20.00	30.00
Potatoes, bu.	1.00	4.00	7.00	30.00
Sweet Potatoes, bu.	1.50	5.00	6.00	35.00
Wheat, bu.	3.00	8.00	25.00	50.00
Flour, bbl.	18.00	35.00	125.00	500.00

The second economic problem was to procure manufactured goods. According to the census of 1860 there were in North Carolina 3,689 manufacturing establishments. They were mostly small ones, for the employees numbered 14,217. Thirty-nine of the factories were cotton mills, seven were woollen mills, while turpentine, flour, meal, and lumber formed by far the largest number of industries. Evidently much of the manufactured products used in the State came from the North and the West, and interference with trade by the war was seriously felt. The deficiency was supplied, to some extent, in three ways. One was that of State activity through the blockade and the

54 Sally A. Long to Vance, August 20, 1863.

manufacture of salt, already received; second, was the establishment of new factories. In February, 1861, nearly three months before the ordinance of secession, twenty-two manufacturing and mining companies were incorporated—evidence that the prospect of war stimulated industry; and after the opening of hostilities until the end of the war thirty-five other mining and manufacturing companies were chartered.[55] Especially notable was the development of the coal and iron industry in the Deep River section, whose resouces had been made known prior to the war. To afford transportation facilities for that section the Chatham Railroad was incorporated with State aid to the extent of $249,000.[56] The inventive genius of the people was also awakened by the necessities of the war. Soap was made from turpentine, rabbit fur and cotton were used in place of wool in the manufacture of blankets. Drugs and chemicals were also manufactured vitriol in Chatham County, blue mass at Chapel Hill; potash at Fayetteville. Finally home manufactures, which had been carried on extensively prior to the war, were relied on to supply the deficiency of factory-made products. The memory of the heroic efforts in the mansion and the cottage are a part of the Southern traditions of the war, and need no elaboration. In 1863 Governor Vance reported that "the resources of our State and the Confederacy have developed to such a degree that we have every assurance of being able to clothe our troops with our own goods."[57] Eighteen months later, however, the supply of manufactured goods was exhausted. Says the author of the *Last Ninety Days of the War,* "Children went barefoot through the winter, and ladies made their own shoes over and wore their own homespuns; carpets were cut into blankets and window curtains and sheets were torn up for hospital use."

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55 Private Laws, *passim;* Ordinances of the Convention, *passim.*
56 Vance to White, July 10, 1863.
57 Vance to Seddon.

The difficulties above outlined were the inevitable result of the resources too slender to support a prolonged war. They were intensified by the policies of the Confederate Government. Food supplies were diminished by the impressment law, which allowed military authorities to seize staple products and pay for them at prices fixed by the government. There were frequent complaints that the prices were too low, that the officials engaged in speculation, and mistreated the civilians. "If God Almighty," wrote Governor Vance, "had yet in store another plague for the Egyptians, worse than all others, I am sure it must have been a regiment or so of half-starved, armed, half-disciplined Confederate cavalry."[58] The Confederate tax in kind also bore heavily on the people, while the amount of Confederate tax in currency yielded in North Carolina is estimated at $10,000,000. In the fall of 1863, a large number of worn-out cavalry horses were sent to the western counties to recuperate, and owing to the lack of fences they injured the crops. Slaves were also impressed by the Confederate Government for work on the railroads from Charlotte to Danville and from Petersburg to Weldon. The Confederate authorities also impressed railroad iron of the Wilmington, Charlotte and Rutherford road for use in ship building and equipping other lines.[59] The conscript law was also demoralizing those counties where there were few slaves; enforced military service left the farms in the hands of women, boys and old men.[60] Much suffering ensued. Desertion showed a marked increase during 1863 and 1864. In some of the central and western counties the deserters lived in camps and became outlaws, rendering travel dangerous and property insecure.[61]

It is difficult to form an estimate of the effect of the war on commerce and business within the State. Specie payments were suspended by the banks late in 1860, but the

58 Vance to Seddon, Dec. 1, 1863.
59 Vance to Seddon, Feb. 21, 1864.
60 Letter of Pearson, Fayetteville *Observer*, Jan. 12, 1863.
61 Worth Correspondence I, *passim*.

issue of bank notes was not excessive, the amount of notes in circulation in 1864 being approximately $1,000,000 more than in 1860. However, counties, towns, and corporations issued scrip, the amount of which cannot be estimated. In 1861 a stay law was enacted preventing execution for debts excepting official debts, and those of non-residents.[62] It was declared unconstitutional because it prevented any interference by the courts. The statute of limitations was also suspended.[63] Under these conditions the amount of business enterprise seems to have steadily increased, for the number of manufacturing establishments chartered in 1864 was larger than in the preceding years.

CONCLUSION.

How thorough was the support of the war by the non-combatants? How wise were the measures by which money and supplies were raised? What were the real burdens of those who did not enter the battlefield? The evidence concerning these questions is somewhat conflicting, but the following conclusions are in the main correct.

In financial policies there were radicalism and conservatism. The authorization of a large amount of treasury notes was radical to the extreme; that less were issued than authorized is evidence of conservatism on the part of the Treasury and the Governor. Likewise the large part played by the Executive in financial measures is impossible in days of peace. How efficient were the executive measures cannot be determined, for the accounts were not audited nor were all of them published. In fact it is not possible to make a detailed statement of all expenditures during the first two years of the war, while the expenditures during the last few months were never made public. Lack of wisdom and inefficiency are certainly clear in the management of the Literary Fund and the Sinking Fund.

62 Laws, 1860, 1 Extra Sess., ch. 16.
63 Laws, 1862-63, ch. 50.

An interesting feature of war finance was the conflict between the State and Confederate authorities in the matter of repudiation and procuring supplies. This parallels the conflict in military and constitutional questions.

Economic conditions among the people illustrate heroic sacrifice and unheroic profits. The collapse of the Confederacy did much to bring to a common level the pauper and the speculator.

Finally the military conquest came soon after the crisis in finances and economic exhaustion. The final crisis in finances came in the latter part of 1864, exhaustion of resources is evident in March, 1865, and the surrender of Johnston occurred in the following April.

Was Esther Wake a Myth?

By R. D. W. Connor.

In his "Defense of North Carolina" Jo Seawell Jones attributes the passage of the bill to erect the Governor's Palace at New Bern in 1766 to the influence with the members of the Colonial Assembly of the beautiful and charming Esther Wake, sister-in-law of Governor Tryon; and also states that Wake County was named in her honor. But later historians have repudiated Jones' statement and insist that Esther Wake is a creature of his fertile imagination. No reference, they say, is found to any such person among the contemporary letters and papers of the period in which she is alleged to have lived either in North Carolina or New York, and inquiries among the members of the Tryon and Wake families in England reveal the fact that neither family has any record of her existence. Mr. Haywood, in his "Governor Tryon of North Carolina," who thoroughly investigated the subject, says:

"But after all said and done, no one has been able to find any trace in the old records of this 'rare and radiant maiden' whom the Tar Heels call Esther. None of the letters of the colonial period mention her. No known documents of any sort in either North Carolina or New York have a word to say of her. When the Governor's House in Fort George, New York, was burned, her name is not given among those of its inmates, though the members of Tryon's household are enumerated. Nor is she mentioned in the will of Mrs. Tryon, who left no children on whom to settle her fortune, and therefore divided it among her friends.

"So all this about settles the fact that Esther Wake—that vision of loveliness which for so many years has been the idol of North Carolina romancers—was none other than a creature of fancy, brought forth from the realms of Fairyland by the pen of a sentimental writer. Many historians, otherwise

accurate, have been firm believers in her existence, and no one can regret more than the author of this biography that our beautiful and fascinating heroine has failed to materialize. Queen of Love and Beauty, farewell!—and peace to your ashes, if you left any."

But may there not have been letters in existence when Jones wrote his book that have since been lost? This question becomes interesting and pertinent, in view of the finding among the papers of the North Carolina Historical Commission, in Jones' own handwriting, of an account, hitherto unpublished, of Esther Wake in which he quotes references to her found in letters of the period said to be in his possession. The account was found enclosed in a letter from Jones to William A. Graham, dated "New Berne, February 28, 1836," and is as follows:

"Miss Esther Wake, by Jo. Seawell Jones.

"The city of Raleigh is the capital of the county of Wake, as well [as] of the State of North Carolina. In the year 1788 the people of the State in convention assembled, ordained that the beautiful eminence, now crowned with the ruins of Canova's Washington and the new Capitol, should be in all future time the headquarters of the State government. It is a spot consecrated to the genius of Raleigh and was appropriately chosen in a county founded in honor of a beautiful woman.

"Miss Esther Wake was the sister of Lady Tryon, and came with Governor Tryon to North Carolina in the year 1764. She was, I have been told, at the early age of fifteen on her arrival, and during the six years of her residence in the State, she was truly and emphatically adored by all who had the distinction of her acquaintance. Even the people in their assembled majesty, bowed to the supremacy of her charms and the Assembly of 1770 erected the county of Wake to commemorate her name. Such was the influence of beauty, virtue and wit, among a chivalrous and hospitable people.

"The secret history of our country is as little known as are the secret motives of the human heart. The legislator often acts from a more ignoble impulse than the pleasure of a lovely woman, and then continues to hide even this fair reason under specious considerations of State policy. In the years 1767, 8 and 9 the Assembly voted sixty thousand dollars, to build a Palace for the Governor and the historian of the State will pause an age for any higher inducement for this profligacy of expenditure, than the gratification of this celebrated lady. She was ambitious enough to desire magnificent parlours and bourdoirs, wherein to receive the homage of her numerous admirers, for the Governor previous to the building of the Palace, was compelled to provide his own establishment, which was usually rented from some of the gentlemen of the borough. The heavy taxes levied to complete the edifice contributed to inflame the rebellion of the Regulators, and was more than any other cause the immediate inducement of the famous battle of Allemance on the 16th of May, 1771. But what were the horrors of war to the youthful members of the Assembly, when compared with those of a lady's displeasure? The Palace was built, the Regulators were conquered and Miss Esther Wake was gratified.

" 'The proverbial influence of the fair sex in matters of State was well sustained by Lady Tryon and her lovely sister and the enthusiastic spirit of a warm-hearted people estimated even the character of their Governor by the grace, beauty and accomplishment that adorned the domestic circles of his Palace.' The story of Miss Esther will serve for a beautiful episode in the history of North Carolina. Amidst the petty caucuses of a Province under the government of a subordinate military officer, it is gratifying to discover the secret source of power, even in the volition of a virtuous woman. It is better than an irresponsible cabal of intriguing politicians and when properly watched, will but subserve the interest and honor of a people.

"I have a number of private letters illustrative of the power of Miss Esther, which are almost too romantic for sober reality of historical detail. According to their authority she ruled without an effort or design, though it [is] easy to imagine that the cunning of the Governor could continue to use it for the advancement of his own interest. The younger members unquestionably yielded more easily to her known or expressed wishes from an ambitious hope of gaining her in marriage, but says Colonel John Harvey in a letter of date the 20th of January, 1771, 'what can be said in defense of those Gentlemen of age and experience who to gratify a Governor's wife and to be sure [of] her pretty sister should vote fifteen or twenty thousand pounds to build a palace, when the people were not able to pay even their most ordinary taxes, and what is still worse, then go to war with their countrymen, to enforce the unjust law.' Isaac Edwards, the private Secretary of Tryon, in a letter to Judge Williams of date the 6th of November, 1770, says, 'the Palace is finished, and we are in it. The Governor is much pleased with it and the ladies are now ready to give entertainments in a stile suitable to their rank and deserts. Miss Wake is in fine humour and is every day planning her party. She has a complete set of new and splendid robes just from home, and when she gets them on, and gets the young assembly-men in the big parlor, she can get a grant of money to build another house for herself.'

"Among those who paid court to the beauty of Miss Esther was Sir William Draper, the conqueror of Manilla and the antagonist of the celebrated Junius. He was the guest of Governor Tryon in the Palace, a circumstance to which the Governor often alluded with evident satisfaction and pride. The Palace itself was dedicated to Sir William, whose name was inscribed on the vestibule, at the head of a few Latin verses of his own composition. It should have been dedicated to Miss Esther Wake, for I learn such was the original

and higher destiny. Here is a letter of Sir William Draper to Sir Nathaniel Duckinfield, of North Carolina:

"Dear Sir Nathaniel—I send one of the Governor's servants all the way to your house to bear this apology for not coming myself, agreeable to your very polite invitation and my own promise. I might appeal to my ingenuity and frame you a hundred excuses, which you could but accept, but the generosity of the lover, if not of the soldier, must forbid all such subterfuges. So then My Dear Sir Nathaniel take the truth as a great secret, I am in love, and Miss Esther Wake has graciously—"

Here the MS. abruptly ends; the rest is lost.

Unless our modern historians are prepared to charge Jones with inventing the letters of Harvey, Edwards and Draper, from which he quotes with so much circumstantiality, as he is said to have done the character of Esther Wake, they will have to revise their histories and do the lady the justice of restoring her to her place of pre-eminence among the heroines of North Carolina history.

HINTON COAT OF ARMS

Colonel John Hinton*

By Mary Hilliard Hinton.

The subject of this sketch was an American: so is the writer, dwelling in the "land of the free"—a land so free that we are not even burdened with the custom of cherishing the records of our ancestors, as are our cousins over the sea. When called upon to write of some person who flourished in the Colonial period or at the time of the Revolution, an American does not appear to advantage unless her subject is an eminent one. Yet many excuses may she rightly claim, for, though people have now awakened to an appreciation of our noble Revolutionary history, and we are striving to collect and preserve the same, in many cases we are helpless. The following is some account of an early pioneer who lived not many miles from the present capital of North Carolina.

Colonel John Hinton, of the parish of St. Margaret, County of Wake, province of North Carolina, was a Revolutionary soldier and statesman, whose military career began in the internal troubles of North Carolina, 1768-1771. Many years of his life were devoted to the service of his country and State. Frequently his name appears in the public archives and high praise is there accorded him. He was the son of John Hinton, of Chowan precinct, who died about the year 1732.† The part of Chowan in which he lived is now Gates County. Tradition claims that John Hinton, the younger, was born in London, though it is now believed that he was a native of Chowan precinct, born at the Hinton homestead.

Much light has been thrown on the Hinton genealogy in the

*A paper read before the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution, being one of the "Ancestral Papers" prepared by the members of that organization and preserved by the Society. It was published in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 2, and is reproduced in The Booklet with the permission of the editor. Since it has been impossible to supply orders for copies of the magazine containing this article, because all the early numbers were destroyed by fire, it has been considered advisable to reprint the paper in The Booklet, adding certain data that has been obtained since the publication.

†The will of John Hinton, of Chowan precinct, dated 21 June, 1730, probated 25 April, 1732, is filed in the office of the Secretary of State in the Capitol, at Raleigh, North Carolina.

last decade and a half. Mr. Wharton Dickinson, of New York, one of the finest authorities on English genealogy in this country, has authentically traced the line back to the Norman Conquest. "Earlscott" and "Chilton Foliot" were seats of this family in the County Wilts, England. One of the first of this name to appear in American records was that of Sir Thomas Hinton, knight; it is claimed that he visited the colony of Virginia, which is quite probable, as he was a member of the London Company. He was the first Gentleman of the Bedchamber to James I. of England and Privy Councillor to Charles I. The father of Sir Thomas was Anthony Hinton, Gentleman, born 1532, died 7 May, 1598, who married Martha, daughter of Sir Giles and Lady Estcourt.* His monument, erected by his grandson, Sir Anthony Hinton, son of Sir Thomas Hinton, is in the south aisle of St. John's Church, Wanborough, County Wilts, and bears this inscription:

"Anthony Hinton Esqr.
OB May 7, 1598, aged 66,
grandfather to Mr Hinton
Privy Councillor to Charles I."

Sir Thomas Hinton was born 1574, died 1 February, 1635. By his first wife, Catherine Palmer, he had five sons and two daughters, four of whom married and left issue, viz.: Sir Anthony married Mary Gresham; Sir William married Mary Popham; Sir John (born July 10, 1603, died October 10, 1682) married Catrina Vander Ruckle; Mary married Captain Samuel Mathews† afterwards governor of Virginia,

*The Coat of Arms borne by the Estcourts was: "Erm. on a chief indented gu. three etoiles, or. Crest-Out of a mural coronet az. a demi eagle, wings expanded or".

†Fiske, in "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," gives this picture of the home of the "worthy Capt. Mathews": "He hath a fine house, and all things answerable to it; he sows yearly store of hemp & flax, & causes it to be spun; he keeps weavers, & hath a tan house, causes leather to be dressed, hath 8 shoemakers employed in their trade, hath 40 negro servants, brings them up to trades in his house, he yearly sows abundance of wheat, barley, &c., the wheat he sellth at 4 shillings the bushel, kills store of beeves, & sells them to victual the ships when they come thither; hath abundance of kine, a brave dairy, swine great store, & poultry; he married the daughter of Sir Thomas Hinton, &, in a word, keeps a good house, lives bravely, & a true lover of Virginia, he is worthy of much honour."

and is the ancestress of the Witherspoons of Kentucky. Sir John Hinton came to Virginia with his brother-in-law, Captain Mathews, in 1622, remaining two years; his brothers, Thomas and Sir William Hinton, came to the colony in 1634, but returned to England in 1637.

In 1666 there came to Maryland the first, fifth and sixth sons of Sir John Hinton (son of Sir Thomas Hinton, of "Earlscott," and "Chilton Foliot")—Thomas, Clement and Richard Hinton. From Thomas descend the Hintons of New York and Philadelphia; Clement died unmarried and Richard, it is claimed, was the progenitor of the Hintons of Virginia and North Carolina.

In Burke's *General Armory of Great Britain* are described the Coats of Arms of no less than twelve families of Hinton. The name was sometimes written Hynton. The Arms of the Hintons of "Earlscott" and "Chilton Foliot" are, "Per fesse indented argent and sable, six fleur-de-lis counterchanged. Crest—An eagle's leg erased, entwined by a serpent." These armorial bearings correspond with those used by the Chowan branch of the family, the founder of which was John Hinton, father of Colonel John Hinton of Wake County.

This John Hinton, the elder, of Chowan precinct, was "a man of prominence, wealth and widely spread connection" and was traditionally called "Colonel." Just how he won this military title is not known. On April 4, 1722, he was granted 350 acres of land on Bennet's Creek in Chowan. He married Mary ————————, who survived him, and, two years after his death, married Thomas Holliday, also of Chowan precinct, but a member of the family of that name in Nansemond and Isle of Wight Counties, Virginia. To John and Mary Hinton were born four sons and seven daughters, as follows: John, Hardy, William, Malachi, Rachel, Mary, Sarah, Nancy, Charity, Rose and Judith. Of this large family few records have been preserved and efforts to trace the genealogy seems at this late date quite a hopeless task. Of the eleven only five have been traced beyond youth,

viz: John, the subject of this sketch; Malachi, who served in the Revolution with the rank of lieutenant; he married an English lady whose name is unknown; among his numerous descendants are the Slocumbs and Pous of Johnston County; Nancy, or Ann as she is called by genealogists of today, married Solomon Alston and is the ancestress of the Hon. James Alston Cabell, of Richmond, Virginia, a member of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, and of Mrs. William Ruffin Cox, for twelve years President of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America; Mary married Wiley Jones and Sarah married Benjamin Blanchard, all of whom, with the exception of Ann, have descendants living in Wake County. There is a tradition that all the seven daughters of John Hinton, the elder, of Chowan, married Alstons, but this needs to be verified.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, John Hinton, the younger, removed to what was then Johnston County. Later, when Wake was erected, his lands fell within the boundaries of the new county. In 1768, when Governor Tryon held a consultation at Hillsborough to consider what steps should be taken to circumvent the movements of the Regulators, John Hinton, then a major of provincial troops in the County of Johnston, was one of the gentlemen who attended the conference. When Wake County was erected by act of Assembly in 1770 (act not to take effect till 1771), Major Hinton became colonel of the colonial forces of the new county. When Tryon raised the forces of the province in 1771 to march against the Regulators, there was much disaffection in Colonel Hinton's county, yet the Colonel himself was a firm friend of the government and finally succeeded in raising his quota. Tryon's military journal shows that Colonel Hinton and his men participated in all of the duties incident to the campaign, the Colonel on one or more occasions acting as president of courts martial for the trial of delinquent soldiers in the army of which his detachment formed a part. He personally participated in the battle of Alamance, May

16, 1771, and his bravery on the occasion was afterwards referred to by Governor Caswell in a message to the legislature during the Revolution.

Colonel Hinton selected as a site for his new home in the wilderness a piece of land six miles east of the present town of Raleigh. Here, near the banks of the Neuse, he built a log cabin. The entrance was in the upper portion of the dwelling, and was reached by means of a ladder, as was the case in many of the habitations of the early settlers. He had Indians for neighbors and wild beasts for nocturnal visitors. Of robust constitution and possesing great bravery, he was capable of wielding the axe and paving the way for the more timid and indolent. Stories of his encounters with ferocious animals are still related. Upon one occasion he sauntered forth with his gun and two dogs for a hunt. Weary and footsore he sat down by a tree to rest and soon fell asleep. In the meanwhile his dogs had a desperate struggle for their lives, and for the protection of their master, with a panther. He was awakened by the fray and escaped uninjured. On one occasion he discovered a panther's lair among some large rocks. Two cunning little cubs were snoozing peacefully away, ignorant of the close proximity of an intruder. Struck with their beauty, he resolved to carry them home for domestication. Taking both in his arms he proceeded but a short distance, when their mother, finding her babies gone, started after him with great fury. Seeing her in pursuit, Hinton put down one of the cubs, which she carried back to its den and then returned to renew the chase. Just as the hunter regained the top of his ladder the mother of his captive again came in sight, but too late. She was shot, and the cub he succeeded in taming.

Colonel Hinton took up many thousands of acres of land by grant from Earl Granville. Grants were given for various tracts at different times. They followed the course of Neuse River, beginning some distance above Milburnie and extending far into Johnston County, a distance of many

miles. In some places the property ran four miles both to the east and west of the river. One tract which is known as "The River Plantation," taken in grant by him, is yet owned by a descendant of the name. There is no deed in existence for this parcel of land, the direct line of descent being sufficient. The Hintons, Hunters and Lanes originally owned most of the County of Wake. The two families last named were allied with the Hintons by marriage.

As civilization advanced, Colonel Hinton erected a residence, considered handsome in those primitive days—a type of colonial architecture—near his old log cabin. It was a frame building, and the bricks used in the foundation and chimneys were of a curious design—perfectly square. This house long since

"Has gone to decay,
And a quiet now reigns all around."

Only a heap of brick remains to mark the spot where it stood. Many old homes built by Colonel Hinton's sons and their children in Wake County are still in a fairly good state of preservation. Conspicuous among these are "The Oaks" and "Clay-Hill-on-the-Neuse." The latter, the home of Major John Hinton, Jr. (son of Colonel Hinton), was broken into both by the Tories during the Revolution and the Federal troops during the War between the States. A secret drawer in a desk was found and robbed of treasure in each case.

Colonel Hinton was among the first to offer his services to his country when the British yoke could no longer be borne. He was a delegate from Wake County when the Provincial Congress of North Carolina met at Hillsborough in August, 1775. There preparations began for the conflict which was brewing. On the 9th of September, the assembly appointed officers for the minute men in the various counties. For Wake County the following officers were selected: John Hinton, colonel; Theophilus Hunter, lieutenant-colonel; John Hinton, major; Thomas Hines, second major. Colonel Hinton also represented Wake County in the Provincial Congress

at Halifax in April, 1776, and was elected a member of the Committee of Safety for the Hillsborough district, of which Wake County was a part.

On the 27th of February, 1776, was fought the Battle of Moore's Creek Ridge, after a brilliant campaign of about one month's duration. This fight saved the Southern colonies. Some two or three thousand loyalists, under the leadership of General McDonald, were that day completely defeated, and many taken prisoners on their way to join the British fleet at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. Colonel Hinton took an active part in this engagement, and his body-servant, old Uncle Brisco, accompanied him through the campaign. This ancient family favorite lived as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. Nothing pleased the old darkey so much as for others to listen to his stories of the time when "me and marster wuz in de war." His description of this particular battle was both graphic and amusing. After Colonel Hinton's death, this old servant came into the possession of his youngest son, David Hinton. He had the honor of driving the first carriage brought into Wake County, as well as of hitching a horse to the last "gig" driven within its boundaries. The first time he drove this carriage to the front door, his "mistis," a stately dame, was greatly shocked to find the interior of the vehicle filled with fodder! "Where do you expect me to sit, Brisco?" she exclaimed. "Up here wid me, mistis," was the confident reply.

Colonel Hinton lived but a short while to enjoy the liberty he had fought for and aided in winning for the States. He passed away in the spring of 1784. His remains were interred near his home in the family burying-ground.* He married Grizelle Kimbrough, who was born about 1720,

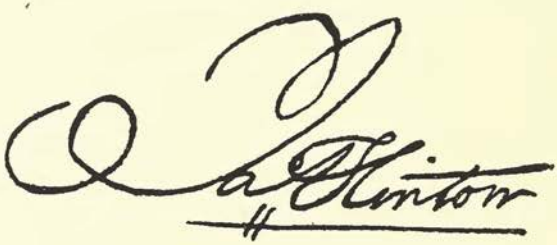
*The grave of Colonel Hinton is unmarked, neither can it be located exactly; for this reason a descendant, wishing to mark his last resting place, was prevented from perfecting the intention. However, instead, as a memorial to him, a gold medal is offered annually in the Academy at Edenton, in his native county of Chowan, to the pupil writing the best essay on some given historical (local) subject. This will be presented each commencement during the life of the donor.

daughter of Buckley and sister of Nathaniel Kimbrough. Eight children survived him, viz.:

1. John Hinton, Jr., a major in the Revolution and a representative from Wake County in the legislature both during

and after the war. He married Ferebee Smith, daughter of the founder of Smithfield in Johnston County, and lived at "Clay-Hill-on-the-Neuse." Some of his descendants, bearing the name, removed to Georgia. Both Major Hinton and his wife are buried at "Clay Hill."

2. James Hinton, also a Revolutionary officer in active service, who married Delilah Hunter, daughter of Colonel



Theophilus Hunter, of "Hunter's Lodge," in Wake County.

3. Sarah Hinton, who married Needham Bryan, Jr., of Johnston County.

4. Mary Hinton, who married Colonel Joel Lane, of "Bloomsbury," in Wake County, on whose old plantation stands the present city of Raleigh.

5. Alice Hinton, who married Captain John James, an officer in the North Carolina Continental Line. One of the children of this marriage was Hinton James, the first graduate of the University of North Carolina. The Bakers of Jacksonville, Florida, trace descent from them.

6. Elizabeth Hinton, who married Thomas James.

7. Kimbrough Hinton, who was married, but the name of

whose wife is not known. His home was called "The Red House." Most of his descendants removed west. The only ones of whom anything is now known are the Yates family of Illinois.

8. David Hinton, of "The Oaks," who married Jane Lewis, daughter of Howell and Isabella (Willis) Lewis, of Granville County. The only son of this marriage was Major Charles Lewis Hinton, for eleven years State Treasurer of North Carolina.

All of the above children are mentioned in Colonel Hinton's will, though his two youngest sons were minors at the time he made it. From this large family have sprung many descendants, but few of whom bear the name of their brave ancestor. His will, recorded in the courthouse at Raleigh, is here given in full:

In the name of God Amen, I John Hinton, Senr. of Wake County and State of North Carolina, being of a sound mind and disposing memory, tho in low state of Health, and knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die, do make constitute & ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following:

IMPRIMIS, It is my earnest will & desire that my Wife Grizeal Hinton shall after my death have the sole use and occupation of all my Estate Real and personal that I shall be possessed of at that time, during her natural life and no longer; and after her decease to be disposed of in the following manner, and that no Legacies be paid in money unless by the consent of my Wife, till her Death—

ITEM, I give and bequeath to my son John Hinton all the lands lying above Farmer's Creek that I am possessed of, to him, and his Heirs and assigns forever—And that my said Son John Hinton may enter upon, and take possession of said Land whenever he pleases—

ITEM, I give and bequeath to my Son James Hinton Ten pounds current money of the State of North Carolina—

ITEM, I give and bequeath to my Daughter Sarah Bryant Wife of Needham Bryant a Negro fellow called Abraham or to her heirs and assigns forever—To receive him at my Death.

ITEM, I give and bequeath to my Daughter Mary Lane Wife of Joel Lane ten pounds current money of the State of North Carolina.

ITEM, I give and Bequeath to my Daughter Alice James wife of John James ten pounds current money of the State of North Carolina—

ITEM, I give and bequeath to my Daughter Elizabeth James wife of Thomas James ten pounds current money of the State of North Carolina.

ITEM, The land that I have in Johnston County I leave to be sold by my Executors, to discharge the aforesaid Legacies of ten pounds, that is to say not to be sold without my Wife's consent—

ITEM, I give and Bequeath all the remainder of my Estate Real & personal to my two Sons Kimbro and David Hinton; the Land equally to be divided between them by a dividing line; no regard being had to the quality of the Land, but to the number of acres, An East and West Course to be the dividing line—The lower part to my son Kimbro with the Manor Plantation—The upper part to my son David Hinton—To them and to their heirs & Assigns forever—Also my Personal Estate to be equally divided between the said David and Kimbro after their mother's death as before mentioned—But in case one or both of my two last mentioned sons should die without issue (viz Kimbro and David), that the Lands that I have devised to them to be equally divided among all my surviving sons in fee simple—And the personal Estate of the aforesaid Kimbro & David Hinton should one or both die without issue to be divided in equal proportion among all my Daughters then living—of him that died—

ITEM, I constitute and appoint my Son John Hinton and James Hinton sole executors to this my last Will and Testa-

ment Revoking by this will all my former Wills and Testaments whatever—

LASTLY, it is my Will and desire that should my wife die before my two sons Kimbro and David Hinton arrive at the years of discretion to manage for themselves, that the lands not to be rented and negroes hired out, but to remain upon the plantation and work the Land for the Benefit of my said two Sons viz Kimbro and David Hinton—In witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my seal this 9th of January A. D. 1784.

(Seal.)

In presence of:

JOHN BOUTIN.
THOMAS GAY (JURAT)
her
MARY X POWELL (JURAT)
mark

Note, before signing we observed the interlineations of—all of him that died—David & Kimbro—

JNO. BOUTIN,
THOMAS GAY,
her
MARY X POWELL,
mark.

Though a striking figure in Wake County's early history, and the commander of her military forces in the first part of the War for Independence, little is known of Colonel Hinton at the present time among the generality of people, even in the section which he aided in building up. To preserve in

some measure, the record of his services is the object of this sketch; for, as has been said by a worthy North Carolinian: "If history immortalizes those who, with the cannon and the bayonet, through blood and carnage, establish a dynasty or found a State, surely something more than mere oblivion is due those who, forsaking all that is attractive to the civilized mind, lead a colony and plant it successfully, in harmony and peace, amid the dangers of the wilderness and under the war-whoop of the savage."

Biographical and Genealogical Memoranda

Compiled and Edited by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

WILLIAM J. LEARY, SR.

William James Leary, Sr., the author of the article in this number of The Booklet on "The Fisheries of North Carolina," was born on the 2nd day of January, 1854, at the Mount Auburn plantation in Chowan County, about five miles from Edenton, North Carolina. The son of William J. Leary, M. D., and his wife, Elizabeth K., daughter of General Peter Ihrie and wife, Camilla Ross, of Easton, Pennsylvania, and grandson of Thomas Haughton Leary and wife, Parthenia Standing, of Chowan County, N. C. His ancestors were early settlers, and came to Eastern Carolina about 1700. In 1718 Thomas Swann executed a bond for one thousand pounds to William Leary, recorded in Book B., page 577, in the office of the Register Deeds. His father, Dr. William J. Leary, was a man of influence and highly respected for his ability in his profession, integrity, real worth and kindness to people. He died February 12, 1890, leaving children as follows: John L., Walter Ihrie, William James, Mrs. W. H. Skinner, Mrs. James D. Bateman, Ross Ihrie, and Thomas Haughton Leary, and since his death John L., Walter I., and Thomas H. Leary have died.

William James, the subject of this article, received his early education at the primary schools of Edenton, N. C., and from a private school teacher, employed by his father, when he resided on his plantation. Afterwards at his request his father permitted him to attend Calvert College, Maryland, and there he carried off first honors in his Latin classes, and was prepared for Lehigh University, Pennsylvania; and here he ran for the presidency of his class, only losing it by one

vote. After leaving the University he farmed and fished a large seine on the Albemarle Sound for several years, and later took up the study of the law, receiving his license from the Supreme Court January Term, 1878; and later settled in Edenton, N. C., where he began the practice of his profession. In 1894 was elected Solicitor of the First Judicial District, and successfully discharged the duties of that office. He was also Mayor Pro Tem, and a member of the Board of Councilmen for some years. He was chairman of the finance and street committee for a good portion of eight years. He established the method of sending in a written report covering work, with all vouchers attached thereto. These reports were filed as matters of record. There was a committee appointed to investigate the work of the old board, when it went out. The chairman of that committee requested him to write the report of the investigation, and how matters stood, which he did in a fair and honorable manner. In 1880 Mr. Leary married Miss Emma Woodard, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James A. Woodard, of Edenton. They have at this date (April, 1915) six children, one daughter and five sons, two of whom are married and each has a little girl. Their home is on the shore of the beautiful bay of Edenton, with its sparkling waters stretched out before them—a sheet of water surpassingly beautiful. Mr. Leary is also a member of the Improved Order of Red Men, and other fraternal organizations, and in 1911 was Great Sachem of the Reservation of North Carolina, and a Great Representative to the Great Council of the Improved Order of Red Men of the United States. He writes occasionally for his town papers, and contributes to other publications.

DR. WILLIAM K. BOYD.

For a biographical sketch of Dr. Wm. K. Boyd, see BOOKLET, January, 1908, p. 237. Since that was written he has contributed the following articles to periodicals and books:

"Intellectual Aspects of the Thirteenth Century" (*South Atlantic Quarterly,* July, 1908).

"Battle of King's Mountain" (*Booklet,* April, 1909).

"North Carolina, 1775-1861" (*South in the Building of the Nation,* Vol. I., 1909).

"Interstate Controversies in the South" (*Ibid,* Vol. 4).

"Two Studies in Southern Biography" (*South Atlantic Quarterly,* July, 1909).

"Antecedents of the North Carolina Convention of 1835" (*Ibid.,* January and April, 1910).

"Three Studies in Southern Problems" (*Ibid.,* October, 1910).

"North Carolina on the Eve of Secession" (*Report of the American Historical Association,* 1910).

"Gideon Welles on War, Politics and Reconstruction" (*South Atlantic Quarterly,* April, 1912).

"Neglected Aspects of North Carolina History" (*Minutes of the North Carolina State Lit. and Hist. Soc.,* 1912.)

"Military Criticisms, by Gen. W. R. Boggs" (*South Atlantic Quarterly,* April, 1912).

"Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund" (*South Atlantic Quarterly,* July and October, 1914).

"Early Currency and Banking in North Carolina" (*Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society,* 1914).

"Some Phases of Educational Progress in the South Since 1865" (*Essays in Southern History and Biography Inscribed to William A. Dunning,* 1914).

Dr. Boyd has also edited *The Historical Papers* of the Trinity College Historical Society and the *John Lawson Monographs* of the same organization, which include "Autobiography of Brantley York" (1910); "Memoirs of W. W. Holden" (1911), and "Military Reminiscences of Wm. R. Boggs" (1913). In 1910 and 1912 he was Lecturer in History in the Summer School of New York University. For the years 1913 and 1915 he was appointed a member of the General Committee of the American Historical Association,

and in 1912, 1913 and 1914 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the State Literary and Historical Society of North Carolina.

R. D. W. CONNOR.

Biographical sketches of Mr. R. D. W. Connor appeared in THE BOOKLET in January, 1907, and April, 1912.

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~~Vol. XIV~~ JULY, 1915 ~~No. 5~~

Vol XV. No. 1

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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This list of subjects may be changed, as circumstances sometimes prevent the writers from keeping their engagements.

The histories of the separate counties will in the future be a special feature of THE BOOKLET. When necessary, an entire issue will be devoted to a paper on one county.

THE BOOKLET will print wills and abstracts of wills prior to 1825, as sources of biography, history, and genealogy. Mrs. M. G. McCubbins will contribute abstracts of wills and marriage bonds in Rowan County to the coming volume. Similar data from other counties will be furnished.

Parties who wish to renew their subscriptions to THE BOOKLET for Vol. XV *are requested to give notice at once.*

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Vol. XV JULY, 1915 No. 1

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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EDMUND STRUDWICK

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XV JULY, 1915 No. 1

Edmund Strudwick, Surgeon*

*Read before the N. C. Medical Society, June 12, 1907.

By Hubert A. Royster, A. B., M. D., F. A. C. S.
Raleigh, N. C.

The most heroic figure so far recorded in the medical annals of North Carolina is Edmund Strudwick, of the County of Orange. His character, his work, his life and his death were each marked by courage of the supreme type. His was a masterful mind—and with it there was a physical earnestness and a moral heroism scarcely to be surpassed. Edmund Strudwick was born in Orange County, North Carolina, on the 25th day of March, 1802, at Long Meadows, about five miles north of Hillsboro, the county seat. His lineage was ancient and long-established in the community, his father being an important political factor and distinguished for those qualities which afterward graced his son.

Doctor Strudwick received under the famous Bingham, the elder, what would now be called a high school education, though he did not finish the prescribed course of instruction, "so impatient was he to begin the study of the science to which nature seemed especially to have called him, and which he pursued with undiminished ardor, literally, to the last moment of his conscious existence." What was lacking in a classical education he made up by native ability and assiduous reading.

His medical studies began under Doctor James Webb, who stood to him almost as a father and whose place in the hearts of his people Doctor Strudwick subsequently filled. He was graduated as a Doctor of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania on April 8, 1824. As a classmate of Doctor John

K. Mitchell (the father of S. Weir Mitchell) and with him, an office student of the celebrated Doctor William Gibson, young Strudwick became imbued with the best medical thought of the time. He served for two years as resident physician in the Philadephia Almshouse and Charity Hospital.

Equipped with clinical experience, fired with enthusiasm and running over with energy, Doctor Strudwick in 1826 returned to his native heath and began the practice of medicine in the town of Hillsboro. From the very beginning he achieved success, soon becoming the commanding officer of the profession in that region of country. Never was success more deservedly gained. Every attribute of his being contributed to the result, for not only was he blessed with a sound body and a warm heart, but he had a superior intellect.

Doctor Strudwick never affiliated with any medical organization except the North Caroina State Medical Society. Of this he was a charter member and the first president. The Society thus honored itself by launching forth under the name of a man who had already risen to an eminence in his profession rarely attained in those days. At its meeting in Raleigh he delivered a striking address in which he urged education of the people to the necessity for autopsies. The following is a strong paragraph from this address: "Neither the apathy of friends, the cold neglect and deep injustice of legislation, nor pampered quackery and empiricism can stay its onward course. True medical science will, like the majestic oak, withstand the shock and storm of every opposition. It has been beautifully compared to a star, whose light, though now and then obscured by a passing cloud, will shine on forever and ever in the firmament of Heaven." He took a lively interest in the work of the Society to his last years, though he practically never contributed to medical literature. The only case he ever wrote up was a death from ether by paralysis of the respiratory centre. This paper was sent to his friend, Doctor I. Minis Hayes, then editor of the *American*

Journal of the Medical Sciences, but was either lost in transit or found its way to the waste basket—at least, it was never accounted for. So that, the first and only case that this busy man ever recorded was one of which he had no special reason to boast—a death from an anesthetic—but reported from a sense of duty and honesty, and that one was never published.

The character of Doctor Strudwick's work was such as came to every country practitioner in his day. He was apothecary, physician, obstetrician, surgeon. And though he performed those duties as other men had performed them before him, there seemed to stand out in him something that was different—above and beyond the country doctor around him. It was the man behind the physician, the strong mental and moral force back of his activity.

Though Doctor Strudwick was a well-rounded medical man, his forte was surgery and, had he lived in this day and generation, his name would be at the top of those who exclusively practice that art. Indeed, it is not saying overmuch to assert that no one man to this time in our State has made so enviable a reputation in surgery. When we consider the conditions under which he lived and labored, his work and its results were little short of miraculous. His reputation was not merely local, but during the '40's and long afterwards, he was doing operations in Raleigh, Wilmington, Charlotte, Greensboro—all the principal cities of the State. Numerous patients were sent to him also, some of them from long distances. There was no general hospital in the State then, but he cared for his cases somehow and always gave them faithful attention. No modern surgeon in North Carolina has ever attained to such individual eminence. Nor were his results less wonderful. He attempted not only the lesser cases but also those of magnitude and this fact gives greater color without losing an eye. Once as he was driving homeward to the results. All kinds of surgery attracted him and he sought for it. Scores of operations for cataract were performed by him, according to the now obsolete needle method,

after a long trip in the country, he saw an old man trudging along being led by a small boy at his side. Doctor Strudwick stopped, ascertained that the man had been blind for 12 years, made him get up into the carriage and took him to his (the doctor's) home. One eye was operated on first and the other the next week, sight being restored to each. This case, as did all other similar ones, appealed to Doctor Strudwick very greatly.

If there was any special operation for which Doctor Strudwick was famous, it was that of lithotomy. Certainly he was the leading lithotomist of his time in North Carolina. There is no record of the exact number he performed, but it was large and his mortality was low. More calculi undoubtedly occurred then, and Doctor Strudwick lived in a section of the State where this affection abounded. His custom was always to do the lateral operation and to introduce no tube or other drainage unless there was hemorrhage. It is said that he did 28 consecutive lithotomies without a death.

The most important operation of Doctor Strudwick's career was one about which, unluckily, the record is meagre. It was, however, probably in 1842, that he successfully removed from a woman a large abdominal tumor weighing 36 pounds. The nature of the growth is not made clear.

Dr. Strudwick was married in 1828, two years after beginning practice, to Ann Nash, whom he survived but two years. Their union was blessed by five children—two girls and three boys. The girls died in infancy. Of the sons, one (Frederick N.) was a well known lawyer, having been solicitor of the Fifth District before his death, and both the other two followed their father's profession. The youngest, Doctor Edmund Strudwick, Jr., became a practitioner of repute in Dayton, Alabama (where his son is now engaged in the drug business), and died at the age of 69 years. The eldest child, Doctor William Strudwick* is now living in Hillsboro, N. C., in the vigor of a ripe manhood and will apparently never

*Died at his home in Hillsboro since this paper was written.

grow old. He is just at the age which his father attained—77 years—and embodies many of the traits which one feels were precious legacies from Edmund the Great. The present Doctor Strudwick is a fluent conversationalist, a most gracious host and withal a rare example of the fast-passing "doctor of the old school." May his shadow never grow less.

It now remains to say something of the personality of Edmund Strudwick and to call up incidents in his life which show what manner of man he was. That he was a hero—morally, mentally and physically—can be attested by his deeds as they stand. Doctor Strudwick was built in a big mold. His soul could not conceive, his mind could not think, his body could not do a little thing. A study of his career indicates that his ways were not the ways of the ordinary man either in the medical profession or out of it. He was a master of men. And this was not an acquirement of age, but he was all his life a leader. His moral force in the community may be shown by his set determination never to allow doctors to quarrel. He simply would not let them alone until peace was made. A favorite way was to invite the warring ones to his home on a certain time without giving them an opportunity to know in advance that they were to meet. This done, he usually accomplished his purpose. He was determined even to the point of stubbornness. Just after the Civil War, his most influential friends attempted with all their power to persuade him to take advantage of the homestead law, which was designed to permit Southern men to save a little during the reconstruction pillage—but he would not. Instead of this, he sold everything to pay his creditors, and lived in a two-room house without comforts till he died.

In personal appearance Doctor Strudwick was attractive. His height was about 5 feet 9 inches, and he weighed 190 pounds for the greater part of his life. He was exceedingly active and actually up to his final hours his energy was comparable to that of a dynamo. There was about him an intensity that was of itself commanding and overpowering.

Underneath this exterior of rough force was a suppressed tenderness that came from a humane and sympathetic heart and that, let forth, was as gentle as the outward manner was firm. The physician in that time was of necessity also the nurse. Here Doctor Strudwick showed his strength. Whenever he wished, for instance, a foot-bath administered, he did not ask that it be done, but issued the order, "Get things ready," and then, with a detail almost unheard of, he impelled his untrained assistants to do his exact bidding. One of his special feats was what he called "lacing" a bed—making up an old-fashioned feather bed so as to render it a more comfortable resting place for his patient.

It was this sort of care that contributed largely to his successful work. He never neglected a case. No matter how insignificant the case, how poor the patient, how far the ride, he pursued it with the same zest. He never stopped for inclement weather, or swollen streams. He braved the former and swam the latter. Obstacles only seemed to increase his zeal to press onward.

His healthy body was a boon to Doctor Strudwick. Never but once in the working period of his existence was he sick. He had gone with his son to perform an operation. On the way out he complained slightly and, having finished the task, he became quite ill, so that he had to be brought home lying down. He was nauseated, had a high fever ("calor mordax") and was delirious on reaching his room. It proved to be scarlet fever, though there was not a case then known in the county and, while he had been exposed to it many times, had never before contracted the disease. He was then about 50 years of age.

This fine condition of salubrity was aided also by his simple habits. He was not a big eater, and was extremely temperate. He never asked for a second portion of anything, but always took of each article what he thought was the proper amount for him to eat, finished it and would have no more. An oft-repeated saying was, "I have never swallowed anything that

I heard of afterwards." He also had the gift of taking "cat naps" at any time or place—a habit that William Pepper, the younger, did so much to celebrate. Doctor Strudwick frequently slept in his chair. He was an early riser, his life long, the year 'round. And one of his invariable rules—which illustrates the sort of stuff of which he was made—was to smoke six pipefuls of tobacco every morning before breakfast. He was a most insatiate consumer of tobacco, being practically never free from its influence. What liberal contracts nature makes with some mortals!

In politics Doctor Strudwick was an ardent Whig, though he never sought or held public office. His sense of humor was shown when, later in life he remarked to his son, "I don't know what I am coming to. Just to think I am wearing a slouch hat and a turn-down collar, and reading the *New York Herald!*"

In religion he professed the creed of the Presbyterians and was an elder in the church. His interest in life and its affairs was forever keen and live, particularly in any project for the public good. He was everybody's friend and an absolute paragon of cheerfulness. Even during his sudden reverse of fortune, his optimism never left him. But, while he was friendly and gentle, no one ever came down with more thundering tones upon those who were guilty of mean or unworthy acts.

Though his heart was chiefly in his surgery, yet Doctor Strudwick showed great fondness for every branch of the profession. He bought all instruments and books as they came out. All his spare time he spent in reading medical literature. He devoured all knowledge voraciously and thoroughly digested it. His study of a subject was exhaustive. For a goodly part of his time he rode on horseback—and he was a superb horseman to his last day. When he went in a vehicle he used a surry, with a boy in front, so that he could read along the road. Many hours a day did he spend thus, acquiring information which he was ready at a moment's

notice to put to use. In a flap on the dashboard he kept a bag in which were stored a small library and a miniature instrument shop. And often he would return with his carriage full of cohosh, boneset, etc., indicating his familiarity with medical botany. He prepared a good deal of his own medicine in this way. One of his favorites was a preparation of sheep sorrell ("sour grass") for lupus. The herb was inspissated in a pewter spoon by exposure to the air and sun, and the resultant mass applied to the ulcerated part. It is said to have been very efficacious. What reaction was produced and what substance was formed cannot here be said.

The crowning incident in the history of this great man happened when he was near the age of sixty years. Neither in fiction nor in real life has there been an example of firmer devotion to duty or of more daring fortitude. The glorious deeds of Willum MacClure exhibit nothing that can compare to this one achievement of Edmund Strudwick. He was called to a neighboring county to perform an operation. Leaving Hillsboro by rail at 9 o'clock in the evening, he arrived at his station about midnight and was met by the physician who had summoned him. Together they got immediately into a buggy and set out for the patient's house, six miles in the country. The night was dark and cold; the road was rough; the horse became frightened at some object, ran away, upset the buggy and threw the occupants out, stunning the country doctor (who, it was afterwards learned, was addicted to the opium habit), and breaking Doctor Strudwick's leg just above the ankle. As soon as he had sufficiently recovered himself, Doctor Strudwick called aloud, but no one answered, and he then crawled to the side of the road and sat with his back against a tree. In the meantime the other physician, who had somehow managed to get into the buggy again, drove to the patient's home, where for a time he could give no account of himself or his companion; but, coming out of his stupor, he faintly remembered the occurrence and at once dispatched a messenger to the scene of

the accident. Doctor Strudwick was still leaning against the tree, calling now and then in hopes of making some one hear, when the doctor's buggy came up at sunrise. He got in, drove to the house, without allowing his own leg to be dressed, and sitting on the bed, operated upon the patient for strangulated hernia, with a successful result. "Greater love hath no man than this."

What an inspiration is the life of such a man! Viewing it even from afar one cannot help seeing the sublime soul that was back of it all. He would have been no uncommon man in any age, in any place. It is to his surgical skill that extraordinary tribute must be paid. Were he living today, Edmund Strudwick would be the surgical Samson of our State. Indeed, it is doubtful if any of us equal him in the work which he essayed to do. In these times of wide possibilities his fame as a specialist in surgery would rank high. Such estimates are not overdrawn, for Doctor Strudwick's position in his period was such as to admit of them and more.

The going out of this great man's life was as tragic and unusual as his career had been brilliant and useful. In possession of his customary good health, at the age of seventy-seven, he succumbed to a fatal dose of atropine taken by mistake from drinking a glass of water in which the drug had been prepared for hypodermic employment in an emergency. An account says that "he was buried in the cemetery of the Presbyterian church at Hillsboro, the funeral being attended by almost the whole population of the town." But for the accident which terminated his life, Doctor Strudwick would by all reckonings have lived to an advanced age and some of us might have been privileged to know him. Priceless heritage this—to have fellowship with these rare souls that stand apart in passing generations; eternal inspiration ours—to contemplate the life and character of Edmund Strudwick and to hold him forever in our memories as the very finest model of those whose days are spent in—

"Battling with custom, prejudice, disease,
As once the son of Zeus with Death and Hell."

Grace Greenlee, a Revolutionary Heroine

By William Carson Ervin.

This is a story of a beautiful woman. That she was brave as well as beautiful was a matter of heredity. That she was beautiful as well as brave is proven both by family tradition and by the canons of descent. Some of the most charming women of the South, bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh, are living witnesses of the truth of that tradition of loveliness which throws a glamour around the name of this gracious feminine figure of the Revolutionary period.

To many of her descendants in North Carolina her musical name is all that is remembered—like a sweet note of some old melody that lingers after the song is forgotten. And yet, she was very real, this lady of long ago—wife of two soldiers and ancestress of brave men and fair women. The blood of the Scotch Covenanter and the English Puritan pulsed in her veins, with a wee bit of an Irish strain to quicken wit and mellow voice and darken the blue of the eyes.

Our American pioneers were living so intensly in the present that they took little thought of the future, leaving very scant records of their lives for the enlightenment of their descendants. Burke County, so rich in historical interest, had the peculiar misfortune of having nearly all of its priceless court records destroyed at the close of the Civil War. One volume of the minutes of the old Court of Pleas and Quarter-Sessions, covering the period from 1790 to 1808, remains. To depend, therefore, upon our records in writing a historical sketch is like the task of the botanist who would attempt to catalogue the flora of our mountains after inspecting a withered bouquet of wild flowers gathered haphazard by a child.

Happily for us, such men as Judge A. C. Avery and Colonel T. Geo. Walton, gathered from the lips of living witnesses

much of the history of this region, and preserved it in their historical articles.

Such books as Foote's "Sketches" of Virginia and North Carolina, Draper's "Kings Mountain," Greene's "Historic Families of Kentucky," the "Historical Papers" of Washington and Lee University, Wheeler's "History of North Carolina," and the "Reminiscences" of the same author, the "Colonial Records," Mrs. Boyd's the "Irvines and Their Kin," and Judge Avery's "History of the Presbyterian Churches at Morganton and Quaker Meadows," serve to throw some light upon the subject of this sketch or upon those parlous times in which she lived.

The ancestry of Grace Greenlee can be traced to one Christopher Irvine, who fell at Flodden Field in 1513. It was Robert Irvine, one of the descendants of Christopher, who married Elizabeth Wylie near Glenoe, in Ireland, and whose daughter, Margaret, became the wife of Ephraim McDowell. This Scotch-Irish soldier, who fought as a youth at Boyne River and in the seige of Londonderry, having buried his devoted wife, Margaret, in the old church yard at Raloo, in Ireland, brought his children, John, James, Margaret and Mary, to America about the year 1729, landing in Philadelphia.

Mary McDowell, one of the daughters of Ephraim, married prior to 1837, James Greenlee, whom Judge Greene styles "a Presbyterian Irishman of English descent." The Greenlees came from Philadelphia with Ephraim McDowell and his son, John McDowell, the latter of whom had married in Pennsylvania, Magdelena Wood, and became the first settlers on Burden's Grant of 500,000 acres in what is now Rockbridge County, Virginia. They reached Virginia in 1837, James McDowell, eldest son of Ephraim, having preceded them to that State. Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby states that the excessive taxes imposed by Pennsylvania upon immigrants was the cause of the hegira of the Scots from Pennsylvania to Virginia and North Carolina.

Here, in the midst of that great wilderness and hard by the cabins of James and John McDowell, the Greenlees set up their home; and here, in 1738, their first child, John Greenlee, was born. The second son, named James after his father, was born to the Greenlees in 1740, and Grace, the subject of this sketch, the only daughter of whom any record is left, was born at the Greenlee home in Rockbridge County, Virginia, on June 23, 1750.

Of her early life in Virginia we have little knowledge. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of Augusta County, in which the Greenlees then lived and which included Rockbridge, had established, as early as 1749, the first school of high grade west of the Blue Ridge under the charge of Robert Alexander, a man of great learning, who had been educated at Edinburgh. He was succeeded as principal of the Augusta Academy in 1753 by Rev. John Brown, a Princeton graduate, who for more than twenty years taught the youth of the settlement. Washington and Lee University was the outgrowth of this great pioneer school. John and James Greenlee, brothers of Grace, were educated at Augusta Academy. Where she herself obtained an education, we do not know; but she was reared in a community where education was highly prized, where there was a considerable number of men who had been educated in the best schools of Scotland or at Princeton, and where, doubtless, she had educational advantages equal to those enjoyed by her brothers. Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, in an address delivered at Washington and Lee University in 1870, speaking of Augusta County at the time Grace Greenlee was in her girlhood, said: "It was a time when the proudest building in the vast region sweeping from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi, was built of logs and rough rocks; when the rich and the poor—if indeed the word rich can be applied to any of the brave and pious settlers of this region—lived in log cabins; when the dwelling house, school house and the church were built of logs." Unbroken forests, in which bears, wolves, and deer abounded, and through which

roamed bands of hostile Indians, stretched for hundreds of miles on every side. Communication between the settlers was carried on by riding horse-back over rough trails, and merchandise was hauled hundreds of miles in rude wagons over almost impassable roads.

Colonel John McDowell, an uncle of Grace Greenlee, had been killed by Indians in the winter of 1743. Mrs. Estil, the sister of Colonel George Moffett (who had married Sarah McDowell, a first cousin of Grace Greenlee) had been captured and carried away by the Indians, and was rescued by her intrepid brother, Colonel Moffett, in charge of a band of frontiersmen, after a long chase through the forests. Some of her relatives had tasted the bitterness of Braddock's defeat, and had shared with her neighbors the victory at Point Pleasant. There was hardly a family in that old Virginia settlement some member of which had not been killed or wounded in the French and Indian wars. Such were the scenes and surroundings in which the early life of this pioneer woman was spent.

About the year 1776 Grace Greenlee married in Virginia, Captain John Bowman, a grandson of Joist Hite, a wealthy German who owned 40,000 acres of land in Frederick County, Virginia. Hite and his son-in-law, George Bowman, father of Captain John Bowman, had come to Virginia in 1732 from Pennsylvania, and had purchased the 40,000-acre tract from John and Isaac Vanmeter.

There is a tradition in the family that the father of Grace had arranged for her to marry a rich land owner of Virginia, well advanced in years; that the wedding trousseau was prepared, the wedding feast in readiness, and that the wedding ceremony had actually progressed to the point where the bride-to-be was asked if she would take the ancient bridegroom for "better or for worse," when she electrified the assembled guests by a most emphatic "No."

At any rate, she chose the young soldier, Captain Bowman, and in company with her husband and her brother James,

set out for North Carolina, where her relatives, the McDowells, and her second cousins, Margaret and Mary Moffett, who had married into the McDowell family, had preceded her. Reaching the Moravian settlements at Salem, the Greenlees and Bowmans were informed that the Cherokee Indians were on the war path in the upper Catawba settlements, and instead of coming directly to Burke, they went first to the home of their relatives, the Mitchells and Neelys, in South Carolina. These Mitchells were children of Margaret McDowell, a daughter of Ephraim and an aunt of Grace Bowman. Margaret McDowell had married James Mitchell in Virginia, and had moved thence to North Carolina and afterwards to South Carolina, where many of her descendants still reside.

It was probably on this trip to South Carolina that James Greenlee wooed and won his cousin, Mary Mitchell, to whom he was married and whom he brought to Burke County. The exact date when the Greenlees and Bowmans finally reached the Catawba Valley cannot be definitely fixed. It was certainly between the time of the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774 and the year 1778; for as early as 1778 both James Greenlee and John Bowman made numerous entries of land in Burke County. The McDowells, of Quaker Meadows and Pleasant Gardens, had made the first entries of their land in the office of the agent of Earl Granville, and afterwards took out new patents from the State of North Carolina; and it is asserted by members of the Greenlee family that both James Greenlee and Captain Bowman also made their original entries of land with the Granville agent, probably on some visit made to North Carolina before they came here to live.

It seems very probable that the time the Greenlees and Bowmans were deterred from coming direct to Burke by the news, which reached them at the Moravian settlements, that the Cherokee Indians were raiding the Catawba Valley, was during the summer of 1776, when the Cherokees crossed the Blue Ridge, murdered and scalped thirty-seven people on the

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Raleigh

upper Catawba, and surrounded the McDowells and ten of their men and one hundred and twenty women and children whom they were protecting in a log fort, either in Turkey Cove or at the old Indian fort which stood where the village of Old Fort now stands.

On their arrival in Burke, Greenlee and Bowman were entertained by their relatives, the McDowells, at Quaker Meadows. Learning of their desire to settle in the valley, General Charles McDowell took both of the men to see a fine tract of land embracing the lower valley of Canoe Creek and fronting on the Catawba River at the mouth of that stream. This tract, which adjoined the Quaker Meadows lands, appeared so desirable that both Greenlee and Bowman wanted to acquire it. At the suggestion of Joseph McDowell, Sr., the question was settled by a wrestling match between these stalwart frontiersmen, and James Greenlee won. Captain Bowman then crossed the Catawba River, and on February the 2nd, 1778, entered three adjoining sections of good land on Silver Creek, embracing 1,380 acres. Here at "Hickory Grove," near the present station called Calvin, on the Southern Railway, the Bowmans built their home and prepared their fields for cultivation. The lands on Canoe Creek and Silver Creek, granted to James Greenlee and Captain Bowman in 1778, remained in the possession of their heirs until about ten years ago.

It was at Hickory Grove, on March 22, 1779, that Mary, the only child of John and Grace Bowman, was born. The Revolution in the meantime was in full swing, and Captain Bowman soon had to leave his young wife to join the McDowells in their numerous forays against the Tories in South Carolina. He was killed at the battle of Ramseur's Mill, just outside of the present town of Lincolnton, on June 20, 1780.

His wife, who was at Hickory Grove, heard that her husband had been desperately wounded and was lying at a house

near the battlefield. A superb horsewoman and possessed of dauntless courage, she mounted a fleet horse, and taking her fifteen months old child in her arms, rode like the wind to the bedside of her husband, who expired a short time after her arrival. It was a forty-mile ride through the South Mountains, over dim trails and through a country infested by bands of Tories smarting under their recent defeat, and it proved that the granddaughter of Ephraim McDowell had all of the courage of the old Londonderry soldier. Captain Bowman was buried on the battlefield where he fell, and a tombstone, erected by his widow, marks his last resting place.

Wheeler relates that Mrs. Bowman, on one occasion during the Revolution, pursued some Tories who had plundered her home during the absence of her husband, and compelled the robbers, at the point of a musket, to give up her property. The same author vouches for the statement, confirmed by family tradition, that she aided her husband in making gunpowder for the Whigs. Another story current in the family is that on one occasion some of Tarleton's troopers carried away some of the Bowman horses. This courageous woman rode to the British camp some miles away, and demanded her horses from the officer in charge, and was allowed to bring them back in triumph. It is also related that on another occasion, while riding alone on her favorite thoroughbred horse, she met a band of Tories, who insolently halted her and asked her the news. She told them there was nothing of interest to relate except that the McDowells were out with a large troop hunting for Tories, and were then approaching over the same road she had traveled. The Tories fled precipitately, and left her to return home.

In the fall of 1782, Grace Bowman married General Charles McDowell, and became the mistress of Quaker Meadows and its 2,000 acres of fertile land. With her little daughter Mary (or "Polly," as she was known to the family,) Bowman, she left Hickory Grove and moved across the Catawba to Quaker Meadows, which, even at that early date

had belonged to the McDowells for nearly half a century. Joseph McDowell, Sr., the husband of Margaret O'Neill, and the father of General Charles McDowell, had died there nine years before. It is probable that his good wife, Margaret, whom he had married in Ireland, had also passed away, though she was still living in 1780. Colonel Joseph McDowell, the brother of the General, was then settled on his fine estate at Johns River, with his wife, Margaret Moffett, the daughter of Sarah McDowell and a granddaughter of Ephraim.

Hugh McDowell, ancestor of the Walton family of Burke, another brother of the General's slept beside his father, having died in 1772, when only thirty years of age.

Her neighbors were the Erwins of "Belvidere" and "Bellvue," Waighstill Avery of "Swan Ponds," Captain Henry Highland, Robert Brank, James Greenlee, who resided near the present Walton residence at "Brookwood," John Henry Stevelie, who made his home on what is now known as the Magnolia Farm, and David Vance, ancestor of the distinguished family of that name.

Vance had come from Frederick County, Virginia, some time before the Greenlees and Bowmans reached Burke County. Foote mentions him as having administered the oath of office to eight magistrates in Frederick County in November 14, 1743. James Vance, son-in-law of Samuel Glass, was one of the first settlers on the Hite Grant, in Frederick County, Virginia, where he arrived in 1732, and where he is buried at Opequon church. He was probably the father of Colonel David Vance, though this I have been unable to verify. Colonel Vance, after he came to Burke, married the daughter of Peter Brank, a Whig patriot, whose old dwelling still stands on the Presnall farm overlooking the Catawba river a mile north of Morganton. Robert Brank, the Revolutionary soldier, was a brother of Colonel Vance's wife.

At the time of the marriage of Grace Greenlee Bowman and General McDowell, a little hamlet called "Alder

Springs," had sprung up on the hills south of the Catawba, in full view of the Quaker Meadows home. The lands embraced within the limits of the embryo town had been granted to James Greenlee, John Stringfield, James Jewell, Joseph Morgan and Robert Brank on September 20, 1779. By an act of the General Assembly held in Hillsboro in April, 1784, the town of "Morgansborough" was established, and Waightstill Avery, James Johnson, William Lenoir, Joseph McDowell and John Walker were appointed commissioners and authorized to purchase one hundred acres of land in the County of Burke, "as near the center thereof as may be convenient;" to levy taxes, erect public buildings and lay off streets and lots. The act provided for a tax of one shilling on every hundred pounds valuation of property in Burke and of four pence per hundred pounds in the counties of Lincoln, Rutherford and Wilkes, to be used for erecting a court house and jail in Morgansborough. The site finally selected for the new town was the little hamlet, Alder Springs, on the south side of the Catawba where Morganton now stands. At the session of the General Assembly held at Newbern in October, 1784, the commissioners reported that they had purchased 235 acres for the town site; and a new commission, composed of General Charles McDowell, John Blanton and Alexander Erwin, was appointed to carry on the work of building the new town.

The new county seat of the "State of Burke," then extending from Wilkes to Buncombe and westward to the Tennessee line, was soon provided with a pretentious court house and jail, two or more general stores, an inn kept by David Tate and a number of licensed "ordinaries." The opening of the Superior Court brought judges and lawyers and litigants to "Morgansborough," or "Morgan," as the village was then called, and the hospitality of the McDowell home, a mile away, became proverbial throughout the State. There were routs and balls for the youth of both sexes, horse racing, fox hunting and deer driving for the men, and many a good

"fist and skull fight" for the delectation of the populace. Morganton's merchants brought their goods from Charleston or Fayetteville in wagons, and silks, broadcloth, "Dutch blankets" and Jamaica rum, loaf sugar and silver shoe buckles were largely dealt in.

Among the many guests who partook of the hospitality of General McDowell and his young wife at Quaker Meadows was that reckless blade, Colonel John Sevier, from the Watauga settlements beyond the Blue Ridge. Sevier was arrested in the fall of 1788 by his enemy, Colonel Tipton, and sent to Morganton in irons to answer to a charge of treason against the State of North Carolina. General Charles McDowell and his brother Joseph became bondsmen for their old comrade in arms, and entertained him royally until his sensational escape from the custody of Sheriff William Morrison, of Burke.

In the social life of that period Grace McDowell was a leading figure. General McDowell was a member of the State Senate at the time of their marriage in 1782, a position which he held until 1788. For many years he was a justice of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. Besides, he was a commissioner for the new town of Morganton, went with General Griffith Rutherford on his expedition against the Cherokees, was with Robert Henry and David Vance in establishing the line between North Carolina and Tennessee, and was, moreover, one of the largest land owners of the State. His manifold duties, public and private, consequently, kept him away from home much of the time, leaving to his capable wife the charge of his fine Catawba River plantation.

Slave traders were already hawking their "chattels" in the Catawba Valley, and the first United States Census, compiled in 1790, shows that General McDowell had at that time ten negro slaves on his estate. His brother, Major John McDowell, who was settled on Silver Creek, had the same number, and Colonel Waighstill Avery owned twenty-

four slaves, among them an Arab of great intelligence, learned in mathematics and the lore of the Orient.

In addition to her duties as the mistress of a large establishment, Grace McDowell had to care for her six children: Mary Bowman, already mentioned, and Margaret McDowell, born December 31, 1783; Charles McDowell, born December 27, 1785; Sarah McDowell, born December 16, 1787; Ethan Allen McDowell, born October 27, 1790, and James R. McDowell, born September 28, 1792.

That the daughter of James Greenlee and Mary McDowell would espouse the Presbyterian faith and bring up her family in that church, went without saying. About the time of her marriage to General McDowell, the first Presbyterian church in the upper Catawba Valley was built about three miles north of the McDowell home, in the center of the Scotch-Irish settlements on Johns River, Upper Creek and in the Linville Valley. It was styled the Quaker Meadows Church, and Grace McDowell was one of its first members, transfering her membership to Morganton after the establishment of the Presbyterian church in that town some years later. Rev. James Templeton was pastor of the Presbyterian church at Quaker Meadows and Pleasant Gardens in 1784, and Rev. James McKamie Wilson, who married Mary, the daughter of Alexander Erwin, was pastor of the same flocks in 1799. James Greenlee, brother of Grace McDowell, was an elder at Quaker Meadows, and afterwards at Morganton. As these early Presbyterian ministers were often teachers as well as preachers, and as Mr. Wilson a short time later engaged in educational work in Mecklenburg County, it is probable that the education of "Polly Bowman" and the McDowell children was entrusted to these Presbyterian divines.

I have before me, as I write, an old account book, kept at "The Morganton Store," in 1791 and 1792, in which there are numerous charges made of merchandise sold to General McDowell and his neighbors. The entries are in pounds, shillings and pence, and here is one of the bills:

June 12, 1791.
L.—S.—D.

Gen. Charles McDowell, Dr.

1 pen knife	4
1 Pr. knee buckles	4
1 ink stand	3
3 childrens' knives & Jews Hrp	5
	16

From which it may be logically deduced that the General's goose-quill pens needed attention, that his pokeberry crop was good, that he was fond of music "that was music," that he was a bit of a dandy, that he was an indulgent father, and that he was a man of letters and could have claimed the "benefit of clergy" if occasion arose. As most of the other bills on the account book mentioned contained entries of "one pint Jamaica rum, 3 shillings," the absence of this item in the above account may be taken to prove either that "The McDowell" believed in encouraging home industries, or that his Presbyterian wife was along when he bought the goods.

Mary Bowman, only daughter of Grace Greenlee and Captain John Bowman, married in 1798 Colonel William Tate, who, in partnership with his brother Robert, during the year 1795, obtained grants from the State of North Carolina for about 300,000 acres of land in the present counties of Burke, McDowell and Yancey, which they afterwards sold to Robert Morris of Philadelphia. Mary Bowman was a large land owner in her own right, possessing not only the Hickory Grove estate of 1,380 acres, but owning a half interest in numerous tracts on Swannanoa and Ivey rivers in Buncombe County, and on the "western waters," which had been entered by her father and her uncle, James Greenlee. The records at Raleigh show that the grants for these lands were issued to James Greenlee and Mary Bowman.

Eight children were born to William and Mary Tate. They were, John D. Tate, born January 15, 1799; Samuel C. Tate, born January 30, 1801; Elizabeth Adeline, born March 25, 1804; Mary Louisa, born April 10, 1810; Margaret Allison, born November 13, 1812, and Robert Mc-

Dowell Tate, born August 17, 1814; and Eliza and William J. Tate, the date of whose birth I have been unable to ascertain. Of these, three Tates, John B., William J., and Eliza G. (who married Stanhope Erwin) died without issue.

Samuel C. Tate, who married Eliza Tate, his cousin, was the father of the late Captain Junius C. Tate of Hickory Grove and of Mrs. Mary Joe Adams, who married Mr. Laurence Adams of Augusta, Ga.

Elizabeth Adeline Tate married William McGimsey. She is buried beside her husband at Quaker Meadows. They left one son, Robert Vance McGimsey, whose children are living in Louisiana.

Mary Louisa Tate married Rev. Thomas Espy and left one daughter, Harriet N. Espy, who was the first wife of the late Senator Z. B. Vance, and the mother of Charles, David N., Zebulon B., Jr., and Thomas Vance.

Margaret Allison Tate married William C. Butler, and left one daughter, Sallie, who married Ephraim Greenlee, and who, at last account, was still living in Tennessee. She paid a visit to Morganton a few years since. The Butlers, husband and wife, are buried at Quaker Meadows.

Robert McDowell Tate married Sarah R. Butler, a daughter of Colonel John E. Butler, and left eight children, of whom Mr. Charles E. Tate of Morganton, is the only survivor.

Of the McDowell children of Grace Greenlee, Margaret, the eldest, married William G. Dickson, who lived in what is now Caldwell County on Mulberry Creek, on June 1, 1801, when in her eighteenth year, and bore him twelve children, Charles McDowell Dickson, Grace Eliza, M. Isabella, Mary M., Joseph H., James F., Sarah E., Ann M., W. Athan, Robert M., Carolina C., and William W. Of these Dickson children, all died without issue except four. Eliza Grace Dickson married Moses T. Abernethey and left five children. Margaret Dickson married Dr. W. L. Glass. To them were born eleven children, three of whom died in infancy. Joseph H. Dickson married a Miss Estes and left three children.

William W. Dickson married a Miss Jones, of Wake County, N. C., and left six children, a number of whom are still living in or near Raleigh.

Charles McDowell, eldest son of Charles McDowell, Sr., and Grace, who represented Burke County in the Legislature from 1809 till 1811, married his cousin, Annie McDowell, a daughter of Colonel Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens, and his wife, Mary Moffett. They had six children: Eliza, Mary, Samuel, Myra, James and Margaret. Of these, Eliza and Myra married the Woodfin brothers of Asheville; Mary married first the distinguished lawyer, John Gray Bynum, Sr., and afterwards Justice Richmond M. Pearson of the North Carolina Supreme Court; James married Julia Manly, daughter of Governor Charles Manly; Margaret married William F. McKesson, and Samuel died without issue.

Ethan Allen McDowell, second son of General Charles and Grace, who served a number of times as sheriff of Burke, and as State Senator from the county in 1815, and fought in the Creek War, married Ann Gordon, a step-daughter of Colonel William Davenport. Of this marriage four children were born: Charles Gordon McDowell, who married Miss Emeline Jones of Henderson County; Louisa C., who married Col. James C. Harper of Caldwell County, and Mary A., and James McDowell, who died in infancy.

Sarah McDowell, second daughter of Charles and Grace McDowell, married Colonel William Paxton, a brother of Judge Paxton, to whom were born four children: John, William, James and Mary. Mary Paxton married Rev. Branch Merrimon, the father of the late Supreme Court Justice and United States Senator, Augustus S. Merrimon, and of Judge James H. Merrimon of Asheville.

James R. McDowell, third son of Charles and Grace, never married. He was a man of brilliant parts; served two terms in the State Senate, and three in the House, and died in 1826 when only 33 years of age, his early death closing what his friends had predicted would be a splendid political career.

I would be glad to trace further the descendants of Grace Greenlee, but the lines are too numerous and divergent to make it possible in this sketch. Senators, judges, soldiers, lawyers, leaders in business and the professions, are her sons. Brilliant and beautiful women are her daughters. I have done what little I could, in the limited time at my disposal and with the many interruptions caused by the pursuit of an exacting profession, to rescue from obscurity some of the incidents of her most interesting career.

A few days ago, I visited her grave where, on one of the noble hills of Burke, overlooking both Quaker Meadows and Hickory Grove and the town of Morganton a mile away, she sleeps beside the soldier consort of her maturer years. Close by her side repose Joseph McDowell, husband of Margaret O'Neill; her brothers, James and John Greenlee; her sister-in-law, Mary Mitchell Greenlee; her daughter, Mary Tate; her sons, Charles, Ethan and James; Hugh McDowell, her brother-in-law, Tates, Butlers, Espys, Bynums, McGimseys, Harbisons, her relatives, neighbors and nearest friends. Broad fields of wheat, ready for the harvest, waved in the fertile Catawba Valley, upon lands which the McDowells have held in freehold for more than one hundred and fifty years. My mission there was to copy from the ancient tombstones, as a fitting conclusion to this paper, the epitaphs below. The poetry, like the carving, is rude; but the story told by the stones is as eloquent as it is enduring:

"Sacred to the memory
of
Gen. Charles McDowell,
a Whig officer in the Revolutionary
War, who died as he had lived—
a Patriot, the 31st of March, 1815,
aged about 70 years."

"Sacred to the memory of
of
Grace McDowell,
Consort of Gen. Chas. McDowell, who
died May 18, 1823, in the 73rd year of her age.
"Once engaged in scenes of life,
A tender mother and loving wife;
But now she's gone and left us here,
The lesson bids us all prepare."

Note.—The facts stated in the above paper were collated from the books and records mentioned and from data furnished by Mrs. Emma Harper Cilley, of Hickory, N. C.; Miss Lizzie D. Glass, of Rufus, Caldwell Co., N C.; Messrs. Charles Manly McDowell and Charles E. Tate, of Morganton, descendants of Grace Greenlee; from Mr. John A. Dickson and Miss Mary F. Dickson, descendants of James Greenlee; and from Miss Margaret McDowell, of Morganton, N. C., a descendant of Colonel Joseph McDowell, of Pleasant Gardens. To all of them, thanks for the aid so kindly afforded me.

Number of North Carolinians in the Revolutionary War

By Marshall DeLancey Haywood,

Author of "Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765 1771," "Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina," "Ballads of Courageous Carolinians," etc.

How many troops did North Carolina furnish to the American cause during the War of the Revolution? This is an interesting question, well worthy of consideration and study. The present writer, while recently serving as Historian of the United States War and Navy Departments for collecting North Carolina Revolutionary Records, made a close examination of all the available archives in Raleigh and elsewhere throughout North Carolina, and the result of these researches convinces him that the State has never had credit for anywhere near the number of men she had on her rolls during that war. In taking up this subject we shall begin with the Continental Line, or regulars, and later speak of the Nine Months Drafts, and the Militia—or Minute Men, as the last mentioned class was usually called in New England and other Northern localities.

Most students of North Carolina history are familiar with the printed Roster of the Continental Line (regulars) which is given in the sixteenth volume of the State Records of North Carolina, pages 1002 to 1196. This gives a list of Continentals to the number of about six thousand—or 5,997 in exact figures. Many names, it is true, are given more than once on this Roster—owing to transfers from one regiment to another, as in the cases of promoted officers, etc.,—but the subtraction which we must make for this cause is counterbalanced by additions which might be made of numerous names of North Carolina Continental soldiers which are given on the

United States Pension Rolls, State Land Grant Lists, and other authentic records, but which do not appear on the above-mentioned Continental Roster. So we may safely assert that North Carolina furnished six thousand regulars to the Continental Army. Indeed she must have furnished an even greater number if her Continental regiments—ten in number—were ever recruited to anywhere near the full strength authorized by law and military usage.

We now come to the Militia forces of North Carolina, which were far greater than the Continental troops of the State. In the Spring of 1782 there were no less than 26,822 Militia troops enrolled in North Carolina, as shown by returns from all the counties in the State made at that time. This most valuable document (now in the manuscript archives of the State, deposited in the collection of the North Carolina Historical Commission) we shall reproduce verbatim, including the certificate of Alexander Martin, Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Governor Martin's certificate, it will be observed, expressly states that this list does not include either Continental troops or Nine Months Drafts. The list is as follows:

RETURN OF THE FENCIBLE MILITIA OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, MAY 6, 1782.

Counties.	Colonels.	Lt.-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Non-commissioned Officers and Privates.	Total.	
Franklin	1	1	2	8	8	8	530	557	
Warren	1	1	2	9	9	9	590	621	
Halifax	1	1	2	12	12	12	650	690	
Northampton	1	1	2	11	11	11	550	587	
Edgecombe	1	1	2	10	10	10	650	683	
Nash	1	1	2	7	7	7	487	512	4002 Halifax District.
Martin	1	1	2	6	6	6	330	352	
Guilford	1	1	2	17	17	15	800	853	
Rowan	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	1500	
Surry	1	1	2	----	----	-----	------	700	
Wilkes	1	----	----	12	12	12	544	581	
Burke	1	1	2	13	13	13	687	730	
Mecklenburg	2	2	4	----	----	-----	------	960	Including both battalions.
Lincoln	1	1	2	6	6	6	344	366	
Rutherford	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	250	
Anson	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	484	
Montgomery	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	460	
Richmond	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	340	
Washington*	1	1	2	----	----	-----	------	1000	8792 Salisbury District.
Sullivan*	1	1	2	11	11	10	499	568	
Carteret	1	1	2	5	5	5	218	237	
Craven	1	1	2	10	10	10	622	657	
Beaufort	1	1	2	5	5	5	268	288	

Hyde	1	1	2	5	4	5	217	235	
Johnston	1	1	2	8	8	8	452	480	
Dobbs†	1	1	2	10	10	10	580	614	
Pitt	1	1	2	13	13	12	606	648	
Jones	1	1	2	4	4	4	384	400	3983 New Bern District.
Wayne	1	1	2	----	----	-----	420	424	
Bertie	----	1	2	11	11	11	623	659	
Chowan	1	1	2	5	5	5	215	234	
Gates	1	1	2	8	8	8	371	398	
Perquimans	1	----	2	5	5	5	222	240	
Camden	1	1	2	8	8	8	388	416	
Currituck	1	1	2	7	6	6	236	259	
Pasquotank	1	1	2	6	6	6	236	358	
Hertford	1	1	1	6	5	7	392	415	3380 Edenton District.
Tyrrell	1	1	2	8	8	8	373	401	
Onslow	1	1	2	9	9	9	407	438	
Brunswick	----	1	1	4	4	4	142	156	
Cumberland	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	556	Officers included.
New Hanover	1	1	2	5	5	4	110	128	
Duplin	1	1	2	14	13	12	883	927	2815 Wilmington District.
Bladen	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	600	
Orange	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	800	4002 Halifax District.
Granville	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	800	8792 Salisbury District.
Caswell	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	600	3983 New Bern District.
Randolph	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	400	3380 Edenton District.
Wake	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	650	2815 Wilmington District.
Chatham	----	----	----	----	----	-----	------	600	3850 Hillsboro District.

26,822 total.

ALEX. MARTIN.

The above estimate is exclusive of those persons in the Continental service, the nine months draughts, and others exempted in the State from military [militia] duty. ALEX. MARTIN.

*Washington and Sullivan counties are in what is now Tennessee. M. DeL. H.

†The territory of the old county of Dobbs now forms Greene and Lenoir counties. M. DeL. H.

Having thus shown from authentic documentary evidence that the North Carolina Continentals, or regulars, numbered 6,000 or upwards, and that her Militia forces numbered exactly 26,822, the only remaining class of soldiery to be added (as Governor Martin said it was not included in the Militia returns) is what was known as the Nine Months Draft.

Unfortunately, we have been unable to find any record to show the exact numbers included in the Nine Months Drafts; but, from the frequency with which they were called into service, and the reliance placed upon them, we think that 2,500 is a very conservative estimate of their numbers.

Hence, with 6,000 Continentals, 26,822 Militia, and 2,500 (estimated) Nine Months Drafts, the belief is not unreasonable that North Carolina had at her disposal, during the progress of the Revolution, upwards of 35,000 soldiers. But this is a larger number than the great State of New York furnished, it may be said. In answer we have only to observe that when the first official Census of the United States was taken in 1790 North Carolina's population was 53,631 in excess of the population of the State of New York, the former State having 393,751 inhabitants, and the latter only 340,120; and in this Census of 1790 Tennessee was not counted as a part of North Carolina, its mother.

Was Lederer in Bertie County?

By Captain S. A. Ashe.

Dr. Hawks, in his valuable History of North Carolina, gives, at page 43, Vol. II, some extracts from the Discoveries of John Lederer, a German, who was living in Virginia in 1669 and 1670, and who made three journeys to the mountains. Dr. Hawks says: "The second of these expeditions was from the Falls of the James River, west and southwest, and brought Lederer into North Carolina." "Certain Englishmen were appointed by Berkeley to accompany him; these, however, forsook him and turned back. Lederer proceeded,, notwithstanding, alone; and on his return to Virginia (which, by the way, was never expected), met with insult and reproaches, instead of the cordial welcome to which he was entitled. * * * * Under these circumstances he went to Maryland, and there succeeded finally in obtaining a hearing from the Governor, Sir William Talbot, and in submitting his papers to him. The Governor, though at first much prejudiced against the man by the stories he had heard, yet found him, so he says, "a modest, ingenious person, and a pretty scholar." And the Governor himself took the trouble to translate from the Latin and publish Lederer's account of his journeyings. The pamphlet with map was printed in London in 1672. Dr. Hawks makes extracts from this pamphlet and reproduces two maps on which Lederer's route is indicated and from these it appears that Lederer explored the mountain section, but notwithstanding this, Dr. Hawks locates the explorations in eastern North Carolina—especially in Bertie County.

We quote from the narrative:

"The twentieth of May, 1670, one Major Harris and my-

self, with twenty Christian horse and five Indians, marched from the falls of James River, in Virginia, towards the Monakins. * * * Here inquiring the way to the mountains, an ancient man described with a staff two paths on the ground, one pointing to the Mahocks and the other to the Nahyssans. (Dr. Hawks locates the Mahocks at the junction of the Rockfish with the James River; and the Nahyssans west of them, and between them and the first range of mountains.)

"But my English companions, slighting the Indian's directions, shaped their course by the compass due west. * * * Thus we, obstinately pursuing a due west course, rode over steep and craggy cliffs. In these mountains we wandered from the 25th of May till the 3rd of June. * * *

"The third of June we came to the south branch of the James River, which Major Harris, observing to run northwardly, vainly imagined to be an arm of the Lake of Canada. * * * Here I moved to cross the river and march on; but the rest of the company were so weary of the enterprise that, crying out, one and all, they would have offered violence to me.

"The lesser hills, or Akonshuck, are here impassible, being both steep and craggy. James River is here as broad as it is about a hundred miles lower at Monakin.

"The fifth of June, my company and I parted, good friends, they back again, and I, with one Susquehanna Indian, named Jackzetason, only, in pursuit of my first enterprise, changing my course from west to southwest and by south to avoid the mountains.

"From the fifth, which was Sunday, until the ninth of June, I traveled through difficult ways, without seeing any town or Indian, and then I arrived at Sapon, a town of the Nahyssans, about a hundred miles distant from Mahock, situate upon a branch of Shawan, alias Rovenock River.

(Dr. Hawks says: "By Shawan, Lederer meant Chowan;" and he thinks Lederer struck the Staunton River.)

"And though I had just cause to fear these Indians, because they had been in continual hostility with the Christians for ten years, yet etc. But I, though with much ado, waived their courtesy and got my passport, having given my word to return to them within six months.

"Sapon is within the limits of the Province of Carolina. * * * Not far distant from hence, as I understood from the Nahyssan Indians, is their king's residence, called Pintahal, on the same river, which my curiosity would have led me to see, were I not bound both by oath and commission to a direct pursuance of my intended purpose of discovering a passage to the further side of the mountains.

"From hence, by the Indians' instructions, I directed my course to Akenatzy, an island bearing south and west and about fifty miles distant, upon a branch of the same river, from Sapon. * * * By easy journeys I landed at Akenatzy upon the twelfth of June. The Island, though small, maintains many inhabitants, who are fixed here in great security, being naturally fortified with fastnesses of mountains and water on every side. (Dr. Hawks locates this island in Halifax and Northampton counties in North Carolina.) The fourteenth of June, pursuing a south-southwest course, some times by a beaten path and some times over hills and rocks, I was forced to take up my quarters in the woods; for though the Onock Indians, whom I then sought, were not, in in a direct line, above thirty-odd miles distant from Akenatzy, yet the ways were such, and obliged me to go so far about, that I reached not Onock until the sixteenth.

(Dr. Hawks says: "We are not without knowledge of the locality of the Ohanocks. They were in the present County of Bertie. It would, therefore, seem that Lederer traveled down from Northampton, on the eastern side of the Roanoke, into Bertie, towards the Chowan.")

"Fourteen miles, west southwest of the Onocks dwell the Shackory Indians. * * * I travelled until the nineteenth of June, and then, after a two days troublesome

journey through thickets and marsh grounds, I arrived at Watary, about forty miles distant; and bearing west southwest to Shakor.

"I departed from Watary the one and twentieth of June, and keeping a west course for near thirty miles, I came to Sara. Here I found the ways more level and easy. I did likewise, to my no small admiration, find hard cakes of white salt among them; but whether they were made from seawater, or taken out of salt-pits, I know not, but am apt to believe the latter, because the sea is so remote from them. From Sara I kept a south-southwest course, until the five and twentieth of June, and then I reached Wisacky. * * * This nation is subject to a neighbor king, residing upon the bank of a great lake called Ushery, environed on all sides with mountains and Wisacky marsh.

"The six and twentieth of June, having crossed a fresh river which runs into the lake Ushery, I came to the town, which was more populous than any I had seen before in my march. The water of Ushery Lake seemed to my taste a little brackish. * * * I judged it to be about ten leagues broad, for were not the other shore very high, it could not be discovered from Ushery. How far this lake tends westwardly, or where it ends, I could neither learn nor guess.

"I understood that two days' journey and a half from thence to the southwest, a powerful nation of bearded men were seated, who I suppose to be the Spaniards.

"Not thinking fit to proceed further, the eighth and twentieth of June, I faced about and looked homewards. To avoid Wisacky marsh, I shaped my course northeast, and after a three days travel over hilly ways, I fell into a barren, sandy desert, where I suffered miserably for want of water. * * * In this distress we traveled till the twelfth of July, and then found the head of a river, which afterwards proved Eruco. We were led by it, upon the fourteenth of July to the town of Katearas, a place of great Indian trade, and chief seat of the haughty emperor of the Tuskaroras.

Leaving Katearas, I traveled through the woods until the sixteenth, upon which I came to Kawitziokan, an Indian town upon a branch of the Rorenoke River, which I have passed over continuing my journey to Mencharink, and on the seventeenth departing from thence, I lay all night in the woods, and the next morning betimes, going by Natoway, I reached that evening Apamatuck in Virginia, where I was not a little overjoyed to see Christian faces again."

Dr. Hawks traces Lederer in his wanderings into the eastern part of North Carolina. That has always seemed to me unreasonable. The several statements of Lederer cannot be reconciled. He starts west to find a way across the mountains. He is accompanied by a force of forty horsemen under Major Harris, to the junction of the north and of the south branches of the James River, across the Blue Ridge, at about the Natural Bridge. There Major Harris and the horsemen leave him. From that point, according to his narrative, Lederer journeys to the southwest down the valley. In four days he reaches the Rorenoke River, now called the Staunton. From there he starts for an island Akenatzy, fifty miles distant, on the Rorenoke, naturally fortified by mountains, which he reaches in three days. After a journey to the southwest of about forty miles he reached Watary. Then he went a west course for thirty miles to Sara. And here he found salt cakes. Apparently two days later he reached the great lake Ushery, environed with mountains; ten leagues broad and extending so far to the west that he could not guess its extent. And there he heard of "bearded men" to the southwest. The salt cakes doubtless came from salt springs in western Virginia. The lake was the product of his imagination. But doubtless the Indians told him of the great lakes, and of the French or Spaniards. Having determined to return, he took a northeast course on the 28th of June; on the 16th of July he crossed the Roanoke River.

On the 17th of July he departed from Mencharink, and the next evening, going by Notoway, reached Appomatox. Prob-

ably he struck the Appomatox near where Petersburg is—or still further to the west; having crossed the head waters of the Notaway. Mencharink seems to have been an Indian town on the upper Meherrin southwest of Petersburg. Lederer seems to have crossed the Roanoke a few miles south of the mouth of the Dan; and indeed he probably would have found some difficulty in crossing it lower down. A southwest line from there would take him south of the Dan, and he probably followed the ridge dividing the waters of the Dan from those of the Cape Fear River.

As the physical conditions prove that a large portion of Lederer's narrative is the product of his imagination, Dr. Hawks discards his statements that he pursued a southwest course from the junction of the two branches of the James, where Major Harris left him, and brings him down into Bertie County.

I surmise that after Major Harris turned back, leaving Lederer to pursue his own course, with no witnesses, Lederer sought and reached an island in the Roanoke River, or Staunton River, just south of Lynchburg; which he called Akenatzy, and which Lawson in his map (1708) indicated as Oconeche—but with a very indefinite location. There is an island in the Roanoke near Weldon; but there is also Long Island much higher up which was probably that visited by Lederer, called by him Akenatzy. If he started from there on a southwest course he probably passed over the head waters of the Dan, and then returned south of the Dan, never crossing the mountains at all. He mentions finding the salt at Sara; a name that may be associated with the Sawra Indians, and Sauratown, in Stokes County.

On the whole, the entire narrative is deprived of historical interest or importance because of its obvious inaccuracies.

On his return the Virginians treated him coldly—and apparently with good reason. Still it seems that Dr. Hawks is far out of the way when he localizes Lederer's wanderings in the eastern part of North Carolina.

Historical Book Reviews

MISS ALBERTSON'S "IN ANCIENT ALBEMARLE." A REVIEW.

By Archibald Henderson.

In welcoming any new book dealing with phases of local history and tradition in North Carolina, I fear that I am quite incapable of maintaining on this subject a position of "strict neutrality." The fact is that I am a deliberate partisan on this matter, for I am more eager than I can well express to inspire and stimulate the writing of county and sectional history. This is, incomparably, the most important and pressing need which all of us, who are profoundly concerned for the unveiling of the truth about our people, now feel should be met and satisfied.

I cannot omit any occasion which presents itself to press upon our people the need for preserving local history and, before it is forever lost, recovering and embalming in permanent form the accurate and intimate story of our local and sectional life, as distinguished from the story of the State as such and its part in national affairs. The innumerable contributions of North Carolina to the life of the nation have, in a measure at least, been sketched out; the exhaustive and detailed story, in many instances, has yet to be narrated. But this is not the case with our local history. Very few satisfactory county histories have been published in North Carolina—some are exceedingly slim and fragmentary. Yet, I welcome every one of them, as a sign of the growing interest of our people in local affairs, and as an effort, at least, toward a contribution to local history. I deplore the burial—which in some cases amounts to total loss—of countless articles, genealogical, traditional, and historical, in local newspapers in North Carolina. An examination of the files of these local

newspapers would often result in the resurrection of valuable articles the contents of which are found in no book. The articles, once published in the local newspapers, are quickly forgotten and so permanently lost to view.

Three works, recently brought to my attention, have given me great cheer and caused me to rejoice in the development of historical activity in our midst. All three deal with sections of North Carolina, and are, on that score, particularly conspicuous, since there have been virtually no works of just this sort hitherto written and published by North Carolinians. I refer to *The History of Western North Carolina,* by Mr. John P. Arthur; *Chronicles of the Lower Cape Fear,* by Mr. James Sprunt; and *In Ancient Albemarle,* by Miss Catherine Albertson. The works of Mr. Arthur and Mr. Sprunt are quite exhaustive and purport to give a general historical survey, down to the present time, of the sections studied. The treatment is topical and desultory, rather than strictly chronological and successive. Both are very full, in interest, subject matter and content, and very bulky.

On the other hand, Miss Albertson's little book is a collection of historical essays on subjects of particularly local interest clustering around a particular section, "the broad sound whose tawny waters wash the southern shores of this peninsular (between the Perquimans and Little Rivers), as well as that tract of land lying between the Chowan River and the Atlantic Ocean." These essays are quite devoid of pretension in either manner or method; there is no fringe of foot-notes to distract the attention from the real story of human interest. Yet the writer bases her recitals on personal investigation and authentic records; and is always very particular to draw the line between delightful tradition, however romantic, and disillusioning documents, however prosaic. Yet she succeeds in imparting romantic glamour to her story in her descriptions of historic remains, such as that of "The Old Brick House," reputed to have been one of the many widely scattered haunts of Blackbeard, the Pirate, Edward Teach. "A small slab of

granite, circular in shape . . . is sunken in the ground at the foot of the steps and bears the date of 1709, and the initials 'E. T.' The ends of the house are of mingled brick and stone, the main body of wood. The wide entrance hall, paneled to the ceiling, opens into a large room, also paneled, in which is a wide fire-place with a richly carved mantel reaching to the ceiling. On each side of this mantel there is a closet let into the wall, one of which communicates by a secret door with the large basement room below. Tradition says that from this room a secret passage led to the river; that here the pirate confined his captives, and that ineffaceable stains upon the floor in the room above hint of dark deeds, whose secret was known only to the underground tunnel and the unrevealing waters below."

The story of this self-same "Brick House," as unearthed by Mr. Joseph Sitterson (pp. 64-5), is full of strange interest. And much of historic atmosphere still hovers about "Elmwood," the old Swann homestead in Pasquotank County, for this family made almost incomparable contributions to the service of Colony and State. In the slight story of John Koen, we have the following suggestive passage:

"According to Colonel Koen, who was with Washington on that momentous night (of the crossing of the Delaware), no boats were used. The river was frozen over, and the soldiers, in order to keep their footing on the slippery ice, laid their muskets down on the frozen river and walked across on them to the Jersey shore. At times the ice bent so beneath the tread of the men that they momentarily expected to be submerged in the dark waters, but the dangerous crossing was safely made, etc." One of the most interesting and detailed chapters is that one dealing with General Isaac Gregory; and one cannot repress a thrill of pride in reading the following passage from the account by Roger Lamb, a Britisher, of the ill-starred field of Camden: "In justice to North Carolina, it should be remarked that General Gregory's brigade acquitted themselves well. They formed on the left

of the Continentals, and kept the field while they had a cartridge left. Gregory himself was twice wounded by bayonets in bringing off his men, and many in his brigade had only bayonet wounds." A remarkable exhibition of coolness and sheer bravery, accentuated just now when troops on the fields of France and Flanders have broken again and again, unwilling to endure the cold steel of the bayonet. The criminal hoax of Captain Stevens, the British officer, cast an utterly unmerited gloom over General Gregory's later years—cruel "reward" for conspicuous bravery and personal leadership on a stricken field. No wonder that the old General, in his later years lived a secluded life; and it is amusingly related of him that he "knew so little of events beyond his own family circle that he addressed to a lady, the widow of Governor Stone, a letter making a formal proposal of marriage, full six months after her death."

Many and quaint are the stories told by the charming authoress; of the "teacher meeting" conducted by George Fox in October, 1672, in Perquimans; of the thrice-wedded Samuel Ferebee, who, as the family chronicle notes, "was always married on Sunday and on the fourteenth day of the month;" of the dilemma of Duckinfield over the law of 1719 that all baptised slaves should be set free, resolved only by the repeal of the law because all the darkies immediately clamored to receive the rite of holy baptism; of the astute McKnight who neatly jockeyed the Chief of the Yeopims, John Durant, out of four hundred acres of land, by turning the tables of Indian superstition upon him. A charming and delightful book, full of truth and fancy, of tradition and sentiment—stimulative of pride and patriotism. Three slight errors only are patent: mention of a History of North Carolina by Dr. "Hawk;" citation from some writing of a Dr. "Brickwell," and reference to the "Iredell Letters" of "McCree."

Aside from its own merits, this work is important as the first of a series of historical works which will be published by the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Rev-

olution. These works will be the production solely of members of the society. Such an undertaking deserves the hearty support of all North Carolinians. The society is to be warmly congratulated upon the patriotic spirit which prompts it to embark upon this worthy undertaking. The present volume is appropriately dedicated to Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, State Regent. A meritorious feature of the attractively bound and printed volume is that of the illustrations, reproduced from pen and ink drawings by Miss Mabel Pugh.

Genealogical and Biographical Memoranda

By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

WILLIAM CARSON ERVIN

The Booklet hails with pride the article on Grace Greenlee, a Revolutionary heroine, one of the many who figured largely in the independence of our country. Mr. Ervin has given this interesting sketch, thus perpetuating the service of a woman thus far too little known in the history of North Carolina.

William Carson Ervin was born December 16, 1859, in the town of Marion, N. C. He is the son of Rev. James S. Ervin, a native of South Carolina, and a minister of the Methodist Church. His mother was Matilda Carson, a daughter of William M. Carson of McDowell County, N. C., and a granddaughter of Colonel John Carson and his wife, Mary Moffett Carson (Mary Moffett Carson was the widow of Colonel Joseph McDowell of Pleasant Gardens, and a daughter of Colonel George Moffett of Virginia).

William Carson Ervin was educated at Finley High School in Lenoir, and at the University of North Carolina. Before taking his University course he read law under Judge Clinton A. Cilley of Lenoir; passed his examination before the Supreme Court of North Carolina in 1880, before attaining his majority, and has been engaged in the practice of his profession since 1881. He was for several years associated with W. W. Scott as editor of the "Lenoir Topic," and was editor of the "Mountaineer" and the "Herald" of Morganton, his editorial work covering a period of fifteen years. Since 1889 he has been a member of the law firm of Avery and Ervin of Morganton; is president of the Realty Loan and Guarantee Co., and the Morganton Building and Loan Association, and is connected with a number of corporations, making a specialty of corporation law. He has a large

practice, but being of a modest and retiring nature he has never contended for honors in the court room. He has never held public office except to serve as Mayor of Lenoir and Morganton and could have held this office continuously if the citizens could have had their way.

Mr. Ervin is a man of splendid physique and commanding appearance, with a countenance alert, indicating an ever present sense of humor. He is a delightful conversationalist and his mind teems with apt jokes, and his speech flavored with the wit that makes friends of all who come in contact with him; largely due to his charitableness, which has no place for irony or sarcasm. In his business dealings he is deliberate; temperate in his mode of life; orderly and rational in his intellectual activities, therefore his advice is sought on all important matters affecting the town, and the community repose the most implicit confidence in his judgment and his integrity.

Mr. Ervin's fondness for literature has made him acquainted with the best prose and verse in the language. He is fond of history, and this has induced him to perpetuate in attractive essays some of the early history of Burke County. He is especially fond of poetry and considers it one of his chief pleasures; he is the author of several beautiful poems, and through many of these the reader is able to see into the heart of nature with something of his own keen insight.

The literary, poetical and historical essays of Mr. Ervin would make a volume of rare merit and one well fit to win the Patterson Cup. With all the good qualities and acquirements of Mr. Ervin he is a devoted church member, not only active and efficient in his own denomination, but liberal towards other denominations.

Mr. Ervin married Miss Kate Sheets, daughter of a pastor of the Morganton Presbyterian Church. His home life is attractive, and he is the ideal husband and devoted father. He has two children, Morton S. Ervin and Miss Julia Ervin, the latter a devoted teacher of the Deaf in Berk-

ley, California. Mr. Ervin is a rounded and complete man, and quoting the words of an admirer: "His character, his mental equipment, his professional training and his loveableness are the basis of the people's esteem and affection for him."

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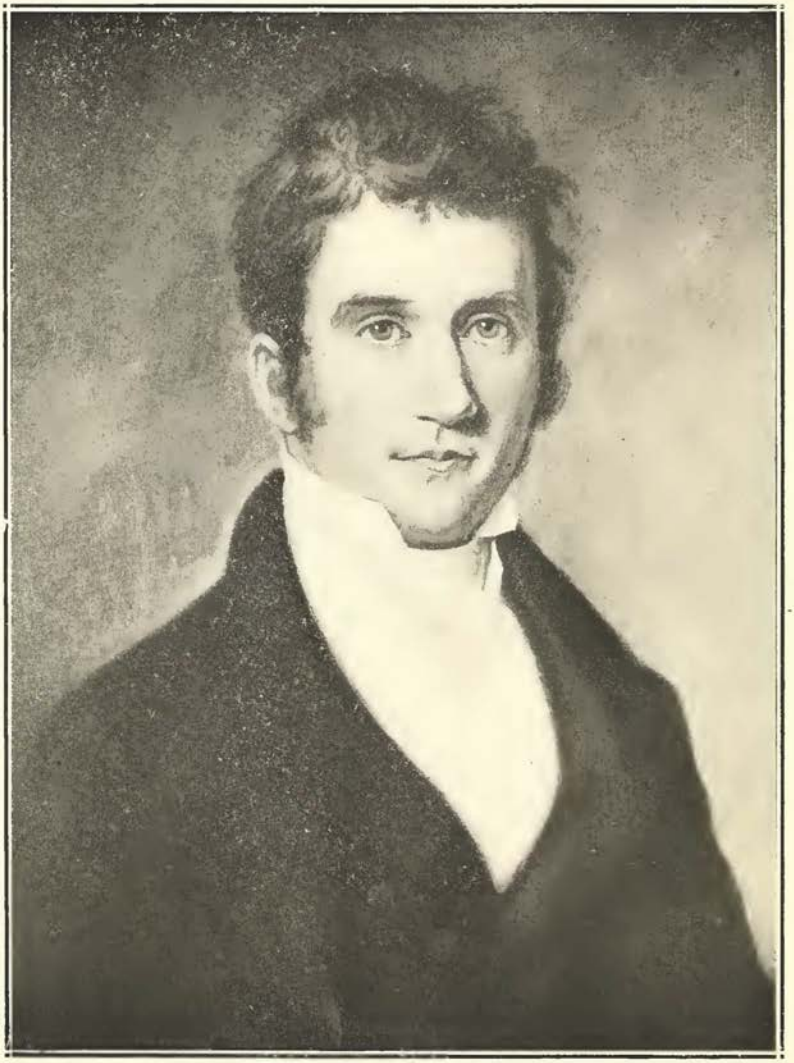

JOHN BRANCH

1782–1863

Governor of North Carolina, United States Senator, Secretary of the Navy, Member of Congress, Governor of Florida, etc.

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XV OCTOBER, 1915 No. 2

John Branch, Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of President Jackson, etc.

By Marshall DeLancey Haywood,

Author of "Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771," "Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina," "Ballads of Courageous Carolinians," etc.

Before the office of Secretary of the Navy was created, the functions which were later performed by the occupant of that office devolved upon the Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs in the old Continental Congress, and Joseph Hewes, of North Carolina—a Revolutionary statesman, who made his name immortal by signing the Declaration of Independence—was the first person who held that post. Since the Revolution, five North Carolinians have, at different periods of our country's history, entered the President's official family in the capacity of Secretary of the Navy, viz.: John Branch, in the Cabinet of President Jackson; George Edmund Badger, in the Cabinet of the first President Harrison; William Alexander Graham, in the Cabinet of President Fillmore; James Cochran Dobbin, in the Cabinet of President Pierce; and Josephus Daniels (present incumbent), in the Cabinet of President Wilson. It is the purpose of the writer of this sketch to give an account of the distinguished services, both State and National, of the first of these five cabinet officials.

John Branch, three times Speaker of the Senate of North Carolina, three times Governor of that State, a member of the United States Senate and National House of Representatives, Secretary of the Navy, member of the North Carolina

Constitutional Convention of 1835, last Governor of the Territory of Florida, and first Acting Governor of the State of Florida, was born in the town of Halifax, in Halifax County, North Carolina, on the 4th day of November, 1782, at a time when his father, Lieutenant-Colonel John Branch, was bravely participating in the War for American Independence, then drawing to a successful close. The services of the Revolutionary patriot, last mentioned, were useful and varied. He was High Sheriff of the County of Halifax at the outbreak of the war; and, while acting in that capacity, was a terror to the Tories in that vicinity. The records of the Committee of Safety tell us that he brought disaffected persons before the committee and "prayed condign punishment upon them." He was a Justice of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (a tribunal made up of all the magistrates of the county) from December 23, 1776, until after the close of hostilities. On February 11, 1780, he became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Halifax Regiment of North Carolina Militia; and, as such, served for a while in the army of General Greene. In 1781 he was one of the State Auditors for the Halifax District. He was a member of the House of Commons at two sessions during the war, 1781 and 1782; and once in 1788, after the return of peace. He likewise served as a delegate to the Convention of North Carolina which rejected the proposed Constitution of the United States in 1788—he voting with the majority to reject. For many years after the war he held a seat in the Council of State, during the administrations of Governors Richard Dobbs Spaight (the elder), Samuel Ashe, Benjamin Williams, and James Turner. Colonel Branch survived the Revolution nearly twenty-five years. He belonged to the Masonic fraternity and was a member of Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 2, in the town of Halifax. A contemporaneous newspaper announcement of his death said:

"Departed this life, on the 14th of March, 1806, at Elk Marsh, in Halifax County, N. Carolina, Col. John Branch, a soldier of the Revolution. Of this good man, the voice of panegyric is wont to

sound praises in the most exalted strain. As a man, he was brave, open, and ingenuous; as a citizen, active and useful; as a husband, father, and master, he was kind, tender, and affectionate. The child of sorrow found in him a protector; the man of worth, a sincere friend; the poor and needy sought shelter beneath his hospitable roof, and a numerous circle of acquaintances will partake of his glad cheer no more forever. His morning sun was fair and unclouded; its meridian, bright and effulgent; and its descending rays insured him a glorious immortality."

In the Will of Colonel Branch, he left (among other property) to his son Joseph "ten thousand acres of land in the State of Tennessee, on the waters of Duck River." By the same will, Joseph was given a 600-acre tract called "The Cellar," near Enfield. "The Cellar" or "Cellar Field" was afterward owned and occupied by Governor Branch, who probably purchased it from his brother.

Colonel John Branch, Sr., was twice married: first, to Rebecca Bradford (daughter of Colonel John Bradford and his wife, Patience Reed), and left by her the following five children:

I. James Branch, who was twice married and left an only child, who died young, upon which his property (by the terms of his Will) reverted to his brothers and sisters.

II. Martha Branch, who married General Ely Benton Whitaker.

III. John Branch, Jr., subject of the present sketch, who married (first) Elizabeth Foort, and (second) Mrs. Mary Eliza Bond, née Jordan.

IV. Joseph Branch, who married Susan Simpson O'Bryan, and removed to Tennessee, where he died in 1827, at the town of Franklin, leaving (among other children) Lawrence O'Bryan Branch, of North Carolina, who became a Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army, and was killed at the Battle of Sharpsburg, otherwise known as Antietam.

V. Patience W. Branch, who married the Reverend Daniel Southall.

The second wife of Colonel John Branch, Sr., was Elizabeth Norwood, daughter of John Norwood, and a sister of Judge William Norwood, of Hillsborough, North Carolina. By her he left the three following children:

I. William Joseph Branch, who married Rosa Williams Harriss.

II. Washington Lenoir Branch, who married Martha Anna Lewis.

III. Elizabeth Ann Branch, who married (first) Gideon Alston, and (second) the Reverend William Burge.

As already stated, one of the sons of Colonel John Branch was John Branch (known as John Branch, Jr., during his father's lifetime), and to the latter's career we shall now confine this sketch.

It was in the General Assembly of North Carolina, which convened at Raleigh on the 18th of November, 1811, that John Branch, our present subject, made his first appearance in public life, having been elected State Senator from the county of Halifax. So acceptable were his services to the people of his county that he was repeatedly re-elected. Twice during the Second War with Great Britain, in 1813 and 1814, he was State Senator; and, as such, was a firm supporter of the measures of the National and State administrations in prosecuting that war. He was chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee which presented resolutions of censure (December 15, 1813) against the Honorable David Stone, in a tone so severe as to cause that gentleman to resign from the United States Senate, and make place for a more active supporter of the war measures demanded by the people of North Carolina. Mr. Branch had attained so high a reputation that when he was next sent to the State Senate, in 1815, that body unanimously elected him Speaker—the presiding officer of the Senate then being called Speaker, instead of having the more recent title of President. He was again State Senator and again unanimously elected Speaker, at the

two following sessions of 1816 and 1817. On the 3d of December, 1817, while serving his third term as Speaker of the State Senate, Mr. Branch was elected Governor of North Carolina by a joint ballot of the General Assembly—the office of Governor then being annually filled by the Legislature, and not by popular choice. On the day after his election as Governor, Mr. Branch sent in his resignation, both as Speaker and member of the Senate, whereupon that body unanimously passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this House be presented to the late Speaker thereof, Colonel John Branch, for the able and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of the chair; and that a select committee of this House, composed of Mr. Murphey and Mr. Pickett, be appointed to wait on Colonel Branch and make known to him this Resolution."

Mr. Branch was re-elected Governor on November 24, 1818; and elected for the third time on November 25, 1819, serving until December 7, 1820. In his official correspondence, and messages to the General Assembly, we see evidences of sagacity and foresight, while the humaneness of his disposition is shown by efforts to secure alterations of the oversevere penal laws of the time in which he lived.

Though Mr. Branch was elected Governor in 1817, he was not inaugurated until December 6th in that year, when the General Assembly had transacted most of its business, and hence it was not until the Legislature of 1818 convened that he transmitted his views on public matters, in the shape of an annual message, on November 18th in that year. Concerning education he then said:

"In a government like ours, where the sovereignty resides in the people, and where all power emanates from, and, at stated periods, returns to them for the purpose of being again delegated, it is of the last importance to the well being and to the existence of government that the public mind should be enlightened. Our sage and patriotic ancestors who achieved the liberties of our country, and to whom we are indebted for our present benign and happy form of government, duly impressed with the magnitude of the subject, and anxiously solicitous to impart stability to our institutions, and to transmit to

posterity the inestimable boon for which they fought and bled, have, as regards this subject, with more than parental caution, imposed the most solemn obligations on all of those who may be called to administer the government. Permit me, therefore, to refer you in a particular manner to this solemn injunction contained in the Constitution of the State of North Carolina, Article XLI, 'that a school or schools shall be established by the Legislature for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, to be paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices; and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more Universities.' Let it be recollected that by this chart we are bound as the servants of the people, under the solemnities of an oath, to steer the vessel of state; and when we connect this imperious duty with the luminous and impressive appeals which have so often been made to the Legislature for the last year or two, I apprehend that nothing that I could add would impart additional force. It surely will not be denied that it is a subject, of all others, in a republican government, of the most vital importance: for it is in this way, and this alone, that our republican institutions can be perpetuated, or that radical changes can be effected in the morals and manners of the people."

In this message the Governor also commended the cause of internal improvements, dwelt upon the banking system of that day and other matters not of present interest, and earnestly recommended that punishments under the criminal law should be made less severe. The desirability of establishing a penitentiary was also discussed, imprisonment therein to supplant the many capital punishments then imposed by the statutes.

It is a fact not generally known that the Supreme Court of North Carolina was established in pursuance of a recommendation contained in the above-mentioned annual message, which Governor Branch sent to the Legislature on November 18, 1818. Before that time, the highest judicial tribunal in the State had been called the Supreme Court, but the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in its present form, was not organized until the year just mentioned. In his message, Governor Branch dwelt at some length on the inconveniences of the court procedure then existing, and closed by saying: "I will take the liberty of recommending that three additional

judges be appointed to preside in our Supreme Court, with sufficient salaries attached to the offices to command the first legal talents of the State." No time was lost by the Legislature in acting upon the Governor's recommendation, for Chapter I. at that session established the Supreme Court, and Chapter II. made some supplemental provisions defining its jurisdiction. The new Court first convened on January 1, 1819, John Louis Taylor presiding as Chief Justice, with Leonard Henderson and John Hall as Associates—worthy fore-runners of the long line of eminent jurists who have since given North Carolina a rank second to none in the judicial annals of America.

Governor Branch's interest in the cause of public education never flagged; and, when the next session of the State Legislature convened, he renewed his former recommendations, saying in his annual message, dated November 17, 1819:

"In the first place, as claiming a pre-eminence above all others, allow me to call your attention to the subject of the education of youth, the only durable basis of everything valuable in a government of the people, and to press on your attention the moral and political obligations which you are under, created and imposed by the solemn injunctions of the Constitution, to patronize and encourage a general diffusion of knowledge; for, when we advert to the languishing condition of some of our nurseries of science, and observe the apathy which prevails in regard to their advancement, it becomes a subject of no less astonishment than regret."

In the same message Governor Branch speaks in terms of emphatic condemnation of one of the most oppressive and unjust laws of that day, as follows:

"Imprisonment for debt must be considered as a kind of punishment which is inflicted at the mercy of the creditor, and must often be exercised upon objects where pity and not punishment is due. In truth it seems to be a remnant of that Gothic policy which prevailed during the ruder ages of society—a policy as barbarous as it is useless, and it is to me strange that it should so long have been suffered to disgrace the code of laws of a State which might otherwise boast of its freedom and humanity."

This message likewise refers to another law, then on the statute books, which provided that a person convicted of per-

jury should have his ears cropped off and nailed to the pillory, in these words:

"The cruel and sanguinary nature of the punishment inflicted on those guilty of perjury, and probably some other offences, without reference to the different degrees of criminality, are well worthy of legislative animadversion. The certainty of punishment, it is universally admitted, has more influence in preventing the commission of crimes than its severity. Hence it is desirable to apportion, as nearly as practicable, the punishment to the enormity of the offence."

Love for the memory of Washington by the people of North Carolina had moved a former Legislature to provide for the making of a marble statue of the Father of his Country, by the great sculptor Canova, to be placed in the rotunda of the Capitol, and to give an order to the artist Thomas Sully for two full-length portraits of the same great patriot—one to be hung in each of the two Houses of the General Assembly. In a special message, dated November 23, 1819, Governor Branch announced that the statue would soon be ready for delivery, and suggested that the State content itself with one portrait of Washington. He said:

"However much we may be disposed to honor the virtue and perpetuate the fame of the immortal patriot, yet it appears to me that it will look a little like overdoing the matter to have a marble statue and two portraits of the same person in the same building."

The advice of the Governor was followed by the Legislature, which procured one portrait instead of two. This portrait (copied by Sully from Stuart's original) was saved from the burning Capitol in which Canova's statue was destroyed, June 21, 1831, and still adorns the walls of the House of Representatives in Raleigh.

The wisdom and foresight of Governor Branch were strikingly displayed in his last annual message, November 22, 1820, when he referred to impostors in the medical profession, and urged a system of regulation for the government of physicians. This was his language:

"The science of medicine, so vitally interesting to our citizens and so well deserving of legislative attention, has as yet, with a few excep-

tions, passed unnoticed and unprotected. And it must be admitted, however unpleasant the admission, that there are but few States in the Union, where medicine is in a less reputable condition than in North Carolina. The question naturally occurs, why is this the case? The answer is obvious. Because, in almost every other part of the country, a medical education, regularly acquired, and formally completed at some public medical university, or satisfactory testimonials of professional ability from some respectable and legally constituted Board of Physicians, is essential to the attainment of public respect and public confidence.

"Hitherto the time of our annual sessions has been almost exclusively devoted to the preservation and security of property, while the lives, health, and happiness of a numerous and intelligent population have been left at the mercy of every pretender; and thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens, I might say, have fallen victims to the empirical efforts of a host of intruders.

"The youth of our State who have been reared and educated for the profession, with that native modesty which I trust will ever characterize them, advance with becoming diffidence in their avocations, while the more adventurous quack, presuming on the ignorance and credulity of the people, runs off with the spoil. This certainly in no one instance can last long; but, from the facility with which these persons change quarters, and from the eagerness with which afflicted humanity seizes the offered relief, the first fruits are but too often gathered by the rash though ignorant practitioner. Under these circumstances, what inducements have our young men to trudge up the rugged hill of science and spend their time and patrimony in laying the foundation for future usefulness? True, the intellectual triumph is exquisite; but, of itself, it is insufficient to sustain the diffident and desponding youth who finds himself pressed by so many difficulties, and finds, too, that his very sustenance is taken from him by the characters above alluded to.

"Again, it must be mortifying to see our young men constrained to abandon their native State in pursuit of medical science abroad, where, too often, in reaping the fruits of science, foreign principles and foreign habits are formed, not only opposed to the genius and spirit of our government, but measurably disqualifying them in other respects for useful life—thus exhausting, as it were, the last earnings of parental industry and frugality to obtain what might, with little effort, be as well obtained at home. Let me, however, observe, what may be deemed superfluous, that this Medical Board will not prejudice the pretensions of any practitioner of the present day, for its operations must necessarily be prospective.

"This subject presents so many interesting points, and in truth is so susceptible of illustration, that I must believe it is only necessary

to interest the mind of the intelligent statesmen to perceive its importance.

"I am aware that some diversity of sentiment may be expected as to the manner in which the Medical Board, above alluded to, should be established; but that it is not only practicable but highly expedient, none, I think, can rationally doubt when they advert to the uniform success which has attended the efforts of many of our sister States. Let me then entreat you, as the guardians of the people's best interests, to give this subject, of all others the most interesting, a full, fair, and dispassionate consideration."

Under the State Constitution then in force, Governor Branch was not eligible for more than three terms in succession, and in his last message he made (by way of conclusion) warm acknowledgments to the Legislature for past honors, in the following words:

"I shall now, gentlemen, close this desultory address; and, in doing so, permit me to tender you, and through you my fellow-citizens generally, the unfeigned homage of my respect and gratitude. If, in the discharge of the duties attached to the Executive Office, my conduct has been such as to give efficacy to a government of laws—to impart in the smallest degree vitality and energy to the benign and happy institutions under which we live, and finally to meet the approbation of my fellow-citizens, I can confidently say that my highest ambition will have been gratified, and that my fondest and most ardent anticipations have been realized."

While Mr. Branch filled the Executive Chair in Raleigh, a little incident occurred (communicated to the writer by the Governor's granddaughter, Mrs. Eppes) which makes an interesting story. On going to his tailor's on one occasion, a small boy employed in the shop ran out and held his horse. After finishing his business, the Governor spoke kindly to the little fellow and tossed him half a dollar as he rode away. More than forty-five years thereafter, in June, 1865, when one of Governor Branch's daughters returned to her home in Tennessee, which she had left a few years earlier to be near her husband, Major-General Daniel S. Donelson, of the Confederate Army, who had died in 1863, she found the place in a state of dilapidation and filth, with wood-work and furnishings wantonly broken and defaced, and the building occupied by a Federal officer, who refused to yield possession of the

place, though the war was over. Mrs. Donelson had made the trip from Florida in wagons, accompanied by some of her former slaves, and under the escort of her brother-in-law, Mr. Arvah Hopkins. Having occasion to continue his journey by rail to New York, Mr. Hopkins stopped in Washington and obtained an interview with President Johnson, to whom he explained the treatment Mrs. Donelson had received. After listening attentively, the President had an order issued and forwarded by telegraph to the occupant of the Donelson house to vacate it immediately, to have the premises cleaned, and workmen employed to repair such damage as the place had received. Then turning to Mr. Hopkins, he said: "I thank you, sir, for telling me of Mrs. Donelson's predicament. I woundn't have missed this opportunity of doing a favor to a member of Governor Branch's family for anything in the world. He gave me the first fifty-cent piece I ever owned." Then the "Tailor-Boy President" related to Mr. Hopkins the small act of kindness shown by the Governor of a great State to little Andy Johnson, a penniless orphan in Raleigh nearly half a century before—an act which no doubt escaped Governor Branch's own memory less than an hour after it occurred.

Although Governor Branch's very soul abhorred the cruel laws of his day which inflicted punishments, severe out of all proportion, for many comparatively trivial crimes, and though he freely exercised the pardoning prerogative in such cases, no earthly power could move him to interfere where he deemed it proper and just for the law to take its course. During his term of office, a case arose in Raleigh where an intoxicated young white man had stabbed to the heart an inoffensive negro slave, and was sentenced to death therefor. A perfect avalanche of petitions and protests from practically the entire population of Raleigh was thereupon showered upon the Governor, asking a pardon. Among the many who sought clemency for the condemned were several State officers, one hundred and twenty-three ladies, and young Frederick Sterling Marshall, owner of the slave who had been killed. The prisoner's youth, his belated contrition and penitence, his al-

leged temporary "derangement of understanding," the insolence and insubordination which the petitioners declared would be encouraged among the negroes by putting the life of a freeman and of a slave upon the same footing, and many other considerations were urgently set forth without avail, and the prisoner died on the gallows on the 10th of November, 1820—notice being thereby served on the world that all human lives, those of the humble and dependent slaves as well as of their masters, were under the protection of the law in North Carolina.

Though always resentful of Northern interference, thoughtful men throughout the South were seeking a solution of the slavery problem for nearly three-quarters of a century before the outbreak of the War between the States. One of the experiments tried was the organization of the American Colonization Society in 1816, with Judge Bushrod Washington, of Virginia, as president. The object of this society was to take charge of such negroes as might from time to time be emanicipated, and form a colony of them in Africa. Local branches of this association were formed in various cities throughout the South. On June 12, 1819, the Reverend William Meade, afterwards Bishop of Virginia (who proved his sincerity by freeing his own negroes), visited Raleigh and organized a local society. Governor Branch presided over the session which was then held, and became first president of the Raleigh organization, which later made considerable contributions in money for the furtherance of the plans set forth in the constitution of the society, $1,277.50 being subscribed at the first meeting. The full list of officers was as follows: Governor Branch, President; and Colonel William Polk, Chief Justice John Louis Taylor, Judge Leonard Henderson, and Archibald Henderson, Vice-Presidents. The board of managers consisted of State Treasurer John Haywood, Judge Henry Potter, General Calvin Jones, General Beverly Daniel, the Reverend William McPheeters, Dr. Albridgton S. H. Burges, Dr. Jeremiah Battle, the Reverend John Evans,

Secretary of State William Hill, Thomas P. Devereux, Joseph Ross, and Moses Mordecai. The secretary was Joseph Gales, and Daniel Du Pre was treasurer. This list of officers (to which some additions were later made) is set forth in the *Raleigh Register,* of June 18, 1819.

In the General Assembly of North Carolina which convened on the 18th of November, 1822, Ex-Governor Branch was present as State Senator from Halifax County. On December 14th, after a prolonged contest, that Legislature elected him United States Senator, for a term beginning March 4, 1823, as successor to Montfort Stokes.

From the *Annals of Congress,* for December 2, 1823, we learn that, on that day "John Branch, appointed a Senator by the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, for the term of six years, commencing on the 4th day of March last, produced his credentials, which were read, and the oath prescribed by law was administered to him".

It is not the purpose of the present writer to attempt a detailed account of Mr. Branch's career in the United States Senate. The records show that he was one of the leading debaters in that august body—a body presided over by Calhoun, and made up of such men as Thomas H. Benton, Robert Y. Hayne, Martin Van Buren, John McPherson Berrien, Hugh Lawson White, William Henry Harrison, William R. King, Nathaniel Macon, and others of scarcely less note. While in the Senate, Mr. Branch advocated, as he had formerly done when Governor of North Carolina, the abolition of imprisonment for debt. Of the pension bill which provided for the relief of Revolutionary officers, to the exclusion of privates, he was a pronounced opponent, declaring that "he never would consent to place the officer, who had reaped the laurels of victory, on a different foundation from the private soldier who stood by the flag of his country, stimulated alone by patriotism." Internal improvements by the General Government he usually opposed, believing that this class of work should be done by the States wherein the improvements

were made, while harbors, rivers, canals and other waterways should receive the care of Congress. It is said that Mr. Branch's opposition to the Senate's confirmation of Henry Clay as Secretary of State, in 1825, first won for him the friendship of Andrew Jackson, between whom and the great Kentuckian little love existed.

When Senator Branch's first term was drawing to an end, the General Assembly of North Carolina, on November 24, 1828, unanimously re-elected him for six years more, to begin on March 4, 1829. He did not enter upon this second senatorial term, however, owing to a higher honor which fell to his lot a few days after his first term expired.

On the 9th day of March, 1829, President Jackson sent to the United States Senate the nomination of John Branch, of North Carolina, for the office of Secretary of the Navy. This nomination being duly confirmed, Secretary Branch went to North Carolina to arrange some private affairs and to tender his resignation, as United States Senator, to Governor Owen. The selection of Mr. Branch as a member of the President's Cabinet was naturally a source of great gratification to his friends in North Carolina and elsewhere; and, in the month following his appointment, the citizens of his native county of Halifax were preparing in his honor a great public entertainment, but this proffered courtesy he was forced regretfully to decline, owing to a promise to the President that he would return to his new post as head of the Navy Department with the least possible delay.

In the latter part of December, 1834, while a member of the Legislature of 1834-'35, to which he was elected after the expiration of his term in Congress which followed his Cabinet service, Mr. Branch made a speech in which he gave an interesting account of his official association with President Jackson. Concerning his appointment as Secretary of the Navy he said:

"Without solicitation on my part, he [President Jackson] desired me to become a member of his Cabinet, and take charge of the Navy

Department. I returned him my warmest acknowledgments for so distinguished an evidence of his confidence, but remarked that I doubted my ability to discharge the duties of that Department, either to my own satisfaction or that of my country, and that I must ask time to consult with my friends. To this he consented, and I promised to call and give him an answer next evening. The first person I asked counsel of was my friend and colleague, Governor Iredell, now perhaps within hearing of my voice, a gentleman whose high claims to confidence are universally acknowledged, and (to borrow a figure of the gentleman from Warren) whose inherent virtues and talents rendered him peculiarly fit to perform so delicate an office. He unhesitatingly said that, inasmuch as it was the first appointment of that grade ever tendered to a citizen of North Carolina, and as it was an honor intended to be conferred on the State through me, I was not at liberty to decline. The next friend with whom I consulted was the Senator from Burke [Samuel P. Carson], then a member of the House of Representatives of the United States—a friend indeed I may call him, a friend while in favor, but still more a friend when in adversity. His merits and just claims on the State I will speak of elsewhere. His counsels were substantially the same as those of Governor Iredell. I then sought interviews with many others; and, finding there was but one opinion among my friends as to the course proper for me to pursue, I in due time signified my acceptance of the trust."

On December 1, 1829, Secretary Branch sent his first annual report to President Jackson. It told of the movements of various vessels in different parts of the world—the Mediterranean Sea, West Indian and South American waters, the Atlantic, Pacific, etc. It also gave a list of Navy Yards and Hospitals, and recommended in the strongest terms the establishment of a Naval School, where junior officers might be given a finished education, with especial attention paid to modern languages. Such instruction, said he, would be of great service during foreign cruises, while officers were in contact with the representatives of other nations. Many of the older officers, the Secretary intimated, were more of a hindrance than a help to the service, and should be relieved from active duty. He observed, however, that as these officers had formerly rendered honorable and useful service to the Government, ample provision should be made for their main-

tenance in retirement. He also recommended a revision of the laws respecting the Marine Corps. Piracy had not then been blotted out of existence, and he gave some account of operations against these depredators on American commerce. The pay of Naval officers, as compared with officers of relative rank in the Army, he said was unjustly inadequate, and should be increased.

In the message to Congress from President Jackson, he called attention to the annual report of Secretary Branch, as follows:

"The accompanying report of the Secretary of the Navy will make you acquainted with the condition and useful employment of that branch of our service during the present year. Constituting, as it does, the best standing security of this country against foreign aggression, it claims the especial attention of the Government. In this spirit the measures which, since the termination of the last war, have been in operation for its gradual enlargement, were adopted; and it should continue to be cherished as the offspring of our national experience."

A few weeks before the entrance of Secretary Branch upon his duties as head of the Navy Department, Congress took its first action toward attempting to lessen the use of strong drink among junior officers of the Navy. On February 25, 1829,* the House of Representatives passed a Resolution instructing the Secretary of the Navy "to require three of the Medical Officers of the Navy, whom he shall designate, to report to him their opinions, separately, whether it is necessary or expedient that 'distilled spirits' should constitute a part of the rations allowed to Midshipmen." In pursuance of these instructions, Secretary Branch designated Surgeons Thomas Harris, William P. C. Barton, and Lewis Heerman; and required them to give their opinions on this point. What these opinions were, the present writer has been unable to ascertain; but consideration of the same matter, with some

*Strange to say, the reported proceedings of Congress for February 25, 1829, fail to mention this matter, but manuscript letters in the Navy Department quote the language of the resolution of that date.

additions as to enlisted men, was again taken up by Congress one year (to the very day) after its first action. On February 25, 1830, the Honorable Lewis Condict, a member of Congress from New Jersey and a physician by profession, introduced the following resolutions in the House of Representatives:

"1. *Resolved*, That the Committee on Naval Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of inducing the seamen and marines in the Navy of the United States voluntarily to discontinue the use of ardent spirits, or vinous or fermented liquors, by substituting for it double its value in other necessaries and comforts whilst in the service, or in money payable at the expiration of the service.

"2. *Resolved, also*, As a further inducement to sobriety and orderly deportment in the Navy, as well as with a view to preserve the lives and morals of the seamen and marines, that said committee be instructed to inquire into the expedience of allowing some additional bounty, in money or clothing, or both, to be paid to every seaman or marine, at the expiration of his service, who shall produce from his commanding officer a certificate of total abstinence from ardent spirits, and of orderly behaviour, during the term of his engagement.

"3. *Resolved, also*, That the said committee inquire and report whether or not the public service, as well as the health, morals, and honor of the Naval officers would be promoted by holding out to the Midshipmen and junior officers some further inducements and incentives to abstinence from all intoxicating liquors."

In introducing these resolutions, Congressman Condict said similar ones had already been before the Committee on Military Affairs, which recommended such action with respect to the Army; but had refused to make any recommendation concerning the Navy, as the latter branch of the service was considered outside of that committee's jurisdiction. What effect, if any, these resolutions had, the present writer is unable to say. It was not until some years later that the use of liquor on ship-board by enlisted men was peremptorily forbidden. In 1914, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels made a similar prohibitory order applicable to commissioned officers also.

The second (and last) annual report of Secretary Branch bears date December 6, 1830, and is much similar in character to the first. It contains little matter which would be of

present interest. Not including many antiquated vessels which were laid up for repairs, or discarded, the ships then actively in commission consisted of five frigates, ten sloops of war and four schooners—a very diminutive armament when judged by present standards. Indeed, Secretary Branch was an avowed opponent of the policy of maintaining a large Navy in days of peace, which was an evidence of his wisdom when we consider the fact that he lived in the time of wooden vessels, when several hundred ship carpenters could build a fleet in a few weeks, as had been demonstrated on the Great Lakes during the War of 1812-'15.

Soon after Jackson's inauguration, a small coterie of his personal friends was gathered about him, consisting of General Duff Green, editor of the *United States Telegraph,* organ of the administration; Major William B. Lewis, of Tennessee, Second Auditor of the Treasury; Isaac Hill, editor of the *New Hampshire Patriot;* and Amos Kendall, Fourth Auditor of the Treasury, former editor of a Jackson paper in Kentucky. As these gentlemen were supposed to have more influence over the President's actions than did his official advisers, the opposition derisively styled them "the Kitchen Cabinet". Some time later, upon the rupture between Jackson and Calhoun, Green cast his fortunes with the latter. Thereupon, the elder Francis P. Blair came to Washington to establish a new administration organ, the *Globe,* and he was afterwards classed as a member of "the Kitchen Cabinet" as Green's successor. Of the newspaper war which followed, it has been truly said that "there were rich revelations made to the public."

When first inducted into office, President Jackson had made up his official family as follows: Martin Van Buren, of New York, Secretary of State; Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; John Branch, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; John McPherson Berrien, of Georgia, Attorney General; and William T. Barry, of Ken-

tucky, Postmaster General. This first Cabinet was later dissolved, after a stormy controversy between the President and three of these gentlemen—not in consequence of any divergence of opinion or disagreements on the public policies of the day, but because Mrs. Branch, Mrs. Berrien, and Mrs. Ingham refused to pay social visits to Mrs. Eaton, or invite her to parties given in their homes. This Mrs. Eaton, wife of the Secretary of War, was the daughter of William O'Neal, a tavern-keeper in Washington, and grew to womanhood in her father's establishment. Peggy O'Neal, as she was familiarly known in her younger days, was vivacious, pretty, and apparently not possessed of as much prudence and decorum as might be desired, in consequence of which the Washington gossips (male and female) had whispered light tales concerning her for many years past. Her first husband, Purser Timberlake of the Navy, had committed suicide while stationed in the Mediterranean, leaving her with two small children. Among the boarders who spent much time at her father's inn were General Jackson and Major Eaton. After her first husband's death, Major Eaton (then a widower) became so much enamored of Mrs. Timberlake that he consulted his friend General Jackson about the propriety of seeking her in marriage. The gallant General strongly advised such a course. Major Eaton then mentioned—what was no news to Jackson—that many damaging reports had been spread broadcast concerning this lady, and that he himself (Major Eaton) had been credited with being over-intimate with her. "Well," said Jackson, "your marrying her will disprove these charges and restore Peg's good name." Accordingly Major Eaton and Mrs. Timberlake were married in the month of January, 1829. All went well for a while; but, a few months later, when a rumor began to gain credence that Major Eaton would be taken into the new President's Cabinet, the horror and consternation of the ladies of Washington may well be imagined. The matter grew even tenser after Eaton's appointment had been an-

nounced. With the exception of Secretary Van Buren—a widower with no daughters—all of the Cabinet officers were married men, whose wives were much given to hospitality, but their hospitality, even at public receptions, was never extended to Mrs. Eaton. When Jackson wrote to John C. Calhoun, remonstrating about Mrs. Calhoun's action (or rather inaction) in this matter, the Vice President very sensibly replied that it was a quarrel among ladies, and he would have nothing to do with it. To much the same effect was the observation of the Secretary of the Navy, when first approached on this subject; and later, when President Jackson attempted to dictate to him the social course his family should pursue, he found a man as headstrong and determined as himself in the person of the official whom one of Jackson's biographers has (not over-accurately) described as "the weak-willed Branch." And it may be said in passing while referring to Jackson's biographies, that there seems to be no truth whatever in the oft-repeated assertion in those works that Branch owed his appointment to Eaton's influence. Branch was tendered the appointment while Jackson was still debating in his mind whether to make Eaton or Hugh Lawson White the Secretary of War—a point which he found so difficult to decide that he finally left the matter to be settled by those gentlemen themselves, when White generously withdrew in Eaton's favor. Concerning Branch's own opinion of Eaton's appointment, he said in a statement issued in 1831: "Before the President had nominated Major Eaton for the War Department, and while the subject might be supposed to be under consideration, I took the liberty of stating to General Jackson candidly my reasons for believing the selection would be unpopular and unfortunate."

Even the Lady of the White House, Mrs. Andrew Jackson Donelson, wife of the President's nephew and private secretary, refused point-blank to call on Mrs. Eaton, whereupon she was promptly sent home to Tennessee, though later summoned back to Washington. Of his own family's con-

nection with this matter, we are fortunate in being able to give an account by Secretary Branch himself. He said:

"About the last of May, my family came on to mingle with a society to which they were strangers. They found the lady of the Secretary of War, a native of the city, excluded from this society, and did not deem it their duty or right to endeavor to control or counteract the decisions of the ladies of Washington; nor did they consider themselves at liberty to inquire whether these decisions were correct or otherwise. Engaged, as I was continually, with all the engrossing affairs of the Navy Department, I did not know at night whom my family had visited in the day, nor whom they had not; and thus the time passed without, I can confidently assert, the least interference on my part, with the matters that belonged exclusively to them."

Though some bachelor members of the diplomatic corps (notably those from Great Britain and Russia) extended social courtesies to Mrs. Eaton in the shape of dinner parties, etc., the wives of other foreign ministers were no more considerate of her than were the ladies of the Cabinet. Indeed, the President so far lost his head in his desperate efforts to force Mrs. Eaton upon Washington Society that he seriously contemplated sending home the Minister from Holland because that diplomat's lady had withdrawn from a dinner at the Russian Embassy where Mrs. Eaton was a guest. Balked at every turn in his efforts to secure social honors, or at least social recognition, for Mrs. Eaton, the President now determined to dissolve his Cabinet, and find advisers more subservient to his wishes in social matters—for no record of political disagreement, at that time, between Jackson and his Cabinet, can be found.

The various letters, recorded interviews, newspaper communications, etc., brought forth by the affair of Mrs. Eaton, both before and after her husband's appointment, would fill a volume, and the present writer has no desire to weary the reader by attempting to set them forth. On April 8, 1831, Secretary of War Eaton sent in his resignation; and Secretary of State Van Buren did the same three days later. Secretary of the Navy Branch resigned on April 19th; and At-

torney General Berrien, then absent from Washington, sent the President his resignation on June 15th—Postmaster General Barry being the only member of the former Cabinet who remained in office. In fact the office of Postmaster General was not included in the Cabinet list before Jackson's time. The resignations of Van Buren and Eaton were received with many expressions of regret by the President, who later honored both of these gentlemen with other appointments. Indeed, it was Jackson's influence which afterwards elevated Van Buren to the Presidency as his successor. At the time of Branch's resignation, the President intimated his willingness to send him on a foreign mission. He also offered to appoint him Territorial Governor of Florida. These proffered honors were declined by Mr. Branch, though he became Governor of Florida some years later by appointment from President Tyler. Regarding his interview with Jackson just before he tendered the President his resignation, Secretary Branch has left the following account:

"He commenced by saying that he had desired my attendance to inform me of the resignations of Mr. Van Buren and Major Eaton, and then a solemn pause ensued. I could but smile, and remarked to him that he was acting in a character nature never intended him for; that he was no more a diplomatist than myself, and I wished him to tell me frankly what he meant. This unrestrained manner of mine relieved him; and, with great apparent kindness, he spoke out his purpose, and asked me if there was anything abroad I wanted, adding that the commission for Governor of Florida was on his table, and it would give him pleasure to bestow it on me. To this I replied that I had not supported him for the sake of office, and soon after retired."

After the close of the interview just mentioned, Secretary Branch lost no time in forwarding to the President his resignation in the following communication:

Washington, April 19th, 1831.

Sir:

In the interview which I had the honor to hold with you this morning, I understood it to be your fixed purpose to reorganize your

Cabinet; and that, as to myself, it was your wish that I should retire from the administration of the Navy Department.

Under these circumstances, I take pleasure in tendering to you the commission, which, unsolicited on my part, you were pleased to confer on me.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Yours, &c., JOHN BRANCH.

To the President of the United States.

Upon receipt of this communication, President Jackson replied, upon the same day, in the following letter:

Washington, April 19th, 1831.

Sir:

Your letter of this date, by your son, is just received—accompanying it is your commission. The sending of the latter was not necessary; it is your own private property, and by no means to be considered part of the archives of the Government. Accordingly I return it.

There is one expression in your letter to which I take leave to except. I did not, as to *yourself*, express a wish that you should retire. The Secretaries of State and of War having tendered their resignations, I remarked to you that I felt it to be indispensable to reorganize my Cabinet proper; that it had come in harmoniously, and as a unit; and, as a part was about to leave me, which on tomorrow would be announced, a reorganization was necessary to guard against misrepresentation. These were my remarks, made to you in candor and sincerity. Your letter gives a different import to my words.

Your letter contains no remarks as to your performing the duties of the office until a successor can be selected. On this subject I should be glad to know your views.

I am very respectfully yours,

ANDREW JACKSON.

The Hon. John Branch,
Secretary of the Navy.

Immediately upon receipt of the letter just set forth, Secretary Branch sent the President the following reply:

Washington, April 19th, 1831.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of this date, in answer to mine of the same.

In reply to your remark that there is one expression in my letter to which you must except, I would respectfully answer that I gave

what I understood to be the substance of your conversation. I did not pretend to quote your language. I regret that I misunderstood you in the slightest degree. I, however, stand corrected, and cheerfully accept the interpretation which you have given to your own expression.

I shall freely continue my best exertions to discharge the duties of the Department until you provide a successor.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN BRANCH.

To the President of the United States.

The concluding letter of the official correspondence between President Jackson and Secretary Branch fully sets forth the former's reason for reorganizing the Cabinet, and bears testimony to the high opinion entertained by him of the manner in which the affairs of the Navy Department had been conducted by the retiring Secretary. It was as follows:

Washington, April 20th, 1831.

Sir:

Late last evening I had the honor to receive your letter of that date, tendering your resignation of the office of Secretary of the Navy.

When the resignations of the Secretary of State and Secretary of War were tendered, I considered fully the reasons offered, and all the circumstances connected with the subject. After mature deliberation, I concluded to accept those resignations. But when this conclusion was come to, it was accompanied with a conviction that I must entirely renew my Cabinet. Its members had been invited by me to the stations they occupied; it had come together in great harmony, and as a unit. Under the circumstances in which I found myself, I could not but perceive the propriety of selecting a Cabinet composed of entirely new materials, as being calculated, in this respect at least, to command public confidence and satisfy public opinion. Neither could I be insensible to the fact that to permit two only to retire would be to afford room for unjust misconception and malignant representations concerning the influence of their particular presence upon the conduct of public affairs. Justice to the individuals whose public spirit had impelled them to tender their resignations also required then, in my opinion, the decision which I have stated. However painful to my own feelings, it became necessary that I should frankly make known to you my view of the whole subject.

In accepting your resignation, it is with great pleasure that I bear testimony to the integrity and zeal with which you have managed the

concerns of the Navy. In your discharge of all the duties of your office over which I have any control, I have been fully satisfied; and in your retirement you carry with you my best wishes for your prosperity and happiness.

It is expected that you will continue to discharge the duties of your office until a successor is appointed.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

John Branch, ANDREW JACKSON.
Secretary of the Navy.

It has been said that the social controversy over Mrs. Eaton, which terminated in the dissolution of President Jackson's Cabinet, had an important bearing on United States history for many years thereafter, as it gained for Van Buren the Presidency, through the influence of Jackson, and widened between Jackson and Calhoun the breach which later resulted in the Nullification proceedings.

After winding up his affairs in Washington, Mr. Branch returned to his home in Enfield, North Carolina. Not long after this, he wrote a full account of his experiences in and retirement from the Cabinet to his friend, Edmund B. Freeman, then residing in the town of Halifax and later Clerk of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. This letter was first published in the *Roanoke Advocate,* of which Mr. Freeman was editor, afterwards being copied in the *Raleigh Register,* of September 1, 1831, in *Niles' Register,* of September 3, 1831, and other publications of that day. It is here given in full:

Enfield, August 22, 1831.

Dear Sir:

Of the causes which led to the dissolution of the late Cabinet, I have never entertained a doubt. I will briefly state the reasons I have for my opinion, and leave you to judge of them as well or as ill founded. Before the President had nominated Major Eaton for the War Department, and while the subject might be supposed to be under consideration, I took the liberty of stating to General Jackson candidly my reasons for believing the selection would be unpopular and unfortunate. I reminded the President that he knew I was the friend of Major Eaton, and *personally* preferred him to either of the others proposed for his Cabinet; and, of course, nothing I should say on the subject ought to be construed into an intention to injure

him (Major Eaton), but, on the contrary, to save him from infinite vexation and annoyance, which, it was too plain, were in store for him if he took a seat in the Cabinet under the circumstances in which he was placed. The President admitted that charges had been made against the character of Mrs. Eaton, but insisted on it they were slanders, and that he ought not to notice them. I did not perceive at the time that he was hurt by the frankness or nature of my communication, though I afterwards learned that he had become offended with, and had discarded from his acquaintance, several of his old and best friends who had used the like freedom of speech on this subject. My remonstrances, it is known, were without effect, and Major Eaton was soon after formally appointed Secretary of War. Before this was done, however, I made an appeal to Major Eaton himself, and without reserve disclosed my apprehensions to him, adding that I did not pretend to intimate that there was the least truth in these reports; but, if utterly false, they would still have an effect on the President's peace and quiet, as he must know what use the opposition would make of it; that I believed it was impossible he could be willing to subject General Jackson to such a state of things; that he could not have forgotten how much General Jackson had been distressed by the calumnies and ill reports which had been formerly circulated about Mrs. Jackson; that, since the death of that lady, those reports had subsided, and would soon be heard of no more; that General Jackson knew the same kind of reports and imputations had prevailed with respect to Mrs. Eaton; that if he (Major Eaton) entered into the Cabinet, the enemies of the President would not fail to make a handle of it, and thus revive, in the General's bosom, recollections which could not be but painful and distressing; and which could not fail to disturb the tranquility and usefulness of his administration. My remarks were received apparently with the same kindness and courtesy which characterized my manner, but they no doubt laid the foundation of that hostility which afterwards became active and unextinguishable. From the moment of Major Eaton's appointment, General Jackson began to use his utmost efforts to bring Mrs. Eaton into public favor and distinction. He frequently spoke of the neglect Mrs. Eaton received when she attempted to appear at public places. He did not fail to intimate that it would be a most acceptable service rendered him if the members of his Cabinet would aid in promoting this object. I felt greatly embarrassed by such appeals to myself. It was impossible for me to comply with his wishes on this point, but it was, nevertheless, painful for me to say so. In any other matter in which I could, with a proper respect for myself and the feelings of my family, have complied with an intimation of his desire, no one would have done so more cheerfully than myself. By way of diverting his mind, I several times spoke of the difficulty he would experience in attempting to regulate the intercourse of the ladies;

that they were, in matters of that kind, uncontrollable and omnipotent; that he would find less difficulty in fighting over again the Battle of New Orleans. Soon after it was ascertained that Mrs. Eaton could not be received into the society of the families of the members of the Cabinet, Major Eaton's conduct to me discovered an evident change in his friendly feelings, and became cold, formal, and repulsive. I repeatedly threw myself into his company, and endeavored to assure him that I still had the most sincere desire to be on friendly terms with him, and wished for opportunities to convince him of the sincerity of my professions. In this course there was no guile—no view but that which my words fairly imported. I most sincerely regretted the state of public feeling towards Mrs. Eaton, but it was not within my power to control or soften it. It was a sentiment resting in the breast of the female community of Washington City and the Nation, which was not to be suppressed or obliterated. After this, Major Eaton's enmity to myself became every day more and more apparent. I could hear frequently of declarations to this effect, and of his determination to be revenged. It is true these reports came to me circuitously and indirectly, but I could not, from circumstances, doubt their truth.

At length came the mission by Colonel Johnson, the substance of which has already been given to the public by Messrs. Ingham and Berrien. I will only add to their statements that I distinctly understood Colonel Johnson to say that he came to us from the President of the United States, authorized by him to hold the interview; and, unless our difficulties in reference to Mrs. Eaton could be adjusted, that Mr. Ingham, Judge Berrien, and myself must expect to retire. When he closed his remarks, I well recollect rising from my seat, and, with an earnestness of manner which the extraordinary character of the communication was so well calculated to produce, observed, among other things, that no man had a right to dictate to me and my family, in their domestic relations, and that I would submit to no control of the kind. The Colonel undertook to reason the matter with us by observing that, although it might be impracticable to establish *intimate* and *social* relations between our families and Mrs. Eaton, he could see no reason why she should not be invited to our *large parties*, to which everybody was usually invited, Tom, Dick, Harry, &c. With this concession, he said, the President would be satisfied. We protested against the interference of the President in any manner or form whatever, as it was a matter which did not belong to our official connection with him, soon after which Colonel Johnson expressed his deep regret at the failure of his mission, and we separated.

I waited until Friday, a day having intervened, in expectation of hearing from the President; but, receiving no message, I walked over, in hopes that an opportunity would offer to put an end to my

unpleasant state of feeling. I found the President alone. He received me with his wonted courtesy, though evidently but ill at ease. In a few minutes the absorbing subject was introduced. Among other things, he spoke in strong language of the purity of Mrs. Eaton's character and the baseness of her slanderers, and presently mentioned a rumor, which he said had been in circulation, of a combination to exclude her from society. Several parties, he said, had been recently given, among others three by Mr. Ingham, Judge Berrien, and myself, to which she had not been invited; and from this it was strongly inferred that we had combined to keep her out of society. I told him that, so far as I was concerned, I believed my family were doing no more than the members of Congress, the citizens of Washington, and visitors to the seat of Government, had a right to expect from me as a member of his Cabinet. It was certainly in accordance with universal custom; and that, as to a combination, I knew of none; that I could never acknowledge the right of any one to interfere in matters affecting the private and social arrangements of my family; and that, before I would be dictated to, or controlled in such matters, *I would abandon his Cabinet, and was ready to do so whenever he desired it*, and added several other strong remarks of a similar character. He assured me, in reply, *that he did not desire it; that he was entirely satisfied with the manner in which I had discharged my official duty, and that he did not claim the right to dictate to us in our social relations*, but that he felt himself bound to protect the family of Major Eaton, as he would mine under similar circumstances. I then informed him that Colonel Johnson had formally announced to Mr. Ingham, Judge Berrien, and myself, that it was his intention to remove us from office for the cause mentioned, and I had learned from Mr. I. the evening before, who derived his information from the Colonel, that he had gone so far as to make temporary arrangements for the Departments, viz., Mr. Dickins for the Treasury, Mr. Kendall for the Navy, and some one else for Attorney General. This the President denied, and said he would send for Colonel Johnson, and for that purpose called for a servant. When the servant came, I observed it was unnecessary to send for the Colonel—his word was sufficient. "Well," said he, "if you are satisfied." I told him I was. We continued our conversation for some time. I attempted, on that occasion, as I had done several times before, to convince him of the impropriety of his interfering at all in a question of such a delicate character, but his feelings were evidently too much enlisted to weigh any reasons which might be offered.

I have already informed the public that no paper was presented to me, or read to me, or alluded to, having reference to the future conduct of the members of the Cabinet. On this head I cannot be mistaken. I may add that the President constantly insisted on the necessity of harmony among the members of the Cabinet. Here I cannot

refrain from a remark upon this injunction of the President, that Major Eaton was the only dissatisfied member of the Cabinet, the only one who carried complaints to the President of the conduct of others, the only one who employed his efforts to bring us to discredit with the public or the President. Among the others the utmost civility and sociability prevailed. No one annoyed him (Major Eaton) or made any effort to embarrass the operations of his Department or in any manner acted towards him as inimical or deficient in respect; and yet we are to be punished for the discordances of the Cabinet. Can any decision be more arbitrary and unjust?

A few days after this interview with the President, Colonel Johnson came into the Navy Department, and as he entered I rose to receive him. With his wonted cordiality of manner he expressed his satisfaction at the pacific aspect of our relations. I observed to him, with a smile, that the President denied having authorized him to make such a communication as he had made. He good-humoredly replied, "Let it pass; I presented it to you in the most favorable light," and, as he was hurried, here the conversation ended.

About the same time I had an interview with Major Eaton, in the presence of Judge Berrien and Major Barry. This was brought about by the President. Major Eaton, it seems, had complained to him, either directly or indirectly, that at a party given by my family the last of September or the first of October, 1829,* to the family of a most estimable friend and relation of mine, from Nashville, Tennessee, who was on a visit to Washington City, the Rev. J. N. Campbell, then of that place, now of Albany, N. Y., was among the invited guests. The circumstances were these: Mr. Campbell, who had resided in the city for some years previous to General Jackson's inauguration, was the pastor of a church, and such was his reputation that the President and three members of his Cabinet, viz., Mr. Ingham, Judge Berrien, and myself, took pews and became regular attendants at his church. In the course of his ministry he formed an acquaintance with my family, and occasionally visited them. He happened there while my friend Hill and his family were with us, contracted an acquaintance with them; and, when the party alluded to was given, my daughters invited him. He attended, and took the liberty of carrying with him his friend Dr. Ely, of Philadelphia, who had just arrived. I knew no more of his being invited than of any other person who happened to be present. He was, however, not the less welcome on that account, nor was his friend Dr. Ely. Neither of these gentlemen require a recommendation where they reside. Mr. Campbell is known to be a learned, pious, and most eloquent divine. Some short time after the party, I heard, very much to my surprise, that Major Eaton and some of his partisans were enraged with me,

*Mr. Branch later corrected this statement, saying September 8, 1829, was the exact date. M. DeL. H.

and threatened my destruction, because Mr. Campbell and Dr. Ely were at my house as above stated. I could scarcely credit the report, until it was mentioned to me by the President, when I emphatically asked him who questioned my right to invite whom I pleased to my house? He testily observed, No person; but, as there was some misunderstanding between Major Eaton, Mrs. E., and Mr. Campbell, that he (Major E.) thought it evinced hostility to him. At the interview above alluded to, between Major Eaton, Judge Berrien, Major Barry, and myself, Major Eaton mentioned the circumstances of Mr. Campbell and Dr. Ely being at my house on the occasion referred to. I asked Major Eaton, in the most frank and friendly manner, if this was his only complaint, and if he would be satisfied, provided I convinced him he was in error, assuring him at the same time that he had no right to consider me as being under the influence of unfriendly feelings towards him; that, on the contrary, he ought to know my personal attachment for him, before the Cabinet was formed; and further, if he would obtain the consent of his brother-in-law, Major Lewis, to read a confidential correspondence which passed between Major L. and myself, in the Winter of 1827-'28, on this *disturbing subject*, he would then be convinced of the disinterestedness and correctness of my course, and of its entire conformity to that friendship and good will which had so long subsisted between us. I might have gone further and said that Major Lewis, in the Winter of 1827-'28, when there could be no unworthy motive to mislead either of us, considered Mrs. Eaton an unsafe associate for his daughter, although he was now endeavoring to induce General Jackson to drive me out of the Cabinet because I would not compel my daughters to associate with her. Major Eaton would not say whether he would be satisfied or not, and the explanation was withheld. But as we were about to separate, he offered me his hand in a more cordial manner than he had done for some months previous. I have no doubt that Major Eaton, in tendering his resignation, stipulated for the dismissal of the three offensive members of the Cabinet. Mr. Van Buren, also, I have reasons to believe, urged the adoption of this measure. This gentleman had discovered that the three members of the Cabinet (afterwards ejected) disdained to become tools to subserve his ambitious aspirings, and he determined to leave them as little power to defeat his machinations as possible. It is said to be a part of his character to tolerate politically no one who will not enter heart and soul into measures for promoting his own aggrandisement. He had become latterly the almost sole confidant and adviser of the President. How he obtained this influence might be a subject of curious and entertaining inquiry. But I shall not pursue it. I may add, however, that amongst the means employed, were the most devoted and assiduous attentions to Mrs. Eaton, and unceasing efforts to bring her into notice, especially with the families of the foreign Ministers.

Finally, when the President found that his efforts to introduce Mrs. Eaton into society proved abortive, he became every day less communicative, and more and more formal in his hospitalities until there could be no doubt that, as to myself, an unfriendly influence had obtained an ascendancy in his private councils, and the result shows that he had determined to sacrifice me to gratify the feelings of those whom I had offended as stated above.

I may at some future time add to these views. At present I take my leave, with assurances of great respect and esteem.

Yours, &c.,

To Edmund B. Freeman, Esq., JOHN BRANCH.
Halifax Town.

P. S.—I have not considered it necessary to notice a charge made in *The Globe*, against Judge Berrien, of suppressing a material part of a letter which I wrote to him, and my substituting another in its stead. If any person has been misled by this bold accusation of the editor of *The Globe*, and is desirous of obtaining correct information, he has my permission to read the whole letter, although it was not intended to be made public.

For some years the bitter feelings, caused by the disruption of the Cabinet, survived, and came near causing a duel between Ex-Secretary Branch and Senator Forsyth, of Georgia, in the year following, while Mr. Branch was serving as a member of Congress, to which office he had been elected after his resignation from the Cabinet. The newspapers published what purported to be a speech made by Senator Forsyth, in an executive session of the Senate, on the nomination of Martin Van Buren as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James, in which Forsyth was quoted as referring to "a late Secretary" as a "volunteer repeater of confidential conversations with the Chief Magistrate." Upon having this called to his attention, Mr. Branch addressed the following communication to Senator Forsyth:

Washington City, February 5th, 1832.

Sir:

I have read the printed report of your speech, prepared by you for the press, purporting to be the remarks which you made in the Senate, in secret session, on the nomination of Martin Van Buren as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James.

The notice which you take of a conversation referred to in the debate by Mr. Poindexter, Senator from Mississippi, requires that I should ask of you to state to me, explicitly, whether you did or did not know, or had reason to believe at the time you wrote out your speech for publication, that I was the "somebody, one of the late Secretaries" to whom you refer as the volunteer repeater of confidential conversations with the Chief Magistrate?

Your reply to this communication will regulate my future action on this subject.

I am respectfully yours, &c.,

JOHN BRANCH.

Hon. John Forsyth.

This note was conveyed to Senator Forsyth by the Honorable Samuel P. Carson, a Representative in Congress from North Carolina, who also had a verbal discussion of the subject with the Georgia Senator, who did not consider it consistent with self respect to make any explanation while the implied threat, with which Mr. Branch's note concluded, was allowed to stand. By the hands of Congressman William S. Archer, of Virginia, he sent to Colonel Carson the following communication:

Washington, February 5th, 1832.

Dear Sir:

Although perfectly satisfied with your verbal declaration, on reflection, since we separated this morning, I think it indispensable that the concluding paragraph in the enclosed letter should be omitted, or that your remarks to me on the subject of it should be in writing before an answer to it is transmitted to you.

I return it to you to adopt either course that may be most agreeable to you.

I am, dear sir, very sincerely,

JOHN FORSYTH.

Hon. Mr. Carson.

After consultation with Colonel Carson, Mr. Branch consented to withdraw the objectionable paragraph, it being considered immaterial, and Carson replied to Forsyth as follows:

House of Representatives, February 6th, 1832.

Dear Sir:

If the simple interrogatory contained in the letter of Governor Branch, would be more acceptable to you, without the paragraph

with which it concludes, I am authorized, as his friend, to state to you that that paragraph may be considered as stricken from his note, not deeming it essential to the substance of his inquiry.

Very respectfully,

Hon. John Forsyth. SAM'L P. CARSON.

P. S.—Your note was not handed to me till this day, since the meeting of the House.

Feeling now free to answer Mr. Branch's letter, Senator Forsyth sent this reply to the inquiry therein contained:

Washington, February 6th, 1832.

Sir:

I have received your note by Colonel Carson.

The remarks of mine, to which you point my attention, were made in answer to Mr. Poindexter, and intended to apply to the person referred to by him, without *knowledge* of that person, on my part, then, or at the time my remarks were prepared for the press.

I am very respectfully yours, &c.,

JOHN FORSYTH.

Hon. Mr. Branch.

On the day after Senator Forsyth's reply was written, another note from Mr. Branch was conveyed to him in these words:

Washington, February 7th, 1832.

Sir:

In your answer to my note by Colonel Carson, you state that you did not know that I was the person referred to by Governor Poindexter as having held a conversation with the President. It being now made known to you that I was the person, I wish to inquire whether you feel yourself at liberty to disavow the application of those remarks to me?

I am respectfully, &c., JOHN BRANCH.

Hon. John Forsyth.

The matter was concluded to the satisfaction of all parties when, on the same day, Senator Forsyth sent the following disclaimer:

Washington, February 7th, 1832.

Sir:

Your note of this morning informs me that you were the person referred to by Mr. Poindexter in the observations alluded to in your

former notes, and inquires whether I feel at liberty to disclaim the application to you of my remarks in reply.

Having submitted the subject to some of my friends, who unite in thinking that the inference from the observations of Mr. Poindexter, under which my remarks were made, that the conversation referred to had been confidential, was not warranted, and satisfied that the view of the subject is correct, I have no hesitation in disclaiming the application to you of the charge, imported by these remarks, of having repeated a *confidential* conversation.

I am respectfully, &c.,

JOHN FORSYTH.

Hon. John Branch,
House of Representatives.

The above correspondence, made public by Messrs. Carson and Archer, first appeared in *The United States Telegraph.* Later it was copied in *Niles' Weekly Register,* of February 11, 1832.

It was doubtless a source of satisfaction to the friends of both parties that the controversy between Mr. Branch and Senator Forsyth was adjusted in a manner honorable to both gentlemen, and probably to none so much as to Colonel Carson, who, less than fours years before, in consequence of some aspersions cast on the honor of his aged father, had challenged and killed Ex-Congressman Robert Brank Vance—a circumstance which marred his happiness throughout the remainder of his life.

While speaking of the practice of duelling, it may be mentioned that Mr. Branch, during his term as Senator, was one of the party of gentlemen who witnessed the famous duel between Henry Clay and John Randolph in 1826.

Upon the retirement of Secretary Branch from the Cabinet of President Jackson, he returned to North Carolina, and was received with every mark of consideration and honor by the people of his native State. Under date of August 18, 1831, the citizens of Bertie County, through a committee of their number, sent him an invitation to become the guest of honor at a banquet which they wished to give at the town of Windsor as a testimonial to his worth, or (to quote the language of the

invitation) for the "purpose of expressing their high regard for his private virtues, as well as the high opinion which they entertained of his firm and undeviating course, prominently displayed in many important services rendered his State, and more especialy by his late demonstration of attachment to those principles which had always governed him." On August 20th, Mr. Branch replied that, under the most auspicious circumstances of his life, such marked kindness could not fail to be highly acceptable; but the fact of his having been recently expelled from the Cabinet of the President by the ascendency of certain "malign influences" and of still being pursued in his retirement with a fiendlike vengeance, bent on the destruction of his good name, nothing could be more grateful to his feelings than the generous confidence and support of those who had known him from his earliest entrance into public life. Sickness in his family, he said, now required his undivided attention and would soon render necessary a trip to another climate. Hence he would have to forego the high gratification he should otherwise experience in making his acknowledgments to friends gathered around the festive board. A few months after this, Mr. Branch went on a visit to Tennessee. On October 4th, he delayed his trip in Raleigh long enough to call attention, through the *Raleigh Register* of October 6th, to the fact that in a lengthy statement recently issued by Ex-Secretary Eaton, the latter, in publishing a letter written by Mr. Branch to Jackson, had altered the date and thereby made it appear that Branch was so lacking in self-respect as to continue expressing feelings of ardent friendship for the President two days after that official had shown him marked discourtesy in an interview on the all-disturbing topic of Mrs. Eaton. As a matter of fact, the letter was written two days before the interview took place, and at a time when Mr. Branch had every reason to count the President among his best friends.

While on his way to Tennessee, Mr. Branch passed through Asheville (where the Superior Court was in session), and his admirers in that vicinity tendered him a public entertainment, but circumstances rendered it impossible for him to accept the proffered courtesy.

In August, 1831, a signal honor was paid Mr. Branch when the Honorable Jesse A. Bynum and other candidates for Congress in the Halifax District voluntarily withdrew from the race and caused his unanimous election to the National House of Representatives. Mr. Branch entered upon his new duties at the first session of the Twenty-second Congress, which assembled on the 5th of the following December. Having long been a conspicuous figure in National politics, he at once took high rank in his new station. During the course of his service he was a debater on many bills and resolutions which came before that body, including banking laws, Indian affairs, the tariff, naval affairs, &c., all of which were important in their day but which would not be of interest if set forth at length in this sketch.

When men first began to make use of steam power, numerous conjectures were made as to what purpose it would serve; and, in 1832, a bill was introduced in Congress to authorize the Navy Department to expend $111,704 in the fitting out of a steam frigate and the construction of two "steam batteries." On June 21st, in the year just mentioned, Congressman Branch called up this bill and advocated its passage. He said that Secretary of the Navy Woodbury wished the experiment made, to ascertain whether steam power might not successfully be introduced as a means of naval defense. With keen foresight he further declared: "It is admitted on all hands that, sooner or later, this newly discovered power will be introduced, if not in offensive, certainly in defensive warfare, and I think the contemplated experiment worth making". These so-called "steam batteries" were small vessels, not much more than barges, propelled by steam and carrying small batteries, to be used chiefly for coast defense. Seven

years later, in 1838, Secretary of the Navy Dickerson also recommended the construction and equipment of this type of defensive craft.

At the expiration of his term in the National House of Representatives, Mr. Branch declined to become a candidate for re-election. This left the field open to the Honorable Jesse A. Bynum and Colonel Andrew Joyner; and, in the contest which followed, Mr. Bynum was victorious.

In the year following his retirement from Congress, Mr. Branch made his last appearance as a member of the Legislature of North Carolina, taking his seat in the State Senate which convened in the month of November, 1834, and continued its sittings into the early part of 1835. The General Assembly of the year just mentioned had many distinguished members, who were chiefly interested in the question of calling a State Constitutional Convention in 1835, which was accordingly done. In this Legislature was also a bitter fight over the proposition to instruct United States Senator Willie P. Mangum to vote for expunging the resolution of censure against President Jackson for removing from office the Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, and withdrawing Government deposits from the banks. There was much discussion among the North Carolina legislators as to the proposed instructions to expunge, and Mr. Branch (an ardent advocate of States' Rights, now allied with the Calhoun faction) made a notable speech opposing the proposed instructions to Senator Mangum. In this speech he gave a full narrative of his past connection with Jackson, and his remarks attracted wide attention. The *Raleigh Star and North Carolina Gazette,* of December 25, 1834, said Mr. Branch's speech was the "topic of conversation in every circle", and the same paper of February 12, 1835, gave the speech in full, remarking editorially: "It is an able production, and, as it comes from one whose sound republicanism, unimpeachable veracity, and sterling integrity, his bitterest political enemies would not dare to question, the extraordinary

facts which he narrates cannot fail to produce a powerful effect upon the public mind." Notwithstanding the opposition of the faction led by Branch, the Jacksonians were victorious, triumphantly carrying the resolution of instruction, which Senator Mangum refused to obey after it was passed.

On the 4th day of June, 1835, the Constitutional Convention of North Carolina assembled in Raleigh. In this body were many of the State's ablest and most distinguished citizens. John Branch was the delegate from Halifax County. On the opening day of the session he placed in nomination for President of that body the venerable Nathaniel Macon, his old senatorial colleague, who was unanimously elected. Mr. Branch took a prominent part in the deliberations and debates of the Convention. Annual sessions of the General Assembly he strongly favored. Of his position on this point the Convention Journal says: "He believed that annual sessions of the Legislature were well calculated to keep in check Federal usurpations. The powers of the General Government are constantly increasing and American liberty depends on the preservation of State Rights and State Powers." The speaker declared that he was no disorganizer, but favored keeping a constant watch on the Federal power. He advocated the abolition of borough representation in the Legislature though in his own county was one of the "borough towns." On the subject of the Thirty-second Section of the Constitution, aimed at Roman Catholics and providing a religious test for office-holders, he said he had risen from an attack of illness to vote for its repeal. He realized, as all men did, that this section had always been inoperative (Burke, Gaston, and possibly other Roman Catholics having held office without molestation on account of their religious views), but he declared that the section ought to be expunged from the Constitution as unworthy to remain in it. When, however, a Christian test was proposed to be substituted in its place, Mr. Branch declared that he could not conscientiously vote for the substitute. "Striking out the word

Protestant and inserting the word *Christian* would not cure the evil," said he, and asked: "Why are the Jews to be excluded from office? They were the favored people of the Almighty. Our Savior and His disciples were Jews; and are there not men among the Jews as talented, as virtuous, as well qualified to fill any office in our Government, as any other citizen in our community? A Jew may be appointed to any office under the General Government. He may be raised to the Presidency of the United States. And why shall we refuse to admit him to any office under our Government?" The speaker added: "I am opposed to all religious tests for office, and shall therefore vote against this amendment." In this Convention, Mr. Branch opposed the proposition to deprive free negroes of the right to vote, provided they possessed property, saying "he was willing to keep the door open to the most intelligent free men of color, but was unwilling to part with the freehold qualification." His membership in this Constitutional Convention was the last public office ever held by Mr. Branch in North Carolina, though he was once more a candidate before the people of the State.

The amended State Constitution, which was duly ratified by the people in a general election, provided that the office of Governor should be filled by popular vote, and not by the Legislature as theretofore; and Edward B. Dudley, of Wilmington, was elected by the Whigs over the Democratic nominee, Ex-Governor Richard Dobbs Spaight, (the younger) in 1836. In 1838, Governor Dudley, who had ably administered the affairs of his office, was a candidate for re-election, and Mr. Branch (still legally a citizen of the State though absent much of the time in Florida) was nominated by the Democrats to oppose him; but the Whigs were again victorious. After this defeat, Mr. Branch was never again a candidate for public office in North Carolina, though a post of high honor in Florida was soon to be conferred on him—a post which had been tendered him before, in 1831, but which was declined at that time.

In 1836, when Martin Van Buren was the nominee of the Democratic party for President, being given this honor chiefly through Jackson's influence, John Branch voted against that candidate; but, by 1840, when Van Buren was again the choice of his party for President, Mr. Branch's resentment against his old associate in the Cabinet had so far cooled down that he returned to the Democratic ranks and gave him his unqualified support.

The present sketch has heretofore dealt with the public career of Governor Branch in North Carolina and at the National Capital, and it may be well now to say something of his personal history and domestic life before we treat of his later services as Governor of Florida. In telling of these private aspects of his life, the present writer wishes to make acknowledgments, for valuable assistance, to the Governor's granddaughter, Mrs. Nicholas Ware Eppes (née Bradford), of Tallahessee, Florida, a lady of rare intelligence, who in childhood and youth was thrown into close association with her grandfather, and probably has a better first-hand knowledge of his life and character than any other person now living.

Though born in the town of Halifax, Governor Branch's early childhood was spent at Elk Marsh, his father's country-seat near Enfield, in Halifax County. He is said to have been a slender, delicate little lad, very studious, and given to thinking deeply on any subject that interested him. After a preparatory education in a neighboring "old field school," he entered the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, a few years after the establishment of that renowned institution, and graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1801. His loyalty to his Alma Mater was lifelong. He was *ex officio* Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University when Governor, from 1817 to 1820, and remained a member of that Board until absence from North Carolina in 1844 made him ineligible for further service. Time and again he attended the commencement exercises, and was

probably the oldest living graduate for some years prior to his death, which occurred sixty-two years after the completion of his University course.

After his graduation from the University of North Carolina, young Branch returned home, and soon went to the neighboring county of Franklin, where he became a student of law under Judge John Haywood, a native of Halifax County, who then held a seat on the Superior Court Bench of North Carolina and was afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. Law, however, seems not to have been to the liking of Mr. Branch, and he soon entered the more active field of politics, also taking a deep interest in the management of his extensive landed estates. His first wife (the mother of all his children), to whom he was married on April 6, 1803, was Elizabeth Foort, daughter of John Foort, Jr., a gentleman of Scottish descent, residing in Halifax, whose wife, Margaret Randolph, was a daughter of Dr. Richard Randolph, of Virginia. At the time of his marriage Mr. Branch was only twenty years old, and his wife sixteen, she having been born on January 1, 1787. The youthful pair took up their abode on the "Cellar Field" plantation near Enfield. In worldly possessions they were not lacking, Mr. Branch having inherited a good estate from his mother and later from his brother James, and Mrs. Branch being a woman of wealth in her own right—her father having died before her marriage. Mrs. Eppes, whom we have already mentioned, says of her grandparents: "The young couple were almost children, yet they were happy children and devoted lovers throughout more than forty years of their married life. Never was there a more hospitable home, and besides the nine sons and daughters who came to them, two orphan nieces of Mrs. Branch's and five of Joseph Branch's children, as well as several cousins, found a home and a father's and mother's loving care beneath their roof." One of the orphan children of Joseph Branch, here alluded to, was Lawrence O'Bryan Branch, in after life distinguished as

railroad president, Congressman, and Confederate General, who was slain in 1862 at the battle known to the Federals as Antietam and to the Confederates as Sharpsburg. Besides three daughters, General Branch left an only son, William Augustus Blount Branch, who saw service in the Confederate Army before reaching manhood, as a courier on the staff of Major-General Robert F. Hoke, and afterwards was a member of the fifty-second and fifty-third Congresses, 1891-'95.

Mrs. Elizabeth Branch was indeed a woman qualified by nature, training, disposition, and intellectual endowments, to share the fortunes of her distinguished husband in the various high stations to which he was called. In the capitals of both North Carolina and Florida, her gracious hospitality, when wife of the Chief Executive, won for her the esteem and admiration of the refined circles in which she moved, and, while sojourning among the notables of Washington, she was fully equal to the task of upholding the social responsibilities resting upon the lady of a cabinet official or national legislator. Indeed, if the traditions of old Washington be true, the Branch home surpassed all others in the fashionable yet wholesome character of its entertainments. So elaborate and largely attended, too, were these social affairs, that a lady of that day, in a letter, spoke of one of them as "Governor Branch's crush-party."

As already stated, Mrs. Elizabeth Branch, the first wife of Governor Branch, was the mother of all of his children. They were nine in number, as follows:

I. Martha Lewis Henry Branch, born September 29, 1806, who married Dr. Edward Bradford, on November 10, 1825, and left descendants.

II. Rebecca Bradford Branch, born August 25, 1808, who married Robert White Williams* on April 19, 1831, and left descendants.

*After the death of his first wife, Rebecca Bradford Branch, Mr. Williams married her first cousin, Susan Simpson Branch, sister of General L. O'B. Branch.

III. Margaret Branch, born August 4, 1810, who was married on October 18, 1830, to Daniel S. Donelson (a nephew of Mrs. Andrew Jackson), who distinguished himself in the War with Mexico and the War between the States, holding the rank of Major-General in the Confederate Army when he died in 1863, leaving descendants.

IV. James Branch, born November 17, 1812, who married Ann Eliza Belton on February 20, 1839, and left an only child, who died in infancy.

V. Sarah Harris Branch, born on February 14, 1814, who married Dr. James Hunter on July 15, 1833, and left descendants.

VI. Mary Eliza Branch, born on July 21, 1815, who was first married to General Leigh Read on May 17, 1838, and after his death to General William Bailey, leaving by her first marriage an only daughter, who died young, and by her second marriage, an only son.

VII. John Richard Branch, born September 28, 1819, who married Josephine Woods in November, 1841, and left descendants.

VIII. William Henry Branch, born October 9, 1823, who married Mary Eliza Horton on October 11, 1848, and left descendants.

IX. Susan Branch, born January 8, 1826, who married Arvah Hopkins on December 13, 1849, and left descendants.

Through the nine children just enumerated, Governor Branch has a large number of descendants now living. Their homes for the most part are in Florida, though some are residents of Halifax County, North Carolina, as well as of other localities. To Governor Branch's second marriage, which occurred after he had passed his three-score years and ten, reference is made elsewhere in this sketch.

Governor Branch, whose business (both public and private) demanded his presence for prolonged periods of time in various localities, necessarily had many different domi-

ciles during the course of his life. In infancy or early childhood he was removed from his native town of Halifax to Elk Marsh, his father's plantation in the same county. After reaching manhood, he took up his abode on the Cellar Field tract near the town of Enfield. The first house occupied by him on that tract was later burned, and he afterwards built on or near its site a handsomer and more commodious structure, to which we shall refer more at length later on in this sketch. While serving as Governor of North Carolina, his official residence in Raleigh was the building known by the imposing title of the "Governor's Palace," then recently completed, and of which his immediate predecessor in office, Governor William Miller, was the first occupant. This "palace" was a large brick building with a front portico supported by massive white pillars and stood across the southern end of Fayetteville Street, about a mile from the Capitol. It was used as a home for the Governors of North Carolina until the close of the War between the States, then being abandoned, and about ten years later transformed into the Centennial Graded School. It was afterwards demolished to make room for a more modern school building. While occupying this official residence in Raleigh, Governor Branch also had a summer home near Wake Forest, in the same county. His residence, of course, was in Washington during his service as United States Senator, Secretary of the Navy, and member of Congress. Of his home in Florida, and the circumstances which led to the removal of himself and family to that State about the time of his retirement from public life in North Carolina (in which latter State he always retained his citizenship), we have the following account in the narrative of Mrs. Eppes, heretofore quoted:

"In the meantime, Dr. Edward Bradford, who married Governor Branch's eldest daughter, Martha Lewis Henry, had moved to Florida. The glowing accounts he gave of the new country fired all the family with enthusiasm, so one after another they wended their way southward; and the year 1836 found Governor and Mrs. Branch, with three sons and two daughters, settled at Live Oak, three miles from Tallahassee—Dr. Bradford practicing medicine in the little town,

Daniel S. Donelson surveying the new Territory, Robert W. Williams serving as Surveyor-General, and Dr. James Hunter and his wife (Sarah Branch) newly arrived from the Old North State.

"Governor Branch was deeply interested in his new estate. He had purchased several thousands of acres in Leon County, where the primeval forests, as yet untouched by the hand of man, covered lofty heights and lovely valleys, and he selected as a site for his dwelling a magnificent grove of live oaks crowning a high hill overlooking the blue waters of Lake Jackson. Here he built a large and handsome residence in colonial style, and had a landscape gardener from France to lay out the grounds. A steep declivity led from the garden to a grove of magnolias, and in their midst was a beautiful spring which from its boiling depths sent forth an immense volume of sparkling water. Here Governor Branch installed a ram, which carried this delightful water to his dwelling, supplying bath-rooms and giving irrigation to the beautiful gardens surrounding the house, where rare flowers, collected from all parts of the earth, were to be found."

Before his family removed to Florida in 1836, Governor Branch had visited that Territory more than once, and had purchased land there. The first tract which he acquired (December 27, 1833) was from the Marquis de Lafayette, it being part of a township in Leon County, which township had been granted by the United States Government to the illustrious Frenchman on the occasion of his visit to America in 1824-'25. In 1834, Governor Branch was again in Florida, and, as already stated, settled there in 1836, but legally he remained a citizen of North Carolina to the day of his death, going to Enfield to vote, and retaining the possession of his home there.

Amid the delightful surroundings of his beautiful Florida home, Governor Branch spent many of the happiest years of his life—sorrows, too, coming at intervals through the several deaths which occurred in his family while he resided there. His health being somewhat impaired in 1843-'44, he was persuaded to try a change of scene, and spent much time in travel. During the course of his journeyings, he met his old friend President Tyler, and the two found it pleasant renewing their former acquaintance. Though Mr. Tyler had been elected Vice-President as a Whig on the ticket with President Harrison (upon whose death he succeeded to the

Presidency), he was not now in sympathy with the policies of his party, a fact which drew to him many Democratic leaders and estranged many of his old Whig associates—Secretary of the Navy George E. Badger, a North Carolinian, being among the several members of his Cabinet who resigned. Before President Tyler and Mr. Branch parted, the latter was tendered the office of Governor of the Territory of Florida, and accepted the appointment. As already stated, he had declined to assume this post in 1831, when it was offered him by President Jackson.

The nomination of John Branch as Governor of the Territory of Florida was sent by President Tyler on June 4, 1844, to the United States Senate, and was duly confirmed by that body eleven days thereafter, on June 15th. The appointment was to take effect on August 11, 1844, that being the date when the commission of Governor Richard K. Call, who then filled the Executive Chair, would expire.

The office of Territorial Governor of Florida was no sinecure, and this was fully realized by Mr. Branch before he accepted the commission tendered him by President Tyler. The bloody and destructive war with the Seminole Indians in that Territory had scarcely drawn to a close; business was demoralized by an unsound financial system, made worse by the machinations of non-resident speculators; and yellow fever had gotten in its deadly work among many of the settlers. The Twenty-third Territorial Legislature, or "Legislative Council," met amid such unfavorable surroundings at the beginning of 1845; and, on the 10th of January, in that year, Governor Branch sent his official message to these lawmakers, advising ways out of the difficulties by which the people were beset, and complaining of the unjust course pursued with reference to the Territory, by the General Government. In the course of this message he said:

"It must be admitted that Florida has rights to maintain, as well as wrongs to redress, of such a character as to demand our undivided energies. With these convictions, I should be wanting in a

proper discharge of my duty were I to shrink from the high responsibility of recommending them, not only to your favorable notice, but to your efficient action.

"If ever there existed a community with well-founded claims on its Government for indemnity, it is to be found in Florida—a country highly favored by Providence, but laid waste by a ferocious and implacable foe—provoked and goaded on, not only without a provident preparation for such an occurrence, but in the prosecution of a war, to say the least, of doubtful policy. It is painful, as it is unnecessary, for me to dwell on the manner in which it was conducted and protracted. It is enough to know, as our citizens but too sensibly feel, that, by this ill-advised measure, Florida has become, through no agency of her own, an almost blood-stained wilderness, and that half a century will scarcely suffice to place her where she would have been but for the mismanagement of her Federal Trustee. Would that this were all—but not so! Through the same agency, an unwise and ruinous legislation has been inflicted on her, worse, if possible, than war, pestilence, and famine. I mean the blighting influence of a corrupt and corrupting *paper* system, so utterly rotten that I cannot undertake its dissection. * * *

"It is true that all parties now denounce the banking system, as it has existed in Florida, as a Pandora's box, and cry aloud for the nuisance to be forthwith abated. In this I concur. But let us take care that we do not involve the innocent with the guilty in one indiscriminate wreck; for, in critical operations in surgery, the utmost caution and skill are necessary.

"In addition to all this, Florida has had indignities superadded to injuries. She has been charged with repudiating her *just* debts. Nothing can be more libelous; and, in her behalf, I feel it to be my duty to repel the charge. On the contrary, it is her anxiety to pay her *honest* debts that induces her to scrutinize the spurious demands of speculators and bank-swindlers, generated and fostered by irresponsible Federal rulers. * * *

"In making the foregoing remarks on our Federal relations, it is not my intention to question the *motives* or patriotism of any administration, either past or present, but to do justice to a people over whom I have the honor and responsibility of presiding as their Chief Magistrate, by a plain narrative of facts, which I believe to be incontrovertible; and to hold those responsible, and those only, who have been the cause of your insufferable ills. On the contrary, I should do violence to my own feelings were I not to acknowledge the debt of gratitude we owe to the patriotic officers and soldiery, both of the regular army and militia, who periled everything in this inglorious war—and that, too, under the most discouraging circumstances. And I may further add that I sincerely sympathize with them, that, from

the character of the enemy with whom they had to contend, and the country in which their operations were carried on, so few laurels have been won, though doubtless merited."

On a previous page we have shown that, during his three terms as Governor of North Carolina, Mr. Branch repeatedly urged upon the State Legislature the importance of fostering public education. His interest in this subject never abated; and, in the above mentioned message to the Legislature of Florida, he used this language:

Allow me to impress upon you the sacredness of your obligations, to the rising generation and to posterity, to extend every facility in your power to the acquisition of a liberal education. This can only be done by establishing schools in every part of your territory, to the extent of your ability."

The inefficiency and inadequate equipment of the militia of the Territory, and the unprotected state of the sea-coast, were sources of misgivings to all thoughtful men in Florida, and Governor Branch dwelt upon these matters as follows:

"The proper and efficient organization of the militia cannot be a subject of indifference when it is borne in mind that on this species of force we have mainly to rely for the defense of this, the most exposed portion of the United States. Permit me to urge its importance, and respectfully to recommend a revision of your laws so far at least as to ensure prompt and accurate returns to the Adjutant General of the United States. For the want of such returns, our citizens are comparative unarmed, and *so have been for the last thirteen years*, although engaged in a bloody war for more than half that time. Having done our duty, we may then confidently rely on the Federal Government for the fortification of our extended seaboard. This, I am gratified to learn, is now attracting the attention of Congress, and I cannot doubt that everything will be done that money and the indomitable spirit and energy of our fellow-citizens can achieve to render our exposed frontier impregnable to a foreign foe."

The honor of statehood was not accorded the Territory of Florida so soon as she thought herself entitled thereto, and Governor Branch expressed himself with his wonted force on this matter in his message:

"Under the Providence of God, Florida earnestly desires to carve out her own fortunes in her own way. She asks to be permitted to

appoint her own officers, and to make and administer her own laws; and, in thus asking, she feels that she seeks nothing but what she is justly entitled to, and what she would be recreant to her best interests and posterity were she not to insist on. She demands the rights of a sovereign State, so long withheld from her, though guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and the Treaty of Cession. With a solitary Delegate in Congress, without even a vote to oppose aggressions on your rights, how can you expect successfully to contend for equal participation in the benefits of this glorious confederacy? Allow me, then, to advise you to gird on the armor of State sovereignty—to shake off the *old boy*, and put on the new man!

"To those of our fellow-citizens who believe that we are incapable of sustaining the expenses of a State Government, I would respectfully say that, if the estimates of our able and indefatigable Delegate are to be accredited—of which I cannot doubt—your fears are groundless. Instead of being a loss of a few dollars and cents, it will be a gain of thousands and tens of thousands. But, I would remark, that we ought not to be deterred from the pursuit of the great prize by such considerations. The right of self-government is inestimable to freemen, and ought not to be abandoned for light and trivial causes."

Toward the conclusion of his message, Governor Branch took a brighter view of the future of the Territory over which he presided, saying:

"With a virgin soil, a genial climate, and a wise and paternal government to develop and foster her resources, Florida may yet promise herself a prosperous and happy future. Although causes beyond her control, as previously remarked, have retarded her growth and cast a shade over her territorial fortunes and good name; and, although, at the moment of throwing off the degrading yoke of vassalage, her difficulties may seem to be appalling—yet, when calmly viewed, and impartially weighed by intelligent, patriotic, and honest statesmen, Florida will have nothing to dread."

As Mr. Branch was Governor of Florida for less than a year—from August 11, 1844, until June 25, 1845—the message from which we have made the extracts set forth above, was the only one which he sent to the "Legislative Council," or General Assembly of the Territory, except a few brief special messages which would not be of general interest if quoted in the present sketch.

The Territory of Florida was admitted as a State into the American Union by an Act of Congress passed on the 3d of March, 1845. In order to make an even balance of the power thus added to the South in the Halls of Congress, another Territory (of opposite political tendencies) was raised to statehood by the inclusion of Iowa within the provisions of the same Act. There was great rejoicing when news was brought to Tallahassee that the Territory of Florida had been created a State. This action of Congress was especially gratifying to Governor Branch, who gave a large and brilliant reception at Live Oak in honor of the event, and invited all residents of that vicinity, as well as visitors from other parts of Florida, to attend. There is still preserved a letter from the Governor's youngest daughter, written to a schoolmate at Georgetown, near Washington City, in which is this description of the entertainment:

"Oh, I wish you could have seen Live Oak last night! All the world and his wife were bidden to help us celebrate, and everything possible was done to add to the occasion. Bonfires blazed on the edge of the grove, and lanterns were hung in the shrubbery. The house was brilliantly lighted, and from top to bottom was thrown open to the public. Across the front entrance, in large letters of living green on a white banner, was 'State of Florida,' and inside the house all was jollity and congratulation, feasting and music."

Soon after receiving official advices that Florida had been admitted into the Union, Mr. Branch (who had thus become Acting Governor of the new State) issued a proclamation, on April 5, 1845, fixing upon the 26th of May as the time when a general election should be held for the purpose of choosing a Governor, a Legislature, and a Representative in Congress. Governor Branch, being the foremost Democrat in Florida, was urged by his friends to enter the lists as a candidate for Governor of the State against the Whig candidate, Ex-Governor Call. To this proposition Mr. Branch declined to assent. Already he had "sounded all the depths and shoals of honor," and was not only willing, but anxious to return to the walks of private life. Other considerations moving him to decline fur-

ther participation in politics were Mrs. Branch's continued ill health and a set determination on his part never to relinquish his citizenship as a North Carolinian. William Dunn Moseley, a personal and political friend of Mr. Branch, was thereupon nominated by the Democratic party as Governor, and was duly elected. In the new State government, Governor Branch's nephew, Joseph Branch, became Attorney-General. The first session of the Legislature of the State of Florida met on the 23d of June, 1845, and two days later, on June 25th, Governor-elect Moseley was inducted into office. This inauguration of a successor closed the career of Governor Branch as Governor of the Territory and as Acting Governor of the State of Florida. Between the careers of Governor Branch and Governor Moseley, we may add, there was a striking similarity: both were native North Carolinians, both were graduates of the University of North Carolina, both had been Speakers of the State Senate of North Carolina, both had served as Governor of Florida, and both died on the same day.

After the expiration of his term of office as Governor of Florida, Mr. Branch remained a citizen of Tallahassee. He also spent much of his time at Enfield, his old home in North Carolina. He likewise paid frequent visits to the fashionable summer resorts of that day. On the 19th of January, 1851, he suffered the loss of his beloved wife, who passed away in the sixty-fourth year of her age, after a happy married life of nearly half a century. In referring to the devoted ministrations of Governor Branch during the last illness of his wife, his granddaughter, Mrs. Eppes, says:

"Mrs. Branch's health grew steadily worse. I have said that they were lovers to the last. She was very fond of flowers, and every morning Governor Branch plucked a few pink blossoms—clove pinks, if he could find them, but of a rosy hue always—and with his own hands pinned them in the dainty folds of the sheer white kerchief, which the fashion of that day prescribed for a married lady's adornment. When at last she slept peacefully in her casket and he was called for a last look at the face which was so beautiful to him, he

turned away with a heart-broken sob, and in a few moments was back again with a cluster of tiny pink rosebuds, which he pinned on with trembling hands. As long as he lived he never failed at every visit to adorn her tomb with the bright-hued blossoms which she loved."

After the death of Mrs. Branch, Governor Branch returned to his native State, and again took up his abode at Enfield. In depicting the closing years of his life, we again quote the narrative of Mrs. Eppes, who writes of her grandfather as follows:

"Governor Branch never resigned his citizenship in North Carolina; and, after his wife's death, he spent most of his time at the old home in Enfield, coming to Florida each winter for a short stay. Though it was the old home [at Enfield], it was a new house, the original building with all its contents having been destroyed by fire. It was a most comfortable and commodious dwelling on a hill overlooking the station. A smooth lawn, with many shade-trees, led up to the house. On the right was a garden, a veritable bower of beauty; and, on the left, a very fancy stable and barn were outlined against a splendid orchard of peaches and apples, while at the back, among other buildings, was an icehouse, all combining the beauties of fairy-land with practical uses.

"Here he entertained his friends, for to him hospitality was one of the cardinal virtues, and here he made his children warmly welcome, and urged strongly that some of them should live with him; but, at last, even his widowed daughter, Mrs. Read, married again and left him, so in the Winter of 1853 he was married to Mrs. Mary E. Bond, of Bertie—a lovely woman, who proved an admirable companion for his declining years.

"Governor Branch's religious convictions were of the strongest, and he had the deepest respect for all things sacred. Late in life he united with St. John's Church in Tallahassee, and his confirmation service was a beautiful sight. Just before the morning service he walked alone up the aisle—tall, spare, and erect, with eyes of clearest blue, and abundant hair of snowy whiteness. At the altar he was met by the Bishop of Florida, the Right Reverend Francis H. Rutledge. He, too, had snow-white hair, and in his robes was most imposing. The morning sun came stealing softly in; and, when Governor Branch knelt and the venerable Bishop placed his hands upon his head, the rays of the sun crowned them both with a halo of glory, and we, the spectators, felt that it was God's own benediction on His good and faithful servants."

As might be expected of a States' Rights Democrat of the Calhoun school, Governor Branch stood loyally by his native State when it seceded from the Union, and became a faithful citizen of the Confederate Government. He ministered unceasingly to the needs of those who had enlisted in defense of the South, and his purse was ever open to relieve the necessities of the dependent ones they had left at home. By the hand of death he was spared the horrors of Reconstruction, but did not escape altogether the afflicting consequences of the war, for his favorite nephew (General Lawrence O'Bryan Branch) was slain early in the conflict, and other members of his immediate family were sharers of the dangers by which the land of their birth was beset.

Governor Branch died at Enfield, in his native county of Halifax, North Carolina, on the 4th day of January, 1863. It was his good fortune to retain his mental and physical vigor to the last. The brief illness, which terminated his earthly career, was pneumonia, contracted while riding horseback to direct the operations of an ice-plow. At a time when countless messages, by telegraph and mail, bore tidings of the death in battle of hundreds of the younger generation of Southerners, the peaceful passing away of "an old man, broken with the storms of State," may not have attracted the attention of the country at large to such an extent as it would in more peaceful days, but his death was mourned sincerely by those who had known his worth. In commenting upon this event, the *Raleigh Register,* of January 14, 1863, said: "He bore the weight of years with more elasticity than any man we ever saw; for, when he had passed four-score years, his person was more erect and his step more springy than many a man of half his years could boast of. It may be truly and emphatically inscribed on his tombstone that he was a man of the most sterling integrity." In a Florida newspaper, published at the time of Governor Branch's death, there is a tribute from an old acquaintance, who said: "Born at the end of the American Revolution, this aged patriot lived to wit-

ness the dissolution of the Union then formed, and to pass away amid the convulsions which now shake the continent." The same writer said of Governor Branch's political tenets: "A strict constructionist, he was ever sternly opposed to all encroachments upon the rights of the States and the people; and, though retired from public life, the influence and weight of his moral character and intellect were always given in resistence to the spirit of Northern fanatacism and lust of power, and in upholding the rights and liberties of his native South. A patriot of the early days, reared in an age made illustrious by the virtues of Macon, the genius of Randolph, and the patriotism of the associated statesmen of their day, he soon acquired a correct knowledge of the Constitution of his country and the structure of her Government, which, under the guidance of his liberal mind, enabled him to sustain himself with honor in every contest and in every station he was called upon to fill."

Several likenesses of Governor Branch are in existence. The one accompanying this sketch is from an oil portrait, in the Navy Department at Washington, which was copied from a minature painted by Anna C. Peale in 1818, during Mr. Branch's term as Governor of North Carolina. Another portrait, painted later in life, hangs in the Hall of the Philanthropic Society at the University of North Carolina.

It is not the purpose of the present writer to attempt a eulogy, or even a studied portrayal of the character of John Branch. The foregoing pages give some record of his official actions in the various high stations which were conferred upon him, and those actions speak for themselves. They show that he was no time-serving politician, but a fearless, firm, wise, and patriotic statesman, whose fidelity to a public trust was never shaken by thirst for office (though many offices he had) or by any other selfish consideration. It may be truly said of him that—

> "He would not flatter Neptune for his trident,
> Or Jove for his power to thunder."

At one time it was the expressed wish of Governor Branch that he should be buried in Florida by the grave of the wife of his earlier years; but later, when his life's long journey was nearing its end, he declared his utter indifference on this point. "I am convinced," he said, "that this body is but as a worn out garment which we cast aside; and that in the world of spirits, to which I am going, there are no limitations of time and space." And so, when the end came, the mortal remains of John Branch were laid to rest in the family burial ground at Enfield, within the bounds of the historic county which gave him birth.

"'Tis little: but it looks in truth
As if the quiet bones were blest
Among familiar names to rest
And in the places of his youth."

The Pre-Revolutionary Printers of North Carolina: Davis, Steuart, and Boyd

By Stephen B. Weeks.

I. James Davis.

The biography of James Davis, the proto-typographer of North Carolina, is practically the history of the North Carolina press for the first generation of its existence. There were other printers and one other press, but Davis was preeminently the founder of the art in the colony, and to him belongs not only the honor of introducing, but also of establishing this great civilizing and educating agency.

With the exception of Georgia, North Carolina was the last of the original thirteen colonies to receive the printing press. The reasons for this are numerous and obvious. The Southern colonies tended to reproduce the landed gentry of England, not her village communities. The form of government interfered; the New England colonies were practically self-governing bodies from the beginning, but not so with those at the South; they were under either royal or proprietary governments, and few privileges were accorded them. No American colony saw her efforts for autonomy, or whatever seemed an approach to self-government, more often or more rudely interfered with than did North Carolina.

The first settlements in North Carolina were made by individual immigrants, who roved over a vast and fertile region and took up land where fancy dictated, and not by immigrants coming in a body, as was the case in Massachusetts and Connecticut. This method of settlement was favored by the mildness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the comparative peaceableness of the Indians.

Nor were the first settlers educated, in the broadest sense. There were educated men and gentlemen among them, but

these, like all others, were remoulded by the democracy of toil to break the wilderness, and this made the first generation of natives much inferior in intellectual attainments to their fathers, the immigrants. Not only was the province a frontier community, but there were no towns of any size, and as towns have been the birthplace of political freedom, so they are also the generators and developers of intellectual life. The population was not homogeneous and social solidarity was unknown. In these rural and primitive conditions there were necessarily few schools and churches, and little demand for the labors of the press. The laws were never printed, so far as known, before 1751. The Revisal of 1715 was published by being read in the courts, and perhaps at other public places on stated occasions, but it was never printed in full (or nearly so) till the year of grace 1904. It seems that in 1740 the "Narrative of the Proceedings of the North Carolina House of Burgesses" was printed in Williamsburg, Va. It is said that printing was done for the colony in Virginia, South Carolina and London, but if so, I have found little contemporary records of such.

But as the colony grew in extent, in numbers and in wealth a printing press became a vital necessity. The immediate cause of its introduction was the desire to revise and print the laws which had not been codified since 1715. In 1736 Governor Johnston addresses the Assembly on the condition of the laws as follows: "Upon the strictest inquiry I can't find that there is one complete copy of them in any one place, neither have I yet seen two copies of them that perfectly agree . . . most of them either appear under ridiculous titles, are full of contradictions, or their language and stile is childish, ridiculous and against the common rules of grammar. As the happiness of every private man depends upon the laws, I think that it is a grievance which can never too soon be redressed." The Assembly agreed with the Governor's remarks, and did nothing. In 1739 Governor Johnston returned to the charge, and a committee of revision—which

did nothing—was appointed. Again in 1740 and 1744 Johnston speaks of the "shameful condition" of the laws. In 1746 Edward Moseley, Samuel Swann, Enoch Hall, and Thomas Barker were appointed "to revise and print the several acts of Assembly in force in this province." They were allowed 60£ proc. money out of the duty on wine, rum and distilled liquors and rice for their trouble, and 100£ more for printing, furnishing and delivering the books. The revision was completed in 1749, confirmed and declared to be in force (chap. 6, Oct. sess., 1749).

This revisal had brought the committee face to face with the question of publication. The April session of the Assembly, 1749 (chap. 3), had passed an act under which James Davis was encouraged to remove to North Carolina. He was paid a salary of 160£ proc. money to "begin and commence from such time as the said James Davis shall have set up his press at Newbern . . . and be ready to proceed on his business of printing." The contract was for five years, while the services required were the printing of legislative journals and proceedings, laws, proclamations, and other official matters. Davis was required to reside in Newbern, was given absolute copyright on all government documents published by him, and his salary was to be raised by a levy of four pence on every taxable.

Davis imported and set up his press and entered upon his contract June 24, 1749. This is the birthday of the fourth estate in North Carolina. He came from Virginia, and most probably from Williamsburg, as there were then presses at no other place. He was born in Virginia, October 21, 1721, and was probably brought up at the printing trade, but of his early life we know nothing. His mature years were all spent in North Carolina, where his work for the advancement of the commonwealth will give him a place among the men whose lives have been worth while.

His first work seems to have been to print the proclamation money and the journals of the Assembly for 1749 and

1750, and this he probably continued as long as he remained a printer. His first important publication was Swann's Revisal, which had been prepared by the commissioners appointed in 1746. He could hardly have begun work on this publication before the formal ratification of the compilation by the Assembly at October session, 1749, but Governor Johnston, writing to the Board of Trade, December 21, 1749, says the revised laws "are now in press, and I expect to be able to send your Lordships a copy of them by the middle of June next." I have never heard of a copy with the imprint 1750, however. Until recent years it was thought that 1752 was the only date of publication, but at least five copies are known with the imprint 1751. These are distributed as follows: One each in the libraries of Congress, Pennsylvania Historical Society (Charlemagne Tower Collection), New York Public Library (Lenox), New York Historical Society, and my own copy. Of these five copies my own is clearly the first published, for it ends with the laws for 1750. All the other copies have the laws for July session, 1751, which shows that my copy was published before July session, 1751. The 1751 edition is followed by an eight page table, while that for 1752 has a two-page table and a new title page. An imperfect copy without title page, also in my possession, is doubtless a 1751 issue, for page 330 shows an offset of the word "Table." This indicates that it was bound and ready for sale, but as it was not immediately disposed of, the table was removed and the laws of 1751 added. It is probable that the sheets of the 1752 issue are the same as those of the 1751, with possibly a few changes and corrections here and there. Of the 1752 issue nine copies are known to me, seven of them being in public libraries.

This first printed revisal of the laws of North Carolina is worthy of the attention here given it because it is the first book printed in North Carolina, is, so far as known, the first book printed by James Davis, and is the corner-stone of the history of the State and of her domestic literature. With

age, and because of imperfect tanning, the leather binding assumed a yellowish hue, and this gave it the popular name by which it is still known, "Yellow Jacket."

After the publication of this revisal Davis continued to print the session laws, the journals, the paper currency and the miscellaneous matters of the colony. He served the colony and State as public printer for about 33 years, 1749-'82. But his path was not always a smooth one, nor was his work always satisfactory. His original contract was for five years. It was renewed in 1754, 1757, 1760. In 1762 he asked for reappointment, but it was rejected by the council, for this involved the larger question of the struggle between the governor and the council on one side and the house of commons on the other. McCulloh brought in a bill in the council to appoint Alexander Purdie as public printer. It seems that Davis had not given entire satisfaction to the lower house, but it was necessary to have a printer, and he was reappointed for six months, "and from thence to the end of the next session of Assembly and no longer." In 1764 his nomination was again defeated in the council. Then follows a bit of spicy correspondence between the governor and the lower house, which shows what manner of men these colonial Carolinians were, and proves that they well deserved Bancroft's appellation of the freest of the free, and is too delicious to be paraphrased. Under date of March 5, 1764, Governor Dobbs writes to the lower house: "I can never approve of the late printer appointed by the Assembly, upon account of his negligence. . . . I must therefore recommend it to the Assembly to . . . encourage a printer to reside where he can attend the government and Assembly, and do his duty to the public, and not barely consider his own profit and conveniency." The lower house thereupon appointed a committee to employ a public printer at 200£ per annum, and this committee invited Andrew Steuart, of Philadelphia, to come to North Carolina. On November 21, 1764, Dobbs informed the house that as a bill to appoint a printer had failed in the council,

he had, with the consent of the council, appointed Andrew Steuart as public printer for eighteen months, "from the 24th day of June last, the time of his arrival here." This angered the commons, and they resolved that "the appointment of a printer under the sounding appellation of his Majesty's printer . . . is of an unusual nature, truly unknown either to our laws or constitution, and as it appears to us, a most extensive stretch of power, and may, in its tendency, establish a new office to exact new fees. . . . We, the Assembly of this province, therefore, to guard the liberties of the subjects and our indubitable rights Do Resolve, That we know of no such office as his Majesty's printer of this province; and of no duties, fees or emoluments annexed or incident to such office; and that the said appointment is of a new and unusual nature unknown to our laws, and is a violent stretch of power." In answer to this patriotic outburst Dobbs replied two days later by appointing, "in support of his Majesty's Just Prerogative," Andrew Steuart to be his Majesty's printer. On the same day the house resolved to pay Steuart 100£ for his "voyage, trouble and expense" in coming to the province, and resolved that James Davis be reappointed to the office and made his election doubly sure by ordering that the treasurer pay out no money "by order of the governor and council without concurrence or direction of this house."

But, however angrily the house might fulminate, we know that Steuart retained his appointment and printed the session laws for 1764, for I have a copy in my Collection of Caroliniana. Whether he was ever paid for his labor is another matter.

Davis prepared, and in 1764 published, a "Revisal of the Laws of the province, 1751-1764." In 1765 he issued a "Collection of all the Acts of Assembly" then in force, from 1715, and including what he had published in the edition of 1764. In 1773 he published "A Complete Revisal" (it appeared prior to October 8, 1773); in 1774 he compiled and pub-

lished his "Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace," the first book of its kind issued in North Carolina. The "Revisal" of 1764 is the rarest of all North Carolina revisions, but four copies being known; that of 1765 is the next rarity.

The editions of these two revisals, as well as that of the 1751 and 1752 revisal and of the session laws, must have been very small, for as early as 1773 Governor Martin writes Earl Dartmouth that "the laws of this province are more rare than any book can be named."

It is believed that Davis printed the session laws with regularity from 1749 to 1782 (except 1764), for he was re-elected public printer in 1766, 1770 and 1774. At the April session, 1777, the Assembly saw fit to drop Davis as public printer, and chose in his stead John Pinkney, a bankrupt printer of Williamsburg, Va., for those were the days when any outgrown garment or outworn creed was good enough for circulation in North Carolina if it but had the Virginia brand, and the public printing office was transferred from Newbern to Halifax. Contemporary accounts give us the remainder of the story. Caswell writes Hezekiah Alexander under date of September 15, 1777: "The Assembly thought proper to remove an old servant (the printer) for neglect of duty, and appoint one who resided in Virginia who, after long delay, removed to Halifax about five or six weeks ago, where he died." Willie Jones tells us more of the successor of the faithful Davis. He writes Caswell under date of August 29, 1777:

"Mr. Pinkney is dead; his death is not regretted by a single person who knew him in this part of the world. His conduct was so scandalous that we only regret that he did not die before he had an opportunity of abusing this state in the gross manner he has done. I used every means in my power to stimulate him to his duty, and to enable him to perform it; but all to no purpose. When I went to Williamsburg after my return from Newbern, I found he was so involved there that his creditors would not let him depart without money or security, and to expedite the public business, I advanced him money and be-

came his security to the amount of upwards of 400£, for which I have no kind of security. His types were brought to Halifax and I think of detaining them until I am made secure."

What did Davis now do when the State was without a printer? He carried the acts through the press at his own expense, relying on the justice of the Assembly for reimbursement. Had his purpose been to defend his career in the eyes of posterity, no man could have made a more overwhelming reply to his detractors than did Davis by this patriotic act. He was reappointed public printer in November, 1777, but from then till the end of his public career he seems to have had hard fortunes, due to the stress of the times. From a petition that seems to belong to 1780 we learn that he was sustaining heavy losses by reason of the rise in printing materials, by depreciation of currency, and the slowness of payment. He had applied to the Assembly from time to time for relief, "but was unhappy enough to receive no other consolation than being again appointed printer to the State." The Assembly continued to neglect him; paper rose to 100£ per ream, and he determined to resign, but was dissuaded by appeals to his patriotism. The Assembly on February 9, 1781, requested him "to continue in the business of public printer." May 18, 1782, his son Thomas Davis was appointed public printer in his place. The latter had removed his press to Halifax in February, 1782, and the laws for April session, 1782, bear the Halifax imprint, as do those for April session, 1784, while those for October session, 1784, show him again in Newbern. This seems to have been the last issue with a Davis imprint, for Arnett and Hodge became public printers in December, 1785. James Davis was then dead. His son Thomas seems to have gone out of business, and died about 1790.

Besides his work as public printer there was little for James Davis to do in the colony of North Carolina in the line of his trade, but he was not idle. He aided in building

the commonwealth in many ways, and was always a useful and progressive citizen.

Besides his official publications, laws, revisals, journals, proclamations and similar matters, and such semi-public works as his "Justice of the Peace" of 1774, he published in 1753 Clement Hall's "Collection of Christian Experiences," the first book or pamphlet so far as known to be compiled by a native of North Carolina; in 1756 he printed a sermon, another in 1761, and another in 1768; in 1778 appeared Ruddiman's "Rudiments of the Latin Tongue," and Dyche's "Spelling Book." Such were the feeble beginnings of literary life in North Carolina.

Besides the revisals made and published by him in 1764, 1765 and 1773, he was appointed December 1, 1777, to revise the Acts of Assembly, and was to lay a fair copy of "the whole compilement" before the next session of Assembly, and four days later he was allowed 500£ for the work. Again on May 12, 1783, a bill was brought in to authorize him "to revise, print and publish all the laws now in force and use." This bill was in answer to an offer from him, but like the proposal of 1777 came to naught. (See chap. 46, laws 1783, and chap. 4, laws of 1787.)

To Davis also belongs the honor of establishing the first newspaper in the colony. This was the *North Carolina Gazet e,* with the freshest advices, foreign and domestic. Number one probably appeared in the spring of 1755, as No. 103 is dated April 15, 1757. It was published Thursdays, on a sheet post size, folio, often on a half sheet, and bore the imprint: "Newbern: Printed by James Davis, at the Printing-Office in Front-street; where all persons may be supplied with this paper at Sixteen shillings per Annum: And where Advertisements of a moderate length are inserted for Three Shillings the first Week, and Two shillings for every week after. And where also Book-binding is done reasonably." This newspaper venture succeeded perhaps better than was to have been expected. The *Gazette* was published about six

years and then suspended. The American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., has five copies of this *Gazette,* of which No. 200 bears date October 18, 1759. (See full size fac simile in Ashe's "Narrative History of North Carolina," Vol. 1.)

In 1764 Davis issued the first number of the *North Carolina Magazine, or Universal Intelligencer.* It was printed on a demy sheet in eight pages, quarto, with a view to its being bound, and was divided into two columns without rules, and the printed page was eight by five and a half inches. It was jejune and vapid. The want of regular mail facilities rendered the news department very insufficient. The first number was from Friday, June 1, to Friday, June 8, 1764. We may take the fifth issue as a fair specimen. The first article is a non-original one on the different ages of the world; then comes a scrap of the history of Rome just after the death of Cæsar; the next two pages and a half give us the third part of the discourse of the Bishop of Salisbury on the use and intent of prophecy in the sevaral ages of the world; an article headed "News, London, East India House, April 4th," fills a column. The remaining page and a half is given to advertisements, which were inserted at three shillings the first week and two shillings for every continuance. Single copies were sold at four pence. At the close of 1764 a new volume was begun, with a diminution of one-half in size, and nothing in price. It is unknown how long the *Magazine* continued to be published, but it was succeeded by the *North Carolina Gazette,* which appeared again on May 27, 1768. It was numbered one, and was enlarged to a crown sheet folio. It is probable that there was no suspension in the publication between 1764 and the reappearance of the *Gazette* in 1768, and that the reappearance of this paper at this time simply marks a return by Davis to the name first used by him in 1755. The copy of the *Gazette* for July 4, 1777, is numbered 383, and has as its motto, "Semper pro Libertate et Bono Publico." It is a small folio of four pages, two broad col-

umns to the page, with a sheet twelve by sixteen inches. On June 20, 1778, it was reduced to a quarto, and so continued until November 7, when it resumed its former size. The last number in the volume here described is that for November 30, 1778. It was suspended perhaps soon after that date, for Davis writes the Governor, November 2, 1778, that his son Thomas had been drafted into the army, that he was his chief hand in the printing office and that without his aid it would be impossible to carry on the newspaper; and the prospectus of another *North Carolina Gazette* started in August, 1783, says "there has not been a newspaper published in North Carolina for several years." The paper used on the Gazette was fine, heavy and water-lined, but as the war advanced it became of an inferior quality. The impression is somewhat blurred, but Davis's work is generally very good. There are no column rules and no head rules. There is no editorial matter and very little local news. The body of the paper was filled with reports from the seat of war and from Congress, and that the pressure on his columns was somewhat greater than he could meet we learn from the fact that at times he omits his own advertisements and even his imprint.

Davis's work as a printer made him prominent in Newbern affairs. He was appointed postmaster there in 1755; in that year he contracted to carry the mails from Suffolk, Va., to Wilmington, N. C., and was still doing this work in 1758. He was elected to represent the town in the Assembly in 1754, but as he was then sheriff, was pronounced ineligible; he was elected again in 1755 and then took his seat; he was also a member in 1756, in 1757; and in 1760 represented Craven County. He was a J. P. in 1768, 1771, 1774, 1776 and 1778; was foreman of the grand jury in 1771; commissioner of Harlow's Creek canal in 1766; signed the Craven County address on Liberty in August, 1774; was on the committee to arm and fit out a vessel of war in 1775, and in March, 1776, was a commissioner of exports for Newbern; was a

member of the Provincial Convention which met in Newbern in April, 1775, and of the Hillsboro Congress of August, 1775, as a representative of Newbern, and in the latter was on the committee to prepare plans for the regulation of internal peace, order and safety of the province; was a member of the Council of Safety of Newbern in March, 1775; was elected a judge of the oyer and terminer court for Newbern District in 1777, and in January, 1781, was a member of the council of state.

Although it is thus evident that he was an ardent Whig in the Revolution he had his enemies and did not escape the charge of Toryism; he was also a man of strong passions, and these were not always under control. He accumulated large property in negroes and real estate, and died in Newbern in February or March, 1785, as his will is probated at March Term, 1785. We learn from this will that his presses and other printing material then in Newbern were in the hands of Robert Keith and Company. All the printing apparatus and the book bindery was given to his son Thomas, who had been as early as November 2, 1778, "chief head in the office," and in 1782 had succeeded his father as public printer, but after 1784 the name Davis disappears from the history of North Carolina typography, his material and apparatus being probably absorbed by Francois Xavier Martin.

Davis married Prudence Herritage, a connection of the wife of Governor Caswell. He had four sons: James, the eldest, married in the West Indies and died in Havana, Cuba; John, the second son, served in the patriot army, was captured and imprisoned at Charleston, was later transferred to a British man-of-war, refused to do menial service on shipboard and died under the lash (see State Records, XV, 377-78, for the details of this infamous cruelty); William, the third son, also saw service in the patriot army; Thomas was the youngest son. If there were daughters no record has reached this writer.

II. Andrew Steuart.

Short and sad are the annals of Andrew Steuart, the second North Carolina printer. He was an Irishman, born in Belfast, and served his apprenticeship there. He came to America and in 1758 or 1759 set up a printing press in Laetitia Court, Philadelphia, but soon removed to the Bible-in-Heart in Second street. His business seems to have been confined to small jobs, such as pamphlets, ballads and almanacs. The particular course of events which induced him to migrate to North Carolina, and the exact time of his arrival have been mentioned already in the sketch of James Davis. Steuart settled in Wilmington, then practically the capital, and it appears that he became officially public printer on June 24, 1764, the date of the expiration of Davis's contract with the province. Record of but two imprints of Steuart has come down to us, the first of these being his edition of the session laws for 1764, of which there is a copy in my Collection, and Moore's Justice and Policy of taxing the American Colonies (1765), of which there is a copy in the John Carter Brown Library.

In September, 1764, he began the publication of *The North Carolina Gazette and Weekly Post Boy,* which was the second newspaper in the colony, if we count Mr. Davis's effort in 1764 as a revival and continuation of the original publication of 1755. Steuart's *Gazette* is said to have been suspended in 1767. No copies are known to be in existence. He tried to sell out in 1766 to Isaiah Thomas, then on a visit to Wilmington, as he was anxious to return to Philadelphia, where his business was still being conducted, but Thomas and Steuart failed to come to terms, and the latter was drowned in the Cape Fear in 1769.

III. Adam Boyd.

The third and last of the pre-Revolutionary printers was not a printer at all. He was what we should call in this day a publisher. He seems to have purchased Steuart's outfit

after the death of the latter, and about October 13, 1769, issued the first number of *The Cape Fear Mercury*. We have record of one or two other publications as coming from Boyd's press, but his business was confined mainly to the publication of the *Mercury*. This seems to have been continued with more or less regularity down to 1775, and in that year earned for itself large posthumous fame by its publication of certain "Mecklenburg Resolves" which, while yet unseen, were confidently appealed to by faithful believers as able to establish the genuineness of the Declaration of Independence of May 20, 1775. At last a copy was found and the article to which such trusting appeal had been made was found to be the Resolves of May 31.

The *Mercury* does not seem to have survived the year 1775, nor did Boyd appear again as a printer and publisher. He devoted himself to the ministry and spent a part of his last years (1790-1799), in charge of the Episcopal Church in Augusta, Georgia. Later he was in Nashville, Tennessee, and Natchez, Mississippi, where he seems to have died.

Adam Boyd married in 1774, the widow of Moses John DeRosset. The late Colonel William L. DeRosset sent me nearly twenty years ago copies of some letters written by Boyd in his declining years to members of the family. They are perhaps worth publication as pictures of the times and of the fortunes of a man who served well his adopted State:

Augusta, Ga., April, 1798.

My Dear John:

* * * And now I am on the subject of self, wonderful appears to me the events that have continued me in this place. Last year I was determined on leaving it and this year the same. Now I am not able to travel; but if I were, it appears improper. The regard with which I am treated and the provision made for my support appear, with many other circumstances, as if Providence had designed this for my charge. The provision is not what it should be, but it is nearly twice as much as it has yet been, except part of last year. These and such things attach me to the place (in a moral view). And yet after all, my heart breathes many a sigh for Wilmington. In W. I could not breathe. Had I continued there, I have

no doubt but the grave would have closed over me long ago. Here I have escaped gout, asthma and much of a cough which there used to harass me alternately. Besides, in my professional character I think I have been more useful here than I could have been there. With respect to the money much the same I suppose, except in this. There the non-payment of the Parish would not have distressed me as it did here. I have been in real want of clothing, and as to board I live chiefly at others' tables. In this distress I attempted to relieve myself by selling certificates at about one-fourth of their value. I was cheated out of the whole.

I got lots then in demand but it soon appeared the whole were mortgaged to the public. My certificates funded about £1000, and I lost all. The man went away and died, a bankrupt. A friend of mine was on his return to Ireland, so he called to see me. Talking of my situation he observed "you need not wish to be in better esteem than you are. All this increases my attachment, but still I wish to be with Maggy and you * * * Recollection fails me very often. I was always an absent man. * * *

Yours affectionately,
ADAM BOYD.

Feby. 8, 1799.

My Dear Friend:

My strength returns so slowly that I am not yet able to write you as I wish. Yet the mercies which I enjoy demand infinitely more thanks than I can give. I hope this little attempt at justice will please. If it be approved and engraved it will give me pleasure. Should it be thought proper to publish it, I submit. If published, below is the proper introduction. Hoping that Heaven will regard us with an eye of mercy I have much pleasure in thinking we shall meet again. I am extremely anxious to be amongst you, but I fear I shall not be able to breathe that air, and to be a burden to you would distress my mind. It is astonishing, weak tho' I be, almost a child, I am enabled to preach more to the satisfaction of the audience than I could four years ago, and with more satisfaction to myself. Adieu.

The Almighty in his great goodness preserve us all.

Affectionately yours,
ADAM BOYD.

Nashville, Tenn., April 18, 1800.

Dear Doctor:

Nothing can be said in opposition to your reason and yet I feel the disappointment. My situation is extremely unfortunate. I believe it worse by the neglect of some cross-posts. I know four letters have

been lost, that is they have been out six months and no account of them yet. This has made me ignorant of things I should have known about my own affairs. I also believe it is owing to some accident in that way that I have not had a little relief from Charleston. I had hoped from the benevolent exertions of a few, a sum to be refunded, but without interest. These disappointments will I fear compel me to accept terms which will do little more than give me present relief. A deception in the survey will oblige me to commence a suit or to petition your assembly. Both of these I dislike. Yet it is hard to lose so much, especially as my journey hither has been so unfortunate and expensive. However, I shall not repine and hope to preserve such a sense of the goodness of God as shall secure to my mind that calmness which is natural to a trust in that Power. Yet with grief and shame I confess I am not as tranquil as I was. Continual disappointments and losses, I now fear, have an influence I did not expect. If you knew all, or one-half you would say to be serene. Under such a mountain requires more strength of mind than is commonly the lot of man. Indeed, I do not think it attainable without superior aid. Perhaps I failed in this, in being too secure or too confident in myself; the first I think the cause, as to the last I know I have no strength. I am too thoughtless in everything, hence all or nearly all the evils of my chequered life. You know Fielding's Parson Adams.

My sermon on Feby 22 was so well received that a subscription was directly opened for its publication. But such triflers are our Printers that I know not when they will be able to publish it. The name of Washington may recommend it, but such has been their negligence that the time for selling is lost. The story is growing old and two courts have passed.

I am afraid my dear Magdalen will suspect my affection for her. I did write her once but I felt so much I did not like to write her again. Her happiness is very dear to me. I have sent some little pieces of mine to Mr. Wilkings with design that Mrs. Toomer should have a copy if she desired it. Perhaps they may assist her meditations.

My capacity for travel is not to be boasted of. A stiff inflexible knee that deprives me of the use of one leg, a dislocated hip and a leg at least four inches shorter than nature made it. So helpless that I cannot put on my own clothes. I must go in a carriage, but into that I must be lifted. On my way hither often did I descend from my car to avoid jolts. But on crutches I cannot contend with rocks nor walk over them. So I shall get jolting enough for a life of one hundred years. The worst is—rocky bottoms of rivers and steep banks. Terrible are the many things in the perspective; yet if life be spared I mean to make the attempt as soon as possible. I hope

to be with you in October. Is it possible to get anything for preaching in your town? But I fear the asthma will find me out there. However, I propose to try it. I wish very much you could get $50 on loan, and even on interest to be transmitted to Dr. Say, of Philadelphia. It is for a very particular purpose and can be replace within the year. I had sent some money there, but my last summer's misfortune obliged me to recall it. I have no doubt that Major McRee would lend it. Please tell the Major I am glad to find he is so well settled and that I wish him to write me.

I have heard our Cousin James Moore made a sale of land to Gov. Blount, who is dead. I fear James made a bad bargain. However I think he should write without loss of time to Willie Blount, Esqr. I take him to be a man of candor and he will probably secure the property. The heir of Col. Wm. Davies should likewise appear or employ some attorney. Lands are not saleable but so many tricks are played that great attention is necessary to prevent chicane. Two of my horses have died and another is runaway, tho. I hope he may be recovered. So according to the old saying one single misfortune rarely happens to a man. If I think of Wilmington, I must be often at the sound—and I must endeavor to be concerned in some little business. I can eat your meat but must wear my own clothes. I must also have a servant and should keep a horse for exercise as I cannot walk much through the sand. In your letters you rarely mention any of my old friends. What has become of Lillington's family? Shaw; Jno. Moore; Major Sam Ashe, the General's son, and my old friend Gov. Ashe, Mr. Heron, etc., etc. If it please God, I shall have not a little pleasure in seeing my old friends once more.

Yet, I know not why, I feel as if I should never reach that place. I lament very much that I can so seldom declare the Word of God in public. A clergyman who reasons admirably, preaches here every other Sunday. The house he preaches in has an earthen floor, so I am afraid to go into it either to speak or hear. I did preach in a tavern the other sunday, but the Methodists have taken the alarm and as the house is theirs, they preach every other sunday, so that I am cut off. This silence grieves me. Yet I am not idle. I weekly publish some moral essay or advice in the papers. More serious pieces I attempted but they have been laid aside as too solemn for their readers, that is, their publishers. So I try always that I can do some good. My carriage is so shattered by the fall, and worn out like myself by time, that to buy another I suppose will be cheapest. Heavy, heavy, are my losses, but they do not depress my spirits. I still have a hope that I shall be supported so as not to suffer want. Yet it is not long since a clergyman was suffered to languish out of the world in an * * * Pray beg Mr. Wilkings to enquire if Mr. Jno. Caldwell, lately from Ireland, merchant, be in New York or not.

He had ten Guineas for me, sent by my cousin in Ireland. I drew for the money to pay my surgeon, and I have written him three times but no answer can I yet obtain. God of his infinite mercy grant us all his protection and blessing that we may all meet around his throne in the fulness of eternal joy. Amen.

Affecty. yours,
ADAM BOYD.

The orator of Congress makes a vacancy of happiness in Heaven. Is it possible that such a body could pass unnoticed such a denial of everything sacred?

The last of this series of letters is dated Natchez, December 30, 1802. It requests Dr. DeRosset to send him (Boyd) his certificate of membership with the Masonic Lodge—states that he was initiated in January, 1764. It is evident then that he died after the date of that letter or later than the date assigned in my Press in North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century.

An Early Fourth of July Celebration

By Adelaide L. Fries.

If any one should ask you when the Fourth of July became a national holiday, what would you say? From the very first, or at least as soon as American Independence was established? Well, you are wrong, for the "Glorious Fourth" is not and never has been a *national* holiday! As a matter of fact, the United States has no national holiday; neither the Fourth of July nor Washington's Birthday, nor any other, for to make it national in a strict sense, would mean that Congress had so declared it, and that Congress has never done. In early years it set apart certain days as Days of Fasting and Humiliation, or Days of Thanksgiving, according to circumstances, but these were for the special occasion only, though the custom lingers in the annual Proclamation of the President appointing Thanksgiving Day. But to make the President's Proclamation effective rests with each State, which has either provided for it by legislative enactment, or follows it with a Proclamation from the Governor. Legal holidays as affecting the Post Office and National Banks? Set apart by *State* Law, the national Government having recognized them by providing that the legal holidays of each State should apply to Post Offices and Banks therein.

The actual age, therefore, of the Fourth of July observance varies with each State, and here again a great surprise awaits us. In the city of Philadelphia, the birthplace of the Declaration of Independence, the anniversary was celebrated from 1777 on, but the State of Pennsylvania did not make it a legal holiday until 1873. No, that is not a printer's mistake —it was actually one hundred years, less three, before Pennsylvania formerly recognized her most highly prized anniversary, and the legislatures of other States took the same step

even later, though each State and Territory now has the Fourth of July as one of its legal holidays.

So far as is known, the first celebration of the Fourth of July by legislative enactment, took place in North Carolina in 1783. That was the year in which peace began to smile once more upon the war-weary but victorious colonies. In November, 1782, the Commissioners of the Colonies and of England had met in Paris, and (most reluctantly, no doubt) "his Britannic Majesty acknowledged the United States of America free, Sovereign and Independent, and for himself, his Heirs and Successors, relinquished all claims to the Government, proprietary and territorial rights of the same;" hostilities to cease as soon as England and France had come to terms on their own account. News travelled slowly in those days, the Atlantic cable had not been dreamed of, and a "wireless" was beyond the reach of the wildest imagination, so we may imagine the courier carrying his dispatches to the nearest sailing vessel, the slow progress of that little craft across the storm-tossed wintry Atlantic, the copying of the dispatches, and their transmission by courier again to each of the thirteen States. When the word finally reached North Carolina, on April 19, 1783, the Legislature was in session, and with great gratification Governor Alexander Martin communicated the good news to that body.

Eleven days later another dispatch arrived, this time a Proclamation from Congress "declaring the cessation of arms as well by sea as land;" and orders were given for the release of prisoners of war, etc.

A great wave of rejoicing and gratitude thrilled through the Legislature, and before it adjourned it recommended the Statewide observance of the Fourth of July, "as a day of Solemn Thanksgiving," and called upon the Governor to issue a Proclamation to that effect. A MS. copy of this Proclamation has recently been found:

"State of North Carolina,

By His Excellency Alexander Martin, Esquire, Governor Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the State aforesaid.

A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas the honorable the General Assembly have by a Resolution of both Houses recommended to me to appoint the fourth of July next being the anniversary of the declaration of the American Independence, as a Day of Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the many most glorious interpositions of his Providence manifested in a great and signal manner in behalf of these United States, during their conflict with one of the first powers of Europe: For rescuing them in the Day of Distress from Tyranny and oppression, and supporting them with the aid of great and powerful allies: For conducting them gloriously and triumphantly through a just and necessary War, and putting an end to the calamities thereof by the restoration of Peace, after humbling the pride of our enemies and compelling them to acknowledge the Sovereignty and Independence of the American Empire, and relinquish all right and claim to the same: For raising up a distressed and Injured People to rank among independent nations and the sovereign Powers of the world. And for all other divine favors bestowed on the Inhabitants of the United States and this in particular.

"In conformity to the pious intentions of the Legislature I have thought proper to issue this my Proclamation directing that the said 4th Day of July next be observed as above, hereby strictly commanding and enjoining all the Good Citizens of this State to set apart the said Day from bodily labour, and employ the same in devout and religious exercises. And I do require all Ministers of the Gospel of every Denomination to convene their congregations at the same time, and deliver to them Discourses suitable to the important occasion recommending in general the practice of Virtue and

true Religion as the great foundation of private blessing as well as National happiness and prosperity.

Given under my hand and the great Seal of the State at Danbury the 18th day of June in the year 1783 and seventh year of the Independence of the said State.

ALEX. MARTIN,

God save the State."

By his Excellency's Command.

P. Henderson Pro Sec."

In October, 1783, the representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, issued a Proclamation calling upon the people to observe a Day of Thanksgiving, for the Lord "has been pleased to conduct us in safety through all the perils and vicissitudes of the War," and "in the course of the present year hostilities have ceased, and we are left in the undisputed possession of our liberties and Independence." But to these causes for gratitude were added thanks "for plentiful harvests," "the light of the blessed Gospel," and "the rights of Conscience in faith and worship," and the date appointed was not the Fourth of July but the second Thursday in December, that being the month in which the annual Thanksgiving Day was then celebrated.

Nowhere was the news of Peace more gladly received than in little Salem, N. C., and Governor Martin's Proclamation for the Fourth of July was willingly obeyed. On the time-yellowed page of Pastor Peter's diary stands the full account of the observance of the day, no gunpowder, no accidents, but a "sane Fourth" that left the little village refreshed and strengthened for the new life just beginning.

Early in the morning the sleeping people were aroused by the sweet strains of trombones, playing appropriate chorals. Then a large congregation assembled in the prayer-hall, where the "Te Deum Laudamus" was chanted, the minister preached a beautiful sermon on the blessing of peace, and the choir sang "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace,

good will toward men." In the afternoon another service was held, largely choral, and the full text is preserved in the old diary aforesaid. Picture to yourself that large upper room, with its sanded floor, and the men and women seated on opposite sides, in the old-fashioned way. In front, to the minister's right, would be the little girls, with their white caps tied under the chin with pretty pink ribbons. Behind them the older girls, wearing white linen caps and cherry ribbons; behind them again the older women, their linen caps tied with light blue or pink or white as circumstances required. To the left were the boys and men; and for this occasion two choirs led the singing, many of the stanzas being composed expressly for this day. Listen!

FIRST CHOIR.

Peace is with us! Peace is with us!
People of the Lord.

SECOND CHOIR.

Peace is with us! Peace is with us!
Hear the joyful word!

ALL.

Let it sound from shore to shore!
Let it echo evermore!

MEN.

Peace is with us!

WOMEN.

Peace is with us!

ALL.

Peace, the gift of God!

CHOIR.

Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad;
Let all the land pray to Him and sing praises to His name;
For He hath done glorious deeds;
He hath done mighty deeds! Selah!

ALL.

Full of joy our hearts are singing
And to our God thank-offerings bringing,
For His great miracle of Peace!
Far and wide the war was spreading,
And terror by its side was treading,
To daunt us and our woe increase,
And little else was heard
Than foe and fire and sword,
Need and sorrow.
How often I cried, anxiously:
"Look down, oh God! and pity me!"

CHOIR.

The Lord is a mighty warrior; Jehovah is His name.
He causeth war to cease in all the earth.
Because the miserable are distressed, and the poor cry,
I will arise, saith the Lord; all soldiers must drop their hands.
For I will arise, saith the Lord; they must put down their hands.

ALL.

Oh, Rest that softly cometh,
So gracious and so blest!
We hail it with rejoicing,
For we in Peace may rest!
Redeemed from present sorrow,
And trusting for tomorrow,
Secure from every foe
Thy flock may come and go.

ALL.

Pour out Thy richest blessings now
Wide as the clouds of heaven;
From churches, homes and governments
Be every evil driven;
Give blessed peace in Christendom,
Let godly fear and concord come
To reign in every nation,
Oh God of all creation!

These and other hymns were sung by choirs and congregation, and at length a stately Hallelujah Chorus closed the celebration of the Fourth of July, one hundred and thirty years ago.

Winston-Salem, N. C., April, 1913.

An Appeal to the Daughters of the Revolution

The Daughters of the Revolution, and those interested in raising the Ellen Wilson Memorial Fund, should feel most sympathetic towards one another. It is the noble object of both to perpetuate the goodness of the human race—and what could be more beautiful or glorious?

As it has been stated at numerous times since the Ellen Wilson Memorial Fund was first agitated, the object of the Fund is to establish scholarships which may be used by those mountain boys and mountain girls whose parents have located in such places where the population is thin, and the advantages for getting on, almost lacking. Mrs. Wilson sympathized with these youths, and through her own efforts established scholarships, that is, as far as she was able to do it. And it is peculiarly fitting for the splendid organizations such as that fostered by the Daughters of the Revolution to be turned to, in the general appeal to enlarge this Fund, and make it a factor in strengthening and the upbuilding of our nation.

It may interest the Daughters of the Revolution to know, in trying to incur their good will and high favor, that those striving to raise the Fund wish each contributor to feel a part of the Memorial. On this account, it has been decided to make it possible to have private memorial scholarships given and named by the contributor, but being a part of the Ellen Wilson Memorial Fund, so that the Memorial will be the dominating spirit which will exert influence, not only for the time being, but forever. A contributor to this fund is one of the powers who will help to make of us a civilized nation, and by lending one's energy and time to this project one necessarily becomes a world-wide influence, which will be good so long as the civilized world maintains the right standards and ideals. And that is also one of the obligations that we shall all have to recognize and shoulder.

If the Daughters of the Revolution will manifest their interest by contributions, and kindly speaking a good word for the cause, it will not be a surprise to those who make this appeal—the Daughters of the Revolution have always maintained a stand of this sort. It is on this account the appeal is made with a genuine feeling that it will be met with co-operation and hearty response.

In regard to the organization of the Ellen Wilson Memorial, a word may be said. The Honorary President is Mrs. Thomas R. Marshall; the Honorary Vice-Presidents:

Mrs. W. J. Bryan.
Mrs. L. M. Garrison.
Mrs. T. W. Gregory.
Mrs. A. S. Burleson.
Mrs. J. Daniels.
Mrs. F. K. Lane.
Mrs. D. F. Houston.
Mrs. W. C. Redfield.
Miss Agnes Wilson.

The Administrative Board is:

Mrs. W. S. Elkin, Chairman.
Mrs. Preston Arkwright, Vice-Chairman.
Mrs. Thomas H. Latham, Secretary.
Mrs. Archibald Davis, Treasurer.

The Memorial Committee is composed of State Presidents, as follows:

Mrs. John B. Knox, Alabama.
Mrs. Fred Allsop, Arkansas.
Mrs. Thomas P. Denham, Florida.
Mrs. H. C. Cunningham, Georgia.
Mrs. Edmond S. Delong, Kentucky.
Miss Ella F. Hardie, Louisiana.
Mrs. Harris E. Kirk, Maryland.

Mrs. Charlton H. Alexander, Mississippi.
Mrs. Wade Childress, Missouri.
Mrs. R. J. Reynolds, North Carolina.
Mrs. Kibben Warren, Oklahoma.
Miss Euphemia McClintock, South Carolina.
Mrs. David Fentress, Tennessee.
Mrs. E. T. Rotan, Texas.
Mrs. W. C. Marshall, Virginia.
Mrs. Stewart W. Walker, West Virginia.

Resolutions of Respect to the Memory of Mrs. Annie Moore Parker, who died June, 1915

In Memoriam.

Whereas, God in His all-pervading love and wisdom, has removed from the blessings and sorrows of the earthly home to the greater joys of the higher life, our beloved member Mrs. Annie Moore Parker:

Therefore Be It Resolved, That the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution deplores the loss sustained by her removal from our midst.

That they realize the immensity of their loss in the death of such a faithful and loyal member, whose noble example, whose exceptional bravery, will ever be an inspiration to all other members. Her home was ever at the disposal of the Daughters, where we frequently gathered in counsel, and her patience at all times knew no flagging.

That her absence will be felt in our meetings and her guidance missed.

To her family in this hour of affliction we offer our warmest sympathy.

That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Society and a copy sent to the family.

MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
MRS. JAMES E. SHEPHERD,
MRS. PAUL H. LEE,
MRS. JOHN E. RAY,
Committee.

Genealogical Queries and Answers

Hill—Hopkins. I am anxious to find out the names of Margaret Hill's father and mother. Margaret Hill married Alexander Joyce about 1790, and they lived in Rockingham County, North Carolina, after their marriage, but I think she came from Stokes County, North Carolina. Alexander Joyce's mother was a Miss Hopkins, a descendant of Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island, and I am anxious to trace to that. If any one can give me any information on this line I shall greatly appreciate it. Address Mrs. J. W. Jones, Martinsville, Virginia.

Howell—Lewis. Can anyone give any information of the present hereabouts of the portrait of Mary Howell, mother of Howell Lewis, of Granville County, North Carolina? She was the daughter of John Howell, Gentleman, and wife of Colonel Charles Lewis, of "The Byrd," Goochland County, Virginia. This was taken when she was sixteen and was at one time in the possession of the mother of Miss Mildred Lewis Rutherford, of Georgia, her lineal descendant, then it was later at "Wyanoke," the home of her descendants, the Douthats, in Virginia. A picture of it is to be found in "The Barons of Potomac and the Rappahannock," by the late Dr. Moncure D. Conway. Also can any reader of *The Booklet* furnish the names of the children of James Lewis, son of Colonel Lewis and Mary Howell, his wife, who settled in Granville County, North Carolina, in Colonial days? He married a Miss Taylor. Any information on these subjects will be gratefully accepted. Send reply to Editor of *The North Carolina Booklet,* Raleigh, North Carolina.

Biographical Sketches

Biographical Sketches of the following writers, whose articles appear in this issue of *The Booklet,* have been written by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt and published in the order given below:

Marshall DeLancey Haywood, *The Booklet,* Vol. VIII, 1.

Stephen B. Weeks, *The Booklet,* Vol. IX, 1.

Adelaide L. Fries, *The Booklet,* Vol. IX, 4.

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Vol. XV JANUARY, 1916 No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet

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THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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Vol. XV JANUARY, 1916 No. 3

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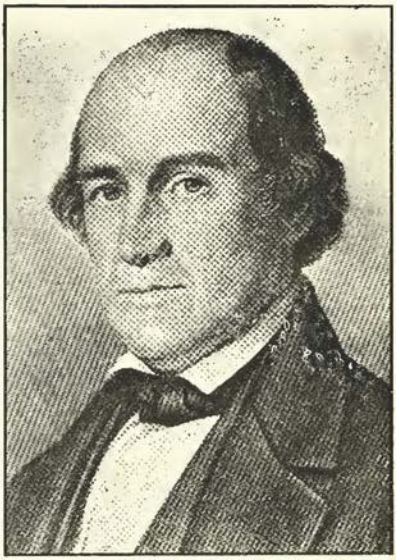

GEORGE E. BADGER
1795—1866
Judge of the Superior Courts of North Carolina, United States Senator, Secretary of the Navy, Etc.

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XV JANUARY, 1916 No. 3

George Edmund Badger, Secretary of the United States Navy

By Peter M. Wilson.

This paper is written by request and in the character of an impression rather than a chronology. It may go without saying that no statement of fact has been made without examination, and no expression of opinion as to his features of official reputation given without a careful reading of the printed or manuscript history bearing upon it. It has been kept in mind that in the counting-house of the modern historian traditions are at a discount and facts at a premium. The acts and orders on which the most important measures of his administration of the Navy rest have, therefore, been set forth at length. They tell the tale. Governor Graham emphasizes Mr. Badger's devotion to truth in its broadest and highest meaning, and to trifle with it for the purpose of making the world think him other than he was would be an impertinence to his memory.

In a service of ten years in the Senate, whenever Naval matters were under discussion he took an active part in it, and the proceedings show that his views were sought and his opinions deferred to. There could hardly be better proof that he had acquired a great range and vast quantity of information as to the theory and practice of naval administration, and that he held it at the disposal of his brother Senators. This made him an authority. If his connection with the Navy had been of that perfunctory character which the mere holding of the Secretaryship renders unhappily possible, when he became a legislator he would not have been suggestively associated in the public mind with his former dignity.

George E. Badger was the thirteenth Secretary of the United States Navy. He was appointed on March 5, 1841, confirmed and took office on March 6th, and on the dissolution of the Harrison Cabinet resigned September 13th of the same year, the anniversary of his forty-sixth birthday. On March 19th he was called to his home in Raleigh to welcome into the world his youngest daughter, and for one month was absent from the seat of Government on that account. The brief period of five months therefore measures his active service as the head of the Navy Department. What he did in that time to give him a place in its annals can best be learned from the records and the literature which interprets them, but it will also help us to know the man and his work if we can learn what those who saw him and knew him say that he was. They seem to agree that he was not only by temperament and appearance in harmony with his office, but that the same intellectual superiority which set him in a place of his own in all the stations he ever filled gave him in this one a commanding character.

Governor Graham says in his "Discourse in Memory of the Life and Character of the Hon. George E. Badger," that Mr. Badger reluctantly accepted the naval portfolio when President Harrison tendered it. He had done notable work on the hustings in the picturesque and, in some respects, grotesque campaign of 1840, and perhaps as much as any other orator had been at pains to give a sane gravity to the popular uprising into which the presidential contest converted itself. It was largely in recognition of these services that President Harrison invited him into the Cabinet. Certain it is that he was not inclined to abandon the successful pursuit of his profession, and it is safe to assume that whatever ambitions he may have harbored, he had not dreamed of ruling the seas. He had never sat in the National Legislature, and his fame as a lawyer of broad learning, and as an advocate of most persuasive and compelling power, was known beyond his own State only to the better informed section of his pro-

fession. We need not wonder then that more than one Member of Congress when his name was sent to the Senate asked, "Who is George E. Badger?" A decade later when in the same Senate, ranking with Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Jefferson Davis and John Bell, he was helping to mould a great compromise and delivering his great speech of March 18th and 19th on the slavery question, such a query would have been impossible.

Deciding to accept the office he took it in good conscience, and he set about with a devouring greed of mind to absorb all that was to be known about the duties it carried with it. His associates all bear testimony to his industry and his intuitive perception in discarding what was unnecessary, and his capacity for assimilating essentials in dealing with large affairs. So, pursuing a natural bent and a cultivated habit of intense application, he almost at once came into possession of the technical details of the Department and comfortably settled himself into its routine. He memorized its history, worked out the elements of its personnel and materiel, and became saturated with its ideals. It is not mere praise to say that he knew as few could know the relation of the military marine to the life of the government. He understood that it was bottomed on the Constitution in the power which that instrument granted Congress to provide and maintain it. Believing the Navy, in the words of Admiral Dewey, "must ever remain our first and best line of defense," the mobile outworks of our fortifications, the floating bulwark of our coasts and of all that our coasts' outline embraces, be set to work to make it such.

Knowing in all its correlations the great force with which he had to deal, he looked with faith to the good uses to which it was to come. He projected a Navy, not necessarily superior in size to that of any other power, but sufficient for the high purposes of a nation situated like the United States. The main feature of his plan was to make good the doctrine of

defense as opposed to the doctrine of aggression, and to carry abroad an unmistakable guarantee of the country's commercial rights.

In his report of May 29th, submitted to the session of Congress called to meet on the last day of May, he brought forward the policy, and committed the administration to it, of a greater Navy, a better Navy, and a Navy primarily for home defense. This is what is meant by his proposal to establish a "Home Squadron," a "sufficient supply of suitable munitions" and "a reorganization of the Navy to fit it to the changing methods of construction and propulsion." The "home squadron" proposed by him grew to be the Atlantic fleet of today; the prime necessity for abundant ordnance and education in its uses is the preparedness advocated today; the reorganization of the Navy is its enlightened and enlarged adaptation to what has been found to be best suited to its purposes. The report is not only comprehensive, but suggestive. Its statements of the needs of this branch of the service were the arguments which secured the adoption, at least of its most material recommendations, before that Congress adjourned, and as it would lose in attempt at condensation, it answers the better purpose to submit it in full:

"It is presumed Congress will scarcely be willing to give attention to general matters unconnected with the objects for which the extraordinary session of that body was convoked, yet recent events induce me to bring to your notice, with a view to the action of Congress, two subjects as worthy of present consideration. *The first* is the establishment of a home squadron. While squadrons are maintained in various parts of the world for the preservation of our commerce, our own shores have been left without any adequate protection. Had a war with Great Britain been the result, as was at one time generally feared, of the subjects of difficulty now in a course of adjustment between that power and the United States, not only would our trade have been liable to great interruption, and our merchants to great losses abroad, but a naval force, comparatively small, might, on our very shores, have seized our merchant ships and insulted our flag, without suitable means of resistance or immediate retaliation being at the command of the Government. To guard against such a result, to be ever ready to repel or promptly to

chastise aggressions upon our own shores, it is necessary that a *powerful squadron should be kept afloat* at home. This measure is recommended by other considerations. There is no situation in which greater skill or seamanship can be exercised and acquired than on the coast of the United States; and in no service would our officers and seamen become more thoroughly initiated in all that is necessary for the national defense and glory. In that service, aided by the coast survey now in progress, a thorough acquaintance would be gained with our own seacoast, extensive but imperfectly known, the various ports would be visited, the bays, inlets, and harbors carefully examined, the uses to which each could be made available during war either for escape, defense, or annoyance, be ascertained, and the confidence resulting from perfect knowledge would give to us, what we ought surely to possess, a decided advantage over an enemy on our own shores. Should it be thought desirable that such a squadron be put in commission immediately, and kept constantly on duty, an additional appropriation may be necessary, for the amount of which, as well as the force deemed proper to be employed, I beg to refer to the accompanying report on the subject, prepared under my direction, by the Board of Navy Commissioners.

"The attention of Congress has been heretofore earnestly invited to the state of our ordnance and ordnance stores, and I deem it worthy of immediate consideration. A sufficient supply of suitable arms and munitions of war is indispensable to the successful operation of the bravest officers and men, and taken not from the nature of the case, but provided upon a sudden emergency. Sailors may be hastily collected from our commercial marine, ships may be purchased, but ordnance cannot be supplied on such an emergency, nor can some of the materials for the preparation of ammunition be procured either by purchase or manufacture. Hence the ordnance should, by a timely foresight, be provided in advance and the materials be secured, from which a supply of ammunition can be speedily prepared. The accompanying report from the Board of Navy Commissioners shows the amount of expenditure which will be required under this head. Should the object be deemed of such importance and urgency as to require the immediate attention of Congress, I respectfully recommend that an appropriation of one-third of the estimated amount be now made.

"The opinion seems to have become general, as well in the service as in the nation at large, that a thorough reorganization of the navy is demanded by consideration connected with the defense and honor of the country, and in this opinion I heartily concur. Yet I am fully aware that any plan for this purpose should be the result of the most careful deliberation, and that it be at once unwise and injurious to submit to Congress and the country any proposed arrangements which should be liable to the charge of haste and inconsideration."

To have rested on the oars of recommendation might have argued a very enlightened grasp of the work to be done, its scope and its magnitude, but it would have been an incomplete performance. The new Secretary proceeded hot-haste to impress his views on Congress. In the House, Henry A. Wise, Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, brought in the bills carrying into effect the new policy; he had as committee associates Mallory of Florida, afterwards Secretary of the Navy of the Confederate States; Clifford of Maine, afterwards Mr. Justice Clifford of the Electoral Commission; Mr. Stanly of North Carolina, and other notable men. In the Senate, Mr. Mangum, afterwards its President *pro tempore,* was Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and guided these bills to a safe and successful passage. Before Mr. Badger resigned his portfolio, the special provisions for the home squadron and the ordnance supplies had become law, and the foundation laid for the appropriation for the years 1841-'42 of the sum of $8,272,977.10, the most generous provision for the naval establishment which Congress had ever voted. As on these two acts depend the definition of his conception of a naval policy, it will be best to set them forth in full:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of six hundred thousand dollars be paid out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of purchasing ordnance and ordnance stores for the use of the Navy of the United States.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to apply a part of the sum herein and hereby appropriated, not exceeding fifty thousand dollars, to the purpose of making experiments to test the value *of improvements in ordnance,* in the *construction of steamers,* and other vessels of war, in other matters connected with the naval service and the national defense; and also to the purpose of defraying any charges left unpaid on account of experiments of the like character heretofore made by authority of law.

Approved September 11, 1841.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for the pay, subsistence, increase and repairs, medicines and contingent expenses of two frigates, two sloops, two small vessels and *two armed steamers* to be employed as a *home squadron*, the sum of seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand three hundred and ten dollars is hereby appropriated.

Approved August 1, 1841.

Secretary Badger did not belong to the school which believes that only those things which have been can and should be. He had possessed himself of full and accurate information as to the improved methods of armament, transportation, equipment and propulsion in use in European warships, and was in sympathy with the younger men of the Navy who were hopeful of every invention and much enamoured of the then new doctrines of steam and steel. As he expressed it, he "had anxiety for, but confidence in, these new elements in naval affairs." He found the vessels driven by sail; he ordered the ships Mississippi and Missouri to be fitted with steam, and they became the nucleus of the home squadron. Under the act of Congress to enable Lieutenant Hunter to try the merits of a submerged horizontal wheel, he ordered "a steam vessel of war to be built on your plan, not to exceed 300 tons burthen." On September 11, 1841, he directed that the "Gem" be put at Lieutenant Hunter's disposal. On June 1st he directed Commodore Stewart, in command of the navy yard at Philadelphia, to prepare drafts and explanation of machinery of a steamer to be driven by a *screw propeller* and ordered Captain Stockton to superintend the work. The construction of the steamer was entrusted to Captain Stockton in the following order:

"The Department has directed the Commissioners of the Navy to cause *a steam vessel of war* to be built on your plan, not to exceed 600 tons burthen. You will superintend the building of the said steamer under the direction of the Commandant of the Navy Yard at Philadelphia, making to him from time to time during the progress of the work such suggestions as you may think proper."

The vessel put on the ways for this purpose became the "Princeton," the flagship at Vera Cruz and of Commodore Perry at Tokio. Secretary Badger had appreciated the ability of Stockton, who was offered the Secretaryship in succession, but declined it rather than interrupt his career. He also ordered built *three steamers* of medium size to be driven by the Erricsson *propeller*. In these ways he showed his faith in American capacity to do equally well what other nations had done and were doing, and he planned to proceed upon the line of consistent development.

He despatched the sloop of war "Yorktown" to the Sandwich Islands to protect American whalers, and he advocated the establishment at Honolulu of a naval depot. Just half a century later the United States on "naval grounds" saw its true interest in annexing these islands.

Without tedious detail the policies of increase and expansion of the Navy through the addition of the home squadron, the adoption of the latest improvements in the building and propelling of warships, both as to material and kinds of power; the furnishing forth of an abundance of war munitions, and the encouragement of practice in the most effective use of them; the forecasting of the strategic value of the Sandwich Islands as a base for our naval operations on our Pacific seaboard, might be said to lay the even keel on which the frame of his services in the Navy have their foundation. They show what he initiated, what he contrived as best for the Navy as he found it and for the Navy of the future. It would be hard to deny the conclusion that he had successfully devoted himself to the work of making the Navy better than he found it.

In the larger matters of policy, the head of the Navy had to deal, on behalf of his department, with the legislative organ of the government, to which he had to look to make effective his best laid plans. It was, it will be remembered, a time of profound peace. There could be no brilliant sea-faring exploit. It was difficult to excite popular

attention to the Navy. He seemed wise, then, in engaging the support of the people through their representatives. But this support could not be had, or when had could not be relied on if the Navy did not show itself to be worthy of it. He planned to make it so, and whether or not he did much to bring this about can be judged by studying his methods of managing its internal affairs. To get a discernment of value into these methods it is necessary to go to the letter-books and order books, which set forth the daily life of the department. From this source can be obtained the real view of his relation to the department itself.

In one of his earlier letters he exhibits his jealousy of the Navy's dignity and his hostility to influences which could affect its morale. He was not a jurist turned head of the Admiralty only for place and power, but the tone of his letters show that he became a sailor of the sailors.

The politics, even of those halcyon days, was not above burrowing into the Navy. Complaints were made to him that the navy yard in New York had been made use of in an election. He at once addressed a letter to Captain Matthew Calbraith Perry, a brother to Commodore Perry, which is such a complete exposition of the attitude of the Navy to such pernicious practices and his condemnation of them that it is even now a precedent much respected. After notifying Captain Perry that he had appointed him to the command of the navy yard from confidence in his ability to discharge delicate duties, and that the appointment had not been sought by him either directly or indirectly, and calling his attention to the complaints about politics being allowed to control its operations and influence thereby freedom of elections, he says:

"It is deemed alike necessary to the honor of the Navy and to the welfare of the country that this evil should be corrected, and from you I feel assured that no countenance will be given to a system alike injurious and disreputable to the service. But in order to accomplish this desirable reform, it is highly important, if not indispensably necessary, that those should be removed from stations

of subordinate authority in the yard who have in any means abused their power for electioneering purposes. I request therefore that the changes may be made. It is my earnest desire that no person in the service shall be either the better or the worse off in consequence of his political opinions—merely that he shall feel himself at perfect liberty to exercise the elective franchise according to the dictates of his own judgment and conscience, and that no agent of the Government shall be allowed to impose any restraint upon him for any party or political purposes, and that it be made manifest that as the Navy belongs to the nation, so its stations are established, their officers appointed, their laborers employed and their whole operations directed solely for the honorable and efficient service of the country."

In more than one letter can be read the determination above all things to be just to those under him.

He was strict in exacting obedience, and did not dally with punishment, whether it had to be meted to the great or to the humble. But he was ready, and even eager, to repair a wrong when he knew of it, even when the doing so was to his own hurt. In regular course, and upon apparently good reasons, he ordered the dismissal from the service of a petty officer. The man, conscious of his innocence and tenacious of his good name, came to the Secretary in person and pleaded his own cause. He convinced him that his order had consummated a real wrong. Immediately thereupon Secretary Badger wrote to Commodore Perry unreservedly confessing his belief that he had done a grave injustice, and invoked his aid in righting its effect as fully as possible by either reinstating the man in his former place, if that were possible, and if not, to provide some equally honorable post for him.

He showed customary consideration for others when imposing his affairs on them by apologizing to the Commodore for the inconvenience he was giving him in this instance.

The anxiety of a great minister to do an act of justice to a petty officer is not so commonplace a phase of official life as to preclude its setting forth in a paper of this sort. It lends a pleasant expression to the face of stern authority.

There are many sentences in his letters which leave no doubt that his temper was least dangerous when it slept. But one respects it more when one sees that when aroused it usually fell on the higher heads. Sometimes it scorched subordinates when they were delinquent. His impatience with those who were loose in money matters, whether through dilatory habits or design, is shown in many instances in the cases of petty officers who owed debts of various sorts, and to pursers who had misapplied moneys for expenses of voyages. The reprimands evidently carried terror, as replies to them show.

He was mildly tolerant of foibles and venial offences, and when reproving them often added a line of fatherly advice to the erring against "being seduced into conduct unworthy of their state," and urging them to make the talents ascribed to them useful to the country and honorable to themselves. Even in these formal letters a touch of humorous irony once in a while crops out, as when he wrote to an officer who had assumed that his request had been granted, and acted on the assumption: "Here things asked and not granted are deemed refused."

He did not brook for an instant any disloyalty to or secret criticism of the service by members of it, and the half dozen lines to Commodore Wilkinson, commander of the West India fleet, at Boston, touching some anonymous newspaper correspondence, meant to be a warning, as well as an effective method of uncovering the guilty, read in this wise: "Your communication of the 5th inst. inclosing a publication taken from the *New York Herald,* has been received, and you are hereby authorized to require each officer under your command to answer on honor whether or not he be the author of that publication, which is herewith returned to you."

His pride in the Navy was as great as if he had been born into it, and he was sensitive to any criticism of it. When the "Brandywine" returned to America from the Mediterranean at a time when there were stiff rumors of impending war

between Great Britain and the United States, he showed and expressed much disappointment and displeasure at the lack of discretion displayed by the officer in command. He did not wish it in the critic's mouth to say aught about one of his ships. Happily, there was nothing more than a small blow, which expended itself in a rather insignificant tempest in the Senate. The confusion in the dates of certain information which occasioned the departure of the ship was satisfactorily cleared up, and the investigation which had been asked for was dropped. Senator Preston, of South Carolina, restored the calm with the observation that so long as the administration had so amiable a Secretary of State as Mr. Webster, our ships could feel free to sail without consulting the fears of diplomats. All of which smacks of the criticisms of today.

Again, when the "Constellation" came out of the navy yard at Boston, ill-fitted for her cruise, he expressed to those whom he held responsible for the condition of the ship his intense mortification that such a thing could happen in the Navy. He was ever alert to the needs of the ships and their crews.

It must not be supposed that he was over given to the habit of fault-finding, because quite as many of his letters are filled with praise when it was merited, as with censure when deserved. He gave warm commendation to the officers and men for the punishment of what he called an act of horrible piracy in the mouth of the Mississippi. Especially commending them for the promptness which they exhibited and which, he added, the American people had a right to expect from the naval force of the country.

He was unremitting in his interest in behalf of the personal welfare, not only of the officers, but of what are sometimes called the mere sailors. In this welfare he embraced their physical, mental, and moral fitness for their profession. To illustrate this, in many letters he insists that the chaplains perform the duties for which they were appointed and which the regulations clearly set forth. He shrewdly sus-

pected that there was a lull in the activities of the commissioned parsons against the evil one. He took advanced grounds in demanding high moral character and thorough scientific acquirements on the part of physicians appointed to the Department. Looking upon the ship as a home and the crews as its family, he planned to have its medical officers, in the first place, gentlemen, and then physicians and apothecaries. One of these last named prerequisites was that they understand the modes of preparing those "poisons called medicines."

In a letter to Commander Morris he catalogues quite a list of books, which he ordered to be purchased and put in the ships' libraries, among them several Universal Histories, The Writings of Washington, Story's Commentaries, dictionaries, both English and classical, besides technical books adapted to improvement and perfection in the profession.

It is not difficult to find in his interest in this form of continued education the crude germ of the "school idea" aboard, which is now accepted by authorities of experience as calculated to make the highest type of officer, sailor, and even stoker.

It is not altogether disagreeable to us to read that those in authority, in what were called the better days of the Republic, as all days that are gone are fancied to be, were not averse to impressing those holding the purse-strings by object lessons or by what may without disrespect be called "junkets." The Secretary writes to Commodore Morris that he wanted the "Delaware" brought to Annapolis in order that many distinguished members of Congress, probably the President of the United States, might have an opportunity of inspecting a line-of-battle ship.

At heart Mr. Badger was honestly democratic, and many a good story is still current in his home of his familiarity with people in much humbler stations. He delighted to have the good woman who brought his weekly supply of eggs sit at his table and have a hot breakfast with him, but as the

Secretary of the Navy he could be as ceremonious as the most imposing Commodore, and rather liked the forms of martial observances.

Our country has always delighted in a splendid hospitality to the representatives of France, that superbly unselfish land which fought to give America a Republic before it gave one to Europe. When, therefore, the Prince de Joinville arrived in our ports no courtesy on the part of the Navy, with sails filled and banners flying, was omitted. The order to effect this runs in this wise:

"You will show the usual and appropriate civilities to him and the vessel, and afterwards on proper notice of the presence of the Prince, should he visit the Navy Yard, you will give him a royal salute of 21 guns and show him all the usual civilities due a person of his rank. Should the vessel on her arrival hoist the royal standard, which is not anticipated, your first salute will be that of 21 guns."

These letters and orders reveal in an imperfect way the internal or domestic life of the department, if it may be so called. They show that he was jealous of the Navy's integrity, just in his administration, parental almost in his solicitude for its personnel. They are just such words as a modest, able, painstaking, broad-minded official could and would write. They show a sympathetic personality and a high character that cabals and political intrigue could not swerve from faithful service. These lines seem to imprint minor shades which go to complete the picture of a man who did much in six months time to make the Navy greater. He left it better in every way than he found it. No man of his day perhaps did more to win for it a favoring and growing public sentiment. He convinced Congress that it did well to vote the largest allowance it had ever made up to that time. Under this and subsequent grants the naval force came to be well enough equipped for the capture of Vera Cruz and the taking over of our great California possessions. The report made to Congress in December, 1841, although made by his successor, carries many of the proposals devised by Mr. Bad-

ger for the future welfare of the Navy. It is proof that he left undone much that he would have done. But if he had done nothing more than begin the home squadron and get the most generous money grant for a really growing Navy, he would have deserved to rank as a great Secretary.

His last official act was a request that a worthy mechanic should have employment in the navy yard. It is in these words: "In consideration of the long and faithful services of John Ford in the Navy, I request that you will give him employment in the yard under your command if you can find any suitable for him."

This parting thought for the welfare of a comrade of the lowest rank leaves a kindly touch on the conclusion of a high service.

It is a cause of satisfying pride to the people of North Carolina to reflect that for three-quarters of a century no name has led that of Badger on the register of the Navy in loyal, lofty, and conspicuously efficient service. It has been borne by a Secretary, a Commodore, who more than once received the thanks of Congress for distinguished bravery, an Admiral, who as the commander-in-chief of our greatest fleet, made it admirable and welcome in the ports of all the great powers as well as a safeguard against our turbulent neighbors, and is now safe in the hands of a young Ensign, who has recently been handsomely mentioned in the Official Gazette for gallantry in action in protecting his men and punishing the enemy under a grilling fire from the house-tops of the streets of Vera Cruz.

"The Spratt Burying-Ground"—A Colonial Graveyard

By Violet G. Alexander.

This graveyard is one of the oldest burying places in North Carolina and is known as the "Spratt burying-ground." The historian, C. L. Hunter, in his "Sketches of Western North Carolina" (pages 77 and 78) writes:

"Near the residence of Thomas Spratt, where was held the first court in Mecklenburg County, is one of the oldest private burying-grounds in this country, in which his mortal remains repose. Here are found the gravestones of several members of the Spratt, Barnett and Jack families, who intermarried; also, those of the Binghams, McKnights and a few others. On the headstone of Mary Barnett it is recorded she died on the 4th of October, 1764, aged 45 years. A hickory tree, ten or twelve inches in diameter, is now growing on this grave, casting its beneficent shade. The primitive forest growth, once partially cut down, is here fast assuming its original sway, and is peacefully overshadowing the mortal remains of these early sleepers in this ancient graveyard."

The historian Foote, in his "Sketches of North Carolina" (page 510), says: "Thomas Spratt removed to the spot, near to Charlotte, where he died and lies buried in the angle of the woods, near his dwelling. There appears to have been at this place a burying-ground as old as that at Sugar Creek (the first one) now entirely grown over with trees."

This property, in recent years, was owned by Mr. Thomas Vail and his heirs, and today this sacred spot lies unnoticed and unmarked, in a new residential suburb of Charlotte, known as "Colonial Heights." It is situated, today, on a new street, "Vail Avenue," and has been divided into building lots, now owned by Mrs. S. M. Johnson, a daughter of Mr. Vail, and Mr. Robert Glasgow. The old graveyard was grad-

ually neglected in former years and was in a great state of dilapidation when Mr. Vail became the owner of it some years ago, for it was included in the sale of many acres of land which he purchased in this locality. The relatives of those buried here were either deceased or had moved to other sections of the country, so for many years no one interested was left to give tender or reverent care to this "God's Acre." The graves were fast disappearing and the tombstones falling down and breaking into bits, and so great was the desecration that the negroes in the neighborhood, laying aside their customary superstition, were known to have used several of these hallowed stones as hearthstones in their cabins!

Miss Cora Vail, a daughter of Mr. Thomas Vail, often went to the little graveyard, and was much troubled over its neglect and this vandalism, and realizing that it would soon disappear from the sight and the knowledge of the people of today, determined to take some steps to preserve a record of it. She consulted Mr. George F. Bason, a well-known and prominent member of the Charlotte bar, who advised her that as the graveyard was private property, and no means had been provided for its "perpetual care," her best course was to carefully and accurately take the names and inscriptions on all the tombstones, have this record filed in some public building in Charlotte and to *level* and *bury* all the tombstones. Miss Vail followed his advice and carefully made a complete copy of all names and inscriptions then visible and filed a copy of the same at the Charlotte Carnegie Library with the librarian, then Mrs. Annie Smith Ross, since married to Mr. Horey; this valuable paper is now in the custody of the present librarian, Miss Mary Belle Palmer. A full and complete copy of this paper is incorporated here as follows:

Paper is entitled:

"Burying-Ground East of Charlotte, N. C., near Elizabeth

College. Inscriptions on old headstones in Colonial Graveyard on Vail Farm."

"Here lies ye body of
Hugh Bingham who
departed this life
Nov. ye 4th 1765.
also
nearby lies ye body of
Joseph Bingham, a child."

"Here lies the body of
Mary Bingham who deceased
Jan. 18th 1772 aged 55 years."

"Here lys the body of
Samuel Bingham junr.
who departed this life
April 25th 1774 aged 33 years."

"Here lies the body of
Jean Barnett who
deceased April 20th 1776
aged 20 years."

"Here lies the body of
Thos. Barnett who deceased
May the 3rd 1776
aged 22 years."

"Here lys the body of
John Jack Barnett who deceased
Jan. 14th 1778
aged 9 months."

"Here lies the body of
Esther Johnston who deceased
Oct. 22nd, 1775
aged 31 years."

"In memory of Andrew Sprot
who died Nov. 29, 1772
aged 64 years
also here lys his wife
Mary Sprot who died
June 7th 1771 aged 64 years."

"Here lies the body of
James McKnight who deceased
Oct. ye 23rd 1764 aged 60 years."

"Here lies the body of
Robert McKnight who deceased
Oct. ye 19 1778 aged 60 years."

The above is a complete list of all the inscriptions found by Miss Vail, which she carefully copied as to wording and spelling. The reader will be struck by the similarity and formality of the style of all the inscriptions—closely resembling inscriptions found today in many old churchyards of England and Scotland, and, doubtless, these early settlers in writing inscriptions conformed to the accepted style of that day in the land from which they had come.

The earliest date given by Miss Vail is that in the inscription of James McKnight and 1764 is the year. It is stated that James McKnight was 60 years old when he died, so he must have been a man in middle life when he came to this, then remote, part of North Carolina. We have no means of knowing how many years before 1764 he came to his new home or how long he had resided here, but we know he must have been a man of action and of sturdy qualities and of strong characteristics, as were, also, that small company who had traveled this far with him. It will be noted that the grave of Thomas Spratt, referred to by Hunter and Foote, had disappeared, as no record of it was found on any of the headstones by Miss Vail. Other names of individuals or families known to have been buried here were given the writer

by Miss Vail, who found no stones commemorating them, but tradition still points out the location of some of the most important graves.

John Jack, supposed to be a brother of Captain James Jack —the fearless patriot, who was the bearer of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence to Philadelphia—is buried here. He seems to have a little namesake, and probably relative, buried near, for we find the record of the grave of a baby boy —John Jack Barnett—who died at the age of nine months. Of especial interest is the fact that *Ann Spratt, the first white child* born in Western North Carolina, lies buried in this old graveyard, known as the "Spratt burying-ground." Again we quote Hunter (page 77), who says: "Thomas Spratt is said to have been the first person who crossed the Yadkin River with wheels; and his daughter, *Ann,* was the *first white* child born in this beautiful champaign country between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers."

Ann Spratt became the wife of John Barnett, and their daughter married James W. Jack, a son of Captain James Jack (see Hunter's Sketches, page 74.) Mrs. Ann Spratt Barnett's grave has almost disappeared and no stone now marks the last resting place of Mecklenburg's first white child.

When a committee from the Colonial Dames, composed of Miss Violet G. Alexander, Miss Cora Vail, and Mrs. Lucy Alexander Halliburton, visited the burying-ground in March, 1914, Miss Vail was able to point out its location and, also, that of several other important graves. Other persons known to have been buried here were: Thomas Spratt, a man of large influence and means, at whose home the *first* court was held in Mecklenburg County; Mary Spratt, Mary Barnett; and members of the families of Osbourne, Johnston, Barnett, Spratt—spelled *Sprot* on the tombstones; Polk, relatives of Mecklenburg's only President, James Knox Polk; Bingham, McKnight, Jack and others, whose names and graves have been lost, lie buried in this forgotten place.

A great wave of sadness sweeps over the soul of one as he stands in this little graveyard, situated on a lovely wooded

knoll and lets fancy fly back to those first days in Mecklenburg's splendid history, when the brave men and braver women and tender little children, whose dust hallow this sacred spot, lived and moved and had their being in the very beginning of our glorious history and "acted well their part" in its making.

It may not be inappropriate to recall to mind those beautiful and significant words from the pen of the loved English poet Gray:

"Beneath those rugged elms, that yew tree's shade,
Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap,
Each in his narrow cell forever laid
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;
Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed,
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.

Yet e'en these bones from insult to protect,
Some frail memorial still erected nigh
With uncouth rhymes and shapeless sculpture decked,
Implores the passing tribute of a sigh."

May the citizens of the Queen City, moved by gratitude and patriotism, see to it that this colonial graveyard, hallowed by the sacred dust of the first settlers of Mecklenburg County, is properly and appropriately marked.

Charlotte, N. C.

Historic Homes, Part VI: Ingleside, Home of Colonel John Ingles

By Mary Hilliard Hinton.

A certain eminent Colonial Dame who, like the immortal Scott, keeps a note-book and jots down every bit of antiquarian knowledge encountered, particularly that imparted by our oldest inhabitants, has performed a good service for her own State of Maryland in particular and her country in general in preserving in permanent form many vanishing facts of American history and set an example that all who are historically inclined might well afford to emulate. One never knows when the engrossing story of an apparently commonplace habitation that is hastening to its ruin may be unearthed, some ghostly legend retold after half a century's silence, an unmarked grave located, or some hidden treasure brought to the world's attention.

During the frequent drives to Raleigh, North Carolina, over the Tarboro Road, my interest in the quaint house that crowned the summit of one of Wake County's highest hills, that rose gradually from the picturesque bend of Crabtree Creek, has been keen ever since memory and imagination have asserted themselves. Nothing bearing on the past could be ascertained—the names of the place and the earlier owners were alike shrouded in mystery. So imagination played an active part and around the antique abode fancy wove numberless marvelous stories; one that is still remembered was a startling ghost tale. Of course there must be a ghost around, for does not every very old and striking house claim such an appendage, doubtless in imitation of ancestral homes in older lands? Time passed and not until the summer of 1915 did facts about the plantation come to light.

It was known that this tract of land had formerly been the property of Governor Charles Manly and his name is still

INGLESIDE.

recalled through the nomenclature of that locality. "Manly's Spring" furnishes water to some of the inhabitants of Raleigh who are suspicious of the purity of Walnut Creek (the source from which the city receives its water supply) and "Manly's Branch" has impressed every individual living two miles east of the capital by the unmannerly way it had of intercepting traffic after heavy rainfalls. "Manly's Hill," with its red mud, that on winter days came to the very hub of the wheel, was the dread of travelers over the Tarboro Road, for its steepness was a tax on any animal's strength. The better road system has eliminated both of these stumbling blocks to the wayfarer; one can no longer assuage the thirst of the passing steed, as a bridge closes the stream to him, while the other has disappeared at the edge of the shovel. Who were the original owners? Who are they that sleep in those graves long since disturbed by the plow and can no longer be located save by perhaps one person only? Are they the earlier landlords? These questions received only silence as answers.

During the summer of 1915 the early history of the summer home of Governor Charles Manly was revealed. In the spring of that year Mr. W. Plummer Batchelor, of Raleigh, feeling the call of the country to the extent that he wished to give up the delights of a residence in town for a home amid the charms Nature offers, after an inspection of all the farms in the market around the capital, at last showed excellent taste by deciding upon one of the finest, if not the finest, site obtainable in Wake County—the Manly home—which he purchased, with the surrounding two hundred and sixty acres. As one travels east, after passing "Norwardin," the artistic home of Mr. James Moore, what a fair landscape picture greets the eye! Standing in clear relief, facing the setting sun, amid the grove of locust trees (that shade tree which was so popular with the colonists and is fast passing), bathed in the golden sunshine, stands the new home, nearing completion, which appears all the more radiant when viewed from the deep shadows of the thoroughfare, the dark green foliage on

each side forming a soft frame for the faraway vista. An attractive view indeed, an ideal location which commands an extensive view of the surrounding countryside.

Upon investigation among musty, time-dimmed records for the "clear title" that must accompany each conveyance of landed estate, Mr. Batchelor learned that one Colonel John Ingles took possession of the estate in 1800. At that time there were three hundred acres in the tract. Here, on the highest eminence on the plantation, by the road that has for generations been one of the State's main highways, Colonel Ingles built his home to which he gave the name of "Ingleside." It faced the road; the style of architecture was similar to that followed in building other residences of that period in the county, like "The Oaks," "Beaver Dam" and others. The house was well built, with handwrought nails, heart timber and hewn oaken beams, that were in such an excellent state of preservation that Mr. Batchelor renounced the resolution to cast these away in destroying the old in order to erect the new house, and resolved to utilize the same stalwart scantling and beams for the frame work of the latter. There were three rooms downstairs and four upstairs, with a back and a front porch, both of which were quite small. Like all homes of that time the front entrance was through the parlor. Back of this, the largest room of the house, was a small hall from which an enclosed staircase ran to the half story above. The outside brick chimneys were of generous proportions and the roof was so steep that it shed water with such rapidity that a leak was an impossibility. The low-pitched roofs of today explain why so many coverings are unsatisfactory. With a due reverence for things antique, Mr. Batchelor retains the euphonious name of "Ingleside," although a clever friend insisted on substituting one that was in every way appropriate. The condition of the structure generally caused it to be torn down. A member of the Society of the Cincinnati, on hearing of the demolition, remarked that it should never have been done, that it should have been restored. Our forefathers built well,

but the twentieth century excels in conveniences that frequently compel the neutralization of sentiment for the antique. The erection of handsome homes in the county indicates a revival of ante-bellum tastes, and it is hoped more may feel the call of the country.

Colonel John Ingles was born in 1739 and was a citizen of Edgecombe County. Like other inhabitants of that section he must have been attracted by the salubriousness of the climate of Wake. During the early part of the nineteenth century many persons from Edgecombe spent the summer months in Raleigh to avoid the malaria of the lower counties. Colonel Ingles had served through the Revolution in the Continental Line, Second Regiment. He first entered as First Lieutenant on May 3, 1776. On October 24, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of Captain. The following year he was taken prisoner and carried to Charleston, May 1st. Thirteen months later—in June, 1781—he was exchanged. From that time to the close of the conflict he was in active service. He became Brevet Major September 30, 1783. The commissioned officers of his Regiment were John Patten, Colonel; Henry ("Hal") Dixon, Lieutenant-Colonel; Reading Blount, Major; Captains: Robert Raiford, Clement Hall, Benjamin Coleman, Robert Fenner, John Ingles, Thomas Armstrong, John Craddock, Benjamin Carter, Charles Stewart. It has not been discovered how John Ingles won the title of Colonel. At the time of the first census, in 1790, his household numbered five, which included himself as "head of family" and four "free white females" who were Mrs. Ingles, his wife, and three nieces and wards. At that date he owned the small number of nine slaves. For twenty-one years Colonel Ingles' family dwelt at "Ingleside." He came to a country that was divided into immense estates, some containing several thousand acres each. Wake had been a county only thirty years; there was but one town within its boundaries, which eight years before had been selected for the site for the state capital of North Carolina. He died in 1816, and was buried in the

graveyard by the orchard in front, or north, of "Ingleside." Here, by his side, five years later, Mrs. Ingles was laid at rest. His will, bearing the date, February 27, 1816, was probated on September 8th in the same year. Therein he bequeathes property to his wife, Courtney, and leaves legacies to nieces, daughters of Dennis O'Bryan. Annie O'Bryan became the second wife of Dr. Thomas Falconer. He left no children, so with him the name became extinct in Wake.

As late as the seventies, the burying-ground was still surrounded by a Maryland rock wall. In time this was removed to furnish the foundation for a gin-house that stood near Manly's Branch, and the graves were desecrated by the plow. No trace remains to locate them in the cultivated field. The fate of the gin-house was pronounced by some to have been a judgment for vandalism. It was demolished by a terrific storm that swept over the land afterwards. To locate and mark the grave of this Revolutionary Patriot of the Continental Line is a work that could worthily engage the attention of the Daughters of the Revolution. May they soon honor the memory of one who faithfully served our country.

"Ingleside" became in 1821 the property of the Honorable Charles Manly. The first fifty acres were presented to him by his father-in-law, Mr. William Henry Haywood, Sr., in order to secure for him the privilege of the ballot under the property qualification clause. This law, which then required the possession of at least fifty acres of land to become a voter, is of especial interest today to those advocating restricted, and opposing extended, suffrage. Governor Manly was elected in 1848, inaugurated January 1, 1849, retired from office January 1, 1851. He was the last governor elected under the qualification clause, which was deranged by the Democrats. His brother-in-law, Edward B. Dudley, was the first governor of the State elected by the people. It was during 1848, when he was engrossed with the campaign, having been nominated by the Whigs for the office of governor, that Governor Manly's family stayed at "Ingleside." This was the only season that

they spent there, though it is called his summer home. It was the plantation from which the bounteous supplies were brought to maintain the lavish hospitality that was dispensed at his town residence and later at the Governor's Palace. Here the hundred and fifty slaves were comfortably housed in the quarters nearby the "Great House." Beautiful sheep —Southdowns—grazed in the meadows; the pastures were filled with fine blooded horses that were the pride of the Governor's heart, for he loved a thoroughbred and raised some fine specimens at "Ingleside" that became noted. The wool of the Southdowns was cleaned and carded and dyed there, then sent to the mills of Chatham to be woven into cloth for the negroes. Their cotton clothes were woven on the plantation from cotton produced on the place. Chickens and turkeys in abundance were raised to fill the demand at the town residence. The old South lived extravagantly, but the plantations met the requirements of a bountiful hospitality.

There was quite an amusing incident related about Governor Manly's fondness for the turf. He had recently been confirmed at Christ Church, Raleigh, and felt that presence at the race-track, with its consequent gain and loss of money on the winners and losers, was not consistent with Church membership, when some exciting races were scheduled to come off at the old Fair Grounds, then on Hargett Street, south of the Soldiers' Home. He could not, however, forego the pleasure of beholding the spectacle at a distance, so climbing to the top of a poplar by the spring in what was called "the white field," he prepared to enjoy the races. His plans were frustrated by a fall from his lofty seat that came near resulting in serious injuries. Taken as a warning, he renounced racing henceforth.

The spring by the roadside, alluded to above, known yet as "Manly's Spring," was the scene of the ghostly vision. There Governor Manly sat one dreamy autumn day gazing upon the fair landscape, thinking doubtless of some improvement his beloved North Carolina greatly needed, of a way by which it

could be brought about, or of the possibilities of his State, his county or estate. The warmth, the radiance of the sun, the sleep-inviting atmosphere were conducive to the building of air castles, the entrée of fairies and all the glorious train of the realm of fancy. The hour was auspicious, and seizing the opportunity, a radiant vision, with gentle tread, appeared before him; the gracefully draped figure of the inhabitant of the spirit land, pausing but a few moments, vanished, leaving him dazed and motionless. A member of the family in recounting this incident added that of course the Governor must have fallen asleep and dreamed of the vision, and that a partridge or rabbit scudding through the thicket at hand made the noise that wakened him. Anyhow there is another version of the haunted visitor. Darkies aver that on dark nights an object mounted hurries over the road past the spring, "Ingleside," over branch and hill, disappearing in the denser gloom beyond. So, after all, the old place did possess a ghost.

To "Ingleside" retired John H. Manly, son of Governor and Charity (Haywood) Manly, to study law, being confident that the quiet of the retreat was inviting for the gain of knowledge. His popularity, that evidenced itself by a constant flow of company, made a failure of the venture. Here Major Basil C. Manly, a younger son of Governor Manly, lived both prior to and after his marriage to Miss Lucy Bryan. He was Captain of Manly's Battery and Major of Artillery in the Confederate Army. After the surrender he was Mayor of Raleigh. A true cavalier of the old régime, a brave soldier and genial Southern gentleman, Major Manly, like his distinguished father, was loved by all who knew him.

In April, 1865, Sherman's Army invaded "Ingleside," but did not demolish the buildings or apply the torch as they had done a few miles away. In 1870, after the death of Governor Manly, the plantation was sold for division and has since passed into a number of hands. At that time the tract contained one thousand and sixty acres.

A Federal officer with Sherman's army when "Ingleside" was ransacked, buried there twenty thousand dollars in silver and gold coin he had appropriated. He made a map of the spot, thinking he would return after peace was restored, but ill-health prevented, and nearly thirty years after he sent a friend to unearth the buried treasure. The place had changed and the fortune was never located. After several weeks of hard work, digging daily, he relinquished the search. That sum, as far as is known, has never been found but still remains hidden where the soldier placed it in 1865.

So after the passage of many years, "Ingleside" is again to become the abode of life as well as "a thing of beauty" when Mr. Bachelor's plans have materialized. It will be one of the attractions of the county, and those who know the cordial owner, his charming Kentucky wife and interesting young family look forward to the hospitality that will be dispensed there.

In preparing this article the writer is indebted to Mrs. John G. B. Grimes (who was Miss Helen Manly), Mr. W. P. Batchelor and Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood for information furnished. References used were: Colonial Records, Heitman's, Newspapers of that time, Will of Colonel Ingles.

Historical Book Reviews

CHRONICLES OF THE CAPE FEAR RIVER.

By Nina Holland Covington.

"From early youth I have loved the Cape Fear, the ships and the sailors which it bears upon its bosom. As a boy I delighted to wander along the wharves where the sailing ships were moored with their graceful spars and rigging in relief against the sky line, with men aloft, whose uncouth cries and unknown tongues inspired me with a longing for the sea, which I afterwards followed, and for the far-away countries whence they had come."

So says Mr. James Sprunt in his foreword to the interesting and valuable volume, "Chronicles of the Cape Fear River," which is one of the recent additions to the books dealing with the history of certain sections of North Carolina, other volumes of like character being Miss Albertson's "In Ancient Albemarle" and "The History of Western North Carolina" by Mr. John P. Arthur.

It is eminently fitting that Mr. Sprunt should have undertaken to collect in book form the many historical and romantic incidents in which Wilmington and the surrounding Cape Fear region are so rich. For Mr. Sprunt, with, as he says, a deep love for this section in which he has lived for a number of years, having watched closely the growth and development of this portion of the State, and having also played a prominent part in the business life of "the city by the sea," is well qualified to compile such a book as this, and to make it both attractive and valuable.

He has collected in the volume legends, descriptions, historical articles and anecdotes of the Cape Fear section.

First, there is given a full account of the exploration and settlement of the region, and included in this part of the book is an interesting discussion of the Indians of the Cape Fear and of the Indian mounds of the section. Then

comes a review of the historical facts in connection with the colonial life of the Cape Fear and of the very active part taken by the people in the American Revolution. There is given also a list of the colonial members of the General Assembly and a description of the battles taking place near Wilmington. There is an excellent account of the settling of the Highlanders in North Carolina and a valuable selection, "Plantations on the Northeast River," by Dr. John Hampden Hill.

In the description of the building of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad there are some delightfully quaint and amusing statements, such as "Timid apprehensions of danger were allayed by the official assurance upon the time-table, that under no circumstances will the cars be run after dark."

Under the section of "Notable Incidents," there are described the visits of Washington, Monroe, Polk, Fillmore, Taft and other celebrities. Old letters, diaries and newspaper clippings are quoted from to give contemporary descriptions of the visits of these famous persons, and particularly of the social functions which the hospitable and aristocratic Wilmingtonians gave in their honor.

Wilmington's famous duel is told in all its exciting detail, and decidedly one of the most attractive sections of the volume is "Old School Days in Wilmington," which is a description of one of the select schools for boys which used to be so numerous in the South. One paragraph is exceptionally interesting, for it gives the names of the boys who attended, and who as men were, and are, well known in the literary, commercial, and legal life of the State.

"Wednesday was given up to lessons and exhibitions in declamation. Bob McRee in 'Robert Emmet's Defense,' and Eugene Martin in 'The Sailor Boy's Dream' headed the list and melted us to tears. Clarence Martin, Junius Davis, Gilbert and Fred Kidder, Alexander and John London, Cecil Fleming, Duncan and Richard Moore, Platt D. Walker, John D. Barry, John Van Bokkelen, Willie Gus Wright, Levin

Lane, Griffith McRee, John Rankin, Tom Meares, Sam Peterson, Sonny West, Eddie and Tom DeRosset, Stephen and Willie Jewett, Willie Meares, Willie Lord, and others not now recalled, gave promise of undying fame in their fervid renditions of 'Sennacherib,' 'Marco Bozzaris,' Patrick Henry's 'Liberty or Death,' Mark Anthony's Oration over Cæsar's Dead Body, 'Kosciusko,' 'The Burial of Sir John Moore,' 'Hamlet's Soliloquy,' and 'Hohen Linden,' and John Walker and big Tom Wright divided honors on the immortal 'Casabianca.' Henry Latimer and the writer were tied on the same speech, and when the judge, Colonel Hall, decided in the former's favor, the unsuccessful contestant withdrew permanently from the arena."

In the section, "War Between the States," the troubles of the distressed seaport town, which played an important part in this struggle also, are clearly and pathetically told, with a touch of humor here and there to break the grimness of the narrative.

"Cape Fear Pilots" gives an account of the pilots who were among the very bravest men in the War Between the States, and of the exciting incidents in their life histories.

"Blockade Running" (with all its dangers and thrilling adventures) is the subject of another interesting chapter, while the volume closes with a well told account of the restoration of peace, the development and growth of Wilmington and of the section of the Cape Fear, showing the rapid strides made by this important port during the years following the Civil War.

Dr. Henderson, in his review in the July BOOKLET of Miss Albertson's "In Ancient Albemarle," voices the feelings of all true North Carolinians when he says in regard to the three books mentioned above: "These works, recently brought to my attention, have given me great cheer and caused me to rejoice in the historical activity in our midst." Surely literary activity in North Carolina seems to be on the increase, and headed by such a writer as Dr. Henderson himself, and

many others who are gaining fame in the State, and also outside of the State, we can all feel encouraged, and can begin to indignantly challenge the statement of the bard J. Gordon Coogler—a statement quoted sadly sometimes in the past, I believe by Dr. Henderson himself, that "The South never was much given to literature"—and proudly point to our recent productions and the promise of other works which are now in preparation, and which will soon also be given to an expectant reading public.

Genealogical Department

In this Department will appear hereafter the genealogies of North Carolina families. Letters bearing on this line of research are received constantly by THE BOOKLET, therefore space will be devoted to this subject with the hope that many may be benefited thereby.

Lewis, of Granville County, North Carolina:

Arms—Argent, a dragon's head and neck, erased vert, holding in the mouth a bloody hand, ppr.

Crest—A dragon's head and neck, erased vert, holding in the mouth a bloody hand.

Motto—Omne solum forti patria est.

Howell Lewis was born in Goochland County, Virginia, and removed to Granville County some years prior to the Revolution.*. He was the youngest child of Colonel Charles Lewis of "The Byrd Plantation," Goochland, and Mary Howell, his wife. He married Isabella, daughter of Colonel Henry Willis (the Founder of Fredericksburg,) Virginia, and his second wife, Mildred Washington. Their home near Oxford, North Carolina, is still standing. This "became the center of one of the most cultured and patrician circles of the State" (Watson). His will was probated at the February, 1814, term of the Granville Court. In it he mentions his children as follows (his wife died several years before):

1, Charles Lewis; 2, Willis Lewis; 3, Mildred Lewis, who married John Cobbs (changed later to Cobb). They moved to Georgia (Their children were: Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury under Buchanan; Mary Willis Cobb; Mildred Cobb; Susannah Cobb; John Addison Cobb); 4, Isabella Lewis, who married a Jeffries; 5, Anne Lewis, who married a Morton; 6, Frances Lewis, who married Samuel Bugg and left, among other descendants, Mrs. Charles F. Farnsworth

*About 1756.

and Miss Frances Church, of Memphis, Tennessee, and Mrs. Richard Cheatham Plater, of Nashville, Tennessee; 7, Jane Lewis, who married David Hinton; 8, Mary Lewis, who married a Kennon. Howell Lewis, who married Betsy Coleman, of Goochland County, Virginia, is not mentioned in his father's will.

The Lewis family came originally from Wales to Virginia and by marriage came into possesion of "Warner Hall," in Gloucester County, the famous seat of the Warners. The children of James Lewis, who married a Miss Taylor, also settled in Granville. Their line will appear in a later issue.

The Coat-ofArms borne by the Willis family of Fredericksburg is:

Argent, three griffins passant sable; a bordure engrailed gules and besantee.

Crest—A griffin segreant holding a spear piercing a boar's head, sable.

Motto—Defende rectum.

Genealogical and Biographical Memoranda

Compiled and Edited by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

PETER MITCHEL WILSON.

Mr. Wilson's article in this number of "The North Carolina Booklet," entitled "George Edmund Badger, Secretary of the United States Navy," throws more light on a subject which will be read with interest by all our readers and to render it more interesting is to know something more of our native North Carolinian who has, years ago, removed to Washington City. He is now in the service of the United States Senate, where he has been since 1893, and is now its Chief Clerk.

Mr. Wilson was born at Warrenton, N. C., in 1848. He was the eldest son of Thomas Epps Wilson of Virginia, and Janet Mitchel, his wife, who was the great-granddaughter of Colonel William Person of Bute County, and a great-great niece of General Thomas Person, who was appointed, for his patriotic services, one of the first brigadier generals by the State Congress, and was complimented afterwards by having a county named for him. His liberality towards the University, in bestowing a munificent donation, caused a hall to be erected at Chapel Hill, which still bears his name.

Mr. Wilson received his early education in the Warrenton Male Academy and the Bingham School until they were closed by the instructors becoming captains in the Confederate Army; he was two years at the University of North Carolina just before its suspension; he took the degree of M. A. at the University of Edinburgh. He was Reading Clerk of the State Senate in 1876-'77; was city editor of the Raleigh Observer under E. J. Hale, William L. Saunders and Capt. Sam'l A. Ashe, filling all these positions satisfactorily. For a time he was Secretary to the State Board of Agriculture, and

under it represented the State at the Atlanta, Boston, New Orleans and Chicago Expositions. Through his efficiency, stalwart honor, exactness and affability, Mr. Wilson's services were continually in demand. After his appointment as Assistant Clerk of the Disbursing Office of the United States Senate he found the work suited to his taste, therefore, he settled at Washington.

Mr. Wilson married Miss Ellen Williams Hale, eldest daughter of the late Peter M. and Mary Badger Hale, and they have one daughter, Mary Badger Wilson.

Mr. Wilson's advantages for education were unusually good; with parents ambitious for the best the State afforded, Warrenton Male Academy, Bingham's, the University, and Edinburgh, he improved his opportunities and the positions he has held attest his success. The schools which he had the privilege of attending were among the oldest in the State. Warrenton Male Academy dates from 1786, when an Act was passed by the Legislature for erecting an Academy for the education of youth; Bingham's School began as early as 1800, and continues to this day, and the University was provided for in the Constitution of 1776, and chartered in 1789. The growth of all these institutions has been steady and sure, excepting a shortage of students during the period of the War Between the States. Mr. Wilson is an ardent advocate of these North Carolina institutions, and uses his influence for their continued success.

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RALEIGH, N. C.

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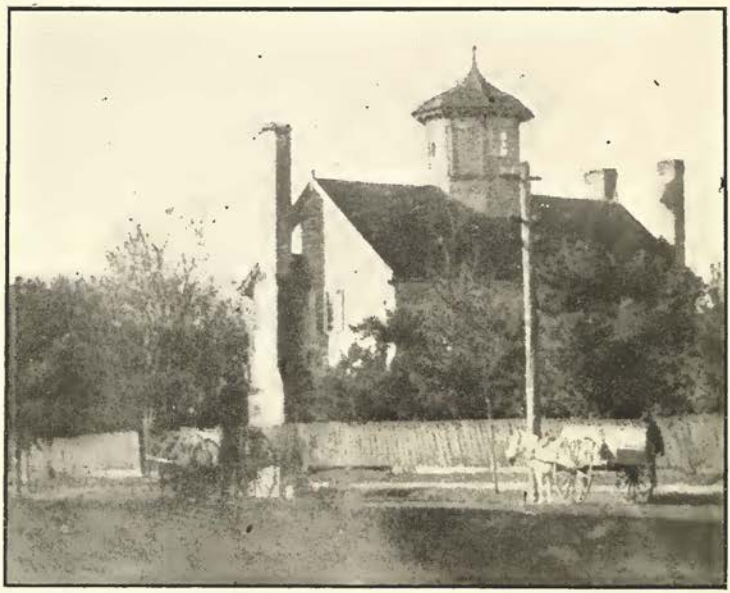

THE CUPOLA HOUSE

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XV APRIL, 1916 No. 4

The Secession Convention of 1861

By Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.
(The last survivor.)

INTRODUCTORY.

I have experienced a melancholy interest in preparing this summary of the proceedings of the "Secession Convention" of 1861. A more able and high-toned body of men has never been assembled in the State. They were among the leaders in their counties and "given to good works." Many had won high distinction in the service of the State. All in the decision of the most difficult questions acted, I am persuaded, with a sincere desire to do right. My friend John Gilchrist McCormick, while at our University, with commendable industry and accuracy prepared sketches of the delegates, those first elected and those who filled vacancies, including the principal officers, 139 in number. They are published in a pamphlet, No. 1, of the James Sprunt Historical Monographs, by the University of North Carolina. Of all the number only two survive, as I am informed.* William S. Battle and myself, "Battle of Edgecombe" and "Battle of Wake."

In the Monograph, Mr. McCormick makes the following interesting statement, "Out of the total enrollment sixty-seven had the advantage in whole or in part, of a college education. If we add sixteen physicians, who had taken a professional, but not a literary course, the total number reaches eighty-three."

The following is a full and, I feel sure, an accurate statement of the work of this important body, as gathered from the Journal and my memory.

KEMP P. BATTLE.

*Since writing the above William S. Battle died, leaving myself the only survivor.

Call of the Convention and Organization.

Between 1850 and 1860 it became evident that a minority of the people of North Carolina intended to break the constitutional compact of 1787. They believed that to secure this it was necessary to secede from the Union and set up a separate government. They were known as "Original Secessionists." The majority of our people, while they viewed with indignation the resolve of the majority of the Northern States to deprive citizens of the slave-holding States of the right to carry their property into the common territory and to disregard the constitutional right to recover runaway slaves, they were of the opinion that there was no legal right to secede from the Union, and secondly, that the rights of the South could be secured without resort to measures which would lead to war. War, they contended, would cause not only the usual horrible results but would end in the destruction of slave property. They were called Union men. They argued, however, that there was no constitutional right to coerce by force of arms a seceding State back into the Union, and that if such attempt should be made they would fight against it.

The Secessionists, Governor Ellis being a chief leader, as early as December, 1860, agitated to induce the General Assembly to call a Convention of the people with full powers, so as to be ready for all contingencies. The Unionists were afraid of giving to a small body of 120 men the power over such tremendous issues, especially as the Secessionists were exceedingly active, and they therefore provided for a vote of the people on the question of Convention or no Convention. The Act was passed January 1, 1861, and on the 28th of February the people by a majority of less than one thousand refused to call the Convention and the election of delegates was void.

On the 15th of April, President Lincoln called for troops to enforce United States laws in the South. Governor Ellis

refused and summoned the General Assembly together. On the 1st day of May that body called an unrestricted Convention to be elected on the 13th, to meet on the 20th, a notable date in the history of the State. The members of the Assembly were under great excitement. Battle, of Wake, in a speech, as member of the Convention, showed that they conferred on Governor Ellis the power to appoint 565 officers, including a Major and three Brigadier-Generals, 14 Colonels, 13 Lieutenant-Colonels, 34 Majors, 133 Captains, etc., etc., their salaries amounting to $769,344 per annum.

When the roll was called on May 20, 1861, 117 answered to their names, only three being necessarily absent, but afterwards allowed to vote as if present. There were at first practically three parties. 1. The Original Secessionists. 2. Those who had been Union men, but temporarily, so angry against the war party of the North that they for many days acted with the Secessionists, and 3. "Old Union Men," who, although they had resolved to aid in resisting coercion to the fullest extent, could not admit that secession was a remedy authorized by the Constitution. They too believed that President Davis and Governor Ellis in appointment of officers had largely discriminated against those of their way of thinking. The Act of Assembly for raising ten regiments gave the appointment of all the regimental officers to the Governor.

The first act of the Convention was, of course, the election of a President. The Original Secessionist nominated was Weldon N. Edwards, whose middle name was in honor of his radically States-rights relative Nathaniel Macon. The old Union man nominated was William A. Graham. Edwards was elected 65 to 48, nearly all of the minority belonging to the third class above mentioned. The first and second classes were of the majority. The expression, "let us show a united front with the Confederate States" was commonly heard. A few were sanguine enough to hope that by such a united front the Northern people would do justice in order

to avoid war. And some wrongheaded men said: "Show we will fight and the Northerners will back down; they are cowards." But these were not delegates.

Passage of Ordinance of Secession.

Immediately after the election of President and Secretary, Col. W. S. Steele, Mr. Badger, on behalf of those who did not believe in the legal right of secession, offered an elaborate Ordinance of Revolution, entitled, "An Ordinance declaring the Separation of North Carolina from the United States of America." The hot words of the preamble show how the Republican party at the North had alienated and angered the people of the South. The whole paper bristles with vituperation and hate. Omitting much verbiage I quote enough of its language to give an idea of its spirit. The Republican party, it was alleged, is hostile to the institutions of the Southern States. North Carolina "remained in the Union hoping to obtain security for our rights and to keep all the States in a fraternal union. While indulging this hope Lincoln called upon the States, under false pretense of executing the laws, to march an army into the seceded States, with the view of their subjection, under military authority without legal or constitutional right." "It is the fixed purpose of the government and people of the non-slaveholding States to wage a cruel war against the seceded States, to destroy the finest portion of this continent, and to reduce its inhabitants to abject slavery." Lincoln "in violation of the Constitution declared our ports under blockade, seeking to cut off our trade. His course has been marked by a succession of false and treacherous acts and declarations, proving that in his dealings with Southern States and Southern men he is void of faith and honor." "In all his wicked and diabolical purposes, in his unconstitutional, illegal and oppressive acts, and in his position of usurper and military dictator, he is supported by the great body of people of the North."

The foregoing abusive ephithets, all the more notable because Mr. Badger was of a conservative temperament generally, were the preamble to the Ordinance, not of Secession, but of Revolution, the right that the Colonies exercised when they broke off from Great Britain. It was declared that "the connection between North Carolina and the United States was dissolved. This State is free, sovereign and independent, owing no obedience or other duty to the United States, and has full power to do all things which independent States may do. Appealing to the Supreme Governor of the world for the justice of our cause we will to the uttermost of our power uphold this declaration."

Mr. Badger demanded a vote on this ordinance, as soon as the President and Secretary, Walter L. Steele, were elected. This was objected to because the Sergeant-at-Arms and other officers had not been chosen, but he contended that no rules of order had been adopted, and therefore the Convention was ready for business as soon as there was a head to direct and a hand to record. This view prevailed but by general consent the vote was not taken until after Leonidas C. Edwards became Assistant Clerk; James Page, Principal Doorkeeper, William R. Lovell, John C. Moore and Drury King, Assistants.

Mr. Burton Craige offered as a substitute for the Badger Ordinance, one approved by those who had faith in the constitutional right of secession, said to have been drawn by Judah P. Benjamin for Louisiana. As it is short I copy it in full.

AN ORDINANCE DISSOLVING THE UNION BETWEEN THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA AND THE OTHER STATES UNITED WITH HER UNDER THE COMPACT OF GOVERNMENT, ENTITLED "THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES."

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"That the ordinance adopted by North Carolina in the Convention of 1789, whereby the Constitution of the United

States was ratified and adopted; and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly, ratifying and adopting amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded and abrogated."

"*We do further declare and ordain,* that the Union now subsisting between the State of North Carolina and the other States, under the title of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved, and the State of North Carolina is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State."

It will be noticed that here are no abusive epithets. The ordinance is a clear, bold, statesmanlike exercise of sovereign power.

The proceedings were interrupted by the introduction of the Delegate from South Carolina, Hon. Franklin J. Moses, commissioned to lay before the Convention the Ordinance of Secession of that State. It differs from the Craige ordinance in omitting the words declaring the possession of right of sovereignty belonging to independent States.

Mr. Moses made a strong speech from the South Carolina point of view. He was a man of high standing, but was the father of F. J. Moses, who gained a bad reputation as Governor of South Carolina in Reconstruction days.

After the address of Mr. Moses, ex-Chief Justice Ruffin moved that both ordinances be referred to a committee to report an Ordinance of Separation. This failed by five votes, 44 to 49.

The next motion was to strike out the Badger Ordinance, which passed by a large majority, 72 to 40.

Judge Ruffin then offered as a substitute, an ordinance, penned by himself, ordaining that the Union be dissolved, and that the State is free and independent, but not repealing the ordinance of 1789 and acts of Assembly amending the Constitution. This failed by 49 to 66.

The old Union men, and those who thought secession as a constitutional right a legal heresy, having thus recorded their

views in their votes on the Badger "Ordinance of Revolution" and the Ruffin amendment, not claiming the right to repeal the measures of adhesion to the Federal Constitution, deeming it patriotic to present an undivided front, waived their scruples and voted for the Craige Ordinance, passing it by a majority of 115 to 0.

Mr. Badger yielded with reluctance, left the hall and withheld his vote until next day. The result was celebrated by the firing of cannon in Capitol Square. Many expressed their rejoicing in jubilant terms, but there were not lacking faces gloomy from the consciousness of the momentous task on which we had entered.

Mr. Whitford moved the adoption of a State Flag. A blue field with a white V thereon, and a star, encircling which shall be the words, surgit astrum, May 20, 1775. Referred to a committee of seven.

Mr. Thomas P. Meares then offered a resolution that the Convention at once should adopt the Provisional Constitutional of the Confederate States, which had been agreed to February 8, 1861, by South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. Mr. Graham, in behalf of those who thought best not to enter into a new government without proper safe-guards, moved to adjourn. Lost, 39 to 64. Mr. R. P. Dick moved to refer it to a vote of the people, but the Convention refused to concur, 34 to 72.

It was then passed unanimously.

Hon. Abram W. Venable then offered an ordinance providing that "North Carolina assents to and ratifies the Constitution of the Confederate States of America, adopted at Montgomery, Alabama, March 11, 1861, by Conventions of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas, and agrees to enter into a Federal association of States on the terms proposed." This by consent was laid over for further consideration. A night session was held on the 21st, when, in presence of many spectators, all the members, by counties signed the Secession Ordinance, elegantly enrolled on parchment.

Joining the Confederacy.

The ordinance to adopt the permanent Constitution of the Confederate States was passed on the 6th of June, 1861. Ex-Governor Graham's motion to adopt a proviso that due representation should be given to this State in Presidential and Congressional elections was negatived by a two-thirds vote, the majority thinking that it would imply distrust of the fairness of the new government. Mr. Dick's motion to submit the question of adoption to a vote of the people failed by nearly the same vote. An amendment offered by Hon. W. S. Ashe claiming the right to secede if the powers conferred should be used to the injury of North Carolina was lost by 88 to 24. After the ordinance was unanimously passed the Ashe declaration was brought up again. A motion to lay it on the table failed by a tie vote. It was not called up again, probably because Mr. Ashe was appointed by President Davis to take charge of the railroad system and resigned his seat.

Legislation.

It is impossible for want of space to give a full history of the general legislation. A mere outline is only practicable. Rules of Order, based on those of 1835, but with material additions were adopted. Mr. Badger was the leader in Parliamentary law. Next to him was Mr. Graham. President Edwards was also an expert. He was overruled only twice during his term. First, where a day's notice of a motion to adjourn had been given, a motion to rescind it did not require an additional day's notice. He ruled to the contrary. Second. A motion to rescind a resolution of adjournment did not require three readings, as the President decided.

The following rulings, the reason for which were clearly given by Mr. Badger, are useful. While the motion to reconsider must by the adopted rules only be made by one of those who passed the measure, if the yeas and nays have not been called, any member may move a reconsideration. That is,

if the record does not show the names of those voting, for and against, all are presumed to vote aye. We must go by the journal.

The presiding officer, if he thinks a motion unobjectionable, and no one demands a second, may presume it, and put the motion without it.

On the 27th of June, 1861, the State troops, etc., were transferred to the Confederate Government. Also forts, lighthouses, mint in Charlotte and arsenal in Fayetteville. Fifty dollars bounty was offered for volunteers for three years of the war. Various other provisions were made which I will not enumerate.

A State Flag was adopted. A red field with a white star in the centre. Above the star May 20, 1775; below it May 20, 1861. Two bars of equal width, the upper blue, the lower white.

May 21, 1861, Governor Ellis reported 10,717 volunteers. The ten regiments enlisted for the war had not been entirely raised. He estimated 15,350 troops needed for defence to cost $6,625,000 per annum. It was certain that the Confederate Government will accept and pay twelve regiments of infantry, one of artillery and one of cavalry, leaving $3,120,968 to be paid by this State.

Of the officers of the United States, 35 were appointed from North Carolina; 14 tendered their services to this State.

Major T. H. Holmes, Captain R. C. Gatlin, R. G. Campbell, Robert Ransom, First Lieutenants: George B. Anderson, W. D. Pender, R. H. Riddick. Second Lieutenants: Joseph R. Jones, Sol Williams, Alexander McRae, Lawrence S. Baker, Gabriel H. Hill, S. D. Ramseur, R. C. Hill. Besides these, Captain John C. Winder, Major James A. Bradford and Lieutenant W. G. Robison had already tendered their services.

Of the cadets of the Military Academy A. S. Moore, J. E. Craige, G. S. Lovejoy, O. C. Petway, P. H. Faison, G. W. Clayton, R. B. Cowan, J. W. Lee; of those in the Naval

Academy W. F. Moore, T. S. Galloway, ——— Fish; of the officers of the United States Navy, Commanders John Manning and W. T. Muse; Lieutenants J. T. Cook, W. E. Boudinot, J. N. Maffit, P. U. Murphy, Paymaster J. Johnson, Professor A. W. Lawrence, Lieutenant of Marines, W. W. Kirkland and Master ——— Kerr; Third Lieutenant in Revenue Service M. W. Brown.

Steamers Albemarle and Ellis were purchased and Kenabee chartered for the State.

Early in June, 1861, ex-Judge Ruffin and ex-Governor Graham were appointed a committee to arrange for the transfer of the forces of the State. There was a difference of opinion as to the right of appointing officers but the claim of the President prevailed, The ordinance of transfer was ratified June 27, 1861.

Provision was made for calling for volunteers to meet the requisition of the Confederate authorities but these were all superseded by the conscriptions acts of Congress.

On motion of an "old Union" man, Hamilton C. Jones, on December 6, 1861, the Convention passed a resolution of confidence in the Confederate cause, readiness to submit to all sacrifices and denouncing the cruelty and barbarism of our adversaries.

The Friends (Quakers) were allowed exemption from military service on payment of $100 each.

Three million, two hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to meet the demands of the Treasury for two years. Three million of treasury notes were authorized, one-half $5s, one-fourth $10s and one-fourth $20s. In 1863, $2,000,000 more were authorized, $8,000,000 $5s; $7,000,000 $10s; $500,000 in $20s, and in addition $10,000 in five cents and $10,000 in ten cents. The manufacture of spirituous liquors was prohibited after February 21, 1862, not as a temperance measure, but to save grain for food.

A Board of Claims against the State was created. Messrs. B. F. Moore, S. F. Phillips and Patrick Henry Winston, of Bertie, all Old Union men, were chosen.

The manufacture of salt out of sea water was undertaken. Dr. John M. Worth, was elected Superintendent. State Geologist Dr. Emmons reported that the French consume fourteen pounds to each individual per annum, the English twenty-two, and North Carolina comes between the two. Employees were exempt from military duty. The products were distributed freely by the County Justices. Any one re-selling State salt was guilty of a misdemeanor. Power of impressment of free negroes was given to the Superintendent, also the power of condemning the necessary land.

The ordinance proposed by ex-Governor Graham as a substitute, offering one dollar a bushel for 1,000 pounds, failed to pass.

An ordinance carefully drawn by Mr. Badger endeavored to put a stop to speculation in the necessaries of life, i. e., forestalling and regrating. It was passed with the exception of the clause dispensing with grand juries. If it had any effect it was not known.

Railroads from Washington, North Carolina, to Tarboro; from Florence, South Carolina, to Fayetteville, and Greensboro to Danville, were chartered, and amendment to the railroad from Fayetteville to the coal fields of Chatham, and from Raleigh to the same, were granted. The Sapona Iron Company was allowed to mine iron in the same valley.

The Convention accepted from Colonel Wharton J. Green a marble bust of John C. Calhoun.

Resolutions discountenancing party spirit, aimed at the supposed partiality of the Confederate and State administrations in favor of original secessionists, were offered but failed. Mr. Gilmer moved a resolution to appoint Colonels G. E. B. Singletary and Z. B. Vance Brigadier-Generals, but did not press to a vote.

Much excitement was caused by the report that the Confederate Government contemplated seizing the arms of the people. Also that Isaiah Respass and other citizens, not in the military service, had been removed to Richmond. Mr. Badger offered strong resolutions against both movements. There was hot discussion. Effort was made to cut off this discussion by a motion to adjourn, but it failed by a two-thirds vote. After divers excited speeches made, adjournment was agreed to, and satisfactory action being taken by the authorities, the subjects were dropped.

Authority was given to cities and towns to prohibit the sale of spirituous liquors within the corporate limits or within a mile thereof, probably the first prohibition law in our State history.

Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of Colonel William H. Thomas, the agent of the Cherokees, the Act allowing Indians to testify for or against whites, was repealed by a two-thirds vote.

The Commissioners of Wilmington were authorized to borrow money for fortifying the city and obstructing the river, with the consent of the Confederate officer in command. The same privilege was extended to New Berne and Washington and to any other town which might ask for it.

Authority over the acts of the General Assembly was claimed and exercised.

On motion of W. W. Holden the Convention gave the first official recognition of the "patriotic ardor of the ladies of the State, which they have exhibited in behalf of the country in the prosecution of the war."

Members of Congress.

Under the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States the Convention elected the following delegates. For the State at large, William W. Avery and George Davis. For the Districts, William N. H. Smith, Colonel Thomas

Ruffin, of Wayne; Thomas S. D. McDowell, Abram Venable, John M. Morehead, Richard C. Puryear, Burton Craige and Allen T. Davidson.

The old Union men had before this election become dissatisfied with the attitude of the original secessionists and their recruits. The old proverb, "politics make strange bedfellows" was never more clearly proved to be true than when a caucus was held in Holden's parlor, with ex-Governor Graham presiding. Those of us who attended recalled in memory the many hard things *The Standard* had said of the public acts of the distinguished Chairman. The caucus nominated Bedford Brown and H. W. Miller for the State at large, and W. N. H. Smith, George Green, W. F. Leak, Archibald Arrington, J. M. Morehead, R. C. Puryear, W. R. Myers, R. T. Davidson, for the Districts. The original Secessionists nominated W. W. Avery and George Davis for the State at large and R. H. Smith, Thomas Ruffin, of Wayne; T. S. D. McDowell, A. Venable, J. W. Cunningham, R. L. Patterson, B. Craige and N. W. Woodfin. There were enough independent members to elect men from both tickets. Those chosen were Messrs. W. W. Avery and George Davis, for the State at large, and W. N. H. Smith, Thomas Ruffin, of Wayne; T. S. D. McDowell, Abram Venable, J. M. Morehead, R. C. Puryear, Burton Craige and A. T. Davidson, for the Districts.

Secret Sessions.

Secret sessions were sometimes held, mainly concerning the danger to the tide-water sections. There was fear of a stampede of the slaves to the Federal Army, as soon as there was an invasion of our coasts. Complaints were vigorous of the withdrawal of troops from threatened points. Some counselled the removal of slaves from the coastal countries, Mr. William Pettigrew stated that when he called up his slaves for transportation to the up-country they fled to the swamps. He afterwards persuaded them to change their

abode and, after the close of the war, was utterly unable to assist their return. Much mournful speech was uttered in the secret sessions, but little effectual was done; nothing could be done. The chief speakers were Messrs. Speed, F. B. Saterthwaite, K. Rayner, R. H. Smith, Spruill, Pettigrew and Woodfin. These were good speakers and being intensely in earnest, were eloquent in depicting the dangers threatening their counties. But the duty of protection had been transferred to the Confederate Government. The members were sympathetic but waited in vain for practical proposals of relief.

Defeated Ordinances.

The following proposed ordinances failed to meet favor. Some of them show the excited spirit among many members.

1. Allowing free negroes to enslave themselves.
2. *Debtors in prison bounds to go free during the war.
3. †Selling cotton yarns for over $1.50 for five pounds a misdemeanor.
4. Creating a Minister of War.
5. To repeal the Stay Law, passed by the General Assembly. The vote was close, 54 to 52.
6. To deprive the courts of all civil jurisdiction during the war. Also to give the Superior Court judges the power of calling criminal courts at their pleasure for the trial of felonies.
7. A self denying ordinance, prohibiting a member of the Convention from holding any office.

A committee, of which Judge Asa Biggs was Chairman, reported an ordinance which reminds us of the stern temper of the days of Cromwell. This was to make seditious language criminal, and requiring a stringent test vote to be

*Debtors could be released unless fraudulently concealing their property.

†This was introduced by Major W. A. Smith, who whispered to me, "That is for Johnston County. You will never hear of the d———d thing any more."

taken of all males, except volunteers in the army, under a penalty of banishment or disfranchisement. Judge Biggs was leader for the affirmative and ex-Governor Graham for the negative.

Each of the following offenses was declared a high misdemeanor, punishable with fine and imprisonment, with obligation to give good security for three years.

1. Attempting to convey intelligence to the enemy.
2. Publishing and deliberately speaking or writing against our public defense.
3. Maliciously and advisedly endeavoring to excite the people to resist the Government of this State or of the Confederate States.
4. Or persuading them to return to a dependence on the United States.
5. Knowingly spreading false and dispiriting news.
6. Maliciously and advisedly terrifying and discouraging the people for enlisting into the service of the Confederate States.
7. Stirring up or exciting tumults, disorders, or insurrections in this State.
8. Disposing the people to favor the enemy.
9. Opposing or endeavoring to prevent the measures carrying on in support of the freedom and independence of the Confederate States.

Two or more credible, or "other sufficient evidence," were sufficient to convict.

One witness could charge a person with the commission of any of the foregoing offenses, and a Judge or Justice of the Peace must bind him to appear at Court, or for want of security commit him to prison.

It shows deep bitterness of feeling against those supposed to be favorable to the United States. When we note these proposed laws, capable of tyrannical suppression of free speech, and even of free thought, as evil as the laws of the most despotic and cruel governments, received the votes of

twenty-nine good men, who in quiet times were lovers of liberty and as much opposed to despotism as the forty-five who voted to indefinitely postpone the whole subject, we realize the hot temper of the times.

The next proposition to rid the State of opponents of the Confederate Government was to require an oath, called the Test-oath, of all free males, except volunteers in the army, idiots, lunatics and prisoners of war, first of allegiance to the State, secondly, that they will defend the independence of the Confederate States; third, renounce allegiance to the United States; fourth, to support the Confederate States and this State. If they should refuse, the Court may order him to leave the State within thirty days. If allowed to remain they would be disqualified to hold office. If they should not leave the State when ordered, they were to be sent at their own expense. If they should return they would be guilty of treason, punishable with death.

The speech of ex-Governor Graham against this proposal was very able and was published in pamphlet form. The best on the other side was perhaps that of Mr. Biggs. Only twenty-two voted aye against forty-five noes. Mr. Rayner then moved an ordinance to define and punish seditious language, which failed by forty-five to twenty-nine.

A proposal to confiscate the property of those abandoning the State, or being residents of another State should not return, was also willed.

The proposal to have an Executive Council with dictatorial powers over persons and property was also voted down.

Among the propositions of an interesting nature which met with no favor, was one to have no amendment to the Constitution except by a Convention, so that there shall be no submission of a legislative amendment to the people.

The requirement of *viva voce* voting instead of by ballots, received only the vote of the mover, Mr. Howard.

Mr. Bridgers' motion that no law should be passed except by a majority of all the members of each house, received thirty-seven votes, but there were forty-four against it.

Mr. Woodfin's motion to make Federal population, instead of taxation, the basis of the Senate obtained nineteen votes—sixty-two against it.

The ordinance to elect judges by the people was voted down.

Constitutional Changes.

Some amendments to the Constitution were adopted from time to time.

1. The definition and punishment of treason, following the Federal Constitution.

2. Taxation of slaves according to value.

3. Poll tax on free males, between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five, and that to be the same as the tax on $300 value of land.

4. Jews were allowed to hold office. The prohibition was confined to those denying the divine authority of both the Old and New Testament.

5. One-fifth of members of Conventions and General Assemblies required to call for a vote by yeas and nays. Two members could do this under prior constitutions.

6. Six months' residence in counties required of voters for Senators.

Besides there were others to end with the war. First. To allow soldiers of the State to vote wherever they might be. Secondly. Also refugees to vote in any county. Thirdly. Requirement of election for Governor on first Thursday in August, 1863, was of course only for one occasion, the first election of Governor Vance.

Abortive Efforts to Revise the Constitution.

A considerable number of the delegates endeavored to secure important amendments to the Constitution. To that end they procured the appointment of strong committees to report the changes that should be made. The final adjournment of the Convention prevented the consideration of their

reports, but they are interesting as showing the views of able lawyers and men of business. The Committee on the Declaration of Rights, Mr. W. J. Ellison, Chairman, and Badger, Holmes, Ruffin, of Alamance, and Dick, made a few recommendations, "on account of the reverence and veneration due to it." They opposed any alterations in regard to the free negroes. They added what many supposed was already a part of it, "nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb."

Also, "Nor shall right or justice be sold, denied or delayed to any one, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

They recommended the striking out of the section relating to the boundary of the State, as it was inaccurate; moreover such description is out of place in a declaration of principles.

On the Legislative Department were Messrs Graham, Chairman; Rayner, Smith, of Halifax; Strong, Meares, Brown, Foster, of Randolph; Caldwell, of Rowan, McDowell, of Bladen; Woodfin.

Among their recommendations were the following:

The General Assembly may disfranchise for bribery.

No high officer of a corporation, in which the State is a stockholder to be member of the General Assembly. Nor shall anyone not entitled to vote be a member.

A majority of all members of each house necessary to appropriate as much as $500.

The public debt limited to $20,000,000, unless in war or insurrection.

Jews may hold office (already adopted).

Treason against the State defined.

The Committee on the Executive Department consisted of Messrs. Howard, Chairman; Dillard (Richard), Green, Leak, of Richmond; Arrington, Gilmer, Headen, Miller, Galloway, Greenlee. They reported that the Governor should own at least $5,000, of which $2,000, should be realty. The term of office to be three years, not to be eligible to a second

consecutive term. To have veto power over revenue and appropriation bills, two-thirds required to pass over veto. The office of Lieutenant-Governor to be created.

The Committee on the Judicial Department were Messrs. Ruffin, of Alamance; Biggs, Battle, of Edgecombe; Sanders, Strange, Bridgers, Kittrell, Johnston, Mitchell, McDowell, of Madison. They recommended that the Supreme Court be a Chief Justice and three Associate Justices; two terms at Raleigh; the General Assembly may provide for more than two terms of the Superior Courts in a county, and if so they may increase the terms of Courts of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, their name to be changed to County Courts. Three Justices of the Peace for one thousand inhabitants, to be elected by the County Courts, to own in the county a freehold assessed for taxes for $100. Justices to be removed for conviction of infamous crime, corruption or misdemeanor in office. The General Assembly may establish Courts in cities and towns with civil jurisdiction.

The Committee on Taxation, Revenue and Public Debt were Messrs. Ruffin, of Alamance; Smith, of Halifax; Pettigrew, Thomas, of Jackson; Bridgers, Biggs, Mitchell, McDowell, of Madison. They recommended taxation of slaves, the same as land, the limitation of the public debt to be $20,000,000, except in war, etc. No public debt without taxation to pay interest and create a sinking fund.

Finding that the Convention would not consider a general revision of the Constitution, ex-Governor Graham proposed a Special Convention for the purpose, but he obtained only twenty-four votes.

Oratory and Behavior.

According to my recollection, ex-Governor Graham's speech on the Test-oath was the ablest delivered in the Convention. A short attack by Mr. Saterthwaite against Soldiers' Suffrage, and one by Mr. C. R. Thomas, on his resolution discountenancing Party Spirit had the clearest ring of elo-

quence. Other strong and frequent speakers were Messrs. G. E. Badger, D. A. Barnes, Asa Biggs, R. P. Dick, D. D. Ferebee, George Green, George Howard, William Lander, J. W. Osborne, W. S. Pettigrew, K. Rayner, Ruffin, of Alamance; D. Schenck, F. B. Saterthwaite, R. H. Smith, R. K. Speed, S. B. Spruill, E. A. Thompson, E. J. Warren, N. W. Woodfin.

The following spoke occasionally, some of them ably, all interestingly and to the point. Messrs. K. P. Battle, B. Brown, B. Craige, W. J. Ellison, J. A. Gilmer, R. Gorrell, T. R. Hargrove, J. H. Headen, H. C. Jones, W. F. Leak, W. J. Long, T. S. D. McDowell, R. S. Donnell, J. Manning, G. Mebane, W. J. F. Miller, W. M. Shipp, W. A. Smith, R. Strange, G. V. Strong, C. R. Thomas, J. W. Tracy, A. W. Venable, J. D. Whitford.

It must be admitted that too much time was consumed in debates Quite a number of members were so much experienced in public business, with such reputation in the State that, without working for any personal object, they felt bound to express their views on almost every question coming up. This very great supply of oratorical power led to lengthened debates, the speakers feeling bound to maintain their reputations.

The discussions were generally in good temper. One clash however created amusement to all but the participants. Two venerable men, ex-Judge Ruffin and ex-Senator Bedford Brown, had a short interchange of angry sarcasm. They had adjoining seats and when their passage at arms was over, they sat back to back, irritation being apparent on their countenances. Their friends during the recess made explanations and friendship was renewed.

At another time a prominent delegate used to an eminent elderly member loud and hectoring language, in fact, irritated by interruption, ordered him to take his seat. The latter indignantly, but without threatening a blow, strode towards his adversary. There was a general shudder at the

possibility of two distinguished men disgracefully coming to blows. Judge W. M. Shipp quickly, but firmly, stepped between the two and gave the needed moment for reflection. I feel sure that the offended delegate did not intend a blow but only resentment against the improper language which had been addressed to him. The offender afterwards tendered an earnest apology, explaining that a sick headache caused intense nervousness.

The usual temper of the members was of a serious nature. The members were impressed with the magnitude of the task the State had assumed, and the uncertainties of the future. On one occasion, however, there was an outburst of merriment. A delegate, a preacher, made a speech with the mournfulness of utterance and excited gesticulation usual at old-fashioned camp meetings. Another delegate, an amiable and able man, who had recently more than usual interviews with old John Barleycorn, at the close of the war sermon, stepped forward and shouted, "Mr. Speaker: I move that the front benches be set apart for the mourners!" There was a universal roar, and for several minutes the responsibilities of legislation were forgotten.

There were two occasions when the general excitement caused a cessation of business for several minutes. This first was General D. H. Hill's dispatch to the Governor announcing the victory of Big Bethel, with the loss of one killed and six wounded on the Confederate side, while the enemy stated their loss at 150. Men who went wild over this skirmish, as if its success would bring the Union authorities to terms, learned to be camparatively cool over the great victories of Manasses and Chancellorsville. The report was made to Governor Ellis because the troops had not been transferred to the Confederacy. General Hill piously adds: "Our Heavenly Father has wonderfully interposed to shield our heads in the day of battle." Governor Ellis in transmitting the victory asked and obtained the privilege of thanking the gallant commander and the brave officers and men. On

motion of Colonel Spruill a committee was appointed to illuminate the capitol and grounds in honor of the "brilliant victory," which project was not carried out. Long afterwards the patriotic ardor of the ladies caused a bronze statue of the slain private to be erected in the Capitol Square. Countless orators have paid tribute to North Carolina as "First at Bethel and last at Appomattox."

The second occasion when the members lost their heads was when Roanoke Island was captured. There was a mild panic for a few minutes. Some advocated an immediate adjournment. Some looked as if there was imminent danger of Burnside's cavalry making a dash on Raleigh. But the cooler-headed members soon brought the rattleheads to respectable order. Colonel R. R. Bridgers was the first to show coolness.

It is surprising to note the ignorance of even intelligent Southerners of the power and resources of the United States. The Convention requested of Governor Ellis information as to the alleged "landing of foreign troops on the coast of North Carolina." On June 10, 1861, he answered that the rumor was untrue and then added, "If our batteries are properly served, a fact of which I could entertain no doubt, the power of the United States Navy is not sufficient to effect an entrance into anyone of the harbors of the State."

"In the following December the Convention expressed their undiminished confidence in the officers and soldiers, who, after a long and severe bombardment, were compelled to surrender to an overwhelming force, the inadequate defenses of Hatteras." The Convention thought that the batteries were well served, but the defences were not adequate. The truth is that the batteries were well constructed under the supervision of Colonel Elwood Morris, a very able civil engineer, but could not resist the tremendous artillery of the great fleets of the United States.

Sessions and Dissolution.

The large majority of the more distinguished members had the public confidence. The legislation was conservative and wise. And yet evidently the people had come to the conclusion that they ought to give way to the General Assembly, the regular constitutional law-making body. The ultra-secessionists favored dissolution, partly because they had lost control of the Convention, and partly because they thought that the majority were somewhat disposed to criticise too severely the action of the Confederate authorities. The argument that the majority of the people desired dissolution was fatal to longer continuance.

There were four sessions of the Convention. First. May 20 to June 28, 1861; second, November 18, 1861 to December 13, 1861; third, January 20 to February 26, 1862; fourth, April 21 to May 13, 1862. There was no adjournment *sine die* on this latter date, but a resolution was passed allowing President Edwards, and in event of his death, Messrs. Graham, Howard, Badger, Smith, of Halifax; and Rayner, or a majority of them, to call the Convention together at any time prior to November 1, 1862, and that, if not so called prior to that date, it should stand adjourned *sine die*. It was known that the President was opposed to another meeting, and that, if he should not die, May 13, 1862, was practically the day of final adjournment, but legally the Convention did not expire until the first day of November, 1862.

Roll of Delegates Elected to the Convention of 1861 and of Those Who Filled Vacancies.

Alamance—Thomas Ruffin, Giles Mebane.

Alexander—Azariah C. Stewart (died), Alexander M. Bogle.

Ashe and Alleghany—Joel E. Foster.

Anson—Albert Myers, M. D., James A. Leak.

Beaufort—William J. Ellison (died), Edward J. Warren, Richard Spaight Donnell.

Bertie—Samuel B. Spruill, James Bond.

Bladen—Thomas S. D. McDowell (resigned), Neill Kelly.

Brunswick—Thomas D. Meares.

Buncombe—Nicholas W. Woodfin.

Burke—John C. McDowell.

Cabarrus—Caleb Phifer.

Caldwell—Edmund W. Jones.

Camden—Dennis D. Ferebee.

Carteret—Charles R. Thomas.

Caswell—Bedford Brown, John A. Graves (resigned, James E. Williamson.

Catawba—Rev. Polycarp C. Henkel, D. D., George Sitzer.

Chatham—John Manning, Leonidas J. Merritt (resigned), James H. Headen.

Chowan—Richard Dillard, M. D.

Cherokee—Allen T. Davidson (resigned), James H. Bryson.

Cleveland—William J. T. Miller, M. D., James W. Tracy, M. D.

Columbus—Richard Wooten.

Craven—George Green, John D. Whitford.

Cumberland—David McNeill, Warren Winslow (resigned), Malcolm J. McDuffie, Archibald S. McNeill.

Currituck—Henry M. Shaw, M. D. (resigned), John B. Jones (resigned), Daniel McD. Lindsay.

Davidson—Benton C. Douthitt, Benjamin A. Kittrell.

Davie—Robert Sprouse.

Duplin—William J. Houston (resigned), James Dickson, James T. Rhodes.

Edgecombe—William S. Battle, George Howard.

Forsyth—Rufus L. Patterson (resigned), Thomas J. Wilson, Darius J. Starbuck.

Gaston—Sidney X. Johnston, M. D.

Franklin—Archibald D. Williams.

Gates—Andrew J. Walton.

Granville—Tazewell L. Hargrove (resigned), Stephen S. Royster, Abram W. Venable (resigned), Thomas B. Lyon.

Greene—William A. Darden.

Guilford—Robert P. Dick, John A. Gilmer, Ralph Gorrell.

Halifax—Richard H. Smith, Charles J. Gee, M. D. (resigned), Littleberry W. Batchelor, M. D.

Harnett—Archibald S. McNeill.

Haywood—Rev. William Hicks.

Henderson—William M. Shipp.

Hertford—Kenneth Rayner.

Hyde—Edward L. Mann.

Iredell—Andrew Mitchell, Thomas A. Allison.

Jackson—William H. Thomas.

Johnston—Claudius B. Sanders, William A. Smith.

Jones—William Foy.

Lenoir—John C. Washington.

Lincoln—William Lander (resigned), David Schenck.

Macon—Rev. Conrad D. Smith.

Madison—Joseph A. McDowell, M. D.

Martin—Asa Biggs (resigned), Doctor Warren Bagley.

Mecklenburg—William Johnston (resigned), James W. Osborne, Pinckney C. Caldwell.

Montgomery—Samuel H. Christian.

Moore—Hector Turner, M. D.

Nash—Archibald H. Arrington (resigned), Lucien N. B. Battle.

New Hanover—William S. Ashe (resigned), Robert H. Cowan (resigned), Robert Strange, John L. Holmes.

Northampton—David A. Barnes, John M. Moody.

Onslow—Edward W. Ward, M. D. (resigned), Andrew J. Murrill.

Orange—William A. Graham, John Berry.

Pasquotank—Rufus K. Speed.

Perquimans—Joseph S. Cannon.

Person—John W. Cunningham.

Pitt—Bryan Grimes (resigned), Fenner B. Saterthwaite, Peyton A. Atkinson.

Randolph—William J. Long, Alfred G. Foster.

Richmond—Walter F. Leak.

Robeson—John P. Fuller, John C. Sutherland.

Rockingham—David S. Reid, Edward T. Brodnax.

Rowan—Burton Craige (resigned), Hamilton C. Jones, Richard A. Caldwell.

Rutherford—Jason H. Carson (died), Micajah Durham, George W. Michal.

Sampson—Thomas Bunting, Robert A. Moseley.

Stanley—Eben Hearne.

Stokes—John Hill (died), Alexander H. Joyce.

Surry—Thomas V. Hamlin.

Tyrrell—Eli Spruill.

Union—Hugh M. Houston.

Wake—George E. Badger, Kemp P. Battle, William W. Holden.

Warren—Weldon N. Edwards, Frances A. Thornton.

Washington—William S. Pettigrew.

Watauga—James W. Councill.

Wayne—George V. Strong, Ervin A. Thompson.

Wilkes—James Galloway, Peter Eller.

Yadkin—Robert F. Armfield (resigned).

Yancey—Milton P. Penland.

Roll of Officers of the Convention of 1861.

Weldon N. Edwards—President.

Principal Secretary—Walter L. Steele, Rockingham County.

Assistant Secretary—Leonidas C. Edwards, Granville County.

Principal Doorkeeper—James Page, Randolph County.

Assistant Doorkeeper—Filliam R. Lovill, Surry County.

Second Assistant Doorkeeper—John C. Moore, Wake County.

Third Assistant—Drury King.

Printer to the Convention—John W. Syme, Wake County.

The Cupola House and Its Associations

By Mack Chappell.

In the town of Edenton, North Carolina, there are three distinct types of old buildings that were completed about the same time. They are the Court House, St. Paul's Church, and the Cupola House. These are monuments of wealth, taste and architecture. They are still efficient, symmetrical and pleasing in their surroundings. The subject of this essay is the last named house; and first something should be said of its history.

On September 17, 1744, Francis Corbin(*a*), builder of the Cupola House was appointed land agent by John, Earl Granville, the only one of the Lords Proprietors who retained his interests in North Carolina. A few days later, Corbin left England for the Carolinas on a man-of-war; and arriving in Chowan County, took charge of the Earl's affairs—having as an associate agent, Edward Moseley, appointed in 1743(*b*).

Corbin was very unjust in his dealings, and thus became unpopular. Twice he was seized by a mob(*c*), but always escaped with a light loss, in most instances his deputy agents being the ones who suffered. Once he endeavored to bring suit against the rioters(*d*), but being warned by Thomas Child, Granville's attorney, that he would be the loser, he withdrew his suit. Notwithstanding his harshness he had great power. Edward Moseley, Colonel James Innes, Benjamin Wheatley and Joshua Bodley were each in their turn

(a) Francis Corbin appointed land agent Sept. 17, 1744 (N. C. Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. III, No. 2, page 239).

(b) Edward Moseley, agent in 1743, associated with Corbin (same reference).

(c) Corbin and his fellow agents oppressors, assailed by mob (Vol. VIII, Pref. notes, page IX, Colonial Records).

(d) Corbin endeavored to punish rioters (Col. Records, Vol. V, page LIX).

fellow agents of Corbin(e); yet, while each was dismissed, he remained in office. A probable aid to his power was his influence in the church. At a vestry meeting in Edenton, the vestry and church wardens appointed Corbin to agree with some one to have the church finished(*f*). Therefore he must have been a member of the Episcopal Church and a man of business ability.

Francis Corbin built the Cupola House in 1758, and as is indicated by the interior of the house was probably several years in completing it. Most statements err concerning Corbin's marriage and death, but it is a fact that in 1761 he married Colonel James Innes' widow, Jean(*g*). No one knows the date of his death. That he was living on August 2, 1766(*h*) is certain, for on that date he was recommended for the Governor's Council. That he was dead by December 11, 1767(*i*), we know, for on that day his administrators were allowed £80 for a negro that had been executed. Francis Corbin left no will, but made a deed on October 28, 1761, "subjecting the Cupola House on Lot No. 1, to himself and his heirs until the solemnization of the then intended marriage between himself and Jean Innes, after this to Jean Innes for her lifetime, and then to his heirs." Jean Corbin died in 1775(*j*), and then the property descended to Edmund Corbin(*k*), brother of Francis Corbin.

(e) Fellow agents of Corbin:
Edward Moseley (Col. Records, Vol. IV, page 924);
Col. James Innes (Col. Records, Vol. V, page 778);
Benj. Wheatley (Col. Records, Vol. V, page 779);
Joshua Bodley (Col. Records, Vol. V, page 779);
Thomas Child (Col. Records, Vol. VI, page 293);

(f) Vestry St. Paul's Church appointed Corbin to have church finished. (N. C. Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 1, No. 4, October, 1900, pages 605 and 606.)

(g) Corbin married Jean Innes (Col. Records, Vol. V, page XIX).

(h) Corbin living August 2, 1766 (Col. Records, Vol. VII, page 247).

(i) Corbin dead by December 11, 1767 (Col. Records, Vol. XXII, page 850).

(j) Jean Corbin died 1775 (Abstract of N. C. Wills by Grimes, page 82).

(k) Descent of Cupola House to Edmund Corbin (Record or Deeds Chowan County, Vol. R, page 41).

Dr. Samuel Dickinson(*l*), the next owner of the house, was born in Connecticut in 1743, and died in 1802. He graduated in some foreign school, probably Edinburg, as that was then the medical center of the world. He located at Edenton.

On February 7, 1777, he bought the Cupola House(*m*) from Edmund Corbin for £400. Dr. Dickinson's office was on the corner of the same lot. He had associated with him a young doctor, Beasley by name. Dr. Dickinson was a man of wealth and had a wide practice. He met his death from exposure in crossing the Albermarle Sound to see some member of the Armistead family.

Dr. Dickinson willed the property to his daughter, Penelope Barker Bond(*n*) in 1802.

In 1858, Mrs. Penelope Barker Bond willed the Cupola House to her daughters, Elizabeth, Sarah, Anne and Margaret Bond(*o*).

Miss Margaret Bond, who survived her three sisters, left no will, but her niece, Miss Tillie Bond now possesses the property by right of inheritance.

The Cupola House is situated about the middle of Lot No. 1, of West Broad Street; and, like several other houses of that period, faces the water on the south. It is said that there was a heavy wall around the lot, and it is known that there was a very high hedge of Euonymus, probably inside the wall. If there was a wall the gate must have been on the southern side, for there are indications of an old walk to the house from that part of the lot. On each side of this path there are old fashioned flowers; Deutzia, Weigela, White Spirea, Toad-flax or Butter-and-Eggs, and some Jon-

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(l) Life of Dr. Dickinson (N. C. Booklet, or "Great Events in History of N. C.," Vol. XI, July, 1911, No. 1, page 24).

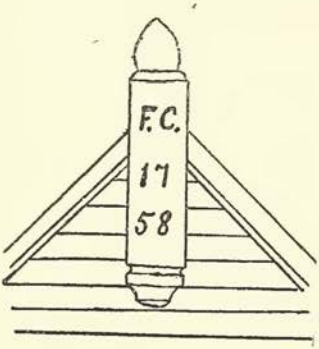
(m) Dr. Dickinson bought Cupola House for 400£ (Record Deeds Chowan County, Vol. R, page 41).

(n) Property descended to Penelope Barker Bond (Record of Wills, Book "B," page 277).

(o) Descent of property to Miss Margaret Bond and sisters (Record of Wills, Book "D," page 43).

quils, said to have been set out by Dr. Dickinson's wife over one hundred and thirty-five years ago.

Strictly speaking, the house has three stories for there is a large attic. In front, the second story projects twelve inches over the first story, and the projection is decorated with brackets. This was not done with a view to more space, but to break the perpendicular surface and thus ornament the house. There are two large chimneys on the western side and one on the eastern. The house has thirty large windows, showing that light and ventilation were much desired, even in Colonial days. All the windows of the first story have solid shutters and fasten with a large-headed bolt and slotted stick. The windows of the second and third stories are lower boarded and fasten with hooks. The house was painted white with green shutters and trimmings. The roof, which is nearly square pitched and has ornaments in the gables, has been covered several times, and is said to have been originally covered with shingles cut round at the ends. There is a gable at the front, and on the gable ornament there are in raised letters: F. C.—1758.



There is no doubt that the whole house, with few exceptions, is built from native white and yellow pine (*p*), especially since that wood was most abundant here and most used (*q*). It is certain that the timber was not cut in England and imported, for we had water-power sawmills in America as early as 1634(*r*). Indeed we had

(p) White and yellow pine in N. C. (Lawson's History of N. C., page 56).

(q) Pine most used at that time (same reference).

(r) Sawmills in America before in England (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XIV).

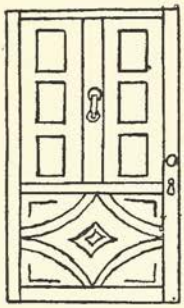
sawmills here capable of cutting two thousand feet per day before there were any in England. The bricks were also native made, for Lawson in his history, mentions that bricks and tiles were made here in 1714, and that in building with bricks, the people used lime made from oyster shells(*s*). The nails are hand wrought and were probably made here. Even the glass was probably made in America, for there were glass works in Virginia in 1608, and in Pennsylvania in 1683(*t*).

The house has eight by ten inch heart sills, resting on brick piers eight inches thick and twenty inches high; three by ten inch joists in first story and two by ten inch joists in second story—all joists being spaced twenty-four inches apart. The principal rafters are six by eight inches, and the ordinary ones are two by four and three by four inches. The plates and purlins are six by eight inches, and the corner posts are six by six inches. The window and door studs are three by four inches and all other studs are three by four and two by four inches. All the flooring of the house is six inches wide and one and one-half inches thick. The house is weather-boarded with six-inch bevel edged siding. The corner boards, window and door casings are of heart pine, one and one-eighth inches thick and five inches wide. The entire outside of the house was designed in the Colonial style.

The only external addition to the house is the front. It is a little portico or porch about seven feet wide and ten feet long. The approach to the porch is three stone steps. The porch has four posts or columns. The two front posts are seven and one-half inches square at the bottom, and taper to five inches square at the top. The rear posts are set in the weather-boarding and are eight inches square. The vaulted ceiling of the porch is plastered.

(s) Brick made in N. C. in 1714; lime from oyster shells (Lawson's History, page 46). Carpenters, joiners and brick masons in N. C. in 1714 (Lawson's History, page 98).

(t) Glass works in America in 1608-'83 (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. VIII).

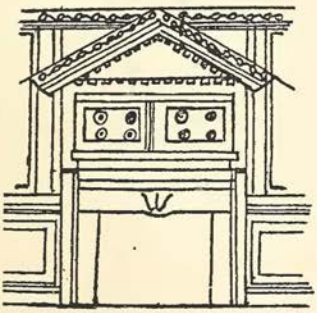


The front door is very heavy, being one and three-fourths inches thick, three and one-half feet wide and seven feet high. It has six panels with parquetry in curious shapes beneath. The heavy English hinges are nailed with wrought iron spikes. The door is fastened by a large iron lock—over ten inches long—with a peculiarly shaped key. All the fixings of the lock are brass. There is a heavy brass knocker, one of the several of the same pattern now in the community. The threshold is twelve inches wide, and there is a stationary transom of four panes above the door frame.

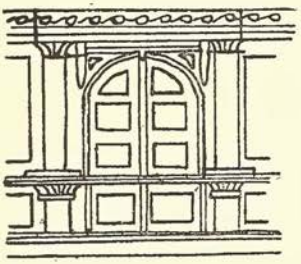
The lower hall is nine feet high and has six exits, but only two of the exits—the back and front doors—to the outside. The wash-boarding is six inches wide. Above this there is wainscot of one row of horizontal panels upon the stiles of which quirk molding is placed, surmounted by a five-inch chair-rail or stool cap. The remainder of the wall is plastered to the ceiling. The crown molding is large and has bands of ogee and cymatium molding. The back door and the doors to the two back rooms are plain with six panels and set in molded frames. The doors to the two front rooms are alike and have frontals placed over and about the frames. These frontals have a sub-base upon the wash-boarding, then two needed columns with molded base. The columns have molded capitals upon which rests an entablature with a plain architrave and a frieze ornamented with small carved colonnades. The cornice is molded and the pediment above it has a gable made of the

crown molding. The ceiling is plastered and in it are two hand-carved rosettes to receive hanging lamps. Only one of the lamps is now there. It has an oval globe, brass band and chains, and is raised and lowered by means of two pulleys.

The dining-room, or the first room to the right as we enter the hall is the most handsomely finished part of the house. The door frontal on the inside has two quilled and reeded columns with their bases upon the molded wash-board. Upon the capitals of the columns there is an entablature with plain molded archatrave, frieze and cornice. Above the cornice is an arch, which has corbels and square billet molding beneath it, made of heavy band and foliated molding. The door has a brass lock and hanging handles. Around the wall there is a row of horizontal panels upon which is molding, and a five-inch chair-rail. This supports the upper row of panels, set vertically. The panels are certainly of soft wood and are probably of white pine, with stiles of yellow pine. The crown molding is very heavy, about eight by eight inches, and is nearly similar to the molding of the arch above the door. The room has four windows with egg-and-anchor molding set in broken lines, to give a Roman appearance. On one of the panes of a window in this room there is scratched the name "Samuel Dickenson." The fire-place is of hand-carved Italian marble, and it is said that the hearth was of the same material, but has been destroyed. The mantel-piece, not in harmony with the door frontal, is surmounted by a pediment without columns. The lower part of this pediment has two panels with roses carved upon them. The cornice has brackets below it and the low gable is made of the crown molding. The mantle-piece, as well as the door frontal, is



made of white pine, for no hard wood could have been carved so regularly. Both were too high for the room, and the ceiling was cut away for their tops. On each side of the back of the room there is a small door opening into a separate butler's pantry. Between the doors there is a china closet built in the wall. The lower compartment is the same height as the chair-rail, and has two doors. On each side of this compartment stands a pedestal or sub-base. The chair-rail supports two quilled and reeded columns with Corinthian capitals, holding up a projection of the crown molding. Beneath this molding and between the columns there is an arch with carved keystone and spandrels. Under the arch is the main part of the china closet, which has two paneled doors and three oddly carved shelves.

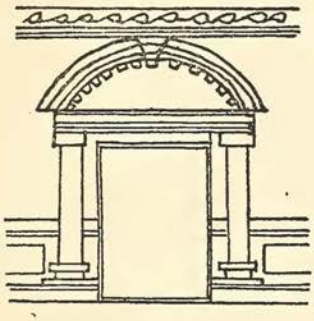


In the china closet there is almost a complete set of gilt and pink flowered china for twelve persons, It is interesting to note that the china is probably of the period of 1800(*u*), and at that time cost about fifteen dollars. There is one china candle-stick with two pairs of snuffers and a tray. A complete set of jelly glasses and wine glasses, one ale mug with the initials S. D., and a cut glass decanter or "bitters bottle" are on the shelves. There is also a large milk jug and an earthenware pitcher with the signs of the zodiac upon it. In a closet stands a lamp, said to be the first in Edenton. It is a small cut glass whale-oil lamp of the period of 1760. There is a Sheriton side-board that has six lion-clawed feet, four compartments, nine drawers and two serving trays. It is a massive piece of furniture made of mahogany, veneered, and is said to have been in the home one hundred and thirty-two years(*v*). There are upon

(u) China wares made in America in 1830 and cost of same (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XII).

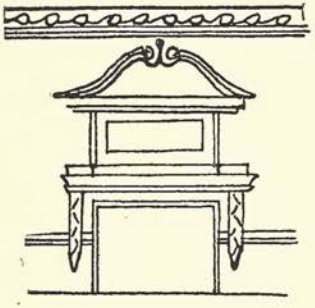
(v) Furniture (Schedule of the Margaret E. Bond furniture for sale by her Executor, W. D. Pruden, Edenton, N. C.).

this side-board two very large cut glass candle shades or stands, one cut glass finger bowl and tray, made in water-lily pattern, a berry bowl and a celery stand. In the room there stands a piano made by E. N. Scherr, of Philadelphia, about 1810. There is a Colonial dining table in three pieces, the center piece being drop-leafed and the end pieces rounded. The table when put together is nine feet long. A duck-foot tea-table, drop-leafed and made of solid mahogany once stood in this room. There was here a serving tray made of mahogany about 1700, a butler's stand and two enameled serving trays, and possibly six Chippendale chairs, made about 1710 to 1750. The fire utensils are brass-handled and have brass holders. On one side of the room a Colonial mirror with a picture of George Washington painted on the top, is fastened to the wall. The portraits of several noted people hang upon the walls, among them Thomas Barker, a lawyer, and his wife, Penelope Barker, the president of the Edenton Tea-Party in 1774.



The lower front room to the left as we enter the hall was used as a drawing room. The door frontal is similar to the one in the dining room except that the arch has a carved wooden keystone. The door frame is plainly molded and the door has a brass lock like the one across the hall. The wash-boarding is six inches high, upon which there is no wainscot, only plastered walls. Three feet from the floor there is a five-inch chair-rail with quirk and ogee molding beneath it. The crown molding is set on a beaded board, and is composed of bands of ogee, square-billet, band and cymatium. The walls and ceiling are plastered and have recently been murescoed green. The two front windows have eighteen panes and two shutters each

and set in egg-and-anchor molding. The two end windows have twelve panes and one shutter each. The hearth is of unpolished marble. Below the mantle shelf there is heavy molding on each side of which there are two long tapering brackets or corbels, hand-carved in beautiful foliations. There is a long panel above the mantel, and on each side of it inverted brackets support a pediment with a cornice like the crown molding. The tympanum is scalloped, and instead of a gable or arch, on each side there is a molded "Line of Beauty" with rosettes on the end of the volutes.

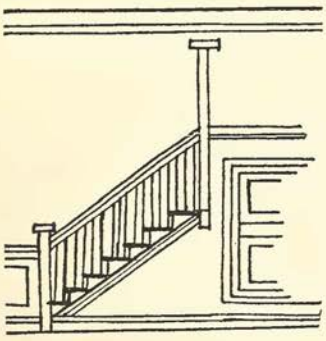


In this room there is a Calendar Grand Father Clock, made in London by William Foote, and about one hundred and fifty years old. The clock is veneered and very beautifully carved at the top. It has a brass face and silvered dial with an engraving of Father Time upon it. There were also two Chippendale corner chairs, 1750-1775, and seven Chippendale side chairs of the same period. A Chippendale tea-table with a raised rim and made about 1750 is said to have been in the drawing room. On the walls there is a small painting of Miss Penelope Dickinson, a certificate that Nathaniel Bond had received the degree of Master Mason, and the Master Mason's apron of the same man. The fire utensils are brass-handled and there are two very old hand-painted china vases, and one of the two old candle-sticks. Over the mantel-piece there is an interesting cartoon of the Boston Tea-Party, in which the men are nearly as large as the Continents, and certainly larger than the tea ships, and in which England and America are drawn with their natural positions interchanged. Above this cartoon the Dickinson coat-of-arms hangs.

The rear room to the right on the lower floor was merely used as a butler's pantry. It has several rows of shelves, and here may be seen the back of the china closet.

The rear room on the left was used as a bed room. It is the only room of the house that had curtains over the door. It is about eleven feet wide and has a six-inch wash-board, a chair-rail thirty-seven inches from the floor, and a large crown molding. There are two windows and two six-paneled doors, one of them opening into the drawing room. Over the fire-place is a large plain mantel-piece, and above this there was a long mirror in three sections. Nothing definite is known about this furniture.

A beautiful Chippendale stair winds from the first floor, through the second and to the third story. The treads are of heart pine, and some of them are worn to the risers(*w*). Under the projections of the steps there are brackets ornamented with rosettes and foils. The newel or end posts with caps and pendants, and the balusters which are placed three to a step, are turned out of solid mahogany. The material probably came from the West Indies. The hand-rail on the lower flight of stairs, because of the right turn of three steps, drops to the floor of the landing above and to the middle of the newel post. The hand-rails are of some soft wood. The reason for this is simple; the lathe is a very old machine, and the harder the wood the better can the work be done, but in Colonial days all the carving had to be done by hand, and the softest possible wood was selected(*x*). The wainscoting of the staircase, like the wain-



(w) White pine formerly most extensively used soft wood in America (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XVI).

(x) Carving on large scale was with white pine, fir, etc. (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XVI).

scot of the hall, is stained dark to match the balusters. At the first turn the panel is larger than the others, and here it may be seen that they are made of white pine. The stair makes one and three-fourth turns, and when ascending we may see the heavy wall plates, at least twelve inches thick, between the floors. These plates, like the rest of the frame, are pinned together with wooden pegs.

The hall on the second floor is seven feet nine inches high. It has four exits to rooms. The door to the room above the back right room of the first room is only twenty-three inches wide, the three other doors are thirty inches wide. This hall has a six-inch wash-boarding, no wainscotting, and a plain molded chair-rail. The crown molding is smaller and less elaborate than in the hall below. Of the two windows of the hall, the front one is average size, but the rear window has twenty-eight panes and is very large that it may light the halls of the second and third stories. In the plastering of the ceiling there is one rosette for a hanging lamp, but the lamp is missing.

In this hall there stands a Chippendale clothes press, built about 1750. It is made of solid mahogany and the top is carved in the shape of a shell. There is also a Colonial secretary of solid mahogany.

The door to the room above the dining room is set in a plainly molded frame, is one and one-half inches thick, hangs on heavy English hinges and has a brass lock and fixings. Above the six-inch wash-boarding are horizontal panels, on the stiles of which is placed a molded chair-rail. An upper row of panels, set vertically, reaches the ceiling. A six by six-inch cornice of ogee, ovolo, band and quirk molding rests upon the wainscoting. There are four large windows, each set in plainly molded frames. The fire-place has a marble hearth and is set in heavy molding. Above the mantel-shelf is one long panel between two inverted brackets or consoles. These backets support a pediment with a plain cornice and a low gable made of the crown molding. This mantel-piece,

like the one in the other room below, was too high for the ceiling.

This room was probably for guests, and in it there was a Sheriton bed, made about 1775. It was built of solid mahogany, was possibly a four-post bed and carved in the pine-apple and acanthus-leaf design. The feet of the bed had brass tips, and it had a rail at the top for a canopy. The other articles of furniture were; a Colonial chest of drawers, veneered, and built about 1800, and a Colonial wash-stand made about the same date.

The large bedroom above the drawing room has no paneled wainscot, but a plain wash-board, chair-rail and crown molding. There are two large windows at the front and two smaller ones at the side. The hearth is cut from marble and the mantel-piece is plainly molded. Over the mantel-piece there is a molded cornice and gable supported by two brackets, foliated and curling over at the top.

There are only a few known articles of furniture that have been in this room for any length of time, namely: A bed, a chest of drawers, and a beautifully carved secretary and work-table.

The room back of the one just mentioned is very small and plainly finished. It has only one window and a plain mantel-piece and fire-place. There is a door opening into the room in front.

The room above the butler's pantry is similar. Nothing definite is known about the furniture in either room.

Since the entrance or passage on the third floor is near the roof of the house, it has no regular shape and can hardly be called a hall. There are three exits to rooms and one to the Cupola. It has a plain wash-board, but no chair-rail or crown molding. Here may be seen the great plates, rafters, purlins and other timbers in the frame of the house.

On both left and right of the third floor there is a small well finished room. Each is plastered and has only one win-

dow. In each room there are two small recesses or closets for linen.

There is a small unfinished room under the gable over the front part of the house. Its only window is the oval or elliptical window in the gable. This room was probably used for storage purposes.

The staircase to the cupola is enclosed in a circular frame. The eighteen steps in the stairway wind around an octagon-shaped newel post. The small trap-door at the top is fastened below with a padlock.

The Cupola, whence the house derived its name, is octagon shaped and has four windows. There is a four-inch wash-boarding, a chair-rail and a four by five-inch crown molding. The walls and ceiling were plastered, but much of the plaster has fallen. This gives us a good opportunity to view the hand-split laths fastened by hand-wrought nails, the thick plaster and the hair in it. The hair is very short, fine and brown and must have been obtained from the deer. It is said that there was a veranda around the Cupola, but since this cannot be proved, no correct statement can be made concerning it. The southeastern side of the Cupola has never been plastered, and it is said that this was the door to the veranda, but the place could have been left plain with only the intention of putting a veranda around the cupola at some future time. The roof of this cupola, unlike the roof of other cupolas, is in the shape of an ellipse cut through the longer diameter.

There is in the cupola a spy-glass with the body, made of mahogany and brass ends. The glass is forty-eight inches long, two inches thick, and is octagon-shaped.

In the above description the following articles of furniture are left unplaced in the house: Five mahogany lyre back chairs, seven plain chairs and one arm chair to match, one ball-and-claw foot arm-chair made of mahogany, one mahogany hand-carved rocking chair, one Colonial tilt-table about one hundred and forty years old, one small writing table of

cherry, two Colonial candle-stands, one candle-stand of Chinese pattern and made of foreign wood, two marble-top and one plain wash-stands, three towel racks, a Colonial chest of drawers and a Colonial mahogany secretary. In the home may be seen the medicine scales of Dr. Dickinson and a large medicine chest. This chest was made solid to endure the voyage over the ocean. There are in the house some of the medicine bottles and china labels for those bottles.

It is a very interesting and absorbing study to walk through the building, thinking of the noble persons who have graced its spacious halls in olden times, noticing the elaborate and varying styles of architecture, and the valuable old furniture. Surely such a wonderful landmark should be perpetuated by the town and county, if not by the State.

Greek, Roman, and Arabian Survivals on the North Carolina Coast—A Preliminary Sketch

By Collier Cobb.

During an acquaintance with our coast dunes and our coast people, extending over more than two score years, I have been impressed by the seeming familiarity of our "Bankers," with Greek and Roman mythology, and with what I early took to be Bible stories with a local setting. I always regarded them, however, as tales that were the common property of our race, that had suffered a sea-change when handed down among isolated and unlearned people whose English ancestors in Elizabeth's time had been very much such people as the best of us today.

In 1902 there came to the University of North Carolina from one of our coast counties, two youths, speaking a singularly pure and idiomatic English, in which one sometimes detected words and expressions not uncommon in the writings of Shakespeare.

One of these youngsters offered to our *University Magazine* a story of the coast, entitled, "Old Nepkin," which was promptly rejected; but I have never seen in any of our college publications freshman work comparable to this. I reproduce the story.

OLD NEPKIN.

In the spring of 1894 my father, who was a member of the life saving crew at one of the stations of the government along the coast of North Carolina, moved his family, consisting of my mother, baby brother and me, over to the beach at Oregon Inlet Station. At that time this branch of the government service was more confining than it is today, there being no liberties granted during the stormy season. And it was for this reason that a number of the crew moved their families to the station to be with them for the few rough months. In several instances two families lived in one house, as comfortable buildings were scarce. This was the case with us,

and to my great delight our family took up quarters with a family in which there were two boys about my age.

The entire beach was ours, and every day when it was not too cold or rainy, we roamed over the great stretch of sand at our pleasure, each day going farther and farther from home, until we had become familiar with almost every acre of ground for several miles around. Probably it was a fear on the part of our parents and others that we might venture too far or get into the ocean that prompted them to tell us tales of various forms of animals that might capture us and never let us return, a dragon that ate little boys, and a sea monster that caught and ate a little girl for breakfast every morning.

The most interesting to us of all the beings they warned us against was one creature, "Nepkin," as they called him, or by some referred to as "Old Nep." We were told in answer to our numerous questions, that he was the god of the sea, and that he objected most seriously to any intrusion upon his rights or territory; that we must not dare step into the waters of the sea, else we would be taken by him and carried down to his watery home. We were told that he had a house in the ocean, and often times various objects along the coast were pointed out to us as his home. Our young minds could not see anything but truth in the story, and for a short while our explorations and wanderings from home ceased. But the spirit of venture was strong within us, and as the days grew into weeks and no animal of unusual proportions or of frightful appearance visited us, and the tales of such creatures ceased, we resumed our wanderings. It was just after one of our longest trips that the following thing happened:

A nor'wester was blowing, and the wind was "Irish," in the language of the fishermen, who had come to sit a while with us, gathered around the fire on this particular night in March. The shrill whistle of the wind around the corner of the wooden house made us hover closer to the stove as the night hours wore on. Just for the moment conversation had waned, and the crackling of the fire and the noise of the wind was all that disturbed the silence.

"It's a great night for Nepkin," said one of the men. "He is allus aloose sich a night as this. The cold, high wind attracts him from his ocean house to the land for a while to see what's going on."

"Yessir, and I jes' feel like he's comin' here, too," said another of the fishermen. "How'd ye like to see Old Nep tonight, boys?" This he said to us three little fellows, hovered close together near the fire.

"I'm not afraid," I said; but my face, already anxious with fear, belied my words, and while I was making the boast a blast of wind blew the shutters on the window against the house with great force, and I turned ghastly pale as I jumped in fright. Lance, the younger of my friends, said nothing, but was apparently as scared as I, for he jumped when I did.

But Jim, about ten, the oldest of the three, and, naturally the bravest, held his nerve. He had often told Lance and me, when we were discussing among ourselves the tales that we had heard, that he did not believe in such a thing as Old Nepkin, and bragged that he would never run from him. And now, even though afraid, we felt an approaching pleasure in that we hoped to see Jim take back his boast.

"I'll not run," said Jim, to the questions of the fishermen. "And what's more, if he comes here tonight I'll punch his eyes out."

"Never mind, young feller, ye'll be sorry ye said that afore this midnight," said an older man, whose serious attitude foretold no joke. 'Old Nep's a-comin' shure this time.'"

"Now don't scare the children," said our mothers in almost the same breath, seeing that two of us, at least, were scared almost out of our wits. "Neptune isn't coming here a night like this."

"Jes' the kind o' night he wants," replied the persistent old fisherman. "And, by the gods, it's the 13th, too. 'Pears like I've hearn the old folks say he allus crawls out on the 13th. If it's cold and blust'ry, with a forty er fifty knot gale like tonight, he roams about a while. My 'pinion is that this's the kind o' night he's lookin' fer."

By this time I was almost helplessly frightened. The movement of a chair or of a foot on the floor drove my heart almost out of my mouth. And my playmate, Lance, was suffering the same feelings. But Jim still maintained that he was not frightened, and stuck to his boast that he would not run. The fishermen seemed to get much delight from our evident terror, and attempts on the part of our mothers to change the subject failed several times.

A spell of quiet had fallen over the entire crowd. The wind sounded louder and more shrill than it had for an hour. Not a word had been spoken for several moments, and it seemed that every one waited in expectant quiet for the enactment of something unusual. And in the midst of this strained silence, when even the nerves of the hardy fishermen seemed tense with excitement—rap! rap! rap! sounded loudly on the door, and a coarse cough was heard from without. Enough for me. I jumped and ran to my mother. Lance ran to his. Both of us, I believe, were too scared to scream. I could not have made a noise had I tried.

"That's Old Nep now," said one of the men. "I said he was a-comin', and he's here shure as day. Open the door, Bill."

The door flew open in answer to three more raps, louder than the first, and in rushed a gust of the northwester. But I felt it not. The only sense which I had at the time was that of sight, and what I saw in the doorway would have any child of my age out of his senses. There stood what looked to be a man, dressed in heavy, black oilclothes. He was wearing boots, and water was dripping from him as if he had just come out of the sea. His face was very

hairy and dark, the features almost hidden by the beard. Two ghastly looking eyes viewed the room over, and the large, black mouth opened in speech, saying: "Ah, there's the three little boys who have been wandering at large on this beach, which borders on my sea. I want one of them, and as I was ashore, thought I would stop in for him."

Quiet was supreme and intense. Except for the pounding of my heart, I heard nothing. The beating breakers on the beach, the roaring wind around the chimney, the sound of the sand, blown by the wind, striking the window panes, touched not my ear. I saw only this horrid monster, as he looked from one to another of us boys, apparently deciding which one to take. I did not question, in my mind, his power to take any one of us he wanted. I felt sure no hand would be raised in opposition to this god of the sea. My only hope was a selfish one, that he might take one of the other boys.

Neptune advanced toward the center of the room, and in following his movement, my gaze fell upon the place where I last saw Jim. It was vacant. Anxious lest he should get away and make my chance of selection one to two, instead of one to three, I turned for the first time, since Old Nep's arrival, and looked around. What I saw almost chilled the blood in my veins. Jim, whom I had termed a braggart, Jim, the boastful, had now become Jim, the daredevil, and was advancing toward Old Neptune with a stick of wood. The fishermen warned him; his mother told him to sit down, but Jim advanced in a warlike attitude. I just knew he was doomed.

Old Nep viewed his bravery with seeming satisfaction. "Aha, youngster, you're pretty brave. I think I'll take you to live with me in my home under the sea. Come along," he said, and reached forward. But Jim was not to be taken without a fight, and interest in the oncoming battle got keen.

"I'll gouge your eyes out," said Jim, and made a lunge at the intruder that was not to be scorned. Neptune jumped to one side to avoid the lick, and at the same time made a grab for my young friend. Jim was too quick. Jumping to one side, he began to wage an offensive battle, striking so rapidly with the stick that Old Nep necessarily took a defensive stand, trying only to get hold of the would-ebe giant killer. Several passes failed, but the spirit of youth was afire, and he gained grit as he fought. But he was too small against his larger and more powerful adversary, and was gradually forced to a defense. Chances looked slim for Jim, as he was pressed into a corner striking now wildly as he dropped back. Realizing that he could not hit effectively from a side angle or from above, Jim changed his war tactics, and before Old Nep knew what had happened, a straight-out thrust of the stick caught him in the face. His attempt to brush it aside only aided the little fighter. Developments were rapid. The thrust, the attempt to foil it, the

result in an instant. Before us stood a somewhat abashed and well known member of the life saving crew, his mask hanging from the end of the stick. And Jim, triumphant, said: "I told you there weren't no Nepkin, and now I know there ain't."

No explanation of how that was just a make-up, but that the real Neptune did exist, had any future effect upon us, and after that we roamed at large, led by our hero and comrade, Jim.

The boy left his story with me and has recently given me permission to publish it. He remained at the University only two years, taught school for sometime, and is now on the staff of a Virginia newspaper. It is to be hoped that he will retain and strengthen the simple, straighforward style of his youth.

For many years I have written down the tales and songs of our coast, and I soon satisfied myself that most of them were of old world origin. Neptune and Vulcan were both there, but both frequently under other names. Perseus and Andromeda were there, but usually as St. George and the King's Daughter. Lamia was there, but as a sweet young girl who had been turned into a wicked old witch by a jealous woman.

I have also heard such songs as "The Three Fishes," "The Fruit of the Apple Tree," "The Black-Eyed Maid," "Dimos and the Turkish Girl," "The Wounded Deer," "The Death of Marko Botsaris," and Greek folk songs of the past three centuries.

There is also heard on Hatteras a "Frog's Concert," that may be a survival from Aristophanes; but, if from Aristophanes, it has undergone great change.

Then there are stories of "The Healing Balm," The Fountain of Youth," or "The Water of Life," such as one finds in Oriental folk-tales generally, whether of Christian or of Moslem origin.

A distich or two will illustrate a type of verse not uncommon:

"Thy lips are coral red, thy neck is crystal white,
The mole that's on thy rosy cheek is made of diamond bright."

And this:

"Before thy doorway as I pass, thy footprint there I know;
I bend and fill your track with tears, that as I kiss it flow."

The Harvard student who wrote:

"Whenever she comes I am ready to kiss the mud from her rubbers,"

did not show greater devotion.

This bashful lover is found on Shackleford Bank:

"What a simple fool I be,
To let you slip away from me!
I found you all alone I wot;
With kisses sweet I fed you not;
I gazed on you unsatisfied,
And thus I sat by love tongue-tied.
Your mother mild, where then was she?
Your father stern, where then was he?
Your mother at the church did pray,
Your dad at Ocrocock did stay,
And by you sat this idiot meek,
Whose downcast eyes the earth did seek."

The man who gave me this was named Physioc, and told me that his forebears had been Greek slaves in New Smyrna, Florida, having been brought to Florida in 1767 with a number (about 1,500) of Greek, Italian, and Minorcan laborers, to work on an indigo plantation owned and controlled by Dr. Trumbull, of Charleston, who reduced them to slavery and treated them cruelly. This slavery lasted nine years, or until 1776, when a new governor of Florida, just arrived, heard their complaints and released them from the tyranny of Trumbull. Hardly a third of their number survived, and most of these made their way to St. Augustine, where some of their descendants live to this day, and some moved northward along the coast as far as Cape Hatteras. Among names he gave me, as belonging to these people, were Joseph Gurganus, Theophilus Man, Nicholas Blackman, Moses Baros, Matthew Adomes, and told me that Metrah was a very com-

mon Christian name among them, being a diminutive of Demetrius. I myself know three men named Metrah, but the name of one of them is traced to a dream his mother had, and not to any Greek origin.

But all the names he gave me are found in abstracts of wills made in North Carolina before 1767 and 1776. They are found in every census we have ever had, and are on the voting lists of several of our eastern countries. It is thus very evident that if Greeks came from New Smyrna to our Banks they found here many men like themselves in name and probably also in origin.

I have several stories that are clearly Oriental in origin, that I have also traced to a possible source:

A STORY OF JOB AND THE ORIGIN OF SILKWORMS.

The good God had permitted Satan to tempt Job; and the Evil One sent a swam of flies against him, so that the holy man was smitten with sore boils from the crown of his head to the sole of his feet. When the good God saw the wretchedness of his servant Job, he sent his messenger, Gabriel, to comfort him; and Gabriel, swooping down suddenly, scooped out the sand with his wing. Soon the hollow in the sand filled with the water of life, and the angel Gabriel told Job to go dip himself seven times in this. Job did so, and his flesh came to him again as the fish of a little child. Out of each boil came a grub; and the grubs were sore afraid, and climbed the mulberry trees and spun for themselves cocoons that they might hide from the wrath of God. You may know that this story is true, for you have all heard of Job, and you may see the lake and the mulberry trees on Ocrocoke to this day.

Another Oriental story with a local setting is, "How Mack Williams Pulled the Moon Out of the Lake"; and still another is, "How Dr. Closs (the Methodist minister whose circuit was "Islands and Banks") divided the fish."

The most elaborate story, however, is about

KING SOLOMON AND THE WATER OF LIFE.

King Solomon had heard that a lake of living water lay in the center of Africa, a year's journey across the burning desert, and he sent a trusted lieutenant to look into the truth of the story and mark out a way to this water of life.

After two years the messenger returned with the report of a successful trip. He had found the great sea of living water whose boundaries were out of sight. The borders of this sea were inhabited by a swarthy race, vigorous men and fruitful women, none of them above midddle age.

The king inquired of his servant if he himself had tested the virtue of the waters. "No, my Lord and King," he answered, "I would not think of bathing in the lake before my master; but the efficacy of the waters is proven by the inhabitants of the region." Solomon forthwith began preparation for the journey. He ordered to be got ready sheep and oxen, and he-asses and men-servants, and maid-servants and she-asses and camels, with ample supplies of corn, wine and water for the pilgrimage.

The day before the time for his departure, his favorite wife, Number 999, said to him, "My Lord, are you willing to go bathe in the Fountain of Youth to remain young forever, and see me grow old and wrinkled by your side?"

"Surely not, for you are going with me," her lord replied.

"Indeed, I cannot," said the favorite; "I could never stand the journey across the desert."

"Then I'll not go," the king announced; and that is why we do not know to this day where the fountain of youth may be.

Again we have to turn to local tradition to account for these survivals, if such they are. We are told that some years before our Revolutionary War, a party of Protestant Mohammedans—Warhabi, they were called—going as missionaries to the West Indies, were blown far out of their course by a storm and wrecked on Diamond Shoals, just south of Cape Hatteras. Most of them escaped drowning and found refuge on Hatteras and on Ocracoke Island. John Hawks, a Moor of Malta, who had been educated in England, was passing on a ship bound from New York to New Bern, and rescued from this wreck a lady who afterwards became his wife. Hawks was the arcitect of Tryon's Palace at New Bern, and his descendants have been and are today, people of great ability, usefulness and prominence.

The Wahabis were a strict sect who opposed all practices not sanctioned by the Koran, and denounced all commentaries, and all such modern innovations as the worship of relics. By some writers they have been styled Mohammedan Puri-

tans, and others have called them Mohammedan Methodists. We soon find the Wahabis of North Carolina affiliating with the Methodists, who were so active in all good works about this time, and our Wahabs have for a hundred and fifty years been useful and highly valued citizens.

Another family name whose presence in the Carolinas dates back to the shipwreck of these Arabian Wahabis, is Dargan, which like Wahab at that time was a group name. The Dargan was a priest, a saint, a man of singularly pure character, and this family has numbered among its members many Christian ministers true to the ancestral type.

This paper cannot be called a study; it is hardly more than a hurried sketch; but the writer hopes that it may lead to a careful study of many features of our anthropogegraphy.

Appeal for Clothing for Destitute Belgians and Northern French Meets Nationwide Response

There are in the occupied areas of Belgium and Northern France about nine millions of people. More than one-third are either totally or partially destitute, and nearly all are urgently in need of clothing. In behalf of these unfortunate civilian victims of the war the Commission for Relief in Belgium has issued an urgent appeal to the people of the United States for new clothes, for the material to make them, for shoes, or for money to purchase either of these necessities. If they are not forthcoming there will be intense suffering.

We are going to put the American people to the test by asking for cloth, and for brand new clothes and shoes.

"Any kind of cloth, any kind of yarn, any kind of blankets, so they are new. All of these clothes will go straight to human beings.

"All the cloth will be made up into garments by Belgian women, who will be paid decent wages in food to take home with them. And while they work they will be able to sit in warm rooms, where there is some small comfort, which they are not likely otherwise to have.

"And yet, and yet, where are all of the pieces of cloth to come from? Three million people! It takes a lot of cloth."

IMPORTANT.

All persons wishing to contribute wearing apparel or cloth, or funds to be used in the purchase of cloth, for the destitute WOMEN AND CHILDREN of Belgium and Northern France are asked to communicate with Dr. S. Westray Battle, Chairman, or E. Alexis Taylor, Field Secretary, North Carolina Commission for Relief in Belgium, 23 Haywood Street, Asheville, North Carolina.

The *North Carolina Booklet* will receive funds or clothing for the destitute in Belgium and Northern France. Send to the Editor of the Nort Carolina Booklet, "Midway Plantation," Raleigh, North Carolina, and every contribution will be forwarded to the North Carolina Commission for Relief in Belgium, Asheville, North Carolina, and acknowledged in these columns.

Historical Book Reviews

LITERATURE IN THE ALBEMARLE.

By Nina Holland Covington.

The watchman on the watch-towers of North Carolina literature has every reason to rejoice at the many signs of promise for a greater State Literature. The recent announcement that the State Legislature has voted a goodly sum of money for the writing of an accurate history of North Carolina's part in the Civil War is surely one of these signs; and other indications of literary activity are the numerous recently published books by North Carolinians.

The latest of these books is the "Literature of the Albemarle," which is just from the press, and which is by Miss Bettie Freshwater Pool, of Elizabeth City. Miss Pool is one of the well known writers of the State, being the author of various volumes of prose and poetry. The book consists of brief sketches of the chief writers of the Albemarle section, and several selections from the writings of each one of these are given. Frankly, there are perhaps few people in the State who knew, or realized, that Albemarle could lay claim to so many of the talented men and women of North Carolina; but, considering how many famous names are in the index of the volume, Albemarle deserves to be called our literary "hub."

Those included in the book are the following: Dr. Richard Dillard, Catherine Albertson, Frank Vaughn, Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, Col. R. B. Creecy, William Temple, Walter Pool, Charles Carroll Pool, Bettie Freshwater Pool, Ralph Pool, Lilla Pool Price, Cecil Pool, Dollie Freeman Beeler, Hon. C. L. Cobb, John M. Matthews, Rev. Solomon Pool, Theodore A. Pool, Senator John Pool, Lila Sessford, Dr. William G. Pool, William E. Dunstan, William M. Hinton, Judge Francis D. Winston, and Judge William A. Moore.

The first writer given in the volume is Dr. Richard Dillard, who is so well known in State literary and historical circles. The selections given from Dr. Dillard's writings consist of prose poems, historical sketches, and two poems. Dr. Dillard's style is graceful, and he uses to great advantage and with most excellent taste a wealth of allusion to literary and historical subjects, while his thorough knowledge of the history of his section of the State make his historical sketches very valuable and important.

The work of Catherine Albertson, who has recently gained fame as the writer of the historical book, "In Ancient Albemarle," is represented by several poems, which show that her poetical talent is of a very high order. Indeed, it is the opinion of the writer of this review that Miss Albertson's poem, "The Perquimans River," which is given among these poems, contains lines that are among the most beautiful in our Southern Literature:

"The wild swan floats upon my breast;
The sea-gulls to my waters sink;
And stealing to my low green shores,
The timid deer oft stoops to drink.
The yellow jessamine's golden bells
Ring on my banks their fairy chime
And tall flag lilies bow and bend,
To the low music, keeping time.

Between my narrow, winding banks,
Full many a mile I dream along
'Mid silence deep, unbroken save
By rustling reed, or wild bird's song;
Or murmuring of my shadowed waves
Beneath the feathery cypress trees,
Or Pines, responsive to the breath
Of winds that breathe sea memories."

Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, whom North Carolina has lost as a resident, since he is now with the United States Bureau of Education in Washington, is another famous Albemarlian. Dr. Weeks is perhaps as well known outside the State as he

is in it, for he has written so much on historical subjects, his writings showing such accuracy and giving evidence of such painstaking research, that he is looked upon as an authority on the subjects upon which he has written. The selections from Dr. Weeks' writings given in this book are good examples of the terse, clear, straightforward style which makes his books not only attractive to the casual reader, but also the delight of the student of historical facts and the literary critics.

Still another well known North Carolinian who is included among the Albemarle writers is Judge Francis D. Winston, the witty and distinguished jurist from Bertie County. The selection given from Judge Winston's writings is the poem on Masonry, which is characterized by dignity of tone and a deep reverence, and is justly considered one of the most beautiful and stately poems even written on the subject. Judge Winston's ability as a speaker is noticed in the sketch of his life, and it seems a pity that selections from one or more of his speeches are not included in the book.

The biographical sketch of Bettie Freshwater Pool is written by W. M. Hinton. The selections from her writings include the well known and justly famous "Carolina," and quite a number of other poems, the most beautiful, perhaps, of these being the "Angel of My Gethsemane." Among the prose selections from her pen is given "The Nag's Head icture of Theodosia Burr," which is a well written article on a curious and little known bit of history.

The other writers of the volume include orators, essayists and poets all of the selections given showing literary merit.

The warm welcome which has met the volume since its publication is most encouraging to writers of the present generation, while the matter contained in the book will, no doubt, be an inspiration to future State authors.

Miss Pool's poem, "Harp of the South," is a very beautiful and fitting introduction to the book:

"Harp of the South, too long hast thou been
Thrill with new life! Awake! Mute,
Let thy rich notes, as sweet as Rizzio's flute,
Fill every heart with fire.
Rouse valor, honor, truth, divine desire
For higher things. Harp of the South, awake!

Harp of the South, too long this land of ours,—
Home of the free, the brave—
So rich in story, bright with honor's flowers,
Behold thy strings unstrung.
Her noblest deeds no golden cords hath rung,
Sound glorious praise! Harp of the South, awake!"

Biographical Sketches of Contributors

Compiled and Edited by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, LL.D.

A Biographical Sketch of Dr. Battle appeared in the *Booklet,* Vol. VII, No. 2. To this issue he contributes the valuable article entitled "The Secession Convention of 1861." He is now eighty-four years of age, sound in mind and body, and is the last survivor of that notable Convention.

DR. COLLIER COBB.

Dr. Cobb has contributed many interesting papers to the *Booklet.* A sketch of him appeared in the *Booklet,* Vol. XI, No. 3.

MR. MACK CHAPPELL.

Mr. Chappell has never before contributed to this publication. His article on "The Cupola House and Its Associations" is of such value, showing such painstaking research, that members of the Advisory Board decided that it should be published. Mr. Chappel is a young man whose ambition urges him to make his life a success by his own efforts. He graduated at the Edenton Academy, May, 1915, and is now at Mars Hill, North Carolina. This paper was one of a number written and presented in the contest for the Colonel John Hinton medal at the Edenton Academy in May, 1915. This medal is given in memory of this Revolutionary hero, who was a native of Chowan Precinct for the finest essay on some given local historical subject and is one of the leading feautres of each commencement at the Academy. This, however, did not win the medal, which shows of what high order the essays are. It was considered worthy of recognition, so for the first time a second prize was given.

We shall watch with interest Mr. Chappell's progress and sincerely wish him all success.

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Vol. XVI JULY, 1916 No. 1

William Alexander Graham

By Chief Justice Walter Clark.

William Alexander Graham, Speaker of the House of Commons, Governor of North Carolina, Secretary of the United States Navy, Senator of the United States and also of the Confederate States, nominee of the Whig Party for the Vice Presidency, was born at Vesuvius Furnace, the residence of his father, General Joseph Graham, in Lincoln County, North Carolina, 5 September, 1804. He sprung from that sturdy Scotch-Irish race which has furnished so many prominent men to the Republic. His mother was Isabella, daughter, of Major John Davidson, who was one of the signers of the famous "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" at Charlotte on 20 May, 1775, of which John Adams wrote: "The genuine sense of America at that moment was never so well expressed before nor since."

The father of Governor Graham, General Joseph Graham, merits more than a passing notice. At 18 years of age he entered the Continental Army in 1778, soon became Adjutant and was promoted to Major of 4 North Carolina (Continental) Regiment. He was in many engagements and was often wounded. At the capture of Charlotte by Cornwallis 26 September, 1780, he received nine wounds (six of them with sabre) and was left on the ground for dead. He was a member of the State Convention of 1788 and also of 1789, served in several legislatures and in the war of 1814 commanded a brigade from this State and South Carolina sent by President Madison to the aid of General Jackson in the Creek War. William A. Graham was the youngest son in a family of seven sons and three daughters who grew to ma-

turity. One of his brothers, James Graham, was a member of Congress from this State, continuously from 1833 to 1847, except one term. One of his sisters married Rev. Dr. R. H. Morrison, President of Davidson College, and was the mother of the wife of Stonewall Jackson.

The subject of this sketch began his academic education under Rev. Dr. Muchat, at Statesville, a scholar of repute. Thence he was sent to Hillsboro, where he was prepared for college. He entered the University of North Carolina in 1820. At school and college he envinced the characteristics which distinguished him in later life—studious, thoughtful, courteous, considerate of others, with great natural dignity of manner, and marked ability. His schoolmate, Judge Brevard, said of him at this early age: "He was the only boy I ever knew who would spend his Saturdays in reviewing the studies of the week." He graduated in 1824 with the highest honors of his class, which he shared with Matthias E. Manly, afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court.

After a tour of the Western States, made on horseback, as was then the most convenient and usual mode, he began the study of law in the office of Judge Ruffin, at Hillsboro, and was admitted to the bar in 1826. Though his family connections were numerous and influential in Mecklenburg, Cabarrus and Lincoln, he decided to locate at Hillsboro, among whose resident lawyers then were Thomas Ruffin, Archibald D. Murphey, Willie P. Mangum, Francis L. Hawks, and Frederick Nash; and among the lawyers regularly attending from other courts were George E. Badger, William H. Haywood and Bartlett Yancey. At this bar of exceptionally strong men, he quickly took first rank.

In 1833 he was elected a member of the General Assembly from the Town of Hillsboro, one of the boroughs which up to the Convention of 1835 retained the English custom of choosing a member of the legislature. It is related that he was chosen by one majority, the last vote polled being cast by a free man of color, this class being entitled to the fran-

chise till the Constitution of 1835. Being asked why he voted for Mr. Graham, the colored voter, a man of reputation and some property, replied: "I always vote for a gentleman."

His first appearance on the floor of the House of Representatives was on a motion to send to the Senate a notice that the House was ready to proceed to the election of a Governor for the State, and to place in nomination for that office, David L. Swain, who had been his college mate at the University of North Carolina. Two days later he had the satisfaction to report his election, and was appointed first on the committee to notify him of his election. The relations of these two distinguished men remained singularly close and cordial through life. In 1834 and again in 1835 he was re-elected for the borough of Hillsboro, and at both sessions he was Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, then as now, deemed the highest position, next to the Speaker. In 1838, as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, he submitted the report of the Commissioners who had prepared the "Revised Statutes."

It was to him that in 1834 Judge Gaston, who was a Roman Catholic, addressed his open letter in defence of his acceptance of a seat upon the Supreme Court, notwithstanding the provision in the old Constitution (repealed by the Convention of 1835) which declared incapable of holding office all those who "deny the truths of the Protestant religion." With all deference to the writer thereof whose name will always command the highest respect, that letter will remain a plausible instance of special pleading whose defective logic has been pardoned by reason of the inherent opposition of all generous minds to the constitutional provision which gave rise to it, and the eminent public services, ability and popularity of its author.

In 1838 and again in 1840, Mr. Graham was elected to the General Assembly from Orange County, and was Speaker of the House of Representatives in both. The journals, during his legislative career, attest his great industry and his

leadership. He introduced the first bill that was passed to establish a system of common schools, and the bills introduced or supported, or reported by him on the subjects of banking, finance, education, and internal improvements, demonstrate the broadness of his views, and that he was one of the most progressive men of his time.

In 1840, Judge Strange and Hon. Bedford Brown, the United States Senators from this State, resigned their seats rather than obey instructions which had been passed by the General Assembly. Willie P. Mangum, of Orange, was chosen to succeed Brown, and though Mr. Graham was from the same county and only 36 years of age, he was elected to fill Mr. Strange's unexpired term. This was a most emphatic testimonial to his commanding position in the Whig Party, which held so many eminent leaders, and in the State at large. He was among the youngest, if not the youngest member, of the United States Senate, when he took his seat. He commanded the respect and attention of that body upon all occasions, and we are told by a member of that Congress that "Mr. Clay regarded him as a most superior man, socially and intellectually."

The time of Mr. Graham's service in the Senate was a stormy period. President Harrison, who had gone into office upon a tidal wave, died just one month after his inauguration, and was succeeded by the Vice-President, Mr. Tyler, who soon placed the administration in complete opposition to the policies of the party by which he had been elected. Upon all the most important measures which came before the Senate, Mr. Graham impressed himself by arguments which received general approbation and which drew forth specially commendatory letters from Clay, Webster, Chancellor Kent, and others.

At the expiration of his term in March, 1843, Mr. Graham resumed the practice of his profession, the Democratic Party having secured a majority in the General Assembly and chosen a member of that party, William H. Haywood,

Jr., to succeed him in the Senate. In 1844 he was nominated by the Whig Party for Governor. He had not sought nor desired the nomination. The salary of the office was small and its expenses great. In 1836 he had married Susan Washington, daughter of John Washington of New Bern, a lady of great beauty of character and person, and a young and growing family made demands upon his income, which was impaired by the inroads which public life had made upon his law practice. But true as always to the calls of duty, he yielded to the representations of gentlemen of high standing in all parts of the State. His Democratic competitor was Hon. Michael Hoke, like himself, a native of the county of Lincoln. Mr. Hoke was about the same age, of fine presence, decided ability and great popularity. After a canvass whose brilliancy has had no parallel in the history of the State, save perhaps that between Vance and Settle in 1876, Mr. Graham was elected by a large majority. His competitor died a few weeks after the election, his death having been caused, it was thought, by the great physical and mental strain of the campaign. On 1 January, 1845, Governor Graham was sworn in, with imposing ceremonies, which, for brilliancy and the size of the audience, were till then without precedent.

His inaugural address was especially noteworthy, not alone for its purity of style and elevation of thought, but in its recommendations. The Asylum for the Insane, and for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind, and the Emmons Geological Survey all had their genesis in this Inaugural, the first two being established by laws enacted during his administration and the latter just afterwards. He also laid special emphasis upon the Common School System, then lately inaugurated, and the first act in favor of which had been introduced by himself when a member of the legislature. Mr. Webster in a letter specially commended the address for its wisdom and progressiveness, as did Prof. Olmsted for its recommendation in favor of the establishment of a Geological Survey.

His aid to our new and struggling railroads built by State aid was invaluable.

In 1849 he delivered the address before the Literary Societies at the University. This address remains to this day one of the very best of the long series delivered since the incipiency of the custom. Upon the success of his party in the election of President Taylor, Senator Mangum, one of the confidential advisers of the new administration, wrote Governor Graham that he could make his choice between the Mission to Russia and the Mission to Spain. Subsequently the Mission to Spain was tendered him and declined.

Upon the accession of President Fillmore, Mr. Graham was tendered the appointment of Secretary of the Navy in a very complimentary letter from the President, who urged his acceptance. In July, 1850, he entered upon the duties of the office. Such was his diligence that his first report, 30 November, 1850, embraced a review of the whole naval establishment with recommendations for its entire reorganization. Even an opposition Senator, Thomas H. Benton, joined in the commendation of his report, and wrote with special reference to the Coast Survey service: "I consider it one of the most perfect reports I ever read—a model of a business report and one which should carry conviction to every candid inquiring mind. I deem it one of the largest reforms, both in an economical and administrative point of view, which the state of our affairs admits of."

His administration of the Navy Department was marked by one of the most remarkable enterprises, whose success has been of world wide importance—the organization of the Perry Expedition to Japan, which opened up that ancient empire to modern civilization. The success of that expedition constitutes one of the principal claims of Mr. Fillmore's administration to the admiration of posterity and was, indeed, an era in the history of the world, of which the events of the last few years are striking results. The expedition was conceived and inaugurated by Mr. Graham and was executed

upon the lines laid down by him, and the commander, Commodore Perry, was selected by him, though the expedition did not actually set sail till after he had resigned. In 1851 Mr. Graham also sent out under the auspices of the Navy Department, an expedition under Lieutenant Herndon to explore the valley and sources of the Amazon. The report of this expedition was published by order of Congress in February, 1854, and was noticed by the London "Westminster Review" of that year, which bestowed high praise upon the author for his conception, and the thoroughness and wisdom of his instructions to the commander.

The great compromise measures of 1850, which would have saved the country from the terrible civil war, if it could have been saved, received strong aid and support from the then Secretary of the Navy, who was on terms of intimacy and personal friendship with Clay, Webster and other leaders in that great movement to stay destructive tendencies, which proved, "alas, too strong for human power." When the Whig National Convention assembled in June, 1852, it placed in nomination for the presidency, Winfield Scott, and William A. Graham for Vice-President. With a delicacy which has been rarely followed since, he resigned "to relieve the administration of any possible criticism or embarrassment on his account in the approaching canvass," and the President appreciating the high sense of delicacy and propriety "which prompted the act, accepted his resignation with unfeigned regret."

It may well be doubted if any of his predecessors, or successors, either in the office of Secretary of the Navy or Governor of North Carolina, has shown as much progressiveness, and as large a conception of the possibilities of his office, in widening the opportunities for development of the country. Certainly none have surpassed him in the wisdom and breadth of his views, and the energy displayed in giving them successful result. It is his highest claim to fame that he was thoroughly imbued with a true conception of the possibilities

and needs of the time and his whole career marks him as second to none of the sons whom North Carolina has given to fame.

In 1852, after his retirement from the Cabinet, he delivered before the Historical Society of New York his admirable and instructive address upon "The British Invasion of the South in 1780-81." This address preserved and brought into notice many historical facts, which with our usual magnificent disregard of the praiseworthy deeds of our State had been allowed to pass out of the memory of men and the record proofs of which were mouldering and in danger of being totally lost.

Mr. Graham was State Senator from Orange in 1854-55, took, as always, a leading part, and gave earnest support to Internal Improvements, especially advocating railroad construction. He and Governor Morehead headed the delegation to the Whig Convention in 1856 at Baltimore, which endorsed the nomination of Mr. Fillmore. He was one of that number of distinguished men from all sections, who met in Washington in February, 1860, and who in the vain hope of staying the drift of events towards a disruption of the Union and Civil War, placed before the country the platform and the candidates of the "Constitutional Union" party.

In February, 1861, he canvassed parts of the State with Governor Morehead, Judge Badger, Z. B. Vance, and others, in opposition to the call of a State Convention to take the State out of the Union, which was defeated by a narrow margin and doubtless by their efforts. But the tide of events was too strong. The fall of Fort Sumter 13 April, 1861, and the call by Mr. Lincoln upon North Carolina for her quota of 75,000 men—a call made without authority—changed the face of affairs. The State Convention met 20 May, 1861, and on the same day unanimously pronounced the repeal by this State of the Ordinance of 1789 by which North Carolina had acceded to the Federal Union under the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Graham, Judge

Badger, and others concurred in the result, after first offering a resolution (which was voted down) basing the withdrawal of the State, not upon the alleged inherent right of the State to withdraw from the Union at its will, but upon the right of revolution justified by the action of the Federal authorities.

One of Mr. Graham's most eloquent and convincing speeches was that made before the Convention in December, 1861, in opposition to an ordinance requiring a universal test oath, which was defeated. While giving to the Confederate Government his full support, he earnestly opposed arbitrary measures which indicated any forgetfulness of the rights of the citizen, and in March, 1861, he procured action by the Convention which caused the return to his home of a minister of the Gospel in Orange County, who had been illegally arrested by military order and confined in prison at Richmond. His speech against the test oath was used by Reverdy Johnson in arguing *ex parte Garland,* in the United States Supreme Court.

In December, 1863, Mr. Graham was elected to the Senate of the Confederate States by a vote of more than two-thirds in the General Assembly, and took his seat in May, 1864. It was at a troublous time and his counsel was, as usual, earnestly sought. In January, 1865, after consultation with General Lee, and with his full approval, Senator Graham introduced the resolution to create the Peace Commission, whose adoption caused the Hampton Roads Conference, 3 February, 1865, and might have saved the brave lives so uselessly sacrificed after that date, but that President Davis declared himself without power to come to any terms that would put an end to the Confederacy. Thereupon Senator Graham gave notice that to save further useless effusion of blood he would introduce a resolution for negotiations looking to a return to the Union, but the notice was unfavorably received, and he decided that the introduction of the resolution would be unavailing. Had it passed, we might not only have

saved much useless bloodshed, but have avoided the unspeakable horrors of Reconstruction. But blindness ruled those in power. His course has been thought like that of North Carolina—reluctant to leave the Union, opposed to unsurpations by the new government, willing to negotiate for honorable peace when hope was gone, but that being denied, holding out to the end. Five of his sons, all of them who were old enough, were in the Confederate Army to the end, and each of them was wounded in battle.

The Confederate Senate adjourned 16 March, and on the 20th he visited Raleigh at request of Governor Vance, and in the conference told him that he left Richmond satisfied that all hope for the success of the Confederacy had passed; that Mr. Davis had declared that he was without power to negotiate for a return to the Union; and that each State could only do that for itself; but he advised Governor Vance that should he call a meeting of the Legislature to consider such action, Mr. Davis should be apprised. To this Governor Vance assented. But before further action could be taken the approach of General Sherman made it useless. On 12 April, 1865, Governor Vance sent ex-Governors Graham and Swain as Commissioners to General Sherman, then approaching Raleigh, with a letter asking a suspension of arms with a view to a return to the Union. The letter is set out in "North Carolina Regimental Histories" Vol. I, page 58. General Sherman courteously received the Commissioners but declined the requested truce. Of course Governor Graham's course in this trying time expressed the views of all those who saw the hopelessness of the situation, and who felt that the lives of the gallant men who had served their country faithfully should now be preserved for its future service in days of peace. He was not wanting in this supreme hour in the highest fidelity to the people that had honored and trusted him.

Of especial interest, showing his wisdom and foresight are his letters to Governor Swain, of this period, published in

Mrs. Spencer's "Last Ninety Days of the War." He was the trusted adviser of Governor Vance, who in his life of Swain says: "In those troublous years of war, I consulted him more frequently perhaps than any other man in the State except Governor Graham," adding, that "in him there was a rounded fullness of the qualities, intellectual and moral, which constitute the excellence of manhood in a degree never excelled by any citizen of North Carolina whom I have personally known, except by William A. Graham." Governor Graham was also the sure reliance of Governor Worth, whose most important State papers are from his pen.

In 1866 Mr. Graham was elected to the United States Senate with his former classmate and competitor at college, Hon. Matthias E. Manly as colleague, but the Republican majority in Congress was contemplating Reconstruction and they were refused their seats. When such legislation was enacted, a universal gloom fell upon the entire South. In its midst a Convention was called of all conservative citizens, irrespective of former party affiliations to meet in Raleigh, 5 February, 1868, over which Mr. Graham was called by common consent to preside, as our wisest citizen. His earnest, able and statesmanlike speech had a powerful effect, it aroused the people from despondency and infused into them that spirit of determination which continued to grow in strength till the State returned to the control of its native white population. In this speech, he was the first, in view of the recent Act of Congress, conferring suffrage upon the colored race, to lay down the necessity for the Whites to stand together, and he enunciated the doctrine of "White Supremacy" as indispensable for the preservation of civilization in the South. While others favored efforts to obtain control or guidance of the Negro, he, with a better knowledge of that race, insisted upon the solidarity of the Whites as our only hope. The event has proved the accuracy of his foresight. This speech while the Convention was in session was as brave as any act of the war.

He was prominent in asserting the right of the citizens to the writ of habeas corpus in 1870, when Judge Pearson declared the "judiciary exhausted"; and when Governor Holden was impeached in December of that year, his was the first named selected among the eminent counsel, who were retained to assist the managers appointed by the House of Representatives in the prosecution. His speech was one of great ability, but singularly free from personal denunciation of those who had trodden under foot the Constitution and the laws.

He was selected by the great philanthropist, George Peabody, as one of the board of eminent men whom he requested to act as trustees in administering the fund donated by him to the cause of education in the South, which had been so sorely impoverished by the war, and attended its sessions with great regularity.

He was also selected by Virginia to represent her upon the Board of Arbitration appointed by that State and Maryland to settle the disputed boundary between the two States.

On 20 May, 1875, he delivered an address at Charlotte upon the celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence and arrayed in a masterly manner the historic evidence of its authenticity.

Among his many valuable addresses is that delivered at Greensboro in 1860 upon the services of General Nathanael Greene, and memorial addresses upon the life and character of Judges A. D. Murphey and George E. Badger and Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin. His address at the State University and that upon the British Invasion of North Carolina in 1780-81 have already been mentioned. Notwithstanding his frequent public services, in the intervals he readily returned to his professional duties and to the last was in full practice at the bar. His argument before Judge Brooks in 1870 at Salisbury on the habeas corpus for release of Josiah Turner and others was a masterpiece.

He was nominated by acclamation in Orange County to the State Constitutional Convention of 1875. His declining health prevented his taking part in the canvass. He issued a strong address to his constituents which was widely circulated throughout the State, with great effect. His election was a matter of course, but before he could take his seat, he had passed beyond earthly honors. He was at Saratoga, N. Y., attending the session of the Virginia and Maryland Boundary Commission when renewed and alarming symptoms of heart trouble appeared. The best efforts of medical science proved unavailing, and he passed away early in the morning of 11 August, 1875, being nearly 71 years of age.

Numerous meetings of the Bar and public bodies, not only in North Carolina, but elsewhere, expressed their sense of the public loss, and the great journals of the country responded in articles expressive of the national bereavement. The States of Maryland and Virginia took care that his remains should be received with due honor and escorted across their borders. At the borders of North Carolina they were received by a committee appointed by the Mayor and Common Council of Raleigh, a committee appointed by the bar of Raleigh, and another by the authorities of the town of Hillsboro, by officials and many prominent citizens of the State and conveyed by special train to Raleigh where they were escorted by a military and civic procession to the Capitol, in whose rotunda, draped for the occasion, they lay in state. Late in the afternoon of the same day, attended by the Raleigh military companies and by special guards of honor, appointed by cities and towns of the State, and by the family of the deceased, his remains were carried by special train to Hillsboro, where they were received by the whole population of the town and escorted to the family residence, where they lay in state till noon on Sunday, August 15th. At that hour they were conveyed to the Presbyterian Church, and after appropriate funeral serv-

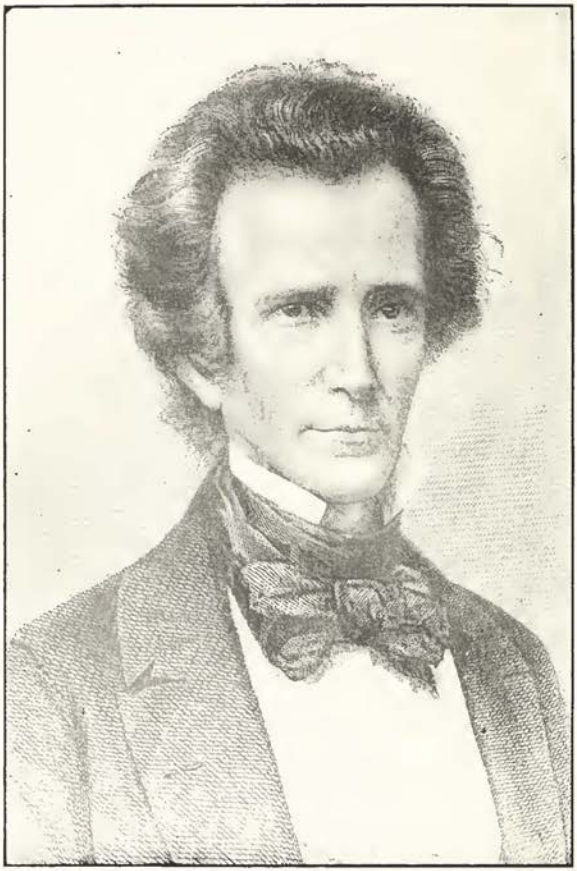
ices were interred with solemn ceremony, amid an immense concourse gathered from many counties, in its historic graveyard, where rest the ashes of William Hooper, A. D. Murphey, Chief Justice Nash, Judge Norwood, and many others, worthily prominent in the annals of the State.

Governor Graham left surviving him his widow, who subsequently died 1 May, 1890; seven sons, to wit: Dr. Joseph Graham, of Charlotte (died August 12, 1907); Major John W. Graham, of Hillsboro; Major W. A. Graham, of Lincoln; Captain James A. Graham (died in March, 1909), and Captain Robert D. Graham (died July, 1904), both resident in late years in Washington City; Dr. George W. Graham, of Charlotte; Judge Augustus W. Graham, of Oxford; and an only daughter, Susan Washington, who married the author of this very imperfect sketch of his life and services. She died in Raleigh 10 December, 1909.

Fortunate in his lineage and the sturdy race from which he sprung, strikingly handsome in person, of commanding appearance and stature, courteous in his bearing toward all, high or low, of high mental endowments, of a personal character without spot or blemish, true to all men, and therefore true to himself, possessed of undaunted courage, moral and physical, with remarkable soundness of judgment, conservative in his views, but progressive in his public action, abundant in services to his State and to his country, holding the entire respect of all and the hatred of no one, North Carolina has laid to rest in her bosom no son greater or more worthy than William A. Graham. His fame will grow brighter as the records are examined and weighed in the cold, clear, impartial light of the future.

To North Carolinians, the name of William A. Graham is the synonym of high character and true service, and in rendering to him and his memory high honor, the people of the State have indicated those traits of character which most strongly command their approbation.

Stat nominis umbra.



JAMES C. DOBBIN.

James Cochran Dobbin, Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of President Pierce 1853-1857

By Henry Elliot Shepherd, M.A., LL.D.

Author "History of the English Language," "Study of Edgar Allan Poe," "Life of Robert E. Lee," "Commentary Upon Tennyson's 'In Memoriam,'" "Representative Authors of Maryland," Contributions To "The Oxford Dictionary," "The American Journal of Philology," etc.

The Dobbin family, a branch of which was founded in North Carolina, not far from the middle of the eighteenth century, seems to have descended from a French Huguenot ancestry, the name, it is said, being a phonetic corruption of its original form, Daubigné, into Daubin or Dobbin. The family to this day, has representatives in other States, sprung from the same source, but these lie beyond the scope of the researches contemplated in the present biography. During the relentless persecutions and proscriptions, which both preceded and succeeded the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, October, 1865, a large Huguenot element found refuge in England and in Ireland, in the latter country many being established in the region which includes Carrickfergus and Belfast. The Huguenot influences in America, above all in the South, forms part of our national record, and in relation to our present theme, demands neither elaboration nor enlargement at the hands of the historian or chronicler of the house of Dobbin. The first of whom we have definite knowledge as associated with North Carolina, was my great-grandfather in the maternal line, Hugh Dobbin. The name is not unknown in our mountain region, and it was borne in a period not distant from the American Revolution by at least one of the evangelists who preached the gospel in a country then hardly rescued from the sway

of the primeval forests in which "the groves were God's first temples." These, however, have assumed almost the shadowy form of tradition. The family acquires a clearly defined attitude in North Carolina, with Hugh Dobbin, paternal grandfather of James C. Dobbin. Hugh Dobbin was engaged in commercial pursuits in both Carolinas. In addition, he was interested in the maritime trade of that age, and in vessels that frequented the port of Baltimore. The exact date of his settlement in the South I have not been able to ascertain, 1760 would constitute an approximation at least. The time of his death, was not distant from 1790 or 1795. About 1780 or 1782, he married Margaret Moore, of Bennettsville, S. C., who was a daughter of Gully Moore, a patriot of the Revolutionary era and a man marked by force of character, as well as vigor of intellect. From this marriage sprang John Moore Dobbin (father of James C. Dobbin), who died in 1837. His early years were passed in Person County; and not far from 1813 he married as his first wife, Miss Anness Cochran, mother of James Cochran Dobbin, whose middle name perpetuates the memory of his maternal ancestry. Miss Cochran's father had been a conspicuous figure in the political life of his time, having served in Congress during the critical era which embraced the second war with England. When in the years of dawning manhood, John Moore Dobbin, born in 1784, established himself in Fayetteville, then an expanding commercial centre, its development not yet arrested, nor its growth paralyzed by adverse and hostile combinations in the sphere of railway creation and extension. He became a leading factor, a potent element in the material growth of both Carolinas. In Fayetteville, James C. Dobbin was born, January 17, 1814; when hardly beyond the age of six, his mother died, in the white flower of early womanhood; some three years later his father married a second time, Margaret MacQueen, of Chat-

ham County.* The natal day of Mr. Dobbin is coincident with that of Benjamin Franklin, and two days removed from that of Edgar Allan Poe and Robert E. Lee. The world, then as now, was enveloped in war, the combined hosts were pressing out the heart of France, and the overthrow of the first Napoleon was almost a foregone result.

Of Mr. Dobbin's childhood years, no definite or continuous account has been preserved; only a fragmentary reminiscence, or a tradition of some boyish prank, rescued from oblivion by the loving memory of those that came after him in his own household, or recalled from forgetfulness when his co-mates of this dawning period contemplated with manly pride, unmarred by touch of envy, his rapid ascent from local celebrity to the lofty dignity of a national figure, absorbed in the complex diplomatic negotiations with Japan (1854), the effect of which has proved a potent agency in shaping the development of all subsequent history. His intellect ever normal in its attitude, was unmarked by the spectacular episodes and moving incidents that are the charm of the sensational biographer. If his genius "was nursed in solitude," its perfect accord and equilibrium were maintained to the last, as he lay on his deathbed on a serene August morning in 1857. The routine of his early life found variety and diversion by visits during the prolonged summer season, to the ancestral home in Person County. His scholastic career seems to have assumed a definite character in an academy at Fayetteville, conducted by the Rev. Colin McIver

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*The reader will not fail to note that in the earlier phases of my narrative, I have been compelled to depend in a measure upon family traditions and transmitted memories. Many invaluable records and letters were destroyed during the sacking of our home at Fayetteville, March, 1865, by Sherman. Yet with these disadvantages to overcome, I do not think that I have fallen into any serious error, or marked variation from truth, either in reference to statements of fact, or in cases which involve questions of chronology. In regard to the essential features of Mr. Dobbin's own life, there exists no shadow of doubt.

(a notable figure in the ecclesiastical annals of his day) in strict conformity to the ancient classical standards prevailing in England and in Scotland; the fame of its instruction had passed beyond the bounds of the State: among his associates was Judah P. Benjamin, of Charleston, S. C., a name linked with brilliant achievement in both Great Britain and America. We find young Dobbin at a time not much later than that which we now contemplate, a pupil of the Bingham School, then having its home at Hillsboro, a point distinguished from an early period, as a centre of social and intellectual culture. In June, 1828, a lad of fourteen, he passes from the guardianship of Mr. Bingham and is admitted to the University of North Carolina. Among his classmates was Thomas H. Haughton, whom in 1845, he defeated for Congress, and Thomas L. Clingman—memorable in peace as in war, for it was Clingman's North Carolina Brigade which was in large measure the agency that in June, 1864, turned back the tide, and rescued Petersburg from the premature grasp of the invader and spoiler. Mr. Dobbin graduated in 1832, attaining scholastic distinction of the highest order. His ideal grace was resistless; faculty and students alike, yielded to the magnetic influence; to the lover of romance he might have been regarded as some Percival or Galahad, diverted from the quest of the grail and brought from dreamland into our grim world of austere realities. Dr. Caldwell cherished for him a genuine affection, despite the college prank to which young Dobbin was a party, several lads taking possession of the Doctor's coach, conveying it under cover of night to a distance from his residence and leaving it concealed in a dense wood. As they were on the point of returning to their quarters, the coach, as they supposed, being securely disposed of, to their unspeakable amazement, the Doctor appeared at the window of the vehicle, and in his peculiar tone quietly observed: "Well, young gentlemen, you have brought me down here; now, you can carry me back." Carry him back they did,

but the story had no sequel, as the Doctor seems to have entered heartily into the humorous phase of the incident. During Mr. Dobbin's college career, his tastes, sympathies, and aspirations were moulded and fashioned by his affectionate devotion to the sovereign masters of literary and classical culture, not as illustrated in our native speech alone, but in the supreme lords of the antique world as well. His "mental armor" as he himself described it, in his address to the literary societies of the University (delivered when I was emerging from childhood to boyhood) was bright and brilliant, even when he was fading from us, the victim of immitigable disease. With unabating zeal and diligence, he directed the education of his sons and nephews; whenever he visited his home during his official life in Washington, a rigid inquiry into their progress was a marked feature of his coming. The academic record was thoroughly scrutinized, and the work accomplished in Cæsar, Virgil, Cicero, during the term, was subjected to rigid, minute review. Among the treasures of my library, I reckon, with a consciousness of increasing pleasure, the Bible presented to him at the University in 1831, the year preceding his graduation; his edition of Macaulay's "Miscellanies," and the account of Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan, edited by Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D., the historian of North Carolina. Each of these contains the autograph of Mr. Dobbin; and the last I received as his special gift, September 10, 1856. Not long after the completion of his university course, he applied himself to the study of the law, under the direction of Hon. Robert Strange, a judge of the Superior Court, and one of the lights of the bar and the bench in the period of which he formed a part. In 1835, he was admitted to the practice of his profession.

Fifteen years later (November, 1850) teacher and pupil were arrayed against each other in the trial of one of the most notable criminal cases associated with the history of the South: that of Mrs. Simpson, at Fayetteville, charged

with having caused the death of her husband by means of poison. Judge Strange appeared for the defense, and Mr. Dobbin assisted the State, in the conduct of the prosecution. Two years after his admission to the bar, or in 1837, his father died, his illness being brief, as well as sudden. His second wife, as well as six children survived him, of whom James C. Dobbin was the eldest. In 1838, Mr. Dobbin married Miss Louisa Holmes, of Sampson, who died in 1848, leaving three children, of whom one only is still living. He never again assumed the matrimonial relation. During the earlier stages of his professional career, Mr. Dobbin was guided by a wise and judicious conservation of mental and physical resources. There was no gratuitous expenditure of force, no dissipation of energy. His circuit was restricted to the counties adjoining his home, Cumberland, Robeson, Sampson. The blare of trumpets, the quest of notoriety, entered not into his life, and to him, in its intensest significance, "fame was no plant that grows on mortal soil." With the increasing years, he attained unchallenged rank among the foremost advocates of an age, which numbered among its representatives such "men of light and leading" as Toomer, Eccles, Strange and Henry. His summary or synopsis of the evidence in the case of Mrs. Simpson was a masterful illustration of ideal eloquence, "logic on fire," relentless in its vigor, remorseless in its conclusions, resistless in its power. The coming of 1845, heralds the first period of Mr. Dobbin's development in the sphere of politics. During the campaign of this eventful season, he was nominated by the Democratic party as one of its candidates for congressional honors. He had just passed his thirtieth year, and the honor was not only unlooked for, but absolutely unsolicited. Yet he defeated his classmate, Mr. John H. Haughton, by a majority of 2,000 votes, a marked advance upon the numerical results that had been attained by his successful predecessors in his own party, and one which implied an emphatic tribute to his personal charm, and his magnetism of charac-

ter. Despite both youth and want of parliamentary experience Mr. Dobbin speedily became a name to conjure with in the Twenty-ninth Congress. A place was assigned him upon some of the committees which involved delicate and critical functions, as that upon Contested Elections, and in some of their most complex procedures, he maintained a part as vigorous and effective as it was manly and honorable. In the discussion of the Public Land Bill, in the debates upon the Oregon Question, which had engaged us in serious complications with Great Britain, we see him in the forefront of the battle. Above all, he was the inflexible and dauntless champion of the South, and whenever her claims were assailed, or her prerogative invaded, the very *gaudium certaminis* seemed to lighten his pale and classic features as if a radiance from an undreamed sphere had descended upon them. His speech upon the repeal of the tariff of 1842, illustrates his eloquence in its purest and noblest form. Mere extracts or detached fragments, would tend rather to mar its unity, artistic and dialectic, than to convey an adequate impression of its power. Upon the expiration of his term, Mr. Dobbin declined a re-election, which he might have secured without doubt, or even without effort, and resumed the congenial pursuit of the law at Fayetteville. Yet the "jealous mistress" was not suffered to absorb all his energies, or to assume an unchallenged monopoly of his versatile faculties. We find him in the Legislature of 1848-9, the most responsible positions of trust being assigned to his guidance. It was during this Legislature that a notable incident in the life of Mr. Dobbin, and in the history of North Carolina becomes the subject of an especial record. I refer to the creation of the Asylum for the Insane (State Hospital), at Raleigh, the abiding memorial of his genius, destined "to live with the eternity of his fame." It was during this session that Miss Dix, whose heroic labors in the sphere of philanthropy, are familiar to two continents, memorialized the Legislature to erect an asylum for the insane. The

memorial being referred to a special committee, a bill was reported in favor of granting the prayer of the memorialist.

At this stage, however, the chairman of this committee, whom at a later period we encounter as Governor Ellis, had retired from the Legislature in order to accept a judicial position, and the bill introduced by him, providing that $100,000 be appropriated for the erection of the institution, though advocated by Mr. Kenneth Rayner in an appeal marked by rare fervor and earnestness, was defeated by a vote of 44 ayes, 66 noes. Two days preceding, Mrs. Dobbin had been consigned to the grave, and Mr. Dobbin was absent from the sessions of the House. Miss Dix was naturally alarmed in reference to the fate of the bill, and having absolute faith in Mr. Dobbin's influence, and the power of his oratory, recalled to his memory the urgent request of his wife that he would advocate and champion the measure. The appeal was one that he could not disregard, and on the next day he was present in his place. The bill had been reconsidered, upon a motion to appropriate $25,000, but Mr. Dobbin introduced a substitute by which, in four years $85,000 could be provided by the State for the institution. The proposed substitute he advocated with even more than his wonted grace and appealing power, the result being that it was adopted by an almost unanimous vote. In 1852, we find him in the Legislature for the last time. Nominated in caucus for the Senate of the United States, he failed of election, it was currently reported, through the perfidy of one of his own allies, a name long since effaced from the political heavens, but associated with a family by no means extinct in North Carolina. It was in March, 1853, that Mr. Dobbin became Secretary of the Navy, succeeding in that capacity, John P. Kennedy, of Baltimore, who was chosen to fill the vacancy created by the retirement of William A. Graham, as soon as nominated for the Vice-Presidency upon the same ticket with General Scott, June, 1852. The nomination of Mr. Pierce by the Baltimore Convention was

in large measure the outcome of Mr. Dobbin's brilliant appeals in his behalf, and as an acknowledgment of his invaluable services, the Naval Bureau was tendered to him by the incoming president upon his election in November, 1852. The Cabinet of Mr. Pierce was especially distinguished by its combination of varied and marked intellectual abilities—William L. Marcy, Jefferson Davis, Caleb Cushing, James C. Dobbin. It may be declared with no trace of hyperbole, that in this elect company which blended "all the talents," the modest and gracious gentleman from North Carolina, if not the most richly endowed with gifts of intellect or genius for administration, was the most attractive and fascinating figure. As a delegate from his native State, he had accomplished the nomination of Mr. Pierce by the Democratic Convention, and that he possessed the special regard and admiration of his chief, I have ample reason to know, such as has never been brought into the fierce light of popular knowledge, or passed beyond the bounds of his domestic circle. His administration of the Naval Department was not merely marked by efficiency and excellence in detail; it was crowned by episodes and incidents whose logical influence has tended in certain spheres of development, to direct and control the evolution of contemporary history. Foremost among these, stands the treaty with Japan, March, 1854; the construction of the steam frigates, of which one was the *Merrimac,* 1856, transformed at a later period, 1861-2, into the Confederate *Virginia.* In view of the maritime complications which now prevail, the Martin Koszta incident, 1853, acquires a renascent interest. The student of North Carolina history, cannot fail to note that the Perry Expedition originated in the creative brain of Governor Graham; that the fleet was dispatched by Mr. Kennedy, November, 1852, during his brief official term, June, 1852, to March, 1853; and that the treaty which represents the climax of this epoch-making movement, assumed definite form under the auspicious guidance of Mr. Dobbin. Four "crowded years of

glorious life" in Washington, the effects of which are growing from more to more with the increasing ages; and for him the end is nigh at hand. To those who stood in intimate relation to Mr. Dobbin, it was evident that death had set his royal seal upon him not long after he had entered the Cabinet of Mr. Pierce; the malady had probably asserted its power in germinal form, ere he attained that stage. Five months after the close of his administrative period, he died at his home near Fayetteville, August 4, 1857, aged 44; his colleague, Mr. Marcy, preceding him to the grave by a single month. Of his three children, his daughter, Mary Louisa Dobbin (who married the late Colonel John H. Anderson), alone remains; for a series of years Brooklyn, N. Y., has been her home. James C. Dobbin, Jr., the elder son, died in August, 1869. Some of his father's richest gifts and graces descended upon him like golden showers, above all, that of eloquence, in whose mastery, his rank was in the foremost files. The younger son, John Holmes Dobbin, died in 1865, a youth whose genial, lovable nature clung to him in sunshine and in shadow, in war as in peace, and failed him not even when he stood face to face with the last enemy that shall be destroyed. Mr. Dobbin was laid to rest in the Dobbin-Shepherd grounds, Cross Creek Cemetery, on the 6th of August. The services were held at the Presbyterian Church, a eulogy, based upon the 37th Psalm, 37th verse, being delivered by the pastor, Rev. Adam Gilchrist. The tribute to the dead, was characterized by the urbanity and lucidity of expression which formed the native vesture of his unstudied and habitual utterances. A happy accord in ideals both of life and language, linked into harmony, the eulogist and the subject of his eulogy.

Mr. Dobbin's affability and magnetic charm were unabated, even when the long grapple with a relentless malady had reduced him to a mere vestige of his former self. His habitual loveliness of expression remained with him, preluding, as it were, "that sweet other-world smile, which will be reflected in

the spiritual body among the angels." Just as the transition from death unto life, was reaching its final stage, a friend and kinsman watching at his bedside, asked, "Is Jesus precious to you," to which he replied in a tone not merely audible, but distinct and emphatic, "O yes." Consciousness, as well as an unclouded intellect, remained with him as he was passing into "the twilight of eternal day." When a lad in my teens, I was wounded almost unto death at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. I fell into the hands of the enemy and for a series of dreary months lay helpless in their hospitals, remote from home, in ceaseless contact with the dying and the dead. Remembering Mr. Pierce's regard for Mr. Dobbin I wrote to the former president, fully aware that my letter had its origin in despair, and was not an inspiration drawn from hope. To my astonishment there came back a prompt, gracious, and cordial reply, containing a generous and enthusiastic tribute to my uncle, as well as an assurance of sympathy for myself in the desolate situation which confronted me; closing with these notable words: "You could not commit a greater mistake than to suppose that I have any power for good with this government." To me it seemed incomprehensible, that this manly and defiant communication from such a source was suffered to pass into my hands, but it came unmarred by the shears of the censor, and I brought the letter with me when I returned to the South, a prisoner on parole. By a melancholy irony of fate, this historic memorial was lost or disappeared from our home at Fayetteville, along with other precious household treasures associated with the name and achievements of our peerless kinsman. The havoc wrought by Sherman in March, 1865, accounts for much, as his spoiling of our goods was remorseless, but it does not resolve the mystery linked with the fate of Mr. Pierce's letter. A gold-headed cane, marked by rare beauty of workmanship, and presented to Mr. Dobbin during his official residence in Washington, was one of the *trophies* of Sherman's occupation of his native town. My personal recol-

lections of my uncle are clear and distinct from the earliest period. When just five years of age, I was carried by an aunt to the Methodist Church at Fayetteville to hear his eulogy upon James K. Polk, who died in June, 1849. A child of eight, I listened to his speeches during the presidential campaign of 1852, he being a candidate for elector. Among the master lights of modern oratory, his proper relation and analogy must be sought in Fox, Hayne, Legare, Preston, by comparison with whom, even in their moments of supreme inspiration, his glory does not fade and his garlands do not wither. His voice was like the note of a clarion, "trumpet tongued," as was that of Shakespeare's appealing angels. A strange and all-prevading faculty of assimilation entered into his language; those who listened were drawn toward him by a magnetic power which took possession of intellect, sensibility, will, and guided them without violence or passion to the assured result, by the exercise of a mysterious and resistless charm. His diction was characterized by an almost ethereal chasteness and purity; his invective or his appeals were bodied in words "headed and winged with flame." The grace and ideal form of an Augustan age, were fused into harmony with the fervor and passion of the South which died at Appomattox in the broadening spring-tide of 1865.

> "Who, but hung to hear
> The rapt oration flowing free
> From point to point, with power and grace
> And music in the bounds of law,
> To those conclusions when we saw
> The God within him light his face."

The sovereign elegy of our literature, has glorified the memory and idealized the character of Arthur Henry Hallam, until the world adores the creation wrought by art and by poetic fantasy. Where is the biographer or eulogist of James C. Dobbin, in whose life and achievement were illustrated and revealed the fadeless figure and vesture of Lancelot, while within the mortal frame there breathed the soul of Arthur?

"Whatever record leap to light
He never shall be shamed."

Of the several portraits of Mr. Dobbin, that in the Navy Department, Washington, seems to me most accurately to reproduce his features. There is a touch of flashiness and gaity in the portrait in the hall of the Philanthropic Society at Chapel Hill, which was not characteristic of the man. The Washington portrait reveals the placid dignity and serenity that never failed to reflect themselves in his expression. Apart from his speeches during his single term in Congress (1846-48), very few illustrations of his oratorical power remain in complete or available form. I am the fortunate possessor of a copy of the report of the celebrated Simpson trial (November, 1850), but only fragments survive of Mr. Dobbin's numerous eulogies, orations and addresses, some of which have never been excelled during any period in the history of modern eloquence. The extract that follows, is from his speech in Congress, advocating the repeal of the tariff of 1842. It presents a suggestive contrast to the type of parliamentary oratory prevailing in our own day. The diligent reader will not fail to note that an economical issue, associated with Carlyle's "dismal science," is presented with a charming lucidity of statement, and a range of historical acquirement illuminating complex details, which remind us of Macaulay, and bring back the memory of his brilliant feats in this sphere during his career in the British parliament. I quote from the speech referred to:

"Mr. Chairman.—It has fallen to our lot to become actors on the theatre of public life at a most remarkable era in the history of the world. The human mind evincing its mighty and mysterious capabilities is achieving triumphs at once wonderful and sublime. The elements of nature are playthings for it to sport with. Earth, ocean, air, lightning, yield subservient in the hands of genius to minister to the wants, the purposes, the pleasures of man. Science is fast developing to the meanest capacity the hidden secrets of nature, hitherto unexplored in the researches of philosophy. Education is exerting its mild and refining influence to elevate and bless the people. The control of electricity is astonishing the world. The power of steam is annihilating distance, and making remote cities

and towns and strangers at once neighbors and friends. Amid these mighty movements in the fields of science, literature and philosophy, the liberal spirit of a free government, in its steady and onward progress, is beginning to accomplish much for the amelioration of the condition of the human family, so long the hope of the statesman and philanthropist. The illiberal maxims of bad government, too long supported by false reverence for their antiquity, are beginning to give place to enlightened suggestions of experience. England, the birth-place, is proposing to become the grave of commercial restriction. In that land, whose political doctrines are so often the theme of our denunciation and satire, with all the artillery of landed aristocracy, associated wealth, and party vindictiveness levelled at him, there has appeared a learned, a leading Premier, Sir Robert Peel, who, blending in his character much of the philanthropy of Burke, the bold and matchless eloquence of Chatham, and the patriotism of Hampden, has had the moral courage and magnanimity to proclaim that he can no longer resist the convictions of experience and observation, and that the system of commercial restriction and high protection is wrong, oppressive and should be abandoned. Already, sir, has much been done—already has the British tariff, so long pleaded as the excuse for ours, been radically reformed and in obedience to the persevering demand of an outraged people, we hope that the next gale that crosses the Atlantic will come laden with the tidings of a still greater triumph in the repeal of the corn laws, so oppressive to Englishmen, and injurious to Americans.

"And shall we not reciprocate this liberal spirit? Shall republican America, so boastful of her greatness and freedom, be outstripped in her career in this cause of human rights by monarchial England? No sir, I do not, cannot, and will not believe it. I have an abiding, unshaken faith in the ultimate triumph of so righteous a cause.

"Mr. Chairman, we may surpass the nations of the earth in science, in arms and in arts; the genius of our people may attract the admiration of mankind —may cause 'beauty and symmetry to live on canvas'—may almost make the marble from the quarry to 'breathe and speak'—may charm the world with elegant attainments in poetry and learning, but much, very much, will be unaccomplished; the beauty of our political escutcheon will still be marred, while commerce is trammeled, and agriculture and trade depressed by bad legislation."

The extract which follows is taken from Mr. Dobbin's speech to the jury during the trial of Mrs. Simpson, at Fayetteville, November, 1850. I cannot forbear once more to express my regret that his numerous and brilliant oratorical creations, eulogies, tributes, literary addresses, exist only in fragmentary form, or by the desolation of war, have been

lost beyond recovery. Mr. Dobbin introduces his speech with a graphic portrayal of the conditions, and the individuals associated with this notable tragedy, unsurpassed in celebrity in the annals of North Carolina.

"You have been told, he said (in replying to Hon. Duncan K. McRae, one of the counsel for the defense) of her beauty too, and my distinguished friend has held up before you the picture of her girlhood days—when her life glided on sweetly amid sunshine and flowers, and gay admirers and doting parents—now darkened and beclouded, a prisoner in the damp vaults of the dungeon with the light of heaven only reaching her through iron grates—with the officers of the law now inviting you cruelly to consign her to an ignominious grave, and to hurry her into eternity! The picture was sketched with rare skill and beauty, and presented to you with the finished art of one who knew that your hearts could not fail to be touched by such an appeal. Gentlemen, I complain not of the counsel, but when he spoke of 'hurrying one into eternity' without warning, neither I, nor you, nor any one of this vast concourse, could avoid the contemplation of another, and if possible, a sadder, more touching picture. A youthful stranger came among us, to seek our generous, Southern hospitality. Troops of friends cheered him on. 'None knew him but to love him.' Perhaps the sun never shone on a kindlier youth. Captivated by the charms of one who *seemed* the lovely woman, he blended his destiny with hers. Ann K. Simpson became his bride. For a season, his pathway was checkered over with sunshine and cloud: and then there was seated on his brow, care and gloom and anxiety; and in a moment, *unwarned*, the grim tyrant lays his icy hands upon him. Poor Alexander C. Simpson is in his grave, and his widow is the prisoner at the bar. And while I, too, warn you, not rashly and impetuously, to consign her to an untimely end, but to acquit her, if, in the language of the law, you have 'a reasonable doubt,' I also warn you, that if the testimony has convinced your minds, and points you to the hapless prisoner, as the one who did the dreadful deed, in a moment when poor human nature yielded to the tempter, then—in the face of your countrymen—in the sight of high heaven, you cannot, will not, *dare not shrink from pronouncing the awful doom.* God forbid that *I* should, in a moment of ardor, appeal to your passions. God forbid that *you*, in a moment of feeling, should forget your duty! Let us, then, gentlemen of the jury, proceed in this investigation calmly and dispassionately, in the fear *of God—not man.*"

Selwyn

By Violet G. Alexander.

The English name of *Selwyn* holds an interest today for the students of North Carolina's Colonial history, because as early as 1737, the British Crown granted to Colonel John Selwyn large tracts of land in Piedmont Carolina, and upon the death of Colonel *John* Selwyn and his oldest son in the year 1751, his younger son, *George Augustus* Selwyn inherited the vast estates in America.

In the Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. V, page 32, we read the following regarding the early land transactions in Carolina: "McCulloh obtained enormous grants for land in North Carolina." . . . Dobb was one of the partners or associates of McCulloh in the venture. . . . On May 9, 1737, the Crown granted to Murray Crymble and James Huey, two merchants of London, warrants for 1,200,000 acres of land in North Carolina, upon condition that they settled thereupon 6,000 *Protestants* and paid as Quit Rents four shillings (about $1) per 100 acres. These parties, however, as they subsequently formally declared, were "trustees" for one Henry McCulloh, another London merchant, and his "associates." The Surveyor-General of North Carolina in 1744, in pursuance of an order in Council, surveyed and located the warrants on the head-waters of the Pee Dee, Cape Fear and Neuse rivers; the "associates" being allowed to take out separate grants, provided no grant should contain less than 12,000 acres. These lands it seems were laid out into tracts of 100,000 acres each, as follows: Tracts numbered 1, 2, 3 and 5 on the waters of the Yadkin and Catawba. . . . These tracts were subdivided into smaller parcels, containing 12,500 acres each. Tracts No. 1 and No. 3 were assigned to John Selwyn." . . . Vol. V, page 22. "The grants for these lands are recorded in Book 19 of the Records

of Grants in the office of the Secretary of State." . . . "Colonel Nathaniel Alexander, of Mecklenburg County, and John Frohock, Esq., of Rowan County, were appointed commissioners to ascertain the number of white persons, male and female, young and old, who were, without fraud, resident upon each grant on the 25th of March, 1760, and make return of the same under oath to the Governor and Council. (Also see Records of Rowan County.) It was further agreed that upon such returns being made, McCulloh and his 'associates' should formally surrender the unsettled lands to the Crown and be released from payment of back rents due thereon."

Hunter in his sketches of Western North Carolina, pages 19, 20, tells us that: "In 1766, George Augustus Selwyn, having obtained by some means, large grants of land from the British Crown, proceeded to have them surveyed through his agent, Henry Eustace McCulloh and located. On some of these grants, the first settlers, by their own stalwart arms and persevering industry had made considerable improvements. For this reason, not putting much faith in the validity of Selwyn's claims, they seized John Frohock, the surveyor, and compelled him to desist from his work or fare worse." . . . "The original conveyance of the tract of land, upon which the city of Charlotte now stands, contained 360 acres and was made on the 15th day of January, 1767, by Henry E. McCulloh, agent for George Augustus Selwyn, to Abraham Alexander (Chairman of the Convention and Signer of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775), Thomas Polk, (Colonel of Mecklenburg Militia and Signer of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775), and John Frohock, as Trustees and Directors and their successors. The consideration was 'ninety pounds' lawful money. The conveyance was witnessed by Matthew McLure (Signer of Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775) and John Sample."

The historian, Wheeler, in his History of North Carolina, page 50, states: "That soon after his (Governor Tryon) accession to office, the people of Mecklenburg County opposed Henry E. McCulloh, who was the agent of George A. Selwyn. Selwyn had obtained, by some means, large grants from the English Crown. John Frohock was employed to locate these grants and survey them. The people in arms, seized the surveyor and compelled him to desist."

We find this statement in D. A. Tompkin's History of Mecklenburg County, page 16. "In 1757, the Selwyn tracts of land, one of which (No. 3) is now partly occupied by the city of Charlotte, contained something less than 400 souls" (page 32). "In the latter part of 1765, Henry E. McCulloh donated a tract of 360 acres of land to John Frohock, Abraham Alexander and Thomas Polk, as Commissioners, to hold in trust for the County of Mecklenburg, on which to erect a Court House, prison and stocks. McCulloh was the agent for George Augustus Selwyn who owned several immense tracts of land on a grant from the king; making it obligatory upon him to settle *one* person to every 200 acres of land. He foresaw that the interests of his employer would be advanced by the locating of the county seat on his lands." The city of Charlotte was thus located on a portion of tract No. 3, of the "Selwyn Grant." Mecklenburg County, of which Charlotte is the capital, is located in tract No. 3, of the "Selwyn grant," and was created by act of the Colonial Legislature of 1762; it then included what are now the counties of Mecklenburg and Cabarrus, and parts of Union and Iredell counties. Henry Eustace McCulloh, so frequently mentioned, was of Rowan County, a son of Henry McCulloh, the London merchant, and the agent and "attorney-in-fact" for George A. Selwyn in Carolina.

Neither Colonel John Selwyn nor his son, George Augustus, ever visited their vast possessions in the New World, but they evidenced some interest in them as is shown in their correspondence and through the activity of their agents.

In George A. Selwyn's letters, there is frequent mention of Lord Cornwallis (whom he knew personally) and his movements in Carolina and, it is certain, he watched the military events of the Revolution as closely as was possible, considering the times and great distance.

The home of the Selwyn family was a charming country estate near Matson, a small village on the spur of the Cotswold hills overlooking the Severn Valley. Colonel *John* Selwyn was a man of education and ability, of large influence, ample means, and well known in the courts of the Georges. He was aide-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough at the Battle of Blenheim and served his country in other official capacities. Sir Robert Walpole was one of his intimate friends, as well as other men of note, and young Horace Walpole was a frequent visitor in his home. Colonel Selwyn married Mary, a daughter of General Farrington, of Kent; she was a woman of unusual beauty, vivacity and wit, and as a "Woman of the Bed Chamber of Queen Caroline" was well known and much admired in court circles. Horace Walpole wrote of her as "Mrs. Selwyn, mother of the famous George, and herself of much vivacity and very pretty." It is said that George inherited his wit, for which he was famous, from his clever mother. Colonel Selwyn and his oldest son, died the same year, 1751, and through this double bereavement George Augustus, the younger son, inherited the large landed interests in Carolina, as well as the family estate in England. George Augustus was born at his father's country home, August 11, 1719. His early school days were spent at Eton, where among his classmates were Gray, the poet, and Horace Walpole. He went from Eton to Hart College, Oxford, but made no record as a student at either place. In 1745, he was forced to withdraw from Oxford without taking his degree, to escape expulsion for desecrating a chalice, using it for a drinking cup at a students' party.

He entered parliament in 1747, where he remained until 1780, a silent and inactive member, never giving himself seriously to affairs of State. He had fallen heir to the family estates in 1751, and had sufficient income to support him handsomely, so never exerted himself over his business or landed interests, delegating this irksome work to agents.

Selwyn obtained several sinecures, one of which was Register of the Court of Chancery at Barbadoes, and Surveyor-General of the works. He early became a member of the leading London clubs, where he was familiarly known as "Bosky." George Selwyn's fame seems to rest on his unusual wit and humor, for which he was widely known and frequently quoted; he filled a conspicuous place in the fashionable life of his day and was intimate with statesmen, politicians and literary men, as well as the court circle, and his wit and *bon mots* were enjoyed in the most exclusive and fashionable drawing-rooms of London. He frequently visited Paris and spent much time there. When the Duke of Bedford, with his large suite, spent some months in Paris while the Duke negotiated the treaty known as the "Peace of Paris," Selwyn was of the party and was such a close friend that the Duke presented him with the pen with which the treaty was signed.

Horace Walpole, from their Eton school days, was a devoted friend, their intimacy being life-long and to him we are much indebted for our knowledge of Selwyn.

In his later years, Selwyn almost abandoned his country estate and spent much time in London, at Castle Howard, or visited some of the great houses which were always open to him, and where he met many of England's most brilliant men and women.

Selwyn's life was in a sense lonely, for he never married and in his last years he had no near relatives. Some biographers tell of a romance and of an unnamed child who filled his thoughts and life in his last years, but that peculiar story has no place in this brief sketch of his life.

One unusual trait of Selwyn was his strange passion for attending the executions of criminals, all of which were public in England at that time. He seldom missed an execution, but in this gruesome pastime he was not alone, for Boswell, Walpole and other great men kept him company.

Selwyn was a prolific letter writer, his most famous correspondence being preserved in what is known as the "Castle Howard Collection." His spelling is not always above reproach, nor is his mode of expression elegant, but he gives an interesting glimpse of that period of English life. Two interesting books have been published about George Selwyn; one in four volumes is entitled, "George Selwyn and His Contemporaries;" the other is entitled "George Selwyn, His Life and Letters."

Selwyn has been called "the first wit and humorist of his day"; many witticisms have been credited to him, but many of them appear flat and stale at this distant date, as the man, circumstances and time, gave them buoyancy and pith. One is quoted here as an example of his wit, and it will still bring a laugh. When Lord Farley crossed over the Channel to escape his many creditors, Selwyn remarked that "it was a *passover* not much relished by the Jews!"

There are several portraits of Selwyn still to be seen in England, probably the most famous one is at Castle Howard. It was painted about 1770 by his friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and includes another friend of theirs, Frederic, Fifth Earl of Carlisle, and, also, Selwyn's much beloved dog, Raton. Once when it was rumored that Sir Joshua was a candidate for a political office, Selwyn remarked: "He might very well succeed, for he is the ablest man I know *on canvass!*" The Reynold's portrait shows Selwyn a handsome man, with periwig, and dressed in the elegant and expensive style of that day, with velvet suit, silk hose, real lace frills and fine stock buckle.

Several years before his death, Selwyn's health became impaired and he spent much time "taking cures" and con-

sulting medical men. He gradually grew worse and returned to London for the last time shortly before Christmas in 1790, where he died at his home, Cleveland Row, St. James, on January 25, 1791. He was sincerely mourned by many warm friends, one of whom (Storr) wrote to Lord Aukland, "The loss is not only a private one to his friends, but really a public one to Society in general."

The name of the large landowner, Selwyn, has disappeared from his former possessions in Carolina, except in Charlotte, where one of her finest hostelries and one of her most beautiful boulevards bears the name of "Selwyn" in memory of the first recognized landowner in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County.

An Educational Practice in Colonial North Carolina

By Edgar W. Knight.

Although North Carolina developed before 1860 the most creditable system of public education to be found in any of the states which seceded from the Union, her intellectual and educational growth was very slow during the colonial period. This tardy development was due to conditions under which the colony was settled and to others which lent themselves very sparingly to the encouragement of educational enterprises. Especially was this true of the period from 1663, when settlements first began to be made in the region around Albemarle Sound, to 1728, when the transfer from proprietary to royal control of the colony was made.

One of the conditions which retarded educational development was the slow growth of population. The earliest settlers in North Carolina migrated from the northern colony of Virginia between 1650 and 1675, not as religious refugees, as has been supposed, but for economic advantage. After 1663, however, when the intolerant and illegal government of Berkeley in Virginia was resisted, others came for political reasons, and the colony soon found itself accommodating "rogues, runaways and rebels" who refused to tolerate Berkeley and his tyranny. In 1670 immigrants were encouraged by the promise of the assembly of exemption from taxation for one year and protection for five years from suits for debts made before coming into the colony. But these attractions induced but few. When Drummond was appointed the first governor of Albemarle in 1663 his commission extended over 1600 square miles of territory which contained perhaps not more than fifteen hundred people. In 1675 there were probably 4,000 people in the colony, less

than three to the square mile, and in 1728 the entire white population probably numbered less than 13,000

From the beginning of the settlement the tendency was towards rural rather than urban communities, the mild climate and the fertile soil both contributing to a stimulation of rural life. The earliest settlers took up large tracts of land on the watercourses, which furnished practically the only means of communication, and agriculture soon became the most promising pursuit of the colonists. The dangerous coasts and poor harbors made the colony difficult of access and the commercial interests of the people were thus retarded. Moreover, there were frequent complaints against the unsatisfactory government and conflicts between the inhabitants and the proprietors or their representatives "who reckoned the lives of the colonists only in quit rents and taxes." Occasional religious dissensions were also unfavorable to educational and intellectual activities, and the need for schools was not keenly felt by those in authority. The educational philosophy of Seventeenth century England, "that the great body of the people were to obey and not to govern, and that the social status of unborn generations was already fixed," was now and later widespread and persistent. Besides, the re-enactment for the colony of the English Schism Act of 1714, after it had been repealed in England, was unduly exasperating and added to other ecclesiastical evils which followed the establishment of the English Church in North Carolina.

In spite of these unfavorable conditions, however, there is occasional evidence of local effort to foster education, though there were but few early attempts to promote formal intellectual and literary training. The poor law and apprenticeship system, which was so popular in Virginia where it was directly inherited from England, was in use in North Carolina also. In the latter colony, however, this system seems not to have been so extensive as in Virginia which was more nearly like the mother country. In Virginia it was so widely

extended and such a popular practice that the *ante bellum* educational system of that state seems a gradual evolution from it. This poor law practice and apprenticeship system form a unique educational scheme; but in order to understand the popular mental attitude to the class of dependents entrusted to its care—an attitude which the system itself reflects—it is necessary to consider that education is a term of varying meaning. The term now generally means an expansion of the mental faculties through a specific organized course of a more or less literary nature. For the more prosperous part of society a "certain tincture of letters" has, in the popular mind, always been regarded as essential, but this particular form of training has not been held in high esteem for the poorer classes. The popular view has been that formal literary training was not requisite to the poor youth of the community, and parents or guardians of such youth appeared more concerned about a practical training of their children or wards in those occupations and crafts through which they were later to maintain themselves than they were interested in "book learning."

It is through the apprenticeship system that one form of local educational effort may be seen in North Carolina in colonial times. That the system was in operation very early may be seen from the following records of February, 1695, and of April, 1698:

"Upon ye Peticon of Honell Thomas Harvey esqr Ordered yt Wm ye son of Timothy Pead late of the County of Albemarle Decd being left destitute be bound unto ye sd Thomas Harvey esqr and Sarah his wife untill he be at ye age of twenty one years and the said Thomas Harvey to teach him to read." Three years later the records of Perquimans precinct court show that Elizabeth Gardner, "ye Rellock William Gardner desesed presented his selfe before ye Court to bind hir Son William Gardner to ye Honbl Govener Thomas Harvi or his Heires Thay Ingagen to Learn him to Reed Which In or to Was doon till he comes to ye Age of Twenty

on yeares he being five years ould now a fortnite before Cristmas."[1]

Four years later, at the January, 1699, term of the same court, we find the following orders:

"Jonathan Taylor And William Taylor Orfens Being Left destressed ordered that they be Bound to William Long And Sarah His Wife Till they Come of Age."

"Thomas Tailer Orfen being Left destresed ordered that He be bound to John Lawrence And Hannah his Wife till he Comes of age."

"Mare Tayler Orfen being Left destresed ordered that Shee be bound to Mr Caleb Calleway And Elisabeth his Wife till Shee Comes of Age."

"Thomas Hallom Orfen being Left destresed ordered that he be bound to ffrancis ffoster And Hannah his Wife till he Comes of Age."[2]

These four examples are the bare court orders and nothing is said about the maintenance and education of the children bound. Indentures covering each case were likely signed later by the guardian and the court which appointed him. Ordinarily these indentures called for the education and maintenance, according to his "rank and degree," of the orphan bound or apprenticed. This meant to feed, clothe, lodge, and to provide "accommodations fit and necessary" for the child, and to teach or cause him to be taught to read and write, as well as a suitable trade. This was the customary agreement required by the court. The absence in the cases above of these features is hardly proof that they were here neglected. The indentures were likely formally signed later, as appears to have been the case in the following agreement made in March, 1703, in the same court:

"Upon a petition of Gabriell Newby for two orphants left him by Mary Hancock the late wife of Thoms Hancocke and proveing the same by the oathes of Eliz. Steward and her

1 Col. Rec., I, pp. 448, 495.

2 Ibid., p. 522.

daughter the Court doe agree to bind them unto him he Ingagen & promising before the Court to doe his endeavours to learne the boy the trade of a wheelwright and likewise give him at the expiration of his time one ear old heifer and to ye girle at her freedome one Cow and Calfe besides the Custome of the Country and has promised at ye next orphans Court to Signe Indentures for that effect."[3]

At the October, 1704, term of the same court Nathan Sutton petitioned to be appointed guardian for Richard Sutton, the orphan son of George Sutton, who was probably Nathan's relative, but the petition was rejected. A year later, however, he was appointed guardian for the boy. The same court which appointed him guardian heard complaints made by the "orphans of George Sutton deced That Abyham Warren their Guardian hath given Imoderate Correccon & deprived them of Competent Sustenance." The result was that the court appointed Dennis Macclendon the guardian of Elizabeth and Deborah Sutton, and Nathan Sutton guardian for Richard.[4]

A few more examples of the system will throw additional light on its operation in North Carolina:

"Upon petition of George Bell setting forth that he had two servts bound to him by the precinct Court of Craven in ye month of July 17, 12/13 namely Charles Coggdaile and George Coggdaile as by Indenture may Appeare. And further that ye Court afsd have pretended to sett ye said Servt at Liberty as he is informed by reason that they could not perfectly read and write when as the time of their servitude is not half expired And he further claimes that during the time they were with him they were well used and much time allowed them to perfect them in their reading and writeing and that he intended to instruct them in ye building of Vessells Therefore prays that in regard there is no other allegation made appeare agt him they may remain with him

3 Ibid., p. 577.

4 Ibid., pp. 613, 626.

till ye time of the Indenture Specifyed be expired &c. . . ." It was ordered that the servants remain with their master in accordance with their former indentures.[5]

The records of Chowan precinct for August, 1716, show the following:

"Upon Petition of John Avery Shewing that sometime in August 1713 ye said Avery being in Prince George's County in Virginia met with one John Fox aged abt fifteen years who being Desireous to live in North Carolina to learn to be a Ship Carpenter bound himselfe an apprentice to ye said John Avery for Six years before one Stith Bolling Gent one of her Majties Justices of ye said County as is practicable in ye Governmt of Virginia whereupon ye said Avery brought ye said Fox into North Carolina with him and Caused the sd John his said Apprentice to be Taught and Instructed to read and write and was at other Charges and Expenses concerning him and haveing now made him serviceable and usefull to him in ye Occupation of Shipp Carpenter to ye Great Content and Seeming Satisfaction of the said Foxes Mother and Father in Law one Cary Godby of Chowan Precinct But ye Said Cary intending to profitt and advantage himselfe by the Labour and usefulness of ye said John Fox hath advised the said Fox to withdraw himselfe from yor petitionrs service and to bring along his Indentures of apprenticeship & is now Entertained and harboured by the said Cary Godby and therefore prayes that the sd Fox may be apprehended and brought before this Board their to be dealt with according to law." Fox was ordered to return to his master.[6]

A record of November, 1716, in Chowan precinct court, shows that the practice applied to girls as well as to boys: "Upon the Peticon of John Swain praying that Elizabeth Swain his sister an Orphane Girle bound by the Precinct Court of Chowan to John Worley Esqr may in the time of

5 Ibid., II, p. 172.
6 Ibid., II, p. 241.

her service be taught to read by her said Master Ordered, that she be taught to read."[7]

These examples are sufficient to show the principal features of the system as it operated in the colony of North Carolina. If the records were complete earlier and more representative examples would doubtless be in evidence. By the practice in North Carolina poor children were bound to masters and guardians were appointed by the court for orphans, the masters and guardians agreeing with the court, which had general care of this dependent class, to teach the wards a trade or occupation and also to read and write. When an orphan possessed an estate the guardian was entitled to remuneration for administering it, but if the estate yielded no profit the master agreed to maintain and educate him for his services. Under these conditions the child probably took his place in the household on an equality with the other children, and perhaps received similar educational advantages.

Although the practice of apprenticing and binding orphans and poor children under the conditions described was more or less extensive in the colony at an early date, no legislation seems to have been enacted on the subject until 1715. In that year a law was passed by which no children were allowed to be bound, except by the precinct court which was empowered to "grant letters of tuition or guardianship to such persons as they shall think proper" for caring for the "education of all orphans & for taking care of their estates . . ." The law required that "all Orphans shall be Educated & provided for according to their Rank & degree out of the Income or Interest of their Estate & Stock if the same will be sufficient Otherwise such Orphans shall be bound Apprentice to some Handycraft Trade (the Master or Mistress of such Orphan not being of the Profession called Quakers) till they shall come of Age unless some of kin to such Orphan will undertake to maintain & Educate him or them for the in-

7 Ibid., p. 266.

terest or income of his or her Estate without Diminution of the Principal whether the same be great or small . . ."[8]

The principal features of this legislation are similar to the features of a law on the same subject in Virginia. Close contact with that colony, from which many of the early settlers of North Carolina came and in which the poor and apprenticeship laws formed practically the only educational system for the poorer classes, may have influenced the gradual introduction of apprenticeship practices into North Carolina. In Virginia one of the first pieces of apprenticeship legislation which has a public educational aspect was that of March, 1643, when the county courts enjoined the overseers of the poor and guardians of orphans "to educate and instruct them according to their best endeavors in Christian religion and in the rudiments of learning and to provide for them necessaries according to the competence of their estates . . ."[9]

By an act of 1705, it was ordered that when the estate of any orphan was so small "that no person will maintain him for the profits thereof, then such orphan shall be bound apprentice to some handicraft trade, or mariner, until he shall attain to the age of one and twenty. And the master of each such orphan shall be obliged to teach him to read and write; and at the expiration of his servitude, to pay and allow him in like manner as is appointed for servants, by indenture or custom."[10]

Another example will serve to make clearer the similarity of legislation on this subject in the two colonies and the probable influence of the law of Virginia on the law in North Carolina. In 1748 it was enacted in the former colony that whenever the profits of an orphan's estate were insufficient to maintain him, such an orphan was to be bound apprentice, "every male to some tradesman, merchant, mariner, or other person approved by the court, until he shall attain the age

8 Ibid., XXIII, pp. 70-71.

9 18 Charles I. Hening, Statutes, I, p. 261.

10 4 Anne. Hening, Statutes, III, p. 375.

of one and twenty years, and every female to some suitable trade or employment, 'till her age of eighteen years; and the master or mistress of every such servant shall find and provide for him or her, diet, clothes, lodgings and accommodations fit and necessary, and shall teach, or cause him or her to be taught to read and write, and at the expiration of his or her apprenticeship, shall pay every such servant, the like allowance as is by law appointed for servants by indenture or custom . . ."[11]

Seven years later, in September, 1755, there was enacted in North Carolina a law regulating the estates of orphans and their guardians. The preamble of the law explained the need for further legislation on this subject: "Whereas, for want of proper laws for regulating guardians, and the management of orphans, their interests and estates have been greatly abused and their education very much neglected, for prevention whereof for the future, be it enacted . . ." By this law the churchwardens of every parish were to furnish to the justices of the orphans' court, at its annual session, the names of all children without guardians. Failure to perform this duty was punishable by a fine of "ten pounds proclamation money each." The court was to appoint guardians for all such children and these guardians were to make reports to the court of their wards and apprentices. When the court "shall know or be informed that any guardian or guardians by them respectfully appointed, do waste or convert the money or estate of any orphan to his or her own use, or do in any manner mismanage the same . . . or neglects to educate or maintain any orphan according to his or her degree and circumstances," the court was then empowered to establish other rules and regulations for the better management of such estate and "for the better educating and maintaining such orphans." When the profits of any orphan's estate "shall be more than sufficient to maintain and educate him," the surplus was to be invested on good and sufficient security.

11 22 George II. Hening. Statutes. V. pp. 499 ff.

But if the estate "shall be of so small value that no person will educate or maintain him or her for the profits thereof, such orphan shall by the direction of the court be bound apprentice, every male to some tradesman, merchant, mariner, or other person approved by the court, until he shall attain the age of twenty-one years, and every female to some suitable employment till her age of eighteen years, and the master or mistress of every such servant shall find and provide for him or her diet, clothes, lodging, and accommodations fit and necessary, and shall teach, or cause him or her to be taught, to read and write, and at the expiration of his or her apprenticeship shall pay every such servant the like allowance as is by law appointed for servants by indenture or custom, and on refusal shall be compelled thereto in like manner . . ." The act was to remain in force for five years from passage.

In April, 1760, a law similar to the law of 1755 was enacted, and two years later we find further legislation on the subject of the maintenance and education of orphans. Additional legislation was justified, according to the preamble, by the "experience that the court of each respective county, exercising the power of regulating the education of orphans, and the management of their estates, have proved of singular service to them." This law differed from previous legislation in one essential point. Formerly the churchwardens of every parish were required to report to the court the names of orphans and poor children without guardians and masters. By this act that duty was transferred to the grand jury of every county. Provision was further made for an orphans' court to be held by the justices of every inferior court of pleas and quarter sessions. This court was to be held once a year when accounts of guardians were to be exhibited and complaints heard.

The educational features of the act have a certain interest. The guardian of any orphan whose estate furnished the orphan an economic competency was to supervise his education

and maintenance. When the estate was of such small value that "no person will educate and maintain him or her for the profits thereof" the orphan was to be bound apprentice by the court, "every male to some tradesman, merchant, mariner, or other person approved by the court, until he shall attain to the age of twenty-one years; and every female to some suitable employment, 'till her age of eighteen years; and also such court may, in like manner, bind apprentice all free base born children; and every such female child being a mulatto or mestee, until she shall attain the age of twenty-one years; and the master or mistress of every such apprentice, shall find and provide for him or her diet, clothes, lodging, accommodations, fit and necessary; and shall teach or cause him or her to be taught to read and write; and at the expiration of his or her apprenticeship, shall pay every such apprentice the like allowance as is by law appointed, for servants by indenture of custom; and on refusal, shall be compelled thereto, in like manner; and if on complaint made to the inferior court of pleas and quarter sessions, it shall appear that any such apprentice is ill-used, or not taught the trade, profession or employment to which he or she is bound, it shall be lawful for such court to remove and bind him or her to such other person or persons as they shall think fit."

With the exception of certain vestry acts this remained until the national period practically the only legislation governing apprentices and the poor in the colony of North Carolina. The chief of these acts was passed in January, 1764, and described the duties of vestrymen in making provision for the clergy and the poor. By this act the vestrymen of each parish were "directed and required" annually between Easter and November "to lay a poll tax on the taxable persons in their parish, not exceeding ten shillings, for building churches and chapels, paying the ministers' salary, purchasing a glebe . . . encouraging schools, maintaining the poor, paying clerks and readers, etc."[12] No important

[12] Col. Rec., XXIII, p. 601.

changes were made in this legislation until 1777 when an act was passed transferring to "overseers of the poor" certain powers and duties which hitherto had devolved on the vestrymen.[13]

Here may be seen an important change in the conception of educational control. By the act of 1762, already described, the duty of reporting to the justices of the local court the names of orphans and poor children without guardians or masters was transferred from the churchwardens to the county grand jury. By the vestry act of 1777 similar authority was transferred from the vestrymen to the "overseers of the poor." The educational significance of these changes is important; now the authority for controlling the maintenance and education of the poor is transferred from the church to the state. From this change is gradually developed the idea that caring for and "educating" the poor of the community is a state function. This general change is also clearly marked in the legislation dealing with the poor in Virginia.[14]

In the main the foregoing describes the practice in North Carolina of apprenticing poor children and orphans whose economic competency was insufficient to maintain and educate them. The custom was not so extensive and popular as in Virginia which was more directly influenced by conditions and practices in England. Scarcity of evidence on the subject in North Carolina may be accounted for by the fact that children apprenticed by the court probably took their places in the homes of their guardians or masters on conditions of maintenance and education usually allowed other members of the household. The master was probably required to give his apprentice practically the same care and attention given his own children; for when it appeared that the apprentice was ill-used, not properly provided with "accommodations fit

13 Ibid., XXIV, p. 93.

14 See Knight, The Evolution of Public Education in Virginia—Colonial Theory and Practice, in The Sewanee Review for January, 1916.

and necessary," or not properly taught as agreed to in the indentures, he was removed and re-apprenticed to some other master approved by the court. This important feature of the apprenticeship practice seems to have been a regular requirement.

A study of the system in North Carolina is not only suggestive but leads to certain interesting conclusions. From it we may see that as early as 1695 the practice required provision for teaching the apprentice to read and write, and that the court released apprentices when "they could not perfectly read and write." It is probable that this requirement was universal in the colony, though abundant evidence on the extent of the custom of apprenticing is unfortunately not accessible. We have also seen that the apprenticeship legislation in the colony of Virginia influenced similar legislation in North Carolina, as the act of 1748 in the former, and of 1755 in the latter colony are evidence. It also appeared that the practice in North Carolina applied to orphans, poor children, free illegitimate children, to girls as well as to boys, and to illegitimate female mulattoes and mestees. Moreover, by act of 1715, requiring that "all Orphans shall be Educated & provided for according to their Rank and degree," the existence of schools or other means of intellectual training is implied. The language of the law of 1755, "neglects to educate or maintain any orphan according to his or her degree and circumstance," and that of the law of 1762, "regulating the education of orphans, and the management of their estates, have proved of singular service to them," and "educate and maintain," may be considered additional evidence that certain educational facilities, however meager they may have been, were available for this dependent class. It is hoped that future study of the local court records of the period will add to the evidence already gathered.

Biographical and Genealogical Memoranda

Compiled and Edited by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK.

A sketch of Judge Clark is to be found in The Booklet, Vol. IX, No. 3.

DR. HENRY ELLIOT SHEPHERD.

Dr. Shepherd's article in this number of The Booklet is most opportune and serves to keep in mind the part played by North Carolina in the President's Cabinet. Among the five who have filled that important position the name and fame of James Cochran Dobbin will be memorable, as it was during his administration in 1854 that the treaty between the American Government and Japan was consummated.

Dr. Shepherd hails from one of the oldest settlements in North Carolina, born at Fayetteville, N. C., the head of navigation on the Cape Fear, January 27, 1844. His father was the late Jesse George Shepherd, one of the most accomplished lawyers, jurists and gentlemen that North Carolina has given to the world, who died in the flower of his manhood in January, 1869, at the early age of forty-eight.

His mother was Catherine Isabella Dobbin, sister of James C. Dobbin, Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of Mr. Pierce, 1853-1857, whose crowded years of glorious life have scarcely a parallel in the annals of our Southern civilization. Mr. Dobbin died August 4, 1857 at the age of forty-four.

Besides the lines of Dobbin and Shepherd, other lines represented in the family of our subject are the McQueens of Chatham, the Elliots and Smiths of Cumberland and Harnett; the Whitfields, the Bryans and the Camerons, all

of whom trace their origin to the Colonial period of our Carolina story.

Mr. Shepherd spent his early days in Fayetteville under the care of most competent instructors, added to this his daily contact with father and uncle. Each of these gentlemen embodied in his life and character the purest ideals, the tenderest graces of a day that is dead. He was sent to Davidson College, from there to the Military Academy at Charlotte, which was established by Major D. H. Hill in the year 1859. At both of these institutions he was brought into relation with this strong, heroic soul, under whom he was to serve in more than one campaign during the great war drama of 1861-1865.

In October, 1860, he was admitted into the University of Virginia. Here he devoted his energies to the literary, classical and historical courses, and in several of these he attained honorable and distinguished rank.

When the image of grim-visaged war loomed upon the South in 1861, he was found in the field, though hardly seventeen. He served under his former teacher, General D. H. Hill, at Yorktown, in the Fall of 1861. He served as drill-master of raw recruits at Raleigh and other points. In the Spring of 1862 he was advanced to rank of first lieutenant of infantry in the Forty-third North Carolina Troops. He was probably at the time of his appointment the youngest commissioned officer in the armies of the Confederacy.

The encouragement and commendation as soldier and scholar received from his great instructor and commander, General D. H. Hill, is held in sacred memory by Dr. Shepherd.

He was dangerously wounded at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863, and upon the retreat of Lee's army fell into the hands of the enemy. A long and cruel captivity followed. At last he found his way to his desolate home after Sherman's carnival of ruin had swept over Fayetteville.

After the war Mr. Shepherd taught for one year a school at Louisburg, N. C., in connection with Mr. Matthew S. Davis, the honored head of this classical Academy.

In the next year, 1868, he made his way to Baltimore and in a short time was elected to the Chair of History and English in the City College, an institution that represented the highest or final stage of the public school system of Baltimore.

In 1875 he was made Superintendent of Instruction, an executive position involving far-reaching care and responsibility. He resigned this trust in 1882 to assume the presidency of the College of Charleston, South Carolina, to which he had been called without the slightest solicitation on his part. He restored the College of Charleston to vigorous life at a time when it had fallen into absolute extinction and left it in a flourishing condition. He withdrew from this latter position in 1897 and returning to Baltimore engaged more earnestly than ever in intellectual pursuits—authorship criticism, lecturing, original research in literary and historical spheres.

As a College Professor, College President and Superintendent of Instruction his work has been marked from its earliest stages by the vital power of ceaseless progress in all the higher phases of intellectual development. Dr. Shepherd has contribute to the literature of his vocation at least five or six volumes, several of which have won distinction, not in America alone, but in countries beyond the sea. The History of the English Language; Historical Reader; Advanced Grammar of the English Language; Educational Reports and Reviews; "A Study of Edgar Allen Poe"; Contributions to the American Journal of Philology; Contributions to the New English Dictionary, Oxford; A Commentary Upon Tennyson's "In Memoriam"; Essays on Modern Language Notes; Life of Robert E. Lee.

This enumeration by no means represents the total of Mr. Shepherd's creative work in history, literature and educa-

tion. He has now in contemplation a life of Sir Walter Raleigh, designed especially to portray the intellectual and literary characteristics of his brilliant and versatile genius.

(The above extracts from Ashe's Biographical History of North Carolina).

"The Life of Robert E. Lee," one of the largest works of Dr. Shepherd, deserved especial emphasis, and in which the whole South must be interested. Having served honorably in the Confederate Army, and having known General Lee personally, Dr. Shepherd was in every way fitted to do this work, which is a notable contribution to the fast growing Lee literature.

North Carolina has reason to be proud of her son. Though transplanted to another State his love for the land of his nativity remains strong and loyal. We may predict that his work on Sir Walter Raleigh will awaken to greater activity the project of erecting in Raleigh a monument to this valiant knight and great colonizer.

Dr. Shepherd is vigorous and robust in health, still pursuing, still achieving, and whose work has been most cordially recognized in both Europe and America. Shall not North Carolina hold fast to one whose supreme ambition has ever been to contribute to the glory of the South and especially to his native State?

MISS VIOLET GRAHAM ALEXANDER.

One will not be surprised to find the great-granddaughter of John McKnitt Alexander, playing the roll of patriot; interested as she is, in research work, concerning the early history of North Carolina. Her article on George Selwyn, that first disturber of the "Hornets Nest," the sting from which gave warning to the invader to our country's liberties, finds a welcome in the columns of The Booklet, the object of which is to preserve important facts in North Carolina history not widely known.

Miss Violet Alexander was born in Charlotte, North Carolina. She is the daughter of Sydenham B. Alexander; an A. B., of the University of North Carolina, 1860, also a gallant Confederate who served in Company K, First Bethel Regiment, that noted aggregation of men of Mecklenburg and six other western counties. He was promoted several times in the army, was State Senator 1879, '83, '85, '87 and 1901. He was the first advocate of road improvement in North Carolina; member of the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses (1891-1895); President of State Grange and of North Carolina Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union; prominent in agricultural advancement, results in evidence all over the State.

Miss Alexander is a descendant of many of the early settlers of Mecklenburg, and patriots who figured so largely in the War of the Revolution, viz.: the Caldwells, Brevards, Davidsons, Osbornes, Grahams and Wilsons, whose names are recorded in history. She is the great-granddaughter of Samuel Wilson, who came to North Carolina in 1740; a delegate to the Provincial Congress from Mecklenburg, 1773; delegate to the Convention of Mecklenburg, May 20, 1775, and a "signer" of that document which has made that county famous.

Miss Alexander was educated at the Mary Baldwin School, Staunton, Va., where she made a special study of History, Literature and French; she has traveled much in Europe, and in our own country, Western States, Old Mexico, Canada and Cuba. She is a frequent contributor to the "Charlotte Observer;" has compiled a "History of Spratt Burying Ground" (which dates back to 1765), published in NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, January, 1916. She has written the following: *"Confederate Navy Yard, Charlotte, North Carolina,* 1862-1865," published by Southern Historical Society, Vol. XL, Richmond, Va.; *"First Court in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina,"* published by North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames, 1914; *"The Old Cemetery—A*

Revolutionary Grave Yard," published in Charlotte Observer, June, 1916; besides many other historical articles in newspapers.

Miss Alexander is a member of several patriotic organizations, viz.: Charlotte Museum Association; North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, N. C.; Colonial Dames of North Carolina; Mecklenburg Chapter D. A. R.; Signers Chapter (one of its organizers), charter member Stonewall Jackson Chapter U. D. C., and has held office in last three organizations.

As will be seen Miss Alexander is not only interested in the Old Time, but in the New. She was instrumental in placing a tablet on the site of the Confederate Navy Yard, Charlotte; and in placing tablet in Capitol at Raleigh, memorializing the patriots of Mecklenburg; and chairman of both committees, and assisted in designing both tablets. She designed the pin of the "Signers Chapter," and it is proudly worn by its loyal daughters.

Miss Alexander is a notable example of a continuity of qualities possessed by a noble ancestry, and as an exemplar of those timid but capable scions of a like noble race, who, content with the achievements of their ancestors, are apathetic and timid in recording and transmitting to posterity, undisputed traditions that would reflect on the glory of the State. May the pace set by Miss Alexander have many followers and thus aid the Daughters of the Revolution in its effort to preserve authentic North Carolina History through its organ, THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, which so far has struggled through fifteen years without compensation to its editors, but upheld by the most intelligent, reliable, painstaking historians of this period. Through these THE BOOKLET is encouraged and inspired to continue its valuable work now entering its sixteenth year.

EDGAR WALLACE KNIGHT.

Born near Woodland, Northampton County, North Carolina, April 9, 1886; attended the public schools of Northampton County and Trinity Park School (Durham, N. C.); A. B., Trinity College, 1909; A. M., Trinity College, 1911; master in history and English, Trinity Park School from 1909 to 1911; instructor in history in the East Carolina Teachers' Training School, summer 1910; Graduate Scholar Columbia University, 1911-1912; Fellow in Columbia University, 1912-13; Ph. D. Columbia, 1913; professor in the department of education in Trinity College since 1913. Author:

"The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South," (New York, 1913); "Some Principles of Teaching," (Boston, 1915).

Frequent contributor to magazines on educational and historical subjects. Among his most recent articles which have attracted attention are:

"Some Fallacies Concerning the History of Public Education in the South," "Reconstruction and Education in Virginia"; "The Evolution of Public Education in Virginia"; "The Peabody Fund and Its Early Operation in North Carolina." These articles appeared in the South Atlantic Quarterly, and in the Sewanee Review.

The above recital of Prof. Knight's achievements is indeed remarkable for one not yet thirty years of age, and may we be allowed to predict even greater, as the years roll by. North Carolina may well reckon on this scholarly writer, who, so far, is reflecting credit on his native State.

Genealogical Department

Compiled by Miss Sybil Hyatt.

LENOIR COUNTY PARKERS.

In 1736 or 37, John Parker moved to Craven County, probably to a place near the section, that is now Woodington, Lenoir County. The similarity of family names indicates that he came from the Chowan section.

The Colonial Records mention two grants of land, one on September 10, 1737; the other February 20, 1739.

All the records covering the name Parker in this section of the State have been examined. The most pertinent records, those of Lenoir County, have been destroyed by fire.

The following abstracts are from records of deeds in Craven County:

December 25, 1756.—Jacob Blount to Joseph Parker. Between Little and Great Contentnea creeks. Test: John Benson, Jonas Griffin.

July 26, 1757.—John Stanaland to Zenas Parker. North side of Trent River. Test: John Frank, Martin Worsley.

December 2, 1758.—John Parker to Zenas Parker. North side of Trent, next John Parker's line. Part of patent surveyed for John Parker, November 26, 1736. Test: John Frank, Thomas Wood.

February 10, 1759.—Zenas Parker to John Hudler. North Side of Trent River, near George Carnegee's land. Test: Samuel Colvel, John Parker.

January 29, 1773.—John Parker, Planter to John Koonce. Part of a parcel of land, granted unto a certain

John Parker on February 21, 1738. North side of Trent River.

January 23, 1799.—Martha Parker to James Meeks. West side of North West Creek.

The following abstracts are from deeds in Duplin County:

February 16, 1760.—Mary Parker to Isaac Huggins. Grant to her, September 27, 1756, near John Yarborough's line. Test: John Yarborough, Joseph Eason, James Snell. Clerk of the Court: John Dickson.

December 30, 1768.—William Roberts, of Duplin, to Gabriel Parker, of Johnston County. East side of Great Coheary. Test: Matthew Parker, Robert Parker, Providence Parker.

February 17, 1770.—Amos Parker and wife Elizabeth to William Jones. East side of Muddy Creek.

September 27, 1771.—Jeremiah Simmons to John Parker. Joins Parker's own land, west side of Little Coharie. Test: John Owens, John Davis.

January 17, 1772.—Gabriel Parker, of Johnston County, to son, Matthew Parker. Deed of gift. East side of Great Coheary Swamp. Bought December 30, 1768. Test: David Holliman, Hubbard Parker.

November 28, 1772.—Henry Fountain, planter to John Parker, planter. East side of North East River, north side of Muddy Creek. Test: Richard Williams, Stephen Williams.

July 14, 1774.—Amos Parker to Solomon Parker. East side of northeast branch of Cape Fear, north side of Muddy Creek. Test: James Hollingsworth, Charity Goff, Stephen Hollingsworth.

July 29, 1775.—Matthew Parker to Armager Hall. East side of Great Coharie. Deed of gift from father. Test: Jesse McEndon, Joseph Harris.

1775.—John Parker to Ezekiel Allen. South side of Muddy Creek. Test: John Williams, Benjamin Brown, William Southerland.

October 20, 1778.—Jonathan Parker to Matthew Powell. West side of Six Runs. Test: Joseph Register, Thomas Goff.

There are several deeds recorded in Johnston County, which mention Gabriel Parker of Johnston.

A will of John Parker filed at Wilmington devises land on main road from Wilmington to Raleigh, through Duplin and Sampson to sons, Owen and Robert Parker, to daughter, Julia Parker, and to second wife, Ann Maria. He states he leaves this to the second wife's children, as the first's had been provided for.

Vol. XXII, page 318, of the Colonial Records, December 10, 1754, Returns for Craven 1756, "The List of Gentlemen Solgers" gives the names John Parker, Tenes Parker. Vol. VII, page 263. A copy of Captain Richard Pierce's list from the General Muster on October 7, 1766, gives the names, Gabriel Parker, Martha Parker.

There can be little doubt of Gabriel Parker's being the son of the John Parker, first mentioned. It is thought he lived near the line of Duplin and Lenoir. He was a slaveholder and was considered very prosperous. He made silk hats, and even at a recent date, there were some of his hat molds at the home of his granddaughter, Mary Parker Miller. He served in the War of the Revolution. The records, which should give his services have been destroyed. He was wounded in the thigh in an engagement with the British at Burn Coat Bridge, near Sarecta, Duplin County. He was dead in 1790, as his name does not appear on the census of 1790.

The census of 1790, of Dobbs County (now Lenoir) names the following heads of families: John Parker, Sr., John Parker, Jr., Joseph Parker, Lydia Parker, and Sarah Parker. In the family of Sarah there are herself and one slave. In the family of Lydia, there are herself, one other "free white female," and four "free white males of sixteen years and upwards."

Gabriel Parker is known to have had three children: John, Gabriel and a daughter. Gabriel and the daughter died without issue.

Gabriel Parker (son) died intestate in Lee County, Georgia, May 14, 1834. His inventory taken by Owen Jenkins, James Gay, William Tyson and Michael King amounts to $39,744. His entire estate was heired by his brother John.

John Parker (son of Gabriel Parker) was born in 1767, and died December 22, 1843. He lived on a farm, now owned by Joshua Dawson, about two and a half miles from the Woodington Church. He owned a mill, was very well off and is said to have been a very kind, high-toned man. He married Angelina Loftin, daughter of Elkanah Loftin, Jr., and Ann Lovick. Her pedigree holds three "rights" to membership in the Society of Colonial Dames. She was born in 1769 and died July 1, 1840.

Members of the family say that John Parker and Angelina

Loftin had children named Nancy, Catherine, John and William, but if they did, they were dead in 1840, because John Parker died intestate and his property was divided into six portions, one each to Winnafred, Letitia (wife of John Davis), Julia, Mary, Rachel, and the five children of Zenas.

A member of the family has a legal paper, which was drawn up but never filed, "The Bill of Complaint of Daniel Miller and Winifred, his wife; John Davis and Letitia, his wife; Imla N. Miller and Mary, his wife; against Rachel Cox, Julia Loftin, William A. Cox, executor of Owen B. Cox, deceased; Stephen Gooding and Louisa, his wife; Nathan Parker, Nancy Parker, John Parker, and William L. Parker, the four last named infants, by their guardian, Joseph R. Croom." In this paper John Parker is called Senior, and it is a petition to the court of Lenoir County and states that the surviving administrators, John Davis and Imla Nunn Miller (Owen B. Cox, being deceased) are ready to settle the estate and are put off by part of the heirs.

I. Zenas Parker died in Lee County, Georgia. He married Mary Davis, daughter of Benjamin Davis. She was born in 1800 and died July 6, 1892. Their children were as follows: 1. Mary Louiza Parker, born October 15, 1825; married Stephen Gooding; lived near Woodington. 2. Nathan Zenas Parker, born November 5, 1827. 3. John Gabriel Parker, born February 17, 1830; died in Wayne County, North Carolina. 4. Nancy Ann Elizabeth Parker, born February 21, 1832; died in Onslow County, North Carolina. 5. William Loftin Parker, born January 5, 1834; died in Lee County, Georgia. 6. Zachariah Davis Parker, born March 3, 1836; died in Georgia. 7. William Loftin Parker, born September 15, 1839, now living near Ambrose, Georgia.

II. Winnafred Parker; born January 3, 1795; died September 9, 1851; married March 11, 1813, Daniel Miller; died September 9, 1851, lived in Lenoir County.

III. Rachel Parker; born May 22, 1800; married January 2, 1817, Owen Bryant Cox, born November 2, 1796. They lived near Tuckahoe, Jones County. Their children were as follows: 1. Elany Ann Cox, born November 15, 1817. 2. Nancy Jane Cox, born December 18, 1818. 3. Gabriel P. Cox, born July 2, 1820. 4. John P. Cox, born August 29, 1823. 5. William B. Cox, born January 6, 1826. 6. Delila E. Cox, born December 24, 1827. 7. Mary Susan Cox, born December 8, 1830. 8. Julia Catherine Cox, born November 29, 1835. 9. Edith Caroline Cox, born January 21, 1838.

IV. Mary Parker, born March 26, 1804; married May 6, 1828, Imla Nunn Miller; died April 16, 1891. She was of unusual ability. She lived near Woodington and during the life of her husband on the "Old Place" of the Millers, which was left to her in fee simple, her husband stating in his will that she had done as much to earn his property as he had done. Their children were as follows: 1. Anderson Rosco Miller, born May 8, 1830; married September 19, 1857, Delia Maria Henry, of Waterbury, Vermont; died July 20, 1905, Kinston, North Carolina. He had the degrees of M. D. and D. D. S. He served in the Confederate Army in Nethercutt's Regiment, was in the Eighth Battalion, afterwards the Sixty-sixth Regiment, and later was appointed hospital steward. 2. Nancy Miller, born August 15, 1832; died October 3, 1902, at the home of her niece, Mrs. H. O. Hyatt, Kinston, North Carolina. She was large, strong, active, and ran her farm in Woodington Township until two years before her death. 3. John Parker Miller, born March 30, 1834; married Elizabeth Jones Rouse; lived in Woodington Township. Both of them were murdered by negroes in 1867, during the Reconstruction. He served three, if not four years in Company F, Sixty-sixth Regiment. (Information furnished by John W. Simmons, of the Sixty-sixth.) 4. Francis Xavier Miller, born July 12, 1836; lives Gainsville, Florida; married October, 1864, Martha A. Williams, of

Greene County, North Carolina. He enlisted in the Confederate Army in the spring of 1861, as a private in Company B, Tenth North Carolina Regiment, at New Bern, was ordered to Fort Macon and was in battle there as ordinance sergeant. They were besieged by Burnside in 1862, captured and sent to Wilmington; he was on parole until exchanged and then was in service in Eastern North Carolina until the close of the war; was in the fights at Kinston and Goldsboro. 5. Julia Miller, born March 16, 1839; married October 13, 1869, William M. Dulin; lives at Statesville, N. C. 6. Mary Angelina Miller, born March 22, 1841; married October, 1864, Lovick Prather; lived principally in Arkansas. 7. Frances Elizabeth Miller, born March 17, 1843; married, 1862, Jackson Fordham; lived Woodington Township. 8. Wiley Phillip Miller, born May 1, 1845; married Jennie Prather, of Guilford County; died July 2, 1875; lived in Woodington Township. He served in the Confederate Army and was in Foscine's Brigade at the taking of New Bern.

V. Julia Parker (daughter of John Parker), was born January 18, 1809; married Major Loftin. They lived and are buried at the clump of trees just across the Lenoir County bridge. Their children were as follows: 1. William Waightstill Loftin, born November 10, 1827; married Margaret Wilson. 2. John H. Loftin, born March 3, 1829; married Harriet Loftin, widow of John Nunn. 3. Mary Loftin, born July 7, 1831; married John Whitehead. 4. Winifred Loftin, born April 26, 1834; married Dr. Benjamin F. Cobb. 5. Martha Loftin, born November 29, 1836; married Dr. Lafayette Hussey. 6. Julia Angelina Loftin, born May 15, 1839; married Richard Wooten. 7. Nancy Parker Loftin, born August 10, 1841; married first, Lemuel Kornegay; second, Dr. S. B. Flowers. 8. James Major Loftin, born June 3, 1844; married Sarah Loftin.

A Correction

Hathaway's Records state that Sarah Whitfield, the daughted of William Whitfield, married Daniel Herring. This is a mistake. There was a Daniel Herring living in Duplin County, but Sarah Whitfield married Stephen Herring, of Duplin County. The family records of Mr. Benjamin Franklin Grady, Clinton, North Carolina, so state her marriage.

The following record appears on the Duplin County Records (in the Sampson County Court House) January 16, 1773: Stephen Herring, of Duplin, to Frederick Bell, of Duplin, £100. Plantation whereon John Bell now lives, south side of Beaver Swamp, joining John Moore, 267 acres. Part of Henry McCullock's plot. Stephen Herring and Sarah, his wife, the true, sole and lawful owner. Signed Stephen Herring, Sarah Herring. Test: William Dickson, Samuel Wood.

Stephen Herring lived on Goshen Swamp, between Faison and Calypso.

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Vol. XVI OCTOBER, 1916 No. 2

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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Major General Stephen D. Ramseur.

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XVI OCTOBER, 1916 No. 2

Major General Stephen Dodson Ramseur.

An Address delivered at the Presentation of the Portrait of Major General Stephen D. Ramseur, by CHIEF JUSTICE CLARK, 7 June, 1916.

Ladies of the Memorial Association, Comrades of the Confederacy, Ladies and Gentlemen:

On 20 May, 1861, a date chosen because it was the anniversary of our first Declaration of Independence, at Mecklenburg, there assembled in the southern wing of the Capitol a Convention commissioned by the popular will to again declare the sovereignty of the State. In that Assembly were many of the foremost men of the State: Ruffin, Badger, Graham, Bedford Brown, Armfield, Arrington, Ashe, Barnes, Biggs, Burton Craige, R. P. Dick, John A. Gilmer, Bryan Grimes, T. L. Hargrove, W. W. Holden, John Manning, Anderson Mitchell, Judge Osborne, Kenneth Raynor, David S. Reid, A. W. Venable, E. J. Warren, Warren Winslow, N. W. Woodfin, Weldon N. Edwards, and many others. The sole survivor of the 120 men that day assembled on that high errand is the distinguished and venerable ex-President of our State University, Kemp P. Battle.

There was small delay in organizing, for the war was already in motion, and after brief discussion the ordinance was quickly and unanimously passed, which repealed that by which we had entered the Union at Fayetteville in 1789, and North Carolina was again a sovereign and independent nation. Indeed on that day we were under three different governments. Until noon we were a State in the Union of the United States, for a few hours we were a sovereign and independent people, and before night the Convention had passed the ordinance which made North Carolina one of the Confederate States.

As soon as the ordinance was passed Major Graham Daves, the private secretary of Governor Ellis, threw open a window on the west side of the House of Representatives and announced to the young captain of artillery who stood waiting on the lawn below with his battery of six guns and his men at their post, that this State had ceased to be one of the United States. Immediately a salvo of 100 guns announced to the world that North Carolina was a sovereign and independent State.

The young captain of artillery, then not quite 24 years of age, a graduate of West Point in the previous year, who had resigned his commission in the United States Army to offer his sword to the South, was Stephen D. Ramseur, of Lincoln County. Somewhat small in stature, but brave, handsome, quick in his movements, ambitious, and accomplished, he was the beau ideal of a soldier. He was destined in the next three years to rise from Lieutenant to Major General, and to die on the field of battle at the head of his division. The company of artillery which he commanded became a part of the history of the immortal army of Northern Virginia as Manly's Battery. Its officers, Basil Manly, Saunders, Guion, and Bridgers, knowing the need of an army officer to train the battery, asked Governor Ellis for the best soldier to command them. The Governor promptly replied, "I know the man," and designated this young officer, who was then at Montgomery, Ala., where he had gone to tender his services to the President of the Confederacy. Under his instruction the battery soon attained supreme excellence, and held to the end a reputation surpassed by none.

In August Captain Ramseur was ordered with his battery to Smithfield, Virginia, and in the spring of 1862 it passed over to the Peninsula, where McClellan was landing his army, on York River, and this battery opened the battle at Williamsburg. Captain Ramseur on that day was promoted to Major, and placed in command of the artillery of our right wing, Basil C. Manly becoming Captain. Major Ramseur

was soon tendered and declined the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the Third North Carolina Regiment. Soon after he accepted the Colonelcy of the Fifty-Ninth North Carolina Regiment in Ransom's Brigade. In command of that regiment he shared in the seven days fights around Richmond, and was very severely wounded at the unfortunate battle of Malvern Hill on 1 July, 1862.

After the death of the gallant George B. Anderson, who died of wounds received at Sharpsburg, Ramseur, at the age of 25, was placed in command 1 November, 1862, of that historic brigade, which was composed of the 2 N. C., 4 N. C., 14 N. C., and 30 N. C. regiments—a brigade that furnished two Major Generals to the Confederacy, Ramseur and Bryan Grimes, besides Brigadier Generals W. R. Cox, from the 2 N. C. regiment, George B. Anderson and Bryan Grimes from the 4 N. C., and Junius Daniel, from the 14 N. C. Among its many other officers of note was Col. C. C. Tew, of the 2 N. C., who was killed at Sharpsburg, and Lieut-Col. W. P. Bynum, of the same regiment, afterward Justice of the Supreme Court. W. T. Faircloth, later Chief Justice, was Quartermaster in that regiment. In the 14 N. C. regiment Risden Tyler Bennett, of blessed memory, succeeded Junius Daniel as Colonel, and the 30 N. C. was commanded by that brave officer, Frank M. Parker.

To recount the battles in which Ramseur shared would be to relate the history of the Army of Northern Virginia. At Chancellorsville on 3 May, 1863, Ramseur, at the head of his brigade, so greatly distinguished himself that General Lee wrote a letter to Governor Vance, saying: "General Ramseur was among those whose conduct was especially commended to my notice by Lieutenant-General Jackson in the message sent to me after he was wounded," adding, "I consider the brigade and regimental commanders of this brigade as among the best of their respective grades in the army." It was in this battle on 3 May, 1863, that Stonewall Jackson was wounded. He died a week later on 10 May, which day North

Carolina still keeps in remembrance as its memorial day for the Confederacy.

Ramseur's brigade belonged to Rodes' Division, Jackson's Corps in that great battle. It was in the famous Gettysburg campaign, and after the three days fight there, when Brigadier-General Iverson, of Georgia, was removed from the command of his brigade, General Ramseur was given the unusual honor of being placed in command of both brigades. In the fall of that year, after the return from Pennsylvania, while our troops were in winter quarters near Orange Courthouse, he was given a furlough, and was married to Miss Ellen E. Richmond, of Caswell County.

In May, 1864, when Grant, with over 120,000 men crossed the Rapidan, Ramseur and his brigade were in almost daily battle with the enemy down to the James River. On 11 May, at Spottsylvania Courthouse, Ramseur and his men went over our breastworks and drove the enemy from our front in a hand to hand engagement. On the next day the situation of our line at the "Salient" having been made known to the enemy during the night by a deserter, Grant threw an irresistible force in overwhelming numbers on that exposed position, capturing Ed. Johnson's Division. Ramseur, Rodes, and the gallant men of those commands, charged the enemy and drove two successive lines of battle out of their works in a hand to hand encounter. In an address before the Army of Northern Virginia, Colonel Venable, of Lee's staff, says: "The restoration of the battle on the 12th, rendering utterly futile the success thus achieved by Hancock's corps at daybreak, was a wonderful feat of arms, in which all the troops engaged deserve the greatest credit for endurance, constancy, and unflinching courage. But without unjust discrimination we may say that Gordon, Rodes and Ramseur were the heroes of this bloody day. . . . Rodes and Ramseur were destined, alas, in a few short months to lay down their noble lives in the Valley of Virginia. There was no victor's chaplet more highly prized by the Roman soldier

than that woven of the grass of early spring. Then let the earliest flowers of May be always intertwined in the garlands which the pious hands of our fair women shall lay on the tombs of Rodes and Ramseur, and of the gallant dead of the battle of twenty hours at Spottsylvania."

Old soldiers of the army of Northern Virginia will tell you that during the whole war there was no contest bloodier, or in which more gallantry was displayed, than on the 12th of May at Spottsylvania Courthouse. After the war I saw in the porch of the war department at Washington City the trunk of a tree 12 inches in diameter that had been cut entirely through by minie balls from both sides. After the battle General Lee and Lieut.-Gen. Ewell, the corps commander, both thanked Ramseur in person and expressed their high appreciation of the conspicuous services and heroic daring of his brigade. In further recognition, on 27 May, then not quite 27 years of age, he was made a Major General, and assigned to the command of Early's Division. Truly, as Napoleon said of himself, "Men age quickly on the battlefield."

After the battle of Second Cold Harbor on 3 June, so fatal to the Federal Army, Ramseur's division, together with Rodes' and Gordon's, were placed under the command of Early, and sent to the Valley of Virginia. They defeated Hunter's Army, crossed the Potomac, and on 11 July, 1864, were in sight of the Capitol at Washington, which they were preparing to take at daylight next morning, when the 6th and 19th corps of the Federal Army, which had been sent by Grant, arrived just in time to prevent the capture of the city. Sullenly and slowly retiring across the Potomac, our army was forced back up the valley, and at Winchester on 19 September General Rodes, commanding one division, was killed. Just a month later, on 19 October, at Cedar Creek, we achieved a splendid success, the Federal Army had fled in a panic when Sheridan arrived on the field, and with reinforcements restored the battle. General Ramseur, in holding his line, had

two horses killed under him, and was twice wounded, on the latter occasion fatally, and fell into the enemy's hands.

Many of the Federal Generals were his former friends at West Point and in the old army, and the best attention was given him. He was taken to General Sheridan's headquarters where he had the service of both his own and the Federal surgeons, but in vain, and on the next day his bright and gallant spirit passed into the great beyond.

General Sheridan had his body embalmed and sent it under a flag of truce with an escort of honor to our lines, where it was received by Ramseur's boyhood friend from his own county of Lincoln, General Robert F. Hoke.

General Early in his report of the battle says, "General Ramseur met the death of a hero, and with his fall the last hope of saving the day was lost. He was a soldier of whom his State has reason to be proud. He was brave, chivalrous and capable."

The division which he was first assigned to command consisted of Pegram's Virginia brigade (the 13, 31, 49, 52 and 58 Virginia regiments); R. D. Johnston's N. C. brigade consisting of the 5, 12, 20 and 23 N. C. regiments, and Godwin's N. C. brigade (the 6, 21, 54 and 57 N. C. regiments and 1 N. C. battalion). On the death of General Rodes he was transferred and placed in command of that division which consisted of Battle's Alabama brigade, Cook's Georgia brigade, Grimes' N. C. brigade (the 32, 43, 45, and 53 N. C. regiments and 2 N. C. battalion) and Cox's N. C. brigade (Ramseur's old brigade), composed of the 1, 2, 3, 4, 14 and 30 N. C. regiments, the remnants of 1 and 3 N. C. regiments having been added to this brigade after the capture of the bulk of these regiments at the Salient.

Thus three short years sum up the career of this splendid young soldier who in four years from his graduation as a cadet at West Point had become a Major General, whose fame was known to both armies. He fell in battle at the head of his division, and was spared the anguish, the sorrow and humilia-

tion of the failing days of the Confederacy and Reconstruction—fortunate in the hour and manner of his death—as in his life.

General Ramseur was a member of an old and respected family in the county of Lincoln, which, though small in area, has furnished many splendid men to the State in civil life, and among its gallant soldiers there were three Generals: Major General Stephen D. Ramseur, Major General Robert F. Hoke, and Brigadier General Robert D. Johnston. Hoke and Ramseur were about the same age, and Johnston still younger. No county in the State surpassed the record made by its soldiers of every rank from private to General.

Thus briefly has been summed up the story of this gallant young soldier, hardly more than a boy when he died. His fame belongs not alone to North Carolina, but to the whole country.

North Carolina has cause to be proud of the record of her soldiers in that great war. No other State, North or South, furnished as many men in proportion to its population, and certainly none were better or braver soldiers.

The day before he received his fatal wound, General Ramseur received news of the birth of his daughter, his only child, and he went into battle wearing a flower in her honor. Soldiers, comrades, we have the honor to have her with us today—Miss Mary Dodson Ramseur. She is the donor of this portrait of her gallant and distinguished father which, honored by her request, I now present to the State to be hung on these walls in perpetual memorial that the generations to come may remember what manner of man he was who knew how to die for his country and his duty.

As was said of the greatest soldier of the centuries:

> "The lightnings may flash and the loud cannon rattle,
> He heeds not, he hears not, he's free from all pain;
> He sleeps his last sleep, he has fought his last battle,
> No sound can awake him to glory again."

Historic Homes, Part VII:

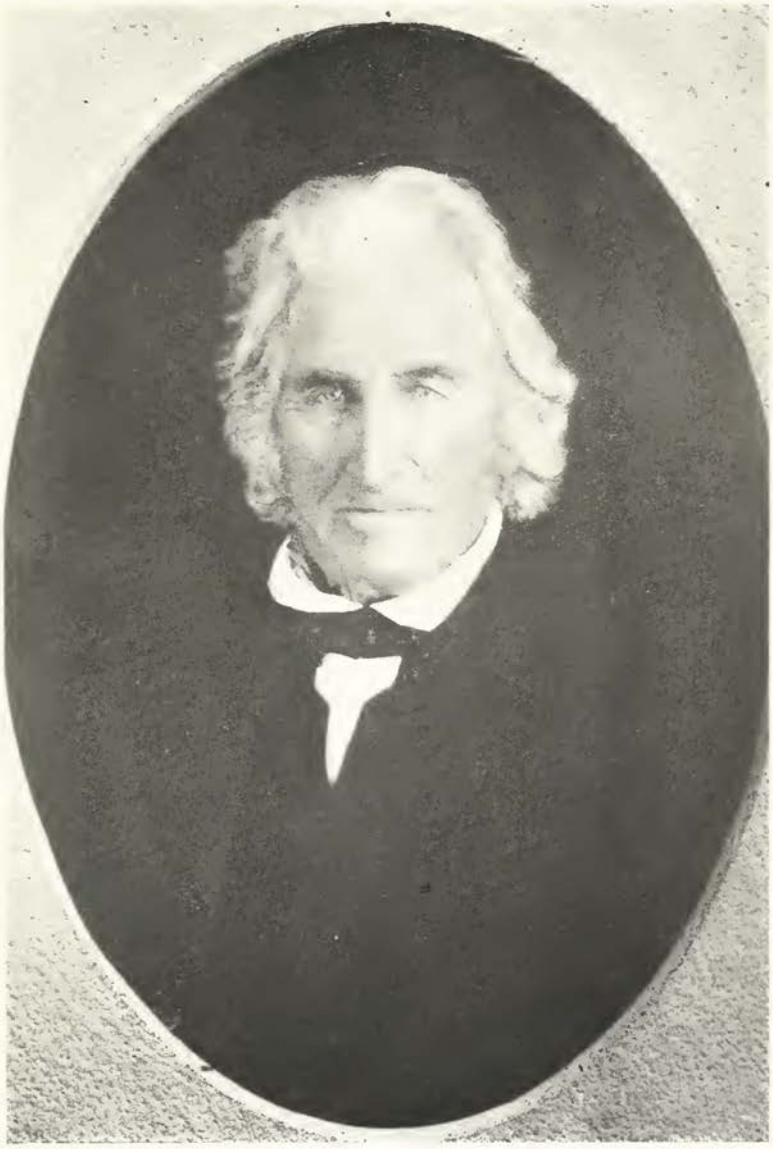
"THE FOUNTAIN" AND ITS BUILDER.

By Captain Edmund Jones.

What manner of men they were, what their conceptions of public and social duty, and what advance, if any, our civilization has made over that represented by them, is, or should be the object of the review of the lives, character and times of the men of the past, prominent as the builders of our State and master workmen upon its foundations. Objects seen through a mist always appear larger than the reality; but the outlines are blurred and indistinct. So viewed through the curtain of intervening years, our ancestors seem, to our partial eyes, to loom up to almost gigantic proportions. Filial respect, inherited veneration, and pride of ancestry, have buried with their bodies every fault and weakness and exaggerated each virtue, until it is difficult to separate the shadow from the substance and arrive at the true dimensions of those long since gone, but whom we think "have deserved well of the Republic."

The North Carolina Booklet, that "Old Mortality" among all the State publications, whose gentle mission it is to keep clear and distinct the names on the moss-covered tombs of those deemed worthy to be remembered by posterity, has from time to time given to the public a series of charming sketches of men, women and places, venerable in our annals, but whose history is all too unknown in this hurry-day age. The editor of the Booklet has deemed the subject of this sketch to be worthy of remembrance, and has asked the writer to prepare a paper on Colonel William Davenport, of "The Fountain," in the "Happy Valley" of the Yadkin.

William Davenport was born in Culpepper County, Virginia, October 12, 1769, and was one of the several children of Martin Davenport and his wife, née Baker. The family came early to America from the South of Wales, probably



Colonel William Davenport.

during the emigration from England of the Royalists after the establishment of the "Commonwealth" under Oliver Cromwell. The family was an old and respected one, but without any claim to noble or even knightly lineage. A few years before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, Martin Davenport removed from Virginia with his family to Burke County, North Carolina, and made his home on John's River, now in the county of Caldwell. Here in this borderland between civilization on the East and the great mountains full of unfriendly Cherokees on the West, this pioneer family were living in abundance and in such peace as their surroundings permitted, when the news of the battle of Lexington aroused the colonists to a realization of the fact that they were looking into the face of war. He whose trusty rifle had ever protected wife, child, and home from prowling enemy and savage beast, was equally ready to repel alien foe, and among the very first, Martin Davenport aligned himself with the Whigs and became one of the bravest, boldest and most efficient of that wild band that rode with Old Ben Cleveland.

When the boy William became of school-age, the whole continent was in the throes of the Revolution. On this remote frontier there were no school book and no schools. Save what he may have learned from the instruction of a wise and prudent mother, it is to be doubted if he ever had any schooling until after the close of the war; but from what appears subsequently, it is certain that even at that tender age, the intricacies of the rifle and the use of the hunting knife were no mysteries to him. At the age of twelve he killed on Toe River, in what is now Avery County, the last elk ever seen wild in North Carolina. He afterwards gave the splendid horns to General William Lenoir, who donated them to the University of North Carolina, where the writer saw them in the attic of the old South building when he was a student at Chapel Hill immediately after the close of the Civil War.

As proof of the aphorism that "the child is father to the man," the following incident is well vouched for, and I give

it as related in a sketch of Colonel Davenport, written by the late Nelson A. Powell, of Lenoir, N. C.: "When William was about ten years of age, a noted Tory officer named McFall, rode up with a squad to Martin Davenport's home, he being absent on military duty. The officer demanded dinner and ordered William to feed their horses. William answered, 'If you want them fed, do it yourself, for I shan't.' The order was repeated, accompanied by severe threats, but he persistently refused, sensible of the degradation involved in it. Upon his repeated refusal the Tory whipped him cruelly, ordering him to feed the horses. The Tories entered the house to satisfy their own appetites; but William fed no horses: instead thereof, he secured a gun and followed the road they were to take, for some three-fourths of a mile from the residence, concealed himself behind some bushes on a bank overhanging the road, cocked the gun and waited for the officer and squad to approach his ambush, when he intended to shoot him. Providentially for William, and perhaps for the Tory, before the squad approached him, they turned from the main road and took a near cut by a bridle path. The boy waited until the sun began to set before he returned to eat his own dinner, and to see what had become of the unwelcome guests." McFall nevertheless did not escape vengeance, for later he was among those captured at King's Mountain, and was among the thirty-two upon whom the death sentence was imposed, seven of whom only were actually executed. McFall was among those whose sentence was commuted until Colonel Ben Cleveland, who was one of the court-martial, hearing McFall's name called, and remembering the incident above mentioned, spoke out, "That man McFall is not fit to live; he went to the house of one of my best soldiers, Martin Davenport, while he was absent, insulted Mrs. Davenport and whipped his child. Hang him!" The sentence was carried out thereupon and forthwith.

One can hardly realize in our time the obstacles in the way of acquiring even a rudimentary education in a remote section

of the country during the period immediately following the close of the Revolution. But, that Colonel Davenport did acquire a very solid and substantial knowledge of our language, as well as excellent proficiency in mathematics, is evidenced from the fact that he was early recognized as one of the most accurate and reliable surveyors in all western Carolina. It is to be deplored that the identity of his teacher cannot now be established. Whosoever he was, he was an instructor of rare proficiency. School books were scarce and costly. The writer has several of William Davenport's school books. Among them a curious old geography with many quaint maps, and an arithmetic written out in full from cover to cover with pen and ink, with every letter and figure beautifully made, and the different headings flourished out in several colored inks, doubtless the product of the trees, shrubs and berries that were natives of the forests that surrounded his home. On the inside of the card-board cover in Colonel Davenport's handwriting, is the statement that "W. Davenport made this book at school in the year 1787." The book is about the size of a merchant's day-book, and, in common with several others on different subjects, is covered with buckskin from deer, doubtless the victims of his own rifle, and tanned with that beauty of finish and certainty of durability, the method of which was so well known to the Indians and early hunters, but which in our day seems to be among the lost arts.

In the year 1800 Colonel Davenport represented Burke County in the lower House of the General Assembly, and in 1802 was the State Senator from that district. His sterling worth and fine character even at the age of thirty-one had impressed itself upon his fellow citizens. Among the papers of Waightstill Avery, the signer of the Mecklenburg Declaration, was found addressed to the voters, a letter in which "young Billy Davenport" is recommended as a fit and proper person to represent the county in the General Assembly. Then, as now, politics had its rough side, for the Colonel

became involved in a controversy with General Balus Edney. The matter led to a challenge from General Edney to Colonel Davenport. The challenge was accepted, and arrangements made by their seconds to meet at six o'clock the next morning at a designated spot near Morganton and settle the difficulty with rifles. Colonel Davenport was promptly on hand at the time and place with his deadly rifle, but his antagonist never showed up. Information of the meeting had somehow gotten to the officers of the law, and General Edney had been placed under arrest, and the duel prevented.

About this time he married Mary Gordon, widow of Major Charles Gordon, and eldest daughter of General William Lenoir. Major Gordon was one of the distinguished Wilkes County family of that name, and was the uncle of General John B. Gordon, of Georgia, and also General James B. Gordon, commander of the famous North Carolina cavalry brigade of Lee's Army. After his marriage, he moved his residence to the "Happy Valley" in order that his wife might remain near her family and kindred. In 1807 he completed "The Fountain," named from a beautiful spring near by, the fine old home where he spent the remainder of his days, and which is still the seat of a gracious hospitality at the hands of his great grandchildren. The sills of the house are of massive black walnut logs, hewed to a square. The pillars of the portico were of the same precious wood, and were *painted white* to correspond with the rest of the house and as a matter of adornment. Black walnut was of no particular value then, while white paint was considered the limit of taste and elegance. "The Fountain" was henceforth one of those fine old country homes of the "Happy Valley," the occupants of which were all related, and where for a hundred years a gracious hospitality was, and still is, dispensed.

The Fountain, as originally constructed, was along building lines generally in vogue at that day and time for residences on Southern plantations. Two stories in height, with a portico in front the entire length of the house, the corresponding

side in the rear one-story shed rooms built to and constituting a part of the main building. At each end were great, broad, massive chimneys, and on the inside fire-places in each room corresponding in size to the chimneys. There was not a passage in the house; their use and convenience seem not to have been known or were unappreciated. The staircase ran up from the inside of the rooms, all of which, on the same floor, were connected by doors in the partition walls. Immediately under the roof was the great garret; that awful and mysterious region where ghosts walked and where dire and fearful engines of torment were stored for the purpose of administering punishment to delinquent children or those too daring or inquisitive in their investigations. The "big house" occupied one side of a quadrilateral. On another was the dairy, the loom-room and the kitchen; opposite on the other side was the smoke-house, granary and carriage house. On the far side and in the rear across the road were the negro quarters in easy call of the master's voice, the whole constituting the typical planter's seat, as many of the passing generation remember them. The outlook from the front commanded mountain and valley, and took in the entire scope of the broad acres that constituted the plantation. In the interior the inevitable grandfather clock, made in Morganton early in the nineteenth century by one of those wonderfully skillful wandering clockmakers, whose tribe machinery has caused to become extinct, still sits in the place where for so many years it ticked off the days, hours, minutes and seconds.

At the close of the Civil War Captain William Davenport Jones, a grandson, returned from the battlefields and made "The Fountain" his home. Here he lived until his own death four years ago. Here sons and daughters were born unto him; here some have "gone to the bridal, some to the grave"; here some of them still reside, and here is the spot that they all, wherever located, call "home."

About the year 1879, Captain Jones prevailed upon that accomplished Englishman, General Collett Leventhorpe, and

his wife, to come to "The Fountain" and make it his home. He and General Leventhorpe had married sisters, daughters of General Edmund Bryan, of Rutherford. They had served through the war together, and were much attached to each other, brothers in affection as well as brothers-in-law. With him General Leventhrope brought many rare, curious and beautiful works of art; bronzes, vases, etchings and paintings, on canvas, on wood and on metal, collected in all sorts of places and in many climes, representing the Dutch, Flemish and Italian schools. None of them were less than a hundred years old, and many much older. Among them, peerless in its beauty, is a painting of the Madonna and Child that legend ascribes, and many good judges believe, is one of the earlier works of the great Raphael. Be that as it may, it is wonderfully beautiful, and it shows for itself that it is very ancient. There are also in the collection many etchings of Rembrandt, and two paintings of Ostard, an exquisite copy of the Temperantia vase, and what is believed to be a crucifix in solid silver by Benvenuto Cellini. At his death General Leventhorpe left his rare collection to his wife, and when she died, having no children of her own, she divided by will these art treasures among her nephews and nieces, children of Captain Jones. The Raphael (?), together with many of the rarest and most valuable articles, is still to be seen at "The Fountain."

In 1813 Colonel Davenport was sent to represent the county of Wilkes in the General Assembly, but thereafter could not be induced to accept another election. He was, however, for a number of years register of the county, with his accomplished wife as his chief amanuensis. The books of that office made during the period of his incumbency, are well worth examining. The writer has never seen any records that in beauty and excellence were their equal. Whole volumes appear in the copper-plate hand of Mrs. Davenport without a scratch, blot or erasure.

"The Fountain," the Home of Colonel Davenport.

In 1821 he was appointed by the Commissioners on the part of North Carolina, as surveyor for the State, to join with the representatives of the State of Tennessee in surveying out and establishing the dividing line between the two States from the point where another set of Commissioners left off in 1779, to the Georgia line, a stretch of near one hundred and twenty miles. The whole distance was through a wild, rough, densely wooded and almost uninhabited mountain country. This trying and difficult service was performed with the same particularity and fidelity that marked everything that fell in the line of his duty. Accurate reports, field notes and maps were made and deposited in the archives of the State, where, unfortunately they were lost or destroyed in the burning of the old Capitol. Nearly a hundred years afterward a great lawsuit sprung up between the claimants of many thousand acres of very valuable timber lands situated along the line that had been run. The plaintiffs claimed under grants from the State of North Carolina, the defendants by virtue of grants from the State of Tennessee. The Tennessee records were too incomplete to decide the location of the line, while those of North Carolina had been destroyed. The marks made on the trees at the time the survey was made had nearly "grown out," and the living witnesses had all passed away. In this dilemma the writer was applied to, to make a search among Colonel Davenport's old papers, to which he had ready access, and see if anything could be unearthed that might throw light upon the troubled question. A mass of ancient papers was gone through, but without result. At last a great, massive sideboard that had always in Colonel Davenport's day sat against the wall in the parlor, was entered and searched. From its labyrinth of pigeon holes, concealed receptacles and secret drawers was at last abstracted a note book, and upon examination it was found to be the long lost field notes of Colonel Davenport, giving the course and distance of every part of the line. This was at once placed in the hands of Attorney General T. W. Bickett,

and by him laid before the Supreme Court of the United States, where the case was then pending on appeal. These notes decided the controversy, and North Carolina won out, thanks to the forethought and careful business methods of Colonel Davenport.

In personal appearance he was a most striking figure. Five feet and ten inches in height, with broad, massive shoulders and deep chest, he tapered from shoulder to the small foot encased in a number six shoe. The body was surmounted with a noble head covered by a snow-white, leonine mane, which curled down and rested on his shoulders. The face, of which a great Roman nose was the chief feature, was lit up by a pair of clean, clear, straight looking eyes, blue in color and set beneath an overhanging brow; a firm, square jaw and straight, well set lips, the whole constituting a face and figure once seen was not easily forgotten. Great age was never able to bow his figure with the weight of years, and at near ninety he was as straight as a lance. He was remarkably neat in dress, and while his apparel was of good and simple material, it was the product of the best tailors of his day. He sometimes told with great relish an anecdote at his own expense as illustrative of the notable prominence of his chief facial feature. While dining on one occasion at the hospitable residence of Hon. John Hinton, one of his fellow members of the Legislature from Wake County, Mrs. Hinton, impressed and in a manner fascinated by the great eagle-beak, intended to ask him "to make a long arm" and help himself to some dish on the table, but unconsciously speaking what was uppermost in her mind, asked him "to make long nose" and help himself to the salad, to the utter confusion of the gracious lady, and the intense amusement of the company, Colonel Davenport included.

Being of a quick and somewhat irascible temper, he kept a constant guard over it, and regulated his life in society, in business, in methods and in words, by rules of his own making, in the observance of which he was firm and even obsti-

nate. He was the owner of a great and fertile plantation, and "The Fountain" was always the home of abundance. No attention was paid by him to prevailing market prices for products of the farm. Intrinsic value alone was his guide. A bushel of corn was the synonym for fifty cents, and a bushel of wheat for a dollar. If the market price for either was above these figures he still sold for the same; if below, he let it remain in his crib, unless he gave it away. This writer has seen one of his cribs containing a thousand bushels of two year old corn. "Davenport measure" was proverbial in his day, and the meaning is even now well understood by the older men of his community. A half bushel meant a measure upon which the contents must be piled as long as it could be heaped on, the result of which was that it took five pecks to make a Davenport bushel.

As illustrative of the firmness with which he maintained his "rules," I was told more than twenty-five years ago, by one of his neighbors, himself then over ninety years old, the following instance, which I give in his own language: "One year there was almost an entire failure of the wheat crop, and the quality was so poor that I did not think it was worth while to save any of it for seed. Some one told me that Colonel Davenport has raised some good wheat of a new kind. I went down to see him and get eight bushels to sow. When I mentioned my business to him he said, 'Yes, Johnnie, I have some wheat that will do very well for seed.' Upon being asked the price, he replied that he always had one price for grain, 50 cents for corn and a dollar for wheat. I thereupon told him that I would take eight bushels, but that I did not have the money to pay for it right then. To this he replied, 'That's all right,' but if not paid for in cash the price would be a dollar and five cents. I argued the matter with him, but he was firm, saying that was his rule, and he couldn't break his rule for anybody. After a while I got a little piqued, and told him I wouldn't take it. This appeared to disturb him powerful, and he run his hands down in his breeches pockets

and dropped his head and seemed to study a long time. After a while he raised his head and says, 'Johnnie, I'll tell you how we can fix this. I haven't got any rule against lending a friend money, and I'll lend you the money to pay for the wheat, and you can pay it back whenever you get ready.' I told him that if that suited him better it was all right with me. He then ran his hand down into his pocket and pulled out eight dollars and handed them to me, and I handed them back to him and took the wheat."

The writer remembers once being at "The Fountain" when two great, four-horse wagons drove up and wanted 100 bushels of corn. The preceding year, owing to prolonged drought, had cut the crop to a point where, outside of the fertile bottom lands of the Yadkin, there was great scarcity in the surrounding counties, and the price was unusually high. On the occasion mentioned, the following conversation took place: "Good morning! Is this Colonel Davenport?" "Yes." "Colonel, we understand you have some corn to sell?" "Yes, I have some that I could spare." "Well, we want to buy a hundred bushels, and we have the money to pay for it." "Where are you from?" asked the Colonel. They told him from Gaston. "You say you have the money to pay for it?" They told him they had. "Well," said the Colonel, "If you have the money to pay for it you can drive on down the river, where there is plenty of corn for sale. I am going to keep mine, for my poor neighbors that can't pay for it." This ended the negotiation.

Soon after the completion of his residence, he erected in a beautiful grove on his plantation, and in a central and convenient location, a large and roomy church with an annex for negroes, and here during his life, whenever there was service, he and his relatives and neighbors, with their many slaves, might be found assembled for worship. He always retained the title to the property, for he would never permit it to be sectarianized, though he himself was a devoted Methodist. He was one of the foremost subscribers to all the churches

erected in Lenoir during his lifetime, although he lived eight miles away in the country. He was one of the founders and the chief contributor to Davenport Female College, which was named in his honor, and in which he maintained a warm interest as long as he lived. He abhorred thriftlessness and waste, but no worthy poor or unfortunate man ever went away from his presence empty-handed.

For sixty-five years he was a justice of the peace, and settled the controversies and contentions of his neighbors according to that patriarchal code, which, at that time, was the "common law of the land."

He loved the open-air life, and even after he had passed his fourscore years, could be seen every forenoon, when weather permitted, riding horseback over his broad acres, while the summer afternoons were passed on the portico dozing in his arm-chair, occasionally rousing to throw his cane at some impudent crowing rooster that was disturbing his repose.

So peacefully did his life pass away that he refused to take to his bed, and he died with loving eyes fixed upon the mountains that had been to him both companions and shelter through all the long years of his life.

Martha McFarlane Bell.

By Mary Hilliard Hinton.

Some claim that North Carolina has had few women of the heroic type that by their phenomenal gifts have performed deeds that have attracted and held the attention of the world to such an extent as to win permanent places in her archives. This idea prevails through sheer ignorance. No State can show a longer list of Revolutionary heroines and as loyal devotion to the patriot cause as the dames and damsels of the Old North State. Caruthers himself says: "It is believed that there were as many females in the Old North State as in any other, who, for their sacrifices, their sufferings, and their patriotic services, deserve an honorable notice in history as in any one of the 'Old Thirteen.'" Think of a slip of a girl saving the Albemarle section from the invader's pillage! Such was the service rendered her country by Betsy Dowdy when she warned General Skinner of the British plans, thereby making possible the victory of the Battle of Great Bridge. The defiance of the brave women of Edenton, spurred on by Penelope Barker, adds another gem to our rosary of patriotic achievements. To commemorate their heroic patriotism, the Daughters of the Revolution placed in the rotunda of the State Capitol the first memorial that has adorned that building. Doctor Dillard has told of them in the first volume of the Booklet. Little Virginia Dare's story was the first article contributed to our magazine, and that ideal type of the Old Regime, the late Major Graham Daves, was the author. Doctor Henderson has written for us the life of the brave Elizabeth Maxwell Steele; Mr. W. C. Ervin has recounted the deeds of the beautiful Grace Greenlee; the rides of Mary Slocumb and Rebecca Lanier have been described. Other names that deserve homage are forgotten, and facts concerning their chequered lives have not been

collected. It is the object of the Bloomsbury Chapter to gather the names of North Carolina's notable women, to write sketches of their lives and to store them away among the archives of the State Society.

Of the heroines of the Revolution none were braver than Martha McFarlane Bell, whose existence from the day of open hostilities till peace settled down on the ramparts of Yorktown was harassed by constant dangers. Hers was not the pyrotechnic display of a few hours heroism; it covered the expanse of the years that marked the period known as the American Revolution. The Reverend E. W. Caruthers, D.D., published his book, "The Old North State in 1776," in 1856, and as late in the century as that, he states, the knowledge of her life was each year becoming more unreliable, and that his sketch of Mrs. Bell contains the reminiscences of individuals who had the advantage of knowing her personally, and he can vouch for their authenticity.

In historic Orange County Mrs. Bell was born and reared. Her home was situated in the southern part, or that section which later fell within the boundaries of the present county of Alamance. She sprang from Scotch or Scotch-Irish ancestry, as her maiden name McFarlane indicates. She could at no time of life have been called a beauty, but she possessed some fine features, and was considered "a good looking woman." Though by no means masculine, but ever deporting herself with modesty, she was gifted with a strong mind, an ardent temperament and great firmness. She could love devotedly and hate with equal intensity, which made her a valuable friend, but an undesirable enemy. She possessed a high sense of duty, and won and held the respect of the communities in which she lived. She feared her Maker, and nothing on earth.

Some eight or ten years prior to the Revolution Martha McFarlane married a young widower, Colonel John McGee, with two children and an ample fortune. Their home was on Sandy Creek in the northern portion of Randolph County.

Colonel McGee owned a vast landed estate, a mill, a country store, etc., and carried on a larger business than any other man in Randolph. Dying about the beginning of the Revolution, he left his wife with five little children, three boys and two girls, to struggle with the world. One son became a Presbyterian, the other a Methodist, minister—all were in time church members. Being the richest widow in that locality, it is said many sought her hand in marriage, particularly the frisky young widowers and the less matrimonially inclined bachelors of the prime, who evidently because she turned down their attentions considered her "a little haughty." Finally William Bell, a widower, won her affections, and on May 6, 1779, they were united in the holy bonds of matrimony.

From the moment the ties were severed with the Mother Country, Mrs. Bell espoused the patriot cause. Many are the incidents related that tested her remarkable fearlessness and presence of mind. Danger, instead of intimidating her, merely inspired to greater exertion of mind and body. She desired above all things to be useful, and being by nature a nurse, she never let an opportunity pass to serve the sick and needy, going when called to any one, even long distances, by sun as well as moon and starlight. These acts of kindness were gratuitous till the ravages of war depleted her one-time plentiful possessions, then a regular charge was made. To take such journeys this brave woman risked in those troublous times and to escape unharmed seems indeed a marvel. The country was but sparsely settled, the roads at times almost impassable, and cutthroats and desperadoes ubiquitous, yet this woman, mounted on a noble steed and armed with dirk and pistols like the knight of old, sallied forth on deeds of mercy. During the war she sometimes encountered insults and attacks at the hands of ruffians, but her wonderful self-possession always rescued her from harm.

On one occasion, about the close of the Revolution, she was traveling an unfrequented road, obeying an appeal for help,

when she espied ahead a perfect desperado and outlaw by the name of Stephen Lewis, generally called Steve Lewis, a member of Fanning's Corps. When he beheld her approaching he dismounted, hitched his horse, set his gun against a tree and then took his stand in the middle of the road. As she approached he seized her horse by the bridle and ordered her to dismount, at which she drew her pistol and threatened to shoot him on the spot should he move a step. Woman's nature is not to take human life, though had Mrs. Bell fired and killed this notorious Tory, it would have been a Cordet-like act. However, she pursued the milder course and was content with taking him prisoner, driving him home before her at the point of the pistol, ready at any moment to fire. Since there was no man there to keep guard over him, he escaped to meet later by his own brother's hand death in his own house.

After the profitless victory at Guilford Courthouse, Cornwallis' Army on its way to Wilmington encamped for about two days at the Bell plantation. The troops arrived about the middle of the afternoon, the main division stacked arms at John Clarke's, the adjoining plantation. While Cornwallis seized her house as headquarters, he knew the character of the landlady, and treated her with marked respect. Cornwallis enquired the whereabouts of William Bell.

She replied: "In Greene's camp."

"Is he an officer or a soldier in the army?"

"He is not; but thought it better to go to his friends than to stay and fall into the hands of his enemies."

"Madam I must make your house my headquarters, and have the use of your mill for a few days to grind for my army while I remain here."

"Sir, you possess the power, and, of course will do as you please without my consent; but, after using my mill, do you intend to burn it before you leave?"

"Madam, why do you ask that question?"

"Sir, answer my question first, then I will answer yours in a short time."

His lordship then assured her that the mill should not be burnt or injured; but that he must use it to prepare provisions for his army, and further added: That by making her house his headquarters he would be a protection to herself, her house, and everything in or about it; "for," said he, "no soldier of mine dare to plunder or commit depredations near my quarters."

To this she replied: "Now, sir, you have done me a favor by giving me a satisfactory answer to my question, and I will answer yours. Had your lordship said that you intended to burn our mill, I had intended to save you the trouble by burning it myself before you derived much benefit from it; but as you assure me that you will be a protection to me, and to the property about the house, I will make no further objections to your using our mill, and making my house your headquarters while you stay, which I think you said would be only for a few days."

This compact was kept literally by both parties.

When Cornwallis entered the house he announced his annihilation of Greene's Army, and that henceforth they could do no more harm. In a few moments, by the commander's action, it was learned that this was mere bravado. The vernal equinox was approaching, which caused the cold, high wind. On that account the back door, that overlooked the Martinsville-Fayetteville road, was kept shut. Cornwallis opened this and stood a few moments gazing up the road, then again took his seat by the fire. Mrs. Bell immediately shut it. The British peer again opened it, and returned to his chair, showing extreme restlessness, being unable to stay in one position five minutes. When Mrs. Bell closed the door the second time, he insisted that the door be left open. When asked the reason, he said General Greene might be coming down the road.

"Why," said she, "I thought you told me a little while ago that you had annihilated his army, and that he could do you no more harm."

To this he answered: "Well, madam, to tell you the truth, I never saw such fighting since God made me, and another such victory would annihilate me."

Mrs. Bell was much vexed to have her house occupied by imperious, profane men, though the commander's presence protected her to a certain extent and she escaped the insult hurled at Mrs. Caldwell's head seven days before. They seized her grain, cattle, provisions and whatsoever they chose, without compensation. At a distance she could hear the soldiers cursing her as a rebel and uttering maledictions. Through all she bore herself with dignity and without fear. One day a man in passing her door hurled at her some insulting language. She expressed a wish that the horse might throw him and break his neck. In several minutes her wish was granted. Dashing headlong down the steep bank of the river the rider was thrown and his head crushed amid the rocks.

Being warned of the approach of the enemy, she employed every means to hide her coin and bacon. The pork she secreted in rocks across the river, the money—divided chiefly in "guineas and half Jos"—she placed under a huge rock, which formed the bottom step at the entrance. This was a favorite depository for the Whigs' cash, and knowing that, the enemy frequently lifted the steps in search of hidden treasure. Knowing she ran the risk of losing the savings of years, she tried one day by going through the camp to divert the attention of the enemy, after lingering there till all became in some way engaged, then she walked boldly to the step, lifted the rock, took up her coin and went about her own affairs. A man named Stephen Harlin had been employed by the Bells in the capacity of miller for several years. He had the reputation of being a rascal and a Tory, as his conduct proved, letting the British have grain and meal out of the mill and

revealing the hiding place of her bacon, all of which they stole. For this theft she never forgave him, declining henceforth to speak to him. On the arrival of the British he threw his cap in the air, shouting, "Hurra for King George!" Harlin was not dismissed until a miller could be hired that gave public satisfaction.

The evening that Cornwallis' forces retreated, Mrs. Bell visited the camp, ostensibly on some errand, but in truth to ascertain the real condition to report to Colonel Lee and Colonel Washington, who, hanging on the rear of the Redcoats, gave considerable trouble. General Greene must know the force of his enemy, who was heavily encumbered with the wounded, who were dying all along the highway. Donning her husband's uniform and arming herself well, she rode forth into the British camp, then at the Walker plantation on Sandy Creek, on the pretext of a claim for depredations committed that were unknown till the soldiers departed, she was keenly alert, and returned bearing information to the Patriots.

There is another exploit that even surpassed in daring the reconnoissance of the British camp. That was the night she rode the entire night in company with a Whig in order to ascertain the movements of the Tories said to have been forming across the river fourteen miles distant from her house. The perils of such a journey were indeed great. At each house she was the "spokesman." She would enquire the road to a certain point, and on to another, etc. She made such enquiries as, "Were there any Royalists embodied in that direction?" "Where was their place of meeting?" "How far was it?" "What was their number?" "What were they going to do?" "Would they molest her?" In this way she learned satisfactorily of the enemies' movements since the information led to Colonel Lee's successful raid the following night.

Mrs. Bell's staunch patriotism invited attacks from the Tories. In such constant danger did they live, her husband dared not lodge there at night. On one visitation they burned the barn and its contents, wounded one of her sons and threat-

ened to shoot another, because they protested against such depredations. Another night they attempted to murder her aged father then on a visit to his daughter's family. When two desperate characters approached him with drawn swords, seeing she must act quickly, Mrs. Bell seized a broad-axe tightly with both hands, raised it above her head, exclaimed with great sternness, "If one of you touches him I'll split you down with this axe. Touch him if you dare!" Her earnestness and defiant attitude overawed them to such an extent they left the house. In the fall of 1781, after a trip North, Mr. Bell attempted to sleep beneath his own roof. The Tories, learning of his presence, called promptly with intentions of hanging him. Finding the house securely closed, they prepared to apply the torch. When they were passing around the house Mr. Bell thrust his head out of the window to see if they had applied the torch, and in case they did, to fire upon them. A Tory very near to the window inflicted such a wound on his head that he was completely overcome. Mrs. Bell summoned her youthful sons—lads in their teens—from their beds upstairs and ordered them to get the old musket, ready to fire from the upper windows, and going to the windows near the kitchen yelled to their servant Peter, "Run as hard as you can to Jo. Clarke's and tell him and the light horse to come as quickly as possible, for the Tories are here." Mr. Clarke had a troop of mounted men at his command, but of their whereabouts at that moment Mrs. Bell was then ignorant. So, apprehensive of shots from above, and of Jo. Clarke's "light horse," the Tories concluded to retreat was the wiser course.

Of Mrs. Bell's trip to Wilmington in company with Mrs. Dugan to visit the latter's son, Colonel Thomas Dugan, long confined on a prison ship, and condemned to be hung, space forbids more than passing mention. With perilous adventures like these Mrs. Bell's remarkable career was filled. She loved peace, and with sincere rejoicing laid aside the pistol and the dirk, and took up again her domestic duties and mis-

sions of mercy that multiplied as practice enhanced her skill. A peaceful reign contains but few events to record, so it is with individuals, therefore of Mrs. Bell's latter days we can learn but little. Just when Mr. Bell died is not known, but Mrs. Bell was many years a widow. Though constantly performing acts of kindness, and leading a most exemplary life, she did not connect herself with the church until 1800. About the eighty-fifth year of her age, on September 9, 1820, her spirit passed peacefully over the Bar. Hers was an unusual character, endowed with many sterling qualities, that, considering her few advantages, enabled her to act nobly her part in times that tried men's souls.

Genealogical Department.

EDGECOMBE COUNTY RECORDS—ROBBINS.

Compiled by Sybil Hyatt, Kinston, N. C.

Generation I—William Robbins.

Will. April 7, 1779. November Court, 1781. Eldest son: Arthur. Sons: William, Jethro, Thomas, John. Grandson: Jesse Green. Daughters: Luraney Horn (great grandmother of Martha C. Horne, second wife of Jesse Battle Hyatt). Elizabeth, now wife of Thomas Williams; Charity, now wife of David Sears; Milly. Executors: John Williams, John Robbens. Witnesses: Benjamin Weaver, Jacob Robbins, Mary Robbens.

Inventory August 24, 1781: William Robbens, 662 acres, 11 negroes, etc. Executors: John Williams, John Robbens.

William Robbins' wife may have been a Battle. The Hornes were kin to the Battles. The Battles were Baptists.

Generation II—William Robbins.

William Robbins md. 1st Martha (or Patsey) Farmer, daughter of Isaac Farmer, Jr.; md. 2d Phebe. His daughter Mary Robbins, wife of Joab Hyatt, was by his first wife. It is thought Phebe had no children.

Deed, October 16, 1802. Isaac Farmer to daughter Patsey Robbins, one negro girl, Penny. Test: Jesse Farmer, Elizabeth Thomas.

Will. October 2, 1826. Feb. Court, 1831. William Robbins, Senr. Lends to wife Phebe, "plantation I live on"; at her death it is to go to grandsons: Moses Robbins, son of Elijah Robbins, and Wiley Robbins, son of Eli Robbins. Residue divided between 3 sons and one daughter: Stephen, Elijah, Eli and Charity Braswell, wife of Isaac Braswell, Senr. Son: William Robbins. Executor: Son, Stephen Rob-

bins. Test: Britain Williford, Caleb Davis, Mary Ann Jackson.

[This will omits the names of the daughters, Mary Hyatt and Milly Moore. They probably received some property at marriage.]

William Robbins was a Baptist preacher and a soldier of the Revolution. [For services, see Vol. XVII, page 243.]

The line between Edgecombe and Nash counties was changed by legislative enactment in 1872. This put the old William Robbins (d. 1831) homestead in southeast Nash. Of the older Robbins, Jacob lived in Edgecombe, near Joyner's Depot until the formation of Wilson County; Eli lived in Wilson County, near Moore's Church; Arthur lived in Wilson County.

Generation III—Mary Robbins (Hyatt).

Mary Robbins md. 1st Joab Hyatt. b. Nov. 9, 1787, son of Elisha and Elizabeth Hyatt. She md. 2d a Savage, lived at Tarboro, N. C., and died there April 16, 1871. Her three children were Jesse Battle Hyatt, b. July 1, 1820, d. Dec. 9, 1886; Henry Hyatt d. when 14 years old; Elizabeth Hyatt (b. about 1815, d. Oct., 1860); md. Isaac Braswell (b. about 1800, d. May, 1873), son of Isaac Braswell, a soldier of the Revolution. She had 13 children, four of whom are now living.

A Century of Population Growth [1790-1900] gives the information that in 1790 there were in the United States 354 families, numbering 1,690 persons named Robbins, Robbin, Robens, Robin, Robins, Robons, 36 of these families were in N. C. The names of the Heads of Families living in Edgecombe were as follows:

John Robbins: 1 Free white males of 16 yrs. and up, including heads of families, 1 Free white males under 16, 3 Free white females, including heads of families, 15 slaves. Roland Robbins: 1 Free white males of 16 yrs. and up, 5 Free white males under 16, 3 Free white females. Sarah Robbins: 1 Free white males of 16 yrs and up, 4 Free white

females. Wm. Robbins: 2 Free white males of 16 yrs. and up, 4 Free white males under 16, 4 Free white females. Wm. Robbins: 1 Free white males of 16 yrs and up, 3 Free white males under 16, 2 Free white Females.

[The following miscellaneous records include all wills and one record under each name to 1827.]

Will. Thomas Robins. Dec. 4, 1775. Jan. Court, 1776. Wife: not named, "plantation I now live on," and other property during her widowhood, then to son, William. Other sons: Rowland, "land and plantation he lives upon, which I bought of Boyett," and other property; Simon, "plantation bought of Mills Barefield," and other property. Remainder to be divided among "all my daughters." Executors: Son, Rowland Robins, William Blackburn. Witnesses: William Robins, Robert Rogers. Clerk of Court: Edward Hall.

Will. Sarah Robbins. April 29, 1809. August Court, 1809. Son: Roland Robins. Daughters: Ledy Regers, Milly Rogers, Zilley, Elizabeth. Grandson: Simon Parker. Executor: Friend, Joseph Barnes. Witnesses: Thomas Dixon, James Barnes. Clerk of Court: E. Hall.

Will. John Robbins. Feb. 20, 1819. May Court, 1819 Daughters: Elizabeth D. Pender, £25; Nancy Amason, £25; Beedy, "the whole of my land and plantation, with still and blacksmith tools and 8 negroes." Granddaughter: Catherine Williams, 3 negroes and 2 cows and calves. Other legatees: Thomas Amason, 1 negro and note for $350, rest to be sold and division made of lands and rest of negroes "hired until grandchildren are of age." Executors: John Mercer, John Bridgers, Thomas Amason. Witnesses: E. Bullock, Henry Dixon, Bursell Barnes (contested by Thomas Amason and Nancy, his wife, Elizabeth Pender and Catherine Williams, an infant by Egbert H. Williams, her next friend.

Other Wills: Roland Robbins (1832), Jacob Robbins (1841), Isaac Robbins (1847), Simon Robbins (1848).

CONVEYANCES.

Nov. 26, 1761.. Grant. William Robens, next John Williams' corner, 528 acres.

1761. Grant. Roland Robbins.

Feb. 15, 1761. Grant. John Robins.

June 22, 1762. Deed. William Robbins to George Gardner.

Jan. 7, 1763. Deed. John Robins, planter, to Thomas White, south side of Town Creek.

April 12, 1765. John Jones to Jacob Robins.

June 12, 1765. Charles Jones and Patience, his wife to Jacob Robbins.

April 12, 1765. Charles Jones to Jacob Robins.

Jan. 18, 1771. William Boyett to Thomas Robins.

Oct. 21, 1777. William Robbins to Shadrack Proctor, south side of Town Creek, absolute estate of inheritance.

Dec. 24, 1781. Grant. Stephen Robbins.

Oct. 28, 1782. Grant. Roland Robbins.

Dec. 2, 1782. Jacob Robbins to Richard Lee.

May 15, 1782. Simon Robins to Spencer Ball.

April 2, 1786. Thomas Brand to John Robins.

May 11, 1787. Grant. Roland Robens.

Oct. 28, 1782. Grant. Sarah Robins. Fairfield, north side Toisnot Swamp, joins Caleb Williams and Roland Robins.

Oct. 9, 1783. Grant. William Robins.

March 20, 1793. John Robbins to Cullen Andrews.

Dec. 1, 1796. Jordan Williford to Mills Robbins, on Town Creek.

Aug. 21, 1797. Jonathan Gardner to Mills (or Wells) Robbins.

July 24, 1799. Peter Slaughter to Stephen Robbins. On Town Creek. Test: J. Williams and William Robbins, Jr. Grant. William Robbins on Tyancoca Swamp. [On the north side of Coca Swamp, about a thousand feet west of the

A. C. L. Railroad is a spring of water. Near by there was once a very large poplar tree, hollow on the south side, and charred inside, an evidence of its having been used as a camping place. This place is said to have been used as a rendezvous for Tories during the Revolution.]

Feb. 20, 1800. Lancelot Verrett to Roland Robbins, south of Town Creek.

Jan. 16, 1802. Stephen Robbins and his wife Julian to Andrew Battle, adjoining William Robbins, estate of inheritance.

Dec. 13, 1804. Deed of Gift (a negro boy) Jacob Robbins to son Elisha.

July 20, 1804. Roland Robbins to Thomas Robbins.

Nov. 3, 1805. Benjamin Williams to Kinchen Robbins. Test: Stephen Robbins, William Robbins.

Feb. 21, 1806. William Robbins, Senr., to Joseph Lee. Test: Wm. Robbins, Junr., Kynchen Robbins.

Feb. 16, 1808. Sarah Robins to Elizabeth Robins, 92 acres.

Sep. 27, 1808. Jacob Robbins to son Frederick, negro and furniture.

Nov. 29, 1812. Jonathan Gardner to Prudy Robbins, south side Town Creek.

Jan. 29, 1813. Thomas Robbins to David Forchaud, one tract where said Robbins now lives.

Jan. 20, 1812. Division of William Robbins, deceased. No. I, to Thomas Robbins; No. II, to Lemuel Robbins.

Feb. 12, 1812. Lemuel Robbins to Frederick Robbins. North side of Toisnot Swamp. Test: Joseph Barnes, Eatman Flowers.

Jan. 10, 1812. Amos Johnston to Frederick Robbins.

Feb. 8, 1813. William Robbins, of Nash, to Arthur Robbins, of Edgecombe, where he formerly lived.

May 15, 1816. Deed of Gift. Elizabeth Robbins to brother, Roland Robbins.

Jan. 24, 1816. Hardy Flowers to Elisha Robbins, on Town Creek.

Aug. 15, 1816. Eli Robbins and his wife Prudence to Lamon Dunn, south side Town Creek.

March 1, 1819. Stephen Robbins to son, John Robbins.

March 1, 1819. John Robbins, Jr., to William White, east side Gay's Branch.

Aug. 10, 1821. Arthur Robbins to John R. Robbins. Test: F. F. Robbins, Simon Robbins.

Dec. 9, 1823. William Robbins to John Mills.

Sept. 11, 1825. Haymon Mann and wife Temperance, and Jesse Barnes to Arthur and Simon Robbins. Fell to Temperance by her father, William Dew, dec'd. Test: F. F. Robbins, Jas. W. Barnes.

Feb. 1, 1824. William Robbins, Senior, to Piety Robbins, granddaughter. Test: Stephen Robbins, Sr., Stephen Robbins, Jr.

Dec. 19, 1827. Obedience Robbins to John Batts, tract left by father, John Robbins, dec'd.

Feb. 1, 1827. Jonathan Gardner to Eli Robbins.

Jan. 30, 1827. Obedience Robbins to sister, Elizabeth Pender.

July 15, 1829. William Robbins, Jr., to John S. Robbins. Test: Stephen Robbins, Senr., William Robbins, Sr.

Oct. 20, 1830. John S. Robbins to Stephen Robbins, Sr.

Sept. 13, 1833. Tract belonging to heirs of Elisha Robbins, sold and bought by Jacob Robbins.

[Later compilations will cover the names Amason, Barnes, Battle, Davis, Farmer, Howell, Hyatt, Marn, Morris, Southerland, Sugg, Woodard, all of Edgecombe; Nunn, of Lenoir, and Stokes, Herring, of Craven, Duplin and Lenoir.]

Biographical Sketches.

Compiled and Edited by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

CAPTAIN EDMUND JONES.

The subject of this sketch, and the author of the article in this number of the Booklet, "The Fountain and Its Builder," comes from a long line of ancestry, residents of Western North Carolina. He was born on April 15, 1848, at the family residence, Clover Hill, in the Happy Valley, Caldwell County. He is the third of the name in direct descent from father to son. He was fourth child of Edmund W. and Sophia C. Jones, née Davenport. He was educated at Bingham School, the Finley High School, and the Universities of North Carolina and Virginia.

In 1864 he left college and enlisted in Lee's Army as a private soldier, notwithstanding the mandate of Mr. Seddon, the Confederate Secretary of War, who had issued an order to the effect that youths under eighteen would be allowed to continue their studies. These orders were issued by command of President Davis, who had declared that he "would not grind up the seed corn." Although two of his brothers had already given their lives to the Confederacy, and another was still in the service, he dropped everything else at his country's cry of distress and went forth. After several months of hard service, never having missed a day from duty, he was surrendered at Appomattox before he was sixteen years old. A few days after the surrender, the soldiers were paroled, and each took up his march homeward, making their way as best they could. Among them was young Edmund Jones, who after many days got back to the Happy Valley, to the great joy of his friends, to whom it had been reported that he had been killed on the retreat from Petersburg.

With unabated loyalty to his Alma Mater, he entered the University to complete his education, and there for three years pursued his studies. He then took a course at the University of Virginia to prepare himself for his chosen profession of the law.

At the early age of twenty-two, in 1870, he was elected a member of the House of the General Assembly. The country was in a deplorable condition, and it was a great compliment and a great trust to impose upon so young a man. He was again elected in 1872. Again in 1879 he returned for no other purpose than to aid his personal and family friend Governor Vance in his race for United States Senator. In 1892, when Populism first made its appearance, he was nominated by acclamation against his protest, and had to make the race in order to make the county safe against the new foe. He was elected by a great majority. At this session of the Assembly he was chosen one of the trustees of the University he loved so well.

In 1898 his sympathies became deeply aroused in behalf of the Cubans struggling for independence, and he raised a company of men which afterwards became Company C of the Second N. C. regiment U. S. V., with Mr. Jones as its Captain. He remained with his company until the close of the war and the muster out of the regiment.

In recent years he has given his whole time to his profession, steadily declining to enter politics, except to advance the fortunes of his party's candidate, until in the present year he became a candidate in the primary, along with three others, for the office of Attorney General, and was defeated by Hon. James S. Manning, running second in the race.

Captain Jones resides in Lenoir, the county seat of Caldwell County, in the northwestern part of the State, named for the revolutionary patriot, General William Lenoir, Captain Jones' great grandfather.

Captain Jones comes of a long line of ancestors who have served their country faithfully. The progenitor of the family

in America was a Welch knight by the name of Sir Charles Jones, who, either because he had made himself obnoxious to the "Round-heads," or because he refused to live as a citizen of the "Commonwealth," left his country and came to America. When Charles the Second ascended the throne, he bestowed upon Sir Charles Jones an estate near Annapolis, Maryland, a part of which, now a suburban pleasure ground, is still known as "Jones' Wood." Later, the family removed to Orange County, Virginia, where there are still many of them resident. At the close of the Revolutionary War, George Jones came to Wilkes County, North Carolina, and settled in the Valley of the Yadkin. His son Edmund was for many years a member of both Senate and House from Wilkes, and his grandson, Edmund W. Jones, was likewise State Senator, and during the trying times of the Civil War was one of the members of the Governor's Council.

None of the name have ever been politicians in the generally accepted meaning of the word. Whatever distinction may have come to them has come through the unsought preferences of their fellow-citizens, and a sense of duty well performed has been their sufficient reward.

Captain Jones' first wife, and mother of his children, was Miss Eugenia Lewis, of Raleigh, N. C., who died in 1897. In 1907 he married Miss M. W. Scott, of Petersburg, Virginia. He is still engaged in the practice of his profession, of which he has always been a zealous disciple.

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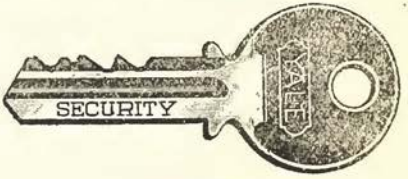

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Vol. XVI JANUARY, 1917 No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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Great Events in North Carolina History

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Vol. XVI JANUARY, 1917 No. 3

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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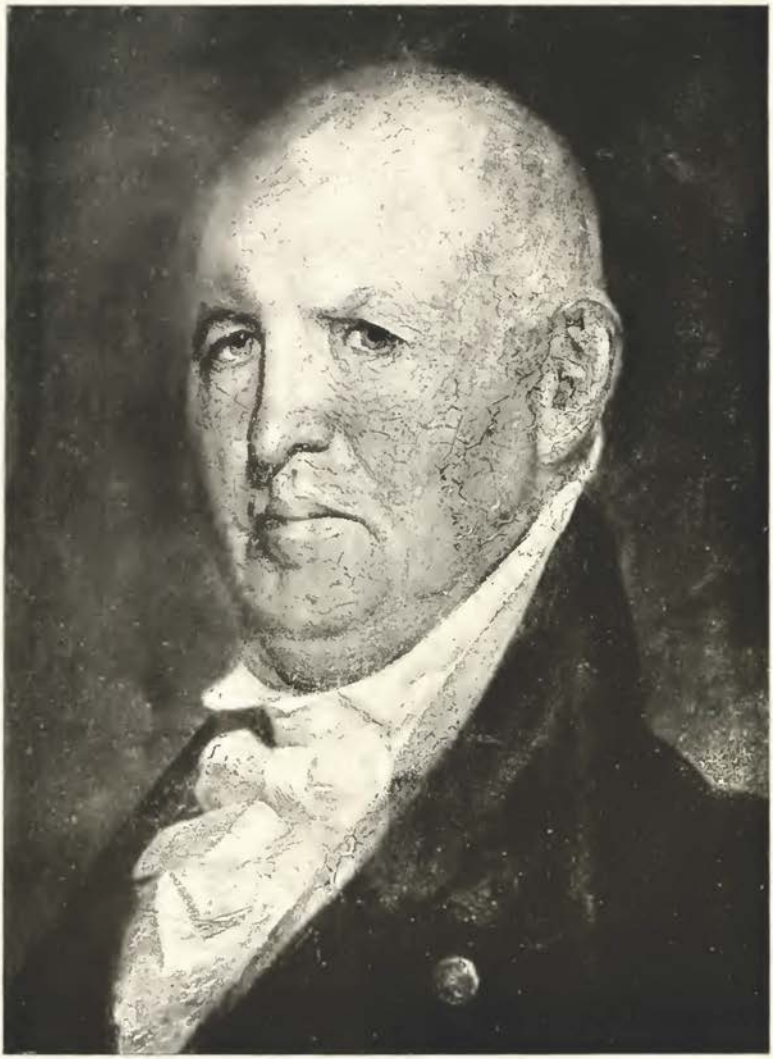

ISAAC SHELBY — MATTHEW HARRIS JOUETT

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The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XVI JANUARY, 1917 No. 3

Isaac Shelby

Revolutionary Patriot and Border Hero

By Archibald Henderson.

Among that group of early pioneers whose intrepid daring and superior sagacity, tested in the crucible of border warfare and frontier conflict, were potent agencies in laying the foundation stones of the republic, Isaac Shelby occupies a position of conspicuous leadership in both martial and civil life. Deficient in the vision of a Richard Henderson or the craft of a Daniel Boone, Shelby possessed much of the glorified common sense which distinguished James Robertson. Temperamentally more phlegmatic than his comrade in arms, the impetuous John Sevier, he exhibited in the crucial moments of his career a headlong bravery and an unwavering self-control which marked him as a trustworthy leader of men. In personal bravery the match for his friend, George Rogers Clark, Shelby was a born fighter; and although not endowed with the tactical brilliance of the conqueror of the Northwest, he exhibited such unerring judgment in battle and such poise in leadership as to inspire the confident faith which procures ultimate victory. His contribution to the cause of American independence is an integral part of the history of the Revolution. This chapter which to this very day, in any adequate sense, remains unwritten, the present monograph purposes to supply.

It was from a line of Welsh ancestors that Isaac Shelby derived the phlegmatic temperament and cautious balance which stood him in such good stead throughout his eventful and turbulent career. His father, Evan Shelby, was born in Wales in 1720; and with his father and mother, Evan and Catherine Shelby, he emigrated to Maryland about 1735. The

family settled in the neighborhood of Hagerstown, near the North Mountain, then Frederick County. Strength of character and an iron constitution, reinforced by the qualities of tenacity and approved courage, express the dominant characteristics of this famous border character, Evan Shelby, Isaac's father. In the French and Indian wars which began in 1754, he served with distinction, first it is presumed, as a private soldier; but in 1756 his recognized skill as a hunter and woodsman, acquired in patrolling the border and guarding the frontier, as well as his bravery, led to his appointment as Lieutenant of Maryland troops. It is related that on Forbes' campaign, "he gave chase to an Indian spy, in view of many of the troops, overtaking and tomahawking him."[1] The following letter is like a ray of light flashed into the dim obscurity of the mid-period of the eighteenth century. It is a letter of Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, to General Forbes:[2]

1st of August, 1758.

To General Forbes:

Sir:—This serves to introduce to you Capt. Shelby, who waits on your Excellency with his company of volunteers to receive your commands. He has served as a Lieut. more than two years in the Maryland troops & has always behaved well, which encourages me to hope that he and his company will be found useful on the present occasion. The expense I have been at in furnishing his men with blankets, leggins, moccasins & camp kettles is £82-3-2 pens currency, & as Capt. Shelby & his lieut., who was likewise an officer in our Troops until the end of May last, found themselves under some Difficulties by not being paid the arrears that were due them, I have let each of them have £15 out of the £510 currency, which, with Your Excellency's approbation, Mr. Kilby is to advance towards paying the Maryland Forces. I most sincerely wish Your Excellency the perfect Recovery of Your Health & a successful Campaign, & I am &c.

Serving as Captain of Maryland troops, in the provincial army destined for the reduction of Fort Duquesne, Evan Shelby was engaged in a number of severe battles in the course of Braddock's war. In 1758, in pursuance of Governor Sharpe's orders, he reconnoitred and marked out the route

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[1]Draper's *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, 411.
[2]Maryland *Calendar State Papers*, ii. 1757-61, 237.

of a road to Fort Cumberland; and following his report to the Governor that "three hundred and fifty men might open such a road as he proposed in three weeks," as it was not more than sixty miles in length, the road was laid out by him with the assistance of the desired quota of men, by order of Governor Sharpe.[3] As a soldier he was conspicuous for gallantry in the battle fought at Loyal Hanning (now Bedford), Pennsylvania; and he led the advance guard of General Forbes, when he took possession of Fort DuQuesne in 1758.

Early in the 'sixties, it is reasonable to suppose, he removed with his family to Pennsylvania—perhaps as the result of uncertainty in land titles in consequence of the dispute over territory between Maryland and Pennsylvania. For some years thereafter he engaged in trade with the Indians of the Northwest. During the conferences with the Indians, held in connection with the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, lasting from October 24 until November 6, 1768, an extensive grant of land was made by the Six Nations of Indians to twenty-three Indian traders, most of them from Pennsylvania, to recompense them for very large losses incurred during the war of 1763. In the list of the twenty-three names is found that of Evan Shelby, along with such other well known names as William Trent, David Franks, John Baynton, Samuel Wharton, and George Morgan. This grant included all that part of the present state of West Virginia lying between the Ohio, the Little Kanawha, and the Monongahela rivers, the Laurel Ridge, and the South line of Pennsylvania extended to the Ohio. Trent and Wharton, two of the traders, went to England, to endeavor to obtain a confirmation of the grant, which was named Indiana by those who wished to erect it into a colony; but while there they were induced to throw in their interests with Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, and others, in securing the grant of Vandalia, which included the

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[3]Cf. Sharpe to Capt. Evan Shelby, June 15, 1758; Maryland *Calendar State Papers*. Letter Book III, 206; Sharpe to Calvert, Letter Book I, 358-9. For Capt. Evan Shelby's report from Frederick, June 25, 1758, cf. also Maryland *Calendar State Papers*, Letter Book III, 212.

grants to the Ohio Company and to William Trent and his associates, and extended to the mouth of Scioto. Although the draft of the royal grant had actually been prepared in the spring of 1775, it ultimately failed of confirmation by the Crown.[4]

During the third quarter of the eighteenth century, ranches, or "cow-pens" were established at many places in the Piedmont region of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The more adventurous farmers, taking advantage of the fertile pastures of the uplands, pressed far beyond the ordinary farmer's frontier, and herded in large flocks of cattle and stock. Many of these were wandering wild upon the country; as a contemporary observer says, "notwithstanding every precaution, very great numbers of black cattle, horses and hogs—run at large, entirely wild, without any other proprietors than those of the ground they happened to be found upon."[5] In 1771, according to the best authorities, Isaac Shelby, the son of Evan Shelby, was residing in Western Virginia, living the life of the rancher, and engaged in the business of feeding and attending to the herds of cattle over the extensive ranges of the uplands.[6] And in this same year, as Draper states, the Shelby connection removed to the Holston country, in that twilight zone of the debatable ground between North Carolina and Virginia.[7] Evan Shelby settled on the site of the present Bristol, Tennessee; and in conjunction with his friend, Isaac Baker, purchased the Sapling Grove tract, of 1946 acres, Robert Preston dividing it equally between them.

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[4]*Plain Facts*, Philadelphia, 1781. *New Governments West of the Alleghanies Before 1780*, by G. H. Alden, Madison, Wis., 1897. Cf. also, Hanna's *The Wilderness Trail*, ii, 59-60.

[5]J. F. D. Smyth: *A Tour in the United States of America*, ii, 143-4.

[6]L. C. Draper: *Kings Mountain and Its Heroes*, 411.

[7]Summers, in his *Southwest Virginia*, 1903, 671-2, states that "in the year 1765 or shortly thereafter, Evan Shelby and Isaac Baker left their homes in Maryland and came to the Holston country." The facts, as stated above, would indicate that the date, 1765, is incorrect, with reference to the migration to the Holston country of Evan Shelby, at least. It may be that Isaac Baker preceded Evan Shelby to the Holston country, and induced him to remove thither.

Isaac Shelby was born near the North Mountain, in the vicinity of Hagerstown, Maryland, on December 11, 1750, being the eldest son of Evan Shelby and his first wife, Letitia Scott, of Frederickstown, Maryland. The intimacy between Evan Shelby and his friend Isaac Baker is shown by the fact that Shelby named one of his sons Isaac and Baker named one of his sons Evan. Endowed, like his father, with an iron constitution, and reared in a martial atmosphere, Isaac early adapted himself to the strenuous life of the pioneer and became expert in the arts of hunting and woodcraft. Even before he reached man's estate he served as Deputy Sheriff of Frederick County, Maryland—a tribute to his self-control and personal prowess.[8]

Despite the fact that the country was continually harrassed with a succession of Indian wars, young Isaac nevertheless succeeded in obtaining the rudiments of a plain English education. After the removal of the Shelbys to Kings Meadows (near Bristol), Evan Shelby and his four sons, Isaac, Evan, Moses, and James, continued to herd and graze cattle on an extensive scale along the Virginia border, about forty miles north of Watauga.[9]

An authentic account of the career of Evan Shelby and his services to the cause of American independence would constitute an extended chapter in the history of Indian battles and border warfare. As indicative of the high estimation in which he was held in his former home, one may cite the following fragment of a letter to Captain Evan Shelby from General William Thompson, bearing the address, "Carlyle, 6th July, 1775."

"Had General Washington been sure you could have joined the army at Boston without first seeing your family (you) would have been appointed Lieut. Colo. (of the) Rifle Battalion and an express sent by you being so_____the

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[8]This statement is made on the authority of Cecil B. Hartley, in his sketch of Isaac Shelby, published in 1860, along with *The Life and Adventures of Louis Wetzel.*

[9]James R. Gilmore: *The Rear Guard of the Revolution,* 1903, 64.

general concluded it (would not be—) for you to take the field before seeing your family. I leave for Boston on Monday night."

Upon his Sapling Grove plantation Evan Shelby built a fort named Shelby's Station, where hundreds were sometimes forted during the Revolution. At this fort the Shelbys kept a store, which supplied the pioneers with ammunition, dress stuffs, articles of food and drink. Daniel Boone purchased supplies here in preparation for his ill-timed and ill-fated expedition in 1773. The stout old Welshman, stern though he may have been, was evidently not averse to conviviality; on an old ledger, dated Staunton, Va., Nov. 22, 1773, conspicuous in the account against Evan Shelby are such entries as: "1 Bowl tody," "1 Mug cider," "1 Bowl Bumbo," "To Club in Wine." His first wife, Letitia Cox, died in 1777, and is buried at Charlottesville, Va. Late in life he was married to Isabella Elliott; and the records show that this prudent lady required one-third of his estate to be deeded to her before marriage. In 1794 Evan Shelby died, at the age of 74, and his widow afterwards was married again to one Dromgoole. His remains now repose in Bristol, Tenn., on the lot now occupied by the Lutheran Church, on the corner of Fifth and Shelby streets.[11]

It was not long after the settlement of the Shelbys at Sapling Grove that they formed the acquaintance of such leading men of the border as James Robertson, John Sevier, Daniel Boone, and William Russell. A little incident indicative of the experience of even the most expert pioneers of the day at the hands of the treacherous and furtive red men is recorded in that valuable repository of historical lore, Bradford's *Notes on Kentucky*. "In 1772," records Isaac Shelby in one of these notes, although we know from other sources that he should have said 1771, "I met Daniel Boone below the Holstein settlement, alone; he informed me that he had spent the two years preceding that time in a hunt on Louisa river

[11] Cf. Oliver Taylor: *Historic Sullivan*, 1909. Also L. P. Summers: *Southwest Virginia*, 1903.

(now Kentucky), so called by all the Long Hunters; that he had been robbed the day before, by the Cherokee Indians, of all the proceeds of his hunt."

It was at the instance of the Shelbys that Sevier moved to the Holston settlements. In 1772 John Sevier attended a horse race at the Watauga Old Field, and witnessed the theft of a horse by a burly fellow named Shoate. Sevier was about to leave, disgusted by the incident—for the thief pretended that he had won the stolen horse as the result of a wager—when Evan Shelby remarked to him: "Never mind the rascals; they'll soon poplar"—by which he meant, take a canoe and get out of the country. One of the first measures taken by the Watauga settlements was the passage of laws to protect them from horse thieves. The following year the Seviers removed to Keywood, about six miles from the Shelbys, later settling in Washington County.[12]

It was not long before Isaac Shelby, young though he was, came to be regarded as a man of promise in the frontier settlement. In 1774 he was appointed Lieutenant in the militia by Colonel William Preston, the County Lieutenant of Fincastle County. The anecdote is related that, when Isaac thoughtlessly sat down instead of remaining at attention while his commission was being written out by Col. Preston, his father, with characteristically imperious manner, sternly admonished him:

"Get up, you young dog, and make your obeisance to the Colonel!"

Whereupon the young officer, considerably abashed, arose and made the *amende honorable* to his superior officer. In time to come the graceless "young dog" was to prove himself, as soldier and statesman, the superior of his bull-dog father, the grizzled veteran and Indian fighter.

Endowed, like his father, with an herculean frame, though built on a somewhat larger scale, he presents a formidable and impressive appearance in the portraits that have come

[12]Draper Mss.; also cf. F. M. Turner: *Life of General John Sevier*, 1910.

down to us—with firm, compressed lips, heavy chin, massive features, beetling brows over fixed, deep-set eyes—a man of "uncommon intelligence and stern, unbending integrity."

II.

Daniel Boone's attempt, without shadow of title, to make a settlement in Kentucky, in September, 1773, had met with a bloody repulse on the part of the Indians. In a letter to Dartmouth, Dunmore said in regard to the "Americans," the pioneer settlers: "They acquire no attachment to place: But wandering about Seems engrafted in their Nature; and it is a weakness incident to it that they Should for ever Imagine the Lands further off, are Still better than those upon which they are already Settled."[13] The continued encroachments of the white settlers upon the Indian hunting grounds fanned to flame the smouldering animosity of the red man. The Six Nations, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, had sold to the Crown, through Sir William Johnson, their unwarranted claim to a vast stretch of territory extending as far to the southward as the Kentucky River. The Southern Indians, the aboriginal occupants of the soil, indignantly denied the right of the Six Nations to this Territory. The Indians along the border were aroused to a pitch of excessive hostility by the continued incursions of the whites. A succession of attacks by the Indians upon outlying and scattered settlements soon led to bloody reprisals on the part of the whites. The open letter of Conolly, Governor Dunmore's agent, calling upon the backwoodsmen to prepare to defend themselves from the attacks of the Shawnees, was issued on April 21, 1774, and the barbarous murder of Logan's family at the mouth of Yellow Creek on April 30, by one Greathouse and a score of carousing white companions, rendered the conflict inevitable. Yet actual hostilities were slow to commence, and it was not until the summer of 1774 that Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner were dispatched by Dunmore to Kentucky, to conduct

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[13]Draper Mss., 15J4-48.

into the settlements the various parties of surveyors scattered about through the Kentucky area. The war was now begun, and Lord Dunmore, hoping to reconcile the differences between the colonists and England by a successful campaign against the Indians, proceeded vigorously to carry the war into the enemy's country.

There were two divisions in Lord Dunmore's army, one of fully twelve hundred men under the command of the earl in person, the other of about eleven hundred strong, under the command of General Andrew Lewis, a stalwart backwoods fighter. For some inexplicable motive, which has been suspected, no doubt, erroneously, as an attempt at treachery to the Americans, Dunmore decided not to unite his force with that of Lewis; and after a long march he took up his position at the mouth of the Hockhocking, erected a stockade styled Fort Gower, and awaited news of Lewis's brigade. The division of Lewis reached the mouth of the Great Kanawha River on October 6 and encamped at Point Pleasant. On the ninth the order came to Lewis from Dunmore to join him at the Indian towns near the Pickaway Plains. The sagacious Cornstalk, the Indian leader, divining the plan of the whites, resolved to hurl his entire force of one thousand warriors upon the sleeping army at Point Pleasant.

Of the several commands under Lewis one was composed of the Fincastle men, from the Holston, Clinch, Watauga, and New River settlements, under Col. William Christian. The Holston men were the advance guard of civilization at this period, the most daring settlers who had pushed farthest out into the western wilderness. In Col. Christian's command were five captains, Evan Shelby, Russell, Herbert, Draper, and Buford; and under Evan Shelby were his sons, Isaac, a lieutenant, and James; and James Robertson and Valentine Sevier, orderly sergeants.

The battle which ensued has been described in such accurate and graphic terms in a letter to John Shelby, by Isaac Shelby,

who played an important part in the fierce engagement, that his letter is given here in full:[14]

CAMP OPPOSITE TO THE MOUTH OF GREAT CANAWAY,
October 16th, 1774.

DR. UNCLE:—I Gladly imbrace this opportunity to Acquaint You that we are all three[15] yet alive th(r)o Gods Mercies & I Sinceerly wish that this may find you & your Family in the Station of Health that we left you. I never had anything Worth Notice to quaint you with since I left you till now, the Express seems to be Hurrying that I Cant write you with the same Coolness & Deliberation as I would; we arrived at the mouth (of) Canaway Thursday 6th. Octr. and incampd on a fine piece of Ground with an intent to wait for the Governor & his party but hearing that he was going another way we Contented our selves to stay there a few days to rest the troops &c, when we looked upon our selves to be in safety till Monday morning the 10th Instant when two of our Compys. went out before day to hunt. To wit Val. Sevier & Jas Robison & Discovered a party of Indians; as I expect you will hear something of our Battle before you get this I have here stated this affair nearly to you.

For the Satisfaction of the people in your parts in this they have a true state of the Memorable Battle faught at the mouth of the Great Canaway on the 10th. Instant; Monday morning about half an Hour before Sunrise two of Capt. Russells Compy. Discovered a large party of Indians about a mile from Camp one of which men was killed the Other made his Escape & brought in his intilligence;[16] in two or three minutes affter two of Capt Shelbys Compy. Came in and Confirmed the Account. Colo. Andrew Lewis being Informed thereof Immediately ordered Colo. Charles Lewis to take the Command of 150 men from Augusta and with him went Capt. Dickison. Capt. Harrison. Capt. Willson. Capt. Jno. Lewis from Augusta and Capt. Lockridge which made the first division. Colo. Fleming was also ordered to take the Command of one hundred & fifty more Consisting of Botetourt Fincastle and Bedford Troops Viz. Capt. Buford of Bedford Capt. Love of Botetourt Capt. Shelby & Capt. Russell of Fincastle which made the second Division. Colo. Lewis marched with his Division to the

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[14]The copy here used is made directly from the original in the Draper Mss., 7 ZZ 2. The text used by Roosevelt (*Winning of the West*) is drawn from a manuscript copy of Shelby's letter, in the Campbell Mss.

[15]Captain Evan Shelby and his two sons, Isaac and James.

[16]These were Joseph Hughey, of Shelby's company, and James Mooney, of Russell's. The former was killed by a white renegade, Tavenor Ross, while the latter brought the news to camp. Mooney was a former neighbor of Daniel Boone, upon the Yadkin in North Carolina, and had accompanied him upon the disastrous Kentucky hunting expedition of 1769. He was killed at Point Pleasant. Cf. *Dunmore's War*, edited by Thwaites and Kellogg, 271-2.

Right some Distance up from the Ohio. Colo. Fleming with his Division up the banck of the Ohio to the left: Colo. Lewiss Division had not marchd. little more than a quarter of a mile from Camp; when about sunrise, an Attact was made on the front of his Division in a most Vigorous manner by the Unit.d tribes of Indians—Shawnees; Delewares; Mingoes; Taways,[17] and of several Other Nations in Number not less than Eight Hundred and by many thaught to be a thousand; in this Heavy Attact Colonel Charles Lewis received a wound which soon after Caused his Death and several of his men fell in the Spott in fact the Augusta Division was forced to give way to the heavy fire of the Enemy. In about a second of a minute after the Attact on Colo. Lewiss Division the Enemy Engaged the Front of Colo. Flemings Division on the Ohio; and in a short time Colo. Fleming recd. two balls thro his left Arm and one thro his breast; and after annimating the Captains and soldiers in a Calm manner to the pursuit of Victory returned to Camp, the loss of the Brave Colonels was Sensibly felt by the Officers in perticular, But the Augusta troops being shortly Reinforced from Camp by Colonel Field with his Company together with Capt. M'Dowel, Capt. Mathews & Capt. Stuart from Augusta, Capt. John Lewis, Capt. Paulin Capt. Arbuckle & Capt. M'Clanahan from Botetourt, the Enemy no longer able to Maintain their Ground was forced to give way till they were in a Line with the troops left in action on Bancks of Ohio. by Colo Fleming in this precipitate retreat Colo. Field was killed. after which Capt. Shelby was ordered to take the Commd. During this time which was till after twelve of the Clock, the Action continued Extreemly Hott, the Close underwood many steep bancks & Loggs favoured their retreat, and the Bravest of their men made the use of themselves, whilst others were throwing their dead into the Ohio, and Carrying of(f) their wounded, after twelve the Action in a small degree abated but Continued sharp Enough till after one oClock Their Long retreat gave them a most advantages spot of ground; from whence it Appeared to the Officers so difficult to dislodge them; that it was thought most adviseable to stand as the line then was formed which was about a mile and a quarter in length, and had till then sustained a Constant and Equal weight of fire from wing to wing, it was till half an Hour of Sun sett they Continued firing on us which we returned to their Disadvantage at length Night Coming on they found a safe retreat. They had not the satisfaction of scalping any of our men save One or two straglers whom they Killed before the ingagement many of their dead they scalped rather than we should have them but our troops scalped upwards of twenty of those who were first killed; Its Beyond a Doubt their Loss in Number farr Exceeds ours, which is Considirable.

Field Officers killed Colo. Charles Lewis, and Colo. Jno. Fields. Field Officers wounded Colo. Willm. Fleming; Capts. killed John

[17]The Ottawas, a Northwestern tribe.

Murray Capt. Saml. Willson Capt. Robt. McClanahan. Capt. Jas. Ward. Captains wounded Thos Buford John Dickison & John Scidmore. Subbalterns Killed Lieutenant Hugh Allen. Ensign Mathew Brakin Ensign Cundiff. Subbalterns wounded, Lieut. Lard; Lieut. Vance Lieut. Goldman Lieut. Jas. Robison about 46 killed & about 80 wounded from this Sir you may Judge that we had a Very hard day its really Impossible for me to Express or you to Concieve Acclamations that we were under, sometimes, the Hidious Cries of the Enemy and the groans of our wound(ed) men lying around was Enough to shuder the stoutest hart its the general Opinion of the Officers that we shall soon have another Ingagement as we have now got Over into the Enemys Country; we Expect to meet the Governor about forty or fifty miles from here nothing will save us from another Battle Unless they Attact the Governors Party. five men that Came in Dadys (daddy's) Company were killed, I dont know that you were Acquainted with any of them Except Marck Williams who lived with Roger Top. Acquaint Mr. Carmack that his son was slightly wounded thro the shoulder and arm & that he is in a likely way of Recovery we leave him at mouth of Canaway & one Very Carefull hand to take Care of him; there is a garrison & three Hundred men left at that place with a surgeon to Heal the wounded we Expect to Return to the Garrison in about 16 days from the Shawny Towns.

I have nothing more Perticular to Acquaint you with Concerning the Battle, as to the Country I cant now say much in praise of any that I have yet seen. Dady intended writing to you but did not know of the Express till the time was too short I have wrote to Mam(m)y tho not so fully as to you as I then expected the Express was Just going. we seem to be all in a Moving Posture Just going from this place so that I must Conclude wishing you health and prosperity till I see you and Your Family in the meantime I am yr truly Effectionate Friend & Humble Servt ISAAC SHELBY.

To Mr. John Shelby Holstons River Fincastle County favr. by Mr. Benja. Gray.

This recital, written by the young Isaac Shelby, modestly omits any mention of the very important part which he himself played in the battle. Upon the death of Colonel John Field, Captain Evan Shelby was ordered to the command, and upon so doing he gave over the command of his own company to his son, Isaac, who, while only holding the rank of a lieutenant, acted in the capacity of a captain during about half the battle. Cornstalk, Logan, Red Eagle, and other brave chieftains, fighting fiercely, led in the attack; and above the terrible din and clangor of the battle could be heard the

deep, sonorous voice of Cornstalk encouraging his warriors with the injunction: "Be strong! Be strong!" The Indians led by Cornstalk adopted the tactics of making successive rushes upon the whites by which they expected to drive the frontiersmen into the two rivers, "like so many bullocks," as the chief later explained. So terrific were the onslaughts of the red men that the lines of the frontiersmen had frequently to fall back; but these withdrawals were only temporary, as they were skillfully reinforced each time and again moved steadily forward to the conflict. About half an hour before sunset General Lewis adopted the dangerous expedient of a flank movement. Captains Shelby, Matthews, Arbuckle, and Stuart were sent with a detachment up Crooked Creek, which runs into the Kanawha a little above Point Pleasant, with a view to securing a ridge in the rear of the enemy, from which their lines could be enfiladed. Concealed by the undergrowth along the bank they endeavored to execute this hazardous movement; and John Sawyers, an orderly sergeant, was dispatched by Isaac Shelby with a few men of the company to dislodge the Indians from their protected position. This fierce attack from an unsuspected quarter alarmed the Indians. Cornstalk leaped to the conclusion that this was the advance guard of Christian's party, and giving the alarm hurried his forces to the other side of Old Town Creek. The battle continued in a desultory way until sunset, and no decisive victory had been achieved. But Cornstalk and his warriors had had enough, and withdrew during the night.[18]

In this remarkable battle, the most stubborn and hotly contested fight ever made by the Indians against the English, it was the flanking movement of the detachment in which Isaac Shelby took a leading part that turned the tide and decided the victory for the whites. This battle, which brought about

[18]Compare the account given by Withers in his *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, edited and annotated by R. G. Thwaites; Cincinnati, 1908. See also Stuart's *Narrative*, in *Virginia Historical Collections*, vol. I. The most exhaustive account of the entire campaign is embodied in *Dunmore's War*, edited by Thwaites and Kellogg, Madison, 1905. An excellent map is found in Avery's *History of the United States*, vol. 5, p. 183.

an early conclusion of peace, was from this standpoint completely decisive in character; and it should not be forgotten that Isaac Shelby, the twenty-four year old captain, thus played an important role in this thrilling scene of warfare preliminary to the great drama of the Revolution. "This action," comments Isaac Shelby in his *Autobiography,* "is known to be the hardest ever fought with the Indians and in its consequences was of the greatest importance as it was fought while the first Congress was sitting at Philadelphia, and so completely were the savages chastised, particularly the Shawnees and Delawares (the two most formidable tribes) that they could not be induced by British agents among them, neither to the North nor South, to commence hostilities against the United States before July, 1776, in which time the frontiers had become considerably stronger and the settlement of Kentucky had commenced."

Indeed it was this victory of the Great Kanawha, with its temporary subjugation of the savages, which made possible Colonel Richard Henderson's gallant advance into Kentucky in March-April, 1775, ultimately eventuating in the acquisition of Kentucky and the vast trans-Alleghany region to the territory of the United States. Shelby's comment is significant in its emphasis, as he was present at the "Great Treaty" at the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga in March, 1775, and a little later was serving as surveyor in the employ of the Transylvania Company. Without the impetus given to the colonization of the trans-Alleghany region by Richard Henderson and the Transylvania Company, there would have been no bulwark on the west against the incursions of savages from that quarter during the Revolution; and at the conclusion of peace in 1783, the western boundary of the Confederation of States would doubtless have been the Alleghany Mountains and not the Mississippi River. Isaac Shelby was a hero of the first battle preluding the mighty conflict which was ultimately to end victoriously at Yorktown.[19]

[19]Cf. Hale's *Trans-Alleghany Pioneers,* Cincinnati, 1886, ch. XXXII. Also Todd's *Life of Shelby,* in National Portrait Gallery, I, 1835.

At the close of the campaign, if not immediately following the battle, a small palisaded rectangle, about eighty yards long, with block houses at two of its corners, was erected at Point Pleasant by order of Lord Dunmore. This stockade, entitled Fort Blair, was strongly garrisoned, and the chief command was given to that splendid border fighter, Captain William Russell. The young Isaac Shelby, in recognition of his valued services in the recent bloody battle, was made second in command.[20] It was here, says tradition, that the Indian chief, Cornstalk, came to shake the hand of the young paleface brave, Isaac Shelby, who had led the strategic flank movement which stampeded his army.[21]

The following interesting letter, addressed to "Mr. Isaac Shelby, Holston," explains the state of affairs which then existed in that region, and the movements being set on foot. It is a double letter, for at the end of Col. William Christian's letter to Isaac Shelby, which Shelby had forwarded to Colo. William Russell, the latter wrote a supplementary letter, and returned the whole to Isaac Shelby.

DUNKARD BOTTOM, February 18, 1775.

DEAR SIR:—I have lately been at Williamsburg, and applied to his Excellency the Governor to know what was to be done with the garrison at point pleasant. His Lordship has been disappointed in getting the consent of the Assembly for the continuance of the Company, but he desired me to acquaint Captain Russell that he was to return to his post and remain there until the treaty with the Indians, which is to be at Fort Dunmore in may, or until further orders. I think it will be in june before that treaty is finished & also that his Lordship wishes that the garrison could be kept(?) up from a desire he has to serve the Frontiers. I have wrote to Captain Russell to come down in order to take the charge of one of the Shawnese Hostages who was sent up with me. The design of sending him is to satisfy the Indians

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[20]Isaac Shelby's *Autobiography*. Cf. also *Dunmore's War*, p. 310 *n*; Chas. S. Todd's *Life of Shelby*, National Portrait Gallery, vol. I. Thwaites says that General Lewis, who reached Point Pleasant on October 28, left there a garrison of fifty men under Captain Russell. Cf. Withers's *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 1908, p. 176n.

[21]*Southern Heroism in Decisive Battles for American Independence*, by Charles Henry Todd, in *Journal of American History*, vol. II, No. 2.

of our friendly intentions, in contradiction to several reports spread among them by pensilvania Traders intimating that we designed falling on them next spring. The reports it was feared might set on foot a general confederacy among the Shawnese & their neighbors.

I expect Captain Russell will contrive to be as far as McGavocks the 7th. of March on his way to the post and I now write to you thinking it may reach you much sooner than Captain Russell could send to you, thereby to give you more time to prepare for joining him.

I saw Jno. Douglass this evening & he thinks that near 50 men of those now on duty will agree to continue & perhaps that will be enough. If you get this letter quickly would it not be well for you to ride over and consult with the Captain what is to be done. It is certain that you or him must set of (off) soon with the Indian, or I think it may (mutilated) to come the time I have mentioned.

A convention of delegates is to be held at Richmond the 20 of March to consist of two members from each county & corporation, what is to be the consequence of the present disputes is yet uncertain, but nothing pacifick is expected. The lowland people are generally arming and preparing themselves.

Please to give my compliments to your Father & tell him that it is most probable that the Committee will meet the day of our Election which is to be the 7 of March & that if he can make it convenient he may as well come up.

I am Sir Your friend & servant,

WM CHRISTIAN

On the next sheet occurs the following, in the handwriting of William Russell:

MY DEAR SIR:

I just Recd. this letter of yours and one of my own. It seems Captain Morgan of the Shawanees is sent up for us, to guard out to the Shawanees Towns upon Business of Importance, therefore request your goodness to meet me on Sunday next at Mr. Souths about Night in order to go together to McGavocks against Tuesday next to a meeting of the Committee either to Proceed from there or to return by my House, if so, you can return Home (mutilated) I start. I am Dear Sir.

Your most obedt Humble
Servt W. RUSSELL
Tuesday the 27th, 1775.

To Mr. Isaac Shelbey Holston.

When Daniel Boone and his friend, Captain William Russell, the leading pioneer in the Clinch Valley, at the head of a party of emigrants, attempted their settlement of Kentucky in

1773, they were driven back by the Indians on September 25, and abandoned the enterprise. For years, in fact since 1764, Daniel Boone had been making exploring expeditions to the westward in the interest of the land company known as Richard Henderson and Company.[22] Another explorer for Richard Henderson, who later made hunting tours and explorations in Kentucky, was Henry Skaggs, who as early as 1765 examined the lower Cumberland region as the representative of Richard Henderson and Company and established his station near the present site of Goodletsville, in Davidson County, Tennessee.[23] With the Western country thoroughly disturbed and infested with bands of hostile red men, during 1773 and 1774, Col. Henderson recognized the signal unwisdom of attempting a western settlement on an extended scale. It was Daniel Boone's impatience to reach the West and his determination to settle there, regardless of legal right and without securing the title by purchase from the Cherokees, which led to his disastrous setback at Walden's Ridge in 1773. This entire episode exposes Boone's inefficiency as an executive and his inability to carry through plans made on a large scale. It was not until the remarkable legal mind of Judge Henderson and his rare executive ability were applied to the vast and complex project of western colonization that it was carried through to a successful termination.

Two momentous circumstances now intervened to make possible the great western venture, upon which Judge Henderson, during a decade and more, had staked all his hopes. Correspondence with the highest legal authorities in England assured Judge Henderson that despite the Royal Proclamation in 1763 he would be entirely within his rights, as a British subject, to purchase the western lands from the Cherokees and secure authentic title thereto. The victory of the backwoodsmen over the red men at the Battle of the Great Kana-

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[22]Compare the author's *The Creative Forces in Westward Expansion: Henderson and Boone*, in the American Historical Review, October, 1914.

[23]Albright's *Early History of Middle Tennessee*, Nashville, 1909, p. 23.

wha greatly reduced the dangers incident to a visit to the Kentucky wilderness, and in 1775 warranted the bold venture which, in 1773, Boone, upon his own responsibility alone, had found so disastrous. Following the Battle of the Great Kanawha, Judge Henderson, accompanied by his friend and neighbor, Colonel Nathaniel Hart, visited the Indians at their towns and, upon inquiry, learned that the Cherokees were disposed to sell their claims to the Kentucky territory. The agreement was made to meet the entire tribe of the Cherokees in Treaty Council at the Sycamore Shoals, on Watauga River, early in the next year. On their return to the settlements Judge Henderson and Colonel Hart were accompanied by the Little Carpenter, a wise old Indian Chief, and a young buck and his squaw, as delegates to see that proper goods were purchased for the proposed barter. These goods were purchased in December, 1774, at Cross Creek, near Fayetteville, North Carolina, and forwarded by wagons to Watauga.

Since his repulse at Walden's Ridge, in September, 1773, when the sons of both Russell and himself had been slaughtered by Indians, Boone, together with his family, had been residing in a cabin upon the farm of Captain David Gass, seven or eight miles from Russell's, upon Clinch River. He was now summoned to Watauga, instructed to collect the entire tribe of Cherokee Indians and bring them in to the treaty ground. The news of the purposes of the Transylvania Company became public property when Judge Henderson and his associates, in January, 1775, issued their "Proposals for the Settlement of Western Lands," which, in the form of broadsides, were distributed widely along the fringe of settlements upon the Indian border line. News of the proposed treaty quickly reached young Isaac Shelby at Fort Blair; and his pioneering instinct unerringly drew him to the focus of interest, the treaty ground. We are fortunate in having handed down to us, from that early time, a description of the treaty on the part of the young Isaac Shelby, who was an eye-witness. Following the confiscation of the Transylvania Company's claims by the State of Virginia, a series of extended investiga-

tions in regard to the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals were made by order of the Virginia Legislature. The points that were in great need of being settled were: First, whether the deponents were financially interested in lands under the Transylvania Company; second, whether the treaty was conducted with entire fairness; and third, whether the deeds taken by the Transylvania Company were identical, in regard to the metes and bounds of the territory purchased, with the verbal statement of the negotiators of the treaty, made to the Cherokees. As it was subsequently proven, as a result of the investigations of the Virginia Commissioners, that the treaty was conducted with scrupulous fairness by Judge Henderson and his partners, it is interesting to read the following extract from the deposition sworn to on December 3, 1777, before Edmund Randolph and Jo. Prentiss, by Isaac Shelby:

"That in March, 1775, this Deponent was present at a Treaty held at Wattaugha between the said Henderson and the Cherokee Indians: that the deponent then heard the said Henderson call the Indians, when the deed by which the said Henderson now claims was going to be signed, and declared that they would attend to what was going to be done: that the deponent believes the courses in the said Deed contained, to be the very courses which the said Henderson read therefrom to the Indians and were interpreted to them. That the said Henderson took the said Deed from among several others lying on a table, all of which appeared to the Deponent to be of the same tenor with that which he read—That at the time of this Treaty, one Read who was there and suspected that the said Henderson intended to purchase some lands which he himself had his Eyes on, desired the said Deed to be read before it was signed, which was accordingly done, and the said Read objected not thereto."

It was doubtless at some time during the course of the treaty—a treaty universally conceded to have been unparalleled for honesty and fair dealing with the Indians on the part of the whites—that Judge Henderson, attracted by the sterling qualities of the young Shelby and by his manifest

eagerness to connect himself with Henderson's plans of colonization, secured the promise of his services in the future, following the expiration of his term of enlistment, as surveyor for the Transylvania Company. The garrison of Fort Blair was not disbanded until July, 1775; and immediately Shelby journeyed to Kentucky and engaged in the business of land surveyor for the proprietors of the Transylvania Company, who had established a regular land office as the result of their purchase of the Kentucky area from the Cherokees. Here he remained for nearly twelve months, surveying numerous tracts of land for the Transylvania proprietors, and likewise making a number of entries of land for himself in Judge Henderson's land office.[24] His health finally became impaired, owing to continued exposure to wet and cold, combined with the frequent necessity for going without either bread or salt. On this account he was compelled to return to the settlements on Holston.

In July, 1776, during his absence in Kentucky, Shelby was appointed Captain of a minute company by the Committee of Safety in Virginia. As described by Shelby this was "a species of troops organized for the first emergency of the War of the Revolution, which, however, was not called into actual service from the extreme frontier on which he (Shelby) lived." On December 6th of this year, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act dividing the county of Fincastle into three distinct counties, to-wit: Montgomery, Washington, and Kentucky. In this act the bounds of Washington County were defined as follows:

"That all that part of said county of Fincastle included in the lines beginning at the Cumberland Mountains where the line of Kentucky county intersects the North Carolina (now Tennessee) line; thence to the east along the said Carolina line to the top of Iron mountain; thence along the same east-

[24] In his deposition, referred to above, Isaac Shelby stated: "This Deponent has made several Entries for lands in Mr. Henderson's Office, but does not conceive himself to be in any manner interested in the Event of the dispute, between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the said Henderson." *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I, 296-7.

erly to the source of the South Fork of the Holston river; thence northwardly along the highest part of the highlands, ridges, and mountains that divide the waters of the Tennessee from those of the Great Kanawha to the most easterly source of Clinch River; thence westwardly along the top of the mountain that divides the waters of the Clinch river from those of the Great Kanawha and Sandy Creek to the line of Kentucky county and thence along the same to the beginning, shall be one other distinct county and called and known by the name of Washington."

The eastern boundary of Washington County as thus defined was altered by Act of the General Assembly at its session in the month of May, 1777, as follows:

"Beginning at a ford on Holston river, next above Captain John Campbells, at the Royal Oak, and running from thence a due south course to the dividing line between the States of Virginia and North Carolina; and from the ford aforesaid to the westerly end of Morris's Knob, about three miles above Maiden Spring on Clinch, and from thence, by a line to be drawn due north, until it shall intersect the waters of the Great Sandy river."[25]

The officers of the county commissioned by Governor Patrick Henry on the 21st day of December, 1776, were as follows: James Dysart, sheriff; Arthur Campbell, county lieutenant; Evan Shelby, Colonel; William Campbell, lieutenant-colonel; and Daniel Smith, Major. Among the names of those on the same day commissioned justices of the peace was that of Evan Shelby. The first court assembled at Black's Fort (now Abingdon) on the last Tuesday in January, 1777. On the second day of the court, being the 29th of January, Isaac Shelby was recommended, with others, to be added to the Commission of Peace for the county, and was accordingly commissioned. It may be interesting to record that, when, on February 26, 1777, the court recommended to the Governor of Virginia the militia officers for Washington County, both

[25]Hening's *Statutes*, 1776.

John Shelby, Sr., and James Shelby were duly commissioned with the rank of Captain. During some portion of this time Isaac Shelby was busily engaged in acting as commissary of supplies, a post to which he was appointed by Governor Henry, for a large body of militia posted at several garrisons for the purpose of guarding the back settlements. Of his activity we have evidence in the great distances which he travelled. For instance, in September of this year, we find him at Harrodsburgh, in Kentucky, swapping horses with the future brilliant and meteoric figure, the conqueror of the Northwest. In Clark's diary one finds the following terse entry:

"Harrodsburgh, September 29.—Bought a horse, price £12; swapped with I. Shelby, boot £10."

I have often wondered who got the "boot"—the phlegmatic Welshman or the mercurial Virginian!

During this same year, Isaac Shelby was likewise instructed to lay in supplies for a grand treaty, to be held at the Long Island of Holston River, in June and July, with the tribe of Cherokee Indians.

"These supplies could not possibly be obtained nearer than Staunton, a distance of near three hundred miles," says Shelby, writing in the third person, "but by the most indefatigable perseverance (one of the most prominent traits in his character) he accomplished it to the satisfaction of his country."

It is necessary for us to recall that in 1772 Colonel John Donelson, of Pittsylvania County, acting as commissioner for Virginia, had established with the Cherokees the western boundary line of that colony, viz: a course running in a direct line from a point six miles east of the Holston River toward the mouth of the Great Kanawha River, until the line struck the Kentucky River, and thence along that river to its junction with the Ohio.[26]

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[26] A price was agreed upon and promised, but not then paid, for the large section of Kentucky north and east of the Kentucky river thus alienated to Virginia. Considerable doubt still prevails as to whether the price promised by Donelson was ever paid over to the Cherokees.

In 1777 Governor Henry, of Virginia, notified Governor Caswell, of North Carolina, of a treaty to be had with the Cherokees. The object of Virginia was to alter the boundary line as run by Colonel Donelson, and to have the road to and through the Cumberland Gap, the gateway to Kentucky, included in the cession. The commissioners chosen to represent Virginia were Col. William Preston, Col. Evan Shelby, and Col. William Christian, or any two of them. The commissioners chosen to represent North Carolina were Col. Waightstill Avery, Col. William Sharpe, Col. Robert Lanier, and Colonel Joseph Winston. The treaty lasted from the 26th of June until the 20th of July, when it was concluded to the satisfaction of both Virginia and North Carolina. The line established by Donelson in 1772 was not materially altered; but the alteration involved the lands claimed by the Transylvania Company under their purchase from the Cherokees in March, 1775. For reasons of policy and because of lack of instructions from their respective governments the commissioners refused to take account of the memorial presented by Judge Henderson and his associates. The treacherous and wily Indian Chiefs characteristically sought to convince the commissioners that Judge Henderson had treated them hardly in maintaining the provisions of the "Great Treaty" of 1775; but the deposition of Isaac Shelby (already quoted from in part) is conclusive on the point:

"That being present at the late Treaty at Long Island, this deponent remembers to have heard Occunostoto or the Tassel (but which he does not recollect) say that ever since he had signed the paper to Mr. Henderson, he was afraid to sign one, and that Mr. Henderson ever since he had signed the Paper, deprived him of the privilege of catching even Craw fish on the land. That this deponent was present at the time of signing the said Deed at Wattaugha, when everything was conducted fairly on the part of the said Henderson, who after signing, desired the Indians to go and take the goods which he designed for them."[27]

[27] *Cal. Va. State Papers*, I.

This was a memorable gathering of the leading pioneer figures of the day. Revolution was the burning topic of discussion, and the spirit of independence, so long held in leash, found universal expression. In the characteristic phraseology of the patriotic Putnam:

"Here were Robertson and Sevier, Boone and Bledsoe, Shelby, Henderson, Hart and others—all men of worth, of nerve, of enterprise—'men who feared God, but obeyed no earthly king.'

"They talked freely of the Declaration of Independence, as it had been announced at Mecklenburg, in North Carolina, by Patrick Henry and the Virginians, and by the Continental Congress just twelve months before. They did not think of giving notoriety out there to the Fourth of July; but they all heartily concurred in the renunciation of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and in the resolution to make 'these States free and independent.'"[28]

In 1778, as we learn from Shelby's account, he was still engaged in the commissary department to provide supplies for the Continental Army, and also for a formidable expedition by the way of Pittsburg against the Northwestern Indians. This was the expedition of General McIntosh against the Ohio Indians. On Dec. 12, 1778, the Virginia Council issued instructions to John Montgomery "to put on Foot the recruiting of men to reinforce Colo. Clarke at the Illinois and to push it on with all possible expedition."[29]

George Rogers Clark was in desperate straits for men and supplies in view of the fact that General McIntosh's proposed expedition from Fort Pitt against Detroit had to be abandoned. John Montgomery was given a very free hand in recruiting for Clark; and the following entry shows to what extent Isaac Shelby was relied upon to fit out with supplies various expeditions along the frontier:

As soon as the state of Affairs in the recruiting business will permit you are to go to the Ilinois Country and join Colo Clarke. I need

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[28] *History of Middle Tennessee*, 617.
[29] *Clarks Mss.*, Va. State Archives.

not tell you how necessary the greatest possible dispatch is to the good of the service in which you are engaged Our party at Ilinois may be lost together with the present favorable disposition of the French & Indians there unless every moment is improved for their preservation & no future oppertunity if the present is lost can ever be expected so favorable to the interest of the Commonwealth. I therefore urge it on you to exert yourself to the utmost to lose not a moment to forward the great work you have in hand & to conquer every difficulty in your way arising from inclement season, great distances, want of many necessaries, opposition from enemies & others I cant enumerate but must confide in your virtue to guard against and surmount. Capt Isaac Shelby it is desired may purchase the boats but if he cant do it you must get some other person

You receive 10000 £ Cash for Col: Clarke's corps which you are to deliver him except 200 £ for Capt Shelby to build the boats & what other incidental expences happen necessarily on your way which are to come out of that Sum. I am &c.

A. Blair C C[30]

In the beginning of the year 1779 Isaac Shelby was appointed by Governor Henry of Virginia to furnish supplies for a strong campaign against the Chickamauga Indians. Owing to the poverty of the treasury, not one cent could be advanced by the government and the whole expense of the supplies and the transportation was sustained by his own individual credit. In the spring of that year he was elected a member of the Virginia Legislature from Washington County, for at that time it was supposed his residence was within the chartered limits of North Carolina.

Following the Treaty of Long Island in 1777, already spoken of, it was apparent to the Commissioners from North Carolina that the settlements, having projected so far westward of the point to which the dividing line had been run, it was highly desirable that the line be extended. In a letter from Waightstill Avery and William Sharpe, to Governor Caswell, August 7, 1777, they express the conviction that "the extension of the line between the two States is now become an object worthy the immediate attention of government—it would be the means of preventing many great dis-

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[30] *Clark Papers*, 83.

putes."[31] In 1778 the Assembly of Virginia and, a little later, the Assembly of North Carolina, passed similar acts for extending and marking the boundary. The acting Commissioners for North Carolina were Col. Richard Henderson, his cousin, Col. John Williams, of Granville County, and Captain William Bailey Smith. The Commissioners representing Virginia were Dr. Thomas Walker, who had made the remarkable exploration of Kentucky in 1750, and Daniel Smith, the map maker, who was afterwards promoted for his services along the Cumberland. The task of running the boundary line was regarded as a dangerous one, on account of the hostile intentions of the Indians; and each state commissioned a detachment to guard the Commissioners while they were engaged in the arduous enterprise. The Virginia Commission was provided with a military escort of twenty-five men, under the command of Isaac Shelby, commissioned a Major for that purpose by Governor Jefferson.[32] As the result of the extension of the boundary line, the county of Sullivan was erected, and Isaac Shelby, who had recently served in the Virginia Legislature and received a military commission from Governor Jefferson, was appointed Colonel Commandant of this new county of Sullivan.

In 1779 a court of commissioners with plenary powers was created by the commonwealth of Virginia to adjudicate without appeal upon the incipient land titles of the country. William Fleming, Edmund Lyne, James Barbour, and Stephen Trigg, citizens of Virginia but not of the county of Kentucky, were appointed as commissioners. This court had alternate sessions at St. Asaph, Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, the Falls of the Ohio, and Bryan's Station. The court was opened at St. Asaph on October 13, 1779; and at Harrodsburg on February 26, 1780, the court announced that its

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[31] *State Records of North Carolina*, vol. II, pp. 567-8. Cf. also Summers *S. W. Virginia*, pp. 695-6.

[32] Cf. Journal of Daniel Smith, edited by St. George L. Sioussat, *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, March, 1915; *Kentucky-Tennessee Boundary Line*, by J. Stoddart Johnston, Register Ky. State Hist'l. Soc'y. Sept., 1908.

powers had elapsed and accordingly adjourned *sine die*. Thousands of claims, of various kinds, were granted by the court during its existence. It was quite fitting, and in itself an event worthy of commemoration, that the first claim presented for adjudication was that of Isaac Shelby, among the first on the ground as surveyor under Henderson and Company, and later to become the first governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. The entry was as follows:

"Captain John Logan for and in behalf of Isaac Shelby this day produced a claim, and making a Crop of Corn for the same in the year 1778 Lying on a branch that heads at the Knob Lick & about a mile and a half or two Miles from the said Lick a southeasterly course, proof being made satisfactory to the court they are of Opinion that the said Shelby has a right to a settlement & Preemption according to law and that certificates issue for the same."[33]

The amount of land thus granted was fourteen hundred acres; prior to this time it would seem, Isaac Shelby had perfected no claims for western lands. It is worthy of note that in his deposition before Edmund Randolph and Jo. Prentiss, on December 3, 1777, regarding the Transylvania lands, Isaac Shelby states he had "made several entries for lands in Mr. Henderson's office, but does not consider himself to be in any manner interested in the Event of the dispute, between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the said Henderson."[34] This place, Knob Lick, in what is now Lincoln County, Kentucky, was settled in 1776 by Isaac Shelby while a surveyor under Henderson and Company. In the early spring of 1783, it may be remarked in passing, Shelby built his house upon the very spot where he had camped in 1776, on the tract of land he had preëmpted, and upon which he planted a crop of corn, which he left to be cultivated by a tenant, when he himself went to Williamsburg, then the Capital of Virginia, for his appointment by Governor Patrick Henry as a Captain

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[33]For this copy I am indebted to Judge Samuel M. Wilson, of Lexington, Ky.

[34]*Cal. Va. State Papers*, I, pp. 296-7.

of the Provisional Army.[35] Upon this preëmption in August, 1786, Governor Shelby built the first stone house ever erected in Kentucky. This was the famous residence known as "Traveler's Rest." It is recorded that the late Col. Nathaniel Hart, of Woodford County, used to say that when it was reported that Col. Shelby had found stone suitable for building purposes, he received many letters from various portions of the United States inquiring if it could possibly be there; as well as many visits to verify the fact, some from as great a distance as Mason County. The real scarcity of stone then seems almost incredible now—in view of the unlimited supply visible on all sides; but was doubtless due to the luxurious growth of cane, and to the heavy foliage which so thoroughly covered the ground when it fell.[36]

During the summer of 1780, while he was locating and securing his claims made under the Transylvania Company, Shelby with his company spent some time among the Northwestern Indians—Piankeshaws, Pottawattamies, and Miamis. In his *Memoir,* George Rogers Clark makes the following amusing entry:

"The ensuing summer (1780), Captain I. Shelby, with his own company only, lay for a considerable time in the heart of their (the Indians') country, and was treated in the most friendly manner by all the natives that he saw, and was frequently invited by them to join and plunder what was called 'the King's Pasture at Detroit.' What they meant was to go and steal horses from that settlement."[37]

What a lark that would have been for the staid and phlegmatic Shelby!

While still in Kentucky, in the summer of 1780, Shelby received intelligence (June 16) of the surrender of Charleston and the loss of the army. He made haste to return home (the first part of July), as he himself says, "determined to enter the service of his country, until her independence was

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[35]Draper's *Kings Mountain,* 412; Shelby's *Autobiography.*
[36]Collins' *History of Kentucky* (1882), i, 514.
[37]English's *Conquest of the Northwest,* I, 549.

secured; for he could not remain a cool spectator of a conquest in which his dearest rights and interests were at stake." The story of the events which immediately succeeded this determination is best told in his own words:

"On his arrival in Sullivan he joined a requisition from General Charles McDowell, ordering him to furnish all the aid in his power, to assist in giving a check to the enemy, who had overrun the two Southern States and were then on the border of North Carolina. Col. Shelby assembled the Militia of his County, called upon them to volunteer their services for a short period on that interesting occasion, and marched in a very few days with near two hundred mounted riflemen across the Alleghany Mountain.

"Shortly after his arrival at McDowell's camp the army moved to near the Cherokee Ford of Broad River,· from whence Col. Shelby and Lieut. Col. Clark of Georgia were detached with five hundred mounted men[38] to attack a British Fort, about twenty miles to the South, which was garrisoned principally by Loyalists. Col. Shelby left McDowell's camp late in the evening and arrived at the enemies Post just after daylight the next morning[39] which he found to be enclosed by a strong Abbatus (abatis), and everything within, indicating resistance. He however made a peremptory demand of a surrender, when Capt. Patrick Moor, who commanded returned for answer that he would defend the Post to the last extremity.[40] Our lines were then drawn to within a distance of about two hundred yards around the Garrison, with a determination to storm it. He however sent a messenger a second time to demand a surrender before he would proceed to extremities. To this the enemy agreed to give up the Post, on their being Paroled not to serve again during the war; or until they were regularly exchanged. In it were found ninety-

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[38]Shelby's figures are never conspicuous for accuracy. The detachment in this instance consisted of some six hundred horsemen.

[39]Sunday, July 30. Cf. Allaire's Diary.

[40]The person sent in to demand the surrender of the post was Captain William Cocke, who made the daring ride for Col. Richard Henderson in April, 1775.

two Loyalists, with one British subbolten (subaltern) officer left there to discipline them, also two hundred and fifty stand of arms, well charged with ball and buckshot and well disposed of at the different port holes. This was a strong post built for defense in the Cherokee war of '76 and stood on a branch of a small river called Pacolet.

"Shortly after this affair and his return to McDowell's camp Shelby and Clark were again detached with six hundred mounted men to watch the movements of the Enemy, and if possible to cut up his foraging parties. Ferguson who commanded the Enemy about two thousand five hundred strong,[41] composed of British and Tories, with a small squadron of British Horse, was an officer of great enterprise and although only a Major in the British line, was a Brigadier General in the royal militia establishment made by the enemy after he had overrun South Carolina, and esteemed the most distinguished partisan officer belonging to the British army. He made several attempts to surprise Col. Shelby, but his designs were always baffled. On the first[42] of August however, his advance, about six or seven hundred strong, came up with the American Commander at a place he had chosen to fight him, called Cedar Spring; when a sharp conflict ensued which lasted about half an hour; when Ferguson came up with his whole force. The Americans then retreated, carrying off the field of battle about twenty prisoners and two British Subalterns.[43] Their killed was not ascertained. The Americans lost eight killed and upwards of thirty wounded, mostly with the sabre officers. The Enemy made great efforts for several miles to regain the prisoners, but by forming frequently on advantageous ground apparently to give them battle the enemy were retarded in their pursuit, so that the prisoners were pushed out of their reach. General McDowell

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[41]Shelby's original statement in Haywood's *Tennessee* is that the enemy numbered about two thousand; it may have been as small a number as eighteen hundred.

[42]The date is correctly given in Allaire's *Diary* as August eighth.

[43]In Todd's Memoir of Shelby the number of prisoners taken is increased from twenty to fifty.

having by some means got information that a party from four to six hundred Loyalists were encamped near Musgrove's Mill, on the South Side of the Enoree River, about forty miles distant; he again detached Col. Shelby, Williams and Clark with about seven hundred horsemen,[44] to surprise and disperse them. Ferguson with his whole force was encamped at that time on their most direct route. The American commanders took up their line of march from Smith's Ford on Broad river (where McDowell's army was then encamped) just at sundown on the evening of the 18th[45] August 1780—marched through the woods till after dark, and then took a road leaving Ferguson's camp about three miles to the left. They rode very hard all night, the greatest part of the way in a fast travelling gait, and just at the dawn of day, about half a mile from the Enemy's camp, met a strong patrol party, a short skirmish ensued, and several of them were killed. At that juncture a countryman living immediately at the spot, came up and informed, that the enemy had been reinforced the evening before, with six hundred regular troops (the Queens American regiment from New York) under Col. Ennes, destined to reinforce Ferguson's army; and the circumstances attending this information were so minute and particular, that no doubt was entertained of its truth although the man was a Tory.[46] To march on and attack the enemy then seemed improper. To attempt an escape from the enemy in the rear appeared improbable, broke down as were the Americans and their horses; for it was well known to them that the enemy could mount six or seven hundred infantry with horses of the Loyalists. They instantly determined to

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[44]It is probable that the American forces numbered only from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty. Probably the British originally numbered approximately six hundred.

[45]The weight of authority favors the seventeenth, the battle occurring on the eighteenth.

[46]It is probable that this statement with respect to the number of British was a considerable exaggeration. Gov. Abner Nash, writing Sept. 10, 1780, gives Williams' force as two hundred and the British as four hundred. The name of the commander of the British reinforcement was Innes, not Ennes.

form a breastwork of old logs and brush near the spot, and make the best defense in their power; for by this time the drums and bugle horns of the enemy were distinctly heard in their camp on the high ground across the river, and soon indicated their movements. Captain Inman was sent with twenty-five men, to meet the enemy and skirmish with them, so soon as they crossed the Enoree River Capt. Inman was ordered to fire on them, and retreat according to his own discretion. This strategem (which was the suggestion of the Capt. himself) drew the enemy forward in disorder, believing they had driven our whole party; and when they came up within seventy yards a most destructive fire commenced from our Riflemen who lay concealed behind their breastwork of pine logs and brush, which was near half a mile long.[47] It was one whole hour before the enemy could force our Riflemen from their slender breastwork. Just as they began to give way in some parts, Col. Ennes was badly wounded; and all the other British officers except one being previously killed or wounded; and Capt. Hawsey a considerable leader among the Loyalists being shot down; the whole of the enemy's line began to give way, the Americans pursued them close, and beat them across the river with slaughter.[48] In this pursuit Capt. Inman was killed bravely fighting the enemy hand to hand. In this action Col. Shelby commanded the right wing, Clark the left and Williams the center. The Americans returned to their horses and mounted with a determination to be in Ninety-Six (at that time a weak British Post) before night: it being less than thirty miles distant according to information then received. At that moment an express from Gen'l McDowell (one Francis Jones) came up in great haste with a short letter in his hand from Governor Caswell, dated on the battle ground near Camden apprising McDowell of

[47]The Americans had been cautioned to reserve their fire "till they could see the buttons on the enemies' clothes."

[48]William Smith of Watauga, whose bullet had struck down Innes, exultantly exclaimed: "I've killed their commander," whereupon Shelby "rallied his men who raised a regular frontier Indian yell and rushed furiously upon the enemy, who were gradually forced back before the exasperated riflemen." Cf. Draper's *Kings Mountain*, 108.

the defeat of the American grand army under Gen'l Gates, on the 16th near that place, advising him to get out of the way, for that army would no doubt endeavor to improve their victory to the greatest advantage by cutting up all the small corps of the American armies within their reach. It was fortunate that Col. Shelby had some knowledge of Governor Caswell's handwriting and knew what reliance to place upon it; but how to avoid the enemy in his rear, broke down with fatigue as his men and horses were, with upwards of two hundred prisoners (mostly British) taken in the action—was a difficult task. The loss in killed of the enemy was not ascertained owing to the sudden manner in which the Americans were obliged to leave the battle ground, but must have been very great, from the incessant fire that was poured upon them by our Riflemen for considerably more than an hour. Our loss did not exceed nine or ten, as the enemy generally overshot the breastwork.[49] The prisoners were distributed amongst the companies, so as to make about one to every three men, who carried them alternately on horseback directly towards the mountains. We continued our march all that day, the night following and the next day until late in the evening, without ever stopping to refresh.[50] This long and rapid retreat saved the Americans, for it is a fact that, De Peyster second in command of Ferguson's army, pursued them with seven hundred mounted men to the place where they had foraged and refreshed themselves in the evening of the second day after the action; and having arrived there half an hour after our departure, at dusk, so broke down by excessive fatigue in hot weather, he gave up the chase.[51] Having seen the party and

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[49]Draper says: "four killed and eight or nine wounded." The British loss, according to the same authority, was eighty-three killed, about ninety wounded, and seventy prisoners—a total of two hundred and twenty-three out of between four hundred to five hundred—an unusually high percentage of loss.

[50]This is an admirable illustration of the indomitable persistence and strenuous energy of Shelby.

[51]Note B at end of Shelby's Ms. is as follows: "This information Col. Shelby received from De Peyster himself after he was captured at Kings Mountain in October following." Draper pronounces this an error on the authority of Fanning, the Tory annalist, who asserts that on the night after the battle De Peyster accompanied him from Musgrove's Mill to Ninety Six.

the prisoners out of all danger Col. Shelby retreated over the Western waters with his followers, and left the prisoners with Clark and Williams to carry them on to some place of safety in Virginia. So great was the panic after Gen'l Gates' defeat, and Gen. Sumpter's disaster, that McDowell's whole army broke. Some retreated west of the mountains, and others went to the North. This action which lasted one hour and a half and fought so shortly after the defeat of our grand army, is scarcely known in the history of the Revolution.[52] Ferguson too, made a hard push with his main army to intercept and retake the prisoners before they could reach the mountains, but finding his efforts vain, he took post at a place called Gilbert Town."

News of the disastrous reverse to General Gates and the American army at Camden, on August 16, 1780, and of the defeat of General Sumter which followed shortly afterwards, produced the immediate effect of spreading universal consternation and alarm. The various bodies of Whig Militia were forced to scatter in all directions. From his post at Gilbert Town, Ferguson paroled a prisoner, one Samuel Philips, a distant relation of Isaac Shelby's, and "instructed him to inform the officers on the Western waters, that if they did not desist from their opposition to the British arms, and take protection under his standard, he would march his army over the mountains, and lay their army waste with fire and sword."[53] Immediately following the affair at Musgrove's Mill, Shelby, with the approbation of Major Robertson, had proposed that an army of volunteers be raised on both sides of the mountains for the purpose of resisting Ferguson's advance. At the time the concensus of opinion heartily favored Shelby's proposal. As soon as Shelby received Ferguson's threatening

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[52]Shelby elsewhere describes the battle as "the hardest and best fought action he ever was in"—attributing this valor and persistency to "the great number of officers who were with him as volunteers."

[53]General Joseph Graham's account in *General Joseph Graham and His Revolutionary Papers*, by W. A. Graham, 1904. This account originally appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, September, 1845. Compare, also, Draper's *Kings Mountain*, p. 169.

and insulting message, he set in train a course of events which were the reverse of the result aimed at by Ferguson. The letter instead of having a deterrent and intimidating effect upon Shelby, only fired to immediate execution the determination which he had already reached to arouse the fierce mountain men to action. Without delay, Shelby rode off about forty miles to see John Sevier, the efficient commander of the militia of Washington County, at his home near Jonesborough. Here, after his ride in feverish haste, he found Sevier in the midst of great festivities—a horse race was in progress, and the people in crowds were in attendance at the barbecue. Angered by the insolent taunt of Ferguson, Shelby vehemently declared that this was a time, not for a frolic, but for a fight. Sevier, the daring and adventurous, eagerly seconded Shelby's proposal to arouse the mountain men, to coöperate with other forces that might be raised, and to make an effort to attack, by surprise, and to defeat Ferguson in his camp; if this were not practicable, to unite with any corps of patriots with which they might meet and wage war against the enemies of America; and in the event of failure, with the consequent desolation of their homes, to take water, float down the Holston, Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers and find a home with the Spaniards in Louisiana.[54] For two days Shelby remained in consultation with Sevier; the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga was agreed upon as the rendezvous for their forces, and the time of meeting the twenty-fifth of September. A small force of one hundred and sixty men, under Colonel Charles McDowell and Colonel Andrew Hampton, driven before the enemy, had encamped at Watauga on September 18th; and their "doleful tale," as Col. Arthur Campbell expressed it, still further "tended to excite the resentment of the western militia." Sevier undertook to bring this force into the movement; and Isaac Shelby sent his brother Moses, who held the rank of Captain, with a message to Colonel William Campbell, of the neighboring county of Washington,

[54] *Life of General John Sevier*, by F. M. Turner; pp. 108-9. Draper's *Kings Mountain*, p. 170.

urgently requesting his coöperation. Campbell had other plans on foot; but upon the receipt of a second and more urgent message from Shelby, he acquiesced in the latter's plan for the attack on Ferguson. Shelby likewise despatched a messenger, a Mr. Adair, to the County Lieutenant of Washington County, Colonel Arthur Campbell, the cousin and brother-in-law of William Campbell, requesting his coöperation. Arthur Campbell had just returned from a conference with Governor Jefferson, and was in a mood to act, as the Governor had pressed upon him the need for a more vigorous resistance to the enemy. Campbell sent word back that "if the western counties of North Carolina could raise a force to join Col. McDowell's men, that the officers of Washington County would coöperate."[55]

[55] *Kings Mountain—A Fragment*, by Col. Arthur Campbell.

The Old Cemetery, Charlotte, N. C.

Some Unusual Notations Concerning this Ancient Burial Place, which Holds the Dust of Many Patriots of Fame in North Carolina

By Violet G. Alexander.

A complete record of this ancient burial ground is not existant today, but it is known to be one of the oldest graveyards in North Carolina, guarding in its bosom the dust of many patriots, men and women, with their little children, once prominent in the life of the county and the State.

It has been called "the graveyard of the Presbyterian church" (Hunter's *Sketches of Western North Carolina*, pages 50-59) and there is probably a reason for this title, for in the early days of this community, what is today the *First* Presbyterian Church was the only church in Charlotte, and was built for *all* denominations; but at that date the Presbyterian denomination was the only one in evidence, so after some years of so-called "general use" the Presbyterians paid a small debt of $1,500 and took over the church and beautiful oak grove occupying a city square. As was the custom in those early days, a graveyard was laid off adjacent to the church and was used as a common burying ground. This one lies immediately in the rear of the Presbyterian church occupying almost a city square and as it was laid off in connection with the church has frequently been called "the graveyard of the Presbyterian church."

The "Old Cemetery," as it is now more generally called, was the first graveyard in Charlotte, the "Spratt Burying Ground" antedating it some years, was a private one outside the town limits in early days. The "Old Cemetery" was used as the "town" cemetery until a few years prior to the War Between the States, about 1854, the date of the first interment in "Elmwood," the present large city cemetery, when,

on account of its small size and crowded condition, it was closed for burials, and "Elmwood" was opened.

Interments "by special permit" to allow members of families to be buried by those of their name, have taken place as late as during the '70s. One of the last was that of Mrs. Sophie Graham Witherspoon, widow of Dr. John Witherspoon and daughter of General Joseph Graham, a beautiful, gifted, and beloved woman, worthy of her splendid ancestry, who today has a host of relatives in Charlotte to "rise up and call her blessed."

No complete list of those who have been buried here is available, as no record was kept, and the tombs of many have disappeared from age or neglect, but a partial list has been gleaned from the tombstones still standing, which contains the names of the following well-known and honored families: Alexander, Davidson, Graham, Witherspoon, Polk, Irwin, Carson, Orr, Harty, Clayton, Houston, Berryhill, Blair, Caldwell, Dunlap, Watson, Lowrie, Wilson, Gillespie, Elms, Trotter, Ray, Woodruff, Britton, McLelland, Howell, Sloan, Morrow, Cook, Lemmuel, Badger, Sterling, Jones, Owens, Thomas, McRee, Tredinick, Kearney, Caruth, Asbury, Hoskins, Boyd, Springs, Laurey, Meacham, Dixon, McCombs, Edwards, Howie, Wheeler, and Dinkins.

This incomplete list is one of the "honor-rolls" of Mecklenburg County, recording the fair names of some of her bravest sons and loveliest daughters, who in their brief day acted well their part and laid the safe foundation of Church and State which is today the goodly heritage of Charlotte. Lack of space prevents individual mention of many whose names and lives are indelibly linked with North Carolina's history nor are we permitted to quote the quaint epitaphs and inscriptions found on many of the tombstones.

Three men of considerable fame and who stand large in North Carolina history are buried in the "Old Cemetery" and deserve a more extended notice: Governor Nathaniel Alexander, Colonel Thomas Polk, and General George Graham.

Governor Nathaniel Alexander is the only Governor Mecklenburg County has ever had and his last resting place should be guarded with affection and pride, for he was honored and beloved by his contemporaries as is attested by the many positions of trust he filled. Foote, in his *History of Western North Carolina,* page 267, has the following:

"Nathaniel Alexander, late Governor of North Carolina, was a native of Mecklenburg. He was a physician by profession and was elected a member of the House of Commons from Mecklenburg in 1797, a member of the Senate in 1801, and reëlected in 1802. In 1803-1805 he was a member of Congress, and in 1805 elected Governor of the State. He married a daughter of Colonel Thomas Polk. He left no children. He was a man of much personal worth and respectable talents. He died and lies buried in Charlotte."

Governor Alexander was a son of Colonel Moses Alexander, a distinguished Revolutionary patriot, who also rendered large services to his country. Governor Alexander's wife (Margaret Polk), was also of patriotic blood, a woman of many fine traits and splendid characteristics, as is evidenced by the fact that she was one of that brilliant company of young ladies of Mecklenburg County who drew up and signed the famous patriotic Resolutions and sent them to Salisbury to the Committee in session there representing Rowan and Mecklenburg counties on May 8, 1776. For a full account of this patriotic deed read Hunter's *Sketches of Western North Carolina,* pages 144-145. It would appear from this action of the women of Mecklenburg County in May, 1776—still some months prior to July 4, 1776—that they were fired with the same fearless patriotism which prompted the men of Mecklenburg County to draw up and sign the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence on the previous May 20, 1775!!

Governor Alexander and his wife are buried in the "Old Cemetery" and we find the following inscriptions on their tombs.

Sacred
To the Memory of
Doc'r Nathaniel Alexander
Late Governor of No. Carolina
who departed this life on the
7th day of March 1808
in the 52nd year of his age.

By his side lies buried his wife, with this inscription on her tomb:

Sacred
To the Memory of
Margaret Alexander
Wife of
Doctor Alexander
and daughter of
Thomas and Susannah Polk
who departed this life on the
12th day of Sept. 1806
in the 42nd year of her age.

Turning now to Colonel Thomas Polk, we again quote from the historian, Foote, pages 5-10, who says: "Col. Thomas Polk and his wife Susanna Spratt Polk, lie buried in the graveyard of the village (Charlotte)." Colonel Polk was one of the ablest and most patriotic men Mecklenburg County—famous for her patriots—has ever borne. He was a member of the Colonial Assembly in 1771 and again in 1775. In 1775 he was Colonel of the Mecklenburg Militia and issued orders to the Captains of the several "beats," or districts, to send two (2) delegates each to the Convention held in Charlotte on its regular day of meeting, May 19, 1775. It was on this day, while the Convention was in session, that the news of the Battle of Lexington (Mass.) reached Charlotte, and the citizens, already aggrieved and incensed, became so indignant that Resolutions were drawn up and signed on May 20, 1775, declaring independence of Great Britain. Colonel Polk was a delegate to the Convention and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and had the honor by right of his official capacity as Colonel of the Militia, of reading the famous document publicly from the courthouse steps to the

assembled citizens. Colonel Polk was appointed Colonel of the Fourth Regiment, Continental Troops by the Provincial Congress at Halifax, N. C., April 4, 1776. After the death of General William Lee Davidson at Cowan's Ford, he was appointed Brigadier-General in his stead. Mrs. Polk was a daughter of Thomas Spratt, one of the earliest settlers of western North Carolina, who was the first man to "cross the Yadkin River on wheels"—vehicles in those primitive days being rare; he was one of the wealthiest and most influential citizens of Mecklenburg and it was at his home where the first court was held prior to the building of the first court-house. Mrs. Polk's sister, Ann Spratt, was the first white child born in Western North Carolina, and her grave is in the old "Spratt burying ground." Colonel and Mrs. Polk had an interesting family, many of whose descendents are prominent in the life of the community today. Hunter's *Sketches of Western North Carolina,* page 55, tells us that "he (Colonel Polk) died in 1793, full of years and full of honors, and his mortal remains repose in the graveyard of the Presbyterian Church, in Charlotte."

Their son, William Polk, also a distinguished patriot, erected a memorial marble over the last resting place of his parents as a tribute of filial love and esteem. On it we read this beautiful testimony:

Here lies inter'd
The Earthly remains of
General Thomas Polk
and his wife
Susanna Polk
who lived many years together
justly beloved and respected
for their many virtues
And universally regretted by all
who had the pleasure of their
acquaintance.
Their Son
William Polk
As a token of his filial regard
hath caused this stone to be
Erected to their Memory.

Some years ago it was the custom on each 20th of May for a "Special Committee" of citizens to visit the "Old Cemetery" and decorate Colonel Polk's grave with flags and flowers in loving memory of his patriotism as Signer and Public Reader of Mecklenburg's Declaration. Today this loyal tribute has fallen into disuse, but the writer hopes to see it revived and again become an annual custom.

General George Graham is the third distinguished patriot buried in the "Old Cemetery" of whom we shall write. He was one of the most conspicuously brave and daring men North Carolina has ever produced, a man with a notable record for heroism as is strikingly recounted in the remarkable inscription on his tombstone. He was the son of Scotch-Irish parents, James and Mary Graham, and was born in Pennsylvania, December 5, 1752, moving to North Carolina with his widowed mother when about ten years of age. His mother was a woman of strong character and fine patriotism, aiding her countrymen in their struggle for freedom and giving to the cause two sons, General Joseph Graham and General George Graham. She is buried in the "Old Cemetery," near the grave of her son, George. He was one of the students of "Queen's Museum" (afterwards Liberty Hall) and was *in Charlotte* and present at the reading of the Mecklenburg Declaration, on May 20, 1775, as is attested by his affidavit given when he was 61 years of age. In May, 1775, when it was rumored that Captain James Jack, bearer of the Mecklenburg Declaration to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, was about to be detained in Salisbury by two Tory lawyers, Dunn and Bootles, young George Graham, then about 23 years of age, "was one of the brave spirits who rode all night to Salisbury," seized the offenders and brought them both to Mecklenburg for trial. George Graham took an active part in the campaign against Cornwallis in 1780, and was one of the twelve (12) brave men who dared attack a foraging party of four hundred (400) British soldiers at McIntire's Branch on the Beattie's Ford road, seven miles from Charlotte, compelling them to retreat with a considerable loss of dead and

wounded. Scarcely has a braver or more daring deed been written in the annals of American history!

After the war George Graham was elected Major-General of the North Carolina Militia; for many years he was Clerk of the Court of Mecklenburg County and he was a member of the House of Representatives during 1793-94-95, and was a member of the State Senate during 1703-04-05-06-07-08-09-10-11-12. Again we quote from Hunter's *Sketches of Western North Carolina,* page 99:

"He (George Graham) lived more than half a century on his farm two miles from Charlotte. He died on the 29th of March, 1826, in the 68th year of his age, and is buried in the graveyard of the Presbyterian Church in Charlotte."

A more extended and interesting account of George Graham may be found in that valuable contribution to history, the life of his brother Joseph, entitled *General Joseph Graham and His Revolutionary Papers,* written by General Joseph Graham's distinguished grandson, Hon. Wm. A. Graham.

The inscription on George Graham's tombstone is a grateful recognition by his fellow-countrymen of his splendid bravery in times of war and of his sterling qualities in times of peace, a most unusual and striking tribute!

As we stand by his grave we read:

Sacred
to the
Memory of
Major-General George Graham
who died
on the 29th of March, 1826
in the 68th year of his age.

He lived more than half a century
in the vicinity of
This place and was a zealous and
active defender of his
Country's Rights
in the
Revolutionary War
and one of the Gallant Twelve who

dared to attack and actually
drove 400 British troops
at McIntire's
7 miles north of Charlotte
on the 3rd of October, 1780.
George Graham filled many high
and responsible Public Trusts
the duties of which he discharged
with fidelity.
He was the people's friend not their
flatterer
and uniformly engaged the
Unlimited Confidence
and respect of his
Fellow Citizens.

The site of the encounter with the British at McIntire's has been marked by a boulder and inscription as a memorial to George Graham and the "Gallant Twelve."

In the north and east corner of the "Old Cemetery" a space was set apart for the burial of the slaves who died in the homes of their masters. Many faithful men and women, with their little children, found sepulture here, near the last resting place of those they had loved and faithfully served, and who in return were held in affection and esteem. No tombstones mark these graves and most of them have disappeared from sight, so today only a rolling greensward greets the eye of the casual passerby, giving no intimation that beneath its turf lie the dust of many of an alien race who had found home and friends in Charlotte.

Strangers and visitors to Charlotte often visit the "Old Cemetery" to search for graves of relatives, or to copy inscriptions, or, from a reverent love of studying at first-hand a people's history, to stroll through its shady walks under its ancient oak trees and read the quaint epitaphs. Unfortunately this historic burial place has not been put in "Perpetual Care," and the city gives only a small appropriation for its upkeep. A fine hedge has been planted around it and a splendid rock wall built on the front side. At its entrance on West Fifth Street we find a beautiful old wrought-iron

gate of historic interest. The iron was mined by John Graham, a son of General Joseph Graham, at one of the General's iron furnaces, "Rehoboth Furnace," in Lincoln County, and was made "by hand" by the slaves and is a beautiful specimen of their work. The gate was owned by various members of the family in succession and has been donated to the "Old Cemetery." This sacred "God's Acre" now lies close to the throbbing heart of the modern "Queen City," and is one of her priceless heritages from her early patriots, who bestowed on her her splendid history which is today her greatest treasure.

The North Carolina Medical Society of 1799-1804

By Marshall DeLancey Haywood.

Author of "Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771," "Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina," "Ballads of Courageous Carolinians," etc.

The present splendid organization, known as The Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, had its origin, as many know, in the year 1849; but the fact is known to very few that just half a century earlier a society of almost the same name—The North Carolina Medical Society—was projected in the city of Raleigh by leaders of the medical profession then residing in the Old North State.

By perusing old files of the *Raleigh Register,* now preserved in the North Carolina State Library, we are able to catch glimpses of the earlier organization and its promoters. In the issue of that paper of November 12, 1799, it is stated that "it is contemplated by several Gentlemen of the Faculty, in the State, to form themselves into a Medical Society, and that they intend to convene for that purpose in this city some time in the month of December." The editor adds: "Such an association of scientific men must be highly useful to themselves and to the community." Commenting still further it is editorially stated that such a society could be made extremely useful "by the interchange of sentiments which it would occasion; by the discussion of medical subjects, which would awaken the spirit of inquiry; by directing the pursuits of the pupil; by giving sanction to the medical skill and ability of candidates for practice; by establishing among the Faculty a friendly intercourse; by enabling the community to distinguish the true Physician from the ignorant Pretender; and by discountenancing, and possibly suppressing the fatal and criminal practices of Quacks and Empyrics."

The term "Faculty," above mentioned, we may add in passing, is not used in the same sense as we now generally understand that word, but is an obsolete term to denote a learned profession or occupation.

In the *Raleigh Register* of December 10, 1799, Dr. Calvin Jones, "Secretary of Correspondence," published notice that the Medical Society would hold its meeting in Raleigh on the 16th of the same month. It is briefly announced in the aforementioned newspaper of December 17th that the "Medical Society met this day [probably meaning the preceding day] when Dr. Hand was appointed to the chair, and the Society proceeded to business."

The State Legislature convened in Raleigh about this time, and legally incorporated The North Carolina Medical Society by Chapter 38 of the Private Laws of 1799.

The list of officers was announced as follows in the *Raleigh Register* of December 24th: Richard Fenner, President; Nat Loomis and J. Clairborne, Vice-Presidents; Sterling Wheaton, James Webb, John J. Pasteur, and Jason Hand, Censors; Calvin Jones, Corresponding Secretary; William B. Hill, Recording Secretary; and Cargill Massenburg, Treasurer. This meeting adjourned, with a resolution that the next annual convention should be held in Raleigh on December 1, 1800. It met at the appointed time, and elected as new members Drs. John C. Osborne, Thomas Mitchel, John Sibley, ———— Armistead, and ———— French. A successful examination before the Censors was passed by Charles Smith. Quite a number of essays was read, and discussions were participated in by many of those present. The State was then divided by the Society into medical districts, and the physicians residing in these districts were urged to hold periodical meetings. Dr. James Webb, of Hillsborough, read a paper on the causes and prevention of gout and rheumatism. Prizes in money were offered by the Society for certain quantities of plants and medicinal articles produced in North Carolina, as follows: fox-glove, opium, rhubarb, castor oil,

and senna. Cholera infantum was fixed upon as the special subject of study for the succeeding annual meeting, and Drs. Pasteur, Wheaton, Loomis, and Hand were appointed essayists for the said forthcoming meeting, to be held in the year following, with liberty to choose the subjects of their dissertations. Before this meeting of 1800 adjourned, officers were elected as follows: John C. Osborne, President; Thomas Mitchel and Richard Fenner, Vice-Presidents; James Webb and John Sibley, Censors; Sterling Wheaton, Recording Secretary; Calvin Jones, Corresponding Secretary; and Cargill Massenburg, Treasurer.

The next annual meeting duly convened in the city of Raleigh on Monday, December 1, 1801, and held a three-day session. The newspaper account says that "a considerable number of respectable Physicians from various parts of the State were present." The president, Dr. Osborne, delivered the opening address which was editorially described in the *Raleigh Register* as "a cursory narrative of the progress of the science of Medicine, from the earliest ages." An "ingenious practical treatise on General Dropsy" was read by Dr. Wheaton. A committee was appointed to take steps towards establishing a botanical garden, for the cultivation of medicinal plants, and it was also resolved to found a medical library. The officers of the preceding year were reëlected, with the exception of the fact that Dr. Clairborne succeeded Dr. Sibley as a Censor. The subject of infantile diseases was designated as a special study for the next annual meeting.

In the newspapers of November, 1802, a call for the Society to meet on December 1st, was issued by Dr. Calvin Jones, Corresponding Secretary; but, if the meeting took place, as it probably did, the present writer can find no record of its proceedings.

The annual meeting at Raleigh, on December 3, 1803, brought a new accession of members in the persons of Drs. Robert Williams (of Pitt), John McFarland, John McAden, Elias Hawes, Hugh McCullough, and Thomas Henderson. No change of officers was made except the election of Dr.

Williams as a Censor, *vice* Dr. Clairborne. The details of this meeting are not given in the newspaper report.

The Society met in Raleigh on December 10, 1804, re-elected all officers of the preceding year, with the exception of Treasurer—Dr. Hawes succeeding Dr. Massenburg—and resolved to hold its next meeting in the town of Chapel Hill, the seat of the University of North Carolina, on the 5th of July, 1805. Whether this meeting took place the present writer is unable to say, nor can he find any further record of proceedings of this Society in the old newspaper files or elsewhere.

To illustrate how thoroughly abreast of their time these physicians in the North Carolina Medical Society were, it may be recalled that while Dr. Jenner's experiments, in England, on the subject of vaccination against smallpox were still in progress the North Carolina practitioners were making a study of his dissertations and applying the process to their patients. Jenner's first published treatise on the subject appeared in England in 1798, and his experiments were not completed till several years later. Yet as early as 1800 Dr. Calvin Jones published in the *Raleigh Register* an announcement that soon he hoped to begin the treatment in North Carolina. A long treatise on this subject, from the pen of Dr. Jones will be found in the *Raleigh Register* of April 14, 1801, in which he made reference to an announcement on the subject, by him, in the preceding year, but stated that he had decided to postpone the treatment until further experiments had been perfected in Europe and America. He says:

"The public have been taught to expect, from my advertisements of last year, that I shall, in the ensuing month, commence inoculation for the Smallpox; but I am prevented from doing this by the consideration of what is due from me to those who would have been my patients, whose ease and safety my own inclinations and the honor of my profession bind me to consult."

Further on in this communication Dr. Jones refers to emi-

nent practitioners in England, Scotland, Austria, and France, who had successfully used the treatment, and adds:

"Dr. Mitchell, of New York, and Dr. Waterhouse, of New Hampshire, have both received the matter of the disease from England, and propose inoculating early in the present season, so that we may expect it will soon become common in the United States."

The practice of vaccination, we may add, came into use in parts of North Carolina other than the vicinity of Raleigh about the time the above experiments were being made by Dr. Jones and his associates. The historical researches of Miss Adelaide L. Fries have recently brought to light the fact that in the old Moravian community of Salem, North Carolina, eighty persons (mostly children) were successfully treated in the Summer of 1802, by Dr. Samuel Vierling, the town physician, for whose use the parents in that place ("house-fathers" and "house-mothers") had obtained, by a special messenger whom they had sent to "a certain doctor in Raleigh," specimens of the cow-pox virus, with instructions for its proper use. When Dr. Vierling undertook this work at Salem he refused to say what compensation he would demand, as he did not know what trouble and expense the process would entail. He did state, however, that he would do the work as cheaply as possible; and we must credit him with keeping this promise to the letter, as the record concludes with the remark that Dr. Vierling "declined to accept any pay for his services."

Returning to the subject of the North Carolina Medical Society, little remains to be added. As already noted, we can find no record of its meetings after 1804. We may state in conclusion, however, that as the Society had made a collection of natural history specimens, etc., and as Dr. Calvin Jones was its secretary; and furthermore, as Dr. Jones turned over a "museum of artificial and natural curiosities" to the University of North Carolina, about twenty years later, on the eve of his removal to Tennessee, this gift to the University was in all probability the last remaining possession of the defunct North Carolina Medical Society.

Proceedings of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution

Held in Edenton, October 24-26, 1916

At the annual meeting of the State Society D. R., held in Raleigh in 1915, on motion of the Vice-Regent, Mrs. Marshall Williams, it was voted to hold the annual meeting of 1916 in some of our historic old towns where the Society has a Chapter. So when Mrs. Patrick Matthew, Regent of the Penelope Barker Chapter, extended an invitation to the Daughters to visit Edenton, the invitation was accepted with delightful anticipation and without deliberation, for Edenton of all towns in the State is very near to the hearts of the Daughters of the Revolution. It was in studying the history of this Revolutionary hot-bed that they were inspired to commemorate the Edenton Tea Party of 1774 with a handsome bronze tablet, which was placed in the rotunda of the State Capitol at Raleigh in October, 1908. In order to raise funds for that purpose the North Carolina Booklet was launched in May, 1901, at the suggestion of Miss Martha Helen Haywood, who, with Mrs. Hubert Haywood, was one of the first editors; and the Penelope Barker Chapter was the first Chapter organized by the North Carolina Daughters.

The Twentieth Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution was held in the form of a pilgrimage to the historic "Borough Towne" of Edenton, variously called "ye Towne in Queen Anne's Creek," "ye Towne in Mattermacomock Creek," and "Port of Roanoke" in the oldest records. The Penelope Barker Chapter filled the rolé of hostess most charmingly October 24, 25 and 26.

The delegates arrived at noon Tuesday, October 24, and were met at the station by members of the Chapter and Mr Richard D. Dixon, representing his uncle, Dr. Richard Dillard (who was unavoidably absent) and driven to their destinations. That afternoon the gentlemen of the Historical Society gave a sail in honor of the visiting Daughters. The

weather was ideal and the famous Bay of Edenton, that has been so often compared to the Bay of Naples, never looked fairer than it did under the mellow rays of the radiant autumn sun, while Mattermacomock Creek was a veritable reproduction of fairyland with the rich tints of the changing forests, the waving Spanish moss and the vivid reflections borne on the smooth surface of its limpid waters. The dying of a perfect day and the brilliant afterglow amid such surroundings were watched intently by the guests, all of whom, save two, were enjoying the attractions of Edenton for the first time.

On landing, the party strolled to the home of Mr. Frank Wood, where they were entertained at tea by Miss Caroline W. Coke, Vice-Regent of the Penelope Barker Chapter. In the grounds of Mr. Wood's home, facing the court house green, stood the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth King, where the Edenton Tea Party was held, October 25, 1774, the site of which has been marked by Mr. Frank Wood with a pedestal mounted with a bronze tea pot. China that was owned by the distinguished President of the Tea Party, the stately Penelope Barker, was used, and delicious tea cakes, made from the recipe she had so frequently found useful, were served. On departing, each guest was presented with a typewritten recipe, rolled and tied with buff and blue ribbon, the Society's colors.

The recipe is:

Penelope Barker Tea Cakes.—1 quart flour, ¾ cup butter and lard, mixed; 2 large cups brown sugar, 3 eggs, 1 rounded teaspoonful soda. Beat eggs together well, adding sugar; next, soda, dissolved in 1 tablespoonful warm water (not hot). Flavor with vanilla. Lastly add quickly the flour, into which butter and lard have been well worked. Roll out as soft as possible and cut. Bake in a hot oven.

The parlor was tastefully decorated with trailing vines and pink roses. Miss Tillie Bond, the nearest living relative of Penelope Barker, was a guest of honor.

On Tuesday evening the Daughters met in the Colonial

court house, which had been appropriately dressed with yellow flowers and banners, carrying out the colors of the Daughters of the Revolution, Dr. Dillard presiding. The address of welcome, was delivered by the Regent of the Penelope Barker Chapter:

Mme. Regent, Daughters of the Revolution, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The first page of American history was written when Columbus appealed to the Court of Spain for a fleet with which to set sail upon that long, perilous voyage which terminated in his planting the Cross upon the Island of San Salvador, 1492.

From that time to the establishment of the Sir Walter Raleigh Colony on Roanoke Island to the settlement of the Chowan Precinct was but a short chain of events, but perfect in continuity.

Here, where the giants of the forest stood deep-rooted on the shores of this grand body of water, which is now known as the Albemarle Sound, flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, connecting the Old World with the New, was "Ye Little Towne on Queen Anne's Creek." With but a handful of people it set up its own government with its laws, court, customs, church, and thus early laid the foundation for an important centre of trade.

Surrounded by the Red Men, who soon became friends, they reduced to cultivation fertile fields which afforded the barter for the vessels which sailed into the harbor.

Without recorded explanation the name was changed to "Port of Roanoke," and here increased high life of Church and State, industries grew, wise patriots became known abroad, the capital of the State was here located, laws made, and her fame spread like the branches of the grandeur of the forest primeval.

Her commerce increased, ships multiplied in numbers, and the Old World wondered at her great possession.

In 1722 Governor Charles Eden died, and from that date

the name of the town has been Edenton, thus convincing us that it was named in memory of that distinguished statesman.

After years of servitude and discontent, with no representation in parliament, the cries of resentment grew pitiful, but the determination of resistance came from the women of Edenton in that document, The Edenton Tea Party, which shook the foundation of British rule in America, and sounded the first alarm at the court of St. James. Women have always been powerful, but the mighty stroke of independence was wielded by the pens of the immortal fifty-one who signed their names to that document, which was the key-note of the War of the Revolution.

So, Mme. Regent and Daughters of the Revolution, we bid you welcome to the home of our ancestors, the land of King Hoyle, the last sovereign ruler of the Choanokes, a man whose lovely character made the white people live in harmony with his tribe, and who gave his two sons to be taught to receive Christianity, for in his savage breast there beat a heart which knew that a greater God than their Great Spirit was Lord over the world and he wanted his sons to take up their cross and follow Him.

With your advent in our midst you receive the freedom of Edenton, and to one and all we bid you come to our houses, partake of our bounty, welcome you to our firesides, make you our friends, for be it ever so lowly "There's no place like home."

The following response was made by Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, the State Regent:

Officers and Daughters of the Revolution:

It is a pleasure inexpressible for the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution to assemble for the Twentieth Annual Meeting in this historic "Borough Town," variously referred to in the oldest records as the "Towne in Queen Anne's Creek," the "Towne in Mattermacomock Creek," "Port of Roanoke," and later permanently and so appropriately named Edenton, though it must be admitted

the serpent is conspicuous through absence. It is a joyous privilege indeed to acknowledge the gracious words of this very cordial welcome, and to you, Madam Regent, and the Penelope Barker Chapter, we extend our warmest expressions of appreciation and gratitude.

Particularly dear to the hearts of the Daughters of the Revolution are Edenton and the Penelope Barker Chapter, for it was the noble history of this fair town which first inspired this Society to commemorate the "Edenton Tea Party" by placing a handsome bronze tablet in the State Capitol at Raleigh, the first to adorn that stately edifice, and as a way to raise the means necessary the North Carolina Booklet was launched, May 10, 1901. In every important event in our past since then Edenton has been prominently represented, and some of the Booklet's most valuable contributions have been from the pen of her versatile writers, even to the youngest generation. The Penelope Barker Chapter has been our heart's pride, because it was the first Chapter organized, and its record can only arouse interest and stimulate ambition in historic research and patriotic achievements. It is an honor to have such a band of members respond to its roll call.

As we gather here today, some visitors for the first time to this Revolutionary hot-bed and centre of culture and refinement, naturally our thoughts revert to those stirring times that shook a great kingdom and a vast continent to their very foundations. We feel the sacred presence of the famous statesmen and the brave, fascinating women who moved in that long ago, for here they lived, labored and won laurels for the Patriot Cause that can never fade. These beautiful, historic buildings of the Colonial period have been rendered more interesting from the fact that they have resounded with the echoes of their voices and the fall of their footsteps. They pass before us in mental review. Foremost in that distant throng are Judge James Iredell, who, by his letters, has bequeathed to posterity such vivid delineations of the social life, Colonial and Revolutionary, of Edenton; Governor Samuel

Johnston, the builder of "Hayes," and his sisters, Hannah and Isabella; Joseph Hewes; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; Thomas Barker, and his fair spouse, the immortal Penelope, and that beauty and belle, Betsy Barker, whose likeness present-day iconoclasts wish to confound with that of her noted step-mother, but whose separate portraits exist in middle Carolina, one of the President of the Tea Party loaned to the Hall of History at Raleigh and the other in the home of a descendant at Ridgeway, painted, it seems, by the same artist, but showing not one trace of resemblance. Each of the fifty-one signers of the Tea Party stand forth as clearly as though the mist of intervening years had vanished. Many, many, many others pass in the distinguished assemblage. We offer our homage to their hallowed memories and imbibe inspiration to aspire to higher ideals and the performance of deeds worth while.

Of all the towns of North Carolina none have preserved that ideal, restful Colonial atmosphere, all too rare in this age of perpetual unrest and dangerous commercialism, as has this sweet haven of rest, and nowhere else can be brewed as delicious a cup of tea, which proves that the fifty-one ladies that met at Mrs. King's house on the Court House Green one hundred and forty-two years ago tomorrow, understood the full meaning of self-denial! To Edenton we come to receive fresh impetus to proceed with extensive plans for a future of rose-tinted promise.

Six and a half years have passed since you entrusted to your Regent the highest office in the gift of the Society. It has been a pleasure to serve the order that is closest to her heart, even though in so doing she has been overworked with the requirements of the office, in addition to the demands of the BOOKLET, therefore she fully realizes her shortcomings and at all times, in glancing over the past, she trusts you will do so with kind indulgence.

During that space of time five Chapters, the Bloomsbury at Raleigh, the Roanoke at Windsor, the General Francis Nash at Hillsboro, the Mary Slocumb at Faison, and the

Thomas Robeson at Red Springs, have been organized, and two Junior Chapters, the Virginia Dare and Ensinore, at Elizabeth City, have been formed. The set of one hundred and nine lantern slides, most of which are colored, and the lecture, "Stories from North Carolina History," have been made and presented in Raleigh, Elizabeth City, Washington, Edenton, Windsor, and Winston-Salem. Eight tablets have been erected by the Chapters. A room has been furnished by the Chapters in Elizabeth City, called the "Virginia Dare Room." The chart and key of St. Paul's Churchyard has been presented this historic church, the painstaking work of the Penelope Barker Chapter. Twenty gold medals have been presented in the public schools in towns in North Carolina. Miss Catherine Albertson's book, "In Ancient Albemarle," has been published by the Society. Every annual meeting of the General Society, save that at Brooklyn in 1915, has been attended by delegates from North Carolina. The BOOKLET has been published and some brilliant social functions are some of the matters that have engaged the hearts and hands of the North Carolina Daughters.

Today the North Carolina Society is as loyal to the parent Society as she was in the pioneer days—aye, more so. We stand for the things she advocates and we are happy and content in being under her fold. Loyalty is one of the noblest traits that has been implanted in the nature of man. Would we be worthy of the great heroes whose deeds we commemorate were we untrue to the cause we have espoused? Our ranks are constantly being strengthened by the best, and we rejoice that we can face the future with confidence and hope of greater achievement.

To our beloved founder, Mrs. Fannie DeBernière Hooper Whitaker, we turn in loving remembrance, and we feel North Carolina has been richer for the influence she wielded and her memory continues to exert.

To the officers and members of the North Carolina Society your Regent extends her sincerest thanks for this list of good

works and for the whole-hearted support you have bestowed in times of labor and toil, in times of clouds and sunshine. Each of you has become dearer for the associations which shall be cherished always.

An address, giving the historical facts of this building, around which has centered so much of the past of Edenton, from Dr. Dillard, was enjoyed by the audience. The interior is modeled after the ancient basilica, and here the House of Burgesses assembled and guided the affairs of the Colony of North Carolina. Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Honorary Regent of the North Carolina Society D. R., also talked on subjects of vital importance for the preservation of our State history.

October 25th—the anniversary of the Tea Party—dawned bright and clear. In celebration of that event four tablets were unveiled by the Penelope Barker Chapter. By 10 o'clock the citizens of Edenton had gathered in St. Paul's Church, the school children had marched from the Academy, bearing the banners of the Chapter, which on entering were placed at the church door, and the Daughters of the Revolution had taken the seats reserved for them along the main aisle, to take part in the impressive service that was conducted in the absence of the beloved Rector, Reverend Robert Brent Drane, D.D., by the Reverend B. F. Huske, Rector of Christ Church, New Bern, North Carolina. Here was unveiled by Richard Norfleet Hines, Jr., the marble tablet in the rear of the church to the signers of the "Test," who composed the vestry of St. Paul's at that time, renouncing allegiance to the crown. The text of the document and the names of the signers are engraved on the memorial in black letters. Mr. Huske's address was most interesting, and it is regretted by the Daughters that it was almost entirely extemporaneous.

From the church the throng repaired to the home of Judge James Iredell, where the marble tablet in the great outside brick chimney, the gift through the Daughters of the Revolution of the present owners and occupants, Mr. and Mrs. William T. Gordon, was unveiled by William Elliott and Ethel

McMullan. Colonel J. Bryan Grimes, President of the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the Revolution, made the speech of presentation. He spoke of the man, his life and splendid services to the State and the Union, of his influence on the Supreme Court of the United States and the Constitution. It was here that James Wilson, signer of the National Declaration of Independence from Pennsylvania, visited, and here he breathed his last. His remains were interred in the burying-ground at "Hayes" and later—several years ago—were removed to Philadelphia. Dr. Dillard accepted in his happiest manner for the town of Edenton:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Prehistoric man built cairns or heaps of stone to commemorate important events; the ancient Egyptians emblazoned in hieroglyphics the deeds of their illustrious Pharoahs upon the faces of the everlasting pyramids; the history of the ancient Aztecs is written amid the picturesque mines of Mitla and Cholula, and Joshua set up twelve stones at Jordan, so that when the children should ask their fathers in times to come, "What mean ye by these stones? ye shall answer them that the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the Lord." And so on through all the ages, mankind has seen fit to mark in brass, or bronze, or graven stone, whatever was valuable for posterity—they are the hall-marks and symbols of immortality. We have had presented us today a tablet in honor of Edenton's most illustrious son; like Socrates he was "the perfection of earth's mental beauty, and the personification of all virtue"; the fairest star that glitters in the firmanent of our history! And now, in behalf of the citizens of Edenton, and the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, this tablet is most graciously accepted. Here let it stand, a perpetual inspiration to noble deeds, and virtuous actions! To the souls of fire let it give more fire, and to those who are slothful, let it give a might more than is man's! For who shall say that fame is but an empty name!

"In thinking of the honored dead
The youth shall rise from slothful bed
And now, with uplifted hand and heart,
Like *him* to act a noble part."

At the Academy a bronze tablet to the Founders of the original Academy, on the exterior, near the entrance of the stately, pillared new structure, is placed, which was unveiled by Caroline Privott, daughter of a trustee. Colonel J. Bryan Grimes presenting, and Mr. J. Norfleet Pruden accepting on behalf of the Board of Trustees. Colonel Olds also addressed the throng, speaking of the duty that rested upon the children, the future makers of Edenton and the keepers of her splendid past.

To the court house the children marched, followed by the audience, to witness the presentation by Colonel C. S. Vann, who, in speaking, paid a high tribute to womanhood, and the acceptance of Mr. F. W. Hobbs, Clerk of the Court, of the bronze tablet, unveiled by daughters of county officers, Frances Brownley Evans, Elsie Goodwin, Cornelia Harrell, and Sadie Hobbs, on the exterior of the edifice to the fifty-one signers of the Edenton Tea Party.

Mr. Hobbs said:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Although I am no speechmaker I wish to assure you that it affords me a peculiar pleasure to accept the tablet commemorative of one of the most important historical events recorded upon the annals, embracing the history of our grand old town, county, and commonwealth.

The Daughters of the Revolution deserve the highest commendation at our hands for the splendid work they have accomplished in placing tablets here and there in our town, which Col. R. B. Creecy said was the most historical of all the towns in the State. These matters of history will always be recognized as most important, for frequently they are the source of inspiration to succeeding generations, and I believe to have them carved upon enduring metal, or other lasting

material, and placed where they can, on all public occasions, be seen, will have a tendency to elevate the ideals of our citizenship, make them more patriotic, and lovers of our grand old State and glorious Nation.

I thank these ladies for their manifested interest in these matters, and again state with great pleasure I accept, on behalf of the Board of Commissioners and the citizenship of the County of Chowan, this splendid tablet which commemorates such glorious courage and patriotism of our women of the Revolutionary War. To read these resolutions is enough to make us proud of our women of this stirring period of our country's history, and to make us glad that we are to the manner born.

We welcome to the county the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution, and have placed at their disposal this court house, within whose walls have presided and pleaded statesmen and men who were giants in their profession and times, honored and esteemed by their fellow countrymen.

The "Resolves" signed two hundred and forty-two years ago and the names of the patriotic signers are given thereon.

On the conclusion of these instructive and enjoyable exercises the Daughters of the Revolution were cordially invited by Dr. Dillard to visit "Beverly Hall." Here amid the rare plants, flowers and ornamentation of his Italian garden, and in the library, where each recorded her name in the guest book, time flew, and soon the Daughters were rushed off to charming luncheons with Mrs. William D. Pruden and Miss Sophie Martin Wood, at historic "Hayes," conceded by Virginia authorities to be the most interesting home in the South.

The afternoon was devoted to the transaction of business in the court house, Miss Hinton presiding. Reports from the State officers and Chapter Regents were read and plans discussed for entertaining the General Society in Raleigh in April, 1917. Twenty-five dollars for the publication of the minutes of this meeting in the BOOKLET were donated by the

visiting delegates, and it was voted to have a handsome silk banner made this winter, such as the other State Societies possess. This will bear the State flag and will be adorned with the hornet's nest, emblems of the Edenton Tea Party, etc. Seventeen new members have joined during the year 1916, and thirty-two more are filling out their papers. Two new Chapters, the Mary Slocumb at Faison, of which Miss Georgia Hicks is Regent, and the Colonel Thomas Robeson, at Red Springs, have been organized, while another of young girls is being formed. A motion was carried that the Society request Colonel Charles Earle Johnson to reprint the "Life and Letters of James Iredell," by McRee, now out of print. This cast such light on the grave questions of the Colonial, Revolutionary, and post-Revolutionary periods and on the delightful social life of Edenton of Judge Iredell's day that it is needed in our public and private libraries.

REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY—MRS. L. E. COVINGTON.

The North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution have, during the year 1915-1916, done substantial, good work. The Society has maintained its high standard of patriotic zeal and worth-while accomplishments.

Quite a number of energetic, ambitious members have been added and they are already taking up the work of the Society with vigor and zeal. It behooves those of us who have been members for some years not to lag behind these new members in zeal; and, in fact, we should endeavor to inspire and encourage them to the most energetic service. Social, domestic, and often literary duties are pressing upon us and the temptation is to leave the hardest work to the most willing ones; but, remembering that we are descended from the men who took upon themselves unselfish, faithful service to their country, we cannot be faithless to the trust of ours, to keep their memory fresh and green, to erect from time to time tablets and memorials so that heroes and heroic deeds may not be forgot-

ten; and, above all, to inspire in the present generation a love for their country and their country's heroes.

Perhaps the most important work that our North Carolina Society has done and is doing is the publication of the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET, begun some years ago by Miss Martha Haywood and Mrs. Hubert Haywood and now continued by Miss Mary Hinton and Mrs. E. E. Moffitt. The most valuable historical papers are, in the BOOKLET, collected in tangible, enduring form; well known authorities give accurate, carefully written articles; and, under Miss Hinton's wise editorship, the NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET has become a storehouse of information, and, to the BOOKLET, scholars, teachers, and students are constantly referring for facts of historical importance. The recent series of articles on the North Carolina Secretaries of the Navy have received more attention and have been most favorably reviewed by the press in different sections of the State.

During the recent Convention of the General Society, held last May in New York, the North Carolina Society was represented by Miss Hinton, Regent; Mrs. Paul Lee, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Marshall Williams, Vice-Regent, and Mrs. C. C. Phillips of New York. The invitation was extended by the North Carolina Society through Miss Hinton to have the General Society hold its meeting in Raleigh in 1917. The invitation was accepted and Raleigh will be hostess some time next year, either in April or May, to a distinguished gathering of women. There has been appointed by Miss Hinton a Ways and Means Committee to arrange for expenses incident to this meeting, and plans are being formulated as to the program of entertainment, etc.

Mrs. Covington then quoted from *The Patriot,* a part of Miss Hinton's report, read at the New York Convention in April, 1916.

The report from Mrs. Chas. Lee Smith, Treasurer, was read, showing receipts amounting to $164.33, and disburse-

ments amounting to $118.59, leaving a balance on hand of $45.74. It was moved and carried that this report be accepted.

Miss Hinton, Regent, and editor of the BOOKLET, reported for volumes XIII, XIV, XV, extending from July, 1913, to July, 1916. Moved and carried that this report be approved.

The Registrar, Miss Sarah W. Ashe, reports these new members:

Mrs. Fannie Yarborough Bickett, Louisburg, N. C. (wife of Attorney-General [now Governor] Hon. Walter Bickett).

Mrs. Mary Davis Holt, Burlington, N. C. (wife of Mr. Erwin Allen Holt).

Miss Elizabeth Ireland, Faison, N. C.

Mrs. Mary Lou Brown Hill, Warsaw, N. C. (wife of Mr. William L. Hill).

Mrs. Annie H. Witherington, Faison, N. C. (wife of Mr. B. B. Witherington).

Mrs. Nyda H. Weatherby, Faison, N. C. (wife of Mr. Carleton E. Weatherby).

Miss Winifred Faison, Faison, N. C.

Miss Georgia Hicks, Faison, N. C.

Mrs. Janie Hicks Phillips, New York City (wife of Mr. C. C. Phillips).

Miss Louise Phillips, New York City.

Mrs. Lila H. Hines, Faison, N. C. (wife of C. Shaw Hines).

Mrs. Mary Franklin Pass Fearington, Winston-Salem, N. C. (wife of Dr. J. P. Fearington).

Miss Faith Fearington, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mrs. Elizabeth R. F. Croom, Wilmington, N. C. (wife of Mr. Avery Burr Croom).

Miss Mary Perrett, Faison, N. C.

Mrs. Ruth Huntington Moore, Raleigh, N. C.

Mrs. Annie Ramsey, Raleigh, N. C. (wife of Dr. George J. Ramsey).

Report from Mrs. Matthew, Regent of the Penelope Bar-

ker Chapter, which report, she said, was written on bronze and marble, the four tablets unveiled today bespeaking the work of this chapter. A fine work in necrology has also been done. It was moved and carried that this report be accepted.

Report from Mrs. I. M. Meekins, Regent of the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter:

REPORT OF THE SIR WALTER RALEIGH CHAPTER, DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Miss Catherine Albertson, former Regent of the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter D. R., resigned her office as Regent last October, as her duties as Principal of the High School prevent her from carrying on the work of the Chapter.

Mrs. I. M. Meekins, Vice-President, then became Regent.

The pupils of the High School manifested unusual interest in the competition for the medal offered by the State Society D. R. last spring. The subject chosen was "The Life of John Harvey," and the medal was won by Miss Ida Owens, a member of the Senior Class of '16.

Miss Albertson presented the medal to Miss Owens on Thursday night, June 1st, during the graduating exercises of the High School Senior Class, and took occasion to make a short address to the audience, commemorating the services of John Harvey to the State of North Carolina.

On June 11th, a meeting of the Sir Walter Raleigh, Ensenore, and Virginia Dare Chapters was held at the residence of Mrs. I. M. Meekins, for the purpose of arranging for a D. R. float to take part in a parade on July 4th, in which the various civic and patriotic organizations of the town were asked to join.

July Fourth a seven passenger automobile was decorated with the D. R. colors and filled with members of the Junior D. R., dressed in Colonial costumes.

The three D. R. Chapters still hope to erect the memorial fountain to Virginia Dare, and as the Juniors grow to womanhood to erect in our county the memorial tablets to preserve her history.

REPORT FROM THE BLOOMSBURY CHAPTER.

The Bloomsbury Chapter D. R. was formed April 9, 1910. Although young in age it has, under the leadership of Mrs. Hubert Haywood, its Regent, marked several historical places.

The first one being the site of the old town of Bloomsbury, or Wake Court House.

The memorial was a bronze tablet placed on a natural boulder of Wake County granite, and located at the corner of Boylan Avenue and Morgan Street.

The second: The Chapter presented to the City of Raleigh a beautiful bronze tablet to the memory of Col. Joel Lane. It was placed on the left hand side of the entrance to the City Municipal Building.

In the near future the Chapter expects to mark Tryon's Road (Ramsgate Road). This road was used by Tryon on his march against the Regulators at Alamance. It is situated south of Raleigh.

Nearly seventy dollars is in the treasury for this purpose. Several of the members have contributed to this cause, and forty-six dollars and thirty-five cents ($46.35) were made from a moving picture benefit.

The Chapter decided that it would take the noted women of North Carolina during the Revolutionary period as the topic for this year.

In addition to the regular business meetings held during the year there were two especially enjoyable occasions.

On New Year's day the Chapter met with Mrs. James E. Shepherd. After the business of the Chapter was dispatched several historical places and noted women of the Colonial period were discussed. During the afternoon Mrs. Shepherd served delightful refreshments typical of the New Year.

Washington's birthday was celebrated this year at the home of Mrs. Geo. P. Pell.

The decorations of the house, the papers read and the songs sung were all suggestive of the occasion.

Then followed delightful refreshments which carried out the patriotic idea.

GRACE H. BATES,
Sec'y Bloomsbury Chapter D. R.

Report from the Gen. Francis Nash Chapter, Miss Rebecca Cameron, Regent, was read and approved. This Chapter has done no active work in the past year, but has maintained organized membership. With infinite sorrow they report the death of one of their beloved members, Mrs. Annie Ruffin Collins (Mrs. George P. Collins).

Miss Georgia Hicks, Regent of the Mary Slocumb Chapter, read the report from this Chapter:

REPORT OF THE MARY SLOCUMB CHAPTER DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION, OCTOBER 25, 1916.

The Mary Slocumb Chapter was organized March 20, 1916, in the home of Mrs. Marshall Williams, State Vice-Regent. Mrs. Williams presided and read the Constitution and By-laws, and object of the Society. Officers elected were: Regent, Miss Georgia Hicks; Vice-Regent, Mrs. W. L. Hill, Warsaw; Secretary, Miss Elizabeth Newton Ireland.

The name of the Chapter, "Mary Slocumb," was selected by a unanimous vote. Fifteen ladies now constitute the membership and we will probably have more before very long. Mrs. Williams and Miss Hicks entertained the Chapter at the June meeting. Mrs. Williams gave a most interesting account of her visit to New York as delegate to the National D. R. Convention. Miss Hicks read a sketch of Nathaniel Macon, and Mrs. Witherington an article on Colonial hospitality. This winter we will probably study Revolutionary history, beginning with sketches of the men and women of those times. As our Chapter is probably one of the most recently formed in the State it may not be amiss to give a little sketch of the heroine for whom it is named, "Mary Slocumb." Among the brave men who took part in the Battle of Moore's

Creek Bridge was Capt. Ezekiel Slocumb, of Wayne County, whose home was near the Neuse River. He left his home on Sunday, previous to the battle, in high spirits, with eighty men to join the forces under Col. Richard Caswell, and to do battle against the Tories. Mrs. Slocumb, the wife of the Captain, said she kept thinking about her husband all day, when he was going with his men, and the Tories they would meet, and though she worked hard all day the situation of Captain Slocumb and his men could not be banished from her mind. That night she had a "dream that was not all a dream." She saw distinctly a body wrapped in her husband's guard cloak, bloody and dead, and others dead and wounded on the ground. She felt she must go to her husband, and in a few minutes after awakening she saddled her horse and rode at full speed in the direction the men had taken. All night, with scarcely a break in the pace, she rode through Duplin and New Hanover counties, through the lone pine woods. About sunrise she passed groups of women and children on the road-side exhibiting equal anxiety to hear from the battle, but she paused not until, after riding 65 miles, she came into swampy ground and heard the thunder of the cannon. To use her words, she said, "I stopped still, the battle was fighting then. I could hear the muskets and the shouting. I spoke to my mare and dashed on in the direction of the firing." The shouts grew louder as she drew nearer, and she said, "I saw, a few yards away from the road, under a cluster of trees perhaps twenty men lying—they were wounded. I knew the spot as if I had seen it a thousand times, and the position of the men. I had seen it all night. In an instant my whole soul was centered on one spot, for there, wrapped in his bloody guard cloak, was my husband's body. How I passed the few yards from my saddle to the place I never knew. I remember uncovering his head and seeing a face clotted with blood from a dreadful wound across the temples. I put my hand on the bloody face, and an unknown voice begged for water—it was Frank Cogdell. Just then, I looked

up and my husband, bloody as a butcher, and muddy as a ditcher, stood before me." Her husband was wounded, but not seriously. She spent the day in tenderly nursing the wounded and dying, then returned home.

Captain Slocumb survived the varying fortunes of the Revolution, and he and his courageous and devoted wife lie buried beneath modest slabs on their old plantation home. Some of us have heard the story of this brave woman from our earliest years, and to this day, though we frequently pass the old burying ground, we always look for the white tombstones, and think of the heroism of Mary Slocumb.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA HICKS.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Paul H. Lee, of Raleigh, gave an interesting report of the annual meeting of the General Society, held in New York last April:

According to a pleasant custom the New York State Society was hostess to the National Society Daughters of the Revolution for the Convention of 1916, at the Waldorf-Astoria, the Convention of this year commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society. The Silver Jubilee being an occasion of great significance brought together representatives from all parts of the country.

The formal opening of the Convention was on Tuesday morning, May 2d, at 11:30. A procession, led by juniors, with past and present officers and especially invited speakers, marched to the rostrum and took their places. Rev. Dr. Robert Clark, Chaplain of the New York Society, offered an invocation, then the salute and pledge to the flag was given by the gathering. The regular program was an address of welcome by Miss Carville, Regent of the New York State Society, and was brim-full of hearty expressions of welcome, and was received with much applause. Mayor Mitchell was to have spoken the words of greeting from the city, but was unable to attend at the last moment, and was represented by Hon. Cabot Ward, Park Commissioner. Mr. Ward bade the dele-

gates a hearty welcome in the name of the Mayor and the City of New York. The President-General's address spoke for itself, ringing clear the keynote of patriotism. This was followed by the annual reports of the different officers.

The afternoon session was given over to the report of the standing committees and reports of the State Regents. Breaking the regular routine of the program for the afternoon the Convention was entertained by Madam Archtowska, an American, whose husband, a native of Poland, made an address in behalf of the sufferers of Poland, and spoke of the appropriateness of an organization like the Daughters of the Revolution, whose forefathers had fought beside Kosciusko and Pulaski, repaying the debt of gratitude by material help to the country from which these two men came to aid the Colonies in their time of need. "The Star Spangled Banner" was then sung with enthusiasm.

The morning session of the second day of the Convention opened with the recital of the Lord's Prayer in unison. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved. The Nominating Committee having been chosen on the previous day the election of officers for the next two years was in order. There were two candidates for President-General: Mrs. Keay, from Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Raynor, of New York. A number of speeches were made setting forth the qualifications of each candidate. When the ballots were counted the Nominating Committee reported that Mrs. Raynor had received the majority vote and was therefore declared the President-General for the next two years. While the ballots were being counted reports were still being read from the State Chapters. Miss Hinton, Regent of the North Carolina Society, gave a very complete and gratifying report of the work done by the State Society. It was very pleasing that there was a good representation from the "Old North State."

The opening feature of the afternoon session of May 3d was a telegram from West Virginia announcing a gift of $25

as a silver jubilee present. Two vocal solos were rendered; then several announcements were made, the most important being an invitation extended to the General Society by Miss Hinton, reading: "The North Carolina Society cordially invites the General Society Daughters of the Revolution to hold the annual meeting of 1917 in Raleigh, North Carolina." On motion of Miss Carville, of New York, seconded by Mrs. Berry, of Long Island, the invitation was accepted. The yearly volume of the North Carolina Booklet was presented most graciously by the Vice-Regent, Mrs. Marshall Williams. The gift was acknowledged by the President-General.

A very pleasant departure from business was a visit from Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., a member of the Woman's Section Committee of the Preparedness Parade, who came to extend an invitation to the Daughters to take part in the Preparedness Divisions of the patriotic Societies.

Now we will turn to the numerous entertainments planned for the pleasure of the delegates. There was a reminder of New Amsterdam in the selection of the Holland House for the reception of welcome given by the New York State Society to officers, delegates, and visitors, from four to six o'clock on Monday afternoon, May 1st. A continuous procession passed down the line, headed by Miss Carville, Regent of New York, and the general officers. The Hospitality Committee looked after the serving of refreshments and making every one feel welcome. When the last strains of the orchestra died away one could feel "The End of a Perfect Day."

On the following afternoon the Board of Managers of the General Society gave a tea in the East Room of the Waldorf in honor of those on roll of the first two hundred and fifty members of the Society. An invitation was extended to all delegates and visitors to pay their respects to these pioneer members. Conspicuous among the pioneer members present was Mrs. Joseph J. Casey, one of the incorporators and for nineteen years Registrar-General.

The principal social function this year was a luncheon, which was a reversion from the regular custom of a banquet. The business being over, every one was ready for the function, which meant a good time. The luncheon was served in the Astor gallery, the hall being resplendent with decorations of flags and flowers, amid its gorgeous hangings of gold. The menu, lists of guests of honor, and program of toasts were enclosed in a cover of buff, adorned with a water-color reproduction of an old print of the inauguration of George Washington, at Federal Hall, Wall Street, April 30, 1789. The guests were entertained by an address on Preparedness, from Major-General Leonard Wood, of U. S. A. Mrs. Chas. S. Whitman, the wife of the Governor of New York, was also a guest of honor.

After a group of German songs, Mrs. Kent, the toastmistress, introduced the speakers, who were seated on a dias banked with flowers. Each toast given was a retrospect of the twenty-five full years of the Society. When Mrs. Bleakley, the retiring President-General, rose to give her parting word she was visibly affected. She spoke briefly of the activities of the past four years, and urged all to work for the Society under the new leadership.

The three toasts that followed the President-General's were given by ex-Presidents-General, the toasts being as follows: "The Woman of the Past," by Mrs. D. Phoenix Ingraham; "The Woman of the Present," by Mrs. Adeline F. Fitz, and "The Woman of the Future," by Miss Adaline W. Sterling. The final toast was given by Mrs. Nathaniel S. Keay, Vice-President-General.

At the close of the feast gifts were bestowed on each past and present President-General, in the order of her service, a beautiful pin of platinum and gold in the form of a friendship wreath, to which was attached the Society Ribbon, bearing in silver letters, "1891-1916," as an expression of love from the State Societies. This testimonial came as a complete surprise, all recipients were present and much appre-

ciation was shown by the past officers as evidence of the strong tie that binds the Daughters together.

At the coffee stage of the luncheon two ushers passed from table to table, placing beside each guest a box tied with buff and blue ribbon, containing a souvenir in the form of a dainty silver teaspoon of Revolutionary pattern, inscribed "D. R., 1891-1916."

Friday, May 5th, was set to show the visitors New York's wonderful park-way system. The weather did not smile upon us; instead showers and clouds fell, but a few glimpses of sunshine insured the excursion. Automobiles were found at the 34th street entrance of the Waldorf, and when the tourists had been placed the start began. The route led through Fifth Avenue, thence by Pelham to Travers Island, where the party was scheduled to lunch at the New York Athletic Club. The luncheon was served on the enclosed balcony of the Club, and was quite refreshing. After luncheon the Daughters returned to their respective vehicles and started for Yonkers, through parks along historic roads. Automobiles sped until we reached the doorway of the hospitable home of Mrs. Bleakley, who gave the delegates a cordial welcome; the refreshments were as bountiful as the greeting was hearty. Reluctantly the visitors turned toward New York, carrying with them the memory of a charming day.

On Saturday morning, May 6th, a pilgrimage was made around historic lower New York, winding up at Frances Tavern for refreshments and rest.

A glorious May afternoon formed the beautiful setting for the last event of the Convention, when a large company assembled to attend the opening of Fort Independence Park, and to witness the unveiling of two bronze memorial tablets, the gift of the General Society Daughters of the Revolution. These tablets adorn the gate-posts that stand at the entrance of Fort Independence Park, which includes the exterior defences of the Revolutionary Fort. The erection of this splendid memorial is due to the untiring efforts of Mrs. Raynor, the

newly-elected President-General. The retiring President-General made a stirring address, taking as her theme the dedication of the Park as an inspiration to the youth of our nation. When the last strains of "The Star Spangled Banner" had died away, the last chapter of the Convention of 1916 had passed into history.

Miss Georgia Hicks, of Faison, was elected Historian. There will be no change in the officers until the next annual meeting, which will be held in Raleigh, after the meeting of the General Society, the invitation extended by the Bloomsbury Chapter being accepted. In the absence of Mrs. L. E. Covington, Mrs. Charles P. Wales (Duncan Cameron Winston), formerly a Vice-Regent of the Society, acted as Recording Secretary.

The evening of the 25th a tea party was given by the Regent of the Penelope Barker Chapter at her lovely Colonial home that dates back to 1722, which was the scene of beauty, wit, and chivalry. Flowers—golden blossoms predominating—were banked here and there. The hostess, assisted by the Vice-Regent of the Chapter, Miss Caroline W. Coke, received the guests in the front drawing-room with charming grace. She wore a handsome creation of white chiffon, with train of black velvet, and trimmed with rare lace, an heirloom handed down in Mr. Matthew's family in Scotland for generations, that had been the bridal veil of a relative in the long-ago—the Countess of Campbelldown. A feature of the evening was the tea party tableau—a table and several chairs of the Revolutionary period were arranged in the centre of the front drawing-room, around which sat and stood the members of the Penelope Barker Chapter, each in turn signing another document expressing the friendship and good-will of this province by the descendents of the Tea Party signers of the distant past. Mrs. Selby Harney, a descendant of Winifred Hoskins, acted as Secretary of the Tea Party of 1916.

Telegrams of greeting, congratulations, and good wishes from Mrs. Cordelia Armstrong Raynor, President-General

Daughters of the Revolution; Mrs. Alfred Moore Waddell, President North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames; the North Carolina Society Sons of the Revolution, and Colonel and Mrs. Charles Earle Johnson, were read by Miss Hinton, as follows:

NEW YORK, October 24, 1916.

Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton:

The President-General sends greetings to the North Carolina Society, its Regent and members. Would like to be with the Penelope Barker Chapter. The report from North Carolina was inspiring last Monday. We are working for a great ideal: Liberty, Home, and Country. CORDELIA A. RAYNOR.

Miss M. H. Hinton, Regent of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution:

WILMINGTON, N. C., October 24, 1916.

The North Carolina Society Colonial Dames of America send greeting. May continued success attend your efforts to keep in remembrance the glorious deeds of the past. G. WADDELL,
President N. C. S. C. D. A.

RALEIGH, N. C., October 24, 1916.

Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, State Regent of the Daughters of the Revolution:

The Society of Sons of the Revolution extends congratulations to the Daughters of the Revolution on this occasion of their annual meeting in the historic borough of Edenton, and wishes your organization all the success which the patriotic labors of its members so richly deserve. MARSHALL DELANCY HAYWOOD,
Sec'y. of the Sons of the Revolution.

RALEIGH, N. C., October 24, 1916.

Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, State Regent D. R.:

Mrs. Johnson and I wish to express to you, and through you to the Daughters of the Revolution, our appreciation of the noble work being done by your patriotic Society, and to voice our regret that we cannot be present with you today in person, as we are in spirit and in thought. CHAS. E. JOHNSON.

The State Vice-Regent, Mrs. Marshall Williams, offered a resolution of thanks most gracefully expressed for the many courtesies extended by the local Chapter Daughters of the Revolution and citizens of Edenton:

"Scarcely had we arrived in historical Edenton before we realized that coupled with patriotism was unbounded hospitality.

To the gentlemen of the Historical Society for the interesting and delightful boat ride, the joy experienced as we glided along that 'river of dreams,' reflecting and mirroring the beauties of lavish nature, is inexpressible.

Then the cup of refreshing tea and delicious cakes served at the home of Mr. Frank Wood, Miss Carrie Coke, the Vice-Regent of the local Chapter being hostess, and allow us to repeat our thanks for the recipe of the famous Penelope Barker tea cakes, useful souvenirs indeed.

Welcome evening made us feel very much at home through the courtesy of your Regent, Mrs. Patrick Matthew, who greeted us in her own charming way and then a welcome from that prince of gentlemen, Dr. Dillard. Indeed we were entranced to feel ourselves seated in the House of Burgesses and hear the history of the famous judges who sojourned here.

The exercises in St. Paul's Church were an inspiration, and we rejoice with the Edenton people in having Mr. Huske of New Berne to present the tablet. We were glad to see so many school children present to witness this eventful ceremony.

We enjoyed the address of Colonel Grimes when the Iredell tablet was unveiled and the acceptance by the silver tongued orator, Dr. Dillard. Of especial interest was our visit to the home of Mrs. Gordon.

It was pleasant to visit the artistic and beautiful new Academy and again witness another tablet unveiled and accepted by Mr. Pruden, Chairman of Trustees.

Long to be remembered was the unveiling of the tablet at the court house to the women of the Edenton Tea Party, and Colonel Vann's tribute to womanhood and the acceptance by Mr. F. W. Hobbs, Clerk of the Court.

The Society of the visiting Daughters is greatly indebted

to Mrs. Pruden and Mrs. John Wood for a real peep into the fireside and social life of the charming and cultured homes of Edenton—rich in rare and interesting relics.

Our Society was honored by the presence of Colonel Olds, State Historian.

Last, but by no means least, were our delightful moments spent in the Italian garden of the genial host, Dr. Dillard, where we walked with Milton in a Paradise and dreamed with Dante of Beatrice.

All good things must end save one. Among the choice things of earth there is nothing so fair as memory; without it there would be no history, no friendship, no love of patriotic tradition.

So we will take with us in memory's storehouse this delightful occasion, showered with intellectual gifts and gracious hospitality, and will count it another pearl in our rosary of grateful thoughts."

Witty toasts by Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Matthew were given. Delicious refreshments in two courses with the cup of tea, brewed as nowhere else on this side of the Atlantic, were served. Miss Hinton and Mrs. Williams presided at the tea table. After reading a list of the achievements of the North Carolina Society Daughters of the Revolution, the Regent expressed, on behalf of the Society, appreciation of the cordiality and delightful hospitality of the Edentonians and good-nights were said.

WHAT THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION HAS ACCOMPLISHED SINCE IT WAS FOUNDED, OCTOBER 19, 1896.

Raised funds through the publication of the North Carolina Booklet to erect a bronze tablet, cast by Gorham and Company, to the memory of the fifty-one signers of the Edenton Tea Party, in the State Capitol at Raleigh, the first memorial to adorn that building, in October, 1908.

Since May, 10, 1901, has published the North Carolina Booklet, an historical magazine, devoted to North Carolina

History—"Great Events in North Carolina History." It has just entered upon the sixteenth volume. The editors and contributors have always served without remuneration. There is no capital stock, the periodical being run on faith, as it were, but more than five thousand dollars have been spent in publishing it and about a thousand dollars have been cleared, all made from the subscriptions and advertisements. More than three hundred articles have been contributed by one hundred and five writers, thirty-two of these being women. It goes to all the libraries of our greatest Universities and the great libraries of the country, and to many colleges. It has subscribers in twenty-eight States of the Union, Great Britain, and India.

The site of the meeting of the Grand Albemarle Assembly, February 6, 1665, was located and marked by a handsome tablet, June 11, 1910, by the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter of Elizabeth City.

A marble tablet has been placed in the High School of Elizabeth City, containing a record of the great events in the history of Pasquotank County, the work of the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter.

A room bearing the name "Virginia Dare Room," in the hospital at Elizabeth City, has been furnished by the two Junior Chapters of that town—the Virginia Dare and Ensinore.

On April 26, 1911, the Bloomsbury Chapter erected a tablet and boulder to mark the location of the site of the old town of Bloomsbury, where our capital city now stands.

On April 23, 1913, the Bloomsbury Chapter placed a bronze tablet on the City Municipal Building, to the memory of Colonel Joel Lane, who was instrumental in locating the capital at Raleigh.

The set of one hundred and nine lantern slides, ninety-four of which are colored, and the lecture that accompanies them, "Stories From North Carolina History," is the work of the entire State Society.

The Penelope Barker Chapter, at Edenton, has erected the following tablets:

A tablet on the exterior of St. Paul's Church.

A tablet on the exterior of the court house.

A bronze tablet on the east side of the court house, containing the Tea Party Resolutions and the names of the fifty-one signers.

A bronze tablet on the south side of the Edenton Academy, dedicated to its founders.

A marble tablet in the interior of St. Paul's Church, dedicated to its vestrymen who signed the "Test" for American Independence.

A marble tablet in the great brick chimney of Judge James Iredell's home.

A complete map and key of St. Paul's churchyard have been made by the Penelope Barker Chapter, and presented to the said Parish.

Twenty-five gold medals have been presented in the public schools of North Carolina to pupils writing the best essays on some given historical subject, North Carolina history being selected.

The North Carolina Society assisted in collecting, installing, taking care of, packing and recording the North Carolina Historical Exhibit at Jamestown Exposition in 1907.

The Society has contributed liberally towards funds used in erecting monuments by the General Society at Valley Forge, Cambridge, Massachusetts, where General Washington took command of the American Army under the historic elm on Cambridge Common, and the bronze tablet to the seamen of the American Navy during the Revolution that was placed in Bancroft Hall, Annapolis, in May, 1910.

Marking the grave of Sergeant Koen, of the Revolution, by the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter.

Placing a tombstone over the grave of General Isaac Gregory, in the Gregory burying ground at "Fairfax."

Publishing the original historical papers of Miss Catherine Albertson, in a book entitled, "In Ancient Albemarle."

The tablet erected by the Red Men, through the Penelope Barker Chapter, on the exterior of the court house, Edenton, N. C.

Thursday morning was devoted to sight-seeing. The Cupola House, where Miss Bond requested the Daughters to register in the guest book that only contained the autographs of the Society of the Cincinnati when they visited this Colonial mansion, St. Paul's churchyard, and "Hayes" were visited. The grave of Penelope Barker, in the burying-ground at "Hayes," where she sleeps beside her husband, Thomas Barker, was strewn with golden flowers by the Daughters.

The delegates left at noon, carrying the happiest recollections of their Twentieth Annual Meeting, of the one-time capital of North Carolina and her hospitable inhabitants, worthy inheritors of her glorious past and noble men and women.

The officers of the Society are: Regent, Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton; Vice-Regent, Mrs. Marshall Williams; Honorary Regents, Mrs. E. E. Moffitt and Mrs. T. K. Bruner; Recording Secretary, Mrs. L. E. Covington; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Paul H. Lee; Treasurer, Mrs. Charles Lee Smith; Registrar, Miss Sarah W. Ashe.

Vol. XVI APRIL, 1917 No. 4

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

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Vol. XVI APRIL, 1917 No. 4

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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*Died November 25, 1911.
†Died December 12, 1904.

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XVI APRIL, 1917 No. 4

General D. H. Hill as a Teacher and Author

An Educational and Literary Review

By Dr. Henry Elliot Shepherd.

In a preceding connection I have given a brief account of the work of Gen. D. H. Hill in the educational sphere, my narrative being in large measure drawn from the memory of my youthful experiences as a student at Davidson College and a cadet at the North Carolina Military Institute. Of the results accomplished by General Hill during the last eleven or twelve years of his life, while devoting himself to new fields of labor in Arkansas and in Georgia (1876-1889), I am not able to express a judgment or form an estimate based upon immediate knowledge of the conditions and circumstances which characterized his novel and, as the result proved, his latest phase of educational enterprise. We may rest assured that, despite his gradually failing physical health, the same inflexible purpose, the same heroic ideals, and the same singleness of aim, marked him to the final stage, in September, 1889, when

> "Meekly he did resign this earthly load
> Of death called life, which us from life doth sever."

*The career of Gen. D. H. Hill, as teacher, during the period preceding the War Between the States, falls into three

*In my review of the literary work accomplished by General D. H. Hill, I have drawn both illustrations and comments, almost entirely, from his two distinctive and characteristic productions, "The Sermon on the Mount," and "The Crucifixion." Much that is excellent might have been gathered from "The Land We Love," and "The Southern Home," but I selected the books named as best adapted to the peculiar end I had in view.

well-defined divisions: Professor of Mathematics at Washington College (afterwards Washington and Lee University), from 1849 until 1854; Professor of Mathematics at Davidson College, 1854-1859; Superintendent North Carolina Military Institute, Charlotte, from October, 1859, until April, 1861. He was twenty-eight years of age when he assumed the chair of mathematics at Washington College, and not quite forty, in April, 1861, when he was assigned to the command of the camp of instruction near Raleigh, and was soon to become Colonel of the historic first North Carolina, or Bethel Regiment. In the three educational capacities with which Hill was associated during the eventful years from 1849 to 1861, he was in each instance at the head of the department of mathematics. Yet it would involve a serious error to infer that his power as teacher, his faculty of instruction, was absorbed by this one subject, or expended upon it. There was hardly a feature of the curriculum which he did not touch at some point, and he touched none that he did not illuminate. In his special sphere he was wont to track "suggestion to her inmost cell"; his patience was boundless, and he approached very nearly the lofty standard set up by that famed master of his art, "who taught as if every scholar was the only scholar."

When I withdrew from the Military Institute, in order to enter the University of Virginia, during the summer of 1860, he gave me a most kindly and cordial letter of commendation to the faculty, concluding with this significant sentence: "Cadet Shepherd has a strong passion for literature and the languages, and no taste whatever for mathematics." That I never developed a faculty for his specialty, can in no sense be laid to his account. He was the most laborious, exact, lucid, of teachers, and while I have ofttimes deplored my weakness, I was never able to triumph over the strong propensity of temperament, even under the guidance of so masterful an instructor. To that end I could have subscribed myself, as Macaulay did when writing to his parents during his undergraduate days at Cambridge, "Your miser-

able and mathematical son." Hill has assumed a justly acquired rank, not only among the foremost interpreters of his science in the educational world of the South, but in the country, without regard to geographical or sectional limitations. His treatise upon Algebra, published about _____, 1857, was compared in its luminous method and skill in demonstration, to the work of Euler,* whose fame is not preserved alone in the esoteric circles of a mathematical cult, but is perpetuated in his native city on the Rhine by visible memorials, attesting alike the grateful appreciation and abiding reverence of the community from which he went forth into remote and barbarous empires, carrying with him the glory of Basel and the inspiration of his chosen science. Yet, in the State of his adoption, with which his name and fame are forever blended, no monumental stone, no image wrought in marble or bronze, not even a modest, half-concealed tablet, in some niche in a chapel wall, recalls the genius, suggests the heroism, or intimates in temperate phrases, the unsurpassed idealism which crowned the life of D. H. Hill. I have at times indulged myself in innocent speculation with reference to the possibilities of Hill in the higher ranges of modern mathematical development, in conditions more congenial to his tastes and sympathies, as well as richer in inspiration to his native powers, than the sad mechanic exercise of unfolding the elements of algebra and geometry to callow and fledgling lads, many of whom, as attested by himself, had never

*In the ninth volume of the Encyclopædia Britannica there may be found an admirable outline of the life of Euler (1716-1783), as well as an accurate and discriminating estimate of his rank as a mathematician. His Algebra, to which Hill's has been compared, although published in 1770, still maintains its place as a work of authority. His varied researches in his special field, embraced from sixty to eighty quarto volumes. From Russia, Prussia and France he received marked honor and distinctions, in royal as well as scientific circles. More than this, Euler was endowed with that versatility of intellect which was characteristic of D. H. Hill, and in addition to his mathematical attainments, was an accomplished classical and literary scholar. In his native city of Basel there is a leading hotel which perpetuates his name. Thus far no monument or memorial recalls the genius and the achievements of the man who twice rescued the Southern Confederacy, not from imminent peril alone, but from seemingly inevitable destruction.

mastered the fundamental laws of simple arithmetic. Divested of the grievous daily burden of empirical teaching, might he not have attained the transcendental heights of the school of Higher Algebra, and entered into that mystic fellowship, of which in English speaking lands Sylvester and Cayley were the acknowledged oracles? Had he been able to cast off the incubus of class-room routine, crushing nervous energy and absorbing mental vitality, might he not, in his mathematical sphere, have been one of those chosen and rare spirits whose high vocation is

> "To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
> Beyond the utmost bound of human thought."

Major Hill combined with his native reserve and dignity a strong element of caustic wit, as well as a keen appreciation of the ludicrous and the humorous. Upon a certain occasion a somewhat venturesome student wrote ASS in large chalk letters upon the back of a class-mate, who was absorbed in his demonstration at the blackboard. His quick eye at once observed it, and he remarked, "Mr. _____ somebody has been writing *his* name on *your* back." The rift within the mathematical lute was immediately healed, and tranquility reigned supreme. Upon another occasion he said to a student who was transcending the limits of propriety: "Mr. _____ if you do not conduct yourself properly I shall be obliged to put the door between us." His teaching was ideal, his discipline unsurpassed. Nothing was too minute to escape his vigilance, or so trivial as to be unworthy of his regard. He knew the weakness and the strength of every pupil, and as his classes never exceeded a rational number, he was acquainted with the special characteristics, mental and moral, of the crude and self-appreciative lads who were entrusted to his keeping.* He understood our shallow intellects, our minimum of attainments, and his teaching descended to the

*I have learned from an authoritative source that during his association with Davidson College, 1854-59, Major Hill introduced a resolution, which was adopted, requiring the meetings of the faculty to be opened with prayer.

plane of our merely dawning or embryonic stage of development. With the mode of instruction by lectures, which obtained in the University of Virginia, he had no sympathy, or hardly a sentiment of toleration, for he understood only too thoroughly the dissipation of mental and physical energy which it involved, under the conditions that existed in the prevailing system of elementary education. "Yes," he said in one of his emphatic moods, "that's the way at the University of Virginia; everything done by lectures." I have, in another connection, pointed out the essential fact, that although Major Hill was the chief of the mathematical department, both at Davidson College and at the Military Institute, his genius as a teacher was not expended in that sphere alone. On the contrary, nearly every feature of the curriculum was touched by his pervading influence. He was what Tennyson would have described as a "diffusive power." Above all, his far-ranging vitality of intellect was brought to bear upon the interpretation and elucidation of Holy Scripture. His daily comments upon the Psalms, the Gospels, or the Epistles, are wrought into my memory; despite the process of the suns, and the increasing years, I can, in part, recall them as clearly and vividly as if I had listened to them but yesterday. To the mind of D. H. Hill a system of education which knew not God and did not rest upon a moral foundation as its inspiring principle, would have seemed not an anomaly, but a monstrosity, contemplated from the viewpoint of religion or that of reason and logic. The Book of Psalms was apparently his favorite field of research and interpretation; his minute and critical study of the master lyrics revealed itself whenever he read them in the morning or evening service. His wide range of scientific attainment stood him in good stead, and his illustrations were drawn with admirable judgment from the works of nature as exhibited in astronomy or displayed in the lowliest manifestations of creative power, the lily-of-the-valley, or a modest violet, beneath some mossy stone, half hidden from the eye. Yet his two distinctive treatises, "A

Consideration of the Sermon on the Mount," and "The Crucifixion," upon which his fame as an author will principally abide, are devoted to the central and surpassing fact of Scripture history, the nature of the kingdom of Christ, as unfolded in his inaugural discourse; and the sublime tragedy of his atoning death, his analysis of which I regard as his crown of glory in the province of Scriptural exegesis, as well as in the sphere of literary achievement. It is an almost unknown or unimagined circumstance, even for the boldest or most irreverent student, to venture on a liberty with the Major or to propose quizzes or "catch" questions, in order to test his knowledge in regard to abstruse and subtle problems in mathematics or in physical science. I can recall but a single exception to this prevailing rule, that of Cadet Winslow, who entered the lists against him upon a point involving the relation of wind to light, but the experiment, so far as I am aware, was never repeated. The same spirit did not obtain in student circles at the University of Virginia, and I am familiar with more than one instance in which a professor of languages was brought to grief by his own pupils upon questions of translation, of idiom, and of construction. Not so with D. H. Hill in his special sphere. Our feeling of confidence was absolute, and the most youthful cadet felt assured that while mathematics "was his forte," "his foible was omniscience." During the period that Major Hill was in charge of the Military Institute (October, 1859, to April, 1861), there was but a single commencement celebrated, July, 1860. A year passed, commander and cadets were in the field, and his relation to the institution was never resumed with the restoration of peace. The commencement exercises were held in the Presbyterian Church, Major Hill presiding. Thomas L. Clingman had been invited to deliver the formal address, but he failed to appear, and in his stead we listened to an admirable, informal discussion of the school, its work and its power for noble and beneficent ends, by Judge James W. Osborne, of Charlotte. Orations were delivered by Cadet

Houston B. Lowrie, who fell at Sharpsburg; Cadet Graham, of Alabama; and by the author of this narrative. Lowrie's theme was a eulogy upon North Carolina, having special reference to three of her sons, Macon, Gaston and Dobbin. The oration of Cadet Graham was patriotic in its scope; the third speaker devoted himself to the literature of Scotland, his principal characters being Burns and Sir Walter Scott. Despite the invincible aversion I cherished for the peculiar science in which Major Hill excelled every teacher with whom I was brought into contact, I have never failed to regard him as one of the vital forces, one of the purest inspirations that quickened the crude and inchoate life of my boyhood, both at Davidson College and at Charlotte. With the attitude of Sir William Hamilton in reference to the disciplinary value of the mathematics, I have never been in accord. My weakness revealed itself in an inability to overcome the strong propensity of nature. Major Hill was in no sense accountable for my failure to develop an affection even for *his* algebra, with its touches of Southern fire and sentiment encroaching upon the calmness and serenity of abstract reasoning and subtle generalization. Though I stood at the pole of contrast in all my predilections and affinities, in the light of broadening years, and after having seen and heard such modern oracles of the kingdom of mathematics as Sylvester, Cayley and Kelvin, I rank him higher than ever in the foremost ranges of his chosen field. It has been my specific aim thus far to make clear his right to an undisputed place among the leaders of our armies, and the guides of our intellectual development in the South. In each of these relations, soldier and teacher, his fame has passed beyond the region of controversy. The boldest iconoclast would no longer venture to question his title, or impeach his two-fold claim to assured renown.

It may be fairly assumed that if Hill had never devoted himself to the art of war, had never become a professional soldier, but on the contrary had dedicated his energies to literature as a calling, a life work, he would have won an

assured rank among American authors. I use the term *American* advisedly, for his reputation, I am confident, would not have been circumscribed by sectional or geographical limitations. It may, upon first reflection, create a feeling of surprise, that a soldier by profession, like Hill, should have entered the field of authorship, and that, above all, he should have selected as the most congenial sphere for the exercise of his gifts, the department of scriptural exegesis.

Among the most notable contributions ever made by a Southern layman in this department, was the work of George E. Badger, of North Carolina, issued in 1849, during the "Anglo-Catholic" or Bishop Ives controversy, then moving towards its critical stage of development. The "examination" of Mr. Badger combines the subtlety of Newman with the far-reaching and critical acquirement of Bishop Lightfoot. It may be assumed without fear of exaggeration, that no layman of the present age in any Protestant communion could rival or reproduce this work of the jurist and statesman; and even in the clerical order, it would be a difficult task to suggest his peer in acuteness of intellect or clearness and skill in presentation of the truth. One who is familiar with the genesis and evolution of the Hill family might be disposed to attribute our hero's predilection for theological investigation and scriptural analysis to ancestral influences and rigid Calvinistic training. Apart from purely religious forces and tendencies developed by education, there was apparently a literary strain or element inherent in the blood of the Hills. This claim of transmitted faculty on the part of D. H. Hill is confirmed by the valuable contribution made to our revolutionary history by his grandfather, Colonel William Hill, in his "Narrative of the Campaign of 1780, in South Carolina, Under General Thomas Sumter, Together with an Account of the Battle of Musgrave's Mill, and the King's Mountain Expedition." This work may have been resting in the memory of D. H. Hill when he introduced as corroborative testimony a reference to the battle of King's Mountain. "The Crucifixion," page 192.

The literary susceptibility, even in the form of poetry, may reveal itself in natures nurtured in the most austere modes of religious culture. A vein of poetic sensibility has been traced in the creations of Calvin, and in his years of dawn, D. H. Hill at times was wont "to meditate the thankless muse."

No purer or more vigorous English ever flowed from the pen of Hill than may be found in his contributions to the editorial columns of "The Southern Home," when his spirit was touched and kindled by some exalted and inspiring issue. Above all, does this generalization hold good of the editorial elicited by the formal dedication of the Foley statue of Jackson in Richmond during the month of October, 1875.

We turn now to a specific analysis of the two works upon which in the sphere of literature at least, his fame will abide. Each of these, "A Consideration of the Sermon on the Mount," 1858, and "The Crucifixion," 1859, was probably written during the Davidson period of the author's life, that is, between 1854 and 1859. "The Crucifixion" appeared as a serial, being published in the weekly issues of the "North Carolina Presbyterian" at Fayetteville, during the year 1858-1859. I recall with perfect distinctness the interest that the gradually expanding work inspired and the animated discussion which was sometimes evoked by the views of Major Hill in regard to certain aspects of the consummate tragedy involved in the death of our Lord. In its present form it must have been issued not far from the date at which he assumed charge of the Military Institute, September or October, 1859. I am at a loss to understand why the preface contains no reference to the circumstances, in part, at least, of its original appearance. There is a pathetic interest associated with the first of the two books—the commentary upon the Sermon on the Mount. The origin and inspiration of the work are seemingly revealed in the dedication to the memory of two of his children who lie in the little cemetery at Davidson College, where both father and mother now rest beside them. The

spirit of the dead broods over the volume—it is, in a measure, an elegy in prose. Thus runs the dedication: "To The Memory of Morrison and Willie Hill, With The Prayerful Hope That This Little Book May Do Some of That Good Which Their Fond Parents Had Hoped That They Would Have Done Had They Been Spared to Labor in the Vineyard of the Lord." It is evident from the tenor of the language, that these two "little ones" had been devoted in thought and purpose to the ministry of the gospel. They were designed to follow in the footsteps of their maternal grandfather, and one of them bore the name of his ancestor who outlived him for nearly, if not quite, a third of a century. No feature of General Hill's character was more intensely developed than his affection for his children; it pervaded every phase of his nature while they were with him, and when God took them, he dedicated the creations of his genius and scholarship, as a monument to their memory. That the two works, devoted to the treatment of scriptural themes, were the productions of a layman, was a circumstance which from some points of view might tend rather to contribute to their popularity than to detract from it. The ventures of laic skill and scholarship in this field have, in notable instances, been crowned with assured success. Wilberforce's "Practical View of Christianity" will readily suggest itself, and one of our author's special topics, the Sermon on the Mount, had been the subject of a commentary by Henry Thornton, M. P., in 1840, while Hill was a cadet at West Point. The labors of the non-clerical author in the Biblical sphere, will be accepted by many as the result of genuine piety and consecration of spirit, not as a mere compliance with an official or professional obligation. No man who is associated with the development of theological opinion in Scotland during the nineteenth century exerted a more potent influence than Erskine of Linlathen, a mere layman. All the essential conditions were combined in Hill—the fervor of his Scottish ancestry, a moral temperament that was never invaded by the spectre of doubt, a subtlety of judgment stimulated by his rigorous mathematical training, and a range of

historical and literary acquirement, unequalled by any of the foremost soldiers in the armies of the South. More than this, his acquaintance with Scripture was minute, exact, comprehensive. The Psalms were his chosen field above all, a circumstance which possibly finds its explanation in the ancient and now unhappily obsolete custom in Presbyterian households, of requiring them to be committed to memory and recited by the children. The treatise upon the Sermon on the Mount contains 282 pages, and is topical in arrangement, rather than characterized by formal division into chapters. Every essential feature of our Lord's inaugural discourse is reviewed as it presents itself in the order adopted by the Divine speaker, who was unfolding the vital principles which were to guide the destinies of the kingdom that He came to establish. The formalism of the Pharisees, the Lord's prayer, censoriousness, covetousness, needless anxiety, every phase of the unique discourse is discussed in its proper relation, with a lucidity and perspicuity of language which reveals the mathematical culture of the author, as well as a simplicity and directness that appeals to the humblest intelligence. No trace of scholastic pedantry or esoteric method, is discernible at any point in the expanding thought of the commentator. At the same time, his theological equipment is ample, his knowledge comprehensive and critical, his English vigorous and undefiled. Technical terms drawn from the nomenclature of the schools do not darken the understanding of the unlettered intellect; the book, in Baconian phrase, comes home "to men's business and bosoms." Not the least of the sources of its power lies in the fact that it was not the product of a mind nurtured in seclusion or bred in the cloister, but the creation of one who blended with exact attainment a knowledge of the world of realities, who had tasted the sweetness of home, the bitterness of war, had borne sore trials, had "seen life thoroughly and seen it whole." Each of the two works now under review is a suggestive illustration of the intellectual and ancestral influences by whose agency its author was developed. The critical student will not fail to

note that the literary illustrations, varied as is their range, are drawn in great measure from the masters of English thought and expression during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or from those who do not descend to a later period than the earlier decades of the nineteenth. There is hardly to be discovered a reference to an historian later than Macaulay, Arnold, Niebuhr, or Sir Archibald Alison, or a poet who is subsequent to the time of Byron and Southey. In his literary record, no allusion appears to the mighty company of master spirits, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Tennyson, Browning, all of whom were contemporaries, and one of whom outlived him, being laid in the Poet's Corner, three years after Hill had been borne by loving hands to his grave among his children at Davidson College. To the lover of literature in our modern day, it sounds as if an echo of the vanished past had fallen upon our ears as we read Hill's elaborate quotation from the "Botanic Garden," page 24, published in 1791. The author was the grandfather of the renowned naturalist whose name is for all time associated with the doctrine of evolution. Another illustration of the strong literary conservatism which marked our ancestors of the South may be discovered in Hill's quotation from Pollok's "Course of Time," page 108, and from Young's "Night Thoughts," page 99. Yet each of these was a favorite classic in the homes of our forefathers, and rare editions, which survived the desolation of war, may be found on ancient shelves in many a Virginia and Carolina manor unto this day. In the quotation from Pope's "Universal Prayer," page 44, we have, it may be, an example of the dominant classical spirit transmitted from the eighteenth century, or the survival of maternal influence in the development of literary tendency. It has been explained that Mrs. Solomon Hill was thoroughly at home with this master light of our Augustan age. The quotations from Shakespeare are rare and isolated. "The Crucifixion" suggests a possible preference for "King Lear," among the creations of the sovereign dramatist. Among the leaders in the sphere of fiction, Hill's comments, page 53, indicate a

strong aversion to the heroes who have been wrought into form by the genius of Charles Dickens, his dislike being justified by the salutary and admirable reason that "they have no regard for the Sabbath, none for the Bible, none for the preached word."* This distrust of the literature embodied

*In order to illustrate the rigid views entertained by men of the school to which Hill and Jackson belonged, in regard to the sanctity of the Sabbath, as contrasted with the laxity that prevails in our modern life and practice, I insert the following extract from a letter written by General Jackson five days before his brilliant flank movement against Hooker at Chancellorsville, May 2, 1863. The letter was one of the last that came from his hand. In less than two weeks from the day on which it was written, Jackson died at Guinea Station, Virginia, May 10, 1863. The letter was addressed to his friend and colleague, Colonel J. T. L. Preston, of Lexington, Virginia:

"Near Fredericksburg, April 27th, 1863.

Dear Colonel:

I am much gratified to see that you are one of the delegates to the General Assembly of our Church, and I write to express the hope that something may be accomplished by you at the meeting of that influential body towards repealing the law requiring our mails to be carried on the Christian Sabbath. Recently, I received a letter from a member of Congress, expressing the hope that the House of Representatives would act upon the subject during its present session; and from the mention made of Col. Chilton and Mr. Curry, of Alabama, I infer that they are members of the Committee which recommend the repeal of the law. A few days since I received a very gratifying letter from Mr. Curry, which was entirely voluntary on his part, as I was a stranger to him and there had been no previous correspondence between us. His letter is of a cheering character, and he takes occasion to say that divine laws can be violated with impunity neither by governments nor individuals. I regret to say that he is fearful that the anxiety of members to return home, and the press of other business, will prevent the desired action this session. I have said thus much in order that you may see that congressional action is to be looked for at the next Congress, and hence the importance that Christians act promptly, so that our legislators may see the current of public opinion before they take up the subject. I hope and pray that such may be our country's sentiment upon this and kindred subjects, that our statesmen will see their way clearly. Now appears to me an auspicious time for action, as our people are looking to God for assistance.

Very truly your friend,

T. J. JACKSON."

The General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church met at Columbia, S. C., on the seventh of May, and three days after Jackson entered into rest. At this time General Hill was in command of the Department of North Carolina. He would have been heartily in accord with the views of General Jackson in reference to the observance of the Sabbath. Upon the very day on which this letter was written, Hooker began his Chancellorsville campaign, a large part of his army crossing the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford, April 27th, 1863.

in the novel and the romance, reveals itself in the letters of Robert E. Lee, and of his father, each of whom warns his children against the dissipation of moral, as well as mental energy involved in the reading of fiction. So far as we are enabled to form an intelligent judgment of our author's literary tendencies, he was not, even in early years, a devotee of fiction. The most notable exception to this comprehensive statement is probably to be found in the historical romances of Sir Walter Scott. Yet in this special field we find him at one with Guizot and Ruskin in the conviction that Scott had not succeeded in his endeavors to recreate the past and to present not an idealized portraiture, but the very "form and pressure" of the vanished ages. The range of illustration drawn from history is far-reaching in character. The eras in the development of the modern world are, above all, the fearful carnival of crime and blood involved in the French Revolution, the days of the St. Bartholomew, the critical era of Henry VIII, that of the first Napoleon, the troublous time of the War of The Roses. These, however, by no means exhaust his fertility; he may be said to take all historic knowledge as his province. In the light of present complications with the Republic of Mexico, Hill's comments, page 159, upon its former crises and revolutions, its episodes of anarchy and its intervals of calm, will prove rich in suggestion to those discriminating minds which interpret the present in the retrospect of the past. One supreme motive and aim pervades the work, fashions its form and determines its spirit— to "assert eternal providence and justify the ways of God to man." To this pre-eminent purpose of vindicating the Divine attitude, as revealed in the evolution of our race in its varying stages, his wealth of illustration is dedicated. It need hardly be intimated that from their first to their final utterance, a tone of invincible orthodoxy is characteristic of both of these works. No shadow of doubt seems ever for a moment to have fallen upon the spirit of their author. Had the Son of Man come, He would have found faith upon

the earth concretely illustrated in the life and walk of D. H. Hill. In an age when the foundations of belief are apparently dissolving under the incubus of an all-prevailing unrest, and the ceaseless "questioning of invisible things," the contrast exhibited in the attitude of Hill is grateful, as well as inspiring, like a voice calling from the vanished days of unchallengeable trust in the eternal verities. There is the absolute confidence, the urgent warning directed against needless anxiety, the "taking thought," which conveys a possible reflection upon the Divine omniscience and the Divine providence. When we recall our author's broad and accurate acquaintance with the classic literature of the Elizabethan era, one almost awaits to hear him cite Shakespeare and Bacon, in confirmation of his interpretation of the expression. Hill was familiar with the fact, known to every student of English, that the contemporary masters of our language, in many well defined instances, present the most simple and satisfactory rendering of seemingly obscure passages in the standard versions of Holy Scripture. His varied and troublous life in war, and during the saturnalian period of reconstruction, afforded him an admirable field for the application of his own teachings in the daily grapple with new problems, novel conditions, a new earth, not a new heaven, into which fate had cast him. Yet, unto the end, his faith failed not, and he endured as seeing Him who is invisible. When we recall the ceaseless and multiform activity which was characteristic of Hill and his technical training as a professional soldier, it is difficult to explain the process by which he acquired so broad and accurate a knowledge of literature and history, in nearly all their stages save the periods that are subsequent to the first half of the nineteenth century. In this regard he displays a striking resemblance to his favorite historian, for Hill, like Macaulay, was in the essential features of his intellectual development, a type and in large measure a product, of the culture and ideals which prevailed during our Augustan age, when Addison, Swift, Steele and Pope were the recognized and indisputable standards. To the

modern reader, the reference to Cudworth, page 136, seems an echo from worlds no longer realized, but the citation serves to illustrate Hill's versatile knowledge and his discursive ranging among the forgotten masters of the seventeenth century. The introduction of the Swedish hero, Gustavus Adolphus, page 170, is rich in historic suggestion, for Gustavus presents a striking resemblance in genius and in character, in life and in death, to our own Stonewall Jackson. The supreme military career of each extended over the same length of years: Gustavus from 1630 to 1632; Jackson from 1861 to 1863; both died at nearly the same age; Jackson at 39; Gustavus at 38, and both fell in the moment of victory, the one at Lutzen, the other at Chancellorsville. Had Hill's book been written five or six years later, his eye would have recognized the parallel, and his hand would have traced it in every one of its distinctive features. On page 212, we read the reference to Bishop Beveridge, the subject of Browning's ghastly witticism, but turned to good account by our author, who in common with nearly every scholar of the South during the past generation, had no part in the poetry of Browning.

As the work expands, we cannot fail to observe how effectually the mathematical habitude of the author preserves its unity and guards it from unmethodical or desultory treatment. The element of system entered into every detail of his daily life. The book abounds in passages whose conciseness and lucidity adapt them to the purpose of quotation, so that we cannot forbear to draw from its varied wealth in the hope of rendering it, at least in a measure, familiar to the student of his life, who has been accustomed to contemplate him principally, if not in every sense, from the viewpoint of his genius as a soldier and his career in the armies of the Confederacy. I am endeavoring to demonstrate that his character and his achievement, if faithfully scrutinized, will reveal a literary and scholarly feature, not only worthy of critical analysis, but contributing in no small measure to the "eternity of his fame." In the light of contemporary development in the sphere of education, Hill's comments, page

228, assume a peculiar interest: "To the contaminating power of sympathy with evil doers, is to be ascribed the awful depravity of large cities. Hence, too, the low standard of morals among soldiers and sailors. Hence, also, the greater amount of wickedness in State Universities and in colleges overflowing with numbers, than in those less known and less celebrated." During the ten years that Hill was associated with Washington College and with Davidson College as professor of mathematics (1849-1859), the numerical attendance in either probably did not exceed one hundred students. He spoke from the viewpoint of his own experience, and his judgment is amply sustained by the records of that period, as well as by the living voices of many who bear in memory the academic life of the South during the years that preceded the coming of the conflict which destroyed the continuity of educational development. Nor was there more thorough and admirable teaching, though its range was restricted, to be found in that day than was received in these two modest and unaspiring colleges, the one encompassed by the mountain walls of Virginia, the other remote, difficult of access, and nursing its strength in tranquil solitude.

On page 200, we are met by a passage which seems almost an echo of one of Newman's Oxford sermons. Despite the likeness, no two characters were ever marked by more sharply defined antitheses than D. H. Hill and the Anglo-Catholic leader. "How cheering and comforting it is to know that God is more ready to send this renewing, sanctifying, interceding Spirit, than parents are to give good things to their children. Here is the great encouragement to prayer—the promise of the Spirit. We are dark, ignorant, short-sighted, and know not how to frame our petitions aright. He has all wisdom and will enlighten our understandings. Our hearts are cold and dead, but He will give them warmth and life. God, because of our sins, 'has covered Himself with a thick cloud, that our prayers should not pass through.' But when His Spirit has enabled us to believe on His Son, He will say: 'I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and

as a cloud thy sins; return unto me, for I have redeemed thee.' Our prayer will then be unto thee, O Lord, in an acceptable time, 'and God, even our own God, shall bless us.'" On page 8, we have an illustration drawn from Hill's memories of his experiences in Mexico. "Let the soldier be too proud to study the principles of military science, and he will be but too likely to imitate the examples of one of the mushroom generals of the Mexican war, and *place his ditch on the wrong side of the fortification.*" The reference is to General Gideon J. Pillow, and the celebrated entrenchment at Camargo. At a later period, Hill did not hesitate to apply the same unsparing criticism to the "mushroom" type of generals developed during the War between the States.

The tone of fervid piety which, at every point, pervades the work, is a grateful contrast to the prevailing spirit in the same sphere during the contemporary age. It is inspiring to be carried back, even for an hour, into a realm of thought in which faith reigns supreme, and where the mere suggestion of doubt has apparently never entered. The same attitude reveals itself in the comments on page 69. "The command to 'pray always' implies that the heart may be lifted up in secret devotion amidst the most pressing duties of active life. Still, all should have and all might have special seasons of private prayer. Colonel Gardiner could find such seasons amidst the exciting scenes of civil war and domestic dissension. Washington could find such on his most arduous and active campaigns. David could find such even when hunted down by his enemies. Above all, the Son of God, when engaged in His glorious mission on earth, could find time to spend whole nights in secret prayer. No man can say that he is more diligently or more usefully employed than were Gardiner, Washington and our blessed Redeemer. Let no one then dare to say that he has no time for secret prayer." Had this passage been written in later years, Jackson would have been added to this enumeration of generals who have glorified God by lives consecrated to His service in secret prayer.

END.

The Voyage of Verrazzano

The First Exploration of the North Carolina Coast by Europeans

By R. D. W. Connor,
Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

The first European to visit, explore, and describe the coast of North Carolina was Giovanni da Verrazzano, a Florentine navigator in the service of France. It is true some historians suppose that the Cabots preceded Verrazzano to this region by more than a quarter of a century; but the voyages of the Cabots are involved in so much obscurity and present so many points for controversy that it is impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty just what parts of North America they visited. It is doubtful, to say the least, whether or not their explorations brought them as far south as our latitude; at any rate no report of their explorations describing the country and its people is now extant. Verrazzano, on the contrary, submitted to the King of France, a long and detailed report of his discoveries, dated July 8, 1524, which is the earliest known description of the coast of the United States. He coasted from Cape Fear to Newfoundland, and his account of the country and its people is one of the most interesting documents that has come down to us from the era of discovery. And yet, strange as it may seem, his exploits have almost entirely escaped the attention of North Carolina historians. Williamson and Martin dismiss his voyage with scant notice, while Hawks, Wheeler, Moore, and Ashe ignore it altogether. It is true his discoveries led to no settlements; nevertheless they form an important link in the chain of discoveries which were slowly but gradually revealing to Europe the truth about the New World; and as his report was included by Hakluyt in his "Divers Voyages," in 1582, it

probably was not without influence in turning the attention of Sir Walter Raleigh toward America as a field for colonization. I propose, therefore, to relate the story of this first visit of Europeans to the shores of North Carolina.

The story of the great voyage of Columbus in 1492 was heard with wonder and delight in France and in England, but these feelings were promptly turned into a feeling of disgust at the cupidity of Spain and Portugal in laying claim to all the undiscovered regions of the earth and at the zeal with which Pope Alexander VI hastened to confirm their pretentions. France and England, however, were not prepared to admit the Spanish and Portuguese titles. "If Father Adam has left the earth to Spain and Portugal," said Francis I of France, "let them show me the will." In the course of a few years, therefore, French and English ships were sailing the waters of the Atlantic far and wide disputing the claims of Spain and Portugal and taking possession of various portions of the New World in the names of their sovereigns.

The first French expedition sent to the New World under royal auspices was the expedition of Verrazzano in 1524. But little is known of Verrazzano's career. He was born in Florence about the year 1470, and at an early age entered the maritime service of France. He seems to have performed for France about the same kind of service, though perhaps not so effectively, that Hawkins and Drake performed for England. We hear of him first as a French corsair ravaging the possessions of Spain and Portugal in the East Indies and the West Indies. On one of his privateering expeditions, 1522, he captured the rich treasure ship which Cortez had dispatched from Mexico to Spain laden with the vast spoils of the Montezuma. It is estimated that this prize yielded gold and silver bullion worth more than one and a half million dollars.

But the daring Florentine was not merely a corsair. The next year he turned his attention, for awhile at least, from privateering to the work of scientific exploration. King Francis fitted out for him four ships with which "to discover

new lands by the ocean."[1] A storm drove him with two of these vessels, the *Norman* and the *Dauphine,* to seek refuge in a port in Brittany; what became of the other two we do not know. Having repaired the damages sustained from the storm, Verrazzano made a successful descent upon the coast of Spain from which the king derived some profit. Then with the *Dauphine* alone, he says, "we determined to make discoverie of new Countries, to prosecute the navigation we had already begun." His purpose was to find a way to Cathay (China) by a westward route. Accordingly, with a crew of fifty men, well provided with "victuals, weapons, and other ship munition" for an eight-month voyage, he set sail January 17, 1524, from a "dishabited rocke by the isle of Madera" and turned his prow toward the unknown world.

For twenty-five days Verrazzano's little caravel sped along for 500 leagues before "a faire Easterly wind," but on the twenty-sixth day he was "overtaken with as sharp and terrible a tempest as ever saylers suffered." Weathering this storm, as he said "with the divine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almighty God, and the goodnesse of our shippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name," he again fell in with a "prosperous winde," and pursued his course west by north for a little more than 400 leagues. When in the thirty-fourth parallel of latitude, he reached a low-lying coast, "a newe land," he declares, "never before scene of any man either ancient or moderne." This landfall was off the coast of what is now North Carolina near Cape Fear.

Perceiving by "the great fires" on shore that the country was inhabited, Verrazzano followed the coast southward for fifty leagues in search of "some convenient Harborough wherein to anchor and have knowledge of the place." Failing in his search, he says, "we resolved to returne backe againe towards the North, where wee found our selves troubled with the like difficultie. . . . At length being in despaire to

[1]Quotations in this article from Verrazzano's report are from Hakluyt's translation printed in his "Voyages," reprint of 1810, Vol. 3.

finde any Porte, wee cast anchor upon the coast, and sent our Boate to shore, where we saw great store of people which came to the Sea side: and seeing us approach, they fled away, and sometimes would stand still and looke backe, beholding us with great admiration; but afterwards being animated and assured with signes that we made them, some of them came hard to the Sea side, seeming to rejoyce very much at the sight of us, and marveling greatly at our apparel, shape and whitenesse, shewed us by sundry signes where we might most commodiously come aland with our Boate, offering us also of their victuals to eate."

Thus for the first time the red men of our Carolina coast came in contact with the white race. It was a wonderful occasion for both. And yet, how much more wonderful it would seem if the red men could have imitated the example of their pale-face visitors and left for us their impressions of the strangers as the white men did of them. In Verrazzano's report of his voyage we have the earliest description of these natives that has come down to us. That some of his statements are erroneous is not to be marveled at; rather ought we to wonder that, considering all the circumstances, his observations of these people, as strange to him as he was to them, should approach so nearly to accuracy. Here is what he says of them:

"Now I wil briefly declare to your Maiestie their life and maners, as farre as we could have notice thereof: These people goe altogether naked, except only that they cover their privie parts with certaine skins of beasts like unto Marterns, which they fasten unto a narrow girdle made of grasse very artificially wrought, hanged about with tayles of divers other beastes, which round about their bodies hang dangling downe to their knees. Some of them weare garlands of byrdes feathers. The people are of colour russett, and not much unlike the saracens: their hayre blacke, thicke and not very long, which they tye together in a knot behind and weare it like a little taile. They are well featured in their limbes, of meane stature,

and commonly somewhat bigger than we: broad breasted, strong armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well fashioned, and they are disfigured in nothing, saving that they have somewhat broade visages, and yet not all of them: for we saw many of them wel favoured, having blacke and great eyes, with a cheerefull and steady looke, not strong of body, yet sharpe witted, nymble and exceeding great runners, as farre as we could learne by experience, and in those two last qualities they are like to the people of the East partes of the world, and especially to them of the uttermost parts of China. We could not learne of this people, their maner of living, nor their particular customs, by reason of the short abode we made on the shore, our company being but small, and our ship ryding farre off in the Sea."

After these observations on the people Verrazzano describes the country itself. It should be borne in mind that Verrazzano thought that he was on the coast of Cathay and therefore imagines that the forests which he saw at a distance would be not "altogether voyd of drugs or spicery, and other riches of golde, seeing the colour of the land doth much argue it." Such errors are common to the narratives of most of the early explorers who, thinking themselves in an oriental country, attribute to America many of the features and products of the Orient. So does Verrazzano in the following description of the Carolina coast—the first description of this region ever written—fall into similar errors. He says:

"The shoare is all covered with small sand, and so ascendeth upwards for the space of 15. foote, rising in forme of litle hils about 50. paces broad. And sayling forwards, we found certaine small Rivers and armes of the Sea, that fall downe by certaine creekes, washing the shoare on both sides as the coast lyeth. And beyond this we saw the open Countrey rising in height above the sandie shoare with many faire fields and plaines, full of mightie great woods, some very thicke, and some thinne, replenished with divers sorts of trees, as pleasant and delectable to behold, as is possible to imagine.

And your Maiestie may not thinke that these are like the woods of Hercynia or the wilde deserts of Tartary, and the Northerne coasts full of fruitless trees: But they are full of Palme trees, Bay trees, and high Cypresse trees, and many other sortes of trees unknowen in Europe, which yeeld most sweete savours farre from the shoare, the propertie whereof we could not learne from the cause aforesaid,[2] and not for any difficulty to passe through the woods, seeing they are not so thicke but that a man may passe through them. Neither doe we thinke that they, partaking of the East world round about them, are altogether voyd of drugs or spicery, and other riches of golde, seeing the colour of the land doth so much argue it. And the lande is full of many beastes, as Stags, Deere, and Hares, and likewise of Lakes and Pooles of fresh water, with great plentie of Fowles, convenient for all kinde of pleasant game. This land is in latitude 34. degrees,[3] with good and wholesome ayre, temperate, betweene hot and colde, no vehement windes doe blowe in those Regions, and those that doe commonly reigne in those coasts, are the Northwest and West windes in the summer season, (in the beginning whereof we were there) the skie cleere and faire with very little raine: and if at any time the ayre be cloudie and mistie with the Southerne winde, immediately it is dissolved and waxeth cleere and fayre againe."

Sailing northward, Verrazzano found the coast "to trend toward the East" and "saw every where very great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants." An incident soon occurred, tragic enough in its possibilities as viewed by the horrified Frenchmen, but merely amusing as we now read it in Verrazzano's narrative, which shows how difficult it was for the visitors and the natives to understand each other at their first contact. Verrazzano tells the story in the following passage:

2"By reason of the short abode we made on the shore, our company being but small, and our ship ryding farre off in the Sea."

3A few miles south of Wilmington.

"We departed from this place, still running along the coast, which we found to trend toward the East, & we saw every where great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coast, partly because it had no harborough, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boat ashoare with 25. men: where by reason of great and continuall waves that beat against the shoare, being an open Coast, without succour, none of our men could possibly goe ashoare without loosing our boate. Wee saw there many people which came unto the Shoare, making divers signes of friendship, and shewing that they were content we should come aland, and by trial we found them to very courteous and gentle, as your Maiestie shal understand by the successe. To the intent we might send them of our things, which the Indians commonly desire and esteeme, as sheetes of paper, glasses, bels, and such like trifles; we sent a young man one of our Mariners ashoare, who swimming towards them, & being within 3. or 4. yards of the shoare, not trusting them, cast the things upon the shoare; but seeking afterwards to returne, he was with such violence of the waves beaten upon the shoare, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead: which the Indians perceiving, ranne to catch him, and drawing him out, they carried him a little way off from the sea. The yong man perceiving they caried him, being at the first dismaied, began then greatly to feare, and cried out piteously: likewise did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheere him and to give him courage, and then setting him on the ground at the foote of a litle hil against the sunne, they began to behold him with great admiration, marveiling at the whitenesse of his flesh: and putting off his clothes, they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remayned in the boat, that they would have rosted him at that fire, and have eaten him. The young man having recovered his strength, and having stayed a while with them, shewed them by signes that he was desirous to returne to the ship: and they with great love clapping him fast about with many imbracings, accom-

panying him unto the sea, and to put him in more assurance, leaving him alone, went unto a high ground and stood there, beholding him until he was entred into the boate. This yong man observed, as we did also, that these are of colour inclining to Blacke as the other were, with their flesh very shining, of meane stature, handsome visage, and delicate limmes, and of very little strength, but of prompt wit: farther we observed not. . . ."

Proceeding still farther northward, Verrazzano coasted the shores of Virginia and Maryland, looked in at the bay of New York, and following the coast of Rhode Island, entered the harbor of Newport, where he rested at anchor for fifteen days. Everywhere the natives welcomed the French with signs of great joy and friendship. But after leaving the harbor of Newport the voyagers noted a decided change in the attitude of the natives. The Indians were willing enough to trade, but showed a determination to have no further intercourse with the strangers. At times the attempts of the French to land were met with wild war-whoops and showers of arrows which speedily drove them back to their ship. Coasting the shores of Maine, Verrazzano pursued his voyage as far north as Newfoundland. His supplies now beginning to run short, he set sail for France, and cast anchor in the harbor of Dieppe early in July. There on July 8, 1524, he wrote and dispatched to the King, Francis I., "the earliest description known to exist of the shores of the United States."[4]

Verrazzano was eager to return to the New World, plant a colony there, and become the bearer of the Christian religion to the savage tribes of America. But the situation of

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4 The authorities for Verrazzano's voyage are his letter of July 8, 1524, to the King, a map of the world drawn by his brother in 1529, and certain references to his voyage in early French, Spanish, Portuguese and English writers. Within recent years the authenticity of Verrazzano's letter has been called into question. It has been asserted that the letter is a forgery, ingeniously prepared in France with the connivance of the King to serve as a basis for a claim to

territory in America, and that Verrazzano never came to America at all.

The original of Verrazzano's letter to the King is not known to be in existence. There are two copies of it extant, both of which are Italian translations. One of these was printed by Ramusio in 1556. Ramusio asserts that he had conversed with many persons who had known Verrazzano, and he prints a paper in which Verrazzano's voyage is mentioned by a contemporary. Parkman: *The Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 231-32. (Note.)

From Ramusio's copy Hakluyt made the English translation for his "Divers Voyages," published in 1582. Hakluyt also makes several references to Verrazzano's discoveries in the dedication to his "Divers Voyages" and in his "Discourse on Westerne Planting."—Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV., 17.

The other copy of Verrazzano's letter was found in the Strozzi Library in Florence and published with an English translation by the New York Historical Society in 1841. Along with this copy was found a letter written from Lyons, Aug. 4, 1524, by Fernando Carli to his father in Florence. Carli writes of the arrival of Verrazzano at Dieppe and sends a copy in Italian of his account of his voyage which Carli thought would interest the people of the navigator's native city.—Winsor: *Nar. and Crit. Hist. IV.*, 17.

In 1529, Hieronimo da Verrazzano, brother of Giovanni da Verrazzano, made a large map of the world, now preserved in the College of the Propaganda at Rome, on which the discoveries of Verrazzano are laid down. That part of North America explored by him bears the following legend: "Verrazzano, or New Gaul, which was discovered five years ago by Giovanni da Verrazzano, of Florence, by the order and command of the most Christian King of France."—Winsor: *Nar. and Crit. Hist. IV.*, 18-19.

There are numerous references to Verrazzano's voyage in the early Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English authorities. Among them is a letter from the Portuguese ambassador to France written in the spring of 1523 which shows that Verrazzano had announced his intention of making a voyage to "Cathay." References to the fact that he did actually make such a voyage are found in the writings of historians as early as 1537.—Parkman: *The Pioneers of France in the New World*, 232. (Note.)

The first suggestion that the letter of July 8, 1524, was not genuine was made by Mr. Buckingham Smith in a paper which he read before the New York Historical Society in October, 1864. This view was further supported by Henry C. Murphy, in his "Voyage of Verrazzano," published in 1875, whose work is the strongest statement of the case against Verrazzano. Its chief importance arises from the fact that it caused Mr. Bancroft to omit any reference to Verrazzano's voyage in his last revision of his "History of the United States."

Justin Winsor reviews the entire controversy in the fourth volume of his "*Narrative and Critical History of America*," and seems effectually to dispose of the arguments of Mr. Murphy. John Fiske also declares that "Mr. Murphy's conclusions have not been generally sustained."—*Discovery of America, II.*, 493 (Note). Since the publication of Murphy's work, new evidence discovered in European archives still further substantiates the genuineness of the Verrazzano letter, so that at present the conclusion of Francis Parkman appears to represent generally the attitude of modern investigators and historians. Says he, after reviewing the controversy, "A careful examination of these various writings convinces me that the evidence in favor of the voyage of Verrazzano is far stronger than the evidence against it."—*Pioneers of France in The New World*, 232 (Note).

France at that time was unfavorable. "The year of his voyage," says Parkman, "was to France a year of disasters—defeat in Italy, the loss of Milan, the death of the heroic Bayard; and, while Verrazzano was writing his narrative at Dieppe, the traitor Bourbon was invading Provence. Preparation, too, was soon on foot for the expedition which, a few months later, ended in the captivity of Francis on the field of Pavia. Without a King, without an army, without money, convulsed within, and threatened from without, France after that humiliation was in no condition to renew her transatlantic enterprise."[5]

We know but little of Verrazzano's subsequent career, and his fate is involved in much obscurity. Ramusio states that he was killed and eaten by savages; while Biddle thinks that it is impossible from references in Hakluyt, to withstand the conviction that Verrazzano later entered the service of Henry VIII of England. But the best modern opinion, based on documents recently brought to light, is that, in 1527, he was captured by the Spaniards and condemned and hanged as a pirate. Still, as another writer has said, "All that we know with certainty is, that one great action distinguished him from the mass of adventures, in an age which had produced a Columbus and a Cabot; while doubt and mystery have enveloped the rest of his career, leaving us uncertain whether we should lament the untimely fate which gave him a prey to the barbarous appetite of cannibals, or execrate the ingratitude which compelled him to sacrifice to a struggle with the daily necessities of life, a mind formed for daring and successful adventure."[6]

5Parkman: *The Pioneers of France in the New World*, 201.

6Green, George W.: "Life and Voyages of Verrazzano," *North American Review*, October, 1837.

First Secession Flag

The Raising and Taking Down of the Flag at Ansonville in February, 1861

By General W. A. Smith.

In Ansonville, North Carolina, on the morning of the second of February, 1861, the citizens of the village beheld a flag, whose folds were flapping in the wind blowing from the Southeast betokening rain and brewing up foul, disagreeable weather, foreshadowing dark, impending war clouds.

On and before February 1st, seven States had passed ordinances of secession from the Union, and withdrawn their Congressional delegations from Washington. South Carolina led on December 20, 1860. Mississippi followed January 7, 1861; Florida, January 10, 1861; Alabama, January 11, 1861; Georgia, January 19, 1861; Louisiana, January 26, 1861; Texas, February 1, 1861.

February 1st the electric telegraph flashed over the land that Texas had joined her Southern sisters, which so enthused Adolphus A. Waddell, John B. Waddell, W. A. Threadgill and Jas. M. Wright that they determined to become more active in the cause of secession. These young men of the village were very desirous to have North Carolina follow the seven States, and during the night of February 1st prepared a flag which they hoped would prove an incentive and aid in determining the State of North Carolina to secede from the Union. Having no bunting, they made the flag of calico, with two large stars at the head marked S. C. and Miss., abbreviations for South Carolina and Mississippi, the first two States severing their relations with Washington. From these stars led stripes of alternating red, white and blue; and in the lower corner at the tail end was another star of like proportions half turned down marked N. C., representing North Carolina faint and drooping, hanging her head in dishonor,

shame and disgrace. In large letters at the top of the flag was the word "Secession." Underneath was this motto: "Resistance to Oppression is in Obedience to God."

This flag was fashioned in the Garrett store after business hours. On the opposite side of the street was the wooden framework of an unfinished store. The flag, size 6x9 feet was attached to a pole and securely fastened to the studding and rafters forming the comb of this building.

On the morning of the 2nd of February the citizens of the village took notice of this Secession flag which had been given to the breeze during the dark hours of the night. Almost unanimous was the sentiment of opposition. Indignation prevailed and talk of cutting it down freely indulged, the makers not daring to disclose themselves. Two or three ratified the act and commended the unknown makers, and as the day wore on a few were converted, declaring themselves, and were added to the number of Secessionists. Among these was Prof. Gilliam, a teacher in the college, from the State of Virginia. Emboldened by these accessions, the makers of the flag openly avowed their sentiments and their handiwork in fashioning the flag.

Misses Kate Smith and Winnie Watkins made four rosettes of silk and pinned them on the lapels of the makers of the flag, which, said one of them, "made us very proud, and we walked the streets as vain as strutting peacocks."

During the night of the 2nd, Col. John J. Colson and Washington Threadgill climbed to the comb of the storehouse frame, cut the fastenings, and the flag fell to the sidewalk. In descending, Colonel Colson's foot slipped and he fell 10 to 15 feet, with only a slight sprain, landing on his feet. Dr. William A. Ingram, in his office near by, heard the noise and came out to ascertain the cause. Colson, pointing to the flag, said, "We cut down that d——d Secession flag." Doctor Ingram replied, "You did right. It ought not to have been made and put up to insult the intelligence of the community. I'll never tell who did it." He respected his word. This flag was never more seen.

The morning of the 3rd dawned fair. Balmy breezes from the South stirred the hot blood of the young Secessionists of both genders to indignation and contempt of the dastardly act, on finding the flag of their pride torn down and destroyed under the cover of darkness. Undismayed, bunting was procured, taken to the residence of Mrs. Garrett, an enthusiast in the cause of secession. She, assisted by the young ladies of the village, made a larger flag, similar in design, and with like stars and same motto. This flag was unfurled in the afternoon at the same place. Seemingly the destruction of the flag added to the number of Secessionists, for believing in a square deal the people condemned the dastardly act of tearing it down under the cover of darkness. A few walked underneath its folds with hats off, others and far the greater number, would not pass underneath or even allow its shadow to fall on them.

News of the first Secession flag raised and destroyed, and the making of another, larger and of finer material having been made and given to the breeze, was circulated in the country. A large number of citizens assembled in the village the afternoon of the 3d of February, many, very many, approving the destruction of the first flag, taking this one down and tearing "the damn Secession rag to pieces."

One of the makers of the original flag, and the only one now living, from whom many of the facts herein set down were obtained, writing of the occasion, says: "About ten young men fell in with us, all armed with guns, and told the crowd that we would fight for that flag, and this was a free country, and that it should not be torn down." Professor Gilliam was in the crowd, and was called on for a speech. Standing above the crowd, he made a fine, instructive and impressive address in favor of secession, arraigning the North for its aggressions against the South, and their repudiation of the States' rights, for their contempt for the Constitution—that sacred bond of Union—saying: "By the treaty of Paris, made in 1783, England acknowledged the independence of the

thirteen colonies by name, and each one became a sovereign, independent State"; that these States entered into a Union forming the United States of America by their own choice and motion, each one reserving its independence, and its State right to withdraw from the Union when laws adverse and hurtful to its welfare should be made by the General Congress; that the Northern States, being commercial and manufacturing, antagonized the agricultural Southern States, whose people were content and prosperous, and therefore envied; that law after law had been enacted inimical to our welfare, encroachment after encroachment was borne by the South, compromise after compromise was broken and nullified by the States of the North, dominated by a party which declared the Constitution—that sacred bond of Union—"was in league with the devil and a covenant of hell"; that our only safety lay in separation and withdrawing from a compact repeatedly broken; that having reserved the right to secede, we would withdraw in peace; that they would not attempt coercion; they would not dare bring on a fratricidal war; they would not dare bring on a war among brothers, for that would mean a war to the knife—a war in which no quarter would be shown; that they would not dare attempt to make vassals of free and independent States.

"No," said he, "we will go in peace and pursue our own ideas of progress and advancement and live under laws enacted by ourselves, conducive to our own interest and to our happiness"; that the North were merchants and shoemakers, who would not fight; they were shade-seekers and counter-jumpers, unacquainted with firearms, inexperienced in horsemanship and manly out-of-door sports; no, they would not dare meet the chivalry of the South on the battlefield. "Isn't the Lord on our side, the side of equity, justice and right? He says in holy writ: 'Five shall chase an hundred, and an hundred shall put ten thousand to flight'; and, again, 'the sound of a leaf shall chase them.' I will drink all the blood shed by the pusillanimous abolitionists." Turning to the

little band under arms, he commended the makers of the flag and the heroism behind it, and fully endorsed the motto, "Resistance to oppression is in obedience to God."

He closed with discreet, well-chosen phrases complimentary to those whose patriotic sentiments were opposed to secession and to the raising of the flag, advising calmness and due consideration of the opinion of others who differed with them; advising against rashness and hasty action, counseling due deliberation, and, withal, admonishing them to maintain the dignity of the law and preserve the reputation of the good people of the community by keeping the peace.

His speech had a very happy effect. It emphasized and clarified the intellectual vision of his audience, and one by one they wended their way home with thoughtful mien and contemplative spirit.

Nevertheless, the flag was guarded that night and every night until the sentiment against it had cooled down. Day by day accessions were made of those of secession aspiration and patriotic sentiments. No further attempts were made against the flag.

Cheered only by the smiles of the young ladies and daily accessions of young manhood, the Secessionists proposed placing the flag in a more conspicuous position. By permission of Colonel Colson (they knew not that he had cut down and destroyed the first flag), they procured from his land a very tall, beautifully straight, but small pine, upward of 80 feet long. The bark was peeled off and the long tapering white pole was raised in front of the college building amidst the jibes of observers on the one hand, and the cheers of the many boy participants on the other. The flag was then run up to the top of the pole by the young hot-bloods with no thought that it foreshadowed four long years of disastrous war and devastation of the fair Southland. The older and old men did not approve of the sentiments typified by this secession flag. They deemed it wrong, rash and inconsiderate. Col. William G. Smith, William Little, Dr. John B. Cortrell and others

spoke their disapproval of this exhibition of disloyalty to the Union. These old gentlemen thoroughly believed in the right of a State to withdraw from the Union, a right guaranteed North Carolina by the Congress of the United States before she entered the Union, but did not think secession the proper remedy to correct the wrongs which the North was perpetrating against the South and the whole body politic. Therefore, these men opposed the raising of this secession flag by the hot-headed, fire-eating boys, who gave little heed to the counsel of the old and no thought to the responsibilities of the future. These older men said: "Fight for our rights if needs must, but fight in the Union, under the flag made glorious by the blood of our Revolutionary fathers—the flag of love and veneration—the stars and stripes." Had their advice been taken and followed, the North would not have been able to stir the hearts of their people so profoundly and rouse them to unanimity against the South by the heartrending but courageous cry, "The Union and Old Glory Forever."

Early in February the question of calling a convention for the purpose of passing an ordinance of secession was defeated by the people by a majority of 30,000, indisputable evidence that the prevailing sentiment in North Carolina was for the Union. When President Lincoln called for troops to coerce the seceeding States back into the Union, and the question again submitted, it was ratified almost unanimously; for he was transcending his authority, attempting to force an independent State and free people to live under laws inimical to their welfare. Sentiment crystalizes rapidly in times of great excitement, even on questions of momentous issue.

On the 20th of May North Carolina elected to stand with her sister Southern States in defense of her rights by passing the ordinance of secession. Then the turned down star, representing North Carolina, was displayed in full; complete, strong and clear. As one man her sons sprang to arms and attested her devotion by giving 130,000 of her bravest to the cause, more than 40,000 of whom never came back, whose

blood flowed out, enriched and made sacred the soil of many States. From the war records we know more men fell in battle from North Carolina than from any three other States, a fact of pride, not of boast. The secession of North Carolina was preceded by Virginia, April 17, 1861; by Arkansas May 6, 1861, and followed by Tennessee June 5, 1861.

When the Anson Guards, which was the first company in the State to offer its services to Governor Ellis, left for the front this secession flag was committed to John Birdsong Waddell, a member of said company, to be by him presented to Governor Ellis. John Birdsong Waddell was the great grandson of John Birdsong, of Chatham County, who was noted for his patriotism in the day "that tried men's souls," was prominent in the councils of the colony. He was a delegate at Hillsboro, August 21, 1775, and member of Congress at Halifax November 12, 1776.

Search among the State archives so far has failed to find this flag. This is not surprising, however, considering an army under General William T. Sherman, famed by the devastated homes on his march to the sea, evidenced by the blackened chimneys standing as monuments amid waste and desolation wrought by his army.

The sentiment against the secession flag, sometimes designated "Secesh" flag, was violent and uncompromising. Many would not walk under its folds nor allow its shadows to fall on them, often crossing the street to avoid the possibility of being contaminated thereby. These were probably actuated by similar feelings which animated the ladies of New Orleans, who refused to walk under the Federal flag displayed by the order of B. F. Butler, known to the South and to history as "Beast" Butler and "Spoon" Butler. Sam Christian, a prominent citizen, drove five miles out of his way going to Wadesboro, the county's capital, rather than pass underneath its folds; and the Reverend William (Uncle Billy) Knight refused to visit the village during his life because of his dislike and contempt for the secession sentiment manifested by "that hole,"

as he expressed it. In the language of the only one of the immortal four now living, "Old Aunt Polly Ingram came to Ansonville to shop. She always traded with me. On entering the store she noticed the beautiful rosette on my coat lapel and she blessed me out and took herself across the street to Garrett's store. There she saw W. A. Threadgill with a rosette on. In no gentle language she gave him a piece of her mind, and out she came. Indignant and in disgust, she left the village and drove to Wadesboro, ten miles distant, and did her shopping."

Genealogical Department

Edgecombe County Records—Farmer

Compiled by SYBIL HYATT, Kinston, N. C.

GENERATION I—ISAAC FARMER, SENIOR.

Colonial Records, Vol. IV, page 644. Council held at Edenton, Nov. 16, 1743. The following persons were admitted to prove their Rights in order to their taking up of land—viz: Isaac Farmer, Edgecombe, 3 whites.

Isaac Farmer md. Elizabeth. Their son, Samuel, was born May 13, 1754. Other sons were Isaac and Benjamin. He died prior to 1790.

Deed. Feb. 25, 1770. Isaac Farmer, Senr. to Isaac Farmer, Junr., 200 acres, north side of Toisnot. Test: William Blackburn, Zachariah Lee, Jesse Farmer.

GENERATION II—SAMUEL AND ISAAC FARMER, JUNIOR.

Samuel Farmer md. Jerusha Tyson, b. Feb. 20, 1756, daughter of Aaron and Alsey Tyson. Their son, Moses, was born July 11, 1791.

Will. Samuel Farmer. March 21, 1814. August Court, 1817. Sons: Samuel, Moses (tract on Miry Swamp called Parish place), Isaac (land I live on at his mother's death). Daughters: Rhoda Shary, Anna Sharp. Wife: Jerusha. Rest of estate to be equally divided between wife and all other children. Executors: Sons, Samuel and Moses. Test: J. Farmer, Isaac Farmer. Clerk of the Court: E. Hall.

Will. Isaac Farmer. Nov. 13, 1800. Feb. Court, 1805. Sons: John (plantation I now live on, 200 acres, and 200 acres adjoining), Josiah, Isaac, Azeal Barnes. Daughter: Patience. Wife: Not named, her interest to go at death to

the child she is supposed to be pregnant with, and also to that child the land John Ross lives on. "Remainder of estate to be divided among all my children. The property my wife brought with her when we were married may be sold to pay her debts, and the remainder to be her right." Executors: Brother, Benjamin Farmer; son, Azeal Farmer. Test: Wm. Blackburn, William Dew, Jeremiah Baleman. Clerk of the Court: E. Hall.

Deed of gift. Jan. 12, 1804. Isaac Farmer to daughter, Bashaba Beal, of Johnston Co., negro girl.

Deed of gift. Dated Mar. 15, 1800. Recorded May Court, 1805. Isaac Farmer to son, John Farmer, "plantation I live on," but if John dies without will or sale it goes to son Isaac.

Deed of Gift. Oct. 16, 1802. Isaac Farmer to daughter, Patsey Robbins, one negro girl Penny. Test: Jesse Farmer, Elizabeth Thomas.

Generation III—Moses Farmer.

Moses Farmer md. 1st Elizabeth Dew, b. April 9, 1796, daughter of John and Sally Dew. Their children were Larry Dew Farmer, b. Oct. 31, 1816, and Moses Farmer, b. Oct. 23, 1829. Moses Farmer (III) md. 2d Elizabeth Barnes, b. April 15, 1815 (a niece of his first wife), daughter of John Barnes and Mary Dew. Their children were: Samuel Barnes Farmer, b. Dec. 20, 1835; Jerusha Farmer, b. Jan. 16, 1838, Walter Farmer, b. Sept. 9, 1844 (killed at Appomattox).

Generation IV—Jerusha Farmer (Woodard).

Jerusha Farmer md. in 1856, William Woodard. The following sons survive them: Walter F. Woodard, b. Sept. 14, 1864; James E. J. Woodard, b. Oct. 31, 1866; David Woodard, b. March 8, 1869; Charles Warren Woodard, b. Aug. 16, 1874.

A Century of Population Growth (1790-1800) states that in 1790 there were in the United States 136 families (Farmer, Farmar, Farmor) of 616 persons, 42 families in Virginia, 29 in North Carolina, 11 in South Carolina, 8 in Maine, 8 in Vermont, 20 in Massachusetts, 4 in Connecticut, 2 in New York, 5 in Pennsylvania, 7 in Maryland. In North Carolina were the following heads of families: Anson Co., James; Bertie Co., James, Joseph; Caswell Co., Cassandra, William, Dan'l, Joseph, Thomas, Sr.; Dobbs Co., Jesse; Edgecombe Co., Benjamin, Isaac, Jesse, Joseph, Joseph, Joshua, Samnis (Samuel), Thomas; Franklin Co., John; Granville Co., Sarah, John, Othniel; Johnston Co., Nicholas, William; Orange Co., Thomas; Randolph Co., Frederick, John; Rutherford Co., Nathan; Stokes Co., John; Wilkes Co., Thomas.

Wills—Edgecombe County

Thomas Farmer. Nov. 16, 1784. Feb. Court, 1785. Sons: Thomas ("plantation I now live on"), Jesse and Joseph ("new entered land"). Perishable estate to be sold and equally divided between all my children. Executors: Joshua Farmer, Joseph Farmer. Test: Joshua Farmer, Aziel Barnes, Daniel Highsmith. Clerk of the Court: Edward Hall.

Jesse Farmer. July 9, 1808. August Court, 1812. Wife: not named (lend to her 1/3 "manner plantation I live on" and one negro man, 2 negro women, etc., at her death or marriage to son, Joseph Farmer), son, Joseph Farmer ("all the rest"). Executors: Friend, Charles Coleman; son, Joseph Farmer. Clerk of the Court: E. Hall.

Benjamin Farmer. March 16, 1825. Feb. Court, 1827. Wife: Elizabeth ("including the Deloach tract"). Sons: William (land on north side of Hominy Swamp), Braswell (214 acres, north side of Toisnot Swamp, joining Moses Farmer and Arthur D. Farmer, "it being part of a tract of land

drawn by me and my wife Elizabeth by death of William Dew), Absalom, Dew, Jacob, Arthur D., William D. Daughters: Sally Hollowell, Beedy White, Nancy Dew, Elizabeth Amason. Other legatees: Heirs of John Barnes (Toit, Thomas, Betsy, Sally, Beedy, Dempsey and Nancy). Executor: William D. Farmer. Test: Isaac F. Wood, Hansel D. Griffith.

Elizabeth Farmer. January 29, 1844. Nov. Court, 1852. Daughter: Elizabeth Amason ("tract north side Toisnot Swamp; ("joining Moses Farmer and Arthur D. Farmer, deceased, it being part of land fallen to me by the death of my brother, William Dew"). Rest to be sold and divided between lawful heirs. Executor: Friend, Larry D. Farmer. Test: Jas. D. Barnes, Larry Dew. Clerk of the Court: Jno. Norfleet.

Conveyances

Oct. 1, 1765. Joshua Lee. Deed of Gift to son-in-law, Thos. Farmer, "on little swamp."

March 2, 1761. John Stevens to Isaac Farmer, north side of Toisnot Swamp.

Sept. 13, 1773. Richard Bracewell of Dobbs Co. to Thomas Farmer of Edgecombe. Heired from father Richard Bracewell, Senior. Hatcher Swamp.

July 4, 1778. Thomas Farmer to Solomon Bracewell. Grant to William McDaid, August 4, 1762, from him to Ponder, from Ponder to Richard Bracewell, Senior, and descended to son, Richard Bracewell, Junr., and sold by him to Thomas Farmer.

Jan. 14, 1778. William Hatcher, Junr., to Jesse Farmer, south side of Toisnot Swamp. Test: George Ezell, Isaac Farmer, Benjamin Farmer.

Jan. 30, 1779. William Gay to Joseph Farmer. Town Creek.

March 12, 1782. Joshua Morris to Samuel Farmer. On Hominy Swamp. Grant to Thomas Hall, 1761. Test: Wm. Blackburn, Joseph Farmer, Isaac Farmer.

March 30, 1782. Jesse Farmer to Benjamin Farmer. Miry Swamp. Test: Isaac Farmer, Joseph Farmer.

April 11, 1783. Samuel Farmer to Isaac Farmer, north side of Toisnot Swamp. Test: Joseph Farmer, Benjamin Farmer.

Nov. 16, 1784. Thomas Farmer to son, Joshua. Deed of gift, Little Swamp, granted to Thomas Farmer by Joshua Lee in 1765. Test: Aziel Barnes, Thomas Farmer, Senior.

Jan. 1, 1785. Salathiel Parish to Samuel Farmer. On Miery Branch. Signed: Salathiel Parrish, Sukey Parrish. Test: Jesse Farmer, Benjamin Farmer.

Sept. 29, 1785. John Deloach to Benjamin Farmer. On Hominy Swamp. Test: Jesse Farmer, Isaac Farmer.

June 29, 1788. Elisha Ellis to Jesse Farmer.

Jan. 30, 1790. Joshua Farmer and his wife Susanner, to James Barran, west side Great Branch.

Feb. 1, 1790. Thomas Farmer and his wife, Elizabeth, to James Barran, west side Great Branch.

December 5, 1791. Joseph Farmer to William White.

Dec. 8, 1792. Asa Arnold to Jesse Farmer.

March 2, 1793. Ephriam Philips to Joseph Farmer.

Dec. 7, 1793. Andrew Greer to Benjamin Farmer.

Nov. Court, 1795. Feb. 28, 1796. Joseph Farmer, dec'd. Infant sons, Asia, Enos, Joseph.

Feb. 6, 1798. John Mewborn to Benjamin Farmer. Hominy Swamp. Grant to William Forkes, Apr. 1, 1763.

Dec. 2, 1802. Deed of Gift. Jesse Farmer to son, Joseph Farmer.

Dec. 21, 1802. Deed of Gift. Jesse Farmer to son, Joseph Farmer.

Feb. 9, 1805. Benjamin Farmer to Absalom Farmer. Grant to William Folk's corner, Apr. 1, 1763.

1806. Joseph Farmer sold out to Jesse Farmer, it seems, and probably moved.

October 1, 1807. Joseph Farmer to Jacob Horn. Joins Isaac Farmer, dec'd.

Jan. 1, 1807. Benjamin Farmer and Elizabeth, his wife, to Dew Farmer. Hominy Swamp.

Jan. 6, 1808. Elizabeth Farmer of Edgecombe; John Walton of Oglethorpe, Ga.; Micajah Pettiwary and Sarah, his wife of Edgecombe to Enos Tart. Toisnot Swamp.

Mch. 15, 1811. Enos Farmer to Zilpha Farmer.

March 12, 1809. Jesse Farmer to son, Joseph Farmer. Deed of gift. 3 negroes.

March 12, 1809. Jesse Farmer to granddaughter, Eliza Farmer. Deed of Gift. One negro boy child 5 mo. old.

Mch. 23, 1812. Anna Law of Williamson Co., Tenn. Appoints Absalom Farmer, attorney, "to sell my right of dower to certain parcel in Wayne Co." On Black Creek.

Oct. 24, 1812. Amos Johnston to Isaac Farmer. Town Creek.

Dec. 15, 1812. Asa Farmer to Joseph Farmer.

Feb. 22, 1813. William Coppage, Aseal Farmer and Martin Thorne to Benjamin Sharp. Negro boy.

Aug. 22, 1814. Aseal Farmer, and Charlotte Farmer, Martin Thorn and Polly Thorn appoint Benjamin Grantham attorney to sell tract in Northumberland Co., Va., which descended to wives by brother, Griffin Coppage, died intestate.

March 25, 1814. Senath Farmer to Willie Coleman, on Contentnea Creek. Bequeathed to Senath and her two brothers, Zepthah and John Bearfoot by their grandfather, Zepthah Bearfoot, Senr., dec'd. Fell to her on division.

August 30, 1815. Division of Arthur Dew No. 1. Polly Barnes' heirs. No. 2, William Dew. No. 3, Elizabeth Farmer. No. 4, John Dew's heirs. No. 5, Martha Simms. No. 6, Arthur Dew.

Feb. 22, 1816. Joseph Farmer to William Ellis. Contentnea Creek and Tarborough Road.

March 18, 1816. Joseph Farmer to Joseph Barnes. Hominy Swamp. Test: Joseph Barnes, Jesse Barnes.

Dec. 13, 1815. John Barnes, Nancy Farmer and Thomas Barnes to Arthur Dew. Interest in land inherited from grandfather, Arthur Dew.

Feb. 22, 1817. Samuel Farmer to Moses Farmer.

Dec. 29, 1817. Samuel Farmer to Washton Killibrew. Tyancocoa Swamp. Fell to Moses More from death of his brother, John Moore. Fell to Wanecy Waller by said John Moore, with division not made.

Feb. 22, 1817. Samuel Farmer to Isaac Farmer, Jr. After the death of said Samuel Farmer and wife, Jerusha. Hominy Swamp. Granted to Thomas Hall, March 9, 1761.

Feb. 22, 1820. Jacob Farmer to Moses Farmer.

April 5, 1821. Zilpha Farmer to son, Joseph Farmer. Deed of gift.

Oct., 1822. Division of lands of William Dew, dec'd. Heirs of John Dew, Elizabeth Farmer, Mary Barnes' heirs, Martha Simms' heirs.

Feb. 28, 1823. Benjamin Farmer and Elizabeth, his wife, to the heirs of John Dew, dec'd, Mary Barnes, Jonathan Dew, John Dew, Larry Dew, David Dew, Teresa Ellis, Duncan Dew, Elizabeth Farmer, Patsy Rountree, Sally Carpenter, Nancy Wiggins, Beedy Wilkinson. "Interest we drew in a division of Arthur Dew, dec'd, our father." Lot No. 3. Paid for by William Dew.

June 4, 1823. Deed of Gift. Benjamin Farmer to grandchildren, Thomas and Elizabeth Barnes, Sally Barnes, Beedy Barnes, Dempsey Barnes, Nancy Barnes.

May 25, 1824. Jubal Carpenter and Sally, his wife of Greene Co., Ala., to Moses Farmer. Interest in land heired from William Dew.

May 25, 1824. Jubal Carpenter and Sally, his wife of Greene Co., Ala. Tract fell to us by death of father, John Dew.

Feb. 4, 1824. John Dew of Cumberland Co. Lands heired from William Dew.

Feb. 23, 1824. Benjamin Wilkinson and wife, Beedy (Obedience) to Moses Farmer. Interest in estate of William Dew.

Aug. 1, 1823. Jonathan Dew, Mary Barnes, Larry Dew and David Dew to Moses Farmer. All right in lands which fell by the death of William Dew. North Toisnot Swamp.

May 20, 1824. Benjamin Farmer to daughter, Nancy Dew and her husband Jonathan Dew. Deed of gift.

Aug. 21, 1824. Benjamin Farmer to son William Farmer.

Nov. 19, 1824. Willie Rountree and Patsy, his wife, to Moses Farmer, right in lands from William Dew by heirship.

March 16, 1825. Benjamin Farmer and Elizabeth, his wife to son, Arthur D. Farmer. Deed of Gift. Tract fell to them by death of William Dew.

Aug. 16, 1827. William D. Farmer, executor of Benjamin Farmer and Elizabeth Farmer, widow of said dec'd, to Larry Dew, ¼ of Amason tract, which fell to said Elizabeth by death of William Dew.

Mr. Larry Dew Farmer used to say there were three distinct sets of Farmers in Edgecombe County who were not related.

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DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:
MRS. PAUL H. LEE.

TREASURER:
MRS. CHAS. LEE SMITH.

REGISTRAR:
MISS SARAH W. ASHE.

CUSTODIAN OF RELICS:
MRS. JOHN E. RAY.

CHAPTER REGENTS

Bloomsbury Chapter----------MRS. HUBERT HAYWOOD, Regent.
Penelope Barker Chapter----------MRS. PATRICK MATTHEW, Regent.
Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter----------MRS. I. M. MEEKINS, Regent.
General Francis Nash Chapter------MISS REBECCA CAMERON, Regent.
Roanoke Chapter----------MRS. F. M. ALLEN, Regent.
Mary Slocumb Chapter----------MISS GEORGIE HICKS, Regent.
Colonel Thomas Robeson Chapter----------MRS. ANNIE BUIE, Regent.
Tuscarora Chapter ----------MISS ANNIE MONTAGUE, Regent.

FOUNDER OF THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY AND REGENT 1896-1902:
MRS. SPIER WHITAKER.*

REGENT 1902:
MRS. D. H. HILL, SR.†

REGENT 1902-1906:
MRS. THOMAS K. BRUNER.

REGENT 1906-1910:
MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

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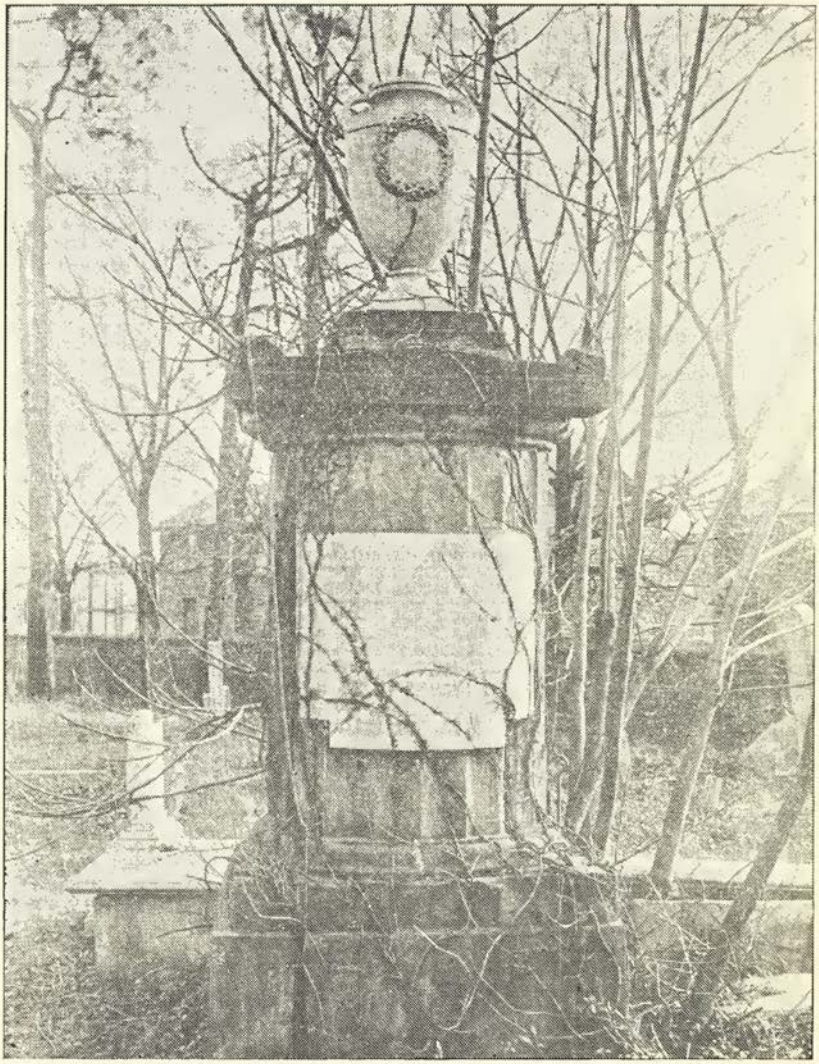
*Died November 25, 1911.
†Died December 12, 1904.



Monument to Archibald Henderson at Salisbury, Erected by the Bar of North Carolina.

The North Carolina Booklet

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A Federalist of the Old School

By Archibald Henderson.

"The most perfect model of a lawyer that our bar has produced."
Archibald DeBow Murphey.

I.

Some years ago, Colonel Richard Benbury Creecy in a fascinating article entitled, "Our Old Lawyers," expressed the wish that some writer might "place his State and its coming sons under a debt of gratitude to him" by preparing "an elaborate memorial of the great lawyer, Archibald Henderson, who for many years led a profession in North Carolina, which has always been foremost in its annals and its patriotic work." The obituary which was published by his friend, Judge Archibald D. Murphey, presents in classic form and high relief his character as publicist. "I venture to think," says a distinguished jurist,* "that we have had no finer setting forth of the qualities of a great lawyer and citizen, his relations to his profession, the court and the public, than the essay of Judge Murphey on Mr. Henderson." Diligent research has demonstrated, nevertheless, that no consecutive or detailed biography of Archibald Henderson has ever appeared in print. Memorials of him linger only in that dim region of tradition, where lies obscure so much of North Carolina's past.

The present monograph, slight though it be, has been undertaken in the attempt to supply in some measure an answer to

*Henry Groves Connor.

the wish expressed by the late Colonel Creecy. Nothing more is attempted than to enable the reader to see this man as he was viewed by his contemporaries. Authentic biography alone can achieve the miracle of illuminating the past with the search light of truth and throwing into just perspective the temperament, character and genius of those who have lived memorably. Perhaps no one, save he were prompted by sentiments of filial respect, would have attempted a task which offered so many difficulties, especially to one not of the legal profession, and promised so little in tangible results after the lapse of a century. While this brief biography falls far short of the "elaborate memorial," of which Colonel Creecy spoke, it at least sets forth in ordered form and truthful narrative the story, in so far as that story may at this late day be rescued from the past, of the life of a man whose name was once known in North Carolina.

II.

That daring spirit of adventure and the passion for exploration which drove the early settlers of America to plunge into the wilderness and to press resolutely westward across the continent, was but the natural expression of the inquisitive and acquisitive instincts which brought Captain John Smith to Jamestown in 1607, and ultimately gave to this continent the inestimable blessings of civilization, freedom, and religious liberty. One of these early adventurers in trying a daring hazard of new fortunes upon the American continent bore the name of Thomas Henderson. He emigrated to Jamestown from the neighborhood of Dumfries, Scotland, and settled near Williamsburg, Virginia, in the early years of the seventeenth century. Somewhat later he removed to a settlement known as Yellow Springs near Jamestown. Here he fixed his residence, was married, and became in time the father of a family of children. One of his sons, Richard, was married to Margaret Washer, believed to have been the daughter of Ensign Washer, who, together with Captain

Christopher Lawne, represented in the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1619 Captain Lawne's Plantation, afterwards known as "Isle of Wight Plantation."* Richard Henderson subsequently removed to Hanover County, Virginia, where he and his wife reared a family of children: one daughter, who was married to a Mr. Trevelyan and emigrated to South Carolina; and four sons, Edward, Samuel, Nathaniel, and Leonard.

One of these sons, Samuel, who was born in Hanover County on March 17, 1700, passed the first period of his life in this section made famous in later years through the perfervid oratory of Patrick Henry and the devoted ministrations of the Rev. Samuel Davies. Among his neighbors was the demure young girl, Elizabeth Williams, whose father, John Williams, born on January 26, 1679, was a prosperous emigrant from Wales. Mary, Elizabeth's mother, who was born on September 26, 1684, reared a family of eight children of whom Elizabeth was the sixth. No recollections of the courtship of Elizabeth Williams by Samuel Henderson are preserved; yet the sentiment of the bride is expressed in the pretty incident that she insisted that the day of her coming of age, her eighteenth birthday, November 14, 1732, should be her wedding day. At their home, simple as the times, the young couple lived the sane and frugal life characteristic of the period in Virginia.

About the year 1740, Samuel Henderson with his family emigrated to Edgecombe County, North Carolina. They were among the very earliest settlers in that region. This section, known as Nutbush, from the creek of that name which ran through it, was so called, says William Byrd, "from the many hazle trees growing upon it." Some idea of the beauty of the country is conveyed by Byrd's description of the site of their camp four miles from Nutbush Creek, where the North Carolina-Virginia dividing line crossed Great Creek. "The Tent

Annual Report, American Historical Association, 1893: W. W. Henry's "The First Legislative Assembly in America," p. 308.

was pitched upon an Eminence, which overlooked a wide Piece of low Grounds, cover'd with Reeds and watered by a Crystal Stream gliding thro' the Middle of it. On the Other Side of this delightful Valley, which was about a half a Mile wide, rose a Hill that terminated the View, and in the figure of a Semicircle closed in upon the opposite Side of the Valley. This had a most agreeable Effect upon the Eye, and wanted nothing but Cattle grazing in the Meadow, and Sheep and Goats feeding on the Hill, to make it a Compleat Rural LANDSCAPE." Little more than a decade after the vision of this "compleat rural landscape" dawned upon Byrd's lively imagination, the fancy became a reality with the coming to this beautiful country of the Hendersons, the Williamses, and the Bullocks from Virginia. When Byrd penned these words, the buffalo still roamed at will through the canebrakes of Craven; skilful hunters, like "Epaphroditus Bainton, the famous Woodsman," spent all their time in ranging the woods and making "great Havock among the Deer, and other inhabitants of the Forest, not much wilder than themselves"; and the Virginia and Carolina traders, following the course of the Great Trading Path and crossing the Yadkin at the Trading Ford, finally reached the towns of the Catawba Indians, whom they supplied with "Guns, Powder, Shot, Hatchets, (which the Indians call Tomahawks,) Kettles, red & blue Planes, Duffields, Stroudwater blankets, and some Cutlary Wares, Brass Rings and other Trinkets."*

In 1733, Edgecombe County was erected out of Craven County by Governor Burrington and Council. So rapid, however, was the emigration from Virginia into this section during the period after 1740 that in 1746 a new county, named Granville in honor of John Carteret, Earl Granville, and a new parish, named St. John's Parish, were erected out of Edgecombe. The reason assigned in the act is: "Edgecomb being a frontier county, is now so extensively settled, that the public business of the said County and Parish becomes very

*J. S. Bassett: *The Writings of William Byrd.*

difficult to be transacted."* In the *South Carolina Gazette*, of March 8, 1768, it is stated: "A letter from Williamsburgh, Virginia, dated October 18, 1767, says: There is scarce a history, ancient or modern, which affords such a rapid and sudden increase of inhabitants in a back frontier country as that of North Carolina." Within a decade, Granville's population rose from nothing to some three thousand; and in 1746 the courts were organized. One of the very first in the county convened at the house of Mr. William Eaton, at which were present Doctor James Payne, John Martin, Gideon Macon, Samuel Henderson, Justices, March 3, 1746 (O. S.). For many years Samuel Henderson served as Justice of the County Court; and on March 6, 1754, he received his commission from the Governor of the Province, Arthur Dobbs, as High Sheriff of Granville County. His assistant in the office in the capacity of sous-sheriff was his eldest son, Richard, who was born in Hanover County, Virginia, on April 20, 1735.

III.

Richard Henderson's son, Archibald, whose life and career here especially engage our interest, was born in Granville County, North Carolina, on August 7, 1768. From his father, the pioneer and expansionist, President of the Colony of Transylvania, founder of Boonesborough and Nashville, he doubtless directly inherited the legal acumen and forensic brilliance which elevated Richard Henderson at the age of thirty-three to the highest court in the colony, and won for him the title of the "Patrick Henry of North Carolina." An English contemporary and acquaintance, in speaking of Richard Henderson's practice and advocacy as a lawyer in the North Carolina Superior Court, pays him this elevated tribute: "Even there, where oratory and eloquence are as brilliant and powerful as in Westminster Hall, he soon became distinguished and eminent, and his superior genius shone forth with great splendor and universal applause." From his mother,

*State Records of North Carolina, XXIII, 249.

Elizabeth, the daughter of an Irish nobleman, Lord George Kelynge, Archibald derived that refreshing simplicity of manner and dignity of demeanor which were signal traits of his personality.

On January 1, 1780, the admirable boarding school in Warren (old Bute) County, known as Springer College, threw open its doors. The number of pupils was thirty; the terms were £100 a year, Virginia money, for tuition, £200 a year for board, and £14-6s-0d paid "towards the schoolhouse, firewood, &c."* This famous academy, situated in an ideal spot and healthy locality, drew pupils from points as distant as Edenton. In this select school Archibald Henderson received his early training; and among his schoolmates were John Haywood, afterwards famous as lawyer, jurist, and historian of Tennessee, and Robert Goodloe Harper, afterwards the distinguished Federalist, Henderson's colleague in Congress, and one of the ablest political leaders of his day. With a touch of quiet humor, Judge W. H. Battle in his *Memoir* of Leonard Henderson, Archibald's brother, makes the following observation upon the conditions of rural life in North Carolina in that early day: "It may not be amiss to mention here, as an evidence of the simplicity and frugality of the times, as well as of the prudence and industry of the matrons of that day that his mother, though the wife of one of the highest officers of the province, taught her eldest sons, as well as her daughters, to card and spin. Why Leonard was not instructed in the same housewifely accomplishment we are not informed. The splendid professional career of one of his elder brothers, Archibald, shows that though it might not have advanced, it certainly would not have obstructed his upward course to fame and fortune."†

Following the example, and no doubt the counsel of his father, Archibald Henderson studied law under his close relative, Judge John Williams. In the unusually fine library

*G. J. McRee: *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I, 433-4.

†*North Carolina University Magazine*, IX, 4; November, 1859.

for that day of Judge Williams, a library especially rich in legal literature, he acquired a love of biography, history, and general literature. His preceptor was pronounced by the courtly James Iredell "one of the most agreeable men in the world"; and Elkanah Watson, after speaking of "the elegant seat of Judge Williams, at Nutbush," which he visited in 1786, describes Judge Williams as "an accomplished gentleman, possessing high talents, and genuine Southern hospitality."*

IV.

The distinguished jurist, Spruce Macay, remembered conspicuously as the legal preceptor of two of North Carolina's greatest men, William Richardson Davie and Andrew Jackson, was married to Archibald Henderson's sister, Fanny, in Granville County on May 27, 1785. It was through his influence that Archibald Henderson was induced to remove to Rowan and begin there the practice of the law. As a youth in Salisbury, whither he removed from Granville about 1790, he has been described by his acquaintance of that period, the singular genius, Dr. Charles Caldwell. In the matured opinion of Caldwell, recorded in later life, Archibald Henderson was "possessed of splendid talents and commanding eloquence." He has left the following interesting and graphic pen-picture of Henderson as a young man:

"Classically and carefully educated from his boyhood, he was a man of fine literary taste, an excellent Shakespeare scholar, and well versed in English poetry in general; especially in that of the highest order.

"Instead of joining clubs, to eat, drink, joke, and frolic, as most of the other men of Salisbury did, he and myself met on stated evenings in our studies, to read, converse on, and criticise specified works in polite literature, and sometimes manuscript articles of our own production. And, from that

*Men and Times of the Revolution, 252.

source, we derived not only rational and high gratification, but also valuable improvement in letters."*

The town of Salisbury in 1786, as described by Elkanah Watson, was "a pleasant village, containing fifty dwelling houses. . . . The road to Charlotte, in Mecklenburg County, was equal to any English turnpike and traversed a beautiful level." The population shortly after the time of Archibald Henderson's removal thither is given by George Washington in his *Diary* (1791) as "about three hundred souls . . . and tradesmen of different kinds"; and an indication of its gracious social culture is given in Washington's words: "Dined at a public dinner (May 30, 1791) givn. by the Citizens of Salisbury; & in the afternoon drank Tea at the same place with about 20 ladies, who had been assembled for the occasion." Distinguished figures in the social circle in Salisbury, in which Archibald Henderson moved, were General John Steele, sometime Representative in Congress and later Comptroller General of the Currency under Washington, Adams, and Jefferson; General Matthew Locke, of titled ancestry, who represented the district in the third, fourth, and fifth Congresses; Judge Spruce Macay, who presided over the Western Circuit, determined and fearless in discharging the difficult duties of his office; Dr. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle, graduate of Princeton, eminent Presbyterian divine and famous teacher; Maxwell Chambers, Commissioner of the Borough; William Lee Alexander, student at Nassau Hall and veteran of the Revolution; Captain John Beard and Lewis Beard, prominent citizens who had been Revolutionary soldiers; the able Adlai Osborne, and Dr. Charles Caldwell, afterwards eminent as physician and teacher.

Archibald Henderson displayed the most genial interest in the development of the ambitious young men of his acquaintance in Rowan. In particular, he freely extended to them the benefits of the admirable and carefully selected library

Autobiography of Charles Caldwell, '78-9.

which he began early to collect. In an authoritative account of his own career, prepared under his immediate supervision, John Hardy Steele, who was born in Salisbury and in middle life became Governor of New Hampshire, pays him the following graceful tribute of gratitude:

"Young Steele's mother being a widow, and in straightened circumstances, he had no time for the amusements common to childhood, and but little for study and reading. He is greatly indebted to Archibald Henderson, Esq., at this time and for years after a successful and highly esteemed lawyer, for a taste for reading and a thirst for practical knowledge, which has been not less remarkable in after life than his thorough devotion to the sterner labors, which he was never known to neglect. The Governor has been often heard to say that there are no more pleasant and grateful recollections connected with the trying years of his early life, than those which cluster around the office and ample library of Mr. Henderson, where a benevolent smile and word of encouragement were always sure to greet him."*

V.

During the closing decade of the eighteenth century, while he was forging to the forefront of the legal profession in North Carolina, Archibald Henderson was rapidly developing those mental powers which caused him to be described by the late Col. R. B. Creecy as "the foremost advocate and orator at our bar." After his first removal to Salisbury and a sojourn of a few years there until 1795, he returned to Granville, where he served as Clerk and Master in Equity of the County Court in 1795-6-7-8. In 1798 he once more removed to Rowan and made Salisbury his permanent home.

There is no record of any likeness of him having ever been made. He would doubtless have regarded such a thing as a weak concession to personal vanity. From the personal reminiscences of his acquaintances, we know that he was a

*For this sketch of Governor Steele I am indebted to Judge Benjamin Smith, of Clinton, Mass.

large man physically, with noble forehead, aquiline nose, compressed lips, firm-set jaws, somewhat elongated chin, and an open countenance kindly and benignant in expression. "Rhetorical," "winning," "ready," eloquent," and "effective" are the precise adjectives which his acquaintances have employed to describe his qualities as an advocate. Endowed with the temperamental geniality which distinguished his father, he readily won the good-will as well as the admiration of his acquaintances. His wide popularity was in no small measure due to his firm belief, frequently expressed and habitually put into practice, in the wisdom of "forming an intimate acquaintance with mankind, and particularly with the middle and lower classes of people, their passions, feelings, prejudices, modes of thinking and motives of action."

Before the age of thirty, he came to be widely known, not only in the Salisbury District, but throughout the State, as an ardent Federalist. For Washington he cherished boundless reverence; the brilliant qualities of Burr excited his profound admiration; and Adams found in him a staunch adherent. With strong and outspoken convictions, he quickly became a marked man; and he was urgently petitioned by his friends to present himself as a candidate for Congress—a step not a little contrary to his natural inclination. Pitted against an able opponent, the Hon. Matthew Locke, who had served as Representative in Congress since 1792, he was elected to Congress at the age of thirty in the summer of 1798. The following letter from President Adams to General John Steele furnishes an interesting, if brief, comment on the political situation:

Quincy Sept 4 1798

Sir

I have recd your favour of Aug. 29 inclosing the Resolutions and Address of Bladen County in N. Carolina. A more excellent address has not appeared. A few words in answer I return to you with the Address that you may publish them in the Papers, if you please.

The Election of Mr. Henderson is very honourable to him and his Constituents. If the inveterate Phalanx should be broken our Country will triumph.

With sincere Esteem I have the honor
to be Sir your obliged servant

JOHN ADAMS.

John Steele Esqr.
Comptroller of the
Treasury at Trenton.

At this election five other men were elected as Federalists from North Carolina: William Barry Grove, Joseph Dickson, William H. Hill, Richard Dobbs Spaight, and David Stone. The Hon. Charles Lee, Member of Congress from Virginia, writing to James Iredell in September, 1798, observes: "The change in North Carolina is most pleasing, and with so good an example before Virginia, I trust this State will amend her representation also." The North Carolina Federalists won a signal success in electing as Governor of the State the distinguished William R. Davie, who was inaugurated on January 1, 1799. This triumph of Federalism in North Carolina was to prove but short-lived; the star of Jefferson and Democracy was steadily rising. On this account, it is especially deserving of remark that the strong Federalist rally in Western North Carolina was principally due to the powerful personal influence of Archibald Henderson. A cooperative influence was the recrudescence of the historic antagonism of the whole western portion of the State to the political domination of the "East."

VI.

On December 2, 1799, Mr. Henderson appeared at Philadelphia, presented his credentials, and took his seat at this, the first session of the sixth Congress of the United States. He carried to Philadelphia with him his attractive little niece, who afterwards became the wife of the Hon. William C. Love, of Salisbury. In token of his solicitude for the little Elizabeth Macay, his sister Fanny's daughter, these words from a letter to Spruce Macay, her father, of March

23, 1800, are deserving of quotation: "I am now sitting in my chamber with Betsy at my side. She is very well and has made handsome progress in her studies. I have frequently taken her to the theatre, and it would astonish you to see how she is pleased with the performances. I had anticipated your wishes in placing her to a dancing school before the receipt of your letter. I propose to set off with her to Bethlehem next Saturday week." Doubtless Betsy was placed in some noted school, perhaps under Moravian control, at Bethlehem.

From the very beginning of his term in Congress, Mr. Henderson exhibited a lively interest in public questions and busied himself actively in the duties of his office. On December 5, 1799, he was appointed a member of the important Committee of Elections; and on January 13, 1800, he was designated a member of the committee instructed to examine into the political system by which the Mississippi territory was governed. The subject which especially engaged his attention was the reform of the judiciary system then under consideration. This matter had been forcibly brought to his attention when President Adams, in addressing the Congress upon its opening (December 3), had impressively said: "To give due effect to the civil administration of government, and to ensure a just execution of the laws, a revision and amendment of the judiciary system is indispensibly necessary. In this extensive country it cannot but happen that numerous questions respecting the interpretation of the laws of the rights and duties of officers and citizens must arise. On the one hand, the laws should be executed; on the other, individuals should be guarded from oppression. Neither of these objects is sufficiently assured, under the present organization of the judicial department." On December 9, the question of "a revision and amendment of the judiciary system" was referred to a committee with leave to report by bill; and the general problem of the better establishment and regulation of the courts of the United States assumed great importance at this and the next session of Congress. The commit-

tee consisted of Mr. Robert Goodloe Harper, of South Carolina; Mr. Chauncey Goodrich, of Connecticut; Mr. James A. Bayard, of Delaware; Mr. John Marshall, of Virginia; and Mr. Samuel Sewall, of Massachusetts.

In speaking of the discussion set for March 24, 1800—at which time the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the bill—Henderson writes to Macay:

"We shall enter upon the consideration of the Judiciary Bill tomorrow. Those persons who are best informed are of opinion it will not pass at this session of Congress. I am fearful it will not, but I think the chance by no means desperate. We have a number of gentlemen here who do not make the expediency and propriety of a measure proposed the rule of their political conduct, but are calculating what effect the plan proposed will have on the people. They will acknowledge that the thing itself is wholesome and necessary for the publick good but they are apprehensive that the sovereign people will not be pleased. I confess for my own part that I am tired of this dismal clamor about the people. I respect them as much as any man but I am not for sacrificing my own judgment and opinion together with their essential interest to the intemperate howlings of a few demagogues. I believe that the dearest Interests of our Country require that a radical change be made in the mode of administering Justice. That change will no doubt create some additional expense at which the popular leaders of the day will eagerly lay hold of to render the measure odious. I conceive myself legislating on this important occasion not for the pursuit of only bare popularity. It is of the utmost importance to the interest of America that it should establish a system of administering Justice which will secure a speedy and impartial determination of causes brought into the courts and which will make the expense incident to litigation as small as possible. I am of the opinion that the plan proposed is the result of deep reflection and much labor, and is admirably calculated to promote these desirable objects."

On Friday, March 28, after several sessions of the committee of the whole House, the bill was re-committed to the original committee. The bill which was reported by this committee became the foundation of the act that was adopted in 1801.

VII.

It was Mr. Henderson's fixed intention to return to the practice of the law, to which his genius was best suited, at the expiration of his first term in Congress. In pursuance of this intention, he published the following notice in *The North Carolina Mercury and Salisbury Advertiser,* issue of June 5, 1800, and several succeeding issues:

To the Citizens of the counties of Rowan, Iredell, Mecklenburg, Cabarrus and Montgomery.

Gentlemen,

A period is fast approaching when you will be called upon to elect from among yourselves, a person to represent you in the next Congress of the United States. And as it may be supposed that I shall again offer my services unless a declaration to the contrary is made, I feel myself bound thus early to inform you that I shall not be a Candidate at the ensuing Congressional Election. It is not necessary that I should detail the reasons which have led to this determination; I assure you Gentlemen, that they have not originated in a want of a due appreciation of the distinguished honor you have conferred on me in a measure so flattering, nor from disinclination to devote my time to the service of a people whose peace and happiness are the first wish of my heart.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen,
with great respect,
Your most obedient,
humble servant,

A. HENDERSON.

Philadelphia, 15th April, 1800.

The candidates for the seat were Mr. Henderson's competitor in 1798, the Hon. Matthew Locke, and a Mr. Mussendine Matthews, who for ten years had represented Iredell County in the lower house of the General Assembly. In the

above-mentioned newspaper, issue of June 12, appeared a letter signed "A Country Farmer's Son," urging the election of Locke:

"At a time as critical as the present, my fellow-citizens, we ought to be extreamly cautious who we elect to fill that important trust. We ought to send the man prone to virtue, the man of experience, and the man of sense. Let us state a question with regard to Mr. Locke. Is not he the Gentleman possessed of these charming qualifications? Yes certainly he is. Has he not served his country in the General Assembly of this state almost ever since the American war until the year '93? Since that until Aug. 4, 1799, he has served in a higher capacity, viz. a member of Congress six (?) successive elections he was the choice of the people, and by his goodness and wisdom conducted so, as not to merit a frown from a single individual. At the election of '98, when Archibald Henderson, Esq., opposed Mr. Locke, and for sentiments, and policy, which ought to have done our representative immortal honour, he was ousted from an office which he had served with dignity and unfeigned goodness. But such is human nature—not long contented with the same, as fond to elect him in, and as apt to elect him out. A number of the ignorant were under a gross mistake with regard to Mr. Locke's politics. They supposed him a friend to the French and its government in defiance to his own."

This unknown champion highly praised the "wisdom, experience and virtue" of Mr. Locke, and vehemently repelled the insinuation that he had been a "traitor to his country."

In explanation of the grounds for his candidacy, Mr. Locke issued an "Address to the freemen of the Counties of Rowan, Iredell, Cabarrus, Mecklenburg and Montgomery," saying among other things:

"I declare myself a real friend to the Federal government, and a zealous defender of the Constitution, which I have often sworn to support, but do not implicitly rely upon a belief that all the present measures of Government have been wisely adopted, and impartially administered; but do believe that millions of dollars have been expended that ought to have been saved."

He declared his consistent opposition to all measures which have "a tendency, unnecessarily to oppress the citizens or

enslave posterity," and expressed the belief that "on a fair investigation of my political conduct, whilst in your service, I shall stand acquitted from the calumny raised against me in my absence, to which I impute the result of my last unsuccessful attempt."

The reasons which actuated Mr. Henderson to reconsider his original decision not to be a candidate are set forth by him in a letter to Mr. Walter Alves of Hillsborough (July 28, 1800), recently discovered. Clearly the desire to strengthen the Federalist party was the controlling motive in his final decision. For in the perfervid language expressive of the vehement political feeling of the time, he says to Alves: "Let us, my dear Sir, exert ourselves not only to save our common Country from impending ruin but to raise our own state from that low point of depression to which she has been sunk by the acts of factious and designing men. Every vote which Jefferson will get in this state is a blot upon our reputation." More explicitly concerning his own candidacy he says:

"Since my return I have been prevailed upon by the solicitations of a number of respected men in this district to suffer my name to be held up as a candidate for a seat in the next Congress. I am opposed by Matthews and Locke. It is supposed by my friends that I shall be elected; for my own part, I think it doubtful. The district is Federal and would have elected me by a large majority had it not been for the public declaration which I made, expressive of my intention to decline to hold a poll. This circumstance, together with that of General Smith* having offered his service and then withdrawing in my favor, are taken hold of by my opponents and managed with much dexterity to my disadvantage."

The return of the poll, as published in Francis Coupee's newspaper of August 21, was as follows:

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*Presumably General John Smith, whose son Robert had represented Cabarrus County in the lower house of the General Assembly in 1794, 1795, 1796, and 1799.

	Henderson.	Matthews.	Locke.
Rowan	867	341	265
Iredell	211	498	58
Mecklenburg	346	126	294
Cabarrus	94	125	214
Montgomery	404	41	14
	1922	1131	845

Majority for Henderson, 791.

VIII.

During the closing months of John Adams' administration there was passed (February 13, 1801) the act known as the Circuit Court Act or the Judiciary Act of 1801. The necessity for relieving the justices of the Supreme Court from the arduous duties incurred in riding the circuit had been urged for a decade. It was vigorously maintained by the Republicans that the amount of business before the courts of the United States had actually begun to decline; and it was therefore urged by them that the increased expenditure provided for was not warranted by existent conditions. The charge was forcibly made that the enlargement of the judiciary "was only effected for the purpose of keeping the Federalists in control of the judiciary for a long time to come." Adams came in for severe censure, both for the character of the appointments and the making of "midnight appointments" during the closing hours of his term of office. While the number of districts having a court presided over by a district judge was increased from seventeen to twenty-two, no provision was made for the appointment of new judges. Sixteen additional judgeships were provided for under this act—three each in five of the six circuits into which the twenty-two districts were classed, and one in the remaining district. Instead of involving an additional cost of $137,000, as assumed in the later debates on the judiciary act, the sixteen new judgeships represented an increase of less than $50,000.* The Repub-

*For a succinct contemporary account of the measure and the reasons advanced by the leading Federalists for its adoption, compare "Robert Goodloe Harper to his Constituents," February 26, 1801:

licans certainly had some ground for the feeling that the increased expenditure was unnecessary; and factional feeling ran high over the uniformly partisan character of the appointments. Mr. Henderson, who fully endorsed the measure, says in a printed "Letter to his Constituents," issued from Washington, February 28, 1801:

"By the late judiciary system, the judges of the supreme court were required to hold, in every year, two courts at the seat of government, and two courts in each of the states. To perform this duty, it was necessary for them to be almost continually traveling; they had no time for study and reflection, and the fatigue was so great, that it is impossible for men advanced in life, to continue long equal to the task. It was found that we must either drive from our service the most able and experienced men in the nation, or so modify our judicial system as to make it less burdensome to the judges. When we reflect that all which is dear to man, his liberty, his property, his reputation, are placed in the hands of the judges—when we reflect that the character of the nation is intimately connected with the prudence and ability of its courts, it is confidently believed, that few men can be found who will hesitate to say that it is of the first importance that this high trust should be confided to men pre-eminent for talents and virtue. It is moreover to be observed, that under the former system, some of the districts were so large as to render it very inconvenient and expensive for suitors, jurors, &c., to attend the courts. This evil has, in some measure, been remedied by dividing the large districts. The law divides the United States into six circuits; in each of those circuits three judges are to be appointed, who are called circuit judges, and are to hold courts twice a year in each district in their respective circuits. In all cases above the sum of 2,000 dollars, an appeal lies to the supreme court, which is to set twice a year at the seat of government. This court is to be composed of the present judges of the supreme court, who are not to perform any circuit duties, but are to try all cases where, by the constitution of the United States, the supreme court has original jurisdiction, and appeals which may be brought up from the inferior courts. Courts of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction are established in the several districts. In the district of North Carolina they are to be holden at three different places, three times a year, to wit: at

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Annual Report American Historical Association, 1913, II, 137-140. Writing to Walter Alves of Hillsborough on March 30, 1801, Henderson says: "I have put into the hands of Mr. (Duncan) Cameron for your use a Letter from Mr. Harper to his constituents. It certainly merits the attention of every American *Patriot*." See also Max Farrand: "The Judiciary Act of 1801," *American Historical Review*, V, 682-6.

Wilmington, Newbern, and Edenton. This duty, in most cases, is to be performed by the district judges, though in some instances the circuit judges will hold admiralty and circuit courts. This is an outline of this important law—and I am sure that the additional expense will be cheerfully paid by the people of the United States, when they consider the immense advantage of having an able, pure and impartial administration of justice, and that to attain this great object throughout our extensive country, a considerable expense must necessarily result."

IX.

The first great national issue in Congress which Henderson was called upon to meet arose in connection with the famous conjuncture over the tie between Jefferson and Burr, which was announced to both Houses on February 11, 1801. Whereas both men were professed Democrats, Burr was believed by the Federalists to be far nearer in spirit to them than his political designation would indicate. Moreover, they believed him to be possessed of sufficient ambition to prompt him to accept with complacency the office of the presidency at the hands of his political opponents. Writing from Washington to Walter Alves of Hillsborough on January 2, 1801, Henderson interestingly sets forth the views of the Federalists at this critical juncture:

"You have learned that Jefferson and Burr have an equal number of votes. The great business of making a President devolves upon the house of Representatives. The Federalists view the election of Jefferson as the most serious evil which can happen to America. In fact I am every day more and more convinced that he is altogether unqualified to be at the head of a great nation. I assure you Sir that it is impossible to give you a correct idea of the serious and alarming state of things. The friends of order, religion, and government fear that all is lost and that America is to see another proof of the fallibility of Republican governments. We mean to make a stand and endeavor to elect Burr. He is not our choice, but we think him infinitely preferable to Jefferson. He is a bold, practical, energetic politician of great talents and unbounded ambition—and is at *heart* no *democrat*."

Considerable excitement prevailed throughout the country during the course of the long intrigue and the series of successive ballots that were taken. In the event, there was a

general feeling of satisfaction—the conviction that substantial justice had been done—when Jefferson was finally elected, by ten States, on the thirty-sixth ballot. On the first ballot, the vote of North Carolina was cast for Jefferson; and three of the Federalists from North Carolina voted for Jefferson. After the first ballot, the North Carolina Federalists generally voted for Burr. It has been stated, in authoritative publications, that Henderson, although elected as a Federalist, supported Jefferson for President.* Nothing could be further from the truth. After describing in detail the progress of the balloting, Henderson says in a letter to his constituents:

"The federalists supported col. Burr, and the democrats Mr. Jefferson; it is known that neither of those gentlemen are acceptable to the federalists; but of the two they prefer col. Burr.

"The supporters of Jefferson declared they would continue to vote for him until the 4th of March, and risque the consequence of having no President, or in other words, that they would dissolve the government if the man of their choice were not chosen. The federalists think that a weak and inefficient government is better than no government at all, and preferred having Mr. Jefferson President, exceptionable as he is, to anarchy and confusion. It is certainly my duty to inform you, and from it I shall not shrink, that through the whole of this transaction, I uniformly voted for col. Burr. I did so under a conviction that he was the best qualified of the two candidates to promote the honor, peace and happiness of the nation. I shall forbear to say what I think of Mr. Jefferson; he is now on the eve of being chief magistrate of the nation; respect for the office he is to fill, and not for the man, forbids me to make any comments on his character. It is possible that I may have formed a false estimate of his worth. A few years will convince the American people, whether those who have heretofore conducted their national affairs merit their confidence and esteem, or not."

X.

Archibald Henderson's most conspicuous achievement during the period of his congressional service, which came in his second term, was his speech on the repeal of the Federal Judiciary Act, delivered in the House of Representatives on February 16, 1802. The indignation of the Republicans over

National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, VII, 215.

the passage of the Judiciary Act of 1801 found vigorous expression at the very beginning of Jefferson's administration. As early as March 16, 1801, William Branch Giles, of Virginia, advised Jefferson that "the only check upon the judiciary system as it is now organized and filled, is the removal of all its executive officers indiscriminately." Again, on June 1, he informed Jefferson that, in his judgment, "no remedy" was "competent to redress the evil, but an absolute repeal of the whole judiciary system, terminating the present offices, and creating an entire new system defining the common law doctrine, and restraining to the proper Constitutional extent the jurisdiction of the courts."* The most powerful demand for the repeal of the act came from Kentucky; and John Breckinridge, who then represented Kentucky in the United States Senate, was deluged with letters from his constituents, urging a change in the judiciary system. Upon his solicitation, the brilliant John Taylor of Caroline, set forth at length, in a private letter recently published, the arguments which became the basis of the repeal of the act of 1801.†

Because of his signal ability as an advocate, his great eloquence, and his reputation as a student of constitutional law, Archibald Henderson was chosen to lead the debate for the Federalists, among whom were such distinguished figures as James A. Bayard, of Delaware, and Roger Griswold, of Connecticut. The argument foreshadowing the outlines of Henderson's speech are tersely expressed in his letter to Samuel Johnston, a leading North Carolina Federalist, of January 24, 1802:

"The Independence of our Judges is about to be destroyed and the Constitution of our Country trampled under foot. The Law passed at the last session of Congress for the better organization of the Courts will be repealed and the Judges stript of their office. If any

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*Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress. Cited in D. R. Anderson: *William Branch Giles.*

†Breckinridge MSS., Library of Congress, Dec. 22, 1801. Cited in W. S. Carpenter: *Repeal of the Judiciary Act of 1801.* "*American Political Science Review,*" IX, 3. Aug., 1915.

one political truth has been established by experience it is that life and property can only be safe under a system of Government, in which the Judges are placed above the influence, which results from a dependence on the will of others for their continuance in office. No part of the Constitution is expressed in more simple, plain and appropriate language than that which establishes this independence. How daring then, how criminally daring must that hand be which to gratify the spirit of Party and to satiate revenge can pollute the sacred Charter containing this principle so replete with human happiness and so admired by the wise and virtuous of all nations?"

Mr. Henderson's speech on the repeal of the Judiciary Act of 1801 was one of the "selections" in the *Readers* used by school children in the South in ante-bellum days; and it was often chosen as a subject for declamation in the school exercises. This speech has been described by the biographer of Nathaniel Macon as "the ablest speech that had ever been offered by a North Carolinian on the floor of Congress."* So powerful was the impression produced in Congress by this speech that it drew from Nathaniel Macon, a North Carolinian of the opposite party, the longest and most representative speech ever delivered by him in the course of his extended political career. In regard to the action of the North Carolina Assembly, in instructing its Senators and recommending to its Representatives to have the Judiciary Act of 1801 repealed, Henderson resolutely proclaimed his refusal to be instructed, averring that he did not pray "thy will, not mine, be done" to the North Carolina Assembly. Professor Dodd describes the closing remarks of his speech as "worthy of Fisher Ames." In speaking of Henderson's public career, Dr. Charles Caldwell says: "He once allowed himself to be elected a representative to Congress, where he greatly distinguished himself, especially by his speech on the judiciary question." The position taken by Henderson, as exponent of the Federalist view, possesses exceptional interest in view of the extraordinary fact that down to the present time, no judicial review of the repealing act has even been had; and

*William E. Dodd: *Nathaniel Macon*, 402.

indeed, the constitutionality of the act has been challenged by so eminent an authority as Justice Story.*

The situation, as viewed by the Republicans, was most effectively stated by Jefferson himself: "They (the Federalists) have retired into the judiciary as a stronghold. There the remains of federalism are to be preserved and fed from the Treasury; and from that battery all the works of republicanism are to be beaten down and destroyed." Actuated by such a belief, the Republicans passed the repeal bill by a majority of one in the Senate and by a vote of fifty-nine to thirty-two in the House. The dejection of the Federalists is expressed in the letter of James A. Bayard, the Federalist leader, to Andrew Bayard, January 21, 1802: "This decision (repeal of the judiciary law) I consider as an event which cannot be too much lamented. It establishes a principle fraught with the worst consequences under such governments as exist in the United States. The independence of the judiciary power is prostrated. A judge instead of holding his office for life will hold it during the good pleasure of the dominant Party. The Judges will of course become Partizans, and the shadow of Justice alone will remain in our Courts."† Archibald Henderson was profoundly shocked by this "work of destruction," as he termed it. He found a congressional career little congenial to his tastes; and, also influenced by the fact that his wife preferred Salisbury to Washington as a place of residence, he followed his original intention expressed at the expiration of his first term, and declined to stand for Congress again as the representative of the Salisbury district at the next election. His feelings at this time, voiced in the effusive language of the period, are betrayed in a letter to Samuel Johnston of April 27, 1802: "I hope their sitting (Congress) will long be remembered by the American People. The work of Virtue, the toil of Wisdom—the American Government—has fallen into ruin. The

*_Story on the Constitution_, II, 401.

†Correspondence of James A. Bayard: _Annual Report American Historical Association_, 1913, II, 146.

fatal blow is struck. I fear it is now impossible to arrest the arm of power. It is probable that I view the acts of the Majority with a prejudicial eye; perhaps the conflict of party and irritation of debate may have disqualified me from taking a calm survey of their measures. But my impressions are that nothing but ruin and misery await the deluded people of this once happy Country."

XI.

Another important issue arose during the period of Henderson's service in Congress, in connection with the continuing in force of the Sedition Act. Ever since 1798, when the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed, the Republicans led by Jefferson had vehemently protested against them as instrumentalities designed by the Federalists to centralize the government, if not to establish a monarchy. Protests came from many parts of the country, notably from the Middle States and the South, in behalf of "freedom of speech" and "liberty of the press." On February 21, 1801, in anticipation of the expiration of the Sedition Act on March 3, an attempt was made to renew and continue the most effective portion of the act. Men of the stamp of Henderson and his boyhood schoolmate in Granville, Robert Goodloe Harper, regarded the Act as "the one barrier that stood between Democratic fury and public liberty."* In an "Address to his Constituents" of February 28, 1801, which is a model in political exposition and forthright candor, Henderson lucidly sets forth his views concerning the subject:

"A bill to continue in force that part of the act commonly called the Sedition Law, which declares, 'that if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written,

*"I wish," said Harper, on January 21, 1801, in one of his last speeches in Congress, "to interpose this law between the freedom of discussion and the overbearing sway of that tyrannical spirit by which a certain political party in this country is actuated, which arrogates to itself to speak in the name of the people, knows neither moderation, mercy, nor justice, regards neither feeling, principle, nor right, and sweeps down with relentless fury all that dares detect its follies, oppose its progress or resist its domination." The party referred to is, of course, the Republican party. Compare C. W. Summerville: *Robert Goodloe Harper.*

printed, uttered or published, or shall knowingly and willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing, any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them or either of them into contempt or disrepute, shall be liable to punishment,' has been rejected by the House of Representatives. As I am one of those who voted for a continuance of this law, I shall take the liberty of offering my reasons for this conduct. The law punishes only those who write or print malicious falsehoods against the government, or its officers. It is said that this law is a violation of that part of the constitution which says, 'That Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.' Gentlemen opposed to the law contend, that any restraint upon the press is an abridgement of its freedom. The words *freedom of the press* mean, in their true technical import, an exemption from any controul previous to its publication; or in other words, that every person may be at liberty to publish anything he pleases, without consulting the will of any person. In this manner the phrase has been understood for ages; its meaning is as well ascertained as that of any word in our language; but it was never contended until lately, that the person who was thus at liberty to write and publish, was not answerable for the abuse of this liberty. As well might a man complain that the LIBERTY of speech was abridged, because he could not be at LIBERTY to tell scandalous and malicious falsehoods of his neighbor; or that the freedom of action was restrained, because he could not be permitted to beat, wound, and abuse every man he meets on the highway. No man can be punished under this law who does not publish a wicked, malicious and scandalous falsehood, with intent to bring the government of the United States into disrepute, and knowing it to be false at the time of its publication. Is there an honest man in the nation who wishes for this privilege?

"I am sensible there is not.

"It is then said, by gentlemen inimical to the law, that though it may be true that Congress have the power of passing such an act, it is inexpedient and improper to exercise this power; that the government cannot be injured if its acts are just and proper, by any misrepresentations or falsehoods. This doctrine would be true were all the people placed in a situation to judge correctly for themselves. But you know Sir, this is impossible; the people must be informed through the medium of the public prints, and if those prints teem with falsehoods and malicious abuse, they will be deceived; and instead of forming just opinions they will be constantly led astray. Will it be said that they can tell what is false and what is not?

How, I beseech you, are they to distinguish; facts are stated in the papers as true, and we are gravely told, that citizens five hundred miles distant from the seat of government are able to know that they are false. I am convinced that no government can exist for any length of time if it is continually abused by malicious slanderers, without having the power of punishing them. I believe it is as essential to its existence to have this power, as it is to have the power of suppressing insurrection or repelling invasion; under this impression, I voted for making the law perpetual. You, sir, and my constituents will judge of the propriety of this vote."*

XII.

The author of "The Defence of North Carolina," in the introduction to that work, vigorously maintains that Thomas Jefferson ruthlessly smothered the highest public spirit in North Carolina. "Mark the history of his influence among us. In 1801, the period of his boasted victory, what was the condition of our State? Who were her great men?—who her political leaders? Governor Johnston, General Davie, James Iredell, Alfred Moore, Archibald Henderson, were among the signs of our political zodiac, whose lustre was obscured by the ascent of this most 'malign influence.' The virtue and ability of the State, which had opposed the elevation of Mr. Jefferson, were overlooked and thrust aside, to make way, let history say for whom." Somewhat more than a modicum of truth lurks in the exaggerated statement of Jo. Seawell Jones. The movement set on foot by General Davie, in correspondence with General John Steele, in 1801, was designed to establish a firm basis for Federalism in North Carolina. As

*In this connection should be read a similar "Letter to his Constituents" of February 26, 1801, written by Henderson's childhood friend and schoolmate, Robert Goodloe Harper, in which he says: "I voted for this continuation (of the Sedition Act) and supported it with all my might; because I considered the law as highly proper and beneficial, in respect both to the government and the people; for while, on the one hand, it provides for the punishment of those who publish false, scandalous and malicious libels against the government, on the other, it enables persons who are indicted for libels, to give the truth of the matter in evidence for their justification, which the common law forbids, and limits the fine and imprisonment, which by the common law is wholly in the discretion of the court." For the full text of this and many similar letters by Harper, compare *Annual Report American Historical Association*, 1913, II.

the result of Federalist activities, the Raleigh *Minerva* became the party organ in 1802; and a fund was to be raised for its maintenance through the efforts of such Federalist leaders and supporters as Archibald Henderson, Duncan Cameron, William R. Davie, William Barry Grove, John Moore, and others. This plan, as stated by Cameron, had "for its end the noble objects of suppressing falsehood and disseminating truth, of subverting the wild and visionary projects and opinions of Democracy and advocating in their place sound, substantial, practical principles of Federalism."* The four Federalists in Congress, Archibald Henderson, William Barry Grove, John Stanly, and William H. Hill, in accordance with a position which had been that of the North Carolina Federalists since the adoption of the Constitution, refused to be instructed by the Republican legislature to support the plan for the repeal of the Judiciary Act of 1801; and this refusal was voiced in Congress by Henderson.† General John Steele, North Carolina's leading Federalist at Washington not in Congress, who had held the position of Comptroller General of the United States Treasury under Washington and Adams, and was retained in office by Jefferson, withdrew from his post late in the autumn of 1802, against the protests of both Jefferson and Nathaniel Macon. In the summer of 1803, General Davie "stood for Congress" against Willis Alston, a pronounced Democrat; and a vigorous contest ensued. And yet, as Professor Dodd observes, "the newspaper plans of Duncan Cameron and others, the 'hue and cry,' as Macon says, raised in defense of the Constitution, which was so endangered; the retirement from tacit support of Jefferson of Gen. John Steele, and the violent campaign in favor of so prominent a man as General Davie, all came to nought in 1803."‡ Davie was defeated and retired from politics; while Grove, Stanly and Hill, who had

*Nathaniel Macon Correspondence. *John P. Branch Historical Papers*, III, No. 1.

†*Annals of Congress;* 7th Congress, 1st Session, 530.

‡W. E. Dodd: *Life of Nathaniel Macon.*

voted against the repeal of the Judiciary Act in 1802, were all defeated, each being superseded by a Republican. This overwhelming defeat dealt Federalism in North Carolina a blow from which it never recovered.*

"During his two terms in Congress," says Judge W. H. Battle in speaking of Archibald Henderson, "he attained a distinction scarcely inferior to that which he had at the bar." Firmly grounded in the principles of Federalism, he remained in the faith to the day of his death. After his service in Congress, where he was succeeded in 1803 by his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Alexander, of Mecklenburg, he never again held high public office, State or national, although his name was put forward on more than one occasion. Being of the "prescribed sect of Federalists," to employ William Gaston's apt phrase, he could not aspire, with any expectation of success, even had he been animated by political ambition, to the office of Governor or United States Senator, no matter how conspicuous or eminent his talents and merits might be. "In 1814," for example, as pointed out by Mr. William Henry Hoyt, "probably no Republican in the State except Macon was so well fitted for public office as Henderson, Grove, Stanly, Steele, Pearson, and Gaston, yet none of these men could hope" for high political preferment—"except Gaston, who had recently gone to Congress from a Federalist stronghold after meeting defeat in the elections of 1810."†

In truth, Archibald Henderson cared little for public office, a fact well known to his friends and contemporaries. The legal profession, that severe and exacting mistress, received the full measure of his devotion; and the best years of his life were zealously dedicated to the service of the law. In spite of his indifference to public position, he was again and again called upon to represent the town of Salisbury and the county of Rowan in the General Assembly of North Carolina. With conscientious fidelity, he served in the legislatures

*See H. M. Wagstaff: *Federalism in North Carolina*. "James Sprunt Historical Publications," IX, No. 2.

†*The papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, I, 76, foot note.

of 1807, 1808, 1809, 1814, 1819, and 1820. No record of that service need be set forth here. Suffice it to say that, during his various terms in the legislature, questions relating to the reform of the judiciary were constantly referred to him as an established authority.

XIII.

Memorable among the intimacies between public men in North Carolina during the early years of the last century was the friendship which existed between Archibald Henderson and William Gaston. The principles of Federalism, in which both were firmly grounded, was a close bond of intellectual sympathy. Each cherished an unbounded admiration for Washington as the ideal statesman, and an ineradicable distrust of Jefferson as a philosophic dilettante in politics who was subservient to French influence. Acting with him in the Legislature and in important suits before the Supreme Court, Henderson came to recognize in Gaston qualities which he revered—transparent purity of purpose, nobility of spirit, profound legal learning, and a mastery in eloquent exposition. In his turn, Gaston found in his friend attributes which he equally revered—innate modesty of disposition, a lofty conception of his duty as a citizen, habitual deference to the law and its votaries, and genius in the art of advocacy.

The personal and political association of these two commanding figures, warm friends and leading Federalists, finds striking exemplification in the memorable speeches which they delivered in the North Carolina General Assembly, on December 11, 1807. These speeches, which are memorable as discussions of the principle of States' Rights and criticisms of Jefferson's administrations, were made in opposition to the Address to the President of the United States, proposed by John Hamilton, of Pasquotank County. The Address, crassly partisan in its politics, expressed extravagant approbation of Jefferson's administration, in particular with reference to the stand he had taken in the impressment controversy with

Great Britain; and, in an almost servile manner, requested Jefferson to be a candidate for re-election. The original resolution, which had been introduced three weeks earlier, contained the sentence: "The General Assembly beg leave to solicit you to permit your name to be held up as a candidate at the next presidential election"; and the bitter animus against the Federalists was expressed in an amendment, in which it was declared "that the safety of the nation was endangered by the machinations of a party who seek to subvert because they cannot direct the government."

In his speech Gaston, who did not flinch from arousing the clamors of some, described himself as belonging to "the proscribed sect of Federalists." In the course of a spirited debate, he vehemently opposed the address on the ground that the legislature of North Carolina was "not authorized to sit in judgment on the conduct of the national executive"; and he further maintained that, even were it authorized to do so, the right should be exercised only in cases of great emergency. The speech delivered by Henderson traverses the position of the Federalists and embodies searching criticism of Jefferson and his administration. As the result of the speeches of Gaston and Henderson, the Address to the President of the United States, after being considerably improved by the omission of offensive political allusions and the abandonment of its servile tone, was finally passed by a vote of eighty-three to thirty-five, both Gaston and Henderson voting in the negative.

The speech delivered by Henderson on this occasion is reproduced in part below:

"I regret extremely that the resolution which is the subject of debate, was introduced to the consideration of this House. . . . It speaks a language which in my conscience I cannot approve, because I believe it is not true. It in the most unqualified manner approbates the whole of Mr. Jefferson's administration; and every man in this House who votes for its adoption, declares to his constituents and the world, that no single act of the President meets his disapprobation.

"I do not feel disposed thus far. I do not believe that his conduct merits this unbounded applause. Those gentlemen who really

believe that the whole of the President's administration has been founded in the most enlightened policy, and has guarded the honor and promoted the interest of the nation, will vote for the adoption of the resolution; those gentlemen, on the contrary, who think that there are objections to some part of his conduct, and though they may approve of other parts, will, I apprehend, be compelled to give their negative to the measure proposed. We are therefore forced, Mr. Speaker, by the very nature of the question, to examine the general features of Mr. Jefferson's administration. It will be recollected that this necessity has been imposed upon us much against our wishes: every mode in our power has been attempted to avoid this unpleasant discussion. If the motion of my friend from Newbern (Mr. Gaston) to postpone the further consideration of the whole of the resolutions had have prevailed, the House would have been relieved from much trouble, and the debate we are now engaged in, avoided. . . . I know, full well I know, that what I am about to observe, will not be pleasing to a number of gentlemen on this floor. But when imperious duty points the way which I should tread, and timid policy directs another, I hope I shall always have firmness enough not to hesitate for a moment what course to pursue; regardless of the frowns of the majority here, or the tumultuous cries of a deluded populace out of doors.

"One of the greatest blessings which a nation can enjoy is an able, upright and independent judiciary. This judiciary, Sir, we had in its utmost purity when Mr. Jefferson was called on by the voice of his country to fill the presidential chair. Scarcely had he taken the reins of government into his hands; scarcely had the members of Congress taken their seats at their first session after his election, when the chief magistrate of the nation, in terms too unequivocal to be mistaken, recommends a repeal of a law under which judges had been appointed, and had actually performed judicial duties. The doctrine was new in America. Before this period it was believed that a judge, once appointed, was secure in his office as long as he *behaved well*, and that no power on earth could deprive him of it. I will not now enter into an argument to show the gross absurdity of construing the words *during good behaviour to mean* at the *will* of the *legislature*. Enough on this subject has already been said; and to that understanding which can yield assent to the miserable arguments which have been used to prove the power of Congress to displace their judges by the repeal of a law I am sure it is useless at this day to say a single word. But I must be permitted to say, that the time will come, of necessity, it must come, when the bitter effects of this passionate act of the President and of Congress, will be severely felt and deeply lamented by the American people. Their judiciary is now prostrated at the feet of the legislature: The independence of their judges is gone I fear forever: A great department

of government is destroyed; a department which engaged the anxious attention of the convention which framed our constitution, and which ought to be more dear to the people than any other; because in times of faction and tumult, it is the only one on which they can rely with confidence and safety. I think it unnecessary to press this subject farther on the House, for I conscientiously believe this legislature could not be induced by any consideration, to pass a law which should deprive their judges of their offices. . . . So deeply rooted is the opinion that our judges are independent of the legislature so long as they behave well. I ask gentlemen if they approve of this act of the chief magistrate? I implore them calmly and dispassionately to give their opinion. Is it their wish that their rights should be tried by men perfectly free from bias? Can that man be supposed to be free from bias who holds his seat at the will of another? We know it is natural for man to be indisposed to thwart the views of those on whom he is dependent. Whatever may be the conduct of others, I for one will never give my confidence or express my attachment to a man who has been the great cause of producing an evil more extensively mischievous to the American people, and which is to entail upon them more lasting misery than any act of the bitterest enemy of this nation.

"When Mr. Jefferson came into power, we had a flourishing navy, and the means were provided for making it respectable. What has become of our vessels? Either sold for a sum far less than they cost, or suffered to rot in their harbors. It is confidently believed at this day, few men can be found, possessing the smallest share of political information, and not blinded by party spirit, who do not see the necessity of keeping up a navy, sufficient at least to protect our coast. It is childish to suppose that our rights will be respected by foreign nations, unless we are prepared to protect them by other means than proclamations.* Is it believed that we should be insulted in our ports and harbors by almost every nation with whom we have connections, if we were prepared to repel force by force? Let every candid man in this House answer the question, and if he will suffer his understanding, unclouded by passion or prejudice, to make the answer, I do not fear the result.

"Mr. Speaker, I have other objections to Mr. Jefferson's administration, which it is difficult to delineate, because they do not arise from any particular act of his, but from the general cast and complexion of his whole conduct. I have ever held it to be the first duty of a great magistrate, to instil into the people a pride of character, a dignity of sentiment, an inviolable attachment to the honor as well as the interest of the nation. It ought to be impressed on them that a wholesome, energetic government is the greatest blessing which Providence in his mercy has given to man; but that it ought to com-

*This observation has been made innumerable times during the past two to three years (1914-1917).

mand their reverence and excite their attachment. They ought to be told in a bold, manly and open language, that taxes are indispensably necessary to support their government and to secure them the inestimable blessings flowing from order and legitimate power. I appeal to the wise and dispassionate of this House, and ask them if the general character of the President's administration has not been to corrupt and demoralize the public mind. By corruption I do not mean that he has made them thieves or robbers; I mean to say that he has suffered to evaporate that manly pride and spirit of independence which conducted us through the revolutionary war, and at last gave us rank among the nations of the earth. The people have become impatient of governmental restraint, and have lost all reverence for established usages and the settled order of things. Honor, virtue and talents give no claim to public confidence. Few men can get into power who do not devote themselves to the caprice of the people: and, Mr. Speaker, there is a laxity in government which is truly alarming, and threatens, if not corrected, to destroy the political fabrick. There is also a wretched thirst for gain, which has absorbed every other passion, and bids fair to make us what foreigners have said we are—*a nation of shopkeepers.** Go into any company, the enquiry is not, Has our honor and character been protected? Has reparation been made for insult and injury? Are our ports and harbors protected? But the question is, Has our national debt been diminished? These symptoms, Sir, are the sure presages of impending ruin: they evidence a general debility, which if not soon corrected, must end in a premature death. I am not disposed to assert that all these have been produced by Mr. Jefferson, but I do say his general conduct has had a tendency to produce them.

"I am of opinion, Mr. Speaker, that the President has been highly blameable in not endeavoring to discover the true interest of the country, and pursuing that with inflexible perseverance. But we know he has almost invariably waited to discover the temper and disposition of the people, and then shape his measures according to their wishes. So that instead of being guided by wisdom and enlightened policy, he has been governed by *town meetings* and *popular assemblies.*†

"It has been said by a gentleman whom I do not see in his seat, (Mr. Hamilton) that the President has purchased Louisiana, to obtain which the Federalists were anxious to go to war. Permit me, Sir, to correct that gentleman. When the king of Spain withheld the right of deposit at New Orleans, which had been solemnly granted to us by treaty, the Federalists were willing to seize by force that island

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*This is the term applied by Napoleon to the English. A. H., June, 1917.

†This characterization of Jefferson, by a political opponent, serves as justification of the title accorded Jefferson to-day: the founder of American democracy. A. H., 1917.

and compel a performance of that stipulation which had been guaranteed by contract: they saw in the conduct of the Spanish Court, a determined hostility to this country; and if justice could not be obtained by friendly means, they thought the character and interest of the nation so deeply concerned that they were anxious to enforce it by an appeal to arms. But, Sir, it was the right of deposit alone that they claimed. We then had no right to Louisiana, nor do I believe it was their wish to obtain it on any terms. I have ever viewed the purchase of that immense territory highly pernicious to this country, and a damning evidence of the disposition of Mr. Jefferson to please the multitude, though he should sacrifice the permanent interest of the nation. . . . When this territory shall be added, disunion must be the consequence. . . . The consequence of a separation of these United States is big with calamities, easily foreseen, but difficult and perhaps improper to describe.

"It will be recollected, Mr. Speaker, that Aaron Burr has recently been tried in the Circuit Court of the District of Virginia, for high treason, and after the most able and patient investigation, which was ever made in this, or perhaps any other country, acquitted under the direction of the Chief Justice. . . . What, Sir, has been the conduct of the Chief Magistrate? Congress has been called on to review this decision, and to ascertain whether there is a defect in the evidence, in the law, or the administration of the law. Is it possible to suppose that Mr. Jefferson really believed that Congress has a power to correct the decisions of the courts of the United States? No sir, he knows they have no such power, and that they cannot interfere except there is ground to impeach the judge. The papers which he has laid before Congress, cannot furnish matter even to institute an inquiry. I have understood that these papers contain nothing more than the documents and evidence which were offered to the court and jury on the trial of Burr. It is impossible to collect from them anything which might justify a criminal prosecution; at most they could only prove that the Chief Justice had mistaken the force of the evidence, or had drawn from it incorrect legal deductions; and we all know that this furnishes no just cause of impeachment. Then I ask, What was the object in making this communication? Was it to impair the confidence which the nation had in the integrity of this distinguished man? . . . Whatever was the object, I will venture to say it strikes a deadly blow at the independence of your courts. If every judicial opinion which is not pleasing to the President, is to be brought under the revision of Congress, and the judge in effect denounced who gives this opinion, we may bid a long farewell to an independent judiciary."*

**The Minerva*, Raleigh, N. C. No. 612. Dec. 24, 1807.

As a brief memento of the friendship between Gaston and Henderson, the following extract, affording an interesting sidelight on the feelings of the hour, is quoted from a letter of Henderson to Gaston, March 7, 1810:

My dear Gaston:—

. . . I am tired, seriously tired, of attending these County Superior Courts. Nothing but noise, confusion and ignorance. The profit is nothing, the honor nothing. I find I am in a fair way to get rid of what legal learning I possessed and in a few years expect to be as well qualified for a Judge as any Democrat in the State. . . . What can I say on the head of Politicks—will not the doings of this Congress be remembered, long remembered, with horror and astonishment. The dismissal of Jackson will and must lead to war. . . . Is it not strange, passing strange, that the administration should for a moment have believed that the wise of the nation could be imposed on by the miserable tale of British insult. I boldly say there was no insult offered by Jackson, at least the documents published do not show it.

. . . I am gloomy—pray write to me and tell something that will rouse my spirits. If you can tell me nothing new let me know that you are well and expect better times.

God bless you, my dear Gaston, and be assured that I am yours, etc.

Sincere regards, A. Henderson.*

One incident, bearing upon Henderson's life as a public character, is deserving of mention, as an illustration of his self-effacing modesty. In 1818, the Supreme Court Bill became a law; and on December 9, when the nominations for judges were made, the names of both Archibald Henderson and Leonard Henderson, his brother, were presented, along with the names of Judges Taylor, Hall, and Seawell, and Messrs. Bartlett Yancey and Archibald D. Murphey. Although assured of election, Archibald Henderson withdrew his name in favor of his brother. He is quoted by the Hon. Hugh Waddell as saying that "one of the family on the Supreme Bench was quite enough."† An interesting and

*For a copy of this letter I am indebted to Judge H. G. Connor.

†In a letter from Raleigh, Dec. 9, to Judge Thomas Ruffin, describing the details of the contest, Archibald D. Murphey says: "One of the Hendersons (it is not settled which) is to be withdrawn. The other will be elected . . ." W. H. Hoyt: *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, I, 122.

authentic anecdote is told of Archibald Henderson in this connection. With all his great powers of reflection, Leonard Henderson was not very practical in matters of business, and made no especial financial success out of the rough hurly-burly of law practice. His brother, Archibald, on the other hand, was conspicuous for practical wisdom and business sagacity. Furthermore he enjoyed a very lucrative practice as a lawyer. When the two brothers were nominated for the Supreme Court Bench, Archibald laughingly remarked: "I am going to withdraw in Leonard's favor—because I can make a living at the law, and Leonard can't."

Our North Carolina Indians

By Colonel Fred A. Olds.

Few subjects are more fascinating than the Indians of North Carolina, yet it has required three hundred years and more of study by noted experts to develop their true story, so that one does not have to depend upon tradition, which is all too often mere misinformation.

There were many tribes of Indians in North Carolina, but only two large ones, the Cherokee (really Tsalagi, or Cave-people), and the Tuscarora (really Skaruren, or Hemp-gatherers, because they gathered the Cannabis Indica, or wild hemp, for various uses); the Cherokee taking their name from the caves in their high mountain country. Both of these have a written language and considerable literature, books, newspapers, etc.

There have been strong arguments by certain persons to the effect that the Indians of America are the descendants of the "Ten Lost Tribes" of Israel. The Indians were called by the Spaniards Indios, because they thought this country was part of India. The Indians had no term or name for all of their people. Their names for individuals, for tribes and for towns, for streams and other things, were all taken from something they observed or which affected the person or locality. Take the word "hominy," for example: it comes from two Indian words, aham (he beats), and min (grain). The coast Indians in 1586 called those in the interior of North Carolina Renapoak, meaning "true men."

It has been proposed by some scientists to call the Indians of this country "Amerind," a contraction of "American Indian," but this is not yet agreed on.

There were more than a score of Indian tribes worth mentioning in North Carolina, the greatest being the Cherokee and the Tuscarora, already referred to, and perhaps the first tribe to be mentioned in history has a curious record. This

was the Roanok, which means, "Northern people," who were found on the island of Wococan (which means curved or bent) by Amadas and Barlowe in 1584. These explorers thought Roanok was the name of the island and Wingandacoa that of the country, but their mistake is now known. The meaning of Roanok, which by custom of speech has become Roanoke, is wampum, peak, or money, made of bored shells strung on strings. The village of Roanok, or Roanoke, was one of those of the Secotan tribe, which in 1584 was found in the peninsula between Albemarle Sound and the lower Pamlico River and its adjacent islands. The word Secotan means "burned place." Later this territory was occupied by the Machapunga, Pamlico and Hatteras tribes, possibly descendants of the Secotans. It is interesting to know that the Secotans had complete belief in the immortality of the soul.

The Tuscarora lived on the Roanoke, Taw (or Torhunta, or Narhontes); and Pamlico rivers. They were much set upon by the whites, and under their chief, Hencock, joined forces with the Coree, Pamlico and others, and tried in 1711, in two wars, to destroy the whites, but were overcome. They went back north, whence they had come, and were adopted politically by the great tribes in northern New York, known as the Five Nations. They were thus given asylum on motion of the Oneida tribe, in the federal council, and it is strange how this was done. First, the Tuscarora were made a baby, next a young man, then a man, then an assistant to the official woman-cooks, then a warrior, and last a peer or chief in the great council, all of these successive stages being passed, each with impressive ceremonies.

And this brings up the point that it was the woman who was, and is in most tribes today, the head of the household and the real head of affairs generally. To her the children belong, and not to the father, and she has all the rights in most tribes that the women of the United States are striving for—in some tribes even more.

The first story told about the Indians in North Carolina

was of course, by Amadas and Barlowe, and from that time until a very recent period there has been no end of misinformation in many ways. The writer will undertake to call the roll of the tribes, and give a word about each:

Moratoc; lived near the Virginia line, about 160 miles from the mouth of the Moratoc or Roanoke River; an important tribe in 1586, but would hold no communication of any sort with the Englishmen.

Cape Fear; lived up that stream, near its mouth, in Brunswick County, of it very little being known except the location.

Choanoc (They of the South, the Southerners); a small tribe in Chowan County, which took its name from them.

Machapunga (bad dust); an affiliated tribe of the Algonquian family, which lived in Hyde County, and which in 1701 had thirty warriors, it and the Coree living together at one village, named Mattamuskeet, lying on the north shore of the lake of that name.

Pamlico; a small tribe, of the Algonquian family, living on the sounds.

Bear River; a tribe which in 1701 had fifty warriors and only one village, Raudauquaquank, this being in Craven County, on the bank of the Neuse River.

Coree; possibly Algonquian, living on the peninsula of the Neuse River in Carteret and Craven counties. In 1686 this tribe had been reduced greatly by bloody wars, its barbarity being noted among the other Indians. The Coree were also called Coranine and Connemoc, and they had one town in 1701, Raruta, with a population of 125. They went into the war of 1711 with the Tuscarora, and in 1715 they and the Machapunga were given a tract of land on Lake Mattamuskeet in Hyde County, where they lived until they became extinct.

Catawba; these were South Carolina Indians, but in 1841 many of them removed to the country of the Cherokee in western North Carolina, but all except two became dissatisfied and returned.

Neuse; lived where New Bern now is, their town being named Chattooka, and removed, after Baron DeGraffenreid burned it, to the Tuscarora, with whom they were specially intimate.

Hatteras; an Algonquian tribe, living on the sand banks about Cape Hatteras in 1701, and frequenting Roanoke Island, their only town being known as Sand Banks, and having 80 inhabitants. These Indians were mixed white and Indian, and claimed that some of their ancestors were white.

Secotan; an Algonquian tribe in 1584, on the peninsula between Albemarle Sound and the lower Pamlico River.

Cape Fear; a little tribe, possibly Siouan, near the mouth of the Cape Fear River in 1661. A New England colony settled there and sent away a number of the Indian children, claiming these were to be educated. The Indians drove off the colonists, but others came and bought lands of the Indian chief, Watcoosa. There were several villages, Necoes being the principal one. In 1665 a second colony of whites settled at Oldtown, in Brunswick County. In 1715 the Cape Fear had 206 people, living in five villages, and that year they took part in the war with the Yamasi Indians, from south of Charleston, and suffered terribly. In 1751 South Carolina asked the Iroquois Indians to be at peace with the Cape Fear, which were then spoken of as a "small friendly tribe."

Keyauwee; a small tribe, near the center of North Carolina, affiliated with the Saponi, Tutelo and one or two others, and found in 1701 near where High Point now is. These Indians had a very strange habit of wearing whiskers and mustaches, and their chief was Keyauwee Jack. This tribe and their affiliates, seven tribes in all, mustering 750 souls, went just over the line into South Carolina and settled on the Pee Dee River.

Neusioc; unclassified tribe, perhaps of Iroquoian stock, found in 1584 in Craven and Carteret counties, which in 1701 had only 15 warriors and two villages, Chattooka and Rouconk.

Eno; a tribe different in physique from their neighbors, all their alliances being with Siouan tribes. They had well-built houses and barns, in which they stored grain and other supplies, and they were quite thrifty. They became incorporated with the Shakori, these two tribes being confederated in 1701. Their chief town was Adshusheer. They also became incorporated with the Saponi and their confederates to the northward, disappearing as a tribe in 1720, but in 1743 still retained the Eno dialect. They lived about the headwaters of the Tar and the Neuse rivers. The names Eno and Shocco, now remaining, tell the story of these Indians, who traded much with the Tuscarora. In 1714 the Eno, Tutelo, Saponi, Occaneechi and Keyauwee, numbering about 750 in all, moved toward the English settlements in the eastern section of North Carolina. Finally most of the Eno went to South Carolina, a few going with the Sapelo to Virginia.

Occaneechi; a rather small tribe found on islands on Roanoke River and later on the Eno River, and who were joined by the Saponi and Tutelo and by the Conestoga, the latter having come from Pennsylvania and taken shelter in North Carolina from the Iroquois. The Occaneechi had two chiefs, one in charge of war and the other of hunting and agriculture.

Cotechney; a small tribe, which has already been described in connection with the extreme eastern Indian septs.

Adshusheer; a tribe associated with the Eno and Shakori in 1711, with its chief town near where Durham now is, its ruler claiming territory and authority as far as the Haw and Reatkin (now called the Yadkin) rivers. It is doubtful that they were of Siouan stock. There is only one mention of them in history; this by John Lawson in 1701. Shakori, or Shocorri, their principal village, was near Hillsboro, its chief being Eno Will, who was a guide for John Lawson, the surveyor-general for the Lords Proprietors.

Saponi; one of the eastern Siouan tribes, now entirely extinct; its language being the same as that of the Tutelo,

and the words Siouan. The Saponi moved eastward, toward the coast country, to get away from Indian raids, and their town in this new location was near where Windsor, Bertie County, now is. In 1715 Governor Spottswood, of Virginia, took them, and other little tribes who had joined with them, to that colony, and from it in 1753 they went to New York and joined the Six Nations, but in 1779 fled to Canada, and so pass out from all knowledge.

Tutelo; almost the same as the Saponi in characteristics. The Iroquois called all the Indians in central North Carolina Tutels.

Cherokee; the best known of all the tribes, and the only one now remaining in the State; a powerful detached tribe of the Iroquoian family, which occupied the whole mountain region in the southern Alleghanies in southwest Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama, and claimed the territory all the way to the Ohio River. The Cherokee had three dialects—the upper, middle and lower. They originally came to this part of the country from the north, and their language is undeniably Iroquoian. They were first met by DeSoto in 1540. They came here to escape attacks from the Iroquois and Delaware. They held their mountains against all comers. In 1838 the greater part of them were removed to the Indian Nation, but 2,000 remained, and the Eastern Band, as it is officially known, of the Cherokee Nation occupies 60,000 acres of land, held in common, in Swain and Jackson counties, numbering there 2,285, about 300 more being in Graham County. The Cherokee in North Carolina are given education by the United States in a most thorough manner, from primary school to college. They have served in nearly all of the wars on the side of the whites, having several hundred men in the North Carolina Confederate troops, their chief having been the colonel of the 69th North Carolina Regiment. They have men now in the 1st Regiment of the North Carolina National Guard. Their chief town is Yellow Hill, lying on the Oconalufty (Agwa-

nulta, properly meaning "by the river"), and here their fine school is located, which will in a few years be turned over to North Carolina. The Cherokee are the most widely distributed throughout the United States, the best educated and the most influential of all Indians. There are seven "clans"; wolf, deer, hawk, owl, and three not translatable. The Cherokee in the United States are now probably as numerous as at any time in their history.

Weapomeioc; a small tribe, found by Governor John White in 1586, its village being Chapanoc, on Albemarle Sound; this and the other little tribes referred to in those earliest days having later become known by other names and so passed out of existence.

Croatan; a so-called group of Indians, living mainly in Robeson County. James Mooney, the noted expert, who is regarded as the finest authority on Indian history, says the theory that the Croatan are descended from the "Lost Colony" of Roanoke Island is baseless. Mr. Mooney has spent much of his life in North Carolina, studying these matters, and was here in 1916. He says the Croatan "embrace the blood of the wasted native tribes, the early colonists or forest rovers, runaway slaves and other negroes, and that of a steady stream of the Latin races from coasting vessels in the West India and Brazilian trade." The Croatan applied for recognition by the United States as Cherokee, but it was denied and the Cherokee acknowledge no relationship, having visited the Croatan country on a tour of inspection. There is a queer offshoot of the Croatan known as "Malungeons," in South Carolina, who went there from this state; another the "Redbones," of Tennessee. Mr. Mooney has made a careful study of both of these branches also.

One thing should be remembered in regard to the Indians of North Carolina, always excepting the Cherokee: In all the South, up to the time of the Revolution, Indian slaves were bought and sold and worked in the fields with the

negroes, and thus amalgamation to a greater or less degree was brought about, the negroes gaining more from the Indians than the latter did from the negroes.

So complete has been the annihilation or absorption of the Indians along the eastern coast that the assertion is made officially that there is now not a native full-blood all the way anywhere between Delaware and Pamlico Sound.

The Indians usually lived in houses made of mat or bark, and within the past seventy-five years the Cherokee had bark houses in their mountain territory. The chiefs of the various tribes had varying authority, and some of them used a baton as the emblem of it; such a baton, of hardwood, beautifully carved, being now in the North Carolina Hall of History.

It should be borne in mind that the Indians were not nomads, for each tribe claimed and lived in a certain tract or region, with well understood boundaries, handed down by tradition and not ordinarily relinquished save to superior force. The land was always held in common, never individually or by family. The fact that the early white settlers did not understand this fact caused trouble and bloodshed and war, again and again.

Many people have an idea that what we call corn, Indian corn or maize, was native here in North Carolina, while in fact it was brought here from Mexico, and its name came from the Arawak word "marish." The North Carolina Indians planted its grains four to the hill, it being thought bad luck for them to touch each other.

There are two other queer beliefs besides those about our Indians, and in conclusion one may be exposed which has prevailed a long, long time, this being that the scuppernong grape was first found on Roanoke Island by Amadas and Barlowe, and that the Indians there esteemed it greatly. As a matter of fact, this grape originated on what is now called the Scuppernong River, the Indian name of which was Askupo-nong, which means "at the place of the bay tree," this tree,

the North Carolina magnolia, being very abundant there. So on that river, near Columbia, Tyrrell County, this white variety of the dark muscadine or bullace grape, was found about 150 years ago by two men named Alexander, and the river gave the name. It was taken to Roanoke Island and everywhere else where this splendid grape will flourish.

The State Navy of North Carolina in the War of the Revolution

An Address delivered before the Summer School of the State College, at West Raleigh, N. C., July 2, 1917

By Marshall DeLancey Haywood.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In all the range of North Carolina history I doubt whether a single topic can be found about which so little is known, even by close students of our State's past, as the part borne by her sailors in furthering the cause of American Independence, and so I have decided to speak for a short while this evening on The State Navy of North Carolina in the War of the Revolution.

At a meeting of the Provincial Council of North Carolina, held in the court-house of Johnston County during the month of December, 1775, it was resolved (on the 21st of that month) that a necessity existed for the fitting out of armed vessels for the protection of the trade of the province. The number of ships first provided for was three, and commissioners were appointed to carry into effect this resolution. One at Cape Fear (the ports of Wilmington and Brunswick), one at New Bern, and one at Edenton, were ordered to be "fitted out with all dispatch." Provision was also made for chartering other vessels at New Bern, Wilmington, and Edenton—and so the Navy of North Carolina had its beginning some months before the Thirteen American Colonies had declared themselves free and independent States. The aforementioned orders of the Provincial Council were promptly carried out, and it may be added that the local Committees of Safety, in the various sea-coast counties, sometimes had a more economical mode of acquiring ships than by purchase; for, when the *Defiance,* under the command of Captain John Cooper, and the *Belville,* under the command of Captain Vance, violated the maritime regula-

tions of North Carolina, while anchored at New Bern, the vessels were promptly seized. A similar fate was narrowly escaped by the sloop *King Fisher,* of which John Strange was owner and Lott Strange master. Another instance, somewhat similar, arose when it was made to appear to the Provincial Congress at Halifax that the brigantine *William,* then anchored in Beaufort Harbor, and of which Philip Westcott was master, was British property, for a resolution was passed by that body on April 10, 1776, directing her seizure and detention till further orders.

On May 9, 1776, the North Carolina Provincial Congress at Halifax opened up negotiations with Virginia for the purpose of securing the construction of two armed ships by that province to co-operate with the North Carolina vessels already on duty guarding Ocracoke Inlet, which could be used as a gateway by British ships in attacking either colony. The same State Congress at Halifax authorized the North Carolina Council of Safety to establish Courts of Admiralty at the ports of Edenton, Bath, New Bern, and Wilmington, and this was accordingly done on June 22, 1776. Admiralty Judges were duly appointed by the same authority and vested with power to commission marshals, registrars, and such other officers as might be necessary for the enforcement of the maritime laws of the province.

In the Summer and Fall of the year 1776 there were marked activities in North Carolina in constructing vessels of a variety of types—some being well-armed ships built by the State, some others being privateers sailing under commissions known as "letters of marque and reprisal," a third class being fast-sailing small boats used for slipping through the British blockade and importing articles needed by the colonists (their cargoes ranging from cannon and gunpowder to French finery and West Indian rum), and still another type of craft being "row-galleys," used for river fights and for unloading American ships which were too large to come into the inland waterways. Among the North Carolina ships

of that period were the *King Tammany,* commanded by Captain Sylvanus Pendleton (who later commanded the eighteen-gun ship *Bellona*) ; the *Pennsylvania Farmer,* commanded by Captain Joshua Hempstead; the *King Fisher,* commanded by Captain James Ducaine; the *General Washington,* commanded by Captain John Forster; the *Joseph,* commanded by Captain Emperor Moseley; and the *Polly,* commanded by Captain John Chase. Then there were the *Lilly,* whose name was later changed to the *Caswell* (Captain Willis Wilson), and the *Johnston* (Captain Edward Tinker)—these ships being namesakes of the Revolutionary leaders Richard Caswell and Samuel Johnston. A similar compliment was paid Thomas Burke in 1782 by naming a New Bern privateer the *Governor Burke,* Peter Raingenoire being her captain and William Savage owner. In thanking Mr. Savage for this token of friendship, Governor Burke wrote: "I am sorry you have determined to give your vessel a name so unfortunate as that you mentioned, and should be much concerned if her fate should in any way resemble his after whom you intend to call her—which is to have laboured much for the public, to his own irretrievable disadvantage."

Among the vessels owned by Henry Montfort, of Edenton (formerly of Halifax), was one called the *Willing Maid,* and another with a name somewhat less sentimental—the *Savage.*

The aforementioned Captain Hempstead seems to have had command of quite a flotilla of North Carolina ships, as we find an order of the State Committee of Safety directing him "immediately to proceed to sea with the armed vessels under his command" for operations in the West Indies, whence the "Jamaica Fleet" was about to sail for some of the neutral ports of Europe, with one twenty-gun ship as its only convoy.

In speaking of the *Pennsylvania Farmer,* it is worthy of note that on it was a detachment of marines, commanded by Captain Robert Turner. When this officer asked to be transferred to the land forces, Colonel Joseph Leech and Captain Hempstead, under date of June 3, 1777, wrote of him: "He

hath been out in the service of his country as a Captain of Marines on board the brig *Pennsylvania Farmer,* and always behaved well in his station." Captain Hance Bond succeeded to the command of the Marines on board the *Pennsylvania Farmer* after the transfer of Captain Turner. Another officer in the Marine service of North Carolina was Captain Samuel Gardner.

Naval activities in North Carolina increased still more as the war wore on. On May 16, 1777, Joseph Hewes wrote from Edenton to Governor Caswell, at New Bern, asking him to send some commissions signed in blank for the use of the ships being fitted out in that place. Hewes said: "There are several persons now here who wish to get commissions for armed vessels that they are fitting out. They can get good security here; but, being strangers at New Bern, might meet with some difficulty there." To the same effect, wrote Michael Payne, of Edenton, on that date: "Several merchants of this place are at this time fitting out armed vessels, and are desirous to have for them letters of marque."

Joseph Hewes, mentioned above (one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence), was for some years a member of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and his thorough knowledge of nautical matters gained for him a position of commanding influence in that body on committees considering subjects connected with sea-faring operations. I shall have more to say of him later on.

One noted North Carolina privateer bore the ludicrous name *Sturdy Beggar.* She was fitted out in New Bern and commanded by Captain James Campbell. She mounted fourteen carriage guns, and was manned by one hundred seamen and marines. That this ship was considered "beggarly" only in name we may infer from an advertisement in the *North Carolina Gazette,* on August 8, 1777, which declared that she "was allowed to be the handsomest vessel ever built in America." The *Pennsylvania Farmer,* already mentioned, was not a privateer, but one of the ships belonging to

the State Navy. She carried sixteen guns and eighty men. Among the ships in North Carolina, not already enumerated, were the *Heart of Oak,* commanded by Captain George Dennison; the *Resolution,* commanded by Captain Joseph Meredith; the *Lydia,* commanded by Captain Appleton; the *Lord Chatham,* commanded by Captain John Cheshire; the *Rainbow,* commanded by Captain Martin Ferns; the *Fanny,* commanded by Captain Thomas Alderson; the *Betsey,* commanded by Captain Ishol Tinker; the *General Nash,* commanded by Captain Deshon; the *General Gates,* commanded by Captain Cunningham; the *New Bern,* commanded by Captain Cochran Amit (Amyett?), and the *Eclipse,* commanded by Captain Charles Biddle. These vessels brought a tremendous amount of needed supplies to the State, besides making themselves useful to the American cause by preying on the commerce of the enemy. Occasionally one had the misfortune to be captured or suffer shipwreck. Describing a calamity of the latter nature, in a letter to Governor Caswell, under date of December 10, 1778, Robert Smith, of Edenton, said: "I am sorry to inform you that the brig *General Gates,* Captain Cunningham, in the lattitude of Bermuda, had the misfortune to be overset and totally lost. Whether captain and crew were saved or not we know not, but are anxious about their safety, as there were on board six young gentlemen of the first families and best expectations in this part of the country, who went volunteers to try their fortune."

The ships fitted out in North Carolina cruised over a much greater area than might be expected. They were continually going to the West Indies, and sometimes crossed the Atlantic to the neutral countries of Europe. In December, 1778, the North Carolina ship *Caswell* formed part of an American fleet raised for an attack on East Florida.

In July, 1778, a ship called the *Holy Heart of Jesus,* commanded by Captain William Boritz, came from some European country to North Carolina with a cargo of cannon. Twenty-three of these were purchased by North Carolina,

and twenty-two by Virginia. Some of these may still be seen in Edenton. Two were presented by that town to the State, and these interesting relics are now mounted on stone bases on the south side of the Capitol in Raleigh. A touch of Civil War history attaches to them from the fact that the United States forces broke off the trunnions for fear the Confederate troops might make use of them—an operation which would have been about as dangerous to the "man behind the gun" as the ones in front of it.

It is greatly to be regretted that so little record remains of the enterprise and prowess displayed by North Carolina seamen during the course of the war. Their operations were both on the high seas and in home waters. Josiah Martin, who still claimed to be Royal Governor of North Carolina, though he had been driven out of the colony, wrote to the home government, from his place of refuge in New York, that while British warships were watching the approaches to large sea-coast cities in America, "the contemptible port of Ocracoke" had become a great channel of supply to the rebels. This warning did not go unheeded, and the blockade around North Carolina was drawn tighter. The North Carolinians, however—who were familiar with the devious channels of the various sounds, rivers, and inlets of their State—were more than equal to the new difficulties by which they were beset. Sometimes they slipped by the British fleet, under the cover of night; sometimes outran their pursuers in an ocean race; and, when odds against them were not too large, would fight to a finish with the "pirates," as they called the British sea forces. American victories were by no means uncommon occurrences, and occasioned great rejoicing. The naval forces, too, vied with the landsmen in annually celebrating the birthday of American Independence in a manner by no means "safe and sane." On the Fourth of July, 1778, John Wright Stanly and Richard Ellis (large ship-owners of New Bern) had cannon placed on their wharves and fired all day, with the usual addition of "liquor given to the populace." Colonel

Richard Cogdell, in referring to the celebration, wrote: "Stanly and Ellis seemed to vie with each other in a contest as to who should do the most honor to the day, but Mr. Ellis had the most artillery."

Of the individual acts of enterprise and heroism displayed by North Carolina seamen, the records tell but little. One marvelous case of spirit and fortitude, however, has been recorded and is well worthy of mention. John Davis—son of the old public printer, James Davis, of New Bern—was in the naval service of North Carolina and was captured in 1780 by the British, who held him captive on a ship off the coast of South Carolina. The captain attempted to compel the American prisoners to do duty on shipboard, and Davis peremptorily refused to obey his orders. Thereupon he was severely beaten, and then was told that the punishment would be renewed unless he would signify his obedience to the captain's orders by drawing a bucket of water from the ship's side. To this he defiantly replied: "If His Majesty's whole Navy was on fire, and one bucket of water, drawn by me, would extinguish the flames, I would not draw it." This answer so enraged the captain that he directed Davis again to be flogged, and declared that the beating should not cease until the prisoner agreed to obey the orders which had been given him. This command was carried out with such inhuman brutality that the body of Davis was almost torn asunder, but his Spartan fortitude never gave way under the prolonged torture, and he died from its effects in a short while. More than half a century after his death, some of the friends of Davis had a record of the circumstances of his heroic conduct entered on the minutes of Craven County, at New Bern.

Of Joseph Hewes, of North Carolina, member of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, I have already spoken; and it may not be altogether amiss to add a few more words concerning him. He entered the Continental Congress as early as 1774, and (with one year's exception) served until his death in 1779. As member of the Naval Committee and

Marine Committee in that body, he had more to do with organizing those departments of the new government than any other man. The Philadelphia historian Judson, in his well-known work entitled *Sages and Heroes of the American Revolution,* refers to the Congressional services of Mr. Hewes as follows: "He was upon several of the most important committees. Upon the one for fitting out a naval armament he stood in the front rank. He was virtually the first Secretary of the Navy. With scanty funds he speedily fitted out eight armed vessels. He was very active in raising supplies in his own State to strengthen the sinews of war and oil the wheels of the general government." The severe labors of Mr. Hewes finally undermined his health and ultimately caused his death. When he obtained a temporary leave from the Continental Congress in September, 1776, his colleagues Hooper and Penn wrote of him: "After a long and diligent attendance in Congress and the different committees of which he has been a member, he is now upon his return home. From the large share of naval and mercantile business which has been allotted to his attention by Congress, his health has been much injured." It was Hewes who secured for the great naval hero, John Paul Jones, his first commission as an officer of the American Navy. Among the official letter-books of the Governors of North Carolina, now preserved in Raleigh, is one letter to Governor Samuel Johnston from Congressman Robert Burton, of date January 28, 1789 (during the lifetime of Jones), wherein the writer said: "As those men who have fought and bled for us in the late contest cannot be held in too high esteem, and as the Chevalier John Paul Jones is among the foremost who derived their appointment from this State, * * * I take the liberty of offering to the State as a present, through you, its Chief Magistrate, the bust of that great man." Governor Johnston replied: "I will readily accept it on behalf of the State, and will communicate your letter to the next Assembly." What became of this bust, if Colonel Burton ever carried out his intention of sending it, is

not known. It may have been destroyed when the old Capitol, at Raleigh, was burned in 1831. In the above connection it may be added that several most interesting autograph letters from John Paul Jones to Hewes are now preserved in the files of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

This closes the all too brief record I have been able to make of the hardy seamen whose enterprise, daring, and devotion, contributed so much to the important part North Carolina was able to play in the great War for American Independence. These old rangers of the ocean have long since been called from the labors and hardships of this life—some perishing by sea, amid the raging elements or crash of battle, and some resting in neglected and unmarked graves on the bosom of mother earth. It is true that they had their faults, as sailors are but human; yet, in view of all their patriotic services we, who are still permitted to enjoy the blessings of the liberty they helped to win, should let charitable oblivion cover their shortcomings (whatever they may have been), and wish for each brave voyager a safe and happy haven hereafter:

"At the piping of all hands,
When the judgment-signal's spread—
When the islands and the lands
And the seas give up their dead."

Review of The Prince of Parthia

By Nina Holland Covington.

The reputation of Dr. Archibald Henderson as one of the most brilliant of our modern literary critics extends into other countries than our own, and North Carolina is very proud of her distinguished son, but the most pleasing part to us about Dr. Henderson's literary work and researches is that he takes the greatest pleasure in writing about people and events of his own native State, and is never so happy as when he has brought out from obscurity and semi-oblivion some North Carolinian who has achieved something worth while.

We confess to a complete ignorance on the subject of The Prince of Parthia, and its author Thomas Godfrey, until we picked up that delightfully "gotten-up" edition of the play with its introductory monograph. With painstaking care the history of the life of the young author—Godfrey was only twenty-three when The Prince of Parthia was written—has been brought out by Dr. Henderson, and as we read the interesting narrative of this youthful genius we realize, for the first time, that Wilmington and North Carolina deserve prominent place on the literary map of America, for in Wilmington, the first American tragedy was written, and in Wilmington also its author, the young Godfrey, is buried.

Following the monograph—a model of clear style and interesting biography—is the text of the play itself and even a hurried reading of the production will show how important the play is. The work of a boy hardly out of his teens, it shows merit of no mean order, and causes us to regret the death of Godfrey at the age of twenty-six as a distinct loss to American drama, for The Prince of Parthia—his first production—would possibly have been followed by other plays, had not death ended the young poet's career.

Aside from the merit of the play and the interest of the narrative of Godfrey's life, the 1917 edition of The Prince of Parthia bears clear evidence to the statement made by the publishers in their announcement of the work:

> The original and only edition of Godfrey's play ever published, which likewise includes his poems, was brought out by his fellow-poet, the Reverend Nathaniel Evans, in 1765. This edition is excessively rare and virtually unprocurable. The present edition is primarily due to the loving interest and elaborate researches of Dr. Archibald Henderson, one of the most distinguished of living dramatic critics. In an extended introduction, which is itself a monograph, he for the first time narrates the fascinating story of young Godfrey's life, and with deft strokes paints the artistic and literary background of society, in the cultured circles of Philadelphia and Wilmington, against which the figure of the young poet and dramatist stands forth radiant and distinct.
>
> At this time when a concerted effort is being made by the Drama League of America and other forces, to project the American drama into the focus of national consciousness, the publication of the play is an event of importance.

Not only on the map of early American literature does North Carolina deserve place. With an O. Henry, a Dr. Henderson, a Margaret Busbee Shipp to boast of, besides many others whose excellent work in literature, the old North State is taking prominent part in the literary history of the Nation.

Not until recent years did North Carolina realize the richness of her agricultural resources. May the time soon come when she will estimate at full value the importance of literary achievements. The Patterson Cup—given by one of our public spirited women—is a step in the right direction.

It seems to us that there would be no better investment for some of our millionaires than for them to donate a few thousands (if no more) for the substantial aid of young writers struggling to gain foothold on the very treacherous and slippery Hill of Fame.

Vol. XVII OCTOBER, 1917 No. 2

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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Vol. XVII OCTOBER, 1917 No. 2

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
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The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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LAW OFFICE OF ARCHIBALD HENDERSON AT SALISBURY, N. C.

A few feet away, in the same yard, William R. Davie, and later, Andrew Jackson, studied

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XVII OCTOBER, 1917 No. 2

A Federalist of the Old School

(CONCLUDED)

By Archibald Henderson.

"The most perfect model of a lawyer that our bar has produced."
Archibald DeBow Murphey.

XIV.

During the summer of 1801 there appeared a notice in *The North Carolina Mercury and Salisbury Advertiser* (August 6) announcing the recent wedding of "Archibald Henderson, Esq., Member of Congress, to the amiable Miss Sally Alexander, both of this town." The union of the Henderson and Alexander families was doubly sealed by the marriage of William Lee Alexander, a native of Mecklenburg County, brother of Archibald Henderson's wife, with Elizabeth Henderson, Archibald Henderson's sister. In describing his acquaintances in Salisbury during the last decade of the century, Dr. Charles Caldwell says: "Henderson had two sisters, by far the most accomplished women of the place. . . . . One of them was married (Fanny, to Spruce Macay), and the other (Elizabeth) single. I sincerely admired both . . . and passed in their society many delightful hours." Sarah and William Lee Alexander, whose brother was Dr. Nathaniel Alexander of Mecklenburg, a graduate of Princeton, afterwards Member of Congress and Governor of North Carolina, were the children of Colonel

Moses Alexander, first High Sheriff of Mecklenburg County and Colonel of the County Militia until his death in 1772, and his wife, Sarah, daughter of William and Jane Taylor Alexander. This Jane Taylor Alexander was descended from John Alexander, the youngest son of the first Earl of Stirling, who married Miss Graham of Gartmore, Scotland, and emigrated to America in 1659, settling in Stafford County, Virginia, in 1660. Moses Alexander was of the Caledon branch established in Ireland; and his grandmother was, with several sons, among the first to purchase and colonize a large tract of land in Cecil County, Maryland. She fled with others from Munster, the Earl of Stirling having suffered attainder, together with several thousand, from earls to yeomen, during the Dublin Parliament of James II.* The three brothers, Moses, Nathaniel, and Daniel Alexander, shortly after 1750 settled on Rocky River, then in Anson County, afterwards Mecklenburg, now Cabarrus. Nathaniel Alexander, who held the rank of Captain in the North Carolina militia, under the command of Col. Hugh Waddell, was active in protecting the Rowan frontiers against Indian incursions during the French and Indian War. William Lee Alexander, a student at Princeton, a lieutenant in the Continental line during the Revolution, and a very distinguished lawyer in his day, resided for some years in Salisbury; and his sister, Sarah, was doubtless living in his home at the time of her marriage to Archibald Henderson.†

Three children blessed the happy union of Archibald and Sarah Alexander. An early sorrow of their married life was the loss in infancy of a son, named Roger Griswold for Mr. Henderson's warm friend and colleague in Congress, the distinguished Federalist of Connecticut. Two children who survived were Archibald and Jane Caroline. Archibald, who was born on January 8, 1811, was educated at Yale (1826-28) and at the University of Virginia (1828-31), from which

*Johnston: *History of Cecil County.* The title was restored, about a century later, to Nathaniel Alexander, of Londonderry, Ireland, for distinguished service in the British East Indian Army.

†John Steele Henderson: *History of the Alexanders.* "Charlotte Observer," May 11, 1902.

latter he was graduated in the School of Moral Philosophy, July 16, 1831. On December 14, 1840, he was married to Mary Steele Ferrand, a granddaughter of General John Steele. Jane Caroline, a fascinating belle of North Carolina society, was married in November, 1845, to the Hon. Nathaniel Boyden, a native of Massachusetts, afterwards Member of Congress from North Carolina, and Associate Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court.

. . . . . .

About eight o'clock on Monday night, October 21, 1822, Archibald Henderson, at the age of fifty-four, died at his home in Salisbury. In honor to his memory, the Justices of the Supreme Court of North Carolina and the members of the bar in attendance upon the Court unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we have heard, with the deepest sorrow, of the melancholy event which, since the last term, has taken from our country its distinguished citizen and deprived us of our much esteemed associate, ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, ESQ.

Resolved, That as a token of respect for the memory of our deceased friend, we will wear crepe on the left arm for one month.*

In the Raleigh *Register* of November 1, 1822, the following obituary notice appeared:

DIED,

At Salisbury, in this state, after a very short illness, Archibald Henderson, Esq., Counsellor at Law. This Gentleman's death is a public loss, for he was one of the most distinguished Members of the Bar in the State, and a man of unblemished integrity and honour. To his family his loss is irreparable, whether we consider the breach in their domestic happiness, or the deprivation of his eminent talents.

On Wednesday, October 23, at a meeting of the directors of the State Bank of North Carolina, Salisbury Branch, of which Archibald Henderson had long been president, the following preamble and resolutions were introduced by Col. Thomas G. Polk and unanimously adopted:

The Directors of this Branch Bank, deeply penetrated with the magnitude of the loss which the institution, in common with the

**Hillsborough Recorder*, January 15, 1823.

State, has sustained in the death of their much respected President, *Archibald Henderson*, Esquire, do hereby resolve,—

1st. That they have ever entertained the highest veneration for his virtues, his talents and his integrity.

2d. That, in testimony of the high regard they feel for his character, they will, together with the other officers of this Bank, wear crape on the left arm for the space of thirty days.

3d. That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the *Western Carolinian*, under the direction of the Cashier.

From the minutes.

JUNIUS SNEED, *Cashier.**

At Lincolnton, on Friday, October 25, the members of the bar in attendance on the Superior Court, held a memorial meeting attended by John R. Donnell, the presiding judge. At this meeting, over which the Hon. Joseph Wilson, Solicitor General, presided, with James Graham as secretary, the following resolution, of several, was passed:

Resolved, as the unanimous and deeply felt sense of this meeting, that we consider the death of *Archibald Henderson* a severe affliction, not only to his professional brethren and friends, but to all who knew him in the wide range of his usefulness. Recollecting his pure and spotless integrity, his profound erudition in the science of the Law, his unequalled powers as an Advocate, the distinguished urbanity of his manners, and his frankness in imparting to others from the vast store of his legal learning; and remembering how uniformly his transcendent talents and virtues have been devoted to the best interests of our country, his death we deplore as a great national loss.†

XV.

In all that has been said, thus far, of the man, his life, character, and political record, no account has been given of his career as a lawyer. Yet it was as a lawyer that he left a profound impression upon his contemporaries and bequeathed to posterity a repute that may well be regarded as enviable. After the lapse of a century, it is extraordinarily difficult to pierce the veil of the past and see the great lawyer in his habit as he lived. Had he been Supreme Court Justice, his written opinions would serve as memorial of his legal learn-

**Western Carolinian*, Salisbury, October 29, 1822.

†*Western Carolinian*, November 12, 1822. For this extract, I am indebted to Dr. Stephen B. Weeks.

ing and mental attainments. But as advocate and counsellor, he must rely for renown solely upon the judgment of his contemporaries. Like the actor who (before the days of phonographs and motion pictures) must rest his fame on the immediate impressions created upon the hearts and minds of his audience in the theater, the lawyer achieves high repute almost exclusively through the opinions of his gifts as orator, logician, scholar, and advocate, handed down through the graphic pictures of contemporary record, vivid memory, or constant and authentic tradition, caught in the purlieus of the law courts or in the halls of justice. In recognition of this immitigable limitation, the effort will here be made to give a faithful picture of Archibald Henderson, the advocate and legal counsellor, as mirrored in the minds and hearts of his contemporaries.

"Who now knows anything of Archibald Henderson, familiarly known as 'Baldy' Henderson fifty years ago?" once asked the late Col. R. B. Creecy. "He was the great lawyer of his time in North Carolina. . . . And yet, great as he undoubtedly was, interesting as was his private and personal history, and full of useful lessons as was the whole story of his life, we have never seen any mention of him in any enduring record." Fortunately there has been preserved in an "enduring record," not an account of Henderson's life and career, which is nowhere to be found, but an estimate of his character as lawyer, citizen, and publicist. As an analysis of moral qualities and an appraisal of civic virtues, this essay in character-delineation is unsurpassed in the entire range of our North Carolina literature. It is the obituary account, or more accurately speaking, essay in psycho-analysis, published at the time of Henderson's death by his close friend and warm admirer, Judge Archibald D. Murphey, over the pen name of "Philo Florian."* Four years later, the same brilliant pub-

*Sketch of the Character of Archibald Henderson as a Lawyer. Raleigh *Star*, January 10, 1823; Salisbury *Western Carolinian*, January 14, 1823; *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 15, 1823; Newbern *Carolina Sentinel*, February 15, 1823. This sketch is copied, with some inaccuracies, in J. H. Wheeler: *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, II, 386-390. For an exact draft, see *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, edited by W. H. Hoyt, II, 312-319.

licist, one of the most distinguished scholars and broad-visioned, forward-looking men ever born in North Carolina, drew a gallery of admirable pen-pictures of North Carolina characters in his justly famous oration at Chapel Hill (June 27, 1827). In this address at the University of North Carolina, Judge Murphey describes Archibald Henderson as "upon the whole, the most perfect model of a lawyer that our bar has produced." In an interesting letter commenting upon that address, Chief Justice John Marshall, who for thirty-odd years presided over the Federal Circuit Court and had often heard Archibald Henderson at the bar, pronounced him as being "unquestionably among the ablest lawyers of his day." Upon another occasion, Marshall pronounced Henderson "one of the great lawyers of the Nation." At the time of Henderson's death, because of the universal recognition of his eminence as a lawyer, Judge Murphey urged that a monument to his memory be erected by the bar of the State. This monument, which bears the memorable epitaph written by Murphey, was so erected, and is still standing in the old "Lutheran Graveyard" at Salisbury. It is believed to be the only monument to a lawyer as such, ever erected in North Carolina and by the bar of the State.

That shrewd student and astute critic of men and affairs, David L. Swain, in describing the bar of North Carolina, cited Archibald Henderson, Thomas Ruffin, Archibald D. Murphey, William Gaston, Joseph Wilson, Judge Seawell, Gavin Hogg, and Moses Mordecai as the greatest lawyers of the day practising before the Supreme Court. Archibald Henderson is characterised as "probably the most eloquent and successful advocate in criminal offenses, who ever appeared at the bar in North Carolina."* As an orator, he has been spoken of as one who "sustained the character of the profession for legal learning and general literature." The Hon. Burton Craige, who had often seen and heard Henderson at the bar, once said that "he never spoke

*D. L. Swain: *Early Times in Raleigh*. 1867.

more than an hour in any case, but that every word that he uttered was an argument, every sentence eloquence in its true sense, the power of conviction." If his contemporaries and the immediately succeeding generation are to be credited, Mr. Henderson must have especially excelled as an advocate. John W. Moore, the historian of North Carolina, says that he was "one of the very greatest advocates North Carolina has produced. . . . Mr. Henderson classes as an advocate with William Hooper, Governor Davie, Judge Badger, and Governor Bragg, and was perhaps of larger influence as a practicing lawyer than any of them."

When a young man, Henderson incurred an injury to the trachea, which impaired the naturally fine tone of his voice. Despite this handicap, says Dr. Caldwell, "the strength and compass of his mind, his sagacity and penetration, and his power in analysis and argument, and readiness in debate were undiminished, and they all increased with his advancement in years and experience, until he ultimately rose to the head of the bar in North Carolina, and retained that station to the close of his life." Men have spoken of "the impetuous torrent of his eloquence which captivated juries"; and Judge Murphey, whose language is more nicely discriminating, thus details his attributes as an advocate: "His style and manner of speaking at the bar were extremely impressive. . . . He always came to the trial of causes well prepared; and if the state of his health or his want of preparation were likely to jeopardize his reputation in the management of his client's case he would decline the trial until a more favorable time. The courts in which he practiced, and his brother lawyers, understood the delicacy of his feelings upon this point so well that they extended to him the indulgence he required, and a knowledge of this part of his character gave confidence to his clients and attracted crowds of people to hear his speeches. When he rose at the bar no one expected to hear commonplace matter; no one looked for a cold, vapid, or phlegmatic harangue. His great excellence as a speaker consisted in an earnestness and dignity of manner and strong powers of

reasoning. He seized one or two strong points, and these he illustrated and enforced. His exordium was short and appropriate; he quickly marched up to the great point in controversy, making no manœuvre as if he were afraid to approach it, or was desirous of attacking it by surprise. The confidence he exhibited of success he gradually imparted to his hearers; he grew more warm and earnest as he advanced in his argument, and seizing the critical moment for enforcing conviction, he brought forth his main argument, pressed it home and sat down."

The Hon. William A. Graham, who wrote excellent biographical studies of Archibald D. Murphey, George E. Badger, and Thomas Ruffin, and was eminently qualified to pronounce judgment upon the merits of North Carolina's leading lawyers, places Archibald Henderson, William Gaston, and George E. Badger at the head of the list. Of Thomas Ruffin, he says that for the period from 1818 to 1825, "he had hardly a rival in the bar of the Supreme Court of the State or the Circuit Court of the United States, except Archibald Henderson and Gaston." Of George E. Badger, he says: "At the bar of the State he wore the mantle of Gaston and Archibald Henderson for a much longer period than either, worthily and well, with no diminution of its honors."* The late Judge R. R. Heath, who was familiar with Henderson's history and personal characteristics, described him as "the greatest lawyer the State had produced before Mr. Gaston's time"; and the late Captain Charles Price, a lawyer of eminence, described him as "in his day the greatest lawyer of the State."

Certain distinctive qualities marked his career as a lawyer, and characterized his advocacy at the bar. "The sublime idea that he lived under a government of laws was forever uppermost in his mind," says Judge Murphey, "and seemed to give a coloring to all his actions." Respect for the court and its officers, reverence for and obedience to the laws; deli-

*Cf. W. J. Peele: *Lives of Distinguished North Carolinians*, 113, 206, 290, 293.

cate conscientiousness in always endeavoring to live up to the highest ideals of the legal profession, in no matter how slight a case; intellectual and emotional sympathy with the mentality and sentiments of the average man—these were conspicuous attributes of his character. Perhaps nothing endeared him so much to the common people or so effectually won their hearty commendation as the oft-expressed conviction that "the laws were made for the people, and they should be interpreted and administered by rules which they understood, whenever it was practicable: that common sense belonged to the people in a higher degree than to learned men, and to interpret laws by rules which were at variance with the rules of common sense, necessarily lessened the respect of the people for the laws, and induced them to believe that courts and lawyers contrived mysteries in the science merely for the purpose of supporting the profession of lawyers." He was the inveterate foe of legal pedantry; and in his own practice he translated with rare clarity the mysteries of the law into the simple and expressive language of daily life.

XVI.

The fatal defect of much biographical literature, especially of the briefer sort, is the pointlessness of its panegyric. The subject furnishes the text for a cold catalogue of formal virtues; and the result is that the differentiating qualities, the distinguishing traits, of the individual character are wholly lost sight of. Replace the name of the person biographed by that of another character in the same sphere of activity, and, save for a few dates, the colorless virtues and glittering generalities associated with the original remain equally applicable to the substitute. In order to escape even a semblance of this singular, yet patent, defect of brief biography, a number of personal incidents descriptive of character, loosely called "anecdotes" by an earlier generation, may serve to give some conception of the deeper instincts and larger emotions of Archibald Henderson, the man.

Genuine insight into the character of an individual may be gained through a knowledge of the persons and characters who incarnate that individual's highest ideals. No man who ever lived in North Carolina, William Hooper not excepted, surpassed Archibald Henderson in exalted admiration for George Washington and profound veneration of his memory. Doubtless his first view of Washington at Salisbury in 1791, when he himself was in his early twenties, left upon him an impression so deep and moving as to tinge the whole fabric of his life and thinking.

When Fisher Ames, the distinguished Federalist, was given the congenial task of penning the answer of Congress to Washington's last message in December, 1797, he gave free play to his ardent Federalism and flowing rhetoric, lauding Washington's administration and pronouncing an eloquent eulogy of his life and services. The carping and bitter Virginian, William Branch Giles, supported by Nathaniel Macon, Andrew Jackson, and nine others, voted nay on the answer. Among other things, Giles ungraciously said that if others regretted the retirement of the Father of his Country, he for his part wished him to retire at once; and furthermore, that he thought the country would not suffer, as many men could fill the office of President with credit and advantage. The story is still told in Granville County that, when the news of Branch's speech against Ames's answer reached Williamsboro, Archibald Henderson, deeply incensed, declared that Giles's vote and sentiments "sprang from the oscillation of a wicked heart."

An incident which occurred at Salisbury testifies with equal vividness to Archibald Henderson's reverential estimate of the greatness of Washington. In preparing a series of toasts for the very elaborate July 4th celebration at Salisbury in 1803, General John Steele gave to the fourth toast the following form: "To our illustrious fellow citizen George Washington and the long list of Statesmen and Heroes who coöperated with him in the establishment of American independence." The toast was altered to read, simply, "To

the Memory of General Washington"—in deference to the earnest representations of Archibald Henderson, who urged that "to connect with that name any other name or description of characters would derogate from the respect due to it."

Archibald Henderson was a great lover of learning, a diligent reader of the classics, and a profound student of law in its wider bearing upon the course of human history. In his richly stored library, teeming with works of history and the classics, were scores of volumes by the greatest legal authorities of Great Britain.* At the age of twenty-seven, along with General William R. Davie and Mr. James Hogg, the two men chiefly instrumental in the founding and location of the University of North Carolina, Archibald Henderson was elected a member of the Dialectic Society upon its organization in 1795. Throughout his life he remained a warm adherent of the University of North Carolina—although his own son studied at Yale and at the University of Virginia. When the General Assembly of 1800, as the result of the great hostility to the University aroused by the litigation under the act of 1794 to recover unsold confiscated lands, repealed this act and also the act of 1789, granting escheated property, Archibald Henderson was deeply distressed, and wrote to Walter Alves (Jan. 2, 1801): "Alas! alas! the Legislature of No. Carolina to wage war against the arts and sciences! I blush for my native State. My dear sir, this Phrenzy must be checked or our Country will be lost for ever. That spirit which agitated Europe for ten years and continues to convulse it seems to be exercising its all powerful energy in the U. States and particularly in No. C."†

During his lifetime, Archibald Henderson was not only held in popular esteem as a "philanthropic and worthy citizen," but was revered as being "remarkable for his benevolent qualities." The late Dr. Theodore Bryant Kingsbury, the author of an unpublished sketch of Granville County,

*An appreciable portion of this library, the books bearing Archibald Henderson's book-plate, is still preserved.

†In 1809 Archibald and Leonard Henderson each subscribed one hundred dollars to aid in the completion of the South Building at the University.

says of him: "But few of the many able lawyers of our State ever so impressed their fellow men for uncommon powers as did this illustrious and admirable man. He was amiable and true and noble. . . ." Moore, the historian of North Carolina, says: "He was one of the very ablest lawyers ever seen in the State and possessed virtues to match his intelligence."* Many instances are recorded of his kindly and humane disposition, and his ready sympathy for those in sorrow and distress. Especially was this true in the case of the downtrodden, the afflicted, and the oppressed, whose heritage and environment coöperated in great measure to make of them lawbreakers and criminals.

Upon one occasion he was summoned to make the long journey from Salisbury to Smithfield, to prosecute a man for murder; and he was offered an extraordinarily large fee for his legal services. When he arrived at the court house, the prisoner's wife, who was dressed in black, saw and immediately recognized him. Knowing by reputation his almost uncanny skill as a criminal lawyer, the poor woman gave a shriek of horror, and throwing up her hands, exclaimed:

"My God, Mr. Henderson, have you come all this long way to convict my poor husband of murder?"

So touched and affected was he by this moving plea that he bowed his head, and abandoning the case, immediately left the court room. Mounting his sulky, he drove, in silent meditation, all the way back to Salisbury.†

Archibald Henderson was vigorously opposed to slavery, and believed that the intellectual, economic, and social progress of the South would continue to be seriously retarded so long as the negro remained enslaved. The sentiments in regard to slavery voiced by his friend, William Gaston, at the University of North Carolina in 1832, might well have been uttered by himself: "It stifles industry and represses enterprise; it is fatal to economy and providence; it discourages

*History of North Carolina, I, 428, footnote.
†This incident is erroneously associated, by Judge W. H. Battle, with the name of Leonard Henderson.

skill, impairs our strength as a community, and poisons morals at the fountain head." He heartily endorsed the principles of the American Colonization Society, the fundamental purposes of which were to encourage emancipation and to aid the emigration of the emancipated to Africa. It was believed that, as soon as an asylum should be found for the freed negroes, emancipation would steadily increase. The society began to establish branches in North Carolina in 1819, the work being under the direction of the Rev. William Meade, of Virginia, afterwards famous as Bishop. In Raleigh, according to the Rev. Mr. Meade's report to the society, he found "the same unanimity of sentiment (as at Fayetteville). The Supreme Court being in session, many of the judges and lawyers were collected from the different parts of the State, who cordially joined in the society and testified to the general prevalence of good will to it throughout the State. At a meeting for forming a constitution, the highest talents, authorities and wealth of the State were present, and unanimously sanctioned the measure."* Both Archibald and Leonard Henderson were vice-presidents of the Raleigh Society (1819), of which Governor Branch was president; and Major Pleasant Henderson was a vice-president of the Chapel Hill Society (1820), of which the Rev. Joseph Caldwell, President of the University of North Carolina, was president.†

So successful was Archibald Henderson in the pleading of a cause that at times he seemed to throw over his hearers an almost hypnotic spell, causing a temporary remission of judgment almost compelling conviction. A well-authenticated anecdote is related in connection with a case, in which he secured a verdict of acquittal for the defendant who was accused of stealing a pig. After the successful termination of the trial, Mr. Henderson asked his client:

"Well, sir, what is the truth about stealing this pig?"—

to which his admiring client, with naive earnestness, replied:

*Mss. minutes, Board of Managers American Colonization Society. Report of Meade, June 21, 1819.

†S. B. Weeks: *Anti-Slavery Sentiment in the South.* "Publications of the Southern History Association," II, 2; April, 1898.

"To tell you the truth, Mr. Henderson, before I heard you speak in my defense, I thought I had stolen that pig. But, sir, I frankly acknowledge now that you have fully convinced me of my own innocence."

The reputation he bore as a repository of legal lore sometimes had amusing consequences. An interesting character in Stokes County was the Lutheran-Moravian divine, Gottlieb Schober, a shrewd old German, who enjoyed considerable local repute as a rough-and-ready lawyer, and twice represented his county as Senator in the State Legislature. Upon one occasion a prospective client came to Schober and solicited his legal advice.

"The fee, mine friend," said Schober, "is five dollars."

On receiving the fee, the thrifty old German stuffed the money into his purse, snapped the clasp, dropped the purse into his pocket, and then leaning eagerly forward, said with great earnestness:

"You haf paid me for my legal advice, mine friend, and now I gif it to you. Go out of here, get on your horse, and ride as fast as you can to Salisbury. You go to see old Paldy Henderson. My legal advice to you, mine friend, is: Whatever old Paldy Henderson tells you to do—*you do.*"

About the year 1815 a wide-spread network of crime, in the way of counterfeiting money and altering bank bills, spread over Western North Carolina. The center of this nefarious industry was in Rutherford County; and citizens of some prominence were said to have been implicated in the conspiracy. The terror of the counterfeiters was the great solicitor, Joseph Wilson, a man of "iron will, determined purpose, and massive intellectuality." For some years the counterfeiters flourished to an extent which baffles modern comprehension, and public opinion in condemnation of their practices was exceedingly difficult to arouse. "Early in 1822 indictments came thick and fast against the leaders of the band for 'deceit' and 'forgery,' and they employed Baldy Henderson, the astute criminal lawyer and peerless advocate,

to defend them. He seized upon every pretext for continuance, and urged removal of the cases to different counties from those where the presentments originated. When their friend and counsellor, Mr. Henderson, died in October of the same year, before having secured their acquittal, these strong desperate men wept like children, declaring that 'Baldy Henderson was their only hope of escape from the hands of Joe Wilson, the prosecutor.' "*

Archibald Henderson had an immense legal practice, before the Federal Circuit Court, presided over by John Marshall, before the Supreme Court of the State, and in the Superior Courts. In important cases, men of the stamp of Waightstill Avery, William Duffy, Archibald D. Murphey, Frederick Nash, William Gaston, Henry Seawell, Thomas Ruffin, and Gavin Hogg were associated with him; and he and Gaston crossed swords upon more than one memorable occasion in the halls of the Supreme Court. Henderson's greatest legal victories, it is believed, were made without the assistance of counsel, and his power in clearing some desperate criminal from the clutches of the law seemed to be almost akin to wizardry. One of his best remembered achievements is the clearing of the infamous desperado, Nixon Curry, a notorious thief and murderer. In the eyes of his friends, Curry, who was utterly fearless, appeared as a hero; and the case, when it finally came up for trial at Morganton at the Spring term of the court in 1821, filled the court room with a dense and excited throng.

"Baldy Henderson conducted the defence in a forensic effort of great adroitness and power. He commenced by frankly admitting that the prisoner's character was blackened by every crime known to the law, but reminded the jurors that they were under the sanctity of an oath to try him for the particular offence of which he was accused, and no other. He also appealed to them to divest themselves of prejudice and dismiss preconceived opinions. As a slave was not allowed to testify in a court of justice the evidence of the negro who had seen Curry just previous to the killing of (Ben)

*F. B. McDowell: *Some Types of Early Days.* "Charlotte Daily Observer," December 12, 1897.

Wilson, was excluded; and Curry while in jail or in hiding, having married Dovey Caldwell, effectually silenced her as a witness, the wife being debarred by law from giving testimony against her husband. Without these two important witnesses, the State could not make out a very strong case, and the jury returned a Scotch verdict, of guilty, but not proven.

"After the termination of the trial, the sheriff accompanied Curry to the room of the attorney who had secured his acquittal, and in order to show his appreciation Curry emptied a pocket full of gold upon the table and begged his advocate to help himself. Without any ceremony, Mr. Henderson swept the whole amount into the drawer; and when Curry mildly suggested that the charge was pretty steep, 'Old Baldy' is reported to have emphatically answered: 'No, it will take every dollar to wash my hands clean of your infernal rascality.' "*

Archibald Henderson had unbounded reverence for the law, and implicit faith in the essential virtue and justice of the courts. He always carried a cane with ivory head upon which was a silver plate, bearing the inscription which he held as his motto: *Fiat Justitia Ruat Cœlum*—"Let justice be done, though the heavens fall." His son was astonished to learn one day that, although he was esteemed a great lawyer, he had never taken the precaution to make a will. When the matter came up for discussion, Mr. Henderson summarily disposed of the question with the quiet assurance:

"My son, the law makes the best will."

XVII.

Two pen-pictures from the same hand, the one gravely formal, the other intimate and personal, will survive as vital contemporary estimates, sincere in feeling, classic in expression. The one is the inscription upon the beautiful monument over his grave in Salisbury:

In Memory of
Archibald Henderson
to whom his associates at the Bar have erected
this Monument
to mark their veneration for the character of a Lawyer
who illustrated their profession by the extent of his learning,
and the

*F. B. McDowell: *Some Types of Early Days*, ibid.

unblench'd integrity of his life:
of a Man
who sustained and embellished all the relations
of Social Life
with rectitude and benevolence:
of a Citizen
who, elevated by the native dignity of his mind above the
atmosphere of selfishness and party, pursued
calmly, yet zealously, the true interest of his country.
His loss was felt with a sincere, general and
unmixed Sorrow.
Decessit XXI Die Octobris
Anno Domini MDCCCXXII, Æt. suae LIV.

The other portrait is the opening paragraph of the essay of "Philo Florian":

"I became acquainted with Archibald Henderson in the year 1803, and from that time to the time of his death, I looked to him as a model of that perfect character in the profession of the law which all his brethren should be ambitious to imitate. From him, judges might learn wisdom and discretion, and lawyers the dignity of their profession and the high duties which it imposes. I here speak only of his professional character; that which he exhibited to his country for more than twenty years, with a force and effect that ought to be remembered as long as a reverence for our civil institutions shall be cherished. No man could look upon him without pronouncing him one of the great men of the age. The impress of greatness was upon his countenance; not that greatness which is the offspring of any single talent, or moral quality; but a greatness which is made up by blending the faculties of a fine intellect with exalted moral feelings. Although he was at all times accessible, and entirely free from austerity, he seemed to live and move in an atmosphere of dignity. He exacted nothing by his manner; yet all approached him with reverence, and left him with respect. The little quarrels and contests of men were beneath him: their bickerings, their envyings, their slanderings, and all the workings of their little passions kept at a distance from him: and I have often seen him discomfited at the bar, when contending for his clients, in cases where the little passions only had play. His was the region of high sentiment; and there he occupied a standing that was preëminent in North Carolina. He contributed more than any man since the time of General Davie and Alfred Moore, to give character to the bar of the state, and to impress upon the people a reverence for their courts of justice. His career at the bar has become identified with the history of North Carolina, and his life and his example furnish themes for instruction both to gentlemen of the bench and to his brethren of the bar. May they study his life and profit by his example!"

APPENDIX.

Speech of Archibald Henderson, of North Carolina, Opening the Debate on the Judiciary Bill in the House of Representatives.*

On Monday, February 15, 1802, Mr. Davis called for the order of the day, on the Judiciary Bill from the Senate. On this day, several motions for postponement or adjournment were lost.

On Tuesday, February 16, the great debate was opened by the speech of Mr. Archibald Henderson, of North Carolina, as follows:

Mr. Henderson. I should not rise to offer my opinion on the great question now before the committee, were I not placed in a situation different from that in which I have been since I have had the honor of a seat in this House. The legislature of the State of North Carolina, one of whose representatives I am on this floor, have seen proper to instruct their Senators, and to recommend to their representatives in Congress, to use their exertions to procure a repeal of the law passed the last session of Congress, for the more convenient organization of the courts of the United States; and as the bill on your table has for its object the repeal of this law, and as *I* shall probably vote against its passage, a decent respect for the opinions of those who have framed and sent forward those resolutions, demand that I should give the reasons which influence my conduct.

And here, Sir, I cannot forbear lamenting extremely that I should unfortunately be placed in a situation where the highest obligations of duty compel me to act in opposition to the wishes of that community to which I immediately belong. It is certainly of great importance that as public function-

*The text of Archibald Henderson's speech, as here given, is reproduced from a rare volume, entitled: DEBATES in the Congress of the United States on the BILL for repealing the LAW "for the more convenient organization of the courts of the United States," During the First Session of the Seventh Congress, and a List of the Yeas and Nays on that Interesting Subject. Albany. Printed for Collier and Stockwell. 1802.

aries we should not only discharge those trusts committed to us with fidelity, and for the general good, but in such a manner as to give satisfaction to those for whom we are acting.

And if I know the feelings of my own heart, I declare, that next to the consciousness of having performed my duty with uprightness, my highest satisfaction is the knowledge that in the discharge of this duty I meet the approbation of my fellow men. But, Sir, if this approbation is only to be obtained by the unconditional surrender of my understanding, and the violation of my oath, I hope I shall be excused if I do not make this sacrifice at the altar of public opinion. Indeed, Sir, were I disposed to forego my own opinion, and adopt that of the legislature of my own state, were I inclined to say, thy will be done and not mine, I should first demand of them an absolution from the oath which I have taken to support the constitution of the United States. As long as that oath is binding on me, I see an insuperable objection to my acting in conformity to their wishes.

I will further remark, Sir, that I am not a little surprised that that august body should have undertaken to decide on a question not necessarily before them, without having an opportunity of hearing the arguments which may be used here either on one side or the other. I will not permit myself for a moment to believe the measure originated in a want of confidence in those who represent the State and the people in this assembly. And yet, if that confidence exists, the reasons for this procedure do not immediately present themselves to the mind.

I hope, Sir, it will not be understood that I mean to cast the most distant shade of disrespect on that body. I feel too great respect for the legislature of my native State to be guilty of such an attempt. No doubt but they were influenced by the purest and most correct understanding. It does not follow, by any means, that because my weak and feeble mind cannot discover perfect propriety in the conduct of men, that therefore it does not exist.

Having premised thus much, Mr. Chairman, I will pro-

ceed to an examination of the question under consideration. It has been usual to divide it into two parts; first, the expediency; and secondly, the authority of Congress to pass the law on the table. This is a natural and correct division; but I shall invert the order of considering the question, and first examine our power to act, before we consider the expediency of acting. And if, after a calm and candid review of the constitution, it should be found that we are prohibited from passing the bill, there will be no necessity for inquiring into the expediency of repealing the law passed last session of Congress for organizing our courts of justice. The relative merits of the old and new judiciary system will be entirely out of view. For I am confident that there is not a member of this body who would wish to pass the bill on your table, if in doing it we must violate the sacred charter under which we are now assembled.

The people of America have obtained and established, that the powers of government shall be vested in three great departments; the Legislative, the Executive and the Judicial. They have said, that there shall be a House of Representatives, the members of which shall be chosen by the people of the several states every second year. Though this House is composed of members chosen by the people immediately; though they can have no other interest than the great community from which they were sent; though they must return to the common mass in the short period of two years; yet enlightened America did not see proper to entrust the power of making laws to this body alone; they knew that the history of man, and the experience of ages, bore testimony against the safety of committing this high power to any one assembly not checked by some other body. They have therefore erected another branch of the legislature, called the Senate, the members of which are not to be elected by the people immediately, but by the sovereignties of the several states; they are to be chosen for six years, and not for two; and the qualifications requisite to entitle those to a seat, is different from that of a member

of this House. To these bodies are given the power of initiating all laws; but after a bill has passed both of these Houses, before it becomes of binding obligation on the nation, it must be approved of by the President; it is a dead letter, until life is given by the executive. The President is elected not by the people, but by the legislatures of the several states, not by either House of Congress, but by electors chosen by the people. He is to hold his office during four years. This is the second great department of the government. It will be easily discovered from this cursory view of our constitution, the caution and jealousy with which the people have conferred the power of making laws, of commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong. But, Sir, after this law was made, after its authoritative mandate was acknowledged by the nation, it became necessary to establish some tribunal to judge of the extent and obligation of this law. The people did not see proper to entrust this power of judging of the meaning of their laws either to the legislative, or to the executive; because they all participated in the making of these laws; and experience had shown, that it is essential for the preservation of liberty, that the judicial and legislative authorities should be kept separate and distinct. They therefore enacted a third department, called the Judicial, and said that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The *judges both* of the *supreme* and *inferior* courts shall hold their *offices during good behavior,* and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office." It is admitted, I understand, by all parties, by every description of persons, that these words, *shall hold their offices during good behavior,* are intended as a limitation of power. The question is, what power is thus to be limited and checked? I answer, that all and every power which would have had the authority of impairing the tenure by which the judges hold their offices, (if these words were not

inserted) is checked and limited by these words; whether that power should be found to reside in Congress, or in the executive. The words are broad and extensive in their signification, and can only be satisfied by being construed to control the legislative as well as the executive power. But gentlemen contend that they must be confined to limiting the power of the President. I ask gentlemen, what is there in the constitution to prove their signification to this end alone? When you erect a court and fill it with a judge, and tell him, in plain simple language, that he shall hold his office during good behavior, or as long as he shall behave well; what, I beseech you, Sir, will any man, whose mind is not bewildered in the mazes of modern metaphysics, infer from the declaration? Certainly that the office will not be taken from him until he misbehaves; nor that he will be taken from the office during his good behavior. Under this impression he enters upon his duty, performing it with the most perfect satisfaction to all persons who have business before him; and the legislature, without whispering a complaint, abolishes the office and thereby turns out the judge. The judge is told: this is no violation of the compact, although you have behaved well, although we have promised that as long as you did behave well you should continue in office; yet, there is now no further necessity for your services, and you may retire. These words, "during good behavior," are intended to prevent the President from dismissing you from office, and not the legislature from destroying your office. Do you suppose, Sir, that there is a man of common understanding in the nation, whose mind is not alive to the influence of party spirit, that would yield his assent to this reasoning? I hope and believe there is not. But, Sir, how is it proved that the President would have had the power of removing the judges from their office, if these words, "during good behavior," had not been inserted in the constitution? Are there any words in that instrument which give the President expressly the power of removing any officer at pleasure? If there are, I call upon

gentlemen to point them out; it does not result from the fashionable axiom, that the power which can create, can destroy. The President can nominate, but he can appoint to office only by the advice and consent of the Senate. Therefore, it would follow, if the power of displacing results from that of creating, that the Senate should participate in displacing as well as creating officers. But however this may be, it is certainly a mere constructive power which he has exercised, because the legislature have, from motives of expediency, acknowledged that he had it. If the constitution does not necessarily give the President the right of removing officers at pleasure, and if that right depend upon legislative acts or constructions, where would have been the necessity for inserting these emphatic words as a check and limitation of executive power, when without them the President has no such power? You are taking great pains to control a power which does not exist. The persons who framed our constitution knew that a power of removal in ordinary cases must exist somewhere. They took care, therefore, that in whatever hands it might fall, the language of the constitution respecting the tenure of the office of a judge should be co-extensive with the whole power of removal, whether it should reside in one or in more hands.

But, Sir, these words, during good behavior, are familiar to the American people. When the political bands which united us with Great Britain were burst asunder, and we assumed among the nations of the earth an independent station, most, if not all the states introduced these words into their constitutions. They were deemed essential, and a meaning has been stamped upon them which it is not in the power of this House to change. Let us for a moment examine some of the state constitutions, and see what signification must of necessity be given to these words. I will first advert to the constitution of North Carolina, as being one with which I am best acquainted. In that instrument it is said, "that the General Assembly shall, by joint ballot of both Houses, appoint judges of the supreme court of law

and equity, judges of admiralty and an attorney-general, who shall be commissioned by the Governor, and hold their offices during good behavior." I ask gentlemen what power is intended here to be limited and checked by the words "shall hold their offices during good behavior." Not the executive, for it is well known that the Governor of that state cannot appoint even a constable. It could not be the meaning of that constitution to check his power of removal, for that of appointment is not anywhere given to him. Then these words must mean, that the legislature should not have the power of removing the judges from office as long as they behaved well. If you do not give this signification to the words, they are of no importance, and might as well have been left out of the instrument. I hope the feelings of the people of North Carolina will not be hurt, and their understandings insulted, by telling us that the meaning of the words may be satisfied by construing them to extend to a prohibition of the legislature displacing the judges, and proceeding to the election of others, without those displaced being guilty of *misbehavior*. If this is correct, what security, Sir, have the people then for the independence of their judges? The constitution has told them that they should be judged by men who, during the time they behaved well, should continue in office, or what is the same thing, should hold them during good behavior. But they are now informed that this was intended to operate as a check upon the legislature's displacing them by selecting others to fill their offices when they had not misbehaved, but not to prevent their passing a law repealing that act by which the appointment to office was made; or in other words, our assembly are expressly forbidden to impair the tenure by which our judges hold their offices, as long as they behave well; but they can repeal the law, and the judges are out of office, though they may be the most virtuous, upright and able men in the country, and have discharged their duties faithfully. Are the gentlemen on this floor from North Carolina prepared to give this construction to that constitu-

tion? Are they prepared to tell their constituents that the provisions of their constitution may be thus evaded, and the whole power of government, legislative, executive and judicial, be concentrated in the general assembly, and absolute despotism imposed upon them? If they are not, I conjure them to pause before they give their vote for the passage of the bill on the table. I will further observe, Mr. Chairman, that words of the same import with those I have quoted from the constitution of North Carolina, are to be found in the Virginia and South Carolina constitutions, in neither of which states hath the Governor the right of appointing judges.

In Virginia, Sir, the judges of the supreme court, in 1792, declared that the assembly of that state had not the power of imposing chancery duties on the district judge, and in delivering their opinions discanted at large on the independence of the judiciary, and said that the assembly could not annihilate the office of a judge, which was secured to him by the constitution. If this is a true exposition of the constitution of that state, I ask gentlemen by what authority they now attempt to impose a different meaning on the same words, when found in the constitution of the United States? Are we to suppose that the whole people of America were less regardful for their rights, less solicitous for independent judges, than the people of a particular state? And unless this is conceded, the doctrine of gentlemen who advocate the passage of this bill must be incorrect.

But it has been said that the powers of each Congress are equal, and that a subsequent legislature can repeal the acts of a former; and as this law was passed by the last Congress, we have the same power to repeal it which they had to enact it. This objection is more plausible than solid. It is not contended by us that legislatures who are not limited in their powers, have not the same authority. The question is not what omnipotent assemblies can do, but what *we* can do, under a constitution defining and limiting, with accuracy, the extent and boundaries of our authority. The very sec-

tion in the constitution (sect. 3, art. 1), which I have read, is a proof against the power of every Congress to repeal the acts of their predecessors. In the latter part of the 8th section it is proposed, that the judges shall receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office; and yet the salary was fixed and ascertained by a former Congress. The same observations may be made with respect to compensation for President, which can neither be decreased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected. It is not competent for this Congress to vary the compensation to him, which has been fixed by a prior legislature. It is clearly seen, upon a little investigation, that the position which gentlemen take is too extensive, and leads immediately to a destruction of the constitution. It does away all check, and makes the legislature omnipotent. It has been asked, that if a corrupt and unprincipled Congress should make an army of judges, have not a subsequent Congress the right of repealing the law establishing this monstrous judicial system? I answer, that they have not; the same mode of reasoning which attempts to prove this right from an abuse of power, will also prove that you may lessen the compensation of your judges. May not equal oppression be imposed upon the people, by giving your judges exorbitant salaries, as by increasing their numbers? May not the same corrupt and unprincipled motive which would lead men to the raising of an army of judges, lead them to squander the public money? And may they not, instead of giving their judges 2000 dollars a year, give them 200,000? And yet, Sir, if these were to take place, I know of no authority under the constitution to lessen this exorbitant compensation. The government of our country is predicated upon a reasonable confidence in those who administer our public affairs. They must have the power of acting for the public welfare, and this would never have been given them if the possible abuse of this power were a sufficient reason for withholding it.

I will take the liberty of observing further, that this part

of the constitution, which forbids lessening the compensation to the judges during their continuance in office, furnishes a strong argument that it was the intention of the people to place their judges out of the control of the legislature as long as they behaved well; that they did mean to render them independent of the legislature to a certain extent, is obvious; inasmuch as they inhibit the power of reducing their salaries. For it is evident, that if they could take from them their compensation, they might drive them from office; and the consequence would have been, that our judges would have felt all the dependence which results from a consciousness that another body has the power of diminishing their comforts. I ask gentlemen if the framers of this constitution intended to give Congress the power of abolishing the office of a judge, by repealing the law which created the office, and thereby displace the judge? Where could have been the propriety of forbidding his salary to be diminished during his continuance in office?

Is it possible to suppose that they were more anxious to secure that independence which results from permanency of compensation, than that which results from permanency of the office itself? That they should have been altogether regardless of the power which Congress was to have over the office, but limit with the utmost strictness their power of diminishing the salary, when the office itself, upon which the salary depends, was to be at the mercy of Congress? I believe that such folly cannot, with justice, be attributed to these great men who gave existence to this instrument.

Again, Sir, the construction which gentlemen on the other side of the House would contend for, tends to the concentration of legislative and executive powers in the same hands. If Congress, who have the power of making laws, can also displace their judges by repealing that which creates the offices they fill, the irresistible consequence is, that whatever law is passed the judges must carry into execution, or they will be turned out of office. It is of little importance to the people of this country whether Congress sits in judgment

upon their laws themselves, or whether they sit in judgment upon those who are appointed for that purpose. It amounts to the same despotism; they in fact judge the extent and obligations of their own statutes by having those in their power who are placed on the sacred seat of justice. Whatever the legislature declares to be law must be obeyed. The constitutional check which the judges were to be on the legislature is completely done away. They may pass ex post facto laws, bills of attainder, suspend the writ of habeas corpus in time of peace; and the judge who dares to question their authority is to be hurled from his seat. All the ramparts which the constitution has erected around the liberties of the people, are prostrated at one blow by the passage of this law. The monstrous and unheard of doctrine which has been lately advanced, that the judges have not the right of declaring unconstitutional laws void, will be put into practice by the adoption of this measure. New offences may be created by law. *Associations* and *combinations* may be declared treason, and the affrighted and appalled citizen may in vain seek refuge in the independence of your courts. In vain may he hold out the constitution and deny the authority of Congress to pass a law of such undefined signification, and call upon the judges to protect him; he will be told that the opinion of Congress now is, that we have no right to judge of their authority; this will be the consequence of concentrating judicial and legislative power in the same hands. It is the very definition of tyranny, and wherever you find it, the people are slaves, whether they call their government a monarchy, republic or democracy.

Mr. Chairman, I see, or think I see, in this attempt, that spirit of innovation which has prostrated before it a great part of the old world. Every institution which the wisdom and experience of ages had reared up for the benefit of man. A spirit which has rode in the whirlwind and directed the storm, to the destruction of the fairest portion of Europe; which has swept before it every vestige of law, religion, morality, and rational government; which has brought twenty

millions of people at the feet of one man, and compelled them to seek refuge from their complicated miseries, in the calm of despotism. It is against the influence of this tremendous spirit, that I wish to raise my voice, and exert my powers, weak and feeble as they are. I fear, Sir, on the 7th of December, it made its appearance within these walls, clothed in a gigantic body, impatient for action. I fear it has already begun to exert its all-devouring energy. Have you a judiciary system extending over this immense country, matured by the wisdom of your ablest and best men? It must be destroyed. Have you taxes which have been laid since the commencement of the government? And is the irritation consequent upon the laying of taxes worn off? Are they paid exclusively by the wealthy and the luxurious part of the community? And are they pledged for the payment of the public debt? They must be abolished. Have you a mint establishment, which is not only essentially necessary to protect the country against the influx of base foreign metals, but is a splendid attribute of sovereignty? It must be abolished. Have you laws which require foreigners coming to your country to go through a probationary state, by which their habits, their morals and propensities may be known, before they are admitted to all the rights of native Americans? They must be repealed, and our shores crowded with the outcasts of society, *lest oppressed humanity then should* find no *asylum* on this globe!

Mr. Chairman, if the doctrine contended for by gentlemen on the other side of the House should become the settled construction of the constitution, and enlightened America acquiesce with that construction, I declare for myself, and for myself alone, I would not heave a sigh nor shed a tear over its total desolation. The wound you are about to give it will be mortal; it may languish out a miserable existence for a few years, but it will surely die. It will neither serve to protect its friends, nor defend itself from the omnipotent energies of its enemies. Better at once to bury it with all our hopes.

The First Secession Movement

The late Dr. W. R. Wood, Superintendent of the Asylum, some years ago sent me the enclosed letter, with the proceedings of the first meeting declaring secession (in imitation of the Mecklenburg Declaration) ever held. This Declaration antedated the South Carolina Declaration more than two months. This was on 14 October, 1860, and that of South Carolina was on 20 December of that year.

This is a valuable historical document, and, being from that section, I know the statements therein are entirely accurate. WALTER CLARK.

HON. WALTER CLARK,

Raleigh, N. C.

MY DEAR JUDGE:—I herewith confide to your especial care—*In Memoriam* of a past age and a lost cause—the Minutes of the first declaration of secession ever formulated and promulgated in the Southern States.

The history of this first declaration of secession principles have never been written, and therefore has never been generally known. Mecklenburg with her declaration of 1775 has been oft and oft recorded in letters of living light, high on the pages of fame's immortal scroll in the New World's history. Therefore, and wherefore should not this second movement in behalf of constitutional liberty and the sovereign rights of a chivalrous people, by the sages of old Halifax, in the startling era of the sixties, be handed down to our posterity in the history of American martyrs and Southern heroism.

Perhaps in the remote future, amid the changes wrought by time in the destinies of States, it may come to pass, that the actors in the opening drama of 1860, who, thus launched forth this first declaration of secession in defiance of a

World in Arms, will be considered something more than irrational impulsive visionaries or impetuous fire eaters.

With sentiments of distinguished consideration and esteem, I am, Very truly your friend,

WILLIAM R. WOOD.

Scotland Neck, Oct. 14, 1888.

A CHAPTER OF HISTORY.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FIRST SECESSION MOVEMENT AND DECLARATIONS OF THE FIRST SECESSION RESOLUTIONS EVER HELD IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, AT PALMYRA, HALIFAX COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, OCTOBER 14TH, 1860.

Pursuant to previous notice issued for the purpose of eliciting an expression of opinion relative to the action of the people of North Carolina in the event of the certain election of a sectional President, the citizens of Halifax and adjoining counties of Edgecombe, Martin and Bertie assembled *"en masse"* at Palmyra on the 14th inst. The meeting was largely composed of men of character, of influence and standing in their separate communities. General David Clark, Thos. Jones, Samuel Hyman, A. P. Hyman, L. L. Savage, Henry B. Whitmore, Kenneth Thigpen, Dr. William R. Wood, W. R. Cherry and other kindred spirits were early on hand voicing the sentiments of our people in no uncertain words. Crowds of men, of all conditions and walks of life, from the great slave holders of the Roanoke Valley to the humblest, poorest man in the neighborhood, thronged the village and adjacent groves, manifesting deep and serious interest in the great momentous questions of the times. The meeting was called to order by the Hon. Kenneth Thigpen of Edgecombe. Thos. Jones, Esq., of Martin was nominated to the Chair and A. P. Hyman of Palmyra appointed Secretary.

The Chairman in a brief incisive speech pointed out the

evils of the hour, and with a master's hand portrayed in gloomy colors the threatening troubles hanging like a dark funeral pall over the institutions and destinies of the Southern people. After Mr. Jones had explained the object and interest of the meeting, Gen'l David Clark of Halifax was called on to give his views of the situation. The general was peculiarly happy in the manner and delivery of his remarks, and in a spirited, stirring talk of a few moments completely captured the audience, creating quite a sensation and electrifying his hearers by exclaiming in language most prophetic: "Gentlemen, Lincoln will be elected, all you hold dear, your wives, your children, your property and your sacred honors, are at stake. The hour has struck, the enemy is upon us. The time for action, decisive action, is at hand. The powers of evil have all combined against us to rob us of our substances and dishonor us in our manhood. We must act, act in the living present with all the sublime courage of heroes and martyrs. There is nothing stands between us now and our deadliest foes. The abolitionists and disunionists of the New England States, for the Democrats have played the devil and the Whigs have gone to hell." This brought down the house and the General retired amid a storm of applause. General Clark was followed by the young, impassioned and uncompromising advocate of secession, Dr. William R. Wood of Scotland Neck, in a political argument on the right of secession, beginning with the Hartford Convention and closing in an eloquent and scathing phillipic against Northern abolitionists, and in concluding, declared it the imperative duty of North Carolina to at once withdraw from the Federal Compact and joining her Southern sisters, seek, with them an alliance, offensive and defensive with the powers of Great Britain. And if necessary to preserve and protect her people from Northern aggression and domination renew her allegiance to the British Crown. This open defiance of Northern supremacy again brought down the house, but also brought our Chairman, Mr. Jones, to the floor. Requesting the venerable Samuel Hyman to

take the chair, Mr. Jones made a ringing speech against an alliance with England, advocating with force and effect his "pet idea," an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Emperor of France. The debate waxed fast and furious for a few moments on these two propositions of Dr. Wood and Mr. Jones, and for awhile considerable merriment and confusion ensued, but debate was cut short and order restored by the ever ready, gallant Kenneth Thigpen, who in a few stirring, startling words impressed the importance of the occasion upon the convention and demanded the appointment of a committee to formulate a platform of resolutions giving emphatic expression to the views of the people. Upon that committee, the following gentlemen were appointed by the Chair:

Hon. Kenneth Thigpen,
Gen'l. David Clark,
Thos. Jones, Esq.,
Dr. William R. Wood,
Lem. L. Savage, Esq.

As a guest of Mr. Jones, Mr. Whitmel Kearney of Warren, who was present and whose people were known to be in sympathy with the movement, was by unanimous consent added to the committee. These gentlemen retired, and after considerable time and much consultation, reappeared and announced the following preamble and resolutions:

1st. Whereas, The people of the Northern section of our common country are forcing through the legislatures of their several States, with all the elements of implacable hatred, so called personal liberty bills, abrogating in its entirety, the fugitive slave laws, subverting the constitution of our fathers, and openly threatening the most sacred interests and institutions of the Southern States by declaring that instrument which binds this Union together as coequal sovereigns a covenant with death and a league with hell.

And, Whereas, The Republican party has proclaimed itself a sectional party, pledged to wage relentless war against the institutions of the South:

Therefore, Resolved, That whereas the Republican States of New England were the first to proclaim the right of secession, we will profit by their example, and their language of the Hartford Convention. *Declare,* That "when emergencies occur which are either beyond the reach of the Judicial tribunals, or too pressing to admit of the delay incident to their forms, States which have no common umpire, must be their own judges and execute their own decisions."

Resolved, 2nd. That henceforth we renounce all allegiance to the United States Government, and appeal to our Legislature to call a convention for the purpose of withdrawing North Carolina from the Federal Compact and negctiating with other Southern States in forming alliances offensive and defensive with the Emperor Napoleon the III. of France.

Before a vote was taken on the committee's report, Dr. Wood, though a member of the committee, appealed to the convention to vote down Mr. Jones' French resolutions, and offered the following as a substitute:

Resolved, That as North Carolinians, we disown, disavow and utterly repudiate all allegiance to the so called Federal Government, and demand the unconditional withdrawal of North Carolina from the Federal Compact, and for the better preservation of her sovereignty as a free and independent State, unite with her Southern sister States in forming an alliance offensive and defensive with the powers of Great Britain, and if necessary to protect her people from Northern aggression and domination, renew her allegiance to the British Crown.

After considerable debate between the parties advocating the French and English propositions, Dr. Wood's resolution was voted down. The preamble and resolutions as they came from the committee were unanimously adopted and the convention adjourned.

A. P. Hyman, *Secretary.*

Samuel Hyman, Sr., *Chairman.*

Dr. W. R. Wood, Scotland Neck.

My Dear Doctor:—The above is but a rough sketch in pencil of our great Secession Convention in 1860. Try and copy them off as best you can and preserve it in memory of old friends and a lost cause. Your friend,

Palmyra, A. D. 1866. A. P. Hyman.

The above is a truthful transcription of the rough notes referred to by my late father, A. P. Hyman, Secretary of the meeting at the time, as copied out in full by the undersigned at the request of Dr. Wood. A. P. Hyman, Jr.

Scotland Neck, August 25th, 1888.

John Washington Bennett, Famous North Carolinian

By Gen. W. A. Smith.

(Written by request of the Anson County Daughters of the Confederacy.)

One William Bennett many long years ago married a Miss Huckston and begat William Bennett, Jr.; William Bennett, Jr., married Susanna Dunn, thus uniting the famous Dunn family with the probably more famous Bennett family. William Bennett's father was a captain in the Revolution and his great-uncle was a general, commanding a division in Cromwell's world renowned Ironsides. Isaac Dunn, who was a younger son, and brother to Sir Daniel Dunn, married Miss Mary Sheffield and begat Susanna Dunn, who was the only fruit of this marriage. There was born to William Bennett, Jr., and Susanna Dunn, Lemuel Dunn Bennett, who married Jane Little, daughter of William Little of Marlsgate, England. To L. D. Bennett and Jane Little was born the subject of this sketch—John Washington Bennett.

Descended from a long line of illustrious ancestry on both sides, he inherited extraordinary capacity—a sound mind in a sound body. In the old field schools, in the academy, in the university, his character developed and was marked by mental ability and moral courage of a supreme order and type.

When a youth in his teens his sturdy manhood sought outlet in the existing development of the States on the banks of the Mississippi. While with his cousin, Charles Bennett, he was stricken with that fell disease, typhoid fever. For weeks he daily grew worse till his life was despaired of and his death confidently expected. Treatment of that day denied the patient water or other cooling drink. He lay for

days in weltering heat; his breath hot, his tongue swollen; aye! cracked and parched with the scorching fever. No soothing touch of a dear woman's hand was laid on his burning brow. His bachelor cousin Charles was his only companion and nurse. He begged so piteously and so continuously for water that, manlike, his cousin Charles' patience became exhausted. He brought a bucket of fresh water from the cistern, set it near the bedside and said, "Drink, drink ye all you want, and—and die." Believing the water would kill him, he would not hand it and become his murderer.

By a supreme effort he succeeded in getting the gourd to his mouth and quaffed it off. The cold water revived his strength. Again and again he drank freely of the elixir of life. His overloaded stomach rejected the excessive potations, which had fortunately absorbed, in some measure, the heat of his feverish body. From that moment a turn in the tide set in and he rapidly convalesced to normal health. He returned to his native heath, determined to complete his education and went to the University of Virginia. After graduating, he chose the profession of medicine.

With his sheepskin properly signed by the president and other professors of the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia, attesting his proficient qualifications in the science of medicine, he returned to Anson County and located in the new and thriving village of Carolina Female College, since known as Ansonville. Courteous manners, kindly interest, friendly deeds, assiduous application, conjoined with natural ability, soon won him a large, lucrative patronage.

His success was assured and he took unto himself a helpmate, marrying the beautiful, stately, and attractive Miss Rosa Boggan, of the city of Wadesboro, his social equal. It is usually conducive to happiness—mating in the same social circle. Only a few short, fleeting, happy months were granted to them when she winged her flight to Elysian fields.

Soon afterwards the tocsin of war sounded throughout the land and we find our doctor of medicine marching in the

ranks, keeping step to the quivering throbbings of the drum and the martial symphonies of the fife.

On arrival of his company in Richmond his fame as a physician had preceded him—he was taken from the ranks, raised to the rank of captain and appointed assistant surgeon of Chimborazo Hospital. Here his skill as a physician had ample opportunity to develop and display the strong mental capacity and resourceful man behind the energetic surgeon. We have no access to the records, if in existence, and can not know the many successful operations performed upon the hundreds or thousands of wounded carried to the hospital. His retiring disposition shrank from notoriety, and he told not even to his most intimate friends the many serious surgical operations performed. We do know his fame as a surgeon and physician increased with the months of service and experience, because when it became necessary for the government of the Confederacy to establish another hospital in the city of Richmond, known as the Soldiers' Home, Dr. John W. Bennett was selected from the many aspirants, and was appointed chief surgeon with the rank of major in the Confederate army. This position he worthily filled till after Appomattox, remaining with commendable faithfulness at his post until the last patient was discharged.

Returning to his native heath, whose sacred soil had been trod by the vandal hordes of Sherman's army—home laid waste and devastated by fire and sword—his courage equaled the calamity and with renewed energy he sought to repair his fallen fortunes.

Zeal, guided by wisdom and experience, soon made him the loved physician of the section, success crowned his efforts without oppressing the poor (and we were all poor), and all never failing to find in him a man of warm sympathetic heart, ever ready to respond to their call for relief. He gave to every patient the needed attention and did not neglect the insignificant and destitute. His one object in life was to re-

lieve suffering humanity and his zest equaled his physical endurance.

To the mind of the writer one characteristic of his greatness was displayed and exemplified by his disbelief in much dosing. I have heard him say that to exacting patients he had often prescribed and administered bread pills. It was his firm conviction, exemplified in his practice, to sustain the physical being till nature could rectify the malady and restore the body to its normal condition. One day Doctor Bennett and the writer were driving along the lane some three hundred yards north of Mr. Perde Richardson's residence. At that time the old rail fence was the only protection of cultivated fields from stock that ran at large. The better the fence the better the farmer, and planters vied one with another in having the best fence. This fence was laid with rails ten feet long, zigzag like the track made by a crawling snake, hence the name "snake fence."

The rails laid on the ground, or worm as it was called, were placed with great care and precision, sighted by stakes, that each corner should be perfectly in line and straight as the famous "bee line." After the worm was laid, then one rail was placed exactly over another to the number of ten. At the corners, where the rails locked, were planted in the ground two rails, one on either side of the fence, leaning against the corners, acting as a brace to the fence. These two rails formed a lock above the panel and another rail was laid in the locks of each panel—making a very high, strong and substantial fence, proof against raging winds and mean stock —as General Atlas Dargan used to say, "Horse high, pig tight, and bull strong." Such a fence bordered either side of the road—usually termed a lane. Riding along this lane, as above stated, Doctor Bennett became reminiscent, and related the following incident; as near as possible, I quote his own words:

"Riding along here one dark night on a professional call, I heard horsemen approaching at a rapid, flying gait. Fearing

danger, I reined my horse to one side near the fence to escape being run over. To my astonishment I saw neither horses nor horsemen, but the sound of flying feet of race horses cleaving the wind passed obliquely across the road, over the fence and off through the field. Pondering upon this strange occurrence as I rode along, about one hundred yards I overtook Aunt Dicey, an old darky belonging to Mr. Perde Richardson. I asked her if she met or saw any men on horses riding rapidly. She replied: 'Oh, Marse John, dat's dem old race horses; dey rides ever now and den of er night.'

"On investigating the matter I learned that in the Revolutionary days there was a straight level stretch of road here running obliquely across the present road which was used as a race track, and that in one of the races a man was killed."

Doctor Bennett, relating the above, looked straight to the front. He did not even smile and spoke the words of truth and soberness.

Experiencing the desolateness of the empty house and fireless hearth, he again sought and obtained the great boon of the love of another fair daughter of one of Anson's nobility and wedded the lovely maid, Mary Richardson. He bought the commodious residence of the LeGrands, about two miles from Wadesboro, at the beginning of what was then known as Longtown, embracing a section of highway leading from Wadesboro to Cheraw. Said section was decked at convenient, neighborly intervals with the residences of the Marshalls, the Smiths, the Richardsons, the Littles, and the Bennetts. Here allow a digression for a moment to say the name "Longtown" was evidently imported from England, as there is still a similar section so designated, lying in Cumberland County, near the border of Scotland, contiguous to the original and famous "Gretna Green" and adjacent to Marlsgate, the ancient seat of the Little family.

Doctor Bennett's practice was extensive, embracing not only the section of country adjoining, but Wadesboro, Lilesville and adjacent sections. Because of the exposure of his

family in the country to the lawless miscreants of Reconstruction days and afterwards, during his necessary absence in pursuit of his profession, he sold his elegant home and purchased in the limits of the corporation of the town of Wadesboro.

Born among rugged hills, his cradle rocked amid the everlasting foundations of granite cliffs overhanging Jones Creek, his lullabies the singing waters, made him a very child of Nature. Roaming the hills, gun in hand, and resting his weary head on the rocks for a pillow, no wonder he took cognizance of the flora and herbs of health-restoring qualities and turned his attentive genius to the art of healing—the greatest boon of suffering humanity.

A living and live member of the Methodist Church, he died May 6, 1899, in the odor of sanctity, leaving a priceless heritage of a noble life to his wife, two sons and two daughters, and—and to a host of friends. Another brave soldier answered to the last roll call when the Master ordered the angel to beat taps to the loyal soul of John Washington Bennett—chief surgeon of the Confederate Hospital, "The Soldiers' Home."

Biographical and Genealogical Memoranda

Compiled and Edited by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

Sketches of Dr. Archibald Henderson appeared in The Booklet, Vol. XVI., No. 2, and Vol. XIV, No. 3.

Genealogical Department Queries.

Mrs. J. L. Kline, 480 Claybrooke, Memphis, Tennessee.

Gillespie—John Gillespie, of North Carolina, married Miss Craig, and their son John married "Ella Dickey." I want his birth, death, children, and Revolutionary service.

John Gillespie and Ella Dickey Gillespie had a son, James, born October 10, 1809.

Thanking you for your trouble.

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Vol. XVII JANUARY, 1918 No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
Editor North Carolina Booklet,
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Vol. XVII JANUARY, 1918 No. 3

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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The Continental Line of North Carolina

By Frank Nash.

To pause, even for a moment, in the midst of the turmoil of a world, to consider the part that the Continental Line of North Carolina took in the Revolutionary War, seems, at first blush, puerile. When the philosophical historian, however, comes later to trace through the distant past the causes of the Great War, he will find that the "embattled farmers" of 1776 were inspired by the same idealism that the Allies are now; that the Revolutionary War had the same spiritual import as has the Great War. He will find that the material outcome of that war is small, very small, when compared with its moral effect upon the world at large; that a victorious peace was, in itself, insignificant, as compared with the spiritual conquest of our ally, France, and of our foe, Britain. Had it not been for this conquest the present war would have been a mere sordid struggle for more territory and more power, with America on one side, an interested observer, but not an active participant. As it is she is standing hand in hand and soul to soul with these great democracies, feeling in the depths of her heart that the struggle of 1776 has been renewed, only its theater is the world, and not a small section of a continent.

If the Revolutionary War was waged in defense of the liberties of Americans, much more is this; if it was a protest against autocracy, much more is this; if it was a defense of

democracy, much more is this. The Great War is indeed a life and death struggle between the two antagonistic world political principles, autocracy and democracy, and if the former conquers, then all the blood that our ancestors shed, all the treasure they expended, was shed in vain, were expended in vain.

It is fortunate that we have as president at this time of stress a great historian, as well as a great statesman. He knows, none better, how terribly destructive to life and property has been the lack of organization in all our wars, from the Revolution to that with Spain. So he put in action a thousand wonderful agencies which are welding the 110,000,000 people of this country into an army inspired by one spirit and moving to one end. He knew how much the great souled Washington was harrassed by the folly and dilatoriness of the Continental Congress in raising an army for the defense of their liberties; he knew the disgraceful inefficiency of the militia in the War of 1812, and the equally disgraceful insubordination of the volunteers in the War with Mexico; he knew the unpreparedness of both sides in the War Between the States, as marked also in the Spanish-American War; so he gave us the draft, the wisest, fairest, and most equal way of raising an army for the defense of democracy.

There is little exaggeration in Senator Chamberlain's declaration: "I have sometimes wondered how that distinguished commander of the American forces (Washington), with his splendid aide, Alexander Hamilton, ever had time to organize an army, because they devoted so much of their time to appeals to the Continental Congress and to the States to assist them in organizing an army that might be successful in the accomplishment of victory."

Out of those appeals, however, came the Continental Line. Congress at first refused to make the enlistment longer than for one year. "It is not easy," said Judge Marshall, in his *Life of Washington*, "to account for this fatal error. Some jealousy of a permanent army was, probably, intermingled

with the hope that the war would not be of long duration, and with the fear that much difficulty would be experienced in prevailing on men to enter into engagements of unlimited extent." It took the Long Island disaster, August 27, 1776, as well as much pleading from Washington, to arouse Congress to action. He thus writes to them after that disaster:

"Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off, in some instances almost by whole regiments, in many by half ones and by companies at a time. This circumstance of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well appointed enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but when it is added that their example has infected another part of the army; that their want of discipline and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have rendered a like conduct but too common in the whole, and have produced an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary for the well doing of an army, our condition is still more alarming, and with the deepest concern I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops. All these circumstances fully confirm the opinion I ever entertained, and which I, more than once in my letters, took the liberty of mentioning to Congress: that no dependence could be put in a militia, or other troops than those enlisted and embodied for a longer period than our regulations have heretofore prescribed. I am persuaded, and am as fully convinced as of any one fact that has happened, that our liberties must, of necessity, be greatly hazarded, if not entirely lost, if their defense be left to any but a permanent army."

Immediately after the receipt of this letter, September, 1776, Congress proposed to the various States a permanent army to be enlisted for the war, and to be composed of eighty-eight battalions. These were to be raised by the various States in proportion to their ability. The share of North Carolina was nine battalions. A bounty of twenty dollars was allowed to each recruit, and portions of vacant lands were allotted to each soldier, from 500 acres to a colonel down to 100 acres for each noncommissioned officer and private.

The Hillsboro Congress of August-September, 1775, acting under the one-year plan of the Continental Congress, had already provided for two regiments of five hundred men each, and had elected the officers as follows:

FIRST REGIMENT.

Colonel—James Moore.
Lieutenant Colonel—Francis Nash.
Major—Thomas Clark.
Adjutant—Wm. Williams.
Captains—Wm. Davis, Thos. Allon, Alfred Moore, Caleb Grainger, Wm. Pickett, Robert Rowan, John Walker, Henry Dickson, George Davidson, William Green.
Lieutenants—John Lillington, Joshua Bowman, Lawrence Thompson, Thomas Hogg, William Berryhill, Hector McNeill, Absolum Tatum, Hezekiah Rice, William Brandon, William Hill.
Ensigns—Neill McAlister, Maurice Moore, Jr., John Taylor, Howell Tatum, James Childs, Henry Neill, Berryman Turner, George Graham, Robert Rolston, Henry Pope.
Surgeon—Dr. Isaac Guion.

SECOND REGIMENT.

Colonel—Robert Howe.
Lieutenant Colonel—Alexander Martin.
Major—John Patten.
Adjutant and First Captain—John White.
Captains—James Blount, Michael Payne, Simon Bright, Jno. Armstrong, H. I. Toole, Hardy Murfree, Chas. Crawford, Nathaniel Keais, John Walker.
Lieutenants—John Grainger, Clement Hall, William Fenner, Benjamin Williams, Robert Smith, Edward Vail, Jr., John Williams, John Heritage, Joseph Tate, James Gee.
Ensigns—Henry Vipon, Whitmell Pugh, John Oliver, Philip Low, James Cook, John Woodhouse, William Gardner, William Caswell, Benjamin Cleveland, Joseph Clinch.
Surgeon—Dr. William Pasteur.

The captains were to be commissioned as soon as their various companies were filled up by recruits, thus making rank a reward to the diligent. The Halifax Congress, in April, 1776, added four additional regiments to the Continental Line, and that of November, 1776, three, thus making the quota of nine battalions asked of the State. These battal-

ions were to consist of eight companies, and each company of 76, rank and file. The Continental Congress later refused to receive any battalion containing less than 300 file into the service. A tenth battalion, commanded by Col. Abraham Shepperd, was added to the Continental Line in 1777. It did not join Washington until the Spring of 1778.

Speaking generally, the Continental troops of North Carolina never took part in a battle in which they did not fight well and bravely, but none of the battalions were full when they were engaged in active service. The difficulty of enlisting men for a long term, when they could satisfy their conscience by a three months' service with the militia, particularly when the enlistment for a long term would be followed by marches, perhaps to a distant State, the smallness of the bounty provided by the State of North Carolina for such enlistments, as compared with those of neighboring States, and the remissness of both the Confederacy and the State to provide them with adequate equipment and an adequate commissary, all tended to retard enlistments in the first instance, while numerous desertions among the men depleted the ranks after enlistments had been made. There were four regiments in Charleston in 1776, and it is probable that there were not more than 600 effective soldiers. Not more than 800 marched north with General Nash in 1777, to Brandywine and Germantown. We know that on November 10, 1777, the brigade contained only 520 effectives, 868 in all. (11 S. R., page 676.) And this notwithstanding the fact that Col. John Williams had joined with the 7th, 8th, and 9th battalions. These latter battalions, however, had only fragments of their quotas. Indeed the most striking, and at the same time depressing, fact in the history of the regular troops of North Carolina in the Revolution is the difficulty those in authority had in enlisting a proper number of men and in keeping them in the ranks after they were enlisted. It is true 5,454 names appear upon the roster (16 S. R., pages 1002 *et seq.*), but this number includes all who had died, been captured, dis-

charged, omitted, or deserted; and of the latter there was considerably over ten per cent of the whole number.

The first actual service of these troops was at Charleston, South Carolina. An account of this I take from Ashe's *History of North Carolina,* pages 536-9:

"On the departure of the fleet (British) from the Cape Fear, Lee hastened to Charleston, accompanied by Howe, where he arrived early in June (1776). Moore remained at Wilmington, but two Continental regiments under Nash and Martin reached Charleston on June 11th, followed later by the Virginia Regiment and the Third and Fourth Continentals, not then needed at Cape Fear. A rifle regiment raised in the west likewise repaired to Charleston. Felix Wagner, afterwards long a member of congress from the Buncombe district, says in his Autobiography: 'I was appointed lieutenant in Captain Richardson's company in the rifle regiment. I returned to Watauga and recruited my full proportion of men and marched them to Charleston in May, 1776, joined the regiment and was stationed on James Island.'

"When the fleet dropped anchor off the bar the Charlestonians barricaded their streets and prepared to defend the wharves of their city, and soon troops were stationed on the outlying islands inclosing the harbor. Colonel Moultrie began working night and day constructing a fort on the end of Sullivan's Island by bolting palmetto logs together for walls, with sixteen feet of sand between them. Week after week passed and no attack was made, so that toward the end of June the front of his fort was well finished and thirty odd guns were mounted in it. But powder was scarce, and there were hardly twenty-five rounds of ammunition for the guns. On the northeast of that island lay Long Island, a naked sand bank, and there Clinton landed more than three thousand troops, intending to cross the narrow intervening waters and thus gain possession of Sullivan's Island. To resist his advance Colonel Thompson of South Carolina was stationed at that end of Sullivan's Island with three hundred of his own riflemen, two hundred of Clark's North Carolina regiment, two hundred more South Carolinians under Horry, and with some light pieces on his flank; while Nash, for whom Lee had conceived a high opinion, was placed to defend the rear of the fort, which was unfinished and a post of great consequence.

"After much fortunate delay, in the early morning of June 28th the fleet approached the fort and the battle began. The British brought into action ten times the number of guns that Moultrie could use, but made no impression on the palmetto fort. A flag of blue with a white crescent emblazoned with the word 'Liberty' proudly floated over the rampart. In the torrent of balls the staff that bore it was severed, but as it fell Sergeant Jasper heroically seized the standard and raised it again on the bastion next to the enemy. The attempt

to pass from Long Island was no more successful than the attack on the water. The brave Americans drove the infantry back on two occasions, and the assault both on land and sea was a signal failure. The slow and skillful fire of Moultrie drove off the fleet and destroyed several frigates, the *Bristol* losing 40 men killed and 71 wounded, and the *Experiment*, 23 killed and 56 wounded; while the American loss, after ten hours of incessant conflict, was but 11 killed and 26 wounded. Repulsed, defeated, the army reëmbarked on the vessels and the contest was over."

A fleet under Sir Peter Parker had recently come out of England with fresh troops, commanded by the Earl of Cornwallis. It was joined by transports and men of war, bearing a force under Sir Henry Clinton, and a combined attack was made, by sea and land, upon the fort on Sullivan's Island, but the attack was a complete failure, the fort sinking two of the enemy's vessels, one, Sir Peter's own flag ship. General Charles Lee was in command of the patriot army. In his official report he said: "I know not which corps I have the greatest reason to be pleased with; Muhlenberg's Virginians or the North Carolina troops; they were both equally alert, zealous, and spirited. . . . Upon the whole the South and North Carolina troops and the Virginia rifle battalion we have here are admirable soldiers." This was a very handsome compliment to raw troops from one who was himself a trained and experienced soldier.

The Third Regiment and some companies of the First and Second remained in South Carolina, under the command of General Robert Howe, for the remainder of the year 1776, while the other regiments were with General James Moore in North Carolina. They were distributed at different points in the eastern part of the State, while a small detachment of the Third was at Salisbury with Colonel Alexander Martin. In March, 1776, Colonel James Moore of the First Regiment was promoted to be Brigadier, and on April 10, 1776, Francis Nash was made Colonel of that regiment, and still later, February 5, 1777, he, also, was made a brigadier-general, and was ordered to the western part of the State to expedite the recruiting service. In March, however, he was ordered to join

General Moore, and with him to proceed north with all the Continental troops that could be collected. General Moore died about the middle of April. In a sketch of his life in the *Biog. His. of N. C.*, vol. 2, page 301, it is said: "General Moore was a man of delicate organization and frail constitution, in striking contrast with his heroic soul and fine intellectual capacity. The exposure to which he was subjected that summer and fall (1776) on the malarious coast of South Carolina proved fatal to him. His health gave way, and in January, 1777, he returned to the Cape Fear, and died on the 15th of that month, lamented by all the patriots of North Carolina. It is related that he and his brother, Judge Maurice Moore, expired in the same house on the same day and were buried together. Of General Moore it has been said that he was the most masterful military man furnished by North Carolina in the War of Independence, and probably he had no superior in military genius on the continent."

It is well to notice that in several places in this volume of the *Biographical History* it is stated that General Moore died on January 15th. This, of course, is wrong. He died, as stated above, about the middle of April, 1777. (See 11 S. R., pages 411, 454, and 456.)

On the 20th of April General Nash set out from New Bern to take command of the brigade. From various causes the march of the troops north was delayed, and being further delayed by inoculation for smallpox at their camp at Georgetown, they did not reach Philadelphia until the 1st of July. Hugh McDonald, in his journal (11 S. R., pages 828 *et seq.*) gives such an interesting account of the peregrinations of the brigade and of his own adventures as a private in the Sixth Regiment of the Continental Line that I transcribe a large part of it. He was himself a Scotch Highlander and had fought at Moore's Creek.

"Notwithstanding this scouring (at Moore's Creek) and the just contempt of our fellow citizens, we remained in heart as much Tories as ever. This expedition took place in the mouth of February, 1776, from which we returned and began to prepare our fences for

a crop the ensuing summer. About the first of June a report was circulated that a company of light horse were coming into the settlement; and as a guilty conscience needs no accuser, every one thought they were after him. The report was that Colonel Alston had sent out four or five men to cite us all to muster at Henry Eagle's on Bear Creek; upon which our poor deluded people took refuge in the swamps. On a certain day, when we were plowing in the field, news came to my father that the light horse were in the settlement and a request that he would conceal himself. He went to the house of his brother-in-law to give him notice, and ordered me to take the horse out of the plow, turn him loose and follow him as fast as I could. I went to the horse, but never having ploughed any in my life, I was trying how I could plow, when five men on horseback appeared at the fence, one of whom, Daniel Buie, knew me and asked me what I was doing here. I answered that my father lived here; and he said he was not aware of that. 'Come,' he says, 'you must go with us to pilot us through the settlement; for we have a boy here with us who has come far enough. He is six miles from home and is tired enough.' His name was Thomas Graham, and he lived near the head of McLennon's Creek. I told Mr. Buie that I dare not go, for, if I did, my father would kill me. He then alighted from his horse and walked into the field, ungeared the horse and took him outside the fence. He then put up the fence again; and, leading me by the hand, put me on behind one of the company, whose name was Gaster, and discharged the other boy. We then went to Daniel Shaw's, thence to John Morrison's (shoemaker), thence to Alexander McLeod's, father of merchant John McLeod, who died in Fayetteville, thence to Alexander Shaw's (blacksmith), thence to old Hugh McSwan's, who gave a half crown for a small gourd when we landed in America. Here I was ordered to go home, but I refused and went with them to the muster at Eagle's. Next day Colonel Philip Alston appeared at the muster, when these men told him that they had taken a boy to pilot them a little way through the settlement and that they could not get clear of him. The Colonel personally insisted on my going back to my father, but I told them I would not, for I had told them the consequence of my going with them before they took me. Seeing he could not prevail with me, he got a man by the name of Daniel McQueen, a noted bard, to take me home to my father, but I told him that I was determined to hang to them. Colonel Alston then took me with him and treated me kindly. Mrs. Alston desired me to go to school with her children until she could send my father word to come after me, and she would make peace between us; but her friendly offers were also rejected.

"On the following Tuesday I went with the same company of horsemen to Fayetteville (Cross Creek), where I met a gentleman by the name of Daniel Porterfield, a lieutenant in Captain Arthur

Council's company, who asked me if I did not wish to enlist. I told him, not with him; but I wanted to see a Mr. Hilton who, I understood, was in the army, and wherever he was, I wished to be. He told me that he and Hilton were of one company, and if Hilton did not tell me so, he would take back the money and let me go with Hilton. I then took the money and was received into the service of the United States June 10, 1776, and in the fourteenth year of my age.

"After my enlistment we continued in Cross Creek until the middle of July, when we went on board of Mrs. Blanctret's boat and floated down to Wilmington, where the brigade was made up, which was commanded by General Frank Nash, and consisted of six regiments. Of the first regiment, Thomas Clarke was Colonel and John Mebane, Lieutenant Colonel; of the second, Alexander Martin, from Hillsboro, was Colonel and John Patton, Lieutenant Colonel: of the third, Jethro Sumner was Colonel and William Davidson, Lieutenant Colonel; of the fourth, Thomas Polk was Colonel and J. Paxton, Lieutenant Colonel; of the fifth, _____ Buncombe was Colonel and _____ Eden, Lieutenant Colonel; of the 6th, Lillington had the command, but being unable from old age to go on parade, when the regiment was made up at Wilmington, he was forced to resign, and Lieutenant Colonel Lamb of Edenton took command of the regiment. Our major died at Wilmington, and Captain Arch'd Lyttle, from Hillsboro, who had been educated for a preacher of the gospel, was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Captain Griffin (sic) McRee, of Elizabeth Town, was appointed Major, and of this regiment (6th) I was a private soldier.

"Not more than three weeks after the brigade was embodied, my Captain, Arthur Councill, a young man who had been raised near Cross Creek, and whose father's house is yet known by the name of Councill Hall, died. This young gentleman was distinguished in the regiment for modesty, gentility and morality. Shortly after the death of Councill, his first lieutenant, who was known by the name of Philadelphia Thomas White, became our captain, and he was as immoral as Councill was moral. As sickness was prevailing in the regiment, we moved out of town about eight miles to a place called Jumping Gully, where we encamped until about the middle of October and were drilled twice a day. In this camp I was taken sick, and continued ignorant of everything that passed for five weeks. One evening, the brigade being on parade, I felt a great desire for home, and thought I saw everything at my father's house before my eyes. I got out of my tent and went away some distance to a running branch. The water, from falling over a large poplar root, had made a deep hole below, and, getting into the hole, I laid my head on the root, which I believe was the sweetest bed I ever lay in. The water was so cool to my parched body that I lay there until ten o'clock the next day before they found me, George Dudley, Sergeant of my company, having crossed within two feet of my head without

seeing me. William Carrol, who was in company with Dudley, discovered me and exclaimed, 'By ------, here he is, turned to be an otter. He is under the water.' Dudley, having passed me, turned back, took me out of the water and carried me to camp. When the doctor came to see me, he said that the water had cooled my fever and that I would recover, though he had given me out before. I did recover and recruited very fast every day after my immersion. . . .

"I shall now give my readers some account of the Captains of my regiment, which was the 6th; but I shall omit the subaltern officers' list; in attempting to recall so many names and characters, I should make a mistake, which I do not wish to do. When the brigade was made up each regiment consisted of eight captains, and of the 6th regiment Arch'd Lyttle was first captain, and Griffin McRee, second, who had very undeservedly enlisted most of his men for six months and returned them for three years, or during the war. This deception on the part of Captain McRee, occasioned many desertions in his company, when six months, the term of their enlistment, had expired. Captain Lyttle was from Orange, Captain McRee, from Bladen. The 3d Captain was George Doherty, who lived on the Northeast River, in Hanover County, and about 25 miles above Wilmington. He was a full-blooded Irishman, about seventy-five years of age, much of a gentleman and a brave soldier. The fourth captain was Philip Taylor, from Orange, a raw Buckskin, destitute of grace, mercy or knowledge as to that which is spiritual, and filled with pride and arrogance. The fifth was Tilman Dickson, from Edgecombe, a dirty Buckskin, who would rather sit on his hams all day and play cards with his meanest private soldier, in his homespun dress, than wash and uniform himself and keep company with his fellow officers as a captain ought to do. The sixth captain was Jemimah Pigue (?) from Onslow, who was a smart officer, a middle-aged man, and a guardian of his soldiers. The seventh captain was Daniel Williams from Duplin, a Buckskin, a gentleman and the friend and protector of his soldiers. The eighth was Benjamin Sharp, who was from Halifax county, and was a very smart officer.

"When the brigade embodied at Wilmington, it consisted of nine thousand and four hundred, rank and file (?, probably 940); twelve colonels, including lieutenant colonels, six majors, forty-eight captains, ninety-six lieutenants, forty-eight ensigns; two drummers and two fifers to every captain's company; one hundred and eighty-two sergeants; eight quartermaster sergeants and sergeants major to each regiment; one drum major, who was an old gentleman from Elizabeth, named Alexander Harvey; one fife major, an Englishman, by the name of Robert Williams, a master of all kinds of music and genteelly bred, who had been transported from England before the war for cursing the royal family; eight doctors, eight adjutants and one Brigade Major, a hatter from Hillsboro, besides sutlers and paymasters.

"On the 1st day of November (1776) we received orders to march to the North and join the grand camp, commanded by Washington. About the 15th of November we marched from Wilmington, under the command of General Frank Nash, and proceeded to the Roanoke River and encamped about a mile and a half from the town of Halifax, in Col. Long's old fields, who was Commissary General of the North Carolina troops. There we remained about three weeks, when we received orders to turn back and go meet the British at Augustine and prevent them from getting into the state of Georgia, and proceeded by way of Wilmington. On our march we lay on the south side of Contentny Creek, where there were living an old man and woman who had a number of geese about the house; and next morning about twenty of their geese were missing. They came to the encampment inquiring about them; but getting no information among the tents, they went to the General, who said he could do nothing unless they produced the guilty. On his giving them ten dollars, however, they went away satisfied; and I am very sure that I got some of them to eat. . . . The General, after paying them ten dollars, gave the men strict orders to be honest or he would punish the least offense of that kind with severity.

"We proceeded thence to Wilmington where we stayed two days, and thence by Lockwood's Folly to Georgetown. When we got to the Boundary House we encamped for a short time to rest, and Col. Alston, a wealthy gentleman of the neighborhood, came to see General Nash, and told him he could show him a better camping ground, which was an elevated neck of lands covered with hickory and other good fire wood. The trees were covered with long moss from the top to the ground; and of this we made excellent beds. There we stayed about a month waiting for further orders, where we cut and cleared about one hundred acres of land. During our continuance here, those who had been enlisted by our Major McRee and returned during the war, applied to their captain for their discharge; but he was not aware that any in the camp had been enlisted for six months. They then applied to their old captain, who had been promoted to the rank of major, but he told them in reply to their just request, that he would have them put under guard and punished according to martial law. This rebuff they were forced to bear and remain in silence; but concerted a plan for their own relief; for in the morning it was found that nine had deserted, some of whom were never taken, notwithstanding the claims resting upon them. . . .

"From this pleasant place we marched for Charleston, S. C., and crossed the Pee Dee at a place called Winyaw, about half way between Georgetown and the inlet. Thence to Charleston, and there we had orders not to go any further towards Augustine. We then marched back across Cooper River to Hadrell's Point, opposite to Fort Sullivan, where we lay the remaining part of the winter and spring until March, 1777, and we were fed on fresh pork and rice

as our constant diet. About the 15th of March, we received orders to march to North and join Washington's grand army. We marched to Wilmington, N. C., and thence to Halifax, where we crossed the Roanoke River. After leaving the ferry and marching up the river about two miles, we came to a fishery, and the commanding officer having desired leave for his men to draw the seine, which was readily granted, by drawing it once, we drew so many that you would hardly miss from the pile what we took for our breakfast. We marched on and crossed the Meherrin at Hickes' Ford. . . .

"As we passed through the State of Virginia, we could scarcely march two miles at a time without being stopped by gentlemen and ladies who were coming to the road purposely to see us. We stopped two days at Williamsburg and rested. We then marched on and crossed the James River at the town of Richmond, where there were fishers; and having gotten leave there also to draw the seine, every man took as many fish as he wanted. While passing through the town a shoemaker stood in his door and cried, 'Hurrah for King George,' of which no one took any notice; but after halting in a wood, a little distance beyond, where we cooked and ate our fish, the shoemaker came to us and began again to hurrah for King George. When the General and his aids mounted and started, he still followed them, hurrahing for King George. Upon which the General ordered him to be taken back to the river and ducked. We brought a long rope, which we tied around his middle and sesawed him backwards and forwards until we had him nearly drowned, but every time he got his head above water he would cry for King George. The General having then ordered him to be tarred and feathered, a feather bed was taken from his own house, where were his wife and four likely daughters crying and beseeching their father to hold his tongue, but still he would not. We tore the bed open and knocked the top out of a barrel of tar, into which we plunged him headlong. He was then drawn out by the heels and rolled in the feathers until he was a sight, but still he would hurrah for King George. The General now ordered him to be drummed out of the west end of the town, and told him expressly that if he plagued him any more in that way, he would have him shot. So we saw no more of the shoemaker.

"We then marched on until we came to the Potomac River; but early in the morning we were halted and all the doctors called upon to inoculate the men with small pox, which took them until two o'clock. We then crossed the river at Georgetown, about eight miles above Alexandria, near the place where Washington City now stands. There we got houses and stayed until we were well of the small pox. I having had the pox before, attended on the officers of my company until they got well, but what is very strange, in the whole Brigade there was not one man lost by pox, except one by the name of Griffin, who after he had got able to go about, I thought he was well,

imprudently went to swim in the Potomac, and next morning was found dead. About the last of June we left Georgetown for Philadelphia."

I have given this long extract from Hugh McDonald's Journal because it is an interesting account of these events by an intelligent participator in them. It has to some degree the faults of all such narratives, when reduced to writing years after the events have happened: it has a few mistakes of names and of chronology. Yet after all, when compared with the records, it has very few, and the story, with its human interest, brings graphically before us the scenes through which he was passing.

The brigade arrived at Philadelphia on July 1st. They then moved on to Trenton, where they were stopped by Washington until the 26th, when they were ordered back to Philadelphia. Before they reached Philadelphia the order was countermanded. Uncertainty as to the objective of Sir William Howe, who had embarked with his army at New York and, after some maneuvering, had put to sea, was the cause of the brigade's being stopped at Trenton, and also of its return to Philadelphia. On August 22d Washington received information that Howe's fleet had arrived in the Chesapeake, and he ordered General Nash to embark his brigade and Colonel Proctor's corps of artillery, if vessels could be procured for the purpose, and proceed to Chester; or, if vessels could not be procured, to hasten toward that place by land with all the dispatch he could. At Chester General Washington, with the remainder of his army, joined them, and they moved on to Wilmington, Delaware. It is unnecessary to state the further movement of the armies, which led up to the Battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777. One hundred men of the North Carolina bridage were with General Maxwell, under the command of Colonel Alexander Martin, the rest of the North Carolina troops were with General Greene. I am indebted to Irving's *Life of Washington* for the following account of that battle:

"The Brandywine Creek, as it is called, commences with two branches, called the East and West branches, which unite in one stream, flowing from west to east about twenty-two miles, and emptying itself into the Delaware about 25 miles below Philadelphia. It has several fords; one called Chadd's Ford was at that time the most practicable, and in the direct route from the enemy's camp to Philadelphia. As the principal attack was expected here, Washington made it the center of his position, where he stationed the main body of his army, composed of Wayne's, Weedon's and Muhlenberg's brigades, with the light infantry under Maxwell. An eminence immediately above the ford had been intrenched in the night, and was occupied by Wayne's and Proctor's artillery. Weedon's and Muhlenberg's brigades, which were Virginia troops and formed General Greene's division, were posted in the rear on the heights as a reserve to aid either wing of the army. With these Washington took his stand. Maxwell's light infantry were thrown in the advance, south of the Brandywine, and posted on high ground each side of the road leading to the ford. The right wing of the army commanded by Sullivan, and composed of his division and those of Stephen and Stirling, extended up the Brandywine two miles beyond Washington's position. Its light troops and videttes were distributed quite up to the forks. A few detachments of unorganized and undisciplined cavalry extended across the creek on the extreme right. The left wing, composed of the Pennsylvania militia, under Major-General Armstrong, was stationed about a mile and a half below the main body, to protect the lower fords, where the least danger was apprehended. The Brandywine, which ran in front of the whole line, was now the only obstacle, if such it might be called, between the two armies.

"Early on the morning of the 11th, a great column of troops was descried advancing on the road leading to Chadd's Ford. A skirt of woods concealed its force, but it was supposed to be the main body of the enemy; if so, a general conflict was at hand. The Americans were immediately drawn out in order of battle. Washington rode along the front of the ranks, and was everywhere received with acclamations. A sharp firing of small arms soon told that Maxwell's light infantry were engaged with the vanguard of the enemy. The skirmishing was kept up for some time with spirit, when Maxwell was driven across the Brandywine below the ford. The enemy who had advanced very slowly did not attempt to follow, but halted on commanding ground, and appeared to reconnoiter the American position with a view to attack. A heavy cannonading commenced on both sides about ten o'clock. The enemy made repeated dispositions to force the ford, which brought on as frequent skirmishes on both sides of the river, for detachments of the light troops occasionally crossed over. One of these skirmishes was more than usually severe; the British flank guard was closely pressed, a captain and ten or fifteen men were killed, and the guard was put to flight, but

a large force came to their assistance, and the Americans were again driven across the stream. All this while there was the noise and uproar of a battle; but little of the reality. The enemy made a great thundering of cannon, but no vigorous onset. . . ."

About noon Washington received information that the main body of the British under Howe and Cornwallis were coming along the Lancaster road, undoubtedly with the intention of taking Sullivan by surprise, and thus turning the right flank of the patriot army. If this was true (he sent a squad of cavalry to ascertain if it was true) the enemy was not in force opposite him, and he would cross the Brandywine, and crush the British on its south banks, while Sullivan held the army of Howe. Unfortunately as he was preparing to adopt his plan other information came that no troops had passed along the Lancaster road, and he was not willing to attack the whole British army with the force he had with him. Too late, however, he discovered that the first information was correct. The enemy was two miles in the rear of Sullivan's right and was marching down at a rapid rate, while a cloud of dust showed that there were more troops behind them.

"In fact," says Irving, "the old Long Island stratagem had been played over again. Knyphausen with a small division had engrossed the attention of the Americans by a feigned attack at Chadd's Ford, kept up with great noise and prolonged by skirmishes; while the main body of the army under Cornwallis, led by experienced guides, had made a circuit of seventeen miles, crossed the two forks of the Brandywine, and arrived in the neighborhood of Birmingham meeting house, two miles to the right of Sullivan. . . .

"Finding that thus Cornwallis had gained the rear of the army, Washington sent orders to Sullivan to oppose him with the whole right wing, each brigade attacking as soon as it arrived upon the ground. Wayne, in the meantime was to keep Knyphausen at bay at the ford, and Greene, with the reserve, to hold himself ready to give aid wherever required. . . .

"Sullivan on receiving Washington's orders advanced with his own, Stephen's and Stirling's divisions, and began to form a line in front of an open piece of wood. The time which had been expended in transmitting intelligence, receiving orders and marching, had enabled Cornwallis to choose his ground and prepare for action. Still more time was given him by a delay of the Americans in forming their line, arising from a mere point of etiquette. Lord Stirling's division

had accidentally formed on the right of Sullivan; this was taking rank of him; the position had to be changed, and this change was taking place when Cornwallis advanced rapidly with his troops in the finest order, and opened a brisk fire of musketry and artillery. The Americans made an obstinate resistance, but being taken at a disadvantage, the right and left wings were broken and driven into the woods. The centre stood firm for a while, but being exposed to the whole fire of the enemy, gave way at length also. The British in following up their advantage got entangled in the wood. . . .

"The Americans rallied on a height to the north of Dilworth, and made a still more spirited resistance than at first, but were again dislodged and were obliged to retreat with heavy loss. While this was occurring with the right wing, Knyphausen, as soon as he learnt from the heavy firing, that Cornwallis was engaged, made a push to force his way across Chadd's Ford in earnest. He was vigorously opposed by Wayne, with Proctor's artillery, aided by Maxwell and his infantry. Greene was preparing to second him with his reserve, when he was summoned by Washington to the support of the right wing; which the commander-in-chief (who had himself gone to the right wing) had found in imminent peril. Greene advanced to the relief with such celerity, that it is said on good authority his division accomplished the march, or rather run, of five miles in less than fifty minutes. He arrived too late to save the battle, but in time to protect the broken masses of the left wing, which he met in full flight. Opening his ranks from time to time for the fugitives, and closing them the moment they had passed, he covered their retreat by a sharp and well directed fire from his field pieces. His grand stand was made at a place about a mile beyond Dilworth, which, in reconnoitering the neighborhood, Washington had pointed out to him as well calculated for a second position, should the army be driven out of the first. . . . Weedon's brigade was drawn up in a narrow defile, flanked on both sides by woods, and perfectly commanding the road; while Greene, with Muhlenberg's brigade, passing to the right, took his station on the road. The British came on impetuously, expecting but faint opposition. They met with a desperate resistance and were repeatedly driven back. It was the bloody conflict of the bayonet; deadly on either side, and lasting for a considerable time. Weedon's brigade, on the left, maintained its stand also with great obstinacy, and the check given to the enemy by these two brigades, allowed time for the broken troops to retreat. Weedon's was compelled at length by superior numbers to seek the protection of the other brigade, which he did in good order, and Greene gradually drew off the whole division in the face of the enemy, who checked by this vigorous resistance, and seeing the day far spent, gave up all further pursuit.

"The brave stand made by these brigades had, likewise, been a great protection to Wayne. He had for a long time withstood the

attacks of the enemy at Chadd's Ford, until the approach on the right of some of the enemy's troops who had been entangled in the woods, showed him that the right wing had been routed. He now gave up the defense of his post, and retreated by the Chester road. Knyphausen's troops were too fatigued to pursue him; and the others had been kept back, as we have shown, by Greene's division. So ended the varied conflict of the day."

I have given this long account of the Battle of the Brandywine, because it is the clearest description of that battle that I have found. It does not help in solving the problem of the part that the North Carolina troops took in it, because Irving, with the exception of Weedon and Muhlenberg, describes the troops by divisions. Judge Clark says the North Carolina troops were in the division commanded by Lord Stirling (11 S. R., page 15). Mr. Ashe, *History of North Carolina,* page 581, says that they were in the division commanded by General Sullivan, and participated in the battle; but the management was so wretched that none of the brigades in Sullivan's division won any renown. The writer in a sketch of General Nash, in the *Biographical History of North Carolina,* 3d volume, adopts the view that they were with General Sullivan, but in Lord Stirling's division. It is quite probable that none of these assertions is correct, for Thomas Burke, who was himself on the battlefield, writing to Governor Caswell, September 17th, after stating that General Sullivan commanded the right wing, and the confusing reports in regard to the approach of Cornwallis and the discomfiture of General Sullivan at the ensuing battle, says: "The evil did not end here. Greene's division and Nash's brigade, which formed the chief strength of the centre, were ordered to the right to reinforce the troops of that wing. . . . None of the reinforcements had time to get up so as to engage, except Weedon's brigade, who checked the enemy and very gallantly covered the retreat of the whole army." (11 S. R., 621.) On the same day in a letter signed by himself, Penn and Harnett, it is said, "The North Carolina troops were not engaged in the late action."

Soon after the brigade joined General Washington a hundred light infantry men were chosen from it, and they were placed under the command of Colonel Alexander Martin. It is certain that these were part of General Maxwell's brigade at Chadd's Ford, and that both Captain Jacob Turner and Hal Dixon distinguished themselves there. A month later Turner was killed at the battle of Germantown.

Germantown, October 4, 1777, was the first battle in which the North Carolina Continental troops as a brigade took part.

"Germantown, at that time was little more than one continued street, extending two miles north and south. The houses were mostly of stone, low and substantial, with steep roofs and projecting eaves. They stood apart from each other, with fruit trees in front and small gardens. Beyond the village, and about one hundred yards east of the road, stood a spacious stone edifice, with ornamented grounds, statues, groves and shrubbery, the country seat of Benjamin Chew, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania previous to the Revolution. Four roads approached the village from above; that is, from the north. The Skippack, which was the main road, led over Chestnut Hill and Mount Airy down to and through the village toward Philadelphia, forming the street of which we have spoken. On its right and nearly parallel, was the Monatawney, or Ridge road, passing near the Schuylkill, and entering the main road below the village. On the left of the Skippack, or main road, was the Limekiln road, running nearly parallel to it for a time and then turning towards it, almost at right angles, so as to enter the village at the market place. Still further to the left or east, and outside of all, was the Old York road, falling into the main road some distance below the village.

"The main body of the British forces lay encamped across the lower part of the village, divided into almost equal parts by the main street, or Skippack road. The right wing commanded by General Grant was to the east of the road, the left wing to the west. Each wing was covered by strong detachments, and guarded by cavalry. General Howe had his headquarters at the rear. The advance (guard) of the army, composed of the 2d battalion of British light infantry, with a train of artillery, was more than two miles from the main body, on the west of the road, with an outlying picket stationed with two six pounders at Allen's house on Mount Airy. About three quarters of a mile, in the rear of the light infantry lay encamped in a field opposite Chew's House the 40th regiment of infantry under Colonel Musgrave.

"According to Washington's plan for the attack, Sullivan was to command the right wing, composed of his own division, principally Maryland troops, and the division of General Wayne. He was to be

sustained by a corps de reserve composed of Nash's North Carolina and Maxwell's Virginia* brigades, and to be flanked by the brigade of General Conway. He was to march down the Skippack road and attack the left wing; at the same time General Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, was to pass down the Monatawny, or Ridge Road and get upon the enemy's left and rear. Greene with the left wing composed of his own division and the division of General Stephen, and flanked by McDougall's brigade, was to march down the Limekiln Road, so as to enter the village at the market house. The two divisions were to attack the enemy's right wing in front, McDougall with his brigade to attack it in flank, while Smallwood's division of Maryland militia and Forman's Jersey brigade, making a circuit by the Old York Road, were to attack it in the rear."

This was an excellent plan, and notwithstanding the fog, had all the troops in Washington's army done their duty in that battle as faithfully as did the rank and file of the North Carolina brigade, the result would have been very different. That they fought well is the uncontradicted testimony of all. They had been ordered to the front by Washington himself (under whose eye they fought) to reinforce Sullivan and with him had pushed on a mile beyond the Chew House, driving the enemy before them, when Sullivan's troops, having expended all their ammunition, were alarmed by seeing the enemy gathering on their left and by the cry of a light horseman that they were getting around them, and fell back in a disorder that soon became a panic. In an overwhelming fog friends were mistaken for enemies, and what at first promised to be a complete victory was converted into as complete a defeat. It was after the brigade had passed the Chew House and through the camp of the British infantry that General Nash was wounded. Mr. Custis, who was a namesake and favorite of General Washington, and father of the wife of General R. E. Lee, writes thus of General Nash's death in the *National Intelligencer,* issue of February 22, 1841:

"While gallantly leading the North Carolina Brigade, that formed part of the reserve, into action, General Nash was mortally wounded. A round shot from the British artillery striking a sign post in Germantown, glanced therefrom and, passing through his horse,

*This is error. Maxwell's was a New Jersey brigade.

shattered the General's thigh on the opposite side. The fall of the animal hurled its unfortunate rider with considerable force to the ground. With surpassing courage and presence of mind, General Nash, covering his wound with both of his hands, gaily called to his men, 'Never mind me. I've had a devil of a tumble; rush on, my boys; rush on the enemy. I'll be after you presently.' Human nature could do no more. Faint from loss of blood and the intense agony of his wound, the sufferer was borne to a house hard by and attended by Dr. Craik by special order of the Commander-in-chief. The doctor gave his patient but feeble hopes of recovery, even with the chances of amputation, when Nash observed, 'It may be considered unmanly to complain, but my agony is too great for human nature to bear. I am aware that my days, perhaps hours, are numbered, but I do not repine at my fate. I have fallen on the field of honor while leading my brave Carolinians to the assault of the enemy. I have a last request to make of his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, that he will permit you, my dear doctor, to remain with me to protect me while I live, and my remains from insult.' Dr. Craik assured the General that he had nothing to fear from the enemy. It is impossible that they would harm him while living, or offer an insult to his remains; that Lord Cornwallis was by this time in the field, and, that under his auspices a wounded officer would be treated with humanity and respect. The dying patriot and hero then uttered these remarkable words: 'I have no favor to expect from the enemy. I have been consistent in my principles and conduct from the commencement of the troubles. From the very first dawn of the Revolution, I have ever been on the side of liberty and my country.' He lingered in extreme agony between two and three days and died admired by his enemies and admired and lamented by his companions in arms. On Thursday, October 9th, the whole American Army was paraded by order of the Commander in-Chief to perform the funeral obsequies for General Nash, and never did the warrior's last tribute peal the requiem of a braver soldier or nobler patriot than of the illustrious son of North Carolina . . . while the epitaph to be graven on his memorial monument should be the memorable words of the patriot and hero on the field of his fame: 'From the very first dawn of the Revolution, I have ever been on the side of liberty and my country.' "

The advice of Mr. Custis has been taken. Those words of General Nash have been engraven on the monument erected to his memory by the Federal Government, on Guilford Battle Ground.

His military career was too brief for him to have gained the fame that might have been his had his life been spared.

Short as it was, however, he attracted the attention and secured the respect of Washington and his subordinates. In his dispatches Washington speaks of him as a brave and valuable officer. General Sullivan, in writing to the President of New Hampshire, testifies to his worth. Thomas Burke, then a member of Congress, writes of him that he was one of the best, most respected and regretted officers in the army, and Governor Caswell said his equal was not to be found among the officers who survived him. Colonel Edward Buncombe and Captains Henry Irwin and Jacob Turner were either killed or mortally wounded in this battle.

General McIntosh, of Georgia, was placed temporarily in command of the North Carolina brigade, and continued as such until May, 1778, when he was transferred to take command at Pittsburg and of the western frontier.

The brigade spent the winter of 1777-1778 at Valley Forge, about 23 miles west of Philadelphia. It seems to have endured with patience the terrible suffering of that winter, and to have taken its part in outpost duty. On the last day of 1777 there were present of them fit for duty 572 file, 425 sick, and 137 absent on duty (11 S. R., 703). The battalions were reformed by Washington in June, 1778. They took part in the Battle of Monmouth, June 29, 1778, in the division of Lord Stirling, and under the command of Colonel Clark. After a hot and arduous day the enemy retired that night behind a defile, where they had both their flanks secured by thick woods and morasses, while their front could only be approached through a narrow pass. Washington determined, notwithstanding, to attack them, so ordered General Poor, with his own and the Carolina brigade, to move round upon their right, and General Woodford upon their left, with the artillery to gall them in front. The impediments in their way, however, prevented their getting within reach before dark. They remained upon the ground they had been directed to occupy during the night, with intention to begin the attack early the next morning, while the army at large continued

lying upon their arms on the field of battle, to be in readiness to support them. But the enemy about 12 o'clock that night marched away in such silence that, though General Poor lay extremely near them, they effected their retreat without his knowledge. Washington in his report of the battle said, "The behavior of the troops in general . . . was such as could not be surpassed."

In the reformation of the brigade alluded to above the number of battalions in the brigade were reduced from six to three. Colonel Sheppard's Tenth Regiment made the fourth. Colonels Lamb, Polk, Hogun, and numerous subordinate officers being thus displaced to return home to raise the four additional battalions, asked for by the Continental Congress. "Efforts to obtain recruits under the system of volunteering, even with the large bounties offered, proved unavailing, and the Legislature directed that 2,600 men should be detached from the militia to serve in the Continental army for nine months. They were known as the nine months men. A certain quota was apportioned to each county, and this number was again apportioned by the Colonel of the county among the militia companies, so that every militia company in the State had to furnish its proper share of these troops. Volunteers from each company were first to be called for and to these a bounty of $100 was offered; and then, to make up the deficiency in its quota each company, by ballot, selected the other men. Every one so selected became a Continental, and those who faithfully served for nine months were to be exempt from any military service for a period of three years. . . . Boards of Continental officers convened at Halifax and Moore's Creek to arrange officers for the new battalions, and Colonel Hogun was elected to command the first that should be organized. In July, 1778, he marched north with six hundred men." (Ashe, page 589 *et seq.*)

In August he reached Philadelphia and hastened on to Washington's headquarters at White Plains. The North Carolina Brigade had its cantonment for the winter of 1778-9

near Smith's Cove, on the west side of the Hudson, for the security for that pass and as a reinforcement to West Point, in case of necessity. On January 9, 1779, after a long delay (there had been no North Carolina brigadier since the death of Nash), James Hogun and Jethro Sumner were made Brigadier Generals by the Continental Congress.

Perhaps the most dashing exploit of the whole war was the capture of Stony Point, on July 16, 1779. Two hundred volunteers from the North Carolina brigade, under the command of Major Hardy Murfree, took part in the attack. Stony Point is a commanding hill, projecting far into the Hudson, which washes three-fourths of its base. The remaining fourth is, in a great measure, covered by a deep marsh, commencing near the river on the upper side and continuing into it below. But at its junction with the river is a sandy beach passable at low tide, and across the morass, itself, was a narrow causeway and bridge. The promontory was crowned by strong works, furnished with heavy ordinance, commanding the morass and causeway. Lower down were two rows of abatis, and the shore at the foot of the hill could be swept by war vessels anchored in the river. The garrison was about six hundred strong, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson.

When Washington suggested his plan to capture Stony Point to Mad Anthony Wayne, it is reported that he said: "General, I will storm hell, if you will only plan it." General Wayne then readily undertook the venture. Washington's plan involved the placing of large bodies of troops near as support for the volunteers from light infantry who were to make the attack upon the fort. These supporters were the regiments of Febiger and Meigs, a detachment under Major Hull and two hundred volunteers from the North Carolina brigade under Major Murfree. Irving in his *Life of Washington,* tells the remainder of the story:

"On the 15th of July, about midday, Wayne set out with his light infantry from Sandy Beach, fourteen miles distant from Stony Point. The roads were rugged, across mountains, morasses and

narrow defiles, in the skirts of Dunderberg, where frequently it was necessary to proceed in single file. About eight in the evening, they arrived within a mile and a half of the fort, without being discovered. Not a dog barked to give the alarm—all dogs in the neighborhood had been privately destroyed beforehand. Bringing the men to a halt, Wayne and his principal officers went nearer, and carefully reconnoitered the works and their environs, so as to proceed understandingly and without confusion. Having made their observations they returned to the troops. About half past eleven, the whole moved forward, guided by a negro of the neighborhood who had frequently carried in fruit to the garrison, and served the Americans as a spy. He led the way accompanied by two stout men disguised as farmers. The countersign was given to the first sentinel, posted on high ground west of the morass. While the negro talked with him, the men seized and gagged him. The sentinel posted at the head of the causeway was served in the same manner; so that hitherto no alarm was given. The causeway, however, was overflowed, and it was some time after twelve o'clock before the troops could cross; leaving three hundred men under General Muhlenberg (?), on the western side of the morass as a reserve.

"At the foot of the promontory, the troops were divided into two columns, for simultaneous attacks on opposite sides of the works. One hundred and fifty volunteers, led by Lieutenant Colonel Fleury, seconded by Major Posey, formed the vanguard of the right column; one hundred volunteers under Major Stewart, the vanguard of the left. In advance of each was a forlorn hope of twenty men, one led by Lieutenant Gibbon, the other by Lieutenant Knox; it was their desperate duty to remove the abatis. So well had the whole affair been conducted, that the Americans were close upon the outworks before they were discovered. There was then severe skirmishing at the pickets. The Americans used the bayonet; the others discharged their muskets. The reports roused the garrison. Stony Point was instantly in an uproar. The drums beat to arms; every one hurried to his alarm post; the works were hastily manned, and a tremendous fire of grape shot and musketry opened upon the assailants.

"The two columns forced their way with the bayonet at opposite points, surmounting every obstacle. Colonel Fleury was the first to enter the fort and strike the British flag. Major Posey sprang to the ramparts and shouted, 'The fort is ours.' Wayne, who led the right column, received at the inner abatis a contusion on the head from a musket ball, and would have fallen to the ground, but his two aides-de-camp supported him. Thinking it was a death wound, 'Carry me into the fort,' said he, 'and let me die at the head of my column.' He was borne in between his aids, and soon recovered his self possession. The two columns arrived nearly at the same time and met in the center of the works. The garrison surrendered at discretion."

The loss of the Americans was fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded; that of the British, fifty-three killed and five hundred and fifty-three taken prisoners, among whom were a lieutenant colonel, four captains, and twenty-three subalterns.

Henry Cabot Lodge, in his *Story of the Revolution,* tells of the part that Major Murfree and his North Carolinians took in the storming of the fort: "Major Murfree and his North Carolinians in the center were delayed by the tide in crossing the morass, and as they came through they met an outpost. A heavy fire of grapeshot and musketry opened upon them. On they went without a pause as if they were the only troops on the field, and every other column and division did the same." Among other brave and worthy officers, Wayne mentioned the names of Lieutenant-Colonel Sherman and Majors Hull, Murfree, and Posey, "whose good conduct and intrepidity entitled them to that attention." Lieutenant John Daves, one of the North Carolina officers present, was among the severely wounded.

The disastrous defeat of General Robert Howe, in Georgia, in December, 1778, had caused him to be superseded by Major General Lincoln, whom Washington had sent south at the solicitation of the delegates (in the Continental Congress) from Georgia and South Carolina. The remainder of the battalions raised under the nine months plan from the militia of the State were sent to reinforce Lincoln in South Carolina, under the command of General Sumner and were engaged at the battle of Stono, June 20, 1779, and also under the command of Colonel Lamb in the unsuccessful joint attack upon the British defenses at Savannah, Georgia, October 9th. They fought well in both battles. The latter part of the year conditions were so threatening in the State of South Carolina that Washington ordered all the North Carolina Continentals to that State to reinforce Lincoln. General Hogun, in command, they, about seven hundred, reached Charleston and went into camp on March 3, 1780. A short time afterwards General Woodford, who had been detached from the northern

army in December, arrived at Charleston, with about the same number of effectives.

The best short account of the fall of Charleston that I have found is in Ashe, page 608, *et seq.*:

"The British being in possession of Savannah, it was apprehended that Charleston would be their next point of attack, and strenuous efforts were made to put that city in a state of defense. On February 10th, Sir Henry Clinton, having arrived with an additional force from New York, disembarked on John's Island, and at the end of March he passed the Ashley River above Charleston, taking possession of the Neck, across which Lincoln, had as defensive measures, cut a canal, constructed abatis, and built strong redoubts and batteries. It was thought that the British fleet could be successfully opposed; but on April 9th, it passed the bar, ran by Fort Moultrie and took possession of the harbor. To prevent its ascent, the channel of Cooper River was hurriedly obstructed by sinking there the entire American fleet, and so the way was still open for General Lincoln to retire from the city if he had chosen to do so. But the citizens entreated him to hold the city, and in the vain hope of relief he yielded to their earnest appeals. It was expected that the Virginia Continentals (remainder of, under Colonel Buford, General Woodford had already arrived) as well as militia from that state and the two Carolinas, would come to his aid, and that he would be able to raise the siege when these succors came. On April 6th Colonel Harrington, with some of the North Carolina militia, arrived, having entered the city by way of Addison's ferry, and Governor Rutledge was collecting the South Carolina militia on the Pee Dee, and awaiting the arrival of the Virginia troops and Caswell's brigade.

"Day by day the enemy approached nearer and nearer, until at length, on April 24th, Lincoln made a determined sortie to drive off their working parties. The detachment for this assault numbered three hundred men from Hogun's North Carolinians, Woodford's Virginians and the South Carolina Continentals. The interruption to the operations of the enemy was ineffectual; and other than this one effort, Lincoln simply endured the trying ordeal of his unfortunate predicament. The fire of the British along the line was continuous, and daily a few of the brave defenders fell at their posts. In all the American loss was 89 killed and 140 wounded; that of the besieging force being about the same. At length, all hope of relief having faded away and all avenues of escape being closed, and the citizens wearying of the siege, General Lincoln convened a council of his officers, and by their advice agreed to surrender. The capitulation took place on May 12th. His army at that time numbered two thousand Continentals, five hundred of whom were then in the hospitals. In addition there were more than a thousand

militia, nearly all North Carolinians, for there were but few South Carolina militia in the city.

"By the surrender the entire North Carolina line, embracing the new battalions as well as Hogun's brigade, was eliminated from the contest, all that were left being those on sick leave and such officers as were at home unemployed. Included in the surrender were General Hogun, Colonels Clark, Patten, Mebane, fifty-nine other officers and seven hundred and fourteen other soldiers. Under the terms of the capitulation the militia were paroled and allowed to return to their homes, but the Continentals were kept in the harbor. . . . Of the eighteen hundred regulars who went into captivity on May 12, 1780, only seven hundred survived when they were paroled. After an imprisonment of twelve months an exchange of officers was agreed on; those who had not died in captivity were landed on James River, where they were exchanged, and returned to the army."

In a biographical sketch of General Hogun's life in *4 Biog. His. N. C.,* by Judge Clark, it is said, "The regular troops headed by General Hogun, were conveyed to Haddrell's Point in the rear of Sullivan's Island, near Charleston. They there underwent the greatest privations of all kinds. They were nearly starved, but even a petition to fish, in order to add to their supply of food, was refused by the British. These troops were also threatened with deportation to the West Indies. General Hogun was offered leave to return on parole. Tempting as was the offer he felt that his departure would be unjust to his men, whose privations he had promised to share. He also knew that his absence would aid the efforts of the British, who were seeking recruits among these half-starved prisoners." The term "deportation" has attached to it in these latter days a signification so odious that it is well to pause here in the midst of the narration to explain that it was not a forcible deportation. The attempt was to induce the prisoners to enter on board the ships of war, or privateers, or to go as recruits to the regiments in the West Indies, or as volunteers against the Spanish settlements, and a considerable number of them chose to relieve themselves in that way of the severe privations of their imprisonment. But to resume, "He knew also that his absence would aid the efforts of the British, who

were seeking recruits among these half-starved prisoners. He fell a victim to his sense of duty, and died at Haddrell's Point, January 4, 1781, where he fills the unmarked grave of a hero. History affords no more striking incident of devotion to duty, and North Carolina should erect a tablet to his memory and that of those who perished there with him."

Though Major Eaton's battalion, in the early summer of 1781, numbered 400, and General Sumner's brigade in April, 1782, contained 1,000 men, to which, probably, another thousand was added before the year was out, yet the history of the Continental line, strictly speaking, ended at General Lincoln's surrender at Charleston. The surviving officers were found very useful in organizing and leading the militia on several occasions, and General Sumner, with his newly enlisted regulars, 1,000 in number, fought bravely and suffered severely in the battle of Eutaw Springs, September 9, 1781, yet these events are beyond the plan of this article.

I am indebted again to Judge Clark for the following from the biography of James Hogun, sup.:

"The colonels of the ten North Carolina regiments of the Continental Line were:

"First Regiment, James Moore; on his promotion, Francis Nash; after his promotion, Thomas Clark (who, by the way, was the second husband of Nash's widow). Alfred Moore, afterwards judge of the United States Supreme Court, was one of the captains (of this regiment).

"Second Regiment, Robert Howe; after his promotion, Alexander Martin. On his resignation, John Patten. In this regiment Hardy Murfree, from whom Murfreesboro in Tennessee, is named, rose from captain to lieutenant-colonel; and Benjamin Williams, afterwards governor, was one of the captains. David Vance, grandfather of Governor Vance, was a lieutenant.

"Third Regiment, Jethro Sumner. After his promotion, it was consolidated with the First Regiment. In this regiment Hal Dixon was a lieutenant-colonel and Pinketham Eaton was major, both distinguished soldiers; and William Blount, afterwards United States Senator, was paymaster.

"Fourth Regiment, Thomas Polk. General William Lee Davidson, killed at Cowan's Ford, was lieutenant-colonel of this regiment.

"Fifth Regiment, Edward Buncombe, who died of wounds received at Germantown, and for whom Buncombe County is named.

"Sixth Regiment, Alexander Lillington, and afterwards, Gideon Lamb. John Baptista Ashe, of Halifax, who was elected governor in 1802, but died before qualifying, was lieutenant-colonel of this regiment.

"Seventh Regiment, James Hogun. After his promotion, Robert Mebane. In this regiment Nathaniel Macon, afterwards speaker of Congress and United States Senator, and James Turner, afterwards governor, served together as privates in the same company.

"Eighth Regiment, James Armstrong.

"Ninth Regiment, John Pugh Williams. Of this regiment, William Polk was major.

"Tenth Regiment, Abram Sheppard."

The Civilization of the Old South

By Mildred Lewis Rutherford.
(Historian-General the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1911-1916.)

PART I.

The civilization of the Old South was truly unique—nothing like it before or since, nor will there ever be anything like it again.

Henry R. Jackson said:

"The stern glory of Sparta, the rich beauty of Athens, the splendors of Imperial Rome, the brilliancy of ancient Carthage—all pale before the glories of the Old South, the South as our forefathers lived it, the South as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison lived it, and, last but not least, the South as our Robert E. Lee lived it."

And Henry Grady said:

"In the honor held above estate; in the hospitality that neither condescended nor cringed; in frankness and heartiness and wholesale comradeship; in the reverence paid to womanhood and the inviolable respect in which woman's name was ever held—the civilization of the Old South has never been surpassed, and perhaps will never again be equaled by any people or nation upon this globe."

It is true that it has been compared to the Feudal System of the Middle Ages, when military lords exercised jurisdiction over serfs, allotted them land, collected taxes from them and in return demanded service in time of war—but there was no love lost between lord and serf.

It has been compared to the English tenant system, where the landlord leases the land, and, so long as the rent is paid, all is well, but if the tenant fails to pay his rent, then he is ejected without mercy—very rarely is there any love lost between the landlord and his tenant.

Very different was the relation that existed between the slave-holder and his slaves under the institution of slavery as

it was in the Old South. By the way, the negroes in the South were never called slaves—that term came in with the Abolition crusade. They were our servants, part of our very home, and always alluded to as the servants of a given plantation or town home—as, "the servants of White Marsh," "the servants of Warner Hall," "the servants of Rosewall or Rosewell," or of Halscot "the servants of Cherry Hill," "the servants of Round Hill, of Silver Hall," etc. The servants had no surnames of their own before the war—they had none when they came to us from Africa—but they were known by the names of their owners or owners' estates. Thus it was that Nancy from the Thornton plantation after freedom became Nancy Thornton; and Tom from Warner Hall became Tom Warner.

There was something in the economic system of the Old South that forged bonds of personal interest and affection between the master's family and their servants—a pride that was taken the one in the other. The master would boast, "My servants are the best on all the plantations round, best workers, best mannered, most contented, the healthiest." And the servants in turn would say, "Our white folks are quality folks —they're none of your po' white trash. Aint nobody in the world like our 'Ole Marster' and 'Ole Mis'."

The negroes under the institution of slavery were well-fed, well-clothed, and well-housed. A selfish interest, if no nobler or higher motive, would have necessitated this, for the slave was the master's salable property. He would not willingly have allowed him to be injured physically. How hard it was for us to make the North understand this!

I never heard of a case of consumption, or rather tuberculosis among the negroes before the War between the States, and now negroes are dying by the hundreds yearly. I never heard of but one crazy negro before the war. Now asylums can not be built fast enough to contain those who lose their minds.

Negroes were immune from yellow fever before the war, and now this is no longer true.

I never saw a drunken negro before the war, for they were not allowed to buy, sell, or drink liquor without the master's consent, and crimes now so prevalent, largely on account of drunkenness, were unheard of then.

The negroes were forced to go to church and white pastors employed to preach to them. They were not allowed to work on Sunday. In proportion to population there were more negroes as church members than whites.

Marriage licenses must be obtained and the marriage take place in the presence of "Ole Marster" or the overseer.

Under the institution of slavery, the negro race increased more rapidly than the white. The reverse is the case today.

The servants were very happy in their life upon the old plantations. William Makepeace Thackeray, on a lecture tour in America, visited a Southern plantation. In "Roundabout Papers" he gives this impression of the slaves:

"How they sang! How they danced! How they laughed! How they shouted! How they bowed and scraped and complimented! So free, so happy! I saw them dressed on Sunday in their Sunday best—far better dressed than our English tenants of the working class are in their holiday attire. To me, it is the dearest institution I have ever seen and these slaves seem far better off than any tenants I have seen under any other tenantry system."

When a white child was born a negro of corresponding age was given. This negro owned the white child as much as the white child owned the negro. The negro refused to take an order from any young person save the owner, and the owner refused to have any order given by any one but the owner. Close ties of affection grew between the two. As an illustration of this, in a child's game, "Playing Dead," my sister was allowed to be covered in the leaves as dead, but my Ann Eliza could not play dead.

How restful the old life was! What a picture of contentment, peace, and happiness it presented! It was something like our grandmothers' garden as compared with the gardens of today.

The old-fashioned gardens with box-bordered beds so dig-

nified and orderly and stately, with four o'clocks, holly hocks, larkspurs, touch-me-nots, wall flowers, bachelor buttons, snap dragons, mignonette, sweet alyssum, columbine and sunflower. How beautiful they were! What lovely overdresses the four o'clocks made for our flower dolls! What beautiful wreaths the larkspurs made, purple and white, which we pressed without compunction in the finest books in our father's library, totally unconscious of the ugly stain left behind.

There were long walks bordered with cape jessamine, banana shrubs, Chinese magnolias, crepe myrtle, rose beds filled with moss roses (I never see a pink moss rose now), yellow roses, red and pink single roses, tube roses; fences covered with Cherokee roses; summer houses covered with honeysuckle, yellow jasmine, woodbine, wisteria or white clematis. The odor of sweet grass and mimosa blooms, the rows of flowering pomegranate bushes, with double blossoms and the bearing pomegranate with single blossoms—apple trees in which the mocking birds' nests were found, and no one, white or black, could rob a mocking bird's nest, and, in the spring, doves cooing to their mates—that's like the old-time days never to return again.

The plantation was the center of social life in the old system and the "Big House" was the center of plantation life. It was always full and room for more. When all the beds were filled, pallets were made on the floors all over the house, and this gave trouble to no one—for there were plenty of servants to do the bidding, and mattresses, feather beds, pillows, quilts, blankets, and marvelous counterpanes in profusion, and linen closets always full.

In the "Big House" there lived "Ole Marster" and "Ole Mis." There were "Young Marster" and "Young Mis," and the children. Then there were the uncles and aunts and cousins to remotest kinship, with carriages, wagons, horses and servants. This gave trouble to no one, for there was plenty in the corn crib, plenty in the barn, plenty in the smokehouse, plenty in the pantry, plenty of turkeys, geese, ducks, guineas, chickens and squabs. Plenty of eggs, plenty

of butter, cheese, cream, curds, clabber, sweetmilk and buttermilk—barn full, yard full, dairy full, pantry full. Shelves lined with jellies, jams, apple butter, quince and peach preserves, brandy peaches, marmalade, and large stone jars filled with pickles, sweet and sour.

The table fairly groaned with good things to eat, and there were no cooks like grandmother's old cooks. The kitchen was never in the house, but way out in the yard. This mattered little then, for there were plenty of little negroes to run back and forth with the covered dishes and hot batter cakes, hot waffles, hot rolls, and even hot ginger cakes. You young people will say "But it was not stylish to have so much on the table." No, not stylish, but far better than the little "dabs of nothingness" that you have today.

You may say, "What sinful waste!" Yes, there was a waste, but it was not sinful, for white and black had enough and to spare. The household servants always had what the white people at the Big House had, and the poor whites near by, if any, had more from "Ole Mis's" generous hand.

The stables were full of riding horses, buggy horses, carriage horses and ponies, so riding parties were the amusement for mornings and afternoons. Every girl and boy in the Old South learned to ride and drive at an early age. The little boys helped to take the horses to water, and to break the wildest colts. This made the masters' sons the finest cavalrymen in the Confederate Army.

In the evenings old Uncle Ned, the fiddler, would come into the great wide hall and the Virginia Reel would be danced, "Ole Marster" leading off with the prettiest girl there as his partner. Then the dignified minuet would be called for, and "Ole Marster" would lead out "Ole Mis" with the gallantry of Sir Galahad, and wind up with the cotillion, old Ned calling out the figures, keeping time with his foot and head, as he would sing out, "Salute your pardners," "Swing your pardners," "Sachez to the right," then "Sachez to the left," and finally "Promenade all."

Young people, we could not have danced the "Turkey Trot" nor the "Bunny Hug" had we desired.

Early hours were kept on the old plantation, for every one must be stirring at daybreak. "Ole Mis" would be the first to rise. Hers was a busy life. She started all the household servants to their work—the dry rubbers, and brass polishers. Ah, how those brass fenders, andirons and candlesticks shone! They had few carpets in those days and so the floors had to be polished by being dry rubbed. The garments had to be cut out for the seamstresses, and the looms gotten ready for the weavers, and the spinning wheels had to be started, breakfast had to be given out and the cooks must begin their work.

Early in the morning you could hear the beating of the dough—no biscuit mills then—and if we had beaten biscuits they were made with "elbow grease." You could hear the milkers as they went down to the cow lot, calling the little negroes to keep off the calves. You could hear Aunt Nanny feeding the chickens, with her chick, *chick,* CHICKEE, with a rising intonation of the voice on the last chickee, and then a cackle, and we knew one of the chickens for breakfast was about to meet its fate and have its neck wrung. No refrigerator in those days to keep the chickens on ice over-night.

I can see "Ole Mis" now, with her basket of medicines on her arm, going from cabin to cabin, doctoring the sick babies and the old negroes. Frequently all night long she lingered at the bedside of some dying negro, praying with him and when life had ceased, would close the staring glassy eyes. None in the "Big House" knew of this nightly vigil save "Ole Marster."

I can hear the musical ring of the bunch of keys fastened to her side, or in her key basket, as she walked along, for, while Uncle Eben kept the crib key, and Aunt Lishy the dairy key, and Aunt Nanny the smokehouse key, "Ole Mis" always kept the pantry key. She gave out every meal herself, weighed the flour, sugar, butter, lard, and meal, measured the coffee, and

she always skimmed the cream in the dairy and prepared the milk for the churns, and made the curds.

There was such an unjust article to the South in the *New York Times* last year (1915). Edna Ferber, the authoress, is represented as saying that "The kitchens of the Southern women were left to the device of a company of slaves who ran the house pretty much to suit themselves. The Southern women never knew what provisions there were in the kitchen or cellar or how much food went out each day to furnish feasts in the near-by cabins. They knew nothing of housekeeping."

What absolute ignorance this showed of life in the Old South! Fortunately a Southern girl who had statistics in hand was ready to answer Miss Ferber. She found in a trunk of papers and letters belonging to her great-grandmother, who lived on her plantation in Washington County, Georgia, facts to contradict this in a most certain way. She found the "Plantation Book of 1851," in which the daily routine of work by the mistress of the plantation was given. In this memorandum book was kept not only the household duties, but how many pounds of cotton had been picked by the women and children on the plantation—"Martha 806 lbs., Mary 1,243 lbs., and Eliza 920 lbs." etc., and the prize money allowed them for picking over a certain amount, and then "something to George who couldn't pick, but who helped with the baskets."

Then followed the exact weight of the lard and the meat given to each family—"John and his family 62 lbs. of meat, Lewis, Patty and Martha 30 lbs." Then the amounts given to the decrepit negroes in the cabins. Finally the prescriptions left by the doctor for two of her negro patients. Then the death of a negro baby is recorded. The birth and death of the negroes were always recorded in the Family Bible at the Big House.

Now, when Miss Sarah Prince Thomas (Carol North) sent her answer to the article in the *New York Times,* and asked

that it be printed to contradict Miss Ferber's statements, it was returned, saying that they did not need it. Was this just?

From early childhood we of the South were taught all work was honorable, and every act, even sweeping a room or picking up chips could be made as acceptable in God's sight as any service an archangel could perform.

Each child had some special duty every day. The girl, as soon as she was able to hold a needle or know upon what finger to put the thimble, was made to hem the towels, the table napkins, the tablecloths, the servants' aprons, or to aid in drying the cut glass and silver, for "Ole Mis' always looked after this herself; and the boys were given the care of some one animal to feed and care for, or some gates to lock and unlock, and no one else, not even the negro each child owned, was allowed to do this work for them.

It is true the aristocrat of the Old South did not go into his blacksmith shop to shoe his horse nor his wife into the kitchen to cook, or to the wash tub to wash, but it was not because they were ashamed or scorned to do it, but because there was no need for them to do these things.

History has greatly maligned the old aristocrat of the South. He was not "haughty," he was not "purse proud," and he did not consider himself "of finer clay" than any one else, as history has unjustly represented him.

Aristocracy then was gauged by manners and morals, and not by the size of the bank account, as I fear is too much the case today. Far more time was spent in cultivating the graces and charms of life than in amassing fortunes. They realized that "Manners are of more importance than money and laws"—for manners give form and color to our lives. They felt, as Tennyson said, "Manners are the fruit of lofty natures and noble minds."

It will take us a long time to undo the falsehoods of history about the civilization of the Old South.

Who was the head of the plantation? Why, "Ole Mis";

every one on the plantation must obey "Ole Mis"; and "Ole Marster" said so and he obeyed "Ole Mis" too. Her life was a long life of devotion—devotion to her God, devotion to her church—she was really the pillar of the church—devotion to her husband, to her children, to her kinfolks, to her neighbors and friends and to her servants. She could not be idle for she must ever be busy.

"Ole Marster" could delegate many of his duties to the overseer, while he entertained his guests. He would rise early in the morning, eat his breakfast—and such a breakfast! Broiled chicken, stuffed sausage, spareribs, broiled ham and eggs, egg bread, corn muffins, hot rolls, beaten biscuits, batter cakes or waffles with melted butter, syrup or honey, and the half not told. I can taste those waffles now. My, how delicious they were! Then, after smoking his Havana cigar, he would mount his saddle horse and ride over the plantation to see if the orders given the day before had been fully carried out. Then give the next day's orders, ride to a neighboring plantation and return in time for an early dinner. Dinner was always at midday on the old plantation. If it were summer time, "Ole Marster" would lie down upon the wide veranda or in the spacious hall upon one of those old mahogany sofas, covered with black horse hair, and a little darkey with a turkey tail fan or a peacock feather brush standing at his head to fan him and keep off flies, while he took his noonday nap. If it were winter, he would go into his library, and, before a large, open fireplace with whole logs of wood, he would discourse upon the topics of the day with visitors.

There was no subject with which "Ole Marster" was not at home—whether politics, philosophy, religion, literature, poetry, or art. "Ole Marster's" sons for generations had been well educated and had a perfect familiarity with the classics —they could read Greek and Latin better than some of us can read English today. The best magaines of the day were upon his library table, and the latest books upon his library shelves.

There were no public schools in the South before the Reconstruction period. The teachers on the plantations were tutors and governesses from the best colleges of the North and South, and in the private schools in the towns and cities were men and women whose education was beyond question. It was somewhat different in the Old Field Schools. There the teacher sometimes knew little beyond readin' and 'ritin' and 'rithmetic, and was considered very learned if he carried his scholars beyond "the rule of three."

"Ole Marster" was rarely as religious as "Ole Mis," and, if he wouldn't have family prayers, "Ole Mis" would, but "Ole Marster" always had a reverence for religion and made his negroes attend church regularly and raised his children with a reverence for Sunday and holy things.

"Ole Miss" often put on a grandmother's cap when only thirty-five—what will the young grandmother of today say to that? Girls married at an early age, for a home was ready—"They never came out, for they had never been in."

How handsome "Ole Marster" was in his broadcloth suit and his silk beaver hat, his pump-soled boots, his high stock and collar, and his gold watch and chain with fob. Bill Arp said the aristocrat was known by the way he toyed with the fob upon his chain.

How quaint and beautiful "Ole Mis" was in her lace cap and satin bows! I wish I had a black silk apron with pockets in it like my grandmother used to wear. What long, deep pockets there used to be in the skirts—sometimes pockets on both sides!

The entertainments would last for weeks at neighboring plantations ten or twenty miles apart. The old family carriage would come before the door, and the maids with the bandboxes and the valets with the horse-hair trunks, with brass nail heads, would strap them behind and cover them with a leather curtain; then they would follow the young people in a spring wagon to the place of entertainment. I can see now just such a party—the old family carriage, high up

on elliptical springs, the driver's seat above the top of the carriage, and the steps which unfolded down, and then folded up.

The footman was there to let down the steps, the lovers were there to assist in mounting the steps, and Bill Arp said the true aristocrat was known not only by the size of her foot, but by the graceful way she could manage her crinoline in mounting the steps of the carriage or descending therefrom. The lovers would mount their horses and act as a body-guard to the appointed place.

The girls were dressed in dainty lawns and muslins—for no girl before her marriage, or until she had passed the marriageable age, was allowed to wear velvet, silk, satin, or lace. On their heads were the daintiest straw bonnets, trimmed with pink roses—a bunch over each ear—and bows of pink ribbons to tie beneath the chin, and the dearest black net gloves and the daintiest black slippers, with low heels, or no heels at all. Their lovers would have thrown not only their cloaks, Sir Walter-like, but themselves in the mud rather than those dainty feet should be soiled by the mud. And it was considered *dreadful if more than the tip of that slipper should show.* What would our grandmothers have said to these short dresses of today?

Hunting parties, riding parties, fishing parties, boating parties, tournaments, charades, dances, and all sorts of joys never dreamed of by the young people of today—no sitting out in the moonlight on the lawns, no hiding in dark corners of the verandas, no love-making after the old people had gone to bed, no automobile rides after dark, no dancing until daylight, and consequently runaway marriages were rarely heard of—and divorces were rarer. While the young men were on their fox hunts, the young girls would be employed with their embroidery—exquisite work they did!

But, oh, the preparation for a wedding feast! Weeks beforehand the plans were laid. "Hunter's round" had to be packed in spices, fruit cake to be made, raisins seeded, citron

sliced, almonds blanched, and later the cakes iced, pyramids of cakes graduating in octagon shape from very large at the bottom to small at top and capped with a figure of the bride with her wedding veil and the groom in black broadcloth that had been bought from some confectionery shop. Little fence rails of icing around the different layers of cakes mounted one upon the other; bunches of grapes made of icing and covered with gold or silver leaf; roses made of white tarlatan and rimmed with icing. How we used to stand around—white children and black—and beg for the cones or the bowls that held the icing after the cakes were finished! I can see, now, the little smeared faces—for the owners unhesitatingly licked the bowls. Then the blanc mange shaped in so many wonderful molds of pineapple, muskmelon, rabbits and roses. Then pig's feet jelly, so stiff, and cut into little squares just big enough for a mouthful—how delicious they were!

Then the day of the wedding! There was the making of the chicken salad and the slicing of the beef tongue and ham and the roasting of turkeys and the icing of the little cakes, the making of the wafers that fairly melted in the mouth, and then the sweet wafers rolled over and oh! so crisp and delicious, and beaten biscuit by the bushel, the watermelon rind preserves cut into such equisite shapes, fish and bird and flower, and shaped with an artist's eye—the pride of the housekeeper, brought out to be seen if not to be eaten—the mango pickles, peach pickles, brandy peaches, artichoke pickles, cucumber pickles, and cherry pickles! Then the boiled custard and the syllabub—we had no ice cream in those days, for manufactured ice was unknown. Every member of the family present had to take home some of the wedding cake, every young person must have some of the cake to dream on, and to name the corners of the room. The wedding guests lingered on for days, and even weeks, after the wedding was over, and the feasting continued until the last guest was gone.

Those happy days are no more—gone, never to return, and

the civilization as our granmothers lived it, went with it. Happy are those whose memory holds these days in remembrance! My heartfelt sympathy goes out to those who shall never know of them!

Veterans, didn't we have a good time when hog killing time came! Weren't the pig tails and the crackling bread fine? Don't we feel sorry for these young people who never ate a roasted pig tail, or never spent a Christmas on the old plantation?

Time was measured to Christmas, and three weeks before Christmas Day the wagons would go to the nearest city or town to lay in the Christmas supplies. Every negro man had to have a complete outfit, from hat to shoes; every negro woman had to have the same from head handkerchief to shoes; each negro child every article of clothing needed; and warm shawls, and soft shoes, or some special gifts had to be bought for the old negroes too feeble to work. Then there were the barrels of apples, oranges, cocoanuts, boxes of almonds, Brazil nuts, English walnuts, hazelnuts, raisins, citron and currants; then candies galore, kisses with adorable verses, sugar plums, lemon drops, gum drops, peppermint, cinnamon and lemon candy by the quantity, and last but not least, some mysterious packages that were stowed in mother's large wardrobe, which mammy told us with a grave shake of the head were *"Laroes catch medloes,"* and for fear they might be animals that would bite us, we religiously let them alone, and forgot to ask about them when Christmas was over.

How happy all were, white and black, as the cry of "Christmas Gif' " rang from one end to the other of the plantation, beginning early in the morning at the Big House and reaching every negro cabin—Christmas can never be the same again.

As in a family life when a child is disobedient and must be punished, so in plantation life a disobedient or unruly negro had to be whipped or punished. It was natural that he should prefer to run away to escape a punishment he justly deserved

and knew he would surely receive, especially tempted to run into a free State when incentives were offered to him to come and be transported by some underground way and hidden from the owner. It was perfectly natural also for him to give the most exaggerated reports of his treatment to willing listeners, who really set a premium upon these exaggerations.

"Aunt Cinthy," living in Florida where Northern tourists so often go for the winter, understood this. When reproached for saying what was absolutely false about the condition of the negro under slavery, she said: "Honey, I am jest obleeged to zaggerate a leetle about these things to edify the Northern tourists—they wouldn't give me any money if I didn't."

The unnatural thing to the Southern planter was how educated and intelligent men and women of the North could believe he would willingly injure his salable property by hitching him to a plow, or allowing him to be cruelly beaten. To him there was no difference between hiding his negro worth $1,200, or more, and hiding his pocketbook which contained the same amount of money. This interference with his personal property was stealing, no matter how viewed, and it irritated him beyond measure. He knew perfectly well, should he retaliate by taking the horses of the abolitionists from their stables, or cows from their barns, or cattle from their fields, or furniture from their homes, or bank notes from their pockets, it would quickly have been a question of law and imprisonment. It has been estimated that 75,000 negroes were thus hidden from their owners before 1860.

These fanatics took out "Personal Liberty Bills" contrary to the Constitution, to protect them, on the plea that there was a Higher Power than the Constitution. Indeed, in their fanaticism, they publicly burned the Constitution, and even said if the Bible stood for slavery, better burn the Bible, too.

Now, there is no doubt that this was one of the many interferences with Southern rights which forced Southern men to advocate secession in order to secure the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution. Many think because this interference with the runaway slaves was one of the *occasions* of

war that the war was fought to hold the slaves. Never was there a greater mistake. Out of the 600,000 men in the Confederate army 400,000 never owned slaves. What were those men fighting for? There were 315,000 slave-holders in the Northern army. Did they wish their slaves freed? General Lee freed his slaves before the war began. General Grant did not free his until the Thirteenth Amendment passed, for Missouri's slaves were not intended to be freed by the Emancipation Proclamation.

Southern men always believed in State Sovereignty, and Southern men always have stood by the Constitution. Fair-minded Northern men saw this and said the South had by the Constitution the right to secede and contended that the Abolition Party was only a minority party in the North. George Lunt, of Boston, said, "The majority of the men in the North felt outraged at the actions of the Republican party at the time in interfering with the rights of the Southern States."

Had the South prevailed, the Union would have been preserved and that too by the Constitution. Our negroes would have long ago been freed by gradual emancipation, as Southern slave-holders had already done, were desirous of doing still, and, had no interference come from the abolitionists, there would be now no race problems to adjust.

Neither would there have been any need to change the Constitution except to legislate more strongly to enforce the laws against the slave trade as it was being still carried on by Northern States contrary to law, and the right to free their own slaves, as was claimed by the slaveholders of the Southern States. State Sovereignty would still remain, while the inexpediency of secession would have been proven by war. We would have, today, not only a grander and more glorious Union with no danger threatening us from a centralized government, but we would have a true democracy with States Rights stressed, as President Wilson advocates, a government formed *of* the people, *by* the people and *for* the people—knowing no North, no South, no East, no West.

PART II.

What Made the Civilization of the Old South?

It was, undoubtedly, the institution of slavery.

Why then did not the institution of slavery as it existed in Egypt, in Greece, in Rome, in Russia, in France, in the British Colonies, in New England, and other Northern States, produce the same civilization? That it did not, history has proven. There must have been another reason, then, than the mere institution itself.

The difference evidently was in the slave-holders of the South—men of that old Cavalier stock having the fear of God which gave them minds tuned to justice, and hearts trained to love, and pocketbooks opened to the needs of humanity, and I think the open pocketbooks had much to do with it. These men of the Old South lived with open-handed hospitality. One rarely heard of slaveholders in the South amassing great wealth like Stephen Girard of Philadelphia, or Peter Faneuil of Boston, Mass. The Southern slaveholders did not drive close bargains, but were generous in all their dealings, believing in the doctrine of "live and let live." Many slaveholders lived far beyond their means, and the surrender found them greatly in debt on account of liberality to their slaves.

From Jamestown and Plymouth Rock flowed two mighty streams of influence—dissimilar and, for more than a hundred years, entirely separate—two types of men with distinct ideals of life. One loved England and the established church, and came simply to investigate the New World and its possibilities, and fully intended to return to England some day, and had no desire to withdraw from the mother church.

The other had no love for England and had a grievance against the established church, deliberately planned to make a new home in this country, and never desired or intended to return to the mother land or mother church.

The backbone of the Virginia stream, or the Jamestown

Colony, was composed of men from leading families in England, gentlemen of the best English society, the landed gentry born to wealth and very loyal to their king. They were of the Cavalier stock. Many had lost their fortunes by high living, no doubt, and desired to come to this new world, expecting to find it a veritable Eldorado. When they decided to remain they patterned their social institutions after England, where they had been accustomed to large landed estates with tenants or servants. Coming with this old patriarchal idea of life, they became an agricultural people, making a diffusive civilization, settling on burgesses or plantations, having their indentured servants and living as in their old home.

Not so with the New England stream or Plymouth Rock Colony. They, too, were Englishmen, but did not come from the landed gentry, but from Puritan stock. They had a grievance with England in regard to an interference with their liberty to worship God as they pleased. They did not love the king or the landed gentry, so they began to lay the foundations of new social institutions and to set up new altars of justice and religion, and thus really became autocrats in the administration of the law.

The Jamestown Colony coming from English blood born to rule, their very instincts of life tended to develop political leaders and statesmen.

Their life on the plantations under the institution of slavery in controlling their slaves, fitted them to control themselves and others, so we find for fifty out of seventy years of the early government of our Republic, Southern men filled the Presidential chair. Every man from the South was reëlected for a second term, and two offered a third term, while not a President from other sections during this period ever held a second term. Thus was the ability of Southern men to control the affairs of State acknowledged by the people of the country.

The Plymouth Rock Colony, settling in towns and cities, made a cohesive civilization and developed traders, manufac-

turers, and men fitted for commercial control of the country. Their nearness to each other in the cities and towns also developed literary instincts, and there the leading men of letters were found during those early days of the Republic. A literary atmosphere was created by close contact and Massachusetts particularly produced many poets and philosophers, and the finest essay writers of that day came from New England.

These people were a methodical, painstaking people, exact in all business calculations, in all State regulations. They instigated research, and undertook historical investigations and so we find not only the statistics regarding their affairs accurately kept, but everything pertaining to their history recorded.

The Jamestown Colony did not write their history or accurately keep their statistics—hence we are suffering for this today, because our statistics have been prepared by those who did not know them as we did not know them ourselves, and we are often forced to go to the British Museum and other archives in England to find some of the history of those early days.

While the men of the South were eminently literary, they could not as in New England create a literary atmosphere, for they lived miles apart and rarely had any opportunity to meet in groups to discuss literary topics. They had the ability to write books, and they wrote much for local papers, but there was no need to print books for the money that would come to them from the printing.

The South produced great orators, and great political statesmen whose writings have come down in the political history of our country, excelled by no other section.

The Jamestown Colony thought little of the value of statistics. They were big-hearted, open-handed, free livers, given to hospitality, and as was said before, often lived far beyond their means. The care of their slaves was always a very heavy expense. The institution of slavery brought on an immunity from drudgery and gave leisure for the cultivation of the mind and manners. It made gentlemen and gentlewomen.

There was little attempt at grandeur or display—a beautiful simplicity was the charm of the life of the Old South. There was no need to study ethics, it was inborn in white and black. While there were different degrees of wealth—one man owning more slaves than another, or men of business affairs in the towns and cities owning few or no slaves, yet there was little difference in social standing—the line being drawn on education, manners and morals more than on the family tree and the pocketbook. Intellectual advantages and manners were to them of paramount importance. Character always counted for more than blood or money. And sneer as one may at the chivalry of the Old South, it was that which sweetened Southern life. Southern men were not only the champions of the women of their households, but the protectors of all women.

Now, while the Plymouth Rock Colony also produced gentlemen and gentlewomen, they were of a different type. While at heart they may have been just as true they lacked the social graces, and charming manners that the civilization of the Old South produced.

This difference came out very strikingly when Thomas Jefferson and John Adams were at the same time representatives from the United States Government in France. They had with them their daughters, Martha Jefferson and Abigail Adams—both well educated young women. Queen Marie Antoinette said that Martha Jefferson had the most exquisitely gracious manners she had ever seen in any young girl, and could be at home in any royal court; while the prim manners of Abigail Adams, the little New England maid, oppressed her.

The Jamestown settlers and their descendants, while not Puritanical in their religion, were religious. While Jonathan Edwards was preaching "Hell Torments" from a New England pulpit, the churchmen in Virginia were preaching "The love of God to sinful, dying men."

Read that tablet on Old Cape Henry Lighthouse commem-

orating the planting of the Cross by THIRTY members of that Jamestown Colony, April 26, 1607.

Read Richard Crashaw's Prayer, that was used in the daily service at Jamestown, in which is found: "Arm us against difficulties, and strengthen us against base thoughts and temptations. Give us faith, wisdom and constancy in thy service."

Read how the Rev. Robert Hunt held daily services under the stretched sails of one of those first three vessels that brought over this first permanent English Colony.

Go to Jamestown Island today and see the remains of that old church built there. Read the history of that church and see in Virginia churches today the remains of the communion service used there.

Read of that *first* Fast Day, and that *first* Thanksgiving Day before even the Pilgrim Fathers had left England.

Read of the missionary work of Alexander Whitaker, the *first* Protestant missionary to American Indians.

Yes, they were religious, but they believed in a religion of joy and happiness and never believed in a religion that carried a long and sanctimonious face.

The Plymouth Rock Colony were Puritans in word and deed. They recognized no church, no creed, no king by divine right. They said they were only responsible to God and to their own consciences. Life with them was simply a preparation for death, but their liberty became intolerance, and having been persecuted they also began to persecute. They allowed no Christmas festivities, no May Day joys, and their children were actually punished for being merry. A man was even forbidden to kiss his wife on Sunday. Nathaniel Hawthorne once said, "Let us thank God for such ancestors, but let us also thank Him that each generation brings us one step farther on in the march of ages."

The Cavaliers and their descendants and the men who settled the Southern colonies, into whose blood came that of the Irish, the Scotch, the Welsh, the French Huguenots,

made up a people who have no superiors in the world—and today, after all these years, the purest Anglo Saxon blood out of rural England is to be found in the Southern States, and Englishmen have testified that the purest English is spoken not in New England, but in the Southern States.

The Puritans and their descendants and the other colonies that settled the North, into whose blood came the Dutch, the Swedes, the Danes, the Quakers, made a sturdy race, whose strength of character and business qualifications have always made them prominent as men of large affairs in the business world, and has given them great prominence in religious activities and ability in financing large undertakings. While it is written that Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, financed the Revolution, we must not forget that Thomas Nelson, of Virginia, borrowed on his own credit, $2,000,000 for the Continental Congress and this money was never returned to him.

By the way, it was the American Revolution that brought the Cavalier and Puritan with their descendants close together to form one deep, swift current of national life, and the difference in Puritan and Cavalier blood was forgotten in the one mighty united effort to gain American independence. When Massachusetts suffered, every Southern colony suffered with her and quickly came to aid her. George Mason, of Virginia, wrote to his children to go in deep mourning when the services were held to pray for the relief of Massachusetts. When the Boston Port Bill passed, every one of the Southern colonies responded with aid to Massachusetts.

At the time of the Revolution, every colony was a slave holding colony. There really was no question of abolition of slavery and no sectional feeling until the time of the Missouri Compromise in 1820, which drew attention to the political power of the slave holding states.

Who was most responsible for the bringing over of African slaves—the North or the South? How glad I am to right a wrong against Massachusetts! It was a Dutch vessel, in

1619, sailing the English flag, that sold to the Jamestown Colony the first twenty "NEGARS," as John Rolfe called them. This was one year before the Mayflower set sail from England, so Massachusetts can not be blamed for that. That they were sold and not indentured is proven beyond doubt from authorities incontrovertible—such authority as George Bancroft (Vol. 1, p. 125), America's greatest historian; and Lyon Gardiner Tyler, Virginia's authority on Colonial history.

The strongest testimony is a paper in the possession of the descendants of Governor Yeardley, who was one of the Jamestown Colony to buy these Africans. He says they were bought in a spirit of humanity, with no thought of later commercial value. These creatures were suffering horribly on that slave ship and the Jamestown settlers felt they must be relieved, so bought them, and then tried to civilize them by putting them to work.

If African slavery was a sin, the Spaniards and English were the sinners. It is true the slave trade in the United States was begun by Massachusetts, and in the main carried on by her, not as a private enterprise, but by the authority of the Plymouth Rock Colony (Colonial Entry Book, Vol. IV, p. 724).

Slavery was abolished in the Northern Colonies from no conscientious scruples, but simply because the slave labor was unprofitable (Fiske's *Critical Period of American History,* p. 73).

Southern planters never, if it could be avoided, allowed their slaves to be sold at public outcry. It only happened when a man died without a will—then members of the family tried to buy the slaves in by families.

The South has suffered greatly from misrepresentations in regard to the institution of slavery. History has grossly maligned, not only the institution, but the slaveholder. Cruelty as practiced in East Indies, the Barbadoes and elsewhere have been repeated and located in the South. One

traveler declared he saw in his travels a negro in a cage exposed to wild birds and his eyes literally pecked out—and encyclopedias and historians have located it in South Carolina. In the first place there are no wild birds in South Carolina to have done the pecking, and in the second place no Southern slaveholder would have stood for this for a moment.

The slaveholder has been accused of cruelty in separating mother and child on the slave block. The selling of slaves in the South did not separate mother and child as often or with such cruelty as did the slave traffic in Africa—as did the hiding of the fugitive slaves from their owners—as did the "Exodus Order" in Reconstruction days. Southern States had very rigid laws along this line. In Louisiana, if a slaveholder separated mother and child, he must pay $1,000 and give up six of his slaves. Other states also had binding laws. We find, in the Massachusetts *Continental Journal,* March 1, 1778, an advertisement of a slave mother to be sold "with or without her six months' old child."

The Southern planter has been accused of cruelty to his slaves—no cruelty on the part of any overseer can compare to that of the middle passage on the slave ships, where, on that long voyage, they were huddled as standing cattle and suffered from hunger and thirst so that they died by the hundreds. Let it be remembered that no Southern man ever owned a slave ship. No Southern man ever commanded a slave ship. No Southern man ever went to Africa for slaves.

General Lee said, "There was no doubt that the blacks were immeasurably better off here than they were in Africa—morally, physically, and socially." He thought the freeing of them should be left in God's hands and not be settled by tempestuous controversy.

The South has been vilified for not educating the negro in the days of slavery. The South was giving to the negro the best possible education—that education that fitted him for the workshop, the field, the church, the kitchen, the nursery,

the home. This was an education that taught the negro self-control, obedience, and perseverance—yes, taught him to realize his weaknesses and how to grow stronger for the battle of life. The institution of slavery as it was in the South, so far from degrading the negro, was fast elevating him above his nature and his race.

We dared not teach the negroes on the plantation to read lest men of the John Brown type would urge them to rise, burn and kill our men, women and children on the plantation. Nat Turner, a free negro, did learn to read and was responsible for that insurrection in 1836 that resulted in the murder of sixty whites.

No higher compliment was ever paid the institution of slavery than that by the North, which was willing to make the negro its social and political equal after two hundred years of civilization under Southern Christianizing influence. Never has been recorded in history such rapid civilization from savagery to Christian citizenship.

Charles E. Stowe said, "There must have been something in the institution of slavery of value to have produced such a beautiful Christian character as Uncle Tom" in his mother's book.

The black man ought to thank the institution of slavery—the easiest road that any slave people have ever passed from savagery to civilization with the kindest and most humane masters. Hundreds of thousands of the slaves in 1865 were professing Christians and many were partaking of the communion in the church of their masters.

All that the South wishes is justice. This she has never had. In all of her history she has never been an invader but a defender of rights.

The War between the States taught us of the South our unpreparedness. The war in Europe is teaching our whole nation our unpreparedness. Thank God for President Wilson—a man of peace and a man of vision! The Revolutionary War brought Cavalier and Puritan together in a common

love of country, so we, today, North, South, East, and West are being brought more closely together than ever before as true Americans under one flag and loyal to a Democratic Government with State Sovereignty stressed. We must be ready, after this war ends, to lend a helping hand to all nations needing help—for no blessing will come to us if we allow selfishness to engulf us.

Remember that this civilization that has replaced the old civilization rests with you and me whether it shall be a better civilization or not. Upon the individual man and woman in this country rests a fearful responsibility. Shall our influence—unconscious influence—which is the strongest—be for the upbuilding or the pulling down of this great Nation which God has entrusted into our keeping? God grant that we shall one and all stand ever on the side of RIGHT.

Colonel Hardy Murfree, of the North Carolina Continental Line*

By Colonel W. L. Murfree.

Hardy Murfree was born in Hertford County, North Carolina, on the 5th of June, 1752. At the early age of twenty-three he was appointed Captain of the Second Regiment of the Continental line of North Carolina by the Provincial Congress, which met at Halifax, August 21, 1775. The earliest action of this body was to pledge the coöperation of North Carolina with the other colonies in raising a Continental army for the common defense of the country. In fulfillment of this pledge, after directing the formation of a force of "Minute-men," designed for local operations, it proceeded to organize two regiments, which became a portion of the Continental army, and which served throughout the Revolutionary war.

Hardy Murfree's father, William Murfree, was a man of prominence in the community in which he lived, and was a member from Hertford County in the North Carolina Congress, or Convention, as it would be called in the language of the present day, which convened at Halifax, in the following year on the 12th of November, 1776. The duty of this body, as described in the call issued for its formation by the Committee of Safety, was "not only to make laws, but also to form a constitution which was to be the foundation of all law; and as it was well or ill ordered, would tend to the happiness or misery of the State."—(Wheeler's *History of North Carolina,* pp. 84, 85, 86.)

That the constitution framed by this body was "well ordered," is very manifest from the fact that it proved so

*This Biographical Sketch of Colonel Hardy Murfree was delivered before the Tennessee Historical Society, at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, December 8, 1885, when Major D. D. Maney, "on behalf of all the descendants of Hardy Murfree and himself," presented to that historic organization the sword of this distinguished officer of the North Carolina Continental Line, which was accepted by Judge John M. Lea. Colonel W. L. Murfree lived in St. Louis, Missouri.

satisfactory to the people of North Carolina that, without amendment, it continued to be the organic law of the State from 1776 to 1835, a period of 59 years.

The two regiments contributed by North Carolina to the general defense, passed, as soon as they were organized, under the control of the Continental Congress, and acted chiefly in the main body of the army, under the command of Washington.

In the daring assault which resulted in the capture of Stony Point, there was selected from the North Carolina troops a battalion of picked men, and Hardy Murfree, who was then a Major, was placed in command. At the time there had been organized a corps of light infantry, composed of a battalion of picked men taken from each of the following States: North Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Massachusetts; each battalion being under the command of a field officer. As already stated, Hardy Murfree was selected to command the North Carolina battalion. General Anthony Wayne was placed in command of the whole body, and to this corps of choice troops was committed the daring enterprise of storming Stony Point. Major Murfree, with his command, took his position according to his orders in front of the enemy's lines. He opened a rapid and continuous fire, for the purpose of drawing the attention of the garrison to his command, while the storming columns moved steadily and silently on his right and left to the attack on the fort. The result is matter of familiar history.

In the next year it appears that Major Murfree and his command had been transferred to the South. In his note book, which is now in the possession of a member of the family, there is an order by General Jethro Sumner, dated Warren County, June, 1780, addressed to Major Hardy Murfree, and also a copy of a letter from General Sumner, dated Hillsboro, May 18, 1781, addressed to "Col. Lamb or Maj. Murfree," relating to the movement of troops.

It may here be remarked that, in addition to the historical and documentary data, there are many interesting traditions concerning Hardy Murfree and his comrades, during the time of his service in the Continental army. It is said that in the battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777, he assisted in bearing from the field General Francis Nash,* who was mortally wounded. Colonel Murfree's sash was used upon this occasion to support the wounded General, and still bears the stains of his blood.

There are persons now living who were told by those who knew him well, his brother-in-law and son-in-law, that before the war closed Major Murfree was promoted to the rank of Colonel. He has always been accorded that title.

Colonel Murfree was married on the 17th of February, 1780, to Miss Sally Brickell, daughter of Matthias Brickell and his wife, Rachel Noailles Brickell. Mr. Brickell was a member of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina in 1776.

After the close of the war Colonel Murfree devoted himself to his private affairs. Elkanah Watson, in his book of travels in the South, published soon after the war, speaks of him as an "intrepid officer of the Revolution," whom he found busy with his plantation, on the banks of the Meherrin River, near the town of Murfreesboro, North Carolina. The town of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, was named in honor of him.

Colonel Murfree's wife died on the 29th of March, 1802, and five years afterwards he migrated to Tennessee, where he owned large bodies of land. He settled on Murfree's Fork of West Harpeth, in Williamson County, and on the 6th of July, 1809, he died. Although he had so recently identified himself with the people of Tennessee he had made many friends, and his funeral was attended by a large concourse of people. He was interred with Masonic honors, and an oration was delivered upon the occasion by Felix Grundy.

The following account of his funeral is taken from the

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*The Gen. Francis Nash, who fell at the battle of Germantown in 1777, was the man in whose honor Nashville was named.

Democratic Clarion, published by Thomas G. Bradford, in Nashville, Tenn., July 21, 1809. This old newspaper is now in the possession of Mrs. Mary M. Hardeman, a granddaughter of Colonel Murfree:

On Sunday, the 9th instant, agreeable to notice, the Masonic funeral of Col. Hardy Murfree was celebrated. At 9 o'clock the procession formed in Franklin, in the following order:

Masonic Lodges, preceded by Tilers with drawn swords.

Philanthropic Lodge, Col. Edward Hard, Master, followed by the members.

Past Masters.

Franklin Lodge, Col. N. Patterson, Master. Members.

Nashville Corps of Volunteer Cavalry, Capt. Heussar.

On the procession arriving at the gate of the garden the Philanthropic Lodge stopped, and the Franklin Lodge advanced first to the grave. At the conclusion of the Masonic funeral rites the subjoined oration was delivered by Felix Grundy, Esq., after which the military advanced and fired three volleys over the grave.

The surrounding hills were covered with vast numbers of people, and the awful silence which pervaded such an immense crowd evinced the feelings of the spectators for the memory and virtues of the deceased. Col. Murfree was said to be nearly the last survivor who commanded a regiment during the Revolutionary war. The heroes and sages of that day are rapidly passing off the stage of life, but a few years more and nothing will remain but the remembrance of the virtues of the gallant patriots who established the freedom and independence of their country.

The following are extracts from the oration delivered upon the occasion by Judge Felix Grundy:

". . . Masons have lost a brother, soldiers have lost a hero, the world has lost a citizen and a man worthy to be remembered—ye military men, he was also your brother in arms. When the voice of an injured country called him to her relief, he paused not, he left his peaceful habitation, he marched to the tented field—he felt the injustice and indignity that were offered to his country—while timid, irresolute minds were considering whether submission or resistance to the unjust demands of the old government should be preferred, in his mind there was no conflict, he saw there was but one course honorable for his country, that he adopted and pursued it—although the prospect was gloomy and unpromising he did not hesitate—he staked his property and life on the event of the doubtful contest. When in the field he was no idle spectator of the events—the plains of Monmouth bear testimony to his valor and intrepidity. In the attack on Stony Point he held a distinguished and dangerous

command. On both occasions and many others he taught bravery to his soldiers by example; he never shunned danger, his gallant soul was a stranger to fear. You, ye aged men, who also partook in the dangers and difficulties of our country, know that although he was the greatest advocate for discipline, he had the talent of enforcing it rather by persuasion and example than coercion—those under his command considered his displeasure as the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on them—military men, remember his name and imitate his virtues.

"Let all present revere his memory, who, with his compatriots, brought liberty and independence to our country. We are now floating on the surface of a smooth sea, they buffeted the storm; we now enjoy the cool and refreshing breezes of peace; the scorching heat of the summer sun and the battle's danger was theirs. . . .

"Enough of our brother's character has been portrayed in the rough field of peril and danger; let us trace him in the private walks of life, where peaceful virtue, with her associates, delight to dwell. His presence, which was a terror to the enemies of his country, to his family and friends was a refreshing shower. The implements of war being laid aside, he was the affectionate husband and the tender father. He has left no consort behind him to mourn his death—his children are with us. Often will they revisit this spot, they will view it as holy ground, consecrated by the remains of their father.

"Of the benevolence of our deceased friend all who knew him can speak! With a liberal but unostentatious hand, he relieved the wants of the distressed. With those feelings which masonry inspires, he fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and dried up the tear upon the widow's cheek."

Colonel Murfree left two sons and five daughters, all of whom were married. None of them are now living; the second generation has passed away, but the third and fourth are numerous. A large proportion of his descendants are residents of Tennessee, a few of Mississippi, some live in Kentucky, and some in Missouri.

Colonel Murfree's letters and memoranda show that he was a finely educated man, and of great native intelligence. He was of a generous and enthusiastic temperament, and was endowed with many noble traits of character. He was in every respect an honorable and upright man, a gallant officer, greatly beloved in private life, and most exemplary in his domestic relations. His private character is one which adds lustre to his public services.

In Memoriam

Entered into the eternal joy of her Lord on January 10, 1918, Mary Armistead Moore Matthew, the beloved wife of Patrick Matthew, formerly of Scotland, now of Edenton, North Carolina, daughter of the late Mrs. Susan Augustus Moore Righton, and niece of Miss M. E. Moore, of Edenton.

Descended from a long line of brilliant and distinguished ancestors, the noblest qualities of her antecedents culminated and found expression in her rare and charming personality. She used the gifts with which she was so richly endowed for the glory of God and the good of her fellow-man.

Her mind was as keen as a rapier, but possessed a depth a statesman might envy. She was a leader in all the educational, charitable, civic and church activities and an inspiration to the community in which she went about doing good.

She was a faithful, devoted member of St. Paul's Episcopal church, and filled with honor and efficiency the offices of president of the Bell Battery Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and regent of Penelope Barker Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, and was a member of the North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames.

The historical tablets erected in Edenton are a memorial to her, and mark her interest and love for her native town.

With sincere grief we join the procession of the sorrowing in the loss of one who was dear to us. Her memory will be cherished in the hearts of all that knew her, for her broad sympathy and tender, loving nature responded readily to the joys and sorrows of others, and she made life a sweeter, fairer thing for all with whom she came in contact.

DUNCAN CAMERON WINSTON WALES.

RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT TO MRS. PATRICK MATTHEW.

Realizing the Society of the Daughters of the Revolution has sustained an irreparable loss in the death of our beloved member, Mrs. Patrick Matthew, for ten years Regent of the

Penelope Barker Chapter, the following resolutions have been adopted:

1. Since it has pleased God in His wisdom to call to higher service our friend and useful member, Mrs. Matthew, with a deep sense of our loss, we wish to express to her husband, Mr. Patrick Matthew, and her aunt, Miss Mary E. Moore, our tender and sincere sympathy.

2. That we mourn the loss of a brilliant and stimulating presence among us. May we press forward with renewed energy in the work she loved so well. The memorials she was instrumental in erecting in and around Edenton, are of great value to the State and to coming generations. Edenton, so rich in historical association and great deeds, was to her a trust, to revive and keep in the hearts of the living, and well did she fill her trust.

3. That she was faithful in all the relations of life, and the State has lost one of the most active and patriotic women.

4. That while her vacant place fills our hearts with sadness, we humbly submit to the will of God.

5. A copy of these resolutions be sent to her family and that they be entered into the minutes of the Society of the Daughters of the Revolution and the Edenton papers please copy.

Respectfully,

MRS. MARSHALL WILLIAMS,
State Regent.
MISS GEORGIE HICKS,
Historian.
MISS WINIFRED FAISON,
Corresponding Secretary.
MRS. GEO. P. PELL,
Recording Secretary.
MRS. CHAS. LEE SMITH,
Treasurer.
MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
MRS. PAUL HINTON LEE,
Vice Regents.

Biographical Sketch

By Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

MISS MILDRED LEWIS RUTHERFORD

Miss Rutherford contributes an article on the "Civilization of the Old South" in this issue of The Booklet, and which we hope will be reproduced in widely circulated journals.

Miss Rutherford was born at Athens, Ga., July 16, 1851. She is a daughter of William and Laura Battaille (Cobb) Rutherford, of Athens. North Carolina is one of her ancestral states. Her ancestors, the Lewises and Cobbs, lived in Granville County; she descends from the Lewises of Warner Hall and many of the distinguished families of the Old Dominion. Her great grandfathers, Col. John Rutherford and Major Francis Boykin, were with Gen. Nathaniel Greene in the American Revolution.

Miss Rutherford was educated at the Lucy Cobb Institute of Athens and subsequently its president for seventeen years. Again in 1917 she is president of Lucy Cobb. She is an inveterate reader and is trying hard to right the wrongs of history. Her studies cover every phase of literature and language and from her many activities is known nationally as educator, author, and historian. She is an educator of ability, as attested by her long service as president of that great Georgia institution, The Lucy Cobb. As an author her work includes many books and addresses. One of notable importance, "The Thirteen Periods of United States History," much used in schools and well deserves to become a text-book in all the States of the Union. This compilation is authoritative, reliable, and without sectionalism.

Miss Rutherford is State Historian of the Georgia Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. She was Historian General of the U. D. C., 1911-'12-'13-'14-'15-'16 and resigned from this office on account of the time-limit.

Her life has been, and is, one of great mental activity, be-

sides one of great responsibility, doing all with that energy and faithfulness characteristic of her forefathers.

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Vol. XVII APRIL, 1918 No. 4

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

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Vol. XVII APRIL, 1918 No. 4

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XVII APRIL, 1918 No. 4

The Origin of the Regulation in North Carolina*

By Archibald Henderson

The Regulation has been exhaustively studied, and is still something of a *cause célèbre* in North Carolina history. The origin of the movement has remained veiled in an obscurity which the diligent efforts of innumerable investigators have hitherto failed to illumine. The contemporary work[1] ascribed to Hermon Husband, a leader of the Regulators, opens with the statement:

> In Orange County the first disturbance is generally ascribed to have arisen; but Granville and Halifax Counties were deeply engaged in the same quarrel many years before Orange. . . . For though Granville County had been at war, as it were, some years before the disturbance in Orange, yet we never heard of it till it broke out in Orange.

Researches made by the writer in the records of Granville County and the state archives at Raleigh have brought to light records and documents of crucial importance which have not hitherto been known to exist, or been available to historical students.

In his *Impartial Relation* the author, presumably Husband, quotes several passages from a manuscript, by an un-

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*Reprinted from The American Historical Review, Vol. XXI, No. 2, January, 1916.

[1] *An Impartial Relation of the First Rise and Cause of the Recent Differences in Publick Affairs, in the Province of North Carolina,* printed for the Compiler (1770, pp. 104). With certain slight omissions, this work was reprinted in Wheeler's *Sketches of North Carolina,* II. 301-331. The collation was made from a copy in the library of the Philadelphia Library Company. There is also a copy in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence.

known author, generally denominated "The Nutbush paper."[2] The writer has recently discovered a contemporary copy of this address in its entirety, which has been missing for almost a century and a half. It is evidently in the handwriting of the author, George Sims, and is thus acknowledged by him, as well as bearing his signature in three places.

Of the author, who when this address was written had either been in Granville County but a short time or at least had formed but few acquaintances there, almost nothing can be stated at present. The Sims family settled in Granville probably before the time of its formation in 1746; in 1747 and 1748, entries in the county records refer to Sims's Road and Joseph Sims's ferry-landing on Tarr River. Henry Sims is first mentioned in the county records in 1747; and Joseph Sims, whose name occurs in the county records in 1746, qualified as captain of the Granville County militia on May 30, 1750. The first inspector of the first government warehouse in Granville County was Benjamin Sims, appointed August 31, 1749; other members of the family mentioned in the records are William Sims (1758), John Sims (1760), and Elisha Sims (1772). In 1777 Caswell County was set off from Orange, which had been formed in 1751 from Granville, Johnston, and Bladen counties. On the roll of taxpayers, listed in Caswell County in 1790, is found the name of George Sims, under the roll for "St. David's District."[3]

Despite the obscurity surrounding the material facts of the life of George Sims, the paper, for all its violences of prejudice and crudities in expression, is an able statement of grievances; and as an appeal to action, it indubitably exercised a powerful influence over the minds of the yeomen of Granville. It is dedicated to Captain Thomas Person, prominent figure in the Regulation movement—the one figure in that yeoman

[2]The title, as given in Wheeler, is described as mutilated; it is made out to read as follows: "A serious address to the inhabitants of Granville County, containing an account of our deplorable situation we suffer . . . and some necessary hints with respect to a reformation." It is to be observed that the copy here printed, made for Capt. Thomas Person and prefaced with some observations of the author, carries the brief title: "An Address to the People of Granville County."

[3]*North Carolina State Records*, XXVI. 1262.

insurrection who subsequently won high place and reputation in the colony. This paper, as the first effective summing-up of the grievances of the people, was surely a proximate cause of the Regulation.

It has been only imperfectly realized that the Regulation remotely received its initial impetus from the bipartite division of authority in the colony of North Carolina, between the agents of Lord Granville and the royal governor. When Earl Granville in 1744 united with the other Lords Proprietors in surrendering to the crown the sovereignty of the province of Carolina, he alone reserved to himself all rights as owner of the soil, in his share of the grant. Fully one-half of the province of North Carolina was embraced in Granville's district; and those who occupied lands within this district were required to pay annual quit-rents. As early as 1755 a committee of the assembly formally reported on the abuses of Lord Granville's agent and his subordinates; but no action was taken. On January 24, 1759, following vigorous protests against injustices which remained unredressed, a number of citizens seized Francis Corbin, Granville's principal agent, bore him to Enfield, where he had an office, and held him in duress until he gave a bond. Especial hostility was expressed by the disaffected toward the attorney-general of the colony, Robert Jones, jr., who was also a personal favorite of Earl Granville.[4] In his *Impartial Relation,* Husband says that when the "Nutbush paper" was circulated at a meeting of the Orange County court, August, 1767, "after we had tried to plead our own cause at the bar against extortion," "some persons who lived adjoining Granville line told us they feared that matter would ruin some of us, for that just such a case had been undertook in Granville County years ago, and that they were at law about it to that day".

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[4] *N. C. Col. Rec.,* V. lvii; *A Genealogical History,* by Col. Cadwallader Jones (1899), p. 2 *et seq.; William and Mary College Quarterly,* October, 1897, p. 121. Jones, called *Robin,* settled in Granville County as early as 1748, and during the years 1756 to 1766 served as attorney-general of the colony, alternating with Thomas Child. He was the father of Willie and Allen Jones, famous in the annals of the State. *Cf.,* for example, *Life of John Paul Jones,* vol. I., by Mrs. Reginald De Koven (New York, 1913).

The original petition by sundry of the inhabitants of Granville County, of date March 23, 1759, protests bitterly against the practice of Robert Jones, jr., in demanding exorbitant fees for his legal services, etc., and asks that he be prohibited from pleading at the Granville bar. This petition, hitherto unpublished it is believed, constitutes a fundamental document in the written history of the Regulation. The copy here presented, collated from the original records, was kindly supplied me by Dr. Thomas M. Owen, of Montgomery, director of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama. This Searcy petition was read at a meeting of the Granville County court, in the presence of the justices William Person, Daniel Harris, Gideon Macon, Thomas Person, and William Hunt. The presence of Thomas Person on the bench is to be noted. In his *Impartial Relation,* Husband says that as a result of the petition, the officers sued the subscribers for a libel, indicted the author of the paper, and imprisoned him; "which lawsuits have remained to this day" (1769). It is impossible to authenticate these statements, as the third volume of the Granville County Records, for 1759-1767, has disappeared. Below follows the petition of Reuben Searcy and others; Searcy was a prominent citizen of the county, sheriff in 1763, and afterwards clerk of the county court (1771-1783). The effect of the Searcy petition is clearly perceptible; for on May 14, 1759, Robert Jones testified under oath before the governor and council that "he had heard it was intended by a great number of rioters to petition the court at Granville to silence him, the deponent, and that if no such order was made, to pull deponent by the nose and also to abuse the court." Following a formal address to the governor by the assembly on May 15, a proclamation was issued and reputed rioters were incarcerated; but the jail was immediately broken open and the prisoners set free. Corbin's legal actions against the rioters were prudently withdrawn, and the issues temporarily settled. The rioters lived in the counties, not only of the present Granville and Halifax, but also of Vance, Warren,

Edgecombe, Wilson, Nash, and Franklin. The riot at Enfield presages the breaking-up of the court at Hillsborough in 1770; the petition of Searcy is the natural precursor of the Nutbush paper of George Sims.

As the rioters at Enfield protested against the illegal practices of Corbin, and the commoners of Granville in the Searcy petition protested against the exorbitant fees of Jones, so George Sims appeals to the inhabitants of Granville to rise against the tyrannies and exactions of Benton. The taking of extortionate fees constituted the primary and fundamental grievance of the people; but in connection with the protests against Jones, it may be mentioned that the closure of Granville's office in 1765 was on all hands cited to Governor Josiah Martin in 1771 as a chief cause of the Regulator troubles.[5] When the people moved on to these lands, after 1765, conflicts with the colonial authorities as the result of the refusal of the people to pay taxes were inevitable.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

I. THE PETITION OF REUBEN SEARCY AND OTHERS, MARCH 23, 1759

To the Worshipful Court of Granville County Greeting. The Petition of Sundry of the Inhabitants of the County aforesaid. We his Majesties true and faithful subjects humbly beg leave to shew your worships that notwithstanding the many Liberties Rights and Privileges granted us by his Majesty King George the Second etc. whose subjects we are and whose person Crown and dignity we are ready and willing now and at all other times to defend and do with the greatest sincerity profess true obedience and loyalty, but Liberty that dearest of names and Property that best of charters, seems to be too much detracted, as we verily believe by the illusive insinuations of Mr. Robert Jones Jr. Therefore your Petrs. humbly pray your worships to take the same into your wise and deliberate considerations and as far as in your powers lie, redress and relieve your Petrs. with many others from his unjust impositions and exorbitancy. Therefore to proceed in the first place that eloquent Gentleman through his wiles and false insinuations to which art and chicanerie he owes his great success and high preferment in this Province that we your petitioners verily believe has not only impos'd on the inferior class of mankind

[5] *N. C. Col. Rec.*, IX, 49. *Cf.* Bassett, "The Regulators of North Carolina (1765-1771)," in *Annual Report*, American Historical Association, 1894, p. 150, note. In 1761 Robert Jones was appointed Lord Granville's agent (Granville County Records, August 11, 1761). Jones died on October 2, 1766.

but has likewise impos'd on his Excellency Arthur Dobbs Esqre.[6] Governor etc., of this Province together with his Majesties' Honourable Council that notwithstanding their wise and mature considerations together with their just honest and righteous intentions for the benefit and welfare of the inhabitants of this our Province in general, yet that gentleman thro' false and unjust Representations in matters relating to our County of Granville hath prevailed on his Excellency and Honours aforesd to issue a Commission of Peace for our said County thereby leaving out of said Commission several worthy gentlemen that were very serviceable and beneficial to our said County and more especially to the upper inhabitants thereof for the lack of which magistrates or a sufficient number of such your petitioners labour under great disadvantages and inconveniences and also Justice likely to be much retarded which certainly is very disagreeable to your worships as well as petitioners. And furthermore the Legislature of the Province have in their wise and deliberate consideration allowed and stated a set fee very sufficient for an Attorney practiseing in our said Province to have and receive for his care and trouble in prosecuting Suits in any of our Courts of Judicature but Mr. Jones instead of the fee allow'd by law frequently demands and receives double that fee without any matter or remorse of conscience, so that it has become a general practice and custom among chief of our Attornies, and by the great volubility of speech and the superiority that he by his wiles insinuations and chicanerie as aforesd. has insinuated himself into, very frequently works on the passions of weak juries to blind their conception of Justice in order to gain his point so that men flock daily to him to comence very trivial and frivolous lawsuits which tends to the great disadvantage and prejudice of our inhabitants for all which insults and injuries your petitioners humbly beg your worships to exclude and prohibit the sd Mr. Jones from pleading at our barr for the future and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

II. An Address to the People of Granville County by George Sims[7]

"Save my country, Heaven!" shall be my Last.[8] Pope.

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[6]Arthur Dobbs, a native of Ireland, was appointed governor of North Carolina by the crown and took the oath of office on November 1, 1754. In connection with the Enfield riots, Governor Dobbs was popularly credited with showing a friendly disposition toward the rioters. Upon his death at the age of eighty-two, on March 28, 1765, he was succeeded as governor by William Tryon, who proved singularly unsympathetic with the regulating element in respect to their alleged grievances.

[7]For the collation with the original manuscript, until recently hidden away in the Capitol building, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

[8]Ending of epistle I. of Pope's *Moral Essays*.

Dedicated to Capt Thomas Person.[9]
by his
Obt. Hmble. Servt.
G. SIMS.
TO CAPT. THOS. PERSON.

Sir.

The honour you do me by requesting a copy of my address to the inhabitants of Granville County does not raise my vanity to such a height; but what I am mortified down to the lowest degree imaginable, at the thoughts of granting your request. Not, because it contains any thing, either false, or criminal. I wish from my heart the facts therein related were not so notorious as they are: But the mortifying reflection is this, I wrote it for the common people to understand, and therefore took not the pains to be methodical, as I should have done, if I had known, or imagined, it would ever have come within the Scrutiny of Gentlemen. I do not intend by this Sir, to insinuate that I could write so methodically, as to stand the test of a critic, or in other words to commence author. Were I to entertain such a vain conceit, I should be afraid the very trees in the forest, rocks, hills, and vallies, would all resound the echo of that vain thought to my eternal shame and confusion. But, forasmuch as the facts treated of, whether generally, or particularly, are so notorious, and the conclusions so natural, that, it is no hard matter for me to compose a subject of this nature methodically enough to bear at least a perusal among Gentlemen, who are acquainted with my Circumstances. Because where nothing extraordinary can reasonably be expected, no great disappointment can happen, if nothing extraordinary be found. However, as I had not the presence of mind to make these reflections before it was too late, I gave you my promise, from which I cannot now in honour recind, therefore, I have this request to make, which I hope you will be candid enough to comply with; I do imagine, that you will communicate it to Gentlemen of penetration, and as I am positive, that, it will not bear criticising on; either in the orthographical, or grammatical perfections, I insist, that, at your leisure, you would correct those deficiencies, which are too egregious to bear the sight of a Critic at ten yards distance, that is if you intend to shew it to any Gentleman, who has not yet seen it. Otherwise, I do not care, since you are acquainted with the Author,

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[9]Known in history as General Thomas Person; born January 19, 1733, died November 16, 1800. Began life as surveyor for Lord Granville; sheriff of Granville County (1762), justice of the peace (1759, 1763, 1764), representative in assembly for Granville, 1764, 1768-1785 continuously, 1788-1790, 1793-1794; senator in assembly 1787, 1791; elected (May 11, 1784) to Continental Congress, but never took his seat. The most vigorous democrat and vehement champion of the rights of the common people; leading Regulator and able adviser in their cause; included by Gov. Tryon in the list of those excepted from the benefit of pardon; captured and imprisoned; secured his release and was never brought to trial. *Cf.* sketches: S. B. Weeks, in *N. C. Booklet*, IX. 1; and T. B. Kingsbury, in *Weekly Star*, Wilmington., N. C., July 20, 1877.

you will easily look over the imperfections of the performance without censure: Since you cannot expect any accurate performance from so small abilities, which, however small, the person who is endowed with them, is proud of nothing more, than the honour of subscribing himself your very hble Servt. G. SIMS.

N. B. I imagine it may be a matter of mirth to some Gentlemen to see my writing appear in the method of an Author, having a dedication prefixt. However let such remember, that as to the subject, I write the truth, and as to form, I write in my own Style.

I am yrs. etc. G. SIMS.

Gentlemen, You are chiefly strangers to me, there are very few of you, that I am personally acquainted with, and I imagine that some of you begin to wonder, what I am going to offer to a company of men that I know nothing of. However, Gentlemen, when I consider myself as a member of Granville County, I am no longer a stranger among you, but a brother of that community to which you all belong, and as such, I look upon it as my indispensible duty, to exert myself in vindication of those rights and privileges which our Constitution has endowed us with, when either persons or things endeavour to destroy them, and as this is evidently the case at this present juncture, I think it is high time we should all exert ourselves, in our defence against the common evil, which has almost overrun our land, and this is the motive Gentlemen, which induced me to desire a convention, and an audience of you, that I may lay before you, those grievances which oppress our land. Not, because you do not know it Gentlemen; but, because you do, and that by knowing it, you may the more chearfully join with me, in such methods as I shall propose, for the recovery of our native rights and privileges and to clear our country of those public nuisances which predominate with such tyrannical sway. And, I hope to see you all unanimously zealous and combine as one man to throw off the heavy yoke, which is cast upon our necks, and resume our ancient liberties and privileges, as free subjects. Who under God are governed by his august Majesty George the third, whom God preserve. And in order to explain myself on this subject, I shall undertake 1st. To explain what law is, when abstractedly considered. 2ndly. The utility or use of every human negative, and positive law. 3rdly. I shall undertake to shew the most notorious and intolerable abuses, which have crept into the practice of the law in this Country. 4thly. The mischief which necesarrily flows from, or follows the abuse of the law, and the absolute necessity there is for a reformation. 5thly. Propound such methods to effect this reformation as appears to me most probable of success. And, Lastly, I shall recommend the whole to your serious consideration, and insist that we be no longer strangers when the common evil, which we groan under, calls so loudly for our interposition. There-

fore let us unite as brothers of one community, to recover our privileges, which are trampled under foot, by a handful of wretches, who are fitter for halters than Officers [10] of a Court. In the first place it is no hard matter to explain what law is; neither is it very material to my purpose whether I explain it or not; but as I promised to do it, and, because it may in some sort give us an idea of laws in general, and their obliging power; I shall explain it in the words of the learned Mr. Dawson,[11] who in his treatise of the origin of law, Says, That law is the rule of acting, or not acting, laid down by some intelligent being, having authority for so doing. This, Gentlemen, though it is short, yet it is a comprehensive description of all laws, whether divine or human, whether natural or revealed, negative or positive. And, without entering into definitions of particular laws, or tedious observations on the nature and property of Laws, I shall descend to the second proposal which was to shew the general utility or use of laws. And I may venture to affirm that the laws of all well regulated Societies will aptly fall under one of these three general heads or divisions. 1st. To secure men's persons from death and violence. 2ndly. To dispose of the property of their goods and lands. And 3rdly. For the preservation of their good names from shame and infamy. Under one of these three general heads, I say the laws of all well regulated societies will aptly fall; The further any system of law deviates from these great and general ends, the nearer it approaches to those systems of law, which are the productions of despotism and tyranny. But we are the people Gentlemen, who have the happiness of being born under one of the most perfect forms of government in the known world. We are a part of that stupendous

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[10] Foot-note in original manuscript: "Let it be remembered that whenever I mention Officers of the Court (which is a summary comprehension of the ministers of Justice if largely taken) I mean no more than, Clerks, Lawyers, and Sheriffs, and not the Wpl. members of the Bench, whose authority I revere, and hold them in the highest veneration."

The particular objects of the distrust of the inhabitants of Granville County were Robert Jones, attorney-general of the colony and agent of Lord Granville; and Samuel Benton, colonel of the Granville County militia, and clerk of the county court; but other county officers and lawyers generally were complained against. There are certain conspicuous exceptions to those in bad odor with the disaffected. Among the "worshipful members of the bench" (justices of the county court) during the period referred to, who, in the language of Sims, were "revered" and "held in the highest veneration," were Thomas Person, Reuben Searcy, Gideon Macon, and Richard Henderson. For Thomas Person, *cf.* note 9 *supra*. Reuben Searcy was the author of the trenchant protest against Robert Jones, jr. Gideon Macon, an emigrant from Virginia, was the father of the democratic statesman, Nathaniel Macon, the friend and intimate of Jefferson. Richard Henderson was a young attorney whose "amazing talents and general praise had not created him a single enemy"; in appointing him to the highest court in the colony, the governor in a letter to the Earl of Shelburne said of him that he lived among a people who "will be happy at having such a distinction paid to one who resides among them, and for whom they entertain an esteem." (*N. C. Col. Rec.*, VII. 697). Later, protests were made in both Orange and Granville against sheriffs who were grossly in arrears in their accounts. Conspicuous exceptions were Thomas Hart, who, as sheriff of Orange, was proved to have been "not a farthing out in his accounts" (*N. C. Col. Rec.*, VIII, 233); and Samuel Henderson, sheriff of Granville, to whom, upon examination of his accounts, the county was found to be in arrears and the account was allowed (Granville County Records, June 19, 1759).

[11] George Dawson, *Origo Legum; or, a Treatise of the Origin of Laws, and their Obliging Power* (London, 1694).

whole, which constitutes the glorious, and formidable kingdom of Great Britain. The Sceptre of which is swayed by his present Majesty, George the third, of the royal house of Hanover, and right heir to the crown, and royal dignity, according to a Protestant succession, settled by an act of parliament in the reign of Queen Ann of blessed Memory. We are the subjects, I say, of this august monarch, who in conjunction with the united power and authority of the Lords spiritual, Lords temporal, and house of Commons, maintain and uphold this inimitable System of law, which his royal ancestors, and their predecessors, have from time to time enacted, and established for the safety of his kingdom, and the benefit of his leige subjects, by securing our person from death and violence: By disposing of the property of our goods and lands, and by providing methods for the preservation of our good names from shame and infamy. All these privileges, Gentlemen, we dare to call our own, under the protection of that (almost) immutable system of law, which is confirmed by the triple combined authority of the King, Lords, and Commons, as you have heard before and transferred by them to all his Majesty's plantations in North America, and else where as a model to form their laws by, and as a touchstone to try the validity of such laws, as shall be enacted by any Legislative power, within his Majesty's extensive Dominions.

This, Gentlemen, is the inexhaustible fountain, the source whence we draw our claims to these privileges that our situation as free subjects undoubtedly entitles us to, And that we may be provided with such laws, as the particular circumstance of our province, may from time to time require.

We have an assembly, which somewhat resembles that grand tripartite conjunction of the King's authority, Lords, and Commons. Here we have a Governor, Council, and an Assembly of Representatives chosen by the populous [12] to enact laws for the benefit of the Commonwealth, as occasion may require in conformity to the laws aforesaid. And I suppose, they have answered those ends, or whether they have, or have not, is a matter, which I shall not now undertake to determine. However, we have a set of laws peculiar to this Province, for a System I cannot call them, because they are mostly temporary and subject to change.

There is none that I know of, if they were honestly complied with, that would not answer the end intended by our great Legislature at home; except, it be some petit private acts in favour of some particular persons, who by false insinuations and sinister practices have obtained the same, which, I shall treat of in their proper places. Well, Gentlemen, it is not our mode, or form of Government, nor yet the body of our laws, that we are quarrelling with, but with the malpractices of the Officers of our County Court, and the abuses which we suffer by those empowered to manage our public affairs; this is

[12] Populace.

the grievance, Gentlemen, which demands our solemn attention, and in order to make it evident, I shall according to my promise in the third place shew the notorious and intolerable abuses which have crept into the practice of the law in this county, (and I do not doubt in the other counties also, though that does not concern us). In the first place, it is well known, that there is a law which provides that a lawyer shall take no more than 15/ for his fee in the County Court. Well, Genl. which of you have had your business done for 15/ ? Do not the Lawyers exact 30s for every cause, and 3, 4, or 5 pounds for every cause that is attended with the least difficulty? Yes; they do Gentlemen, and laugh at our stupidity and tame submission to these damned extravagancies. And besides the double fees, which they exact from you, do they not lengthen out your lawsuits, by artificies and delays, so long as they perceive you have any money to grease their fists with? And numberless other devilish devices to rob you of your livings in a manner diametrically opposite to the policy of our State, and the intention of our Legislature. I dare engage for you all, Gentlemen in the affirmative, I believe there is none here at present, but what must acknowledge that this is exactly the Case. Well, Gentlemen, if there were no more public evils, this, alone is sufficient [in] a little while to ruin our County in these litigious times. But hear another evil greater by far, if possible. Mr. Benton[13] in his former, and in his present capacity, is a subject worth a particular scrutiny. View him but in his former, and then view him in his present capacity, and make an estimate of the service he has done you, in requital for the favour you did him by taking him out of prison or what was next door to it, and sending him Burgess. He was universally esteemed a person calculated for what is called a poor mans Burgess, and indeed he has proved a poor mans Burgess, he forgot that you sent him to do your business, Gentlemen, his mind (like his eyes) is turned inward, and all his transactions below have been for the benefit of that dear self of his, which is so much in his own good graces, that he is plundering his County to enrich that dear object! You had a great deal of reason, I acknowledge, Gentlemen,

[13]First heard of in Granville County, N. C., on January 2, 1752, when he produced his commission as justice of the peace. On July 6, 1756, he was in prison and refused to serve when appointed justice of the peace (*N. C. Col. Rec.*, V. 591); acted as justice of the county court in the years 1752-1755, 1763, 1764, and perhaps at other times; colonel Granville County militia, 1765; clerk of the court from 1765 until the time of his death shortly prior to April 17, 1770; representative in the general Assembly from Granville County in 1760, 1761, 1762 (April and November), 1764-1765, 1766-1768. The Granville County Records show him to have been prominent and active in county affairs, notably as commissioner for the erection of a court house, gaol, stocks, and whipping-post. At various times he presented bills for his services against the county, running up into hundreds of pounds. He was the grandfather of Thomas Hart Benton, the famous statesman, who was born (March 14, 1782) near Hillsborough, on the old road to Haw River, about half a mile from the river Enoe, where stood the mill of Thomas Hart. Samuel Benton's son, Jesse, the father of Thomas Hart Benton, was a representative in the assembly in 1781, lieutenant-colonel of militia, and accompanied Judge Richard Henderson on his journey over the Wilderness Road to Kentucky in 1775. *Cf.* the erroneous account of Thomas Hart Benton's forbears in the biography by W. M. Meigs (Philadelphia, 1904).

to imagine that a person who had suffered by the malpractices of others would make a benevolent patriot, when in a public capacity; but how much have probabilities deceived you; judge ye!

He is Colo. Benton, now chief Officer in our military affairs, he is Clerk Benton, chief Clerk of our County Court, in which double capacity I believe, Gentlemen, there is None [of] us that envies him, but in the execution of his office. I beleive there are none of us that have the good of the Commonwealth at heart, but must resent the usage he gives us here. The Clerks tell us their is no law to ascertain their fees, and therefore they are at liberty to tax our bills as they please, and the misfortune is Gentlemen, that we are obliged to pay it, be it what it may; I think, Gentlemen, if there be no law to ascertain the Clerk's fees, there is no law to compel us to pay any fees at all. However, let us see what advantage Benton the poor mans Burgess makes of this deficiency in our law, if you give a judgment Bond for five pounds only, and this Bond goes into Court, the Clerk for only entering it on the Court docquet and issuing an Execution, charges you with forty one shillings and five pence, I had it from Benton's own mouth, at which time he vapoured as high, and with the same confidence that a fighting gamester has, who is endowed with courage of a highwayman, with oaths and execrations that he had taken it and would take it.

However, Gentlemen, I hope you will disappoint him, I am determined till he produces law that shews me what the fees are, to pay no fees at all, and I hope you will all follow the example, and see where Benton will get his obliging power to compel us to pay them. All these abuses are founded upon so false a basis, that [the] least resistance will overturn the whole mass. For, where there is no law, there is no transgression in not complying with the arbitrary demands of a lawless Officer, and where the law gives a right, the same law will give a remedy, when this law is violated, and that our rights and privileges are violated in the highest degree is manifest, not only from what has been said, but from the daily practices of our Officer. It is time, and high time, Gentlemen, that we should endeavour to save our sinking County from the impending ruin, which will be the necessary consequence of these cursed practices. I told you Gentlemen, I would undertake to sum up the abuses, which have crept into the practice of the law in this County. I have indeed undertaken it, but if my paper would permit, I am positive your patience would not. To say all that might be said on this subject alone would fill a large volume; therefore, I must abridge the catelogue, that I may perform my promise in other particulars; but remember by the way, the hardships that we suffer by building the courthouse etc. for Benton to bring grist to his own mill: But I shall treat of this subject with an instrument prepared to regulate this hardship.

And therefore I shall proceed to the 4th proposal, which was to shew the mischief that naturally flows as a consequence from these

cursed practices, and whatever I say Gentlemen, to illustrate this melancholy subject. Need I mention one instance to set forth the misery which we groan under? Does not daily experience shew us the gaping jaws of ruin, open, and ready to devour us? Are not your lands executed, your negroes, horses, cattle, hogs, corn, beds, and household furniture? Are not these things, I say, taken and sold for one tenth of their value? Not to satisfy the just debts which you have contracted; but to satisfy the cursed exorbitant demands of the Clerks, Lawyers and Sheriffs. Here they take your lands which perhaps are worth four or five hundred pounds, and sell them at public vendue for about forty or fifty pounds. And who buys? Why the same villians who have taken your negroes and other personal estate, and have the County's money in their hands. This has furnished them with money to buy off the rest of your livings, at the same rates as you have heard. It is reasonable Gentlemen, that these Officers should be allowed such fees, as may give them a genteel maintenance, but then is it reasonable that they should rob the County to support themselves in such damned extravagancies, and laugh at us for being such simpletons as to suffer it? No: Gentlemen, there is no reason that I know of; except they want to reduce us down to that despicable state whence they rose, and a pitiful estate it was, Gentlemen. There were none of our arbitrary Governors, whose descent were not as obscure, and dispicable, as their transactions in a public capacity have been base and illegal. But it is a received maxim among the unhappy subjects of electorial Dominions, that they have the most to fear from a King who hops from the dunghill to the throne. But to return from my disagreeable digression, let us make an estimate of the difference between getting our livings by honest industry and getting them by these cursed practices. We will suppose ourselves all to be men, who labour for our livings, and there is a poor man among us, who has dealt for about 4 or 5 pounds in such things as his family could not possibly do without, and in hopes of being spared from the lash of the law till he can sell some of his effects to raise the money; he gives a judgment bond to his Merchant, and before he can accomplish his design his bond is thrown into Court, and Benton the poor mans Burgess has it to enter on the Court docquet and issue an execution the work of one long minute. Well, Gentlemen, what has our poor neighbor to pay Mr. Benton for his trouble? Why, nothing but the trifling sum of forty-one shillings and five pence. Well he is a poor man, and cannot raise the money. We will suppose Mr. Benton condescends to come to terms with him. Come (says he) and work. I have a large field and my corn wants weeding (or something like that). I will give you 1/6 a day, which is the common wages of a labourer in these times till you pay it off because you are a poor man, and a neighbour I will not take away your living. Well how many days work has our honest neighbor to pay Mr. Benton for his trouble and expense in writing about a min-

ute? Why, he must work something more than 27 days before he is clear of his clutches. Well the poor man reflects within himself. At this rate says he when shall I maintain my own family. I have a wife and a parcel of small children suffering at home and I have none to labour but myself, and here I have lost a month's work and I do not know for what, my merchant not yet paid, I do not know what will be the end of these things; however, I will go home, and try what I can do towards getting a living. Stay neighbour, you must not go home, you are not half done yet, there is a damned Lawyers mouth to stop before you go any further, you impowered him to confess that you owed £5., and you must pay him 30/ for that, or, else go and work nineteen days for that pick-pocket at the same rate, and when that is done, you must work as many days for the Sheriff, for his trouble, and then go home and see your living wrecked and tore to pieces to satisfy your merchant.

Well Gentlemen, if this were the case, would it not be a melancholy thing? But it is worse by ten degrees than anything that you have yet heard. It is not a persons labour, nor yet his effects that will do, but if he has but one horse to plow with, one bed to lie on, or one cow to give a little milk for his children, they must all go to raise money which is not to be had. And lastly if his personal estate (sold at one tenth of its value)' will not do, then his lands (which perhaps has cost him many years toil and labour) must go the same way to satisfy these cursed hungry caterpillars, that are eating and will eat out the bowels of our Commonwealth, if they be not pulled down from their nests in a very short time, and what need I say, Gentlemen, to urge the necessity there is for a reformation. If these things were absolutely according to law, it would be enough to make us turn rebels, and throw off all submission to such tyrannical laws. For, if these things were tolerated, it would rob us of the very means of living, and it would be better for us to die in defence of our privileges, than to live slaves to a handful of Scapegallows, or perish for want of the means of subsistance. But, as these practices are diametrically opposite to the law, it is our absolute duty, as well as our Interest, to put a stop to them, before they quite ruin our County. Or, Are become the willing slaves of these lawless Officers, and hug our chains of bondage, and remain contented under these accumulated calamities? No, Gentlemen, I hope better things of you. I believe there are very few of you, who have not felt the weight of their Iron fists and I hope there are none of you, but what will lend a helping hand towards bringing about this necessary work. And in order to bring it about effectually, we must proceed with circumspection, not fearfully, Gentlemen, but carefully, and therefore, it will be necessary to mention certain rules to be observed in our proceedings. And first, let us be careful to keep sober, that we do nothing rashly; but act with deliberation. Secondly, Let us do nothing against the known and established laws of our land, that we may not appear as a faction endeavouring to subvert the laws, and overturn

our system of government. But, let us appear what we really are, To wit, free subjects by birth, endeavouring to recover our native rights according to law, and to reduce the malpractices of the Officers of our Court down to the standard of law. For, we must remember that it is not the Body of our laws, we are fighting with, this would be the highest folly, since it is the known established law of our land, that is a bulwark to defend those privileges, which we are contending for, except there be any late private acts, that favour them in these devilish practices, if there be any such law, I say, Gentlemen, it deviates from the use of the law, which I cited to you in the beginning and consequently derogatory from the System of the laws of England, and so we are bound by no authority to submit to them, but there are no such laws that I know of. Thirdly, Let us behave ourselves with circumspection to the Worshipful Court inasmuch as they represent his Majesty's person, we ought to reverence their authority both sacred, and inviolable, except they interpose, and then Gentlemen, the toughest will hold out longest. Let us deliver them a remonstrance, setting forth the necessity there is for a suspension of court business, till we have a return from the Governor, in answer to the petition, which we shall send to his Excellency on the occasion. The remonstrance to their Worships, and the petition to his Excellency I have ready drawn, which I shall communicate to you after I have made my last proposal, which is this, I promised that the last paragraph should be a recommendation of the whole to your serious consideration, and insist upon some points necessary to be concluded on; but as all that has been said is so self evident, and the matter so important, that I am in hopes, you have all considered the subject, and made such conclusions as may inspire a resentment against the abuses which we suffer, therefore, my proposal is this, I am a stranger, I say to the chief of you. I have not moved in these matters out of any vain ostentation, or any private pique that I have against any of our arbitrary Governors, but a true zeal for the good of my County, was the only motive, which induced me; neither do I desire the preeminence in any thing among you, I am a stranger, I say, therefore it may be, that you have not that confidence in me, which you can repose in some of your acquaintances whose resolution you know will answer the end of these undertakings. If so Gentlemen, name the man, I will be the first on his list to follow him through fire and water, life and death if it be required in defence of my privileges, and if you choose me for your leader I can do no more. Here I am this day with my life in my hand, to see my fellow subjects animated with a spirit of liberty and freedom, and to see them lay a foundation for the recovery thereof, and the clearing our County from arbitrary tyranny. God save the King

Nutbush,[14] Granville County
6th June 1765.

[14]A settlement on Nutbush Creek, which runs through the northern part of what is now Vance and Warren counties, formerly Granville County.

APPENDIX

Since this article was originally printed, a few additional bits of information have been forthcoming.

In the "Catalogue of Mr. Murphey's materials for the History of North Carolina," under division 6, is listed: "George Sims address to the people of Granville on the subject of abuses by officers of Courts" (In "The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey," ii, 419—Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission).

In a "Muster Roll of the Regiment in Granville County, under the Command of Colo. William Eaton, as taken at a General Muster of the said regiment 8 October, 1754" is found—"Captain Benjamin Simm's Company," containing seventy-five names (State Records of North Carolina, xxii, 378-9).

In the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission there are a number of claims for members of the Sims family. The following is a specimen:

Indent. STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
No. 296 Hillsborough District

Auditor's office the 29th day of June, 1782.

This [mutilated] Certify that George Sims Exhibited his claim and allowed [mutilated] Shillings Specie

Test JOHN NICHOLS
JE. RICE Clk £ " 16, Specie. Ad MURPHY

Other claims of like character, which were allowed, are as follows:

James Sims	Hillsborough	District	1781	£ 0 — 6—0
Leonard Sims	"	"	1781	£1486—16—0
" "	"	"	1781	£ 440— 0—0
William Sims	"	"	1781	£1106— 8—0
Martin Sims	"	"	1782	£ 26— 2—0
Murrey Sims	"	"	1782	£ 10—16—0
Isham Sims	"	"	1782	£ 18— 9—0
Robt. Sims	"	"	1782	£ 7—11—0
Thos. Sims	"	"	1783	£ 9— 2—0
Mark Sims	"	"	1783	£ 9— 0—0
Martin Sims	"	"	1783	£ 3— 6—0
William Sims	"	"	1783	£ 3— 6—0
Murrey Sims	"	"	1783	£ 2—10—0
" "	"	"	1783	£ 9— 2—0
Isham Sims	"	"	1783	£ 3—16—0

The Ride of Captain Jack—1775*

By Mary Groome McNinch

I

Come hear the ride of Captain Jack
To Philadelphia and back.
John Gilpin never rode as he;
Not Paul Revere, as you shall see,
Nor Tam O'Shanter's maddest mile
Your ear shall from my tale beguile.
'Twas in the year of seventy-five
When liberty began to thrive;
The "Hornets' Nest" was not yet named,
Nor "*Esse quam videri*" famed;
The fashion was a coat of red,
"God save the King!" forever said;
And be he wrong or be he right,
"God save the King!" from morn 'till night.
But men in Mecklenburg there were
Who dared King George's wrongs aver;
Here in a house of logs, they broke
Their sceptered king's unlawful yoke.
Brave pioneers with conscious power!
They fashioned in that golden hour!
A nation's cradle of repose.
Outside an eager crowd drew near
To give the patriots praise and cheer.

II

Then Captain Jack agreed to be
The messenger to Congress. See!
His hat they bring, his spurs, his sword,
He mounts his horse, a farewell word,
The message safe in hand, at last,
The hated street of Tryon passed,
The stream that skirts the hill is crossed,
They see him gain the wood! He's lost
To view, and then they cheer again
And echo calls a faint refrain.
What ear could follow fast enough,
That beat on beat of thudding hoof?
What eye could mark them flashing by
The woods, the streams, the changing sky?

*Published by request.

All day, all day, all day once more,
Nor half that daring ride is o'er.
No courier of prose nor song
E'er yet did ride so fast and long.
Five hundred weary miles he went,
And half a score of horses spent
Before the Quaker town he spied,
Or rested from his fearsome ride!

III

At once our delegates he sought
And showed the documents he brought,
The president of Congress deemed
The act too premature. It seemed
That Jefferson, with wiser eyes,
Knew how to use the "spurious" prize;
And in the immortal page he wrote,
Its substance, he, methinks, did quote;
And thus, though lost to history,
The tidings served their end, you see.
Whatever fate the paper met,
Its bearer we cannot forget.
James Jack is dead long, long ago,
His fame, indeed, shall not be so;
For we will ever tell how he
Rode far and well for liberty.

An Inventory

Of the Estate of John Rowan, Esqre. Deceas'd, Taken by Benjamin Smith (Guardian Thereof) a Copy of Which Was Delivered to the County Court of Brunswick, Term Being the Next After His Appointment, Which Was at June Term 1782

(Contributed by North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames of America)

LANDS IN BRUNSWICK COUNTY

No.		Quantity of Acres.
1.	A tract of land with improvements thereon, containing 320 Acres in (what was formerly, at the time of the grant called the Precinct of New Hanover but now) Brunswick County, on the Southwest side of the Northwest branch of Cape fear River joining on the upper side lands formerly George Gibbs's but now possessed by Mrs. Dry	320
2.	A Tract containing 360 Acres joining and below the above on the River	360
3.	A Tract containing 176 Acres joining above and below by sd Rowan's land on the River	176
4.	A Tract containing 320 Acres joining the above and below on land formerly Colonel Notton's, being on the River & strikes the Woods Creek by the lower line	320
5.	A Tract containing 640 Acres on Woods Creek joining Mr. Rowan's land	640
6.	A Tract containing 640 Acres on Woods Creek joining Mr. Rowan's land	640
7.	A Tract containing 640 Acres on Woods Creek	640
8.	A Tract containing 640 Acres on Woods Creek & Rattle Snake branch	640
9.	A Tract containing 500 Acres back of the Mill Lands	500
10.	A Tract containing 500 Acres on Alligator Branch back of the Mill Lands.	500

The above ten Tracts with one of 640 Acres on the Island in New Hanover County mentioned below constitute *Rowan Plantation*, containing 5376 Acres, on which are two Saw Mills, on one Dam indifferently found with tools.

NB. Since my taking possession the Dam, which was very much broken, has been made up and the Mills that were rotten and tumbling down have been repaired. There is also a grist mill on said Plantation, very much out of order.

12. A Tract containing 400 Acres on the lower side of Hoods Creek, joining the Halton's ---------- 400
13. A Tract containing 300 Acres on the Southwest side of the Northwest Branch of Cape fear river joining the above, granted to Roger Moore, Esqre. by him sold to Mr Halton and then to Mr. Rowan ---------- 300
14. A Tract containing 300 Acres on the Southwest side of the Northwest branch of Cape fear river, joining the above and runs about half a mile below Woods Creek ---------- 300

Two Lotts in the town of Brunswick No. 354 & 356.

Total Of Lands in Brunswick County 5736

LANDS IN NEW HANOVER COUNTY

11. A Tract containing 640 Acres on the Island between Black River and the Northwest branch of Cape fear River bounded by the said Rivers, the Thoroughfare and lands below belonging to the estate of James Murray ---------- 640
15. A Tract containing 350 Acres on the Northeast side of Black River opposite to the lower end of Colonel Halton's ---------- 350

Island. Total in New Hanover. 990 Acres

LANDS IN BLADEN COUNTY

16. A Tract containing 640 Acres on the North East side of the Northwest branch of Cape fear river, joining (when the patent was granted) Henry Simonds land ---------- 640
17. A Tract containing 320 Acres on the Southwest side of the Northwest of Cape fear river, when patented joining McKnights ---------- 320
18. A Tract containing 291 Acres on the Northeast side of the Northwest branch of Cape Fear river at the time of the pattent joining the upper side of Nath[l] Moores ---------- 291
19. A Tract containing 500 Acres on the West side of Waccamaw Lake and joining land formerly belonging to Joseph Watters ---------- 500
20. A Tract of Land containing 360 Acres on the North side of the Waccamaw Lake, when pattented joining John Clayton's land ---------- 360

Total in Bladen County 2111

Total of Lands, 20 Tracts ---------- 8837

Besides which there are several papers about lands which appear to be of no consequence but are carefully preserved among them a Warrant dated in 1744 for 4000 acres of land in Bladen County.

N.B. Mr. Denning in his Tax list for the Estate returns 195 Acres of land near Newbern in Craven County, all of which Marsh, but I cannot find any Titles to Them.

AN INVENTORY of the slaves, stock of Horses, Cattle, Hogs, Sheep, Furniture, & All other personal property belonging to the Estate of John Rowan, Esqre. deced. which have fallen into possession of Benjamin Smith, Guardian thereof.

SLAVES

Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.
1. Robin	1. Tasey	1. Dicky	1. Phillis
2. Quamino	2. Bella	2. Sancho.	2. Marianne
3. Tim	3. Barbary	3. Bartholomew	3. Coomba
4. Nick	4. Molly	4. Toney	4. Betsy Rose
5. John	5. Margaret	5. Joe	5. Matilda
6. Ludlow	6. Present	6. Peter	6. Amey
7. Martin	7. Frankey	7. Jacob	7. Jemima
8. Walley	8. Dorinda	8. Cuffey	8. Lucy
9. Amyntor	9. Easter	9. Adam	9. Cornelia
10. Thaw	10. Betty	10. Prince	10. Amaritta
11. Toney	11. Dianna	11. Bob	11. Darinda
12. Veuter	12. Charlotte	12. Jupiter	12. Martha
13. Ned	13. Muria	13. Amyntor	13. Molly Snow
14. Frederick	14. Charlotte	14. Roger	14. Princess
15. Josh	15. Frankey	15. Tommy	15. Rose
16. Daniel	16. Grace	16. Daniel	16. Sary
17. Peter	17. Thareba	17. Will	17. Lena
18. Jemmy	18. Venus		18. Present
19. Boneta	19. Sal		19. Phoebe
	20. Bet		20. Abigail
	21. Milley		21. Shareba
	22. Lucretia		22. Katy
	23. Chloe		23. Priscilla
	24. Willoughby		24. Fanny
	25. Patience		25. Nanny
	26. Melly		26. Peggy
			27. Amelia

Totals

Men	19
Women	26
Boys	17
Girls	27
	89

(This Inventory of Negroes taken July 23, except Amelia, who was born between that and September Court.)

HORSES

2 Stallions, (1, 3yr old. the other 2 yr old, both blooded.)
5 Mares, blooded, one of which died between taking the Inventory and Delivery to the Court.
4 Country Mares
1 2 yr old colt.
2 yearlings Js.

14 Head carried Over

14 Head
1 2 yr old Filley
2 Yearlings Js
4 Horses, one of which very old and died Sept. 10th.
1 Old Horse & 1 old Mare (I did not see but was told they were in the woods.)

Total 23 Head of Horse Kind.

NB. I have put down the Horses as blooded from information not of my own knowledge being unaquainted with their breed.

CATTLE	HOGS	SHEEP
2 Bulls	1 Boar	1 Ram
20 Cows	2 Sows	5 Ewes
1 Full Grown Heifer	16 Shoats	6 Lambs
2 Two year old do.	11 Pigs	—
8 Yearling Bulls & Steers	—	13
5 Do. Heifers	30	
9 Bull Calves		
8 Cow Calves		
—		
55 Head, exclusive of 2 yr old killed for Estate & Mrs. D's use.		

Totals of Stock
23 Head of Horse Kind
55 Cattle
30 Hog Kind
13 Sheep Kind

NB. One of the lambs killed for Mrs. Denning's use between taking account & presenting it to court.

There had been 4 sows one of which by information died and another was gone in the woods to pig. She was up a day or few days before.

A Shoat & Pig was killed for Mrs. Denning's use between taking the account and Court, therefore 28 remained.

This account of the Stock taken July 18th.

PLATE

A Silver Tea Kettle & lamp
A Plated Tea Urn
A Silver Coffee Pot & waiter
A Silver pint mug
4 Salt cellars with blue glasses
A pr Silver Snuffers & a dish to hold it
2 pr plated candle Sticks
A plated bread basket
2 plated waiters, 1 large & 1 small
A plated dish Cross
A Do Sugar basket
4 do bottle boards

1 do. Cruet stand with glass castors
2 broken Salt Cellers
1 punch ladle marked $\frac{I \times S}{R}$
A Plated Soup ladle
2 Silver Soup Spoons, 1 marked $\frac{L}{1 \ddagger E}$
A case containing 18 Table Spoons marked with an arm & hand, holding a drawn Cutleaux
A Small case containing 18 desert Spoons marked as above.
11 Tea Spoons, a strainer & pr Sugar Tongs marked as above.
A Milk Pot
9 Table Spoons marked $\frac{I M}{R}$
10 Tea Spoons and a Strainer marked S R
Three of the last mentioned Table and three of do Tea Spoons lent to Mrs. Denning by the young Ladies Approbation.
6 Old Tea Spoons much worne marked thus, 2 SC, 1 IR, 2 MC, & 1 SR.
The above articles are put down to the best of my judgment but there may be a mistake as it is difficult to distinguish between real plate and articles that are well plated.

BOOKS

	No. Vols.
2 Old Bibles besides a smaller in good condition and 3 torn	6
The New Testament	1
2 Common Prayer Books & part of another & one of the 2 torn	3
FOLIO	
Millers Gardiners Dictionary	1
A Religious Book, title page to which torn out	1
History of the Reformation of the Church of England	1
Do, being a supplement to the above	1
Tillotson's Works	1
The English Pilot	1
Hugh's History of Barbadoes	1
Laws of Barbadoes	2
Burnets History of his own time	2
	21
QUARTO	
Laws of North Carolina	1
Plays	1
Littleton's Latin Dictionary	1
Religious Book, title page of which torn off	1
Single Sermons	1
French Navigation	1
The Deserted Village	1
Haseldens Daily Assistant	1
OCTAVO	
Ann Odd set of Blackstone's Commentaries	3
2 Sets of Atkinson's System of Navigation	2
Hoopers elements of Universal erudition	1
Fenning's English Dictionary	1
Cavallier's memoirs of the Wars of the Cevennes	1
Vertot's Revolutions of Spain translated by Moyan	1
Well's Geography	1

Gradusad Larnassum ------ 1
2 Sets Crouch's Brit. Customs ------ 2
Collection of Revenue, Statute & Acts relating to Ireland ------ 1
Wilson's Navigation ------ 1
Hales' Treatise on Ventilators ------ 1
Echards Roman History ---- 2
Chamberlaynes State of Gt Britain ------ 1
Defence of the Christian Revelation by G Littleton & G West, Esqrs---- 1
2 Sets of Ovids Metamorp in Usum Delphine ------ 2
Nelsons off. of Justice of Peace ------ 1
Virgil in Us Delphini------ 1
Clarke's Justin ------ 1
Washingtons abridg'of States 1
Tillotson's Sermons ------ 1
Hillary's Essay on the Smallpox ------ 1
Campbell's Naval History-- 4
Religious man's Library or a sure guide to Heaven 1
Lelands view of deistical writers ------ 2
Kennet's Antiquities------ 1
Annals of King George----- 1
Mortimers Husbandry ----- 1
Ovids Epistles ------ 1
Clarks Cornelius Nepos----- 1
Sallust in Us Delphine ----- 1
Cheyne's Essay on Health-- 1
New View of London ------ 1
French Grammar ------ 1
Hornecks Sacrament ------ 1
The Christian Defense against the fears of death ----- 1
2 Sets of the Whole Duty of Man ------ 2
Congreve's Works ------ 1
The necessity & advantage of publick prayer ------ 1
Cockburn's nature & cure of Fluxes ------ 1
Book concerning Festivals-- 1
Rapin's History of England, odd ------ 9
Swift's Works ------ 8
Do, an old set, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 6
Do Do., 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10 11 8
Pope's Odyssey ------ 5
Rambler ------ 4
Tatler odd, 2d, 3d, 4th, Vols 3
Guardian, 2d Vol------ 1
Addison's Works (odd) 2d, 3d, 4th------ 3
Spectator, Odd Set, The 3d Vol. Wanting ------ 7
Harvey's Meditations ------ 2
Vindication of the Authority of Christian Princes---- 1
Abel's Trigonometry ------- 1
Latin Testament ------ 1
Memoirs of Count de Forban 1
An odd vol of Tristram Shandy ------ 1
Thoughts on Religion ------ 1
A Method of Prayer ------- 1
Bills of Lading ------ 1
Vernon's Compleat Compting ho. ------ 1
Gift of Physick ------ 1
Ruddiman's Grammer ------ 1
Letters &c relating to May Rule ------ 1
Three sets of the Mariners compass rectified ------- 3
A Companion to the Altar-- 1
Indeaux's directions to Ch-Wards ------ 1
Merchants Companion ------ 1
Dilworth's Spelling Book--- 1
Latin Vocabulary ------ 1
Clarks Introduction ------- 1
Palairets new method of learning to read and speak French ------ 1
Clarks Osops fables, Lat & Eng. ------ 1

The Adventurer	4
Molyneaux's case of Ireland &c.	1
Dythe's Spelling Book	1
New Manuel of Devotions	1
The Knowledge & practice of Christianity made easy	1
Clarks essay upon studying	1
Plato's Works	1
London Dispensatory	1
Inst. Groc. Granit. compenda.	1
Groc. Sententia.	1
Greek Testament	1
Retraite spirituelle, Pouran jour chaque mois.	1
An Alarm to unconverted sinners	1
The Holy sacrament, A Treatise	1
Devotions	1
Wright's treatise on Anthunetic	1
Familiar guide to the Lords Supper	1
Roman Histry by Questn & Ansr	1
Travels Through Flanders, Hold &c	1
Vocabularum latiale	1
Clarks Erasmus	1
Bailey's Dictionary	1
The Gazeteer's history of Europe	1
The Exemplary Mother (odd)	1
Introduction to the Lords Supper	1
Pope's Iliad, 6 Vol, Virgil's Works, Lat & Eng. 2 Vols.	8
The World 6. An Odd Vol. of the preceptor. 1	7
Sherlocks Discourses	1
The Ladies Companion	1
Odd Volumes Not mentioned Above:	
Lord Landownes Works	11
Virgil Lat & Eng by Martyn	1
2nd Vol of Harvey's Meditation	1

DUODECIMOS

Stockwood's treatise of the figs &c	1
Book concerning Merchandize	1
Familiar forms of speaking Lat & Eng.	1
Esops fables 1	1
Present State of England	1
Gray's Communion Sermons	1
2 Sets of Introduction to ye S parts of speech	2
Atlas minunusar, a new set of pocket maps	1
Cordery, 1, Vade mecum or a compn for a Chirangn	2
Court Kalender for 1763, Riders Brit. Mesling for 1752	2
4th Vol of Gilblas, 2d Vol Bullenasth's works 1	2
A very small torn spelling book	1
	228

PAMPHLETS

The American Najz No 7 for April, 1758

The Registers Office, Act of Parliament for New Stile.

Hales Act of a dico. to distille Sea Water.

Acts of Parliament.—Proceedings of the Prov. Congress at Hillsborough A.D. 1775.

Some Acts of Parliament passed in 1756.

Newspapers from July 1774 to Sept 1775.

Some torn naval Instructions.

Journals and Acts of Assembly.

Life of the Dutchess of Ormond.

Directions for sailing along the Coast of N & S Carolina.

A Sermon—Cleonice, Queen of Tyria.
Barbodoes Almanack for 1761. N York Almk.
Letters &c concerning a Libel.
A book of pictures & a parcel of loose & A map of the Meditn. Sea and its ports.
Do. of the port & Harbr of Marseills.
Do of Pennsylvania.
A Plan of the City & Suberbs of London.
4 Do of the Coast of N. C.
A Prospect of the City of Dublin.
a torne plan or map.
2 old scales, 2 mathematl or Surveys Instruments, 2 Dials.
A Surveyors Compass.
Female Spectator Book 6th.

GLASSWARE

5 Decanters x1
6 Salvers to hold Jelly Glasses
4 Cake Salvers
2 Tumblers
4 Cyder Glasses
3 Tart Pans
52 Jelly x1, & 1 Sillabub glass
6 sweetmeat plates
19 small Candlesticks for Salvers
19 Cream glasses 2 sweetmeat cups
6 Tumbler Tops
2 Candle Stick nossels
3 Salt Cellars x1 ‡2
1 Vinegar & 1 Pepper Cruet ‡

CHINA

3 Two Quart blue & white bowls
1 Quart do.
3 blue & white dishes, 1 large the other 2 middle sized ‡
3 do coffee cups

QUEENSWARE

2 Quart bowls ‡
3 half pint do. ‡
35 plates, 6 of which ‡
1 small oval dish ‡
3 butter plates, 2 ‡
6 cups & saucers ‡
2 egg cups, 1 pepper box
2 Butter boat covers
1 Tureene Cover

STONE OR DELFWARE

5 Plates, 2 of which x & 3 ‡
A Salad dish ‡
3 Tureene Covers
4 spitting basins
25 oval cheese dishes
13 round do.
1 milk pot
A green pickle or buttler leaf ‡
11 odd covers of different kinds
1 broken blue & white butter boat & a broken plate both ‡
13 large jugs, 6 milk pans
5 jars or sugar pots
3 DemiJohns, wickered
3 large case bottles
5 doz & 10 com bottles
1 snuff bottle
5 Flasks
1 open mouthed bottle
5 brandy bottles

BRASS TIN PEWTER & OTHER WARES

10 Candle molds ‡
A Gallon measure *
A Quart do. *
A Tea Box, pewter or lead
A Cheese toaster & Breadbasket
A tin milk pan
A tin Quart mug x
A chocolate pan & sifter ‡
A Sugar Cannister ‡
43 Cake pans
2 Bells

6 Brass candlesticks, 2 of which broke, 3 of which ‡ & 1 x
2 small pewter basins, 1 of which broken, 1 ‡ & 1 x
5 straw dish mats
A Marble mortar & iron pestle ‡
A Sett of large steel yards
A pr. wooden Scales & 5 lead weights
An old Wagon Flat Box
A Spy Glass
A case containing 1 doz large green handled knives & forks tied with silver
A case containing do small
2 old Knife cases
11 knives & forks like the above but most of the caps broke off and 3 ‡, 1 x, & one to Sawyer
An old fork
A Marble bowl*, 4 weavers Hays x
2 pk old cards *
A Buff sword Belt
A leather Car'ouch box & pouch
A powder Horn & gun
A spoon mould
2 Dice Boxes
1 small Horse or Cow belt
1 Odd spur
a Small bag with some root or herb
2 bottles with liquid medicine
4 boxes with physic Scales but only one with weights
A pewter Ink stand no glass *
A wooden sand & one do. poince box *
A case with five odd lancets given out for use
2 Sur cases containing 1 doz bottles each, a case with some bottles
A Box containing an hedge Sheat
2 broken coffee pots & 2 case bottles
1 Flask, a brass mortor and iron pestle
A Box containing 35 panes of glass
A Tin bird roaster
A very large broken Syringe
2 old pewter rims & 1 plate broken, which I melted in spoons & gave 2 to Lucas & 1 to Fogartie
2 Kegs with dried paint & pt of another
3 old brushes, 4 wooden Keelers
2 fifty six weights
a Box containing a few files and some broken worthless things
1 pr files for fencing
A large tin Grater
A Brass Knocker
A small quantity of old rusty iron ware of no consequence
2 Portmanteaus

HOUSE LINEN & BEDDING

2 Tea Napkins, the young ladies had *
2 Table cloths, 1 very good*, 1 very bad ‡
6 Damask napkins to match the good table cloth *
2 Sets of Bed curtains * & 1 do window *
10 Feather beds, 1 Mattress & 2 Pillows
4 Bolsters, 6 Blankets, 3 Quilts
3 Sheets & 1 counterpane, mostly old and in bad order

NB. Those articles marked x were left out for the overseer and those ‡ for Mrs. Denning's use. Those * for plantation or young ladies.

AN INVENTORY of the Personal Property Belonging to the Estate of John Rowan, Esqr. Deceas'd (continued) Taken on the 22nd & 23rd June, 1782 by Benj. Smith, Guardian, Thereof.

FURNITURE

A cedar Desk *
1 old walnut do.
4 Mahogany bedsteads, 2 of which incompleat
2 Common bedsteads
1 Mahogany Card Table
2 Do. Dining Tables
1 looking glass very old, framed
1 Mahogany round Tea Table (broken)
1 Old Harpsichord
5 Wooden Chests
A Backgammon Box witht any dice
A Pine Couch
2 Doe or Ash Bedsteads
A Mahogany Chest of Drawers
A Looking Glass without a frame
2 Dressing Glasses
A Walnut arm chair with a worked bottom
4 wooden oak or pine chairs
An old Trunk
A Travelling or Plantation medicine chest with vials, directions &c.
2 close stool chairs
An old chest of Drawers
6 oak or pine tables, 1 broken
3 Mahogany Waiters ‡
2 Do. Tea Boards ‡
A Clock, An old Fiddle, An English Flute
2 Mahogany Arm chairs
15 Do. or Walnut chairs, 7 of which broken
5 broken painted arm chairs, very much out of order x
A broken Mahogany box, and some Mahogany pieces of Chairs, Tables, Bed Rails &c.
A broken pr of Bellows
' Lanthorn, Caston & Dish.
3 Iron Pots, 1 Brass Kettle
An Old knife Box, a small Dutch oven
A Skillett & a broken frying pan

VARIOUS ARTICLES

7 window sashes & one old picture frame
5 Horsenetts, An iron Rack in the Kitchen to hang pots upon
6 pr Iron dogs, 6 pr Tongs & 2 Shovels
A Logger head, A Trivet, A Gridiron
An incompleat Jack
A Ditto Copper Stile, a bunch of curtain rings
A Broken Crane, A Walking Cane
A Side Saddle
62 Pearle Fish & 17 Counters
A Small quantity of old iron

PLANTATION & OTHER TOOLS

2 Bar & 2 Fluke Plows, 3 pr Iron Traces
25 Hoes, 2 Ox Chains, 20 Axes, 4 old Scythes
2 Broad Axes, 5 x cut saw, 3 of which old
7 Augers, 1 whip Saw; 2 Tap borers
An Iron Scale beam, 2 Ads, An Hand Saw
2 Chissels, 1 Gouge, 1 Square, 6 Mill Saws
A Brand, A Weavers Loom
2 Large spinning Wheels, 1 small do.
A Machine for making lines
A Forge, 2 Anvils, 2 pr Bellows, one of them useless

7 Hammers, 2 large Vices, 1 of which useless
1 Hand Vice, 3 pr of Tongs, A Drill, 2 Scine plates, 1 pr Pincers, 2 Old Files

CARRIAGES

An old riding chair

2 cart wheels lying seperate from an old cart body

BOATS

An old Boat called the Glory
A do canoe, called the Pidgeon, in bad order

FINIS

ACCOUNT SALES of the Personal Estate of John Rowan; Esquire, Deceas'd (Sold by Order of Brunswick County Court) at Rowan August 15, 1782.

Parties Names	*Articles Sold*	*No. of Vols.*	*Prices.* £	*s.*	*d.*
Jacob Leonard	Popes Iliad	6	1	8	
Joseph Watters	Swifts Works	8		16	
Willm Watters	do	8	1	14	
Joseph Watters	do	6		13	
Lewis Dupre	Harvey's Meditations	2		11	
	Popes' Oddyssey	5	1	10	
Wm Dry	The Tatler	3		10	
Benj Smith	The whole duty of Man	1	1		
Lewis Dupre	A Dictionary	1		8	
Benj Smith	A Lott of Books			10	
do	do			4	
do	Odd Set of Blackstone's Com.			10	
do	Sure guide to heaven			10	
William Watters	Naval History		1	10	
Thos Craike	History of Barbadoes			15	
Jno Grange, Senr	Rapins History			11	6
Thos McLaine	Millers Gardiners Dicty			15	
Jno Grange Snr	A Book			5	
Joseph Watters	do		1	5	
William Watters	Virgil	2		6	
Thos McLaine	2 Books			5	
Benja Smith	1 do			2	
do	A lot of Books			8	
Lewis Dupre	A Book			4	
Wm Watters	2 Books		1	1	
William Dry	2 Books			2	
Benj Smith	1 do			8	
do	4 do			4	
Benj Smith	1 do			2	
William Jones	A Lott of Books			6	
Benj Smith	3 Books			3	
William Watters	2 do.			10	

Partics Names	*Articles Sold*	*No. of Vols.*	*Prices.* £	*s.*	*d.*
Jacob Leonard ____A	Lott of Books			3	
Saml Richardson ___1	do.			2	
Benj Smith _____1	do.			4	
Jacob Leonard _____1	do.			3	
do _____1	do.			3	
Joseph Watters ____1	do.			13	
Jacob Leonard _____1	do.			1	
Jacob Leonard _____1	do.			4	
Benj Smith _____1	do.			4	
Thos Craike _____1	do.			4	
Willm Watters _____A	Flute & a Fiddle		1	15	
Sam'l Richardson __A	Blunderbuss & A Gun		1		
Willm Watters _____A	Powder Horn			12	
Thos Craike _____	do			8	
Willm Jones _____A	Surveyors Compass		4	3	
Robert Schaw _____A	Sun Dial			10	
Alexander Hostler __	Sundry Maps			9	
Benj Smith _____	Do. Pictures			5	
Thos Craike _____	Pearle Fish & Counters		1		
Benj Smith _____A	Sun Dial			3	9
Thos Craike _____2	Jugs			16	
Thos. Neale _____2	do			5	
do _____2	do			11	6
Thos Craike _____2	Butter Pots 17/2 2 Jugs 2/		1	17	6
Saml Richardson ___A	Sun Dial			3	9
Benj Smith _____A	Physick box			8	
Robt Schaw _____A	Keg with paint			5	
Benj Smith _____A	Box of Glass			17	
John Tyler _____A	Box of Sundries			5	
Willm Watters _____A	Portmanteau			8	
Alexr Hostler _____A	Do.		3	8	
Willm Jones _____A	Jack			8	
do _____A	Gin Case			18	
John Tyler _____A	Do.		1	2	
Thos Craike _____A	Box of Sundries		1	6	
Robert Schaw _____	Sundries			3	
Wm Dry _____A	Backgammon Box			12	
Benj Smith _____	Sundries			12	
Willm Jones _____	do		1	11	6
Thos Craike _____2	Jugs			6	6
Benj Smith _____2	Horse Netts			6	
Thos Craike _____2	Horse netts			4	
Thos Neale _____	Dogs & Tongs			4	
Wm Watters _____	Dogs & Tongs		1		

Parties Names	*Articles Sold*	*No. of Vols.*	*Prices.* £	s.	d.
Saml Richardson	Ditto		1	2	6
Ditto	A Stile & A Crane		3	10	
Hen Watters	2 Tea Boards		1	5	6
John Tyler	A Gin Case (Mrs. Denning's)			0	
Hen Watters	A Lott of Sundries			1	
Benj Smith	An Horse nett			1	
John Tyler	Sundries			3	
Benj Smith	Lott of com bottles 7d a 3/2 pr doz.			19	
Thos Neale	A pr of Files			5	
Alexr Hostler	A Lott of patty pans			1	8
Mrs Dry	6 knives & forks		3		
Thos Neale	A Sett of do, large & small		18	10	
Hen Watters	6 Plates		10		
Gilbert Eccles	1 doz do.		1	16	
Joseph Watters	½ doz do.			17	6
Mrs Dry	½ doz, most of them cracked			5	6
Thos Wright	A Bread basket			8	
Gilbert Eccles	A Table Bells			14	6
Thos Neale	A Punch Bowl		1	1	
Thos Wright	do		1	3	
Gilbert Eccles	A Small Do.			15	6
Willm Watters	A Table Bell			9	
Mrs Dry	A China Dish			9	
Thos Wright	Fruit Plates & a lot			2	
Ditto	do			3	
Gilbert Eccles	1 pr Salt Cellars & a lot			10	6
Thos Neale	2 Decanters		1	2	6
Mrs Dry	2 Glass Covers			1	
Thos Neale	Salver & Glasses		4	10	
Thos Wright	3 Glass plates			4	6
Henry Watters	3 do.			4	6
Thos Neale	2 Salvers			18	
Benj. Smith	A lot of Glass		1		
Thos. Neale	A Fork			1	
Henry Watters	A spy Glass		1	17	6
Thos Craike	A Rum Case			16	
Willm Vernon	A Mahogany Table		9		
Thos Wright	1 Ditto		7	4	
Wm Dry	A Salver & Glasses		1	1	
Gilbert Eccles	A Card Table		2	11	6
Robert Schaw	A Mahogany Bedstead		5	5	
Sam'l Richardson	A looking glass			8	
Wilm Jones	A Desk, very old			19	

Parties Names	*Articles Sold*	*No. of Vols.*	*Prices.* £	s.	d.
Thos Lucas	A Bed & Bolster		2	4	
Benj. Mills	1 do.		1	10	
Ditto	Ditto.		3	10	
Wm Vernon	Ditto.		7	2	
Benj Smith	A pine table			7	
Ditto	Ditto.			2	
Dl McLeod	2 Candlesticks			7	
Benj. Smith	2 Pine Chairs			4	
Benj Mills	A Bag of feathers			10	6
Thos Craike	A bedstead & rods		2	1	
Drury Allen	½ doz. Chairs		9	1	
Gilbert Eccles	½ doz. do.		9	1	
Benj. Mills	a Bedstead		3		
Thos Craike	A Chest of Drawers		4	9	
Sam'l Richardson	a large Chest		1	7	
Thomas Lucas	Ditto.			6	
Thomas Craike	An Easy Chair		1	13	
William Watters	Ditto		1	5	
Thomas Lucas	A Chest of Drawers, very old			4	6
ditto	An old Trunk			10	6
Robt Schaw	A Bedstead		1	19	
Dan'l McLeod	A wooden box (Mrs Denning)				
Thos Lucas	A large Chest			10	
Gilbert Eccles	An Harpsichord very old			3	
Thos Lucas	A Bedstead			6	6
Jno Grange, Senr	A marble mortor & a pestle		1	8	
Dl. McLeod	Scales & weights			4	
Thos Craike	Sundries in a lot			8	
Henry Watters	An old picture frame &c				6
Ditto.	11 head of Sheep a 28/6 pr head		15	5	6
Benj. Smith	A Stallion		35		
Benj. Smith	The Clock		12	10	
Thomas Wright	2 Cows & calves		8		
Benj. Smith	2 Ditto & Ditto		7		
Ditto.	2 Ditto & Ditto & a Bull		7	15	
Ditto.	Ditto		7	15	
Thos Wright	1 Cow		3	15	
Jas. Richards	15 Head of young Cattle		37	5	
			£313	"14	"5

TOTAL AMOUNT OF EACH PURCHASER'S ACCOUNT.

		£	s.	d.
A	Allen, Drury	9	1	
C	Craike, Thomas	16	4	6
D	Dry, Jane Mary	3	15	6
	Dry, William	2	5	0
	Dupre, Lewis	1	3	0
E	Eccles, Gilbert	15	12	
G	Grange, Senr, John	2	4	6
H	Hostler, Alexander	3	18	8
I	Jones, William	8	5	6
L	Leonard, Jacob	3	12	0
	Lucas, Thomas	4	1	6
M	MacLaine, Thomas	1	0	0
	Mcleod, Daniel		11	
	Mills, Benjamin	8	10	6
N	Neale, Thomas, Senr	28	0	0
R	Richardson, Samuel	7	13	3
	Richards, James	37	5	0
S	Schaw, Robert	8	2	0
	Smith, Benjamin	79	19	0
T	Tyler, John	1	10	
V	Vernon, William	16	2	
W	Watters, Henry	20	12	
	Watters, William	10	10	
	Wright, Thomas	20	9	6
		£313"	14"	5.-

ACCOUNT SALES on the 18th February 1783 of Property Belonging to the Estate of John Rowan, Esquire, Deceased, sold by Benjamin Smith, Guardian of said Estate under Direction of Brunswick County Court by Auction at Rowan.

Purchasers Names	*Property Sold*	*Prices.* £	s.	d.
Cains, John	A Sorrell Stallion	44	10	
Denning, Margaret	An old riding Chair	3	15	
Fogartie, Edmond	A Sorrell Horse	25		
Lucas, George	A Sorrell Filley	12		
Lucas, Thomas	An old black mare	2		
Mills, James	Walley & Franky	150	5	
Smith, Benjamin	An old Black horse		10	
Do.	An old road mare Phoenix	6		
Watters, Henry	a young sorrel do Polly	20	15	
Watters, William	A sorrel colt	3	5	
do	A do filley	9	1	
		£277 "—" -		

The Passing of the Dram Tree

By Richard Dillard, M.D.

When the gigantic ice-floe on the Albemarle was driven eastward by the winter's storm, its impact, like an irresistible Alpine glacier, swept before it the lone sentinel cypress tree that had stood for more than two centuries, waist deep in water, at the eastern entrance of Edenton Bay.

Come storm, come sunshine, there it stood, the most prominent object in the landscape. By day lifting up its head to the sunshine, and all night to the stars. Securely anchored to the bottom, like Prometheus chained to his rock, it mocked the fury of the white-maned breakers, or made love to the evening zephyr upon its æolian harp. It warned the seaman from the treacherous shoal, and welcomed the mariner from the distant clime to its peaceful port. It furnished the geographer with his line of demarcation for Edenton Bay, and was a guide-post on the 36th parallel of latitude.

Long ago, when Edenton was a busy port and did a flourishing West India trade, it was the custom to keep a bottle of the best West India rum hid in a hollow within its bulbous trunk. It was the duty of each incoming captain to keep the bottle well filled, and whenever a vessel cleared the port and passed the "Dram Tree" the captain and his crew would lower a boat, row to the tree, and drink to the health of Edenton friends, to a prosperous voyage, and a safe return. And so it received, and has always borne, the pseudonym of the "Dram Tree."

Alas, how many mutations of men and things it has witnessed! It saw Edenton as a village, then a borough town whose wharves were crowded with the busy sons of commerce. It saluted the royal governor as he passed in his barge from Eden House to his capital at Edenton. When the Cupola House was built it was standing there; it saw the spire of

St. Paul's church when it first lifted its gilded cross to the evening sky. It watched that gathering of patriotic women on the courthouse green, as they emptied their caddies of tea; it caught, like a wireless tower, within its tangled meshes of leaves the first vibrations from the bell at Independence Hall; it caught the first glimpse of Flosser's hostile fleet as it steamed slowly up the sound. Bass and perch and sun-fish cradled their spawns within the convolutions of its wide-expanded bole and the schoolboy marked its distance from the shore as a fit measure of his swimming prowess. It commanded and demanded attention; no matter the point of view, there it was sharply outlined upon the waste of waters, and always a pleasing object to the musing eye.

For generations grandfathers have told grandsons the story of the "Dram Tree," and so it came to pass that everybody knew and loved the old tree. But the "Dram Tree" has vanished. The old man about town has lost a companion of his youth, the landscape a familiar and distinctive charm. In peace let it rest beneath the turbulent waters, and let each wave, as it sweeps by to the shore, murmur a gentle cadence in echo to the associations and traditions of the past!

Sic transit gloria mundi.

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Vol. XVIII JULY, 1918 No. 1

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

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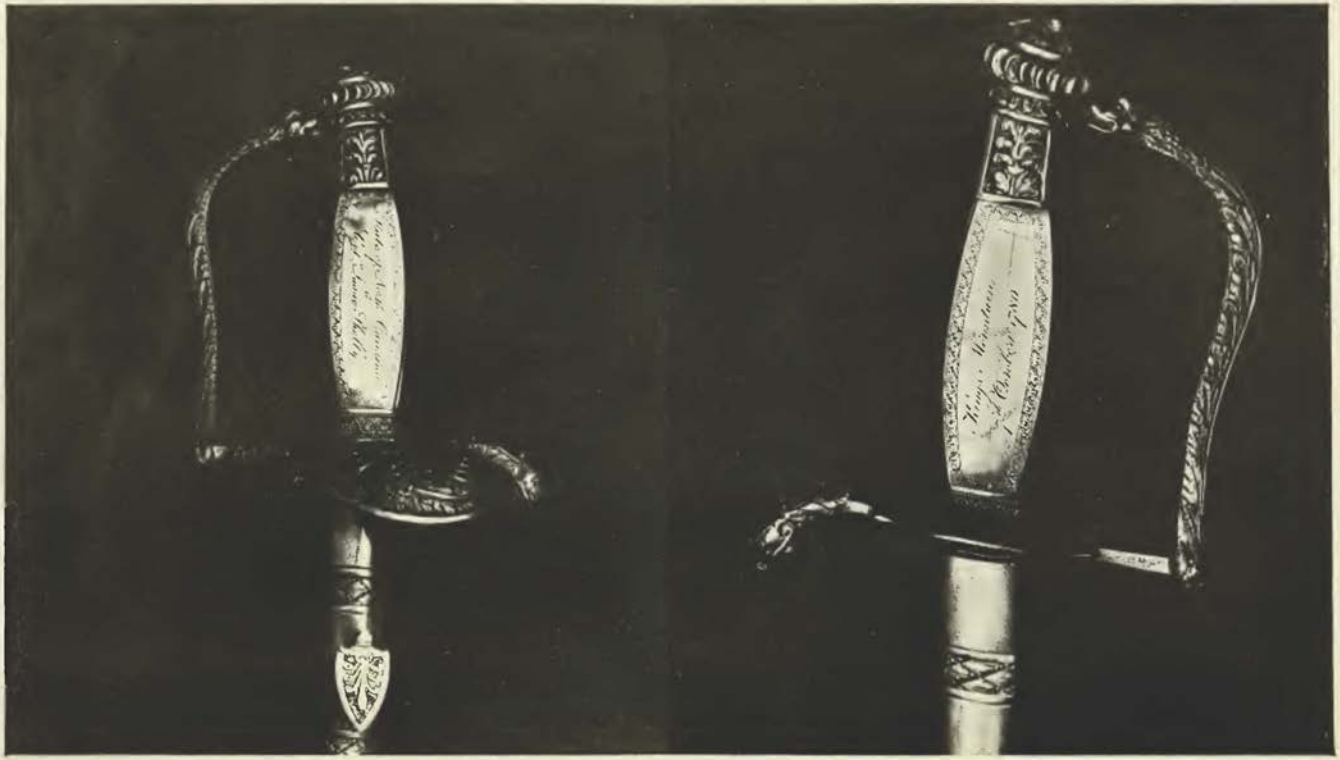

Elegant Mounted Sword, Presented to Isaac Shelby by the State of North Carolina

Vol. XVIII JULY, 1918 No. 1

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XVIII JULY, 1918 No. 1

ISAAC SHELBY

Revolutionary Patriot and Border Hero

PART II—1780-1783

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON

III

At the appointed time, September 25, the several forces united at the rendezvous, already rendered famous by the great treaty held by Colonel Richard Henderson with the Cherokees there in March 1775, the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga. Hither came Colonel William Campbell with two hundred men, Colonel Arthur Campbell with two hundred men, Colonel Isaac Shelby and Lieutenant-Colonel John Sevier with two hundred and forty men each—uniting with the force of one hundred and sixty men under Colonel Charles McDowell and Major Joseph McDowell, who had been encamped there for some time. An "express" sent by Colonel William Campbell from Washington County, Virginia, had already notified Colonel Benjamin Cleveland of Wilkes County, North Carolina, of the plan; and Cleveland was also urged by an "express" from Colonel McDowell to join the "over-mountain men" on the east side of the mountains with as large a force as he could raise.

The task of raising funds to equip the forces of Shelby and Sevier, and to defray the expenses of the campaign was an extremely difficult problem. The settlers generally had expended their available money for their lands; and so the only available funds were in the hands of the Entry-taker of Sullivan County, John Adair. When Sevier applied to him for

the money needed to defray the expenses of the military expedition, Adair replied:

> Colonel Sevier, I have no authority by law to make that disposition of this money. It belongs to the impoverished treasury of North Carolina, and I dare not appropriate a cent of it to any purpose. But, if the country is over-run by the British, liberty is gone. Let the money go too. Take it. If the enemy, by its use, is driven from the country, I can trust that country to justify and vindicate my conduct. Take it.

For this indispensable sum, amounting to twelve thousand seven hundred and thirty-five dollars, Shelby and Sevier pledged themselves to see it refunded or its use legalized by an act of the Legislature; and this recognizance was afterwards scrupulously fulfilled.[1]

It seemed to the enemy that the over-mountain men had been assembled as if by magic. "The wild and fierce inhabitants of . . . (the) settlements westward of the Alleghany mountains," said Mackenzie in his *Strictures,* "assembled suddenly and silently." In his letter of October 24, 1780, Lord Rawdon significantly observed: "A numerous army now appeared on the frontier, drawn from Nolachucky, and other settlements beyond the mountains, whose very names had been unknown to us." On September 26, this force of one thousand and forty frontiersmen set forth upon the march. Before leaving the camp at Watauga, a farewell sermon was delivered by the Reverend Samuel Doak, who (according to trustworthy tradition) urged them to do battle valiantly, closing with a stirring invocation to "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon"—a sentiment greeted with a lusty shout of acclaim from the hardy mountaineers. At Quaker Meadows in Burke County, the famous home of the McDowells, which they reached on September 30, there was encamped a force of three hundred and fifty militia—the hardy followers of that fierce and blood-thirsty fighter, Colonel Benjamin Cleveland, "Old Roundabout," who called themselves "Cleveland's Bulldogs"; the stalwart riflemen of Rutherford under Colonel

[1]Ramsey: *Annals of Tennessee,* 226.

Andrew Hampton, and the flower of the militant citizenship of Surry led by a born leader of men, a cousin of Patrick Henry, Colonel Joseph Winston.[2]

Already on September 14 preceding, General William Lee Davidson had ordered Cleveland to unite with other forces to resist Ferguson's advance; and under the present plan the prospects seemed to favor successful resistance. The commanders of the different divisions, all of whom had acted with executive authority, controlled their troops only through voluntary agreement on the part of the privates. In view of petty disorders and insubordination, the commanding officers on the second day (October 2) after resuming the march, held a conference to devise plans for quieting the disturbances, and also for the purpose of choosing a leader. "It was resolved," says Shelby in his *Pamphlet* (1823), "to send to Head-Quarters for a general officer to command us; and that, in the mean time, we should meet in council every day to determine on the measures to be pursued, and appoint any of our own body to put them in execution. I was not satisfied with this course, as I thought it calculated to produce delay, when expedition and dispatch were all important to us. We were then in sixteen or eighteen miles of Gilbert Town, where we supposed Ferguson to be. I suggested these things to the council, and then observed to the officers, that we were all North Carolinians except Col. Campbell, who was from Virginia; that I knew him to be a man of good sense, and warmly attached to the cause of his country; that he commanded the largest regiment; and that if they concurred with me, until a general officer should arrive from Head-Quarters, appoint him to command us, and march immediately against the enemy. To this proposition some one or two said 'agreed.' No written minute or record was made of it."[3] Shelby acknowledges that that he did this to "silence the expectation

[2]A. C. Avery: "Quaker Meadows," in *North Carolina Booklet*, IV, No. 3; W. A. Graham: *General Joseph Graham*, 273-283; G. T. Winston: "The Life and Times of Major Joseph Winston," 1895; J. Crouch: "The Life and Character of Col. Benjamin Cleveland," 1908.

[3]Appendix to L. C. Draper's *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, 564.

of Col. McDowell" to command the expedition. This was a legitimate expectation on the part of Col. McDowell, who was the commanding officer of the district in which the force was operating, and had, as Shelby further admits, "commanded the armies of militia in that quarter all the summer before against the same enemy." The objections urged against McDowell by Shelby were that he was "too far advanced in life" and "too inactive" for the command of an expedition which required extraordinary resources in strength and endurance. The first objection, mentioned by Shelby at the advanced age of seventy-three, is not founded on fact, and was perhaps due to defective memory; for McDowell was a vigorous young man of thirty-seven in 1780. In his narrative,[4] Shelby states merely that McDowell "was too slow an officer" for the enterprise. There was at no time any question of the bravery or patriotism of McDowell.[5]

During the progress of the conference, Campbell took Shelby aside and requested that his name be withdrawn and that Shelby himself take the command. To this, Shelby very correctly replied that he was the youngest Colonel present; and that McDowell under whom he had served, would resent his elevation to the chief command. Shelby probably realized that the over-mountain men, at all times unaccustomed to strict military discipline and somewhat prone to insubordination, would not readily accept the leadership in this meteoric campaign of a militia commander conspicuous neither for rare discretion nor for exceptional efficiency. The selection of Campbell was undoubtedly a temporary expedient, a tactful mode of bridging an awkward situation; yet it is clear that these border leaders would never have agreed to Shelby's suggestion that the chief command be given, even temporarily, to Campbell, had they not recognized in him an efficient leader and known him to be a true soldier. One final conclusion is

[4] *American Review*, December, 1848.

[5] Other graver objections to the selection of McDowell as leader of the campaign have been mentioned. In this connection see Draper's *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, 87-9, and A. C. Avery's "Burke County," 90, in *Western North Carolina* (1890).

irresistible: that Shelby himself, as originator and prime mover in the expedition, more than any other was entitled to the chief command.

Colonel McDowell, who, as Shelby frankly says, "had the good of his country more at heart than any title of command," cheerfully acquiesced in the council's decision; but observed that as he was not to have the chief command, he would volunteer to convey to headquarters at Hillsborough the request for a general officer. On October 4, McDowell started on his errand from the mouth of Cane Creek near Gilbert Town, where the American force was encamped.[6] He bore with him a significant letter, to which the chief historian of the battle did not have access.[7] He left his men under the command of his brother, Major Joseph McDowell. Colonel Campbell now assumed temporarily the chief command, but he was to be regulated and directed by the determinations of the Colonels, who were to meet in council every day. It is noticeable that the list of signatures is not headed by that of Campbell, and does not include that of Charles McDowell, the bearer.

Rutherford County, Camp near Gilberttown

Oct 4, 1780.

Sir, We have now collected at this place about 1500 good men, drawn from the Counties of Surry, Wilkes, Burke, Washington and Sullivan Counties in this State, and Washington County in Virginia, and expect to be joined in a few days by Col. Clarke of Georgia, and Col. Williams of South Carolina, with about 1000 more—As we have at this time called out our Militia without any orders from the Executive of our different States, and with the view of Expelling the Enemy out of this part of the Country, we think such a body of men worthy of your attention, and would request you to send a General Officer, immediately to take the command of such Troops as may embody in this quarter—Our Troops being all Militia, and but little

[6]It is worthy of note that, on his way to Hillsborough, McDowell called at the camp of Lacy and Hill, with their South Carolinians, and at that of Williams with the Rowan Corps, at Flint Hill, a dozen miles or so to the eastward of the head of Cane Creek. These forces, being thus notified of the march against Ferguson, formed a junction with Campbell's forces on October 6.

[7]Draper makes no mention of this letter, the original of which is in the Gates Papers, Archives of the New York Historical Society. For a transcript of this letter I am indebted to Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the New York Public Library, and to Mr. Robert H. Kelby, Librarian of the New York Historical Society.

acquainted with discipline, we could wish him to be a Gentleman of address, and able to keep up a proper discipline, without disgusting the Soldiery—Every assistance in our power, shall be given the Officer you may think proper to take the command of us.

It is the wish of such of us as are acquainted with General Davidson and Col. Morgan (if in service) that one of them Gentlemen may be appointed to this command.

We are in great want of Ammunition, and hope you will endeavor to have us properly furnished with that Article.

Col. McDowell will wait upon you with this, who can inform you of the present situation of the Enemy, and such other particulars respecting our Troops as you may think necessary.

We are Sir, Your most obdt. and very hble. Servts.

BENJA. CLEVELAND,
ISAAC SHELBY,
JOHN SEVIER,
ANDW. HAMPTON,
WM. CAMPBELL,
JO. WINSTON.

(Endorsed)
(Public Service)

The Honorable Major General
Horatio Gates
Commander in Chief of
the Southern Army.
By Col. Charles McDowell Major General Smallwood
Letter from
Col. Cleveland &c[8]
4th October S0.

A memorable incident, indicative of the indomitable determination of the American forces, deserves record here. Before resuming the march on October 3, the Colonels notified the assembled troops of the nature and hazard of the enterprise before them; and the offer was made that any one who so desired, might withdraw then and there from the campaign. Shelby thus laconically addressed the men:

You have all been informed of the offer. You who desire to decline it, will, when the word is given, march three steps to the rear, and stand, prior to which a few more minutes will be granted you for consideration.

[8] *Cf. N. C. State Records,* xiv, 663-4. A photographic facsimile of the signatures to this letter, made at my order from the original letter, shows that, contrary to the testimony of Mr. Roosevelt, who spells it "Cleavland," the correct spelling is "Cleveland."

After a pause the order was given that "those who desired *to back out* would step three paces to the rear," but not a man withdrew. Shelby then addressed the men in words which convey a vivid impression of the spirit of the movement and the character of the campaign:

> I am heartily glad to see you to a man resolve to meet and fight your country's foes. When we encounter the enemy, don't wait for the word of command. Let each one of you be your own officer, and do the very best you can, taking every care you can of yourselves, and availing yourselves of every advantage that chance may throw in your way. If in the woods, shelter yourselves, and give them Indian play; advance from tree to tree, pressing the enemy and killing and disabling all you can. Your officers will shrink from no danger—they will be consistently with you, and the moment the enemy give war, be on the alert and strictly obey orders.[9]

The taunt of Ferguson, by which he had hoped to intimidate the men of the back-country, evoked a retort he little expected. Ferguson's principal object at this time was to strike a crushing blow at the small band of partisans under Captain Elijah Clarke, who about the middle of September was threatening Augusta, Georgia, and was still hovering dangerously near the Carolina line. Ferguson was hoping for and expecting the return of furloughed loyalists in large numbers under Gibbes, the militia under Cruger at Ninety-Six, or Tarleton's Legion ordered thither by Cornwallis. Two deserters from the camp of the Americans came in on September 30 to warn Ferguson of the approach of the frontier army. Had Ferguson struck straight for Charlotte and a junction there with Cornwallis, he might have eluded Campbell's force. But he was confronted with the danger of permitting the union of the forces of Clarke and Campbell; the necessity of recalling numerous Tories, absent on furlough belonging to his own force; and the danger of disaffection to the loyalist cause on the part of the people of that region. Perhaps Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger had a deeper insight into the nature of the situation than had Ferguson; for in his reply (October 3, 1780) to Ferguson's dispatch of September 30th, with its

[9] Testimony of John Spelts, called "Continental Jack," who was present.

alarming news of "so considerable (a) force as you understand is coming from the mountains," Cruger makes these eminently sane observations: "I Don't see how you can possibly (defend) the country and its neighborhood that you (are) now in. . . . I flattered myself they (the Tory militia) would have been equal to the mountain lads, and that no further call for the *defensive* would have been (made?) on this part of the Province. I begin to think our views for the present rather large. We have been led to this, probably, in expecting too much from the militia."[10]

Aware of some of the dangers incident to the situation, Ferguson despatched messengers to Cornwallis, asking for assistance; but these, being pursued, were delayed by reason of the circuitous route they were forced to take, and so did not reach Charlotte until the day after the battle at King's Mountain. Ferguson scorned to seek protection by making a forced march in order to effect a junction with Cornwallis at Charlotte. He preferred to make a stand, and, if possible, to dispose once for all of this barbarian mountain horde. From his camp Ferguson issued the following inflammatory and obscene appeal to the people, well calculated to arouse their bitter hostility to the approaching band, which he characterized as murderers of men and ravishers of women.

Denard's Ford, Broad River,

Tryon County, October 1, 1780.

GENTLEMEN:—Unless you wish to be eat up by an inundation of barbarians, who have begun by murdering an unarmed son before his aged father and afterward lopped off his arms, and who by their shocking cruelties and irregularities, give the best proof of their cowardice and want of discipline; I say if you want to be pinioned, robbed, and murdered, and see your wives and daughters, in four days, abused by the dregs of mankind—in short, if you wish or deserve to live, and bear the name of men grasp your arms in a moment and run to camp.

The Back Water men have crossed the mountains; McDowell, Hampton, Shelby, and Cleveland are at their head, so that you know

[10]This letter was found on Ferguson's dead body, after the battle of King's Mountain. See Ramsey: *Annals of Tennessee*, 241-2.

what you have to depend upon. If you choose to be p—d upon by a set of mongrels, say so at once, and let your women turn their backs upon you and look out for real men to protect them.

PAT. FERGUSON,
Major 71st Regiment.[11]

Loitering on his march, presumably in the hope of striking Clarke, Ferguson did not reach King's Mountain until October 6. On reaching Gilbert Town (near Rutherfordton, N. C.) on October 4, the Americans discovered that Ferguson had retired. "Having gained a knowledge of his design," related Shelby, "it was determined in a council of the principal officers to pursue him with all possible dispatch. Accordingly two nights before the action the officers were engaged all night in selecting the best men, the best horses and the best rifles, and at the dawn of day took Ferguson's trail and pursued him. . . . The mountain men had turned out to catch Ferguson. He was their object, and for the last thirty-six hours they never alighted from their horses but once to refresh at the Cowpens for an hour (where they were joined by Col. Williams of South Carolina, on the evening of the 6th with about 400 men), although the day of the action was so extremely wet that the men could only keep their guns dry by wrapping their bags, blankets and hunting shirts around the locks, which exposed their bodies to a heavy and incessant rain."[12]

In this connection, there is need of further detail in regard to the force under Williams. The account given by Draper is at once imperfect and distorted; and his estimate is grievously warped by the prejudiced account written by South Carolinians who held Williams in detestation. James D. Williams was not a South Carolinian; he was born in Hanover County, Virginia, in November, 1740. Since childhood he had lived in Granville County, N. C., whither the Williams

[11] *Virginia Gazette,* November 11, 1780. The barbarous atrocity alluded to at the beginning of this letter is unsupported by evidence of any kind.

[12] *Autobiography* of Isaac Shelby, an exact transcription of which I procured from the late Colonel R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Kentucky. The valuable Durrett Collection of Manuscripts on Western History is now owned by the University of Chicago.

family removed at an early date; and here he remained until 1772, when he went to South Carolina and settled on Little River in Laurens County. At the battle of Musgrove Mill, as related by Shelby himself, Williams[13] commanded the American center, while Shelby and Clarke commanded the right and left wings, respectively. The most reliable authorities state that Williams held the chief command in this battle.[14] On his arrival at Hillsborough whither he conducted the prisoners taken at Musgrove Mill, Williams conveyed the news of this victory to Governor Rutledge of South Carolina, then a refugee from his own State. In recognition of the victory at Musgrove Mill, achieved by the force commanded by Williams, Governor Rutledge commissioned him as a brigadier general in the South Carolina militia.[15] On September 8, Governor Abner Nash of North Carolina instructed General Williams to go to Caswell and other counties and recruit a corps of volunteer horsemen, not to exceed one hundred, for active service against the enemy.[16] This force, about seventy in number, Williams enlisted chiefly while encamped at Higgins' plantation in Rowan County. These recruits were brave and reliable soldiers; and they came from a county noted for its patriotism and its hostility to England. "It was evident and it had frequently been mentioned to the King's Officers," says Banastre Tarleton in his *Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces,* "that the counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan were more hostile to England that any others in America."[17]

---

[13]*Cf.* "Isaac Shelby," I, p. 140, *North Carolina Booklet,* January, 1917.

[14]*A Sketch of the Life and Career of Col. James D. Williams,* by Rev. J. D. Bailey (Cowpens, S. C., 1898).

[15]The official report, which in itself constitutes proof that Williams was in command at Musgrove Mill, was drawn up and signed by Williams; and this is the only contemporary report of the battle from the field. On September 5, 1780, Williams' official report was forwarded by General Gates to the President of Congress. The full report was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on September 23, and doubtless earlier in North Carolina newspapers; but the substance of the report, doubtless communicated by Governor Rutledge, appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* as early as September 13. Compare also *North Carolina University Magazine,* March, 1855.

[16]For a copy of the original order, see Schenck, *North Carolina,* 1780-1781, 143*n*.

[17]The slur cast upon these Rowan recruits by the venomous Colonel Hill in his Manuscript Narrative only reflect upon their author. The Legislature of North Carolina, in November, 1788, acting upon a report submitted by Mr. Thomas Person, resolved: "That the estate of James Williams, deceased, late

The number chosen from the over-mountain men to go forward from the ford of Green River on the night of October 5, was about seven hundred; and at the Cowpens, as accurately stated by Shelby, they were reinforced by four hundred men under Williams.[18] Here a second selection of nine hundred and ten horsemen was made; and Colonel Campbell was retained in the chief command—the urgency of the pursuit making it inadvisable to await the coming of the general officer for whom Col. Charles McDowell had gone to Hillsborough. This force, closely followed by some eighty-odd footmen ("foot-cavalry") pushed forward from the Cowpens on the night of October 6, in pursuit of the elusive Ferguson.

So heavy was the fall of rain during the forenoon and so weary and jaded were the men, that Campbell, Sevier and Cleveland urged a halt; but to this proposal the iron Shelby, intent upon the capture and destruction of the men who had threatened to hang him, gruffly replied with an oath: "I will not stop until night, if I follow Ferguson into Cornwallis' lines." As they approached King's Mountain, they encountered three men who reported that they were just from the British camp, which was posted upon the plateau, and that there was a picket guard on the road not far ahead. "These men," says Benjamin Sharp in his account, "were detained lest they should find means to inform the enemy of our approach, and Col. Shelby, with a select party, undertook to surprise and take the picket; this he accomplished without firing a gun or giving the least alarm; and it was hailed by the army as a good omen."[19]

[18]On October 2, Brigadier General Williams reported to Major-General Gates that the number then with him in Burke County was "about four hundred and fifty horsemen." Cf. *N. C. State Records*, xv. 94. He was in error as to his location, which was actually in Lincoln County.

[19]*American Pioneer*, February, 1843.

of the State of S. C. be released and acquitted from the payment of $25,000 advanced to the said deceased in his lifetime (1780) by this state for the purpose of raising men for the defense of this and the United States, it having been manifested to this Assembly that he was in action at the Battle of King's Mountain where he headed three or four hundred men and in which action he gloriously fell, a sacrifice to liberty." See W. A. Graham: *Gen. Joseph Graham and His Revolutionary Papers*, 282-3. In speaking of "our march to the Yadkin," Cornwallis calls the Rowan section "one of the most rebellious tracts in America."

IV

The remarkable battle which ensued presents an extraordinary contrast in the character of the combatants and the nature of the strategy and tactics employed. Each party ran true to form—the heroic and brilliant Ferguson repeating Braddock's suicidal tactics of opposing bayonet charges to the deadly fusillade of riflemen, carefully posted, Indian fashion, behind trees and every shelter afforded by the natural inequalities of the ground. In the army of the Carolina and Virginia frontiersmen, composed of independent commands recruited from many sources and each solicitous for its own credit, each command was directed in the battle by its own leader. Campbell, like Cleveland, Shelby, McDowell, Sevier, and Hambright, personally led his own division; but the nature of the fighting and the peculiarity of the *terrain* made it impossible for him, though the chosen commander of the expedition, in actuality to play such a role. The tactics agreed upon in advance by the frontier commanders were simple enough—to surround and capture Ferguson's camp on the high plateau. The more experienced Indian fighters, Sevier and Shelby, unquestionably suggested the general tactics in accordance with their experience, which in any case would doubtless have been employed by the frontiersmen: to give the British "Indian-play," namely, to take cover anywhere and fire from natural shelter. Cleveland, a Hercules in strength and courage, who had fought the Indians and recognized the wisdom of Indian tactics, ordered his men, as did some of the other leaders, to give way before a bayonet charge —but to return to the attack after the charge had spent its force.

My brave fellows, we have beaten the Tories and we can do it again. . . . If they had the spirit of men, they would join with their fellow-citizens in supporting the independence of their country. When you are engaged, you are not to wait for the word of command from me. I will show you, by my example, how to fight; I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself an officer and act from

his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, and stand your ground as long as you can. When you can do no better, get behind trees or retreat; but I beg you not to run quite off. If we are repulsed, let us make a point of returning and renewing the fight; perhaps we may have better luck in the second attempt than in the first.

The plateau upon which Ferguson was encamped was the top of an eminence about six hundred yards long and about two hundred and fifty from one base across to the other; and its shape was that of an Indian paddle, varying from one hundred and twenty yards at the blade to sixty yards at the handle in width. Outcropping boulders upon the outer edge of the plateau afforded some slight shelter for Ferguson's force; but, unsuspicious of the coming attack, Ferguson had made no *abatis* to protect his camp from the attack to which it was so vulnerable from the cover of the timber surrounding it on all sides. In taking their positions, the center to the North-East was occupied by Cleveland with his Bulldogs, Hambright with his South Fork Boys, from the Catawba (now Lincoln County, North Carolina), and Winston with his Surry Riflemen; to the South were the divisions under Joseph McDowell (brother of Charles) who was in touch with Winston, Sevier and Campbell; while the South Carolinians under Lacey, who was in touch with Cleveland, the Rowan levies under Williams, and the Watauga borderers under Shelby were stationed upon the North side. Ferguson's force consisted of Provincial Rangers, one hundred and fifty strong, and of well drilled loyalists, between eight and nine hundred, seriously weakened by the absence of a foraging party of between one and two hundred who had gone off on the morning the battle occurred. Shelby's men, before getting into position, received a hot fire, the opening shots of the engagement—which inspired Campbell, who now threw off his coat, to shout encouraging orders to his men, posted on the side of the mountain opposite to Shelby's force. When Campbell's Virginians uttered a series of piercing shouts, De

Peyster, second in command, remarked to his chief: "These things are ominous—these are the damned yelling boys."

The battle, which lasted some minutes short of an hour, was waged with terrific ferocity. The loyalist militia, wherever possible, fired from the shelter of the rocks; while the Provincial Corps, with fixed bayonets, steadily charged the frontiersmen, who fired at close range and rapidly withdrew to the very base of the mountain. After each bayonet charge, the Provincials coolly withdrew to the summit, under the accumulating fire of the returning mountaineers, who quickly gathered in their rear. Owing to their elevation, the British, although using the rapid-fire breech-loading rifle invented by Ferguson himself, found their vision deflected, continually firing high; and thus suffered nature's handicap, refraction.[20] The militia, using sharpened butcher knives which Ferguson taught them to utilize as bayonets, charged against the mountaineers; but their fire, in answer to the deadly fusillade of the expert squirrel shooters, was belated, owing to the fact that they could not fire so long as the crudely improvised bayonets remained in their pieces. The Americans, continually firing upward, found ready marks for their aim in the clearly delineated outlines of their adversaries; and felt the exultation which animates the hunter who has tracked to his lair and entrapped wild game at bay.

The leaders of the various divisions of the mountaineers bore themselves with impetuous bravery, recklessly exposing themselves between the lines of fire and with native eloquence, interspersed with mild profanity, rallying their individual commands, from end to end, once more to the attack. Campbell scaled the rugged heights, encouraging his men to the ascent. Cleveland resolutely facing the foe, rallied his bulldogs with the inspiriting words: "Come, boys, let's try 'em again. We'll have better luck next time." The most deadly charge, led by De Peyster himself, fell upon Hambright's South Fork boys; and Major Chronicle, waving his military

[20] F. Brevard McDowell: *The Battle of King's Mountain.*

hat, fell dead, the command, "Face to the hill!" dying upon his lips. These veteran soldiers met the shock of the charge; a number of their men were shot down or transfixed, and the remainder, reserving their fire until the charging column was only a few feet away, poured in a deadly volley before retiring. William Lenoir, independently fighting in Winston's column, was in the forefront of the hottest battle, his reckless bravery making him a veritable target for the enemy. He received several wounds and his hair and his clothes were riddled with bullets. The ranking American officer, Brigadier General James Williams, was mortally wounded on the "very top of the mountain, in the thickest of the fight"; and as he revived for a moment, an eye-witness relates, his first words were: "For God's sake, boys, don't give up the hill." Hambright, sorely wounded, his boot overflowing with blood and his hat riddled with three bullet holes, declined to dismount, but pressed gallantly forward, exclaiming in his "Pennsylvania Dutch": "Huzza, my prave poys, fight on a few minutes more, and te pattle will be over!" On the British side Ferguson was supremely brave, rapidly dashing from one side to the other, oblivious to all danger. Wherever the shrill note of his silver whistle sounded, there the fighting was hottest and the British resistance deadliest. His officers fought with the characteristic steadiness of the British soldier, and again and again charged headlong against the wavering circle of the frontiersmen.[21]

Ferguson's authentic boast—that "he was on King's Mountain, that he was king of the mountain and that God Almighty could not drive him from it"—was doubtless prompted, less by belief in the impregnability of his position, than by a desire to inspire confidence in his men. His position was admirably chosen for defense against attack by troops employing regulation tactics; but never dreaming of the possibility of sudden investment, Ferguson had erected no defenses for

[21]Forerunners of the Republic: "Isaac Shelby," *Neale's Monthly*, March, 1913.

his encampment. The disesteem in which he held the mountaineers found expression in the passionate declaration: "I will never surrender to such damned banditti as the mountain men." His frenzied efforts on the battle-field seem like a mad rush against fate; for his position was indefensible against the peculiar tactics of the frontiersmen. While the mountain flamed like a volcano and resounded with the thunder of the guns, a steady stricture was in progress; the lines were drawn tighter and tighter around the trapped and frantically struggling army; and at last the fall of their commander, riddled with bullets, proved the mad futility of further resistance. The game was caught and bagged to a man. When Winston with his fox-hunters of Surry dashed recklessly through the woods, says a chronicler of the battle, and "the last to come into position:

> 'Flow'd in, and settling, circled all the lists,'

then

> 'From all the circle of the hills
> Death sleeted in upon the doomed.' "[22]

V

In reviewing the details of the battle, especial interest attaches here to everything which concerns Isaac Shelby. In a contemporary letter to his father, he gives the following terse account of the battle:

> That Providence who always rules and governs all things for the best, so ordered it that we were around them before we were discovered, and formed in such position, so as to fire on them nearly about (sic) the same time, though they heard us in time to form and stood ready. The battle continued warm for an hour; the enemy finding themselves so embarassed on all sides, surrendered themselves prisoners to us at discretion.
>
> They had taken post at that place with the confidence that no force could rout them; the mountain was high, and exceedingly steep, so

[22] J. W. de Peyster: "The Affair at King's Mountain." Reprinted from *The Magazine of American History*, Dec., 1880. *Cf.* also the same writer's sketch: "The Battle or Affair of King's Mountain," 1881. These give the extreme British view.

that their situation gave them greatly the advantage; indeed it was almost equal to storming a battery. In most cases we could not see them until we were within twenty yards of them. They repelled us three times with charged bayonets; but being determined to conquer or die, we came up a fourth time, and fairly got possession of the top of the mountain.[23]

The final general order to the mountain men, before the engagement, was eloquent of the general determination: "Fresh prime your guns, and every man go into battle firmly resolved to *fight till he dies!*"

"The enemy," says Robert Campbell, "annoyed our troops very much from their advantageous position. Col. Shelby, being previously ordered to reconnoitre their position, observing their situation, and what a destructive fire was kept up from those rocks, ordered Robert Campbell, one of the officers of the Virginia Line, to move to the right with a small company to endeavor to dislodge them, and lead them on nearly to the ground which he had ordered them, under fire of the enemy's lines and within forty steps of the same; but discovering that our men were repulsed on the other side of the mountain, he gave orders to advance, and post themselves opposite to the rocks, and near to the enemy, and then returned to assist in bringing up the men in order, who had been charged with the bayonet. These orders were punctually obeyed, and they kept up such a galling fire as to compel Ferguson to order a company of regulars to face them, with a view to cover his men that were posted behind the rocks. At this time a considerable fire was drawn to this side of the mountain by the repulse of those on the other, and the Loyalists not being permitted to leave their posts. This scene was not of long duration, for it was the brave Virginia volunteers, and those under Col. Shelby, on their attempting rapidly to ascend the mountain, that were charged with the bayonet. They obstinately stood until some of them were thrust through the body, and having nothing but their rifles by which to defend themselves, they were forced to retreat.

[23] *Virginia Gazette,* Nov. 4, 1780.

They were soon rallied by their gallant commanders, Campbell, Shelby, and other brave officers, and by a constant and well-directed fire of their rifles, drove them back in their turn, strewing the face of the mountain with their assailants, and kept advancing until they drove them from some of their posts."[24] Shelby's men, by his own statement, actually reached the summit of the mountain which "was covered with flame and smoke and seemed to thunder."[25]

The regiments of Shelby and Campbell began the attack; and the enemy first fired upon Shelby's men before they were in position. This galling fire distressed the mountaineers, who were heard to mutter that "it would never do to be shot down without returning the fire." To which the intrepid Shelby cooly replied: "Pass on to your places, and then your fire will not be lost."[26] Bancroft says: "Shelby, a man of the hardiest make, stiff as iron, among the dauntless singled out for dauntlessness, went right onward and upward like a man who had but one thing to do, and but one thought—to do it." Brave as he and his men were, says Draper, they, too, had to retreat before the charging column, but firing as they retired. When, at the bottom of the hill, Shelby wanted to bring his men to order, he would cry out—"Now, boys, quickly reload your rifles, and give them another hell of a fire."[27]

Throughout the entire battle, Shelby's inspiriting battle-cry was: "Never shoot until you see an enemy, and never see an enemy without bringing him down."[28]

Shelby was in the very front line of the fight from the outset of the engagement to its very close. "When the British were loudly calling for quarters, but uncertain whether they would be granted," says Benjamin Sharp, "I saw the intrepid Shelby rush his horse within fifteen paces of their lines, and commanded them to lay down their arms, and they should have quarters. Some would call this an impru-

[24] *Annals of the Army of Tennessee,* Oct., 1878.
[25] Haywood's *Tennessee.*
[26] Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina* (Graham's *Sketch*), p. 268.
[27] MS. statement of Gen. Thomas Love, derived from Captain David Vance.
[28] Niles's *National Register,* iv. 403.

dent act, but it shows the daring bravery of the man."[29] As the demoralized Tories continued to cry "Quarters! Quarters!," Shelby fiercely shouted: "Damn you! If you want quarters, throw down your arms!" In a letter written by John Sevier to Isaac Shelby (Aug. 27, 1812), we read: "You were in the heat of the action. I frequently saw you animating your men to victory. At the surrender, you were the first field officer I recollect to have seen. . . . I perfectly recollect on seeing you at the close of the action, that I swore by —— they had burnt off your hair, for it was much burnt on one side."

Owing to the volley fired upon the victors by a returning foraging party of the British, a fire which killed the daring General James Williams, the incensed Americans under Campbell's orders returned the fire, though the British had already surrendered. This created a very alarming situation, and Shelby, who feared that the enemy might yet, perhaps, snatch up their arms in self-defense and resume the battle, exclaimed: "Good God! What can we do in the confusion?" "We can order the prisoners from their arms," said Captain Sawyers. "Yes," responded Shelby, "that can be done"; and the prisoners were accordingly marched off, and placed under a strong guard.

Ferguson was mortally wounded near the close of the action; and as he was being carried off, the exultant Shelby rode up and with incredible callousness said to him, though doubtless life was then totally extinct: "Colonel, the fatal blow is struck—we've Burgoyned you."[30] In the division of Ferguson's effects, the foot-long silver whistle, the piercing note of which had been heard again and again above the clamor and din of the battle, fell to Shelby's lot.

According to expert military opinion, the plan of attack employed by the Americans was probably the only method of assault by which the British could have been defeated. Impartial examination of all the evidence available, which

[29] *American Pioneer*, Feb., 1843.

[30] Related by Thos. H. Spelts and Thomas H. Shelby, a son of the Colonel.

includes much material not accessible to Draper, leads to the conclusion that the chief credit for inaugurating the entire campaign belongs to Shelby. The nominal leadership was conferred upon Campbell; and among the reasons, not already mentioned, assigned for giving him the chief command, were that he commanded the largest division of the forces and had come from the greatest distance. In the battle the conditions of combat enabled him to do little more than lead the men of his own division; and this he did with conspicuous bravery and gallantry. It is scarcely to be doubted that the very tactics pursued in the battle, the only tactics it would seem which could have been successful, were outlined, not by Campbell, but by Shelby himself. The following significant lines, from a letter written to Shelby by Colonel John Sevier, from Marble Springs, Tennessee, August 27, 1812, are eloquent on the point:—

> As to the plan of attacking the enemy, yourself was the only person that named the mode to me, and the same was acceded to unanimously. No doubt you recollect we argued on the manner of attack immediately after Ferguson's spies were taken, while we were a little in front of our army, and as we were returning back to Campbell and the other officers.[31]

VI

A digression from the continuity of the narrative is necessary at this point, in order to bring to light valuable documents, hitherto unpublished, which throw into truer perspective the role played by Shelby in the King's Mountain campaign. They tend to correct some of the false impressions fostered by Roosevelt and, to a lesser degree, by Draper.

On February 11, 1781, the North Carolina State Senate, in session at Halifax, placed the following on record:—

> Resolved, That the Speaker of this House be requested, with the Speaker of the Commons, to transmit to Colonel Campbell, of Vir-

[31] "Hero of Three Wars," by C. H. Todd, in *Journal of American History*, 2nd number, 2nd volume, 1908. These lines from Sevier's letter have been omitted generally by historians, even by Draper in *King's Mountain and Its Heroes* (pp. 575-6). Such an omission is almost inexplicable.

ginia, Colonel Cleveland, Colonel Shelby, and the brave Officers and Soldiers under their command the following address, to wit:

GENTLEMEN:

The General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, impressed with a deep sense of your eminent services during the last Summer's Campaign have unanimously resolved that the Speakers of the two Houses should transmit to you their warmest acknowledgments for your spirited and vigorous Exertions against the formidable body of British Forces under Major Ferguson at King's Mountain. The alacrity with which you stepped forth uncalled for by Authority, your Vigilance in Marching to, and your conduct in, the attack of the Enemy, deserve the highest Encomiums, and strongly mark Patriotism and Heroism united in the same persons. To these Virtues, which you, Gentlemen, so happily possess, your Country is indebted for the important Victory which frustrated the schemes of the enemy, awed many of the disaffected into submission, and rescued the western parts of this State from devastation and ruin and the horrors attendant on a War directed by Tyranny and pursued with vindictive Resentment.

We do therefore in obedience to the order of the two Houses and with the highest satisfaction to ourselves transmit to you the thanks of your country by its representatives in General Assembly.

Ordered that the foregoing Address with the following Message be sent the Commons for concurrence.

MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN:

We send for your approbation an address proposed by this House to be presented the officers who distinguished themselves in the capture of the British, commanded by Major Ferguson, at King's Mountain.

Resolved, that an elegant mounted sword be presented to each of the following officers, that is to say, Colo. Cleveland, of Wilkes County, Colonel Campbell of Virginia, Colonel Shelby of Sullivan County, Lieutenant Colonel Sevier of Washington County, Lieutenant Colonel Hambright of Lincoln County, Major Winston of Surry County and Major Shelby of Sullivan County for their voluntary and distinguished services in the defeat of Major Ferguson at the battle of King's Mountain.

An extraordinary series of blunders, which to this day have remained unexplained, now took place in connection with the "resolution" above-mentioned. The original journal of the assembly, as well as the printed copy, contains a message from the House to the Senate, approving of the "address"

above-mentioned; but nowhere in the original journal is record or even mention made of any action taken by the House upon the Senate "resolution" concerning the swords. That no steps were taken to procure and present the swords mentioned in the resolution was doubtless due to the fact that the journal contained no record of the joint concurrence of House and Senate in this "resolution"; and consequently no committee was appointed to carry out the terms of the "resolution." Shelby and Sevier both believed that the swords had been voted them by the Assembly.[32]

The question which remains unanswered until the present day is: "Did the Legislature of North Carolina in February, 1781, vote the swords to Shelby, Sevier, Winston, and the others mentioned in the 'resolution'?" The original manuscript of the "resolution" itself, still preserved, and now in the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, conclusively shows that the swords were thus voted. Upon it are inscribed the following:—

In the H Commons 11 Feby 1781
Concurred with
By order
Jno Hunt C H C

and the endorsement:

11th Feby laid over til Tomorrow morning.

The "resolution" was "laid over" until February 12, awaiting action upon the "address"; and the "address," bearing the approval of the House, was received by the Senate on February 13. The explanation of the blunder is probably due to the careless reading of the secretary who compiled the journal in failing to note, and so, to record, that the "address" and the "resolution" were two different things and that *both* had been concurred with by the House.

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[32] *N. C. State Records,* xvii, 696-7, 704, support the statements made above. In his *Annals of Tennessee,* 248, Ramsey is in error in stating that the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1781 "passed a resolution that a sword *and pistols* should be presented to both Shelby and Sevier." As printed in the *N. C. State Records,* xvii, 697, "Lewis" is a misprint for "Sevier."

Shortly after the battle of King's Mountain, the General Assembly of Virginia "ordered that a good horse, with elegant furniture, and a sword" be presented to William Campbell.[33] Singularly enough, Virginia like North Carolina was inexplicably dilatory in carrying out the will of the General Assembly. At the instance of friends of the late William Campbell, the General Assembly of Virginia in 1809, it appears, caused a handsome and costly sword, purchased in France, to be presented to William Campbell Preston, William Campbell's grandson.

When this information reached Shelby in 1809, it produced, as he acknowledges, "some feelings of emulation and solicitude, and a sense that equal justice had not been done to all who participated in that memorable achievement." Accordingly, he engaged in private correspondence with John Sevier on the subject; and years afterwards frankly acknowledged that the object of the letters was "to concert with him (Sevier) the means of reminding North Carolina of her ancient promise, and of obtaining those swords which thirty years before had been voted to us, as the honorable memorials of our good conduct, and our country's approbation." Shelby confessed to his very natural sense of the injustice in the recognition of Campbell, while Sevier and himself remained unrecognized.[34]

VII

During the political campaign of 1812, when Shelby was making the race for the governorship of Kentucky, falsehoods were freely circulated against him, minimizing the part he played in the King's Mountain campaign. To meet these charges, an article signed "Narrator" appeared in the *Kentucky Reporter,* July 25, 1812, giving undue credit to Shelby as leader of the King's Mountain campaign and casting unworthy aspersions upon the bravery of Colonel Campbell. The article was replied to in the same paper, of June 20,

[33]Summers: *Southwest Virginia,* 337-9.

[34]See Governor Shelby's pamphlet: "Battle of King's Mountain."

1813, by William C. Preston, who made a spirited vindication of the charge of cowardice preferred against his grandfather.

Nine years later, the controversy broke forth anew, when Colonel George Washington Sevier caused to be published in the *Nashville Gazette* four private letters written to his father, John Sevier, by Isaac Shelby. In one of these letters, (January 1, 1810), Shelby makes the damaging charge:

> It is a fact well known, and for which he (Campbell) apologized to me the day after the action, that he was not within less than one quarter of a mile of the enemy at the time they surrendered to you and myself.

This brought forth from William C. Preston another statement in the newspapers of the day, entitled "Colonel Campbell and Governor Shelby," claiming the chief honors of the victory at King's Mountain for his grandfather, and vehemently repelling the insinuation of cowardice contained in Shelby's private letter to Sevier, lately given to the public by G. W. Sevier.

An elaborate survey and investigation of the whole question was then made by Shelby and published as a pamphlet in 1823.[35] Extended replies to this pamphlet were made: by William C. Preston in the *Telescope* of Columbia, S. C., May 10, 1823, and by General John Campbell in the *Enquirer* of Richmond, Va., June 24, 1823. This prolonged and regrettable controversy had certain important consequences, and resulted in establishing certain cardinal facts touching the conduct of Campbell, Shelby and Sevier. Campbell's fame remained entirely undimmed by the charges of Shelby, who, clearly, had misinterpreted a remark made by Campbell on the battle-field; and furthermore Shelby was utterly misled, through the fact that Campbell's body servant rode his horse during the battle, into the belief that Campbell remained in the rear during the action. The credit for initiating the campaign, it was clearly established, belonged to Shelby, who acted in concert with Sevier. There is no reason

[35]Appendix to Draper's *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, 560-582.

to doubt that Shelby was entirely honest in believing the charges, however unworthy and untrue, which he preferred against Campbell.

In his article in the *Telescope,* Wm. C. Preston published an affidavit of Colonel Matthew Willoughby, in which he discredited the testimony of Moses Shelby, brother of Isaac, who had testified in the Shelby pamphlet (1823) that during the latter half of the battle of King's Mountain, Campbell remained stationary near the foot of the mountain, in plain sight of him. Colonel Willoughby deputed that "the statement of Moses Shelby would not, perhaps, be credited, from the character he bore about the time and after the battle, as he, with others, was engaged in plundering in the Carolinas, both Whigs and Tories, and running the property so plundered to this side of the mountains."

The following letter from Isaac Shelby to John J. Crittenden, famous Kentuckian, who had been Shelby's Aide-de-camp on the Canadian campaign in the War of 1812, is important as giving valuable evidence, not only concerning the character of Moses Shelby, but also in regard to the battle of King's Mountain. It was evidently not seen by Draper, or by Roosevelt, who accepts, apparently without question, the charges against Moses Shelby.

Danville, June 16th, 1823.

My Dear Sir,—You have no doubt before this seen the replies of both General Preston and his son to my publication. Colonel Preston proposes to establish for his own father the merit of planning the expedition which led to Ferguson's defeat.

I have examined the subject in my own mind in every point of view, and cannot in the remotest manner discover wherein General Preston could have had any agency in this exploit. I lived nearly one hundred and twenty miles from him, in a different State, and had no kind of communication with him on the subject, and from every recollection, I am convinced that the statement I gave you is indisputably true. I recollect, however, that Major Cloyd, with three hundred men from the county of Montgomery, commanded by Colonel Preston, fought an action with the Tories at the shallow ford of the Yadkin River, nearly one hundred miles north of King's Mountain, about two weeks after the defeat of Ferguson. It has always been a mystery to me as to Cloyd's destination, or that of the enemy whom

he encountered. I have only understood that they met accidentally in the road, and that the enemy was composed of the enemies in the neighborhood, and of the Bryants, of Kentucky, some of whom were killed in the fight.

If Ferguson was Cloyd's object, he was too weak to effect anything, and besides, Lord Cornwallis, with the British army, lay directly in the route between them. My convictions are so clear on this point I have no fear that General Preston can render my statement doubtful. He proposes, too, to invalidate the testimony of Moses Shelby. I will, for your own satisfaction, give you a short sketch of his history. Moses was in his nineteenth year when he left his father's house to join the expedition against Ferguson and had never before, to my knowledge, been more than forty miles from home. It is well known that our march was too rapid for a youth of that age to trespass in any manner, the army having marched two or three hundred miles, and fought the battle in twelve days, three of which we were detained on the road from different causes. Moses was severely wounded at the Mountain, and the bone of one thigh being fractured, he could be carried but a short distance from the battle-ground, where he lay on his back nearly three months, and was only able to ride out a few days before General Morgan came up into the district of Ninety-Six. He joined Morgan but a day or two before the battle of the Cowpens, on the 17th of January, 1781. Here he was wounded more severely than at the Mountain, and lay, until March or April, under the hands of a surgeon. When Colonel Clarke, of Georgia, came on with his followers to commence the siege of Augusta, his wounds were still sore and open, but at the warm solicitations of Clarke, Moses joined the expedition, and was appointed Captain of horse. It is well known that the siege lasted until May or June following, in which Moses was actively engaged, and Clarke asserted to many that he made several charges on the enemy, who sallied during the siege, which would have done honor to Count Pulaski. Moses returned home shortly after the siege, and never crossed the mountains again during the war. The next year, 1782, he, with other adventurers, went to the new settlements, then forming where Nashville now stands, where he continued off and on until he married, two or three years afterwards. As the settlements progressed down the Cumberland, he was always among the foremost of the pioneers. He finally settled in what is now called Livingston County, Kentucky, where at the unanimous solicitation of the inhabitants, he was appointed colonel of the new county, about the year 1793. He had the command for a number of years. And after the acquisition of Louisiana, he removed to that territory, and now resides on the west side of the Mississippi, two miles below New Madrid, covered with the scars of thirteen deep wounds, received in defence of his country, for which he is too proud to receive a pension, always disdaining to apply for one. In his youth he was of a warm and ardent disposition,

always ready to risk his life for a friend, and profuse of his property (of which he had a considerable inheritance), even to a fault. It would exceed the bounds of a letter to give you a statement of the many hair-breadth escapes and imminent dangers through which he passed. Soon after his marriage, he became impressed with religious sentiments, joined the Methodist Church, liberated his slaves, and, so far as I know and believe, has always supported a good character in that county.

It is possible, while at the South, in 1780-81, from his ardent disposition and the prevailing excitement of the times, that he may in some cases have acted imprudently. The war between the Whigs and Tories was carried on with the utmost rancor and malice, each endeavoring to do the greatest injury to the other.

Colonel Willoughby, whose affidavit has been published, swears to no point. He lived three hundred miles from the scene of action, and his information may have been very erroneous.

If, however, General Preston proves apparently anything more, he shall be answered.

I have made this hasty sketch for your own satisfaction.

I remain, dear Sir, very respectfully, your friend,

ISAAC SHELBY.

JOHN J. CRITTENDEN.[36]

VIII

After their exchanges of letters in 1810, Shelby and Sevier, throwing conventional modesty to the winds, prepared a joint memorial to the General Assembly of North Carolina. This was presented by the Senator from Surry, Joseph Winston, on December 15, 1812, of which the following record is found:

Mr. Winston presented the memorial of Issac (*sic*) Shelby and John Sevier, setting forth that in consideration of public services rendered during our revolutionary war, and particularly for their conduct at the battle of King's Mountain, the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, in the year 1781, did vote each of the memorialists an elegant sword and pair of pistols, which they have not heretofore applied for or received; and they pray that this testimonial of the approbation of the state for their conduct be now complied with. This memorial being read, was referred to the committee of Propositions and Grievances, and sent to the House of Commons.[37]

The matter was later referred to a special committee consisting of Messrs. Porter and W. W. Jones on the part of the

[36]Mrs. C. Coleman: *The Life of John J. Crittenden,* v, 56-8 (1871).

[37]Senate Journal, 1812.

House, and Messrs. Atkinson and Gaston on the part of the Senate. On December 22, 1812, Mr. Gaston submitted an extended report after investigation, in which it is stated:

> Your committee find, upon an examination of the journal of the House of Commons, that the proposed address obtained the approbation and concurrence of the house; but they do not find any determination relative to the second resolution of the Senate, nor any minute that such resolution had been received by them. Your committee, however, have been informed, and so believe, that the House of Commons did concur with the Senate in this latter resolution, as well as in that for presenting to their patriots and heroes the thanks of the Legislature.[38]

In order to pay what Gaston describes as "the long procrastinated debt of gratitude and honor," the House and Senate unanimously passed the following:—

> Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to procure three elegant swords, such as in his estimation is (*sic*) not unworthy of North Carolina to bestow, on those who have distinguished claims on the gratitude of her citizens; and that he cause them severally to be presented, in the name of this State, to General Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, General John Sevier of Tennessee, and Colonel Joseph Winston of this State, the three surviving chiefs of the gallant band who fought and conquered at King's Mountain, on the memorable 7th of October, 1780.[39]

In carrying out the resolution, Governor William Hawkins enlisted the services of the Hon. James Turner, at that time representing North Carolina in the United States Senate. At the instance of Mr. Turner, the swords were purchased in New York by Mr. Robert Walker of Petersburg, assisted by Colonel Swift. The swords thus procured, according to instruction, were "in point of elegance inferior to none that can be procured." The sword presented to Shelby, with which the others were identical save for name, bore upon

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[38]Senate Journal. It seems extraordinary that a man of Gaston's legislative experience should have omitted to examine the original manuscript of the Senate resolution of February 11, 1781, which would have resolved all his doubts.

[39]It is a source of lasting regret that another regrettable oversight was made at this time. A fourth leader in the King's Mountain campaign whose name was included in the original resolution, was Lieutenant Colonel Hambright, of Lincoln County, who survived until March, 1817. Grave injustice was done, in that no sword was presented to Lieutenant Colonel Hambright in 1813.

one side of the hilt the inscription: "King's Mountain—October 7, 1780," upon the other: "State of North Carolina to Colonel Isaac Shelby." Writing to Governor Hawkins from Warren County on September 19, 1813, the Hon. James Turner says concerning these swords: "The one for Col. Shelby was forwarded through the politeness if Mr. Clay, the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The one for Col. Savier (*sic*) was delivered to him by myself (he being in Washington). The one for Col. Winston was forwarded to him by Mr. Yancey, one of the members of Congress from this State. The letters of the Gentlemen was (*sic*) delivered and forwarded by the same Gentlemen who took charge of the swords."[40]

The following letter, just referred to, was sent to Isaac Shelby, then Governor of Kentucky, by Governor William Hawkins of North Carolina.[41]

Executive Office, N. C.

Raleigh 17th, July 1813.

Sir, In compliance with a resolution of the General Assembly of this State passed at their last Session I have the honor of tendering you the sword which this letter accompanies as a testimony of the distinguished claim you have on the gratitude of the State for your gallantry in achieving with your brothers in arms the glorious victory over the British forces commanded by Colo. Ferguson at the battle of King's Mountain on the memorable 7th of October 1780. This tribute of respect though bestowed at a protracted period, will not be considered the less honorable on that account when you are informed that it is in unison with a resolution of the General Assembly passed in the year 1781, which from some cause not well ascertained, it is to be regretted was not complied with.

Permit me Sir, to make you an expression of the high gratification felt by me at being the favored instrument to present to you in the name of the State of North Carolina, this testimonial of gratitude—this meed of valour, and to remark, that contending as we are at the present time with the same foe for our just rights the pleasing hope may be entertained that the valorous deeds of the heroes of our

[40]Governor Hawkins' *Letter Book*, 1812-3, 429. For assistance in making these researches, I am indebted to Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the N. C. Historical Commission.

[41]An exact transcript of the same letter was likewise transmitted to General John Sevier, of Tennessee, and Colonel Joseph Winston, of North Carolina. *Cf.* Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*, pp. 248-254, and "The Life and Times of Major Joseph Winston," by G. T. Winston (Guilford Battleground Company, 1895).

Revolution will animate the Soldier of the existing War and nerve his arm in laudable emulation to like achievements.

I beg you to accept an assurance of the great consideration and respect with which,

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your obedient Servent
WILLIAM HAWKINS.[42]

This recognition on the part of North Carolina, fitly enough, came with dramatic emphasis at a moment of crisis in the career of Governor Shelby and of the State of Kentucky. In his memorable oration, delivered at Lexington, Kentucky, on August 15, 1826, the Hon. William Taylor Barry thus described the event:

Colonel Shelby was at his residence in Lincoln County, enjoying in affluence, the sweets of domestic life, when he was again called upon to assume the helm of State. At the advanced age of 63, had he wanted an apology, this was an ample one; but his mind was characterized by constancy and invincible firmness. He saw his beloved country, for whose independence he had fought in his youth, again in imminent danger, assailed by the same inveterate foe. The fire of patriotism rekindled in his bosom, he did not hesitate, but abandoning the allurements of ease, and listening only to the voice of honor, we see him again with youthful ardour, entering upon the executive duties, boldly hazarding his reputation in the contingencies of a war, the glorious results of which were yet in the womb of time. The volunteers from Kentucky who had gone forth to battle, notwithstanding the bravery and good conduct of their officers, had met with sad reverses. The dreadful defeats at the River Raisin, and the Rapids of the Miami, had deprived our State of many gallant and patriotic citizens, and filled the country with mourning; the cruelties practised by the savage allies of England, and countenanced by the British officers, was the cause of deep and powerful excitement; the public indignation was aroused and our militia, anxious to revenge their slaughtered countrymen, were impatient to be led to battle. Shelby thought the time had arrived to put an end to the contest in that quarter, and resolved to take the field in person. As he was preparing for the campaign, a happy incident occurred. The delivery of the sword voted him by the Legislature of North Carolina in 1781, had, from some cause, been delayed, and was handed to him

[42]From the Letter Book of Governor William Hawkins, 1812-1813, pp. 291-2. Collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission. For a copy of this letter I am indebted to Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the N. C. Historical Commission. The letter to General Sevier, the duplicate of the present letter, is printed in Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*, 249.

just in time to be used in acquiring fresh laurels. Proud emblem of victory—glorious remembrancer of the gallantry and heroism of two wars.[43]

In the march to Lake Erie and Canada, the famous hero of the Revolution not without deep emotions of pride and religious fervor, "wore upon his thigh a sword just presented to him by Henry Clay, in the name of the State of North Carolina, in testimony of appreciation of his services in the old war for independence."[44]

With the sword was tendered the following letter to Shelby from Henry Clay:

Lexington, 22d August, 1813.

My dear Sir,—I have seen by the public prints that you intend leading a detachment from this state. As you will want a sword, I have the pleasure to inform you that I am charged by Governor Turner and Mr. Macon with delivering to you that which the State of North Carolina voted you in testimony of the sense it entertained of your conduct at King's Mountain. I would take it with me to Frankfort, in order that I might personally execute the commission and at the same time have the gratification of seeing you, if I were not excessively oppressed with fatigue. I shall not fail, however, to avail myself of the first safe conveyance, and if any should offer to you, I will thank you to inform me. May it acquire additional lustre in the patriotic and hazardous enterprise in which you are embarking!

Your friend,

H. Clay.

The bearer of the letter and the sword was a common friend, William T. Barry, quoted above, who delivered them to Governor Shelby at Frankfort.

The venerable soldier, with his characteristic energy once again taking the field in defense of the liberties of his country, in acknowledgment of the gift of North Carolina wrote the following interesting letter, hitherto unpublished, to the Governor of North Carolina.

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[43] "On the Death of Adams, Jefferson and Sheloy," in *Year Book, 1913, of Kentucky Society Sons of the Revolution.* Barry had been Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to General Shelby on the expedition to Canada in 1813; and afterwards became very distinguished in the public life of Kentucky. At one time he was Postmaster General in President Jackson's cabinet.

[44] B. J. Lossing: *Field Book of the War of 1812,* 544-5.

Government House Frankfort Kentucky.
August 26th, 1813.

Sir, On the 23d inst. I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 17th ulto. tendering to me, a Sword which accompanied it, bestowed by North Carolina as a testimony of the flattering sentiments which she entertained in relation to my conduct in the affair of the 7th of October 1780 on King's Mountain.

Engaged as my beloved country then was in a struggle for every thing dear to man, she had a right to expect the zealous exertions of her citizens in her behalf. Devoted to the cause of my country, impelled by a high sense of the obligations, I owed her, and by an utter aversion to the tyranny which was endeavouring to oppress her, I freely participated in those exertions which lead to, & that conflict which terminated so favorable to our arms, & evidently gave a favorable turn to the Revolutionary War, and in relation to which the Legislature of North Carolina have been pleased to express themselves in a manner the most flattering to my feelings.

If the freeborn sons of America wanted any stimulus to draw them forth in defence of her rights, other than a conviction that upon their exertions depended the continuance of those rights—it might be found in the heartfelt satisfaction derived from the consolation of having meritted and received the applause of a grateful [country] for the toils and dangers encountered in her behalf.

Having lived ten years of the happiest part of my life in North Carolina and having received repeated marks of the partiality of my fellow citizens in that Government during my residence amongst them, I have ever entertained the warmest feelings of fraternal affection. and good will for them. And I now accept with veneration & respect this honorable pledge of a continuance of their affection.

With considerations of high respect and Esteem
I have the honor to be
Most respectfully
Your Ob Servant

Isaac Shelby.

His Excellency
William Hawkins
Governor of North Carolina.[45]

[45]From the Letter Book of Governor William Hawkins, 1812-3, pp. 414-5. Collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission. For this copy I am indebted to Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the N. C. Historical Commission.

IX

The battle of King's Mountain was decisive in its effect—shattering the plans of Cornwallis which till then appeared certain of success, and putting a full stop to the invasion of North Carolina, then well under way. Cornwallis abandoned his prepared campaign and left the State. The initiative of the borderers, the loyalty of the militia, the energy of the pursuit, the perfection of the surprise, all reinforced by ideal tactics to meet the given situation, were the controlling factors in this overwhelming victory, and pivotal contest of the Revolution. The pioneers of the Old Southwest—the independent and aggressive yeomanry of North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina—had risen in their might; and without the authority of blundering State governments, had created an army of frontiersmen, Indian fighters, and big game hunters which found no parallel or equal on the continent since the battle of the Great Kanawha.*

The survey of the situation as given by Shelby is interesting as coming from a participant in the events:

> This battle happened at the most gloomy and critical period of the Revolutionary War, and was the first link in the great chain of events in the South that established the independence of the United States. It was achieved by raw and undisciplined riflemen without any authority from the Government under which they lived. It completely dispirited the Tories and so much alarmed Lord Cornwallis, who then lay at Charlottstown with the British grand army that on being informed of Ferguson's total defeat and overthrow by the riflemen from the west, and that they were bearing down upon him, three thousand strong, he ordered an immediate retreat, marched all night in the utmost confusion and retrograded as far back as Winnsborough seventy or eighty miles, from whence he did not attempt to advance until reinforced by General Leslie from the Chesapeake with 2,000 men, three months afterward. In the meantime the militia of North Carolina assembled in considerable force at New Providence on the borders of South Carolina under General Davidson. General Smallwood with General Morgan's light corps, and the Maryland line

*Narratives of the King's Mountain campaign, which have proved of value in this research, are the accounts of General Joseph Graham (*Southern Literary Messenger*, September 1845), Geneal William Lenoir (Wheeler's *Sketches of North Carolina*, ii, 105-108) and Captain David Vance (Greensboro, N. C., edited by D. L. Schenck, 1891).

advanced to the same point. General Gates with the shattered remains of his army collected at Hillsborough also came up and the new levies (?) from Virginia under General Stephens of 1,000 men came forward. At the same time, (to wit) the second or third of December, General Green came up and took the command, and thus was dispelled the dismal gloom which had pervaded the Southern States.

Following the battle of King's Mountain, the patriot force hanged nine Tory prisoners. This act has been severely condemned; but it is scarcely to be doubted that nothing short of such drastic action would have had a decisively deterrent effect upon future Tory murderings and depredations. Shelby's own account of this seemingly inexcusable and ruthless act is quoted here, both as a picture of the times and as a recital of Shelby's own part in the matter:

The prisoners were marched back on the trail that the army had advanced upon, as well to join the men who were left behind with weak horses and on foot, as to avoid Lord Cornwallis who they believed to be only thirty or forty miles to the North (incoherent) after meeting the footmen and took a circuitous route towards the Mountains by Gilbert town, where we met an American officer paroled from Ninety six only the day before, who informed, that he had seen eleven American citizens hung at that place within a few days past, merely for their attachment to the cause of their country. This very much exasperated the American officers, at the same time a Representative from Assembly which just set at Hillsborough came into camp and had with him the manuscript of a law, authorizing two justices within the State of North Carolina, to cause to be apprehended any citizen or loyalist who might be found in arms against his country, and if found guilty of treason to order him to immediate execution without any pleading in the case. The army with the prisoners were by this time in Rutherford County in North Carolina, a Sheriff of which, as well as several Justices of the Peace of the said County, were also in camp. Our Commander called a Council of officers to deliberate on the subject, who determined unanimously to try several of the prisoners under the aforesaid act of Assembly. The 8th day after the action they commenced trying them early in the morning beginning with the most atrocious offender first who had committed murder deliberately in cold blood, and who had otherwise murdered and destroyed the families of the Whigs, burned down houses, etc., and committed the most atrocious crimes. They continued to try them until they had condemned 36 to be hung, and at two o'clock in the night following commenced hanging them, after they

had hung nine of them, three at a time, and the fourth parcel of them was just about to be turned off the scaffold it was agreed on by Sevier, Cleveland and Shelby upon a motion of the latter, that they would put a stop to any further execution, and addressed Campbell on the subject, who readily came into their views, and released the three men that were then under the gallows to be executed, one of whom informed that Tarlton would be upon us next morning, that a woman had come into camp in the evening, and gave the information to the British officers, who communicated it to the Tories. The Americans immediately all mounted their horses, and were ready to march as soon as it was light enough to see for the night was excessively dark; as soon as they could see the way they started directly toward the mountains, got into level valley that lead immediately toward the North. We had not marched a mile before DePeyster rode up to Col. Shelby and enquired "which way was that they were going," to which the Col. replied, that they were going up into their native element, the mountains. When DePeyster cried out, "you smell a rat," Shelby replied that they knew all about it. It commenced raining just after daylight, and was I believe, the wettest day I have even seen since; so heavy was the rain that many parts of the valley became waist deep. The Americans continued their march until two o'clock that night, although it was dark as pitch, and the road could be seen by the continued flashes of lightning, when they came to the Catawba River which they supposed to be rising very fast from the quantity of rain that had fallen. The prisoners were forced into the water in a column of six deep as they usually marched, and ordered to hold fast to each other as the current was very strong. Our march that day and night was 36 miles and the river next morning had risen 10 feet. This escape excited feelings of the deepest gratitude in the breasts of the Americans, after they had reached a place of safety. It was a well known fact to all men who lived in that day, that the execution of these nine prisoners, put a stop to the hanging of any more American citizens at Camden and Ninety-six, where several hundred persons had been previously executed at those two places, purely for their attachment to the American cause. The prisoners taken at King's Mountain were given up by the Mountaineers to the militia assembled at Moravian Town to receive them, and afterwards marched to Salisbury where they were crowded into the jail and other houses prepared to receive them.

No account with any pretensions, either to accuracy or consecutiveness, has ever been given of the relation of Shelby, Sevier and the western leaders, to the cause of the Revolution subsequent to the Battle of King's Mountain. The histories teem with inaccuracies and inexplicable confusions of

names and dates. The recent discovery of letters and documents, bearing on this period, make it possible for me to give for the first time, I believe, a reliable and consistent account of the rolé played by Shelby and some of the other frontier leaders in the closing years of the Revolution.

There is an interesting revelation of vanity in Shelby's *Autobiography,* in which he claims the credit, usually ascribed to General Nathaniel Greene, for the plan of campaign which eventuated in Morgan's defeat of Tarleton. This passage gives us an account also of Shelby's movements, following the delivery of the prisoners taken at King's Mountain to the authorities at Salem:

When the British had gotten possession of the posts of Ninety Six and Augusta, they had an open communication with the Southern Indians, and furnished them with arms and ammunition by which means the Cherokees were enabled to wage a constant war against the new settlements forming on the western waters of North Carolina. Col. Shelby had long viewed this evil without being able to devise any means to prevent it. But after the prisoners taken at King's Mountain were disposed of at Moravian town, he set out from there to go to Headquarters, to solicit the Commander-in-Chief to send Gen. Morgan with his light troops into the upper country, to subdue those two posts. He knew from his own knowledge that Morgan would be strongly reinforced by the mountain men, and many others who had left their homes in the upper parts of Georgia and South Carolina rather than submit to the enemy. He found headquarters at a place called New Providence on the border of South Carolina, and under the command of Maj. Gen. Smallwood. He first communicated the object of his visit to camp to Gen. Morgan who seemed highly pleased and gratified at the suggestions made to him, readily entered into his views, saw at once the probable chance of success and said it was just what he had wanted, a separate command. He also made these suggestions to Gen. Smallwood, thinking he might possibly order Morgan on but although he highly approved the measure, he would not take upon himself the responsibility, as Gen. Gates would be in himself in a few days, and advised him to wait his arrival. He waited in camp upwards of a fortnight, when it was announced that Gen. Gates was near at hand. He set out next morning with six or eight officers to go to him and meet him about seven miles from camp with the remains of his army collected at Hillsborough. On Gates' arrival at camp he invited Shelby to dine with him the next day. He was proud to have an opportunity to make his communications, and went before the usual hour.

Gen. Gates gave him a cordial reception and invited him in. Col. Shelby replied that he had some important communications to make to him, that he had come early for that purpose, and would be glad if he would afford him an opportunity to do so. Gates pointing to a log a few rods from his door proposed to sit down on it. Before he heard all that Shelby had to say, he saw the practicability and importance of the measure proposed and observed, that if the board of war of North Carolina then sitting at Charlottstown would aid him with five hundred militia, he would send Morgan up with his light corps immediately. Gen. Gates was accordingly on horseback next morning before sunrise, and as he passed with his guards by Davidson's marked where Shelby lodged; he joined him, and they arrived early at Charlotte. Gates opened the subject to the board of war—which consisted of Alexander Martin alone (who was then or shortly after Governor of the State) who very soon saw the propriety of the measure and requested Shelby to stay until next morning, and take some communications to the Northern counties of the State, which was on his way home where the men must be raised, which he did; for the counties around Charlotte had been drained to form the camp at New Providence which then opposed the enemy. Col. Shelby set out the next morning, from Charlotte, which was about the 2d or 3d of December, 1780, and met Gen. Green about three miles from town, going forward to take command of the Southern army. Shelby had no idea that Tarlton, or any force would be sent up to oppose Morgan in that distant upper county, he only contemplated the reduction of the two posts, Ninety Six and Augusta. And if Gen. Green is entitled to any credit for the defeat of Tarlton by Morgan, it is merely that he permitted the enterprise to go on which led to that event, and which had been planned and ordered by Gen. Gates (on the suggestion of Shelby before he was superseded, and before Green took the command) Col. Shelby was at a loss to determine why so much time had elapsed from Green's taking the command on the 17th of January unless it was owing to the tardiness of the militia orders by the board of war as before stated, to John Morgan, or to the scarcity of provisions. For he can say of his own knowledge that there was never more than two days provisions at any one time while he stayed in the camp near three weeks; the country at that time being drained of supplies.

X

The value which was universally set upon the services of the over-mountain men and their leaders, Shelby and Sevier, following the overwhelming victory of King's Mountain is fully attested in documents of the period. The following

letter, taken in conjunction with the above-quoted passage from Shelby's *Autobiography,* is significant:

Camp New Providence, 23d November, 1780.

Sir: Colo. Shelby have been in camp for some time, waiting to lend his Aid, should anything go on offensive, but apprehending not much will be done this winter. And his domestick business call for him, and he having no command, is now on his way home. I have been speaking to him to raise about three hundred good rifle men this winter for the campaign, & join me early in the spring. He says he would willingly undertake it, provided he had a sanction for it. How far the Assembly of North Carolina would be disposed to countenance such a thing I don't know, but I assure you that a Number of such men would be a valuable Corps when annex'd to the Light Infantry, which must be made equal if not superior to Tarlton's Legion before this country can be defended. If you think proper to countenance a matter of this kind, you'll be kind enough to signify your approbation to Colo. Shelby and point out the mode.

I have the Honor to be, with much
Esteem, your obedt. servt.
DANL. MORGAN.

The Honble. M. Genl. Gates.

The greatest contemporary tribute to the leaders of the King's Mountain campaign, showing the high estimation in which their services were held and the need generally felt for the assistance to the American cause they could render, is found in the following action taken by the North Carolina Assembly at Halifax on February 13, 1781:

Resolved, That Colonel Isaac Shelby of Sullivan County and John Sevier, Esqr., of Washington County, be informed by this Resolve being communicated to them that the General Assembly of this State are feelingly impressed with the very generous and patriotic services rendered by the Inhabitants of the said Counties, to which their influence had in great degree contributed and earnestly urge that they would press a continuance of the same active exertion; that the State of the Country is such as to call forth the utmost powers immediately in order to preserve its freedom and Independence, and that we may by the assistance of our friends in Virginia, as they have occasionally by us, as emergencies induced them, availed of it, we suggest our wishes that Colonel Arthur Campbell and Colonel William Preston of Virginia, thro' the Gentlemen mentioned, may be informed that their spirited conduct heretofore in favor of the

Southern States affords us the most perfect assurance that they will make every active and effectual exertion at the present critical moment in favor of this State.

At this same time, Ex-Governor Richard Caswell, an intimate acquaintance of Isaac Shelby, "depicted to him the melancholy circumstances of his own State. The Tories were in motion all over North Carolina, and their footsteps were marked with blood, and their path was indicated by the most desolating devastations. Governor Caswell conjured him to turn to the relief of his distressed country."[46] The Continental Congress, through their laudatory resolution of November 15, 1780, and the general officers of the American army, including Gates, Greene and Morgan, having ascertained the military value of the fighting frontiersmen, the inevitable result was that General Greene, on January 30, 1781, wrote to "the famous Colonel William Campbell," reminding him of the glory he had already acquired, and urging him "to bring, without loss of time, a thousand good volunteers from over the mountains."[47] The difficulties which the frontiersmen were experiencing with the Indians at this period, in a succession of campaigns, put out of the question the sending of any large force to assist Greene in his North Carolina campaign. No sooner had Sevier returned from the King's Mountain campaign than he was called upon to lead three hundred horsemen from Watauga, in conjunction with three hundred from Sullivan County, and one hundred from Washington County, Virginia—the whole under the command of Colonel Arthur Campbell, County-Lieutenant of Washington County, against the Cherokees. Upon the return of Colonel Campbell from this expedition, which was entirely successful, the first of January, 1781, he immediately communicated with General Nathaniel Greene, the Commander of the Southern Department, who accordingly, on February 6, 1781, appointed Arthur Campbell, William

[46]Haywood: *Civil and Political History of Tennessee.* In slavishly following Haywood, Ramsey (p. 251) falls into the error of stating that Caswell, instead of Abner Nash, was Governor of North Carolina in 1781.

[47]Draper: *King's Mountain and its Heroes,* 391; Summers: *South West Virginia,* 327-360 *passim.*

Preston, William Christian and Joseph Martin, of Virginia, and Robert Lanier, Evan Shelby, Joseph Williams and John Sevier, of North Carolina, commissioners to meet commissioners from the Cherokees to treat on the subject of boundaries, to arrange for an exchange of prisoners and terms of peace, and to invite the Indians to appoint a commission to visit Congress.[48]

The treaty was set for March 24, 1781, at the Long Island of Holston River. On that day Colonels Campbell, Martin, Shelby and Sevier assembled there, and sent off one of the Indians captured in the recent campaign to the Indian nation proposing peace and fixing June 10th following as the date for the conference. The date was again postponed until July 20, 1781.[49] Continued depredations by the hostile Indians earlier in the year seriously hampered the Tennessee and Virginia borderers at this time; and Col. John Sevier, suspecting that "the perpetrators of this mischief came from some hostile towns in the mountain gorges," had resolved to lead an expedition against them.

In March of this year Colonels John Sevier and Isaac Shelby undertook an expedition against the Chickamauga Indians, and to assist in this undertaking 200 of the militia of Washington county joined Colonel Isaac Shelby and marched to the Big Island in the French Broad River, where the troops were rendezvoused, from which point they marched for the sources of the Mobile River, and after the third day they crossed the Tennessee river at Scitico, at which point they held a council with the friendly Indians. On the 6th day they encamped on the Hiawassee river, and on the 7th day they crossed the river and passed into the territory of the hostile Indians, Colonel Sevier with his forces, marched immediately against Vann's Towns, which he reduced to ashes, and thence to Bull Town, at the head of Chickamogga Creek. After the destruction of this town they marched to the Coosa river, where they killed a white man by the name of Clements from whom it was ascertained that he was a sergeant in the British army, and it was believed that he instigated the Indians in their depredations against the frontiers. The army then proceeded to Spring Frog Town, thence up the Coosa river to Estanola and Indian Town which they destroyed. After thus destroying the

[48]Weeks: *General Joseph Martin and the War of the Revolution in the West*, 429-433; Haywood: *Civil and Political History of Tennessee* (1823); Summers: *Southwest Virginia*, 348.

[49]*Calendar Virginia State Papers*, ii, 199.

Indian towns and killing all the Indian Warriors they could find, the troops returned to Chote, where a council was held with the friendly Indians, at the conclusion of which the troops were disbanded and returned to their homes.[50]

Although neither Shelby nor Sevier could lead a force of mountain men to the relief of Greene, Captain Charles Robertson raised a company of about one hundred and fifty volunteers and took a creditable part in the battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781.[51] With equal patriotism, Colonel William Campbell raised a company of one hundred men of the militia of Washington County, and on February 25, 1781, set out to join the militia of Botetourt and Montgomery counties, on their march to join General Greene's army. "A large number would have gone," says Arthur Campbell in a letter to Governor Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, of date February 28, 1781, "were it not for the daily apprehension of attacks from the northward and southern Indians." About March 3, Colonel Campbell with sixty followers in his immediate command, effected a junction with Greene's army; but the total number of the combined forces of William Campbell and William Preston, who reached Greene about the same time, was upwards of four hundred.[52] These forces fought with staunchness and bravery at Guilford Courthouse, fully justifying Greene's description of the "back country people" as "bold and daring in their make."[53]

XI

Following the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, Greene devoted his attention to reducing the British posts in South

[50]This account is taken from Summer: *Southwest Virginia*, 360-1. Cf. also Ramsey: *Tennessee*, 268-9; Weeks: *Joseph Martin*, 432. In his Autobiography, Shelby makes no mention of having taken part in this expedition.

[51]Ramsey: *Annals of Tennessee*, 251; cf. monograph, *Major Charles Robertson, and Some of His Descendants*, by Mrs. Charles Fairfax Henley. Cf. also Schenck's *North Carolina*, 1780-1, 302.

[52]*Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 542; Johnson's *Greene*, i. 455. Draper is in error in giving the citation to Johnson, i, 438, in support of the statement that there were "four hundred mountaineers" under Campbell; the allusion is to the "400 regulars, under Colonel Richard Campbell," who had been organized and despatched to Greene's relief by the Baron Steuben. (Schenck's *North Carolina:* 1780-81, 272.)

[53]Cf. Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*, 251-2, for comments upon the probable results of that battle, had Shelby and Sevier led the over-mountain men to Greene's assistance.

Carolina and Georgia. After the fall of Augusta, on June 25, only Ninety-six remained in British hands; but Greene was foiled in his attack upon that post on June 18 and 19. From the "Camp at Bush River, in the District of Ninety-six, June 22, 1781," Greene once more appealed for aid to the Watauga riflemen in a letter to Isaac Shelby, hitherto unpublished. In this important letter he says:

We have been upon the eve of reducing all the enemies interior posts in South Carolina and Georgia. Ninety-Six was the last and four days more would have completed its reduction, when, unfortunately, we were compelled to raise the siege, the enemy having been reinforced at Charlestown. Lord Rawdon marched out in force and is now in our neighborhood. To secure the advantages of our past success it is necessary we should drive the enemy into the lower country. To enable us to effect this I beg you to march to our assistance a thousand good riflemen, well armed and equipped fit for action. If you can join us in a few days with such a force you will render an important service to the public in general, to the State of South Carolina in particular, and lay me under very particular obligations. I feel myself deeply interested in this application.

At the time when this letter reached Shelby, the military leaders of Virginia and Tennessee were busily concerned in the negotiations for peace with the Cherokees. Isaac Shelby attended the treaty at the Long Island of Holston from July 20 to July 29, 1781. The despatches from the Commissioners to General Greene, reporting the results of this treaty, were entrusted to Shelby for delivery, as it was known that he had promised General Greene to raise a force and march to his aid. The following letter, hitherto unpublished in any history, exhibits in detail the efforts made by Shelby and Sevier to raise and to march a force to coöperate with Greene.

Camp on Wattauga Washington County
North Carolina 3d August 1781.

Hond. Sir: In answer to your request of the 22d June last I rote you by the Express, that I should March by the 15th July with what force cou'd be rais'd in this quarter, but the Cherokee Treaty not being over found it impracticable to draw any force from here untill that important Business (to this frontier) was finally ratified, which was done the 29th July, and immediately every step taken to rein-

force you; about 700 good riflemen well mounted were now in motion toward you & should have been down in as short a time as possible but an Express arrived in camp last night from General Pickens that informed us of the Enemys retreat to Orangeburg and perhaps to Charles Town, that distance being so very great for us, the warm season of the year & the men not prepared for so long a Tower, had induced Col. Severe of this county and myself from proceeding on our march, until one hear farther accounts from that quarter tho the men are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march on the shortest notice, and as our country is now in a state of peace and tranquility, have no doubt but we can furnish you with a large proportion of good men from here whenever you may find necessary to require us.

I have the honour to be with. respect

Your Mo. Obt. Humble Servt.

ISAAC SHELBY.[54]

Endorsed:
From Colo. Shelby
Augt. 3d., 1781.

After Shelby and Sevier concluded not to march, Shelby returned the despatches for Greene, mentioned above, to the Commissioners who had negotiated the treaty with the Cherokees.[55] Greene had been greatly depressed by the failure of Shelby and Sevier to march their seven hundred riflemen to his assistance; and throughout July he was frequently heard to exclaim: "What can detain Shelby and Sevier?"[56] Writing to Colonel Lee from Camden on August 25, Greene despondently says: "We are thus far on our way to join Colonel Henderson, but the tardiness with which everybody moves who was expected to join us, almost makes me repent that I have put the troops in motion. Near two hundred of the North Carolina Regulars, who ought to have been here four days past, are not likely to be here for four or five to come. Colonel Shelby, I believe, had gone back, if he ever set out, which I much doubt. General Pickens had not been heard of, and I fear will not have it in his power to bring any con-

[54]Original MS. letter owned by Arthur M. Rutledge, of Louisville, Kentucky. Draper is in error in stating that Greene's letter to Shelby miscarried. (*King's Mountain and its Heroes*, 413) Johnson erroneously cites Sevier as the author of Shelby's letter above (*Greene*, ii, 210).

[55]*Shelby's Autobiography*. The details of the treaty, it seems, have never been published. G. W. Greene clearly is in error in giving the date of Shelby's letter to Greene as August 6 (*Life of Nathaniel Greene*, iii, 374*n*). Cf. also Johnson: *Greene*, ii, 184-5.

[56]Johnson's *Greene*, ii, 210.

siderable reinforcements; nor do I expect Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson will be able to do much more. The State troops I am told (are) all getting sickly, as is the North Carolina Regulars. Not more than one-half the militia from North Carolina are arrived, and the whole that are here don't exceed four hundred. You know I never despair, nor shrink at difficulties, but our prospects are not flattering."[57]

Greene continued to rely upon receiving reinforcements from Watauga; and after his victory at Eutaw Springs, he despatched to Shelby the following letter, which was to have momentous consequences. This letter was not received by Shelby before the last of September or first of October, as it "came through Virginia, was found in Henry County by a neighbor, and brought out at his leisure."

Head Quarters,
High Hills of Santee
Sept. 16, 1781.

DEAR SIR:

I have the pleasure to inform you that we had an action with the British Army on the 8th in which we were victorious. We took 500 prisoners and killed and wounded a much greater number. We also took near 1000 stand of arms, and have driven the enemy near to the gates of Charleston. I have also the pleasure to inform you that, a large French fleet of nearly thirty sail of the line, has arrived in the Chessepeak bay, with a considerable number of land forces; all of which are to be employed against Lord Cornwallis, who it is suspected will endeavor to make good his retreat through North Carolina to Charleston. To prevent which I beg you to bring out as many riflemen as you can, and as soon as possible. You will march them to Charlotte, and inform me the moment you set out, and of your arrival.

If we can intercept his lordship it will put a finishing stroke to the war in the Southern states.

Should I get any intelligence which may change the face of matters I will advise you. I am with esteem and regard, your most obedient & humble Servant, NATH. GREEN.

Col. Shelby, back parts of North Carolina.[58]

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[57]H. Lee: *Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas* (1824), 455-6.

[58]Letter of Isaac Shelby to C. S. Todd, June 28, 1822. This letter was first given publicity by Shelby in his *Memoir* because of the unwarranted charge brought by Judge Johnson in his biography of Greene (ii, 258) against Sevier and Shelby for having "deserted" Greene.

Upon the receipt of this letter, Shelby immediately communicated its contents by express to Sevier, who lived fifty miles away, and proposed a rendezvous of their men early in October. In making the enlistments, Shelby assured the volunteers that they should not be absent from their families for more than sixty days.

I made great exertions, and collected the men in a few days thereafter, many of them had not received more than 24 hours notice and lived more than 100 miles from the place of rendezvous—but were willing to go as the call was made for a special purpose—to wit, to intercept Lord Cornwallis who it was suspected would endeavor to make good his retreat through N. Carolina to Charleston and Gen. Green thought and so did I that if we could intercept him, it would put an end to the war in the S. states. To effect this important object, the people on the western waters were induced to volunteer their services—it was for this purpose that they were prevailed upon to leave their homes 500 miles from the scene of operations to defend a Maritime district of country surrounded with a dense population and in comparative quiet, while their own firesides were daily menaced by the Chicamauga Indians, who as you know had declared perpetual war against the whites and could never be induced to make peace. I was far advanced on my road when I received vague information of the surrender of Cornwallis in Virginia and hesitated whether to proceed. But as the men appeared to be willing to serve out a tour of duty which at the time of their entering the service I repeatedly assured them should not exceed 60 days absence from their homes, I proceeded on more leisurely to Green, who observed to me that such a body of horse could not remain in the vicinity of his camp on account of the scarcity of forage and requested me to serve out the tour with Marion, to which I consented, however, with some reluctance as the men would be drawn 70 or 80 miles further from their homes.[59]

Shelby quickly raised upwards of five hundred mounted riflemen; and Sevier with equal despatch raised two hundred mounted riflemen in Washington County. These two bodies, totalling some seven hundred, joined Marion at his camp on the Santee. The hint was given to Marion that "if he would keep them he must keep them busy."[60]

It was with considerable reluctance that Shelby and Sevier

[59]Shelby's *Autobiography*.

[60]Greene Mss., cited in Greene's *Greene*, iii, 419.

consented to being attached to Marion's command. "Their men were called out upon a pressing emergency which no longer existed. They had been, moreover, enrolled only sixty days. Much of that time had already expired, and the contemplated service under Marion would take them still further from their distant homes. Besides Shelby was a member of the General Assembly of North Carolina, from Sullivan County, and its session at Salem took place early in December."[61]

Almost at once they were engaged in very active service. The account of the ensuing events is contained in Shelby's *Autobiography,* here reproduced as written:

The enemies main Southern army, it was said, lay at that time near a place called Fergusson's Swamp on the great road bearing directly to Charleston. Gen'l Marion received information several weaks after our arrival at his camp that several hundred Hessians at a British Post near Monk's Corner, eight or ten miles below the enemies main army were in a state of mutiny, and would surrender the post to any considerable American force that might appear before it; and consulted his principal officers on the propriety of surprising it, which was soon determined on, and Shelby and Sevier solicited a command in it. Marion accordingly moved down eight or ten miles, and crossed over to the South side of the Santee River, from whence he made a detachment of five or six hundred men to surprise the post, the command of which was given to Colonel Mayhem. The detachment consisted of Shelby's mounted riflemen with Mayhem's Dragoons, about one hundred and eighty, and about twenty or thirty lowland mounted militia, the command of the whole was given to Colonel Mayhem. They took up their march early in the morning, and traveled fast through the woods until late in the evening of the second day, when they struck the great road leading to Charleston, about two miles below the enemy's post, which they intended to surprise. They lay upon their arms all night across the road with a design to intercept the Hessians in case the enemy had got notice of our approach and had ordered them down to Charleston before morning. In the course of the night which was as dark as pitch an orderly Sergeant rode into the line amongst us, and was taken prisoner. No material papers were found upon him before he made his escape except a pocket book which contained the strength of the enemy's main army and their number then on the sick list, which was very great.

[61] Ramsey: *Annals of Tennessee,* 254.

As soon as daylight appeared, we advanced to the British Post, and arrived there before sunrise. Col. Mayhem sent in one of his confidential officers with peremptory demand for a surrender of the garrison, who in a few minutes returned and reported that the officer commanding was determined to defend the post to the last extremity. Col. Shelby then proposed that he would go in himself and make another effort to obtain a surrender, which Mayhem readily consented to. Upon his approach he discovered a gap in the Abbaties, through which he rode up close to the building, when an officer opened one leaf of a long folding door. Col. Shelby addressed him in these words, "Will you be so mad as to suffer us to storm your works, if you do rest assured that every soul of you will be put to the sword, for there was several hundred men at hand that would soon be in with their tomahawks upon them"; he then inquired if they had any artillery. Shelby replied, "that they had guns that would blow them to pieces in a minute." Upon which the officer replied, "I suppose I must give up." Mayhem seeing the door thrown wide open, and Shelby ascend the high steps to the door, immediately advanced with his dragoons, and formed on the right. It was not until this moment we discovered another strong British Fort that stood five or six hundred yards to the East, and this is the first knowledge we had of that post, the garrison of which immediately marched out, about one hundred infantry and forty or fifty cavalry came around the North Angle of the fort all apparently with a design to attack us; they however soon halted as we stood firm and prepared to meet them. We took a hundred and fifty prisoners, all of them able to have fought from the windows of the house, or from behind Abbaties. Ninety of them were able to stand a march to Marion's camp that day which was near sixty miles; and we paroled the remainder most of whom appeared to have been sick, and unable to stand so hard a march. Information soon reached Marion's camp that the post had been burnt down immediately on our leaving it; but it was always the opinion of Col. Shelby that the enemy had abandoned it, and burnt it themselves, for Mayhem and Shelby were the two last men that left the place, and at that time there was not the least sign of fire or smoke about it. This it is most probable they would do, as they had previously destroyed, and burned down almost every building in that part of the country. This post was an immense brick building, calculated to hold a thousand men, and said to have been built by Sir John Gollitin a century before that period as well for defense as comfort; and was well enclosed by a strong abbaties. In it were found, besides the prisoners three or four hundred stand of arms, and as many new blankets. The American detachment left this post between nine and ten o'clock of the same day, and arrived at Marion's camp the night following at three o'clock. Gen. Stewart who commanded the Enemy's main army, eight or ten miles above made great

efforts to intercept us on our return. And it was announced to Marion before sunrise next morning that the whole British army was in the old field about three miles off at the outer end of the causeway that led into his camp. Shelby was immediately ordered out with the mountain men to meet him at the edge of the swamp, to attack the enemy if he attempted to advance and retreat at his own discretion, to where Marion would have his whole force drawn up to sustain him at an old field. Shortly after his arrival at the edge of the open plain, he observed two British officers ride up to a house equidistant between the lines, after they retired he rode to the house to know what inquiries they had made; a man told him that they had asked him when the Americans detachment had got in, what was their force, and of what troops it was composed; he replied that the detachment had come in just before day, that he had supposed as they went out they were six or eight hundred strong; and were composed chiefly of Shelby's and Sevier's mounted men, with Mayhem's Dragoons. The enemy then being in the edge of the woods, silently withdrew out of sight, and retreated back in the utmost disorder and confusion. A small party sent out to reconnoiter the enemy, reported that many of them had thrown away their knapsacks, guns and canteens. A few days afterwards Gen'l. Marion received intelligence that the British commander had retreated with his whole force to Charleston. Marion's sole design in moving from the camp when the mountain men first joined him, and crossing the Santee River below, was to get within striking distance of the before mentioned post, to make the said detachment, and be able to protect and support them on their retreat if hard pushed by the enemy. After this the enemy kept so within their lines that little or no blood was spilt, and all active movements appearing to be at an end, Shelby made application to Gen'l Marion for leave of absence to go to the Assembly of North Carolina, of which he was a member, and which was to meet about that time at Salem, and where he had private business of his own of the first importance. The mountain men had then but a day or two to stay, to complete their tour of duty, of sixty days, and he verily believes that they did serve it out, as he never heard to the contrary.[62]

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[62]In a conversation with C. S. Todd, May 16, 1826, Shelby said concerning the affair at Monk's Corner:

"When we arrived on parade with the detachment against the British post near Monk's Corner, I did not know who was to command but I expected I was—as I had been informed that Marion was only a Lt.-Col. When I understood the command had been assigned to Marion I made objections and refused to march, as I was the superior officer. The detachment stood still until Marion himself came from a distance of one-half mile who entreated me in the most friendly language to yield to the arrangement he had made. That Marion was well acquainted with the country through which we were to pass and with the immediate neighborhood of the post we were to attack. I submitted to his request because I was to stay but a short time in camp and I thought Marion to be much of a gentleman and so he treated me. Indeed, throughout the expedition he gave me no orders but consulted me on all occasions. These mountaineers were poor men who lived by keeping stock in the range beyond the mountains, they were volunteers and neither expected nor received any compensation

XII

On November 25, having virtually filled out their term of enlistment, the mountaineers set off homeward in a deep snow. About November 28th, Shelby applied to Marion for leave of absence to attend the session of the Assembly of North Carolina, which was to meet at the Moravian Town (Salem). Shelby had been elected a member of the legislature from Sullivan County and was charged with a "Memorial to be laid before that body in relation to a subject of deep importance." According to Shelby's own statement, General Marion "readily granted my request and addressed a letter by me to General Green which I was permitted to see directed to him at the High Hills of Santee where he expected General Green was still encamped. In this letter I have a distinct recollection that he spoke in the highest terms of the conduct of the mountaineers and gave me my full share of the credit for the capture of the British Post."[63]

Shelby attended the North Carolina Assembly at Salem in December, 1781, which adjourned without action. On returning to Holston, as stated by Draper, Shelby "was engaged during the spring in preparing for an expedition against the Chickamauga band of Cherokees, and the hostile Creeks at the sources of the Mobile, in which enterprise he was to have been joined by two hundred men from Washington County, Virginia; but on account of the poverty of that State, the authorities discouraged the scheme, and reaching Big Creek, thirty miles below Long Island of Holston, the expedition was relinquished."[64] Having again been elected a member of the North Carolina Assembly, Shelby attended the session at

[63]Shelby's statements effectually dispose of Judge Johnson's malicious charges (*Greene*, ii, 258*ff*), repeated by G. W. Greene (*Greene*, iii, 419). The whole matter has been thoroughly traversed by Ramsey in his *Annals of Tennessee* (1853 edn.) 253-261*ff*.

[64]In this connection, cf. *N. C. State Records*, xvi, 696-7-8, for plans for the expedition.

except liquidated certificates worth 2S. in the pound. Gen. Greene had no right nor ought to have expected to command their services. For myself for the whole services of 1780 and 1781 both in camp and in the assembly I received a liquidation certificate which my agent in that county after my removal to Kentucky sold for six yards of Middling Broadcloth and I gave one coat of it to the person who brought it out to me—indeed I was proud of receiving that."

Hillsborough in April, 1782.[65] At this session he took an active part in the proceedings, and was engaged busily on important committees. At this session was passed the liberal "Act for the relief of the Officers and Soldiers in the Continental line, etc.," rewarding the revolutionary soldiers for their patriotic services—to every soldier who should continue in the ranks until the end of the war 640 acres of land; to every officer a larger quantity according to his rank, a colonel receiving 7,200 and a brigadier 12,000 acres; and to General Greene 25,000 acres. Section VIII of this act reads as follows:

And be it further enacted, That Absalom Tatom, Isaac Shelby, and Anthony Bledsoe, Esquires, or any two of them, are appointed commissioners in behalf of the State, to examine and superintend the laying off the land in one or more tracts allotted to the officers and soldiers, and they shall be accompanied by one or more agents, whom the officers may appoint, to assist in the business; and in case any commissioner so appointed shall die, or refuse to act his Excellency the Governor shall fill up the vacancy.[66]

Full instructions were given the commissioners by Governor Alexander Martin,[67] and, accompanied by a guard of one hundred men, they arrived at Nashborough and the Cumberland in January, 1783. Under the provisions of the act above, the commissioners were instructed to settle the preemption claims of those who had settled on the Cumberland River prior to June 1, 1780. Under conditions of grave danger from the Indians, who killed various members of the Cumberland settlements, including one of their own party, the commissioners satisfactorily concluded their task in the early spring of 1783.[68] Their visit marks the beginning of prosperity and moderate security from the Indians, for the exposed settlements along the Cumberland.

[65]Cf. *N. C. State Records*, xvi, 68, 101, 109, 128, *passim*. For a long and laborious, yet imperfect sketch of Isaac Shelby, compare *National Portrait Gallery*, i (1834). This sketch, by his son-in-law, Charles Stewart Todd, once Minister to Russia, is reproduced, with a number of alterations, in G. W. Griffin's *Memoir of Col. Chas. S. Todd* (1873), 157-174.

[66]*State Records of N. C.*, xxiv, 421.

[67]*N. C. State Records*, xvi, 713; Martin to the Commissioners.

[68]Putnam: *History of Middle Tennessee*, 162-3, 172, 177, contains a description of the work of the commissioners.

On January 13, 1783, Isaac Shelby, Joseph Martin, and John Donelson were appointed commissioners on behalf of the State of Virginia to treat with the Cherokees, Creeks and Chickasaws for peace. Shelby did not attend the treaties subsequently held with the Chickamaugas at the Long Island of Holston on July 9, 1783; and with the Chickasaws at the French Lick on November 5 and 6, 1783.[69]

In fact, more important business now occupied his attention; for in April he was married to the young woman whom he had long loved—Susanna Hart. She was the daughter of Colonel Nathaniel Hart of North Carolina, a prominent member of the Transylvania Company. Isaac Shelby courted his sweetheart at the famous fort of Boonesborough, in the neighborhood of which her father had been slain by the Indians the preceding year.[70] No doubt he wore at the time that memorable "suit of middling broadcloth," which was his recompense for his service to his country in the King's Mountain campaign. In the union of the names of Hart and Shelby, and in the associations which cluster about them, may be recognized a living symbol of the greatness of Kentucky for more than a century and a quarter.

The marriage, appropriately solemnized as the Revolution came to a triumphant close, marks the end of the era. Of Shelby's future career—as first Governor of the Commonwealth, general, eminent citizen—a new study must be projected.[71] A fitting summary of the virtues of this distinguished American, whose honored name is forever linked with the history of North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and the nation, is contained in these words of Governor James T. Morehead, in his address at Boonesborough (May 25, 1840):

"Great men," said Mr. Burke, "are the guide posts and landmarks in the State." The life of Isaac Shelby is a signal example of un-

[69]Weeks: *Joseph Martin*, 435-6.

[70]Cf. Mrs. Ellet's *Pioneer Women of the West*, 19-22, in sketch of Mary Bledsoe; Address of George Blackburn Kinkead, delivered at Boonsborough Fort, Oct. 5, 1907; Taylor's *Historic Sullivan*, 36-7.

[71]In this connection compare the address of Mrs. Mary Shelby Wilson at the unveiling and presentation to Memorial Continental Hall of the marble bust of Isaac Shelby, April 19, 1811.

blemished personal integrity and enlarged public usefulness, which may be safely imitated by all those who aspire to become benefactors of their country. Starting into active life without the aid of fortune or education, he pursued the gradations of military rank from the lieutenancy of a militia company to the command of a regiment—he rose from the humble station of a surveyor among the pioneers to the governorship of a great Commonwealth—and was distinguished in all the posts to which he was called. His mind like his body was strong and vigorous: boldness, energy, decision, were its leading characteristics. Capable of thinking for himself, he investigated every important subject that came within the range of his private or public duties, with candor and deliberation; and having formed his opinions, he followed them with unshaken firmness. He spoke and wrote as he thought—with great force and vigor— always expressing his opinions with manly frankness, and a lofty disdain of personal consequences. His manners—derived from the school in which he was brought up—were plain and simple, and commanded, without any affectation of dignity, the universal deference of his associates. He was sincere but not profuse in his professions of attachment—faithful and steadfast to his friends when those attachments were once formed. Elevating himself in the discharge of his official duties above the influence of private considerations, he sought and rewarded merit for his country's sake. If such was his character as a public man, he maintained all the relations of life with equal credit and success.

APPENDIX

The present research, dealing with the career of Isaac Shelby down to the close of the Revolution, is a fragment of a larger study, a detailed biography. In the preparation of these two papers, I have been materially assisted by my friend, Judge Samuel M. Wilson, of Lexington, Kentucky. He has placed at my disposal original and unpublished material, as well as interesting contributions to the history of Kentucky and the West which have remained hidden in inaccessible publications. I am also indebted to Mr. William R. Shelby of Grand Rapids, Michigan, and to Colonel Samuel King of Bristol, Tennessee-Virginia, for transcripts of valuable documents throwing light upon Shelby's career.

There are a few statements to be made here, which are the results of more intensive study and purport either to correct or to modify statements already made.

In regard to the parents of General Evan Shelby, to wit: Evan Shelby, Sr., and Catherine Davies, it is certain that they were natives of Wales, with a large percentage of Welsh blood. Evan and Davies are characteristic Welsh names. Those best informed in regard to the family's early history, however, believe that the name was originally Selby, and that the Shelbys were of English extraction.

The records at Upper Marlboro, the county seat of Prince George's County, Maryland, reveal many transactions in which the Shelbys figure as residents of said county prior to the creation of Frederick County (not carved out of Prince George's County until 1748). It is probable that the immigrant ancestors of the Shelby family settled in Maryland nearer 1730 than 1735. Ultimately, by the formation of Washington County, the residence of Evan Shelby, near the North Mountain, was found to be in Washington County. (See Part I, 109-110.)

The earliest surveys and grants to Evan Shelby, Senior and Junior, make it reasonably certain that the Shelbys resided continuously in Maryland from 1739 or earlier to 1771 or 1772. In particular, see Scharf's *History of Western Maryland*, ii, 982-6. (See Part I, 112-3.)

Isaac Shelby's mother was Letitia Cox (correctly given in Part I, p. 114, inadvertently given as "Scott" on p. 113). There is strong documentary evidence that she was born, not in Frederick Town, but somewhere in Prince George's County, Maryland. She was married to Evan Shelby probably in August, 1744.

Isaac Shelby was not the eldest son of Evan Shelby, being the second son and third child. Susannah Shelby, born about 1746, was the first born child and John Shelby, born about 1748, was the second child and eldest son. Evan Shelby brought to Virginia five

sons: John, Isaac, Evan, Moses and James. A younger daughter, Catherine, was married to Captain James Thompson. (Part I, 113.)

Within recent years the remains of General Evan Shelby have been removed from his original grave and re-interred in East View Cemetery, Bristol. (Part I, 114.)

In Part I, 133, twelfth line from bottom should read (in part): " . . . it was *not* supposed . . ."

In Part I, 134, the last two lines should read: "opened at St. Asaph's on October 13, 1779; and again at St. Asaph's, on April 26, 1780, after various sessions at Harrodsburg and elsewhere, the court announced that its."

In Part I, 135, line 11, "1778" is a misprint for "1776."

There is good reason to believe that the "Captain I. Shelby" referred to in Clark's *Memoir*, is not Isaac, but James Shelby. The "J" was misread "I." At this time, Isaac Shelby was a Major, under commission from Governor Jefferson of Virginia. It is uncertain whether this James Shelby was a brother or a cousin of Isaac Shelby. (Part I, 136.)

In Part I, 141, foot-note 49, line 2, "eighty-three" is a misprint for "sixty-three."

NEGRO SOLDIERS

By Chief Justice Walter Clark

In view of the enlistment of negroes as soldiers in the present war, it may be of interest to note the part that they have taken as soldiers in our previous wars.

In the Revolutionary War there was no small number of negroes who served as soldiers. These were mostly free negroes, but no small part of them were slaves, who served, usually, but not always, as substitutes for their owners under promise of freedom at the end of the war. This promise was usually kept, but not always. An act of the Virginia Legislature passed in 1783, recites that every slave who had enlisted upon the faith of a promise of freedom from his master should be declared free accordingly, and directed the Attorney-General of that State to institute proceedings in all cases where the promise had not been complied with, and that the court on proof, should enter a decree of emancipation. It is greatly to the credit of that State that such act should have been passed.

In North Carolina it does not appear that such act was necessary, however, as the only statute is one enfranchising a certain negro, Ned Griffin, of Edgecombe, whose master, William Kitchen, had promised him his liberty on condition of service in the Continental line of this State for twelve months, which he had done, and the act declared him a free man. Laws 1784, ch. 70. Laws 1779, ch. 12, validated the freedom of all slaves who had served in the army under the promise of being free.

These negroes, whether freemen, or slaves, enlisting under a promise of freedom, did not serve in separate organizations, but in the ranks with the white soldiers. This appears in the diary of Hugh McDonald of this State, and also in other memoirs and diaries of those times.

In the first collision between the Americans and the British soldiers in Boston the leader of the popular revolt was Crispus

Attucks, a free negro, who was killed by the soldiers, and whose statue today stands on the Boston Commons.

At the battle of Bunker Hill, Peter Salem, a negro slave who had volunteered on promise of freedom, behaved with conspicuous courage, and it was he who shot Major Pitcairn in reply to a summons to surrender. Bancroft says that "In the forces under Washington the free negroes had representatives in various companies and regiments, and their names are preserved on the pension list of the nation." At that time slavery existed in all the Colonies and, the draft laws covering only "free persons," no slaves were drawn except those who went on promise of freedom or as substitutes for their masters. These served usually in the ranks with the other soldiers, but it is recorded that Major Samuel Lawrence of Groton, Mass., raised a command composed entirely of free negroes. The Continental Congress passed an act forbidding the acceptance or retention of such as were "still held in bondage," and thereupon the practice obtained of conferring freedom upon those slaves who served as substitutes for their masters, or voluntarily.

Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, on one occasion moved Congress that "all negroes be dismissed from the Continental armies." This was overwhelmingly defeated and, when later, Congress issued an order directing that negro soldiers who were slaves should be rejected, General Washington replied that the negroes "are very much dissatisfied at being discarded, and, as it is apprehended that refusal to use them may induce them to seek employment from the enemy, I have taken the liberty to suspend your resolution concerning them." Congress thereupon reconsidered and repealed the resolution.

After the battle of Monmouth Washington's army returns showed 755 colored soldiers present for duty, being about a tenth of the army. In 1778 Rhode Island passed an act enlisting all men of color of the draft age with a provision that those who were slaves should be free from the time of joining. This was followed by Massachusetts and New

York. Sir Henry Clinton, the British Commander-in-Chief, issued a proclamation offering bounties to all negroes who would desert to his standard, which was also done by Cornwallis and Tarleton in the South. Mr. Jefferson wrote that this action had cost Virginia 30,000 able bodied slaves in one year. To meet the British offer, Madison, Generals Greene and Lincoln, and other leading patriots advocated a general recruiting of the Continental forces by offering emancipation to the slaves. This was not, however, generally done, but there was a considerable number of slaves who obtained freedom by serving as substitutes for their owners or their sons in the army.

In the War of 1812 there were a great many colored men who served in the ranks, thruout the country, but there is no available record that at that time any slaves in the South were admitted as substitutes or otherwise on condition of freedom. There were a good many who went over to the enemy on condition of freedom, and two battalions of negroes served at New Orleans under Jackson. In New York two regiments of "freemen of color" were raised to receive the same pay and allowance as whites, and there was a proviso that "any able bodied slave" in that State might enlist "with the written assent of his master and mistress who were to receive his pay," while the negro was to be set free on his honorable discharge. After the battle of New Orleans General Andrew Jackson, in his proclamation, bore emphatic testimony to the part borne by negro troops in that great victory and their bravery and good conduct during their service under him. The British had two regiments of West India negroes in that battle.

During the Civil War 180,000 negroes served in the Union Army. Some of these were from the North, and served either under the draft or as volunteers, but by far the greatest part of them were fugitive slaves who served in northern regiments, either as substitutes, or upon payment of bounties given

by townships and counties in the North to fill up their required quotas under the draft.

The Confederate government was asked by General Lee in the fall of 1864 to conscript slaves as soldiers, offering them freedom, but this was opposed by President Davis and others, and the act did not pass till February, 1865, and only a few companies were raised. We often conscripted free negroes, and sometimes slaves, to build forts and breastworks. Those surrounding Raleigh were thus built.

It is believed that with very rare exceptions the colored Union troops in the Civil War served as separate organizations, as now, tho officered by white men. This was true during our Spanish War in 1898. This State, however, which sent two regiments of white soldiers to that war, sent one regiment of colored troops, officered entirely by colored officers, from its Colonel, James H. Young, down.

In the United States Regular Army, ever since the Civil War, there has been several regiments of colored troops, but these have been officered entirely by white men, as only one colored man has ever graduated at West Point.

In the present war there are probably 200,000 colored troops in the United States Army, most of whom have white officers, tho there are some company officers of color. The British and French have many colored troops, of whom the Senegalese are exceptionally brave. It is related that when some American colored troops landed at a French port they were delighted to see colored troops ashore, and commenced talking to them in English, supposing that all negroes spoke our tongue. They proved, however, to be troops from French Africa.

The conduct of the negro troops has generally been good in peace, as well as in war. There was a painful exception in the emeute at Brownsville, Texas, some years ago, and also in the recent riot in a colored regiment at San Antonio, for which some thirty or forty of the colored soldiers were hanged

by the government for mutiny. It seems that on both occasions whiskey was at the bottom of the trouble.

The history of our wars shows that colored men, when well led by competent officers, have always shown up as brave soldiers. The two instances named of misconduct seem to be exceptions to their general good conduct and orderly behavior in time of peace.

What is said above refers only to colored slaves. Those acquainted with our Colonial history know, however, that there were many Indian slaves in the Colonies, especially in New England, and some of them in North Carolina, and not a few white slaves. The latter were usually sent to this country from Great Britain to serve out a sentence for crime and sometimes for debt. Among these white slaves was the Lieutenant Colonel of a North Carolina regiment, who on his march to Germantown, with his regiment in 1777 was humiliated by being recognized and claimed in Maryland as a slave, he having escaped thence to North Carolina where he had served an honorable career and risen in life. Massachusetts sold most of her Indian slaves in the West Indies, bringing in return cargoes from Guinea of Africans, who they said were better adapted for work. Among those who, after the Pequot War, Massachusetts sold to the West Indies, were the wife and son of King Philip, the former being the daughter of Massasoit, who had been the best friend whom the Colonists of that Province had ever had, and who had rendered the whites notable service.

Probably the most distinguished colored soldier was General Thomas Alexandre Dumas who served under Napoleon, and at one time was commander in chief of the army of the Eastern Pyrenees. He was the son af a West India negro mother, and to his son Alexandre Dumas the elder, the famous novelist, we are indebted for the famous novels "Monte Cristo," the "Three Muskeeters," with its famous trio Porthos, Athos, and Aramis, and the greatest of all D'Artagnan,

"The Forty-five Guardsmen," and others. Hannibal and his Carthaginians were not negroes, though from Africa.

The free negroes voted in North Carolina till 1835, and under the Federal Constitution three-fifths of the slave population was taken as a basis in the apportionment for members of Congress. Republican disgust at finding that by emancipation, which made negroes freemen, the basis was changed and twenty new members of Congress had been given to the South, is said to have been a strong motive for passing the XV Amendment.

NORTH CAROLINA'S DEAD

At the unveiling of the monument and statue to the Confederate dead at Morganton, 22 January, 1918, the address was delivered by Chief Justice Clark. The following extract from his speech is of more than passing interest:

As against 2,850,000 men in the Union line, the South, first and last, was able to send to the front about 650,000. Of these North Carolina sent 125,000, or nearly one-fifth of the whole number. Of these, 43,000 of our best and bravest, being one-third, came not home again.

They sleep where the silver Shenandoah sweeps along; some rest on the heights at Gettysburg; some sleep by the sounding sea at Charleston; others at Vicksburg,

"By the great inland river, whence the fleets of iron have fled,
And the green grass quivers above the ranks of the dead";

on the plains of Chickamauga and where the Georgian pines are bare; around Petersburg, in the swamps of the Chickahominy and where Potomac's "breezes answering low sooth many a soldier's endless sleep."

Across the fields of yesterday they come back to us, as we knew and remember them, in all the splendor of their young manhood. Age has not withered them. Time and trouble have not touched them. The Roman poet said that it was "sweet to die for one's country." It was glorious for them to pass in the prime of their powers, with the sunlight of victory on their faces and fronting the morning. They died in the full assurance and confident hope of our ultimate success. They saw not the torn and tattered battle flags furled forever at Appomattox. The bugle did not ring out for them, as for you, the final call to stack arms. No drums beat for them the retreat. Their ears caught only the sound of the reveille. They live in immortal youth.

OTHER NORTH CAROLINA HEROINES

By Mary Hilliard Hinton

During these exciting and troublous times of the world's existence when woman is constantly engaged in the service of her country, helping in ways heretofore unknown, giving freely of her time in unstinted service and keeping her purse ever open, it will be interesting, perhaps, to look backward thru the pages of history and gather notes of the spirit of patriotism and heroism of our brave and loyal women patriots, whose deeds have been recorded, and whose sufferings show what our foremothers endured, that they may inspire us to bear nobly whatever trials may be in store. While they were subjected to innumerable privations their lot seems incomparable with the barbarities imposed by "the fiery Hun" upon the weaker population of grief-stricken Belgium and the devastated regions of Northern France and Poland. It was with the British and Tories we were waging a civilized war, not barbarians whose hearts hesitate at no cruelties. That struggle for independence fortunately took place one hundred and forty-eight years ago, during which period the United States of America have developed into one of the leading world powers, whereby she is now able to express to her splendid ally—France—the gratitude of an appreciative people and to render to her mother country the duty of a worthy offspring.

North Carolina's record of her heroic women is indeed meager, and many of her heroines are known by name only with sparse local tradition as proof their bravery. Of quite a number just one brave incident can be cited, which can be accepted as indicative of their conduct during the Revolutionary War. Among the latter can be found the names of Mrs. Elizabeth Forbis, Mrs. Mary Morgan, Mrs. Rachel Denny, Mrs. Sarah Logan, Mrs. Elizabeth McGraw, Miss Ann Fergus, Mrs. Margaret Caruthers and Miss Margaret McBride.

Caruthers, in *The Old North State in 1776,* has preserved their records from oblivion, but since that rare volume has long since been out of print and few copies are to be found, to give these noble women further recognition, this brief sketch is presented thru the columns of THE BOOKLET.

Among the staunch and brave patriots who were mortally wounded at the Battle of Guilford Court House was Colonel Arthur Forbis. In that same engagement, under his command, was his brother-in-law, Thomas Wiley, also a brave, unwavering Whig, who was wounded. Possessing similar loyalty to the patriotic cause, Elizabeth Forbis, née Wiley, wife of Colonel Forbis, bore with fortitude and patience her severe and continued trials and sufferings. Coming from such stock, it is no marvel that she displayed unusual traits of character, of which the following is illustrative.

Several days after the Battle of Guilford Court House Thomas Morgan, who lived a mile and a half west of the Forbis home, found wandering on his premises two horses whose "bobbed tails" showed that they were the property of the British and Tories, since the horses of the American cavalry were distinguished from that of the enemy by having long tails. These he felt he had a right to appropriate, for the British and Tories had seized all available property of the Whigs.

Mr. Morgan, knowing that Mrs. Forbis was now in dire need of a horse and in a destitute condition, presented her with one the morning following. Colonel Forbis was either dead or dying of his wounds; the Tories had cleared the plantation of almost all cattle, provisions, grain, etc.; her eldest boy was a mere lad of thirteen or fourteen years and could only plough a gentle animal, her sole means of making a crop. This gift she accepted thankfully and immediately put her son to the plough handle. However, on the next day as he was turning furrows in a corn field and the mother was dropping corn after the plough and covering it with a hoe, two

young men appeared on the scene and demanded the return of the horse then in the plough, one claiming it was his own. Mrs. Forbis did not dream the men were from the British Army, then thirty or forty miles south of that locality on the way to Wilmington. With this demand she flatly refused to comply. It was repeated two or three times, she still refusing to obey, when he ordered the lad to take the horse from the plough. She forbade her son to do so, he standing resolute, looking from her to the enemy, respecting the one and fearing the other, but obeying the mother. Thereupon the man stepped forward to unfasten the traces himself, and instantly she sprang in front of him, with a hoe raised high above her head, and with a firm expression and determined manner, declared that if he touched the horse "she would split his head with the hoe." This act produced the desired effect—the horse remained in her plough and was never molested again.

Mrs. Forbis lived to enjoy the independence of her country many years, attaining an honorable old age, noted for her cheerful disposition and as a warm-hearted Christian character.

Of Colonel Forbis' sister and near neighbor, Mrs. Mary Morgan, wife of Thomas Morgan, this daring feat is related:

At the time the British Army was encamped on the south side of South Buffalo Creek, the same side on which Thomas Morgan lived, on the plantation of Ralph Gorrell, Esq., and from this camp one day a party sallied forth bent on plunder, taking in Colonel Paisley's plantation and later the Morgan home, in the absence of the owner, only Mrs. Morgan and her little brood being present. As the place had frequently experienced visitations of marauding soldiers but little could be found. Still they ransacked the dwelling from cellar to garret, as well as the kitchen and smoke-house, corn-crib and barn, leaving naught in their wake. In the interval Mrs. Morgan's active mind was at work and the thought occurred to her to retaliate by removing the valise from the saddle of

the commanding officer and dropping it in an inside corner of the fence among the tall weeds, a few panels below the horse from which it was taken. As they prepared to leave the sun had nearly reached the horizon, and five or six miles lay between them and their camp, there was considerable hurry and confusion which caused the officer in command to overlook the loss of his valise. On opening it, Mrs. Morgan found it to be filled with fine linen shirts, collars, cravats, and other articles which in value far exceeded that which she had lost.

The true Irish wit displayed by Mrs. Rachel Denny has amused many a listener. She was the wife of Walter Denny, a strict elderly Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, who dwelt far down on North Buffalo Creek, as staunch in his Whig principles as true to his religious faith and highly esteemed thruout the neighborhood. During his absence from home when the British Army was near by, a foraging party under command of the proper officer invaded his home, pillaging every repository of his possession. During this trying ordeal the old lady, his wife, sat by utterly helpless in the presence of the commanding officer, who sat near amusing himself with her. Thus she saw flour, meat and meal as well as blankets she had made with her own hands seized by ruthless hands. The officer began by asking her where her husband was, to which she replied she did not know. If she did know would she tell, was the next question. Kindly she said "No, and no gentleman of honorable feelings would ever ask or expect such a thing." When asked if she was not afraid that he would be caught and hung as a rebel, she replied, "as he was engaged in a good cause, he was in good hands, and she hoped he would be protected." After cursing her most profanely he informed her he thought "the women in that part of the country as damned rebels as the men, and that one-half of them, at least, ought to be shot or hung." To all this she did not reply.

Spying a Bible and a hymn-book on the table, he exclaimed

that he presumed "the old man prayed every day in his family." To this Mrs. Denny added that when at home they usually had family prayers. "Well, does he ever pray for King George?" followed in a sneering, haughty air. She gave an indirect answer. He then told her emphatically she must tell him "He *must* pray for King George." Very indifferently she replied that perhaps a good man might pray for the salvation of his soul, "not for the success of his arms; for he had sinned so long and so much that there was very little encouragement to pray even for his *salvation,* and to pray for the success of his arms when they were employed to oppress and to enforce obedience to unrighteous authority, would be praying in direct opposition to the instructions of the Bible, which would be offensive to God as it would be useless to man." Whereupon the officer told her that her husband must pray for the king or be treated as a rebel. "Ah, indeed," said Mrs. Denny, "he has been denounced as a rebel long ago, and no thanks to you nor King George either that he still lives to defend his country." "Well," he replied, "do you tell him that he must pray for King George tonight, for I intend to come or send men to ascertain, and if he does not, I will have him taken and hung up to the limb of that oak tree in the yard." "Aye, fa'th," retorted the brave old dame, with consummate nonchalance, "Aye, fa'th, an' monny a prayer has been wasted upon King George."

The young Lieutenant, baffled, summoned his men as the sun was fast sinking in the west and quickly galloped back to camp, taking with them considerable plunder, but by no means all of Mr. Denny's abundance.

During the stormy days of the Revolution the women were just as willing as the men to suffer and share privations with them. The country being thinly settled, they were much isolated and had to face innumerable perils. Frequently the quick wit and ready, proper word of some intelligent woman achieved a decided triumph. To this class could be assigned Mrs. Sarah Logan, noted for her repartee, excellent sense and

kindness of heart, and who was universally esteemed. She was a native of North Carolina, though after her marriage she lived in South Carolina, near the dividing line. Many incidents occurred that testified to her patriotism, judgment, character and ready wit. This one related here in particular is illustrative of her varied experiences.

One morning in November when the air was cold and frosty four or five Tories swooped down upon her home in the absence of her husband. They were known to her by sight and name, though they were not of her class. She spied them as soon as they entered the lane and at once guessed their purpose. She instantly resolved to devise some scheme by which to safeguard her property against their pillage.

They rode up and hitched their horses to the fence within a few feet of the house and entered without ceremony. Mrs. Logan feigned a cordial welcome and invited them to be seated, adding that such cold weather, after a long ride, they must be cold and insisted on their sitting nearer the fire, on which she had more wood piled. She inquired of the health of their families, of the neighborhood; in fact, received these avowed enemies bent on pillage as graciously as though they were friends. She apologized for the upturned state of her house, claiming that her duties of housecleaning had been neglected for a sick child and was just so engaged as they approached, that if they would excuse her giving annoyance she would proceed and finish in two or three minutes. She swept vigorously, raising a cloud of dust. She next began making up the bed, beating the feathers and seizing sheets and bedspread and blankets, taking each at a time, she stood on the door-step and shook them violently, making a great noise and flutter as each spread out on the breeze. The horses became alarmed, one broke loose, then another, until all severed their bridles and galloped in every direction. The Tories, realizing that their steeds were more valuable than any plunder to be procured at the Logans', took to their heels in hot pursuit, catching, as they bolted, Mrs. Logan's regrets—

"very sorry"—"what a pity." Thus kindness proved of more service than the sword or a sharp retort.

There lived in Surry County, near Mount Airy, during the "Old War" (as the old people termed the Revolution) Mrs Eliabeth McGraw. She was prior to her marriage to Jacob McGraw a Miss Waller, daughter of George Waller of Henry County, Virginia. Both she and her husband were staunch Whigs; therefore their home was naturally an objective point with the bands of Tories scouring that section. Still an account of one raid is handed down in that locality. It occurred on a bitterly cold night when Jacob McGraw was away from home and his wife was the sole white person on the place. When she ascertained they were approaching she made all the negroes who could leave run and seek some hiding place, and in the meantime she engaged busily in wrapping the pickaninnies in the tow that had been *hackled* from flax that day, dressed and secreted them in a closet, just finishing as the Tories burst into the house. They searched the place from top to bottom, but, strange to say, missed locating the little negroes concealed in the tow. They appropriated all valuables and lastly took from the cupboard Mrs. McGraw's shining pewter plates. Thru the rims of each they bored holes and ran a hickory withe which they carried along with them. Years after Mrs. McGraw had the peculiar experience of taking dinner at a neighbor's when the meal was served from her own pewter plates with holes in the rims. She attained a great age, dying near Mount Airy in 1836.

Even amid the horrors of war people can and do relax from their responsibilities and sufferings long enough to engage in diverting festivities, better perhaps for the change. During Major Craig's occupancy of Wilmington he and his officers attended many balls and other entertainments. Tradition still keeps alive in New Hanover amusing things that took place at these social affairs. One anecdote, though ludicrous, that has not been lost, concerned Miss Ann Fergus, a

lass of a wealthy Scotch family of fine social standing. She possessed a superior intellect, was well educated. Exceedingly tall—five feet ten inches—but when wearing the high heel slippers of that period, as she would have done at a ball, she must have measured fully six feet. One of her brothers was in the Patriot Army, possibly also a lover. One evening she attended a ball at which a number of British officers were present. Among them was an exceedingly diminutive man, full of conceit, who was most persistent in his attentions to the American ladies, being both impertinent and presumptuous, as his conduct to Miss Fergus proved. During the evening he sought her out and asked for a kiss. With all seriousness and perhaps *hauteur* she replied "Yes, he might have one, if he could take one without getting upon a stool." Whereupon he tiptoed and stretched his neck and she drew herself up to her full height, and he "couldn't come it." The whole company present were intensely amused at so ludicrous a spectacle. Ridicule caused his instant flight as well as brought to an end his attentions to American belles.

It is not often that a woman possesses such spirit of daring and bravery that she is willing to attack an enemy of the other sex, assuming the role of aggressor. Of such type was Mrs. Margaret (Gillespie) Caruthers, a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, who settled with her husband, James Caruthers, in middle North Carolina some time prior to the Revolution. Her family included four sons and several daughters, all eventually becoming useful citizens and church members. Three of her sons served in the Revolution. The eldest, Robert, being a partisan leader, won the rank of captain and was very active, being almost always on duty. The youngest, who was retained at home to protect his parents and attend to the farm, met death at the hands of Tories disguised as Indians, as strong circumstantial evidence proved. His dead body was found by a creek on the plantation almost in sight of the house. He had gone to a neighbor's, two miles distant on an errand. The report of a gun drew his mother

and sisters to the spot to find him dead, scalped with a bloody knife bearing the name of a neighbor, lying near his head. Ever after when the said neighbor met a member of the family his countenance expressed guilt and he manifestly shunned them. Thus deprived of her main support, with her husband, not infirm but passed the draftable age, compelled for safety to conceal himself, she found herself unprotected, especially during the trying year of 1780. Her wonderful self-possession never failed her in time of danger. Her firmness and energy of character, combined with the "spirit of '76," rendered her far from helpless in emergencies.

Not long after the tragedy just recounted, two Tories, neighbors, came to plunder her premises. They at once attempted to steal a fine young black mare, of unusual beauty and splendid qualities, which they brought out and hitched to a shade tree on the west side of the house." After packing up all provisions, blankets, etc., to be found in the house they entered the corn-crib to fill their bags with corn. The quaint form of crib of that day had an opening thru which a man must thrust one leg, next his head "and with his body laid beside the projecting leg force himself thru, with the other leg resting on the floor, and, at the same time, as it was raised a foot or two above the ground, held by the side with the left hand lest when the center of gravity passed the sill, he might go faster and further than he wanted." The thieves were busy over their grain when Mrs. Caruthers hid the black mare in the cellar, locking the door. Then she took a stick of hickory, intended for an axe-handle, laid by to season in the chimney corner, twice the size of a dressed article, which she concealed under her apron and stood at the corner of the crib. As each appeared she beat upon him so successfully that he could neither defend himself nor return the blows, and both fled in haste, leaving their plunder behind and never again did they dare to enter the Caruthers home.

The name of Betsy Dowdy is universally known and her bravery can never be forgotten, while the name of Margaret

McBride is familiar to comparatively few and of the service rendered her country little is known. As her surname implies she was of a Scotch-Irish family. Hanty McBride, a resident of Guilford, was a man of good standing in the neighborhood where he lived and died, some seven or eight miles south of Greensboro, midway between Alamance and Buffalo creeks. He was a member of Dr. Caldwell's congregation, and a true Whig. Too old for military duty, he served his country when possible. His large family was comprised of nearly all daughters. Of one son, Isaiah, the oldest, we learn that he was in several campaigns.

In 1781 Margaret, or Maggie, as her family and neighbors called her, was a pretty lass of thirteen or fourteen summers and well grown for her years. She was full of life, but discreet and had the courage to express her convictions. With winsome ways and abounding enthusiasm, she was naturally a favorite. She gloried in being a Whig and hated the Tories. A certain tract of land four or five miles wide, ten or twelve in length, between North and South Buffalo creeks, lay to the north and northwest of Hantz McBride's. This included the present site of Greensboro and ran along both sides of the Hillsboro road to Buffalo Bridge. This was not inhabited and was traversed only by roads connecting the two settlements. As pine was the principal growth it was called the "Pine Woods," or "Pine Barrens." People did not settle there because the land was considered too thin. It afforded fine pasturage for cattle. At intervals rich and well-watered glades existed like oases of the desert. In the first days of autumn, 1781, a band of Tories from southern Guilford or northern Randolph pitched camp in one of these fairy dells. The Whigs were thick on the outskirts of the "Barrens" and some were wavering. These the Tories in question visited and exerted no good influence over them. The true Patriots became uneasy—something must be done, and accordingly a band bent on retaliation was organized, though none knew the exact location of the camp. It was thought that the

McBrides knew of it if any one did, so to that home they repaired one evening just after dark. Hantz McBride, of course, was absent, the mother, Maggie and other children were there. The captain, after ascertaining they were staunch Whigs, inquired whether there was a Tory camp in the "Piney Woods." She understood there was. When asked for directions to find it, she answered as intelligently and as best she could, little Maggie by her side now then adding a word of explanation. The captain observed her interest and said courteously, "Well, now, my little Miss, could you go along to show us the way?" This startled her. Objections she urged—going off with a party of soldiers, all strangers; then the fighting, etc. The captain insisted. She *reckoned* she might go; they must promise not to fire on the Tories till she left them. They consented, so she mounted behind the commander and they rode off at full speed. It was agreed that she should remain with the band until they came in sight of the place, when she was to fly back home, it being impossible for her to be taken into the battle in the darkness. She was firm in her determination to render this invaluable service to the Whigs, and never faltered when so much was at stake. The spot was familiar to her as she had frequently been there when hunting the cows on summer evenings with the other children.

As they approached the camp near enough for the sound of the horses' feet to be heard, they proceeded with great caution and Margaret McBride was straining her eyes and craning her neck to ascertain the exact spot. Finally she exclaimed, "Yonder they are," and sprang from the captain's horse, returning home with the agility of a native of the forest. As soon as she alighted on the ground the party dashed forward at a gallop, took the camp by surprise, firing a good volley as a greeting on approach. Before the brave little heroine had passed over much ground, she heard the report of twenty or thirty pistols and the clash of sabres, with shouts of victory and cries of the assailed, all of which made

her run but the faster. On reaching home she proudly informed her mother that "those miserable Tories have got a lesson tonight which they will not soon forget, and I hope they will no longer be a pest and a reproach to the country." "Why, my daughter," replied Mrs. McBride, "You didn't stay to see what was done?" "Why, mother, as soon as we came in sight, I jumped down and started back as hard as I could, but I had come a very little distance—it didn't seem to be a minute—till I heard ever so many guns, and then such slashing and hallooing—you never heard the like. I just know the ugly things are used up, and we shall now be clear of them. Well, I do feel sorry for them after all—really sorry. Just think how they will be cut up and run off like as many sheep-killing dogs; but then they had no business to be Tories. If they are so mean and pusillanimous that they want to be slaves or foot-pads to King George, let them not stay here and try to make us as degraded as themselves, but go to his own country and serve him there. We have no use for them here and I am so glad they are gone."

The Tory den was completely broken up. All that were not killed fled, and henceforth the "Pine Barrens" of Guilford knew neither them nor their like again.

When Margaret McBride grew to womanhood a few years later she married and, with her husband, moved westward with the tide of emigration that laid the foundation of some of our great States of today, and nothing was known of this brave heroine of old Guilford.

North Carolina can well be proud of her women from the earliest days when the hardships and perils of life led by the first settlers in the wilderness were patiently borne, during the stormy times of the Revolution, of the War between the States and, lastly, of the response they are giving to the demands of this present-day world conflict.

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Isaac Shelby, Part II—Dr. Archibald Henderson.

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Vol. XVIII OCTOBER, 1918 No. 2

The NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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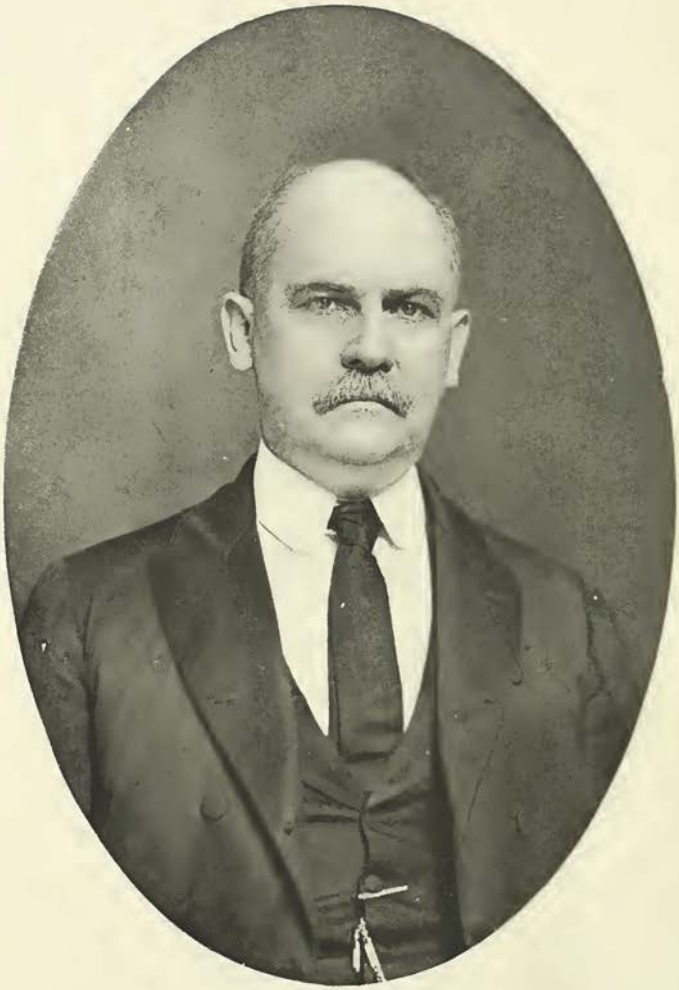

Sincerely Yours
Walter Clark

Chief Justice Supreme Court of North Carolina.

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XVIII OCTOBER, 1918 No. 2

History of the Superior and Supreme Courts of North Carolina

By Chief Justice Walter Clark

Prior to the adoption of our republican form of government in 1776 we had for the colony a supreme common law and equity court, styled "The General Court," which was a trial court. There was no court of appeals. The presiding officer of this was styled Chief Justice, who presided with an indefinite number of assistants who were laymen. They were probably merely advisers, for there was no statute defining their powers. When the Lords Proprietors met at the Cockpit in London on 21 October, 1669, under the fanciful Constitution drawn up by the famous John Locke, they chose Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards the famous Earl of Shaftesbury, as the Lord Chancellor and first Chief Justice of this colony. This was an honorary appointment, and he named as his representative John Willoughby as the first Chief Justice in this colony.

The first record that we have of any general court is that held in 1694, at the house of Thomas White, tho there must have been sessions in the years prior thereto. The Chief Justice at that time was also Governor, Thomas Harvey. This court held jurisdiction of criminal and common law cases, and also as a court of equity. Down to 1868, when the distinction between law and equity was abolished, the same judges held the courts of law and the courts of equity, tho the distinction between the two as separate jurisdictions was kept up.

By the Court Bill of 1746 the seat of government was fixed at New Bern. Following the English system, all writs and processes were issued from that court, but they were return-

able and triable before *nisi prius* terms to be held by the Chief Justice twice a year at three points—at Edenton, in the Northern Circuit; at Wilmington, in the Southern Circuit; and at the courthouse in Edgecombe in the Western Circuit. The supreme and principal court continued to be held twice a year at New Bern, and was styled the General Court. This latter consisted of the Chief Justice and three Associates appointed by the Governor. In 1713 Christopher Gale was Chief Justice. He was born in Yorkshire, England, and was the son of the rector of a church. The late Colonel George Little of Raleigh was his lineal descendant. He was succeeded by Tobias Knight, who was accused (but acquitted) of complicity with the pirate "Blackbeard," and he by Frederick Jones, of indifferent fame. Gale on his return from England was again appointed. In 1724 Governor Burrington removed him and appointed Thomas Pollock, but the Lords Proprietors reinstated Gale. In 1729 the Lords Proprietors ceded their rights to the crown, and in 1731 Gale was superseded by William Smith, who had been educated at an English University, and had been admitted to the bar in England.

Governor Burrington appointed John Palin to succeed Smith, and then William Little, who was the son-in-law of Gale. On his death Daniel Hamner became Chief Justice, who in turn was replaced by William Smith, who had come back from England. In 1740 John Montgomery became Chief Justice, and was succeeded in 1744 by Edward Moseley, a man of real ability. He died in 1749, and his successors were in turn Enoch Hall, Eleazer Allen, James Hazel, and Peter Henly.

In 1746 an important change was made by the court law of that year. Up to that time the Chief Justice had sat with from two to ten assistants who were simply justices of the peace, and it is not certain even that all the Chief Justices were lawyers. Even down to the present time, tho in fact since 1771, all of the judges of the Superior and Supreme

Court have been lawyers, there has never been, at any time, any provision of the Constitution requiring this. Under the Act of 1746, however, three associates were appointed in lieu of the former lay assistants, and they were required to be "learned in the law."

Charles Berry became Chief Justice in 1760, and committed suicide in 1766. In 1767 the province was divided into five judicial districts—Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington, Halifax, and Hillsboro—in each of which towns a court was held twice each year by the Chief Justice and his Associates. The Chief Justice was Martin Howard, and the Associates were Richard Henderson and Maurice Moore. Judge Henderson was the father of Chief Justice Leonard Henderson, and Judge Moore was the father of Justice Alfred Moore of the United States Supreme Court. Chief Justice Martin Howard, on the outbreak of the Revolution, sided with the Tories and returned to Rhode Island, whence he had come. The Court Act of 1767 expired at the end of five years, and by reason of disagreement between the Governor and the Legislature there were no courts in the province between 1773 and 1777. After August, 1775, till the Judiciary Act, adopted 15 November, 1777, by the new State Government, the judicial functions were discharged by the committees of public safety.

Under the Provincial Government the Chief Justice was a member of the Upper House of the General Assembly, and also aided largely in the executive functions. On the other hand the Governor granted letters of administration, probate of wills, and had other judicial jurisdiction. The Constitution of 1776, on the contrary, made both the executive and judiciary elective by the General Assembly, which was chosen annually. The Constitution of 1868 made the Supreme and Superior Courts constitutional offices and beyond repeal by legislative action. It also made the judges elective by the people for the term of eight years.

By the Judiciary Act of 1777 the State was divided into six districts—Wilmington, New Bern, Edenton, Halifax, Hillsboro, and Salisbury. In 1782 Morganton was added, and in 1787 Fayetteville, making eight in all. In each of these a court was held twice each year by the three judges jointly. The first judges selected were Samuel Spencer of Anson, Samuel Ashe of New Hanover, and James Iredell of Chowan. Iredell, who was later a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, soon resigned, and was succeeded by John Williams of Granville. Judge Ashe was elected Governor in 1795, but Spencer served till his death in 1794, and Williams died in 1799. Judge Spencer's death was singular. In old age he was asleep on a warm day in a chair under the shade of a tree. A turkey gobbler enraged by the red handkerchief which the judge had placed over his face to keep off the flies, assaulted him, causing his death.

In 1790 Halifax, Edenton, New Bern, and Wilmington districts were constituted the Eastern Riding, and Morganton, Salisbury, Fayetteville, and Hillsboro the Western. The number of judges was increased to four, by the election of Judge Spruce McKay, and two judges were assigned to hold the courts, jointly, in each riding.

The Constitution of 1776 provided that the General Assembly should by joint ballot appoint judges of the Supreme Court who should hold during good behavior. The General Assembly seemed to consider that, there being no appellate court, the Superior Court filled this requirement, for there was no appellate court until one was created in 1799, consisting of all the Superior Court Judges, to continue for one year, the object being to try James Glasgow, Secretary of State, and others for fraud in the issuance of land scrip in Tennessee issued to Revolutionary soldiers. At the expiration of one year the act was continued in force by chapter 12, Laws 1801, which provided, among other things, section 3: "No attorney should be allowed to speak or admitted as counsel in the aforesaid court." This was a repetition of a

similar prejudice against lawyers which found expression in Locke's "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," March, 1669, which provided, section 70, that no one could plead for another in any court for money or reward. We have outlived those days tho there is still some prejudice naturally surviving against so necessary and influential a profession as ours.

This court was styled the "Court of Conference." In 1804 the court was required to file written opinions, and in 1805 the title was changed to the "Supreme Court," a tardy recognition of the constitutional provision of 1776, and the sheriff of Wake County was made marshal of the court.

In 1806 the ridings were increased to six by the election of two additional judges, and a Superior Court for the first time was required to be held twice a year in the courts in each county by a single judge. Till 1856 these judges met and themselves allotted the ridings, the only restriction being that no judge should hold the same riding twice in succession. In 1857 this was changed to require the judges to hold every district in the whole State in regular rotation. By the Constitution of 1868 judges of the Superior Court each held only his own district. In 1878 this was changed back to require the Superior Court judges to ride the entire State in rotation. In 1910 the number of districts having been increased to 20, it was felt to be a hardship that a judge should ride his own circuit only one time in twenty, and that it was an anomaly that a judge should be required for nineteen-twentieths of his time to preside over people who had had no hand in his nomination, and the State, as in 1790, was divided into two divisions, the judges to rotate in holding only the districts of their respective divisions. Further changes in that direction are desirable and will doubtless be made.

In 1910 the judges hearing appeals in conference were authorized to elect a Chief Justice, and John Louis Taylor was the first and only judge to fill that position. A seal and motto were directed to be established by the court and the

right of appeal was prescribed. Any two judges of the six, sitting in conference at Raleigh, was a quorum.

In November, 1818, the Supreme Court, contemplated forty-two years before by the Constitution of 1776, was at last created by legislative enactment, the bill being introduced by Hon. William Gaston, afterwards one of the most illustrious members of the court. The salary of the judges was fixed at $2,500 each, the salary of the Governor at that time being $1,900, and the salary of the Superior Court judges, previously $1,650, was raised to $1,800. The judges of the Superior and Supreme Court were elected by the Legislature and held for life till 1868, when these courts were created in the Constitution, without liability of abolishment by the Legislature as formerly, and the judges were made elective by the people for the term of eight years.

The Supreme Court, created in 1818, began its existence 1 January, 1819. Its first session was held 5 January, 1819. John Louis Taylor, Leonard Henderson, and John Hall were elected, who chose Taylor for Chief Justice. John Louis Taylor was at that time the oldest judge in commission on the Superior Court bench, having been elected in 1798. He was born in London of Irish parentage, 1 March, 1769. At twelve years of age he was brought to this country by his elder brother, and received his education in part at William and Mary College in Virginia, but left before graduation. He was admitted to the bar in 1788, located in Fayetteville, and was chosen a member of the Legislature from that town, which elected a borough member, for four terms. He removed to New Bern in 1796. He died in Raleigh in January, 1829.

Leonard Henderson was born in that part of Granville County which is now Vance, in 1772. His sister married Spruce McKay, already mentioned, and his niece became the wife of Judge Boyden of the North Carolina Supreme Court. He was elected to the Superior Court in 1808 and resigned

in 1816. Elected to the Supreme Court as above, he became Chief Justice in 1829 and died in August, 1833.

John Hall, the third member of the court, was the senior of the other two, having been born in Augusta County, Virginia, in May, 1767. His father was a native of Ireland. He was a graduate of William and Mary College. He removed to Warrenton, N. C., in 1792, and in 1800 was elected a judge of the Superior Court, and of the Supreme Court as above stated, on its organization. He resigned in December, 1832, and died in January, 1833.

On the death of Chief Justice Taylor, John D. Toomer was appointed by the Governor to the bench, and Judge Henderson was elected by his associates, Chief Justice.

In the meantime Archibald D. Murphey, of the Superior Court, under a provision in the act creating the court, was detailed by the Governor, by special commission, to sit in the cases where any one of the three incumbents was disqualified to sit because of having been counsel in any cause. Judge Murphey was thus assigned by Governor Branch and sat in several cases. His concurrence with Chief Justice Taylor against Judge Hall's dissent sustained the validity of the Moses Griffin will, under which New Bern has ever since possessed the "Griffin School." Judge Murphey has always been very dear to the people of this State. He was the son of Colonel Archibald Murphey, a Revolutionary soldier of Caswell County. He was born in 1777 and graduated at the University of North Carolina with the highest distinction in 1799. From 1812 to 1818 by annual election he was Senator from Orange. He was the originator of the system of internal improvements and common schools in this State. He purposed to write a history of North Carolina. In 1818 he narrowly missed election to the Supreme Court and was chosen to fill one of the vacancies on the Superior Court. His oration before the two literary societies of the University of North Carolina in 1827 was the first of a long series of these and has never been surpassed by any. Under

the common law barbarism of imprisonment for debt, this distinguished man, who reflects so much honor on his State, was for some months in Guilford jail, without any fault on his part. He died in 1832.

John D. Toomer was born in Wilmington, March, 1834; was educated in part at the University of North Carolina, but did not graduate. He was elected judge of the Superior Court in 1818, but soon resigned. On the death of Chief Justice Taylor in 1829 he was appointed by Governor Owen to the Supreme Court till the Legislature met, which chose Thomas Ruffin to succeed him. Judge Toomer was afterwards in the State Senate and a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1835. In 1836 he was again elected judge of the Superior Court, but resigned in 1840.

Thomas Ruffin was born in Virginia in November, 1787. He was the son of a Methodist minister. He was educated at Princeton University. He studied law under Judge Murphey and was admitted to the bar in 1808, locating in Hillsboro. In 1813, 1815, and 1816 he was a member of the House of Commons from the borough of Hillsboro and in the last-named year was Speaker, and was chosen judge of the Superior Court, but resigned after two years service. The first seven volumes of North Carolina Reports down to the creation of the separate Supreme Court, 1 January, 1819, were by volunteer reporters. The act creating the court authorized the court to appoint the reporter. The first of these was Judge Murphey. Later Judge Ruffin was one of the reporters. In the summer of 1825 he was again elected judge of the Superior Court, but resigned after three years service, when in 1828 he was chosen president of the State Bank at Raleigh. In December, 1829, he was chosen by the Legislature to the Supreme Court. On the death of Chief Justice Henderson in 1833 and the appointment of Judge Gaston, he was chosen by his associates Chief Justice, and served for nineteen years, resigning from the court in 1852. In 1858, on the death of his successor, Chief Justice Nash,

he was called by the almost unanimous vote of the General Assembly, tho then in his 72d year, again to the Supreme bench, and took his place as Associate Justice. Eighteen months later he again resigned and died in 1870 in his 83d year. He raised a family of thirteen children. One of his sons, Thomas Ruffin, Jr., became a judge of the Superior and Supreme Courts.

Joseph J. Daniel, born in Halifax County in 1784, was at the State University, but did not graduate. He studied law under General William R. Davie at Halifax. He represented that borough and the county in the General Assembly. He was elected to the Superior Court in 1816 and, after sixteen years of service, on the death of Judge Hall was elected to the Supreme Court. He died in February, 1848. His opinions are notable for brevity and point. He died in 1848.

For eleven years, 1833 to 1844, Ruffin, Daniel and Gaston sat together on the Supreme Court bench, and it has never been surpassed in ability and reputation. Yet that court rendered an erroneous decision, *Hoke v. Henderson,* 15 N. C., 1 (in 1833), which gave infinite trouble till, after seventy years, it was overruled. It held that an office was property. This decision was not followed by any other State and its doctrine was denied by the United States Supreme Court. Still such was the veneration felt for the court that it was cited with approval more than sixty times; but, however, after being questioned in a series of dissenting opinions which called attention to its being opposed to our entire theory of government, it was finally overruled (in 1903) in *Mial v. Ellington,* 134 N. C., page 131. During its existence as authority no case ever caused more inconvenience in the administration of our State Government than this.

William Gaston was born in New Bern in 1778. His father was a native of the North of Ireland, of Huguenot descent, and graduated at the Edinburgh Medical College. Chief Justice John Louis Taylor married Judge Gaston's sister. Gaston served in the State Senate, represented the

borough town of New Bern in the House of Commons, and was speaker of that body. He was a member of Congress from 1812 to 1816. His address before the literary societies at the University of North Carolina in 1832, and at Princeton in 1834, were models of their kind. He was the author of our State hymn, "The Old North State." On the death of Chief Justice Henderson in 1833 Gaston was elected to the Supreme Court. He died suddenly at Raleigh during the session of the court in January, 1844.

On the death of Judge Gaston, Frederick Nash of Orange was elected to succeed him. He was born in New Bern in 1781, when his father, Abner Nash, was Governor, and was a nephew of General Francis Nash, who was killed at Germantown. He graduated at Princeton College with distinction in 1799. In 1808 he removed to Hillsboro and represented that borough town and also the county of Orange in the General Assembly. In 1818 he was elected judge of the Superior Court, but resigned in 1826. He was again elected to the Superior Court in 1835, and upon the death of Judge Gaston in 1844 he was elected to succeed him, being then in his 64th year. On the resignation of Chief Justice Ruffin in 1852, he was elected by his associates, Chief Justice, and died in 1858 in the 78th year of his age.

William H. Battle was born in Edgecombe in October, 1802, the grandson of Elisha Battle, a prominent member of the Baptist church in this State. He was the oldest of six brothers, all of whom were educated at the University. He was appointed Reporter of the Supreme Court in 1839. In 1833 and 1834 he was a member of the House of Commons from Franklin and, together with Governor Iredell and Judge Nash, was a member of the commission which compiled the Revised Statutes. He was promoted to the Superior Court in 1839. In 1843 he removed to Chapel Hill, and in 1845 he was elected by the trustees of the University professor of law and conducted the Law School till 1866. Among his students were three of his successors on the Supreme Bench—

Davis, Shepherd, and Clark. In May, 1848, on the death of Judge Daniel, he was appointed by Governor William A. Graham to fill the vacancy till the Legislature met, which elected Richmond M. Pearson and chose Judge Battle to the vacancy created on the Superior Court bench. In 1852, upon the resignation of Chief Justice Ruffin, Judge Nash became Chief Justice, and Judge Battle was elected to the Supreme Court bench by an almost unanimous vote, irrespective of party. He filled the position till 1865 when all the State offices were declared vacant. He was then again elected to the Supreme Court and filled the post until all positions were vacated by the new Constitution in 1868, when he returned to the practice of the law. In 1876 he was chosen president of the Raleigh National Bank. In 1877 his son, Kemp P. Battle, having been elected President of the University, Judge Battle returned to Chapel Hill as Dean of the Law School. He published a Digest of the North Carolina Reports in four volumes, and edited the compilation of laws known as Battle's Revisal. He died in March, 1879, in the 77th year of his age.

Richmond M. Pearson was born in June, 1805, in Rowan; graduated at the University in 1823. He studied law under Chief Justice Henderson, and was licensed in 1826. For four years he represented Rowan in the House of Commons, and in 1835 was defeated for Congress. In 1836 he was elected to the Superior Court, to the Supreme Court in December, 1848, and became Chief Justice in 1858, and was reëlected Chief Justice by the people in 1868. His judicial career covered forty-one years of unbroken service—twelve years on the Superior Court bench and twenty-nine on the Supreme Court, nineteen of them as Chief Justice. As Chief Justice he presided at the impeachment of Governor Holden in 1871. In January, 1878, on his way to Raleigh to open the spring term of court, while crossing the Yadkin River in a buggy, he was stricken with paralysis and died at Winston, 5 January, 1878, in the 73d year of his age.

Matthias E. Manly was the last of the judges who ascended the bench in *antebellum days*. He was born in Chatham in 1800; graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1824; studied law under his brother, Governor Manly, and located in New Bern. He was a member of the House of Commons from that borough in 1834-1835, being the last borough representative. The six towns which enjoyed that privilege were Halifax, New Bern, Wilmington, Hillsboro, Fayetteville, and Salisbury. It was abolished by the Convention of 1835. Judge Manly was elected judge of the Superior Court in 1840, and, after faithful service of nineteen years, he was chosen to the Supreme Court, in December, 1859, to fill the vacancy caused by the second retirement of Judge Ruffin. His office was declared vacant in 1865 and Judge E. G. Reade was elected to succeed him. He was Speaker of the State Senate in 1866, and was elected by that Legislature to the United States Senate, jointly with Governor Graham, but they were not allowed to take their seats. He died in New Bern in 1881 in the 82d year of his age. His first wife was the daughter of Judge Gaston.

Edwin G. Reade was born in Person County in November, 1812. His father died while he was very young, and he aided to support the family by menial work on the farm and in the carriage and blacksmith shop and in the tanyard. He read law, without an instructor, in books kindly loaned to him, and received license to practice in 1835. He was elected to Congress in 1855, but declined a reëlection. In 1863 he was appointed by Governor Vance to the Confederate States Senate, and in the same year was chosen judge of the Superior Court. In 1865 he was elected by the Legislature to the Supreme Court to succeed Judge Manly, being the last judge chosen by the General Assembly. In 1866 and 1867 he was elected Grand Master of the Masons. In 1868 the Supreme Court having been enlarged by the new Constitution to consist of five members, Chief Justice Pearson and Judge Reade were chosen by the people to succeed themselves, with

W. B. Rodman, R. P. Dick, and Thomas Settle as their Associates. Judge Reade's term expired 1 January, 1879, when he was chosen president of the Raleigh National Bank, then somewhat embarrassed. Like Chief Justice Ruffin, under similar circumstances, he restored the credit of the bank. In 1865 he was elected almost unanimously to the State Convention and was elected its president by acclamation. It is said that in his prime he had no superior as an advocate in this State before a jury. He was on the Supreme Court thirteen years. He died in Raleigh 18 October, 1894, in his 82d year.

Judge William B. Rodman was born in Washington, N. C., in June, 1817. He graduated at the University of North Carolina at the head of his class in 1836; read law with Judge Gaston and was licensed to practice in 1838. He was captain of heavy artillery at New Bern in March, 1862; was quartermaster in Branch's brigade, but was soon appointed on a military court with the rank of colonel. He was elected to the Convention of 1868 and, with Tourgee and Victor Barringer, was on the commission which prepared the new Code of Civil Procedure. He was elected by the people in 1868 to the new Supreme Court, and under the construction the court gave to the terms of the judges first elected under the Constitution, he served for ten years, and retired to practice law in 1879. He died in March, 1893.

Judge Robert P. Dick was born in Greensboro in October, 1823. His father, Hon. John M. Dick, was judge of the Superior Court for nearly thirty years from 1832 till his death in October, 1861. Judge Dick graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1843; read law with his father and was admitted to the bar in 1845. He was United States District Attorney from 1852 till 1861. He was a member of the State Convention of 1861, and signed the Ordinance of Secession. He was State Senator from Guilford in 1864, and was appointed United States District Judge in 1865, but resigned because unable to take the "iron clad" oath.

In March, 1867, he was a member of the convention which organized the Republican party in this State, and in April, 1868, he was elected justice of the Supreme Court. In June, 1872, he was appointed United States District Judge for the newly created Western District of North Carolina. He died in September, 1898.

Thomas Settle was born in Rockingham County in 1831. His father, Thomas Settle, was a member of Congress from 1817 to 1821; speaker of the House of Commons, 1827-8, and judge of the Superior Court from 1832 till his resignation in 1854. The subject of this sketch graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1850; read law with Judge Pearson, with whom he afterwards sat on the Supreme Court, and was licensed to practice in 1854. He was a member of the Legislature from 1854 to 1859. He was Speaker of the House in 1858; and an elector on the Buchanan ticket in 1856. He entered the war in 1861 as captain of a company in the Thirteenth North Carolina Regiment. At the end of a year's service, he resigned upon his election as solicitor of his district, which position he occupied till 1868. He was a member of the Convention of 1865. In April, 1868, he was elected to the Supreme Court, but resigned in February, 1871, on his appointment as Minister to Peru. On his return from Peru in 1872 he was president of the Republican National Convention which nominated Grant for a second term. On the resignation of Judge Dick, Judge Settle, in December, 1872, was reappointed judge of the Supreme Court by Governor Caldwell, but resigned in 1876 upon his nomination as candidate for Governor against Vance. He was appointed United States District Judge for Florida in January, 1877, and died in that office 1 December, 1888, in the 58th year of his age. One of his sisters married David S. Reid, Democratic Governor and United States Senator, and another was the wife of O. H. Dockery, Republican candidate for Governor in 1888.

Nathaniel Boyden was born in Conway, Mass., 16 August, 1796. He was a soldier in the War of 1812. He entered Williams College in 1817 and graduated in Union College, New York, in July, 1821. His father was a Revolutionary soldier who died in 1857, being 94 years of age.

Judge Boyden came to Guilford County in 1822. He was admitted to the bar in 1823 and represented Surry in the House of Commons in 1838 and 1840. In 1844 he represented Rowan in the State Senate, and in 1847 he was elected a member of the Thirtieth Congress. He declined reëlection and continued to practice law till raised to the bench. He attended forty-eight courts each year and practiced regularly in twelve counties. He was a member of the State Convention of 1865 and in 1868 was elected as a Republican to the Fortieth Congress. Upon Judge Settle's first resignation he was appointed by Governor Caldwell, in May, 1871, to the Supreme Court. He was then in his 75th year. He died in 1873 after a service of two and one-half years.

William P. Bynum was born in June, 1820, in Stokes County. He graduated at Davidson College with the highest honors, in 1843; he read law with Judge Pearson, with whom he afterwards sat on the Supreme Court, and was admitted to the bar in 1844. His license was the last signed by the lamented Gaston, who died so suddenly. In 1861 he was appointed by Governor Ellis Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second North Carolina Regiment. His future associate on the Supreme Court, Judge Faircloth, was quartermaster of this regiment. Judge Bynum was in the battles around Richmond and at the first battle of Fredericksburg. After the death of Colonel Tew he became Colonel. Early in 1863 he was elected Solicitor and returned home. He filled that position for eleven years, till he was appointed to the Supreme bench on the death of Judge Boyden, and served till the expiration of his term, 1 January, 1879, when he returned to practice in Charlotte, where he died 30 December, 1909, in his 90th year.

William T. Faircloth was born in Edgecombe in January, 1829, and graduated at Wake Forest College in 1854. His means were limited and he taught school in vacation to pay his expenses in college. He studied law with Judge Pearson and was admitted to the practice in 1856 and located in Goldsboro. He served during the war as quartermaster, and surrendered at Appomattox. He was a member of the Convention of 1865, and of the succeeding Legislature, by which he was elected solicitor. He was a member of the State Convention of 1875, as were Judges Avery and Shepherd. In November, 1876, he was appointed by Governor Brogden to the Supreme Court to fill the vacancy caused by the second resignation of Judge Settle. His term expired 1 January, 1879, and he returned to practice in Goldsboro. He was defeated in 1884 for Lieutenant Governor on the Republican ticket, and in 1890 he was the candidate of the same party for justice of the Supreme Court against Justice Clark, and was again defeated. In 1894 he was nominated by the Republicans and Populists and elected Chief Justice. He died suddenly at his home in Goldsboro 30 December, 1900.

William Nathan Harrell Smith, sixth Chief Justice, was born in Murfreesboro in September, 1812. His father was a native of Connecticut, a graduate of Yale and a physician, who removed to this State in 1802 and died in 1813. Judge Smith graduated at Yale in 1834 and studied law in its law school. Among his college mates were Morrison R. Waite, later Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, W. M. Evarts, since Secretary of State; Samuel J. Tilden and Edwards Pierrepont, Minister to England. He obtained license to practice law in North Carolina, but soon removed to Texas. After a stay of six months he returned to this State and served in both Houses of the General Assembly, by which, in 1848, he was elected solicitor and served eight years. He was elected to Congress in 1858 and, tho it was his first term, came within one vote of being elected speaker. He served in the Confederate Congress the four years of the war.

In 1870 he removed to Norfolk to practice law, but in 1872 he removed to Raleigh. Upon the death of Chief Justice Pearson he was appointed Chief Justice in January, 1878, by Governor Vance, and in June he was nominated for Chief Justice and elected for a term of eight years, and eight years later the bench, then consisting of Smith, Ashe, and Merrimon, were reëlected, the first two being then in their 75th year. He died in November, 1889.

The court, from 1868 to 1 January, 1879, consisted of five judges, all of whom were Republicans, except Judge Smith, who was appointed in January, 1878, to fill out the unexpired term of Chief Justice Pearson. The court was reduced 1 January, 1879, to three in number, all Democrats, Judge Smith being reëlected, with Judge Thomas S. Ashe and John H. Dillard as Associates.

Thomas S. Ashe was born in July, 1812, in Alamance and was a great grandson of Judge Samuel Ashe, already mentioned as one of the three judges who constituted the entire judiciary of North Carolina from 1777 to 1795, when he became Governor. Judge Thos. S. Ashe graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1832 in the same class with James C. Dobbin, Secretary of the Navy under President Pierce, and United States Senator Thomas L. Clingman. He studied law under Chief Justice Ruffin and located at Wadesboro in 1836. He represented his county in both branches of the General Assembly and was solicitor from 1848 to 1852. He declined the nomination for Congress in 1858. During the war he was a member of the Confederate Congress, both in the House and Senate. He was a Democratic candidate for Governor in 1868, but was defeated by Governor Holden. In 1872, and in 1874, he was elected to the United States Congress. In 1878 he was elected to the Supreme Court of North Carolina to succeed Judge Reade, and in 1886, was renominated by acclamation and reëlected, being then in his 75th year. He died in Wadesboro in 1887.

John H. Dillard was born in Rockingham County in November, 1819. For a year and a half he was at the University of North Carolina, but left on account of ill health and graduated at the Law School of William and Mary in 1840; he began the practice of law in Virginia, but returned to this State in 1846. In 1862 he entered the army as captain in the Forty-fifth North Carolina Regiment and served one year. In 1868 he removed to Greensboro; in 1878 he was elected to the Supreme Court, but resigned in February, 1881, after a service of a little more than two years. He died in Greensboro 6 May, 1896.

Thomas Ruffin, the fourth son of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin, was born at Hillsboro in September, 1824. He graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1844. He read law under his father and began practice in Caswell County. He represented Rockingham in the Legislature, and in 1856 he was elected Solicitor, serving four years. In 1861 he entered the army as a captain in the Thirteenth North Carolina Regiment, but in October, 1861, he was appointed by Governor Clark a judge of the Superior Court to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge John M. Dick. He rode the fall circuit, but resigned in March, 1862, being appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of his regiment. He was wounded at South Mountain, September, 1862, and resigned the following March. Later he was appointed a member of the army court in the Army of the West. After the war he was a partner with Judge Dillard and John A. Gilmer at Greensboro, but his health becoming impaired, he abandoned the practice and removed to Hillsboro where he became an insurance agent. In 1875 he returned to the bar and formed a partnership with John W. Graham. Upon the resignation of Judge Dillard in February, 1881, he was appointed to the Supreme Court, and the next year was nominated and elected. He resigned in September, 1883, to resume the practice of law. He died at Hillsboro in 1889.

Augustus S. Merrimon was born in Transylvania County in September, 1830. In 1860 he was elected to the House of Commons, and in 1861 he entered the army as quartermaster with the rank of captain, but was soon elected solicitor and served till the end of the war. He was elected a judge of the Superior Court in 1866, but resigned in August, 1867, rather than obey orders issued by military authority. He was a candidate of the Democratic party for the Supreme Court in 1868, but was defeated with his ticket. He was candidate for Governor in 1872 and was again defeated, but in 1873 he was elected United States Senator and served till 1879. On the resignation of Judge Ruffin in 1883 he was appointed to the Supreme bench and was reëlected at the next election. On the death of Chief Justice Smith, November, 1889, he was appointed by Governor Fowle Chief Justice and served three years till his death in November, 1892.

Joseph J. Davis was born in April, 1828, in what is now Vance County. His grandfather was a soldier in the Revolution. He attended Wake Forest College one year and then went to the University of North Carolina, but did not graduate. He read law under Judge Battle and was admitted to the bar in 1850. In 1862 he entered the army as captain in the Forty-seventh North Carolina Regiment and was taken prisoner in Pettigrew's charge at Gettysburg, 3 July, 1863, and was a prisoner till near the close of the war. In 1866 he was elected to the Legislature from Franklin, and in 1874 he was elected a member of Congress from the Raleigh district and served six years. In 1887, upon the death of Judge Ashe, he was appointed to the Supreme Court and was nominated and elected to the same position the following year. He died in August, 1892.

Alphonso C. Avery was born in 1835 in Burke; graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1857; studied law under Chief Justice Pearson; was admitted to the bar in 1860; served in the Confederate Army, rising to the rank of

major; was State Senator in 1866 and a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1875; was elected judge of the Superior Court in 1878 and was reëlected in 1886; upon the increase of the Supreme Court to five in number he and Judge Shepherd were elected the two additional judges and took his seat in January, 1889. At the expiration of his term, 1 January, 1897, he returned to the practice and died in Morganton in June, 1913.

James E. Shepherd was born in Nansemond County, Virginia, 26 July, 1845. During the war he was a telegraph operator in Virginia. He studied law under Judge Battle; was admitted to the bar in 1869 and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1875. He was appointed to the Superior Court by Governor Jarvis in August, 1882, and, by subsequent election, he continued until promoted to the Supreme Court, where he took his seat 1 January, 1889. On the death of Judge Merrimon he was appointed by Governor Holt, in November, 1892, Chief Justice, but was defeated at the election in 1894, and returned to the practice in January, 1895. He died at a hospital in Baltimore, where he had gone for treatment, in February, 1910.

Walter Clark was born in Halifax County, 19 August, 1846; graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1864; saw service in the war 1861-5 (except one year while at the University of North Carolina), attaining the rank of lieutenant-colonel. When the number of the Superior Court judges was increased from 9 to 12 in 1885 he was appointed by Governor Scales, 15 April, 1885, one of the additional Superior Court judges and was elected in 1886 by the people. Upon the appointment of Judge Merrimon as Chief Justice he was appointed by Governor Fowle to succeed him as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, 16 November, 1889, and was elected by the people for the unexpired term in 1890. In 1894 he was elected for the full term of eight years, being nominated by the Democratic party and endorsed by the Republican and Populist parties. In 1902 he was

nominated and elected Chief Justice and was renominated and reëlected in 1910 and in 1918.

James C. McRae was born in Fayetteville, October, 1838, and was licensed to practice law in 1859. He saw service in the Confederate Army, 1861-65, reaching the rank of major. He was elected to the Legislature in 1874. He became judge of the Superior Court in July, 1882, and at the expiration of his term in 1890 he returned to the bar. Upon the death of Judge Davis he was appointed by Governor Holt, in August, 1892, to succeed him, and was elected for the unexpired term. He was defeated for reëlection by the Republican nominee in 1894, and returned to the practice of law. In 1900 he accepted the position of professor of law at the University of North Carolina, where he died in October, 1909.

Armistead Burwell was born in Hillsboro in October, 1839, the son of Rev. Robert Burwell, the Presbyterian pastor at that place. He graduated at Davidson College in 1859, with first honors, and was engaged in teaching in Arkansas when the war broke out. He served thruout the war with troops from that State, reaching the rank of captain, and was severely wounded in 1864 before Atlanta. He resumed teaching in Charlotte after the war, studied law and was licensed to practice in 1869; he was State Senator in 1880. He was appointed by Governor Holt to the Supreme Court in November, 1892, but was defeated in the election by the Republican candidate in 1894, and resumed practice at Charlotte, where he died in May, 1913.

David M. Furches was born in Davie County in April, 1832. His grandfather, Tobias Furches, was a prominent Baptist preacher. Judge Furches was educated at Union Academy in Davie and studied law under Chief Justice Pearson, obtaining license to practice in the Superior Court in 1857. He located in Mocksville, where he was county attorney, removing to Statesville in 1866. He was a member

of the State Convention in 1865; was defeated for Congress in 1872; for the Supreme Court in 1888; and for Governor in 1892. He was appointed judge of the Superior Court in 1875 to succeed Anderson Mitchell, and served till January, 1879. He was elected to the Supreme Court as a Republican and took his seat 1 January, 1894. Jointly with Judge Douglas, he was impeached by the Legislature of 1901 for issuing an order to the State Treasurer to pay out money which had been forbidden by an act of the Legislature, *White v. Auditor,* 126 N. C., 570. The charge was sustained by a majority of the Senate, but did not receive the necessary two-thirds vote to convict and remove from office. He resumed the practice of law at the end of his term in 1903 and died in 1908.

Judge Walter A. Montgomery was born in Warrenton in February, 1845. He served in the Twelfth North Carolina Regiment, 1861 to 1865, being promoted to second lieutenant in 1864, and was paroled at Appomattox. He was admitted to practice in 1867. In 1873 he removed to Memphis, Tenn., but returned to this State in 1876. In 1894 he was elected to the Supreme Court to fill an unexpired term for two years, and in 1896 he was elected for the full term of eight years. On its expiration he returned to the practice 1 January, 1905.

Robert M. Douglas was born in January, 1849. He was the son of Stephen A. Douglas, who was United States Senator from Illinois and candidate for President in 1860. He was Private Secretary to the Governor of North Carolina in 1868 and Private Secretary to President Grant, 1869 to 1873, and United States Marshal of North Carolina, 1873 to 1883. In 1886, then 37 years of age, he was admitted to the bar; in 1896 was elected to the Supreme Court for the term of eight years, and at the end of his term returned to practice at Greensboro. He died in February, 1917.

Charles Alston Cook was born in Warrenton in October, 1848. He was at the University of North Carolina, but graduated at Princeton in 1870; represented his county in

both Houses of the General Assembly; was United States District Attorney in 1889 to 1893. In January, 1901, he was appointed by Governor Russell to the Supreme Court, to fill the unexpired term of Judge Furches, appointed Chief Justice. His term expired 1 January, 1903. He removed to Muskogee, Oklahoma, where he became a member of the House of Representatives, and died in 1917.

Platt D. Walker was born in Wilmington in October, 1849; was a student at the University of North Carolina; studied law at the University of Virginia and was admitted to the bar in 1870; he practiced law in Richmond County and moved to Charlotte in 1876. He was elected associate justice of the Supreme Court, taking his seat 1 January, 1903; was reëlected in 1910 and in 1918.

Henry G. Connor was born at Wilmington, July, 1852; was admitted to the bar in 1873; was a member of the State Senate and House, being speaker of the latter in 1899. He was judge of the Superior Court eight years, 1885 to 1893. He was elected associate justice of the Supreme Court and took his seat 1 January, 1903. Was appointed United States District Judge for the Eastern District of North Carolina, 1 June, 1909, which position he still fills.

George H. Brown was born in Washington, N. C., May, 1850. He was educated at Horner's School at Oxford and was admitted to the bar in 1873. He was judge of the Superior Court, 1889 to 1904, and was elected to the Supreme Court, taking his seat 1 January, 1905, and was reëlected in 1912.

William A. Hoke was born at Lincolnton, 25 October, 1851; educated at private schools; studied law under Chief Justice Pearson and was admitted to the bar in 1872. He was State Senator in 1889, and judge of the Superior Court, 1891 to 1904; elected to the Supreme Court, taking his seat 1 January, 1905, and was reëlected in 1912.

James S. Manning was born in Pittsboro in June, 1859; graduated at the University of North Carolina, where he

studied law and was admitted to the practice in 1880, locating at Durham. Was a member of the State House of Representatives in 1907 and State Senate in 1909. He was appointed by Governor Kitchin, in June, 1909, to fill the unexpired term of Judge Connor, returned to the practice of law 1 January, 1911, and was elected Attorney General for term beginning January, 1917.

William R. Allen was born at Kenansville in March, 1860; graduated at Trinity College, N. C.; studied law under his father and was licensed to practice law in 1881, locating at Goldsboro. He represented Wayne in the General Assembly in 1893, 1899, and 1901; he was appointed judge of the Superior Court in August, 1894, but was defeated by his Republican opponent and returned to the practice 1 January, 1895. He was again elected to the Superior Court and served eight years, from 1 January, 1903, when having been elected to the Supreme Court, he took his seat there 1 January, 1911, and was reëlected in 1918.

The Supreme Court of North Carolina, as a separate organization and not merely as a court of conference of Superior Court judges, began 1 January, 1819. It therefore rounded out a century 1 January, 1919. It has had, including the present incumbents, forty judges. The court consisted of three members from 1 January, 1818, to 1868. It was composed of five judges from 1868 to 1 January, 1879; it then consisted of three judges to 1 January, 1889, and since that date of five judges. Of the forty judges Chief Justice Taylor was born in England; Chief Justice Ruffin, Shepherd and Judge Hall in Virginia; Judge Boyden in Massachusetts; the other thirty-five were natives of this State.

Chief Justice Ruffin was in his 83d year when he died, and Judge Manly in his 82d—both after their retirement; but Chief Justice Taney of the United States Supreme Court died in office in his 88th year, soon after delivering the opinion in the *Merryman case,* and Lord Halsbury is still

the highest judicial officer in England, chairman of the Law Committee in the House of Lords, in his 95th year.

Judge Settle was the youngest judge, ascending the bench at 37. Next came the elder Ruffin, Pearson, Murphey, Shepherd, and Clark, who all went on at 43. Judge Furches went on at 62, becoming Chief Justice at 68; Judge Nash at 63, and was in his 72d year when made Chief Justice.

Judge Smith went on the bench at 65, and Judge Ashe at 66, as was Faircloth when taking his seat a second time, after an interval of sixteen years. Judge Boyden was 74 when appointed, and yet served two and a half years. Smith and Ashe were in their 75th year when elected a second time. There is probably no other case of two out of three judges of the highest court of a State being reëlected at such age. The longest service (except the writer's) has been Pearson's, twenty-nine years and three weeks, and the elder Ruffin, nearly twenty-five years (counting both times he was on the bench), and each of these was nineteen years Chief Justice. The writer has been on the Supreme Court since 16 November, 1889.

As to religious persuasion, three have been Roman Catholics, Gaston, Manly and Douglas; two Baptists, Faircloth and Montgomery; four Methodists, Merrimon, Clark, Cook, and Allen; seven Presbyterians, Nash, Reade, Dick, Smith, Dillard, Avery, and Burwell; one Freethinker, and the remaining 23 Episcopalians.

For the first 50 years—1818 to 1868—the judges were chosen for life by the General Assembly. For the last 50 years—1868 to 1918—they have been elected by the people and for terms of eight years.

The Superior Court in 1777 consisted of three members, and notwithstanding the requirement for a Supreme Court in the Constitution of 1776 remained the sole court of higher jurisdiction for 42 years. It was gradually increased from three judges in 1777 to eight judges in 1868, when the Constitution increased the number to twelve. On 1 January,

1879, this number was reduced to nine, which was again increased to twelve in 1885. In 1901 it was increased to sixteen, and in 1913 to 20. In 1915 the State was divided into two divisions and the Superior Court judges were required to rotate by holding successively only the districts in their own division instead of the entire State.

The Superior and Supreme Courts were legislative creations till 1868, the judges being elected by the Legislature for life terms. The Constitution of 1868 made them constitutional officers, elective by the people for terms of eight years. The number of Supreme Court judges is fixed by that instrument, but the Legislature can increase or diminish the number of Superior Court judges. In the event of a vacancy, either on the Superior or Supreme Court bench, the Governor appoints until the vacancy is filled at the next general election.

Raleigh, N. C., 4 January, 1919.

William Bryan of Craven County, Brigadier General in the American Revolution

By William Hollister

During the time that Ireland was divided into small monarchies or baronies, O'Brien was head of the government of Munster. The celebrated "Hall of Tara" (poem by Thomas Moore) is referred to as having been visited by him in "The Story of Ireland," by Lawless, ch. 8, p. 61. In after years, from various causes, the name gradually changed its orthography to O'Brian, then to O'Bryan, and the competitor for the Irish Crown was John O'Bryan, some account of whom perhaps we find in Grenshaw's History of England. Some time during the latter part of the seventeenth century his five sons, who were under political proscription, left their native land for America. Their names were Council, Edward, John, William, and Hardy. They were compelled to leave their widowed mother and their home of luxury and come as mere adventurers to the new world. Council having died at sea, the remaining four landed at New Bern, N. C. They were bold, energetic men and went at once to work. They began with many others to make what has since become one of the greatest commercial productions of the State—tar. By strict economy and perseverance they soon saved enough money to purchase a negro named "Tom," the first ever owned by the Bryan family. They had dropped the "O" from their name and wrote it simply Bryan. (The above by tradition.)

Fortune smiled upon their labors and ere many years they had purchased as many slaves as they desired and invested their funds in vessels at sea. After this period we know nothing of the original four except Hardy. It is said that the Bryans are descended from Brian Boru, who was for twelve years Monarch of Ireland (about 1014). For reference, see "The Story of Ireland," ch. 8, pp. 60-70.

William Bryan, son of Hardy Bryan (one of the original four), and Sarah Bonner, who was the daughter of Sheriff

Thomas Bonner, was born in Craven County, the date unknown, near Fort Barnwell. He was a large landowner and a very prominent man in the political and military life of his day. His remains lie buried near his old home, and a descendant, Mr. Albert E. Wadsworth, now owns the land. The exact time of his death is also unknown, but his will, made January 8, 1791, and probated in the same year at the March term of court, shows that his death occurred some time in that year, and very early in that year. See Book of Wills A, p. 24, in the "Records of Wills" at the Craven County courthouse, New Bern, N. C.

The first mention we can find of William Bryan in the political life of the province is at a council meeting of the delegates of the province in convention at New Bern, April 3 and 4, 1775. He was a delegate from Craven County, see Colonial Records, Vol. 10, p. 110. On August 21, 1775, at a meeting of the delegates to the Assembly at Hillsboro, called by Samuel Johnson, to which Assembly William Bryan was a delegate, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the New Bern district (see Wheeler's History of North Carolina, Vol. I, p. 72). Colonial Records gives this date as Saturday, September 9, 1775 (Vol. 10, p. 563). Jones's Defense of North Carolina mentions William Bryan as lieutenant-colonel (ch. 8, p. 220).

The New Bern Minute Men, under the command of Colonel Bryan, participated in the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, sometimes spoken of as Brier Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776, which was the first victory to American arms in the Revolution. (See Jones's Defense, ch. 8, p. 339. State Records of North Carolina, Vol. 14, pp. 271, 276-278, 281, 282, 283, and Vol. 13, p. 13.) At Moore's Creek Bridge he figured gallantly. This battle awakened the people of North Carolina to a realization of their true situation. They had begun to see the absurdity of swearing allegiance to a king who had thrown them out of his protection and with whom they were at open war. In a letter written from

Halifax, N. C., April 14, 1776, a tourist who had just arrived from Philadelphia thus described the state of affairs, in the *News and Observer,* dated March 6, 1910:

As I came through Virginia I found the inhabitants desirous to be independent from Great Britain; the same is true in North Carolina. However, they are willing to submit to whatever the General Congress shall determine (General Bryan was a member of this General Congress). Gentlemen of the first fortune in the province have marched as common soldiers, to encourage and give spirit to the men that have footed it the whole time. Lord Cornwallis with seven regiments is expected to visit us every day. All regard and fondness for the King and Nation of Great Britain is gone. A total separation is what they want. Independence is the word most used. For many weeks in letters, newspapers, in conversations, at the firesides and cross-roads, and in public assemblies the people have been discussing the great question. But the crowning arguments in favor of a declaration of independence were the guns of Caswell, Lillington, Ashe and Bryan, at Moore's Creek Bridge, and the black hulks of Sir Henry Clinton's men-of-war as they rode at anchor in the Cape Fear, February 27.

Quoting from Vol. 14, p. 278, of Colonial Records:

The creek was fordable both above and below the camp; and above so narrow that in some places a tree might have been felled over so as to permit men to pass. The camp which, in the absence of General Ashe, had been put in order by General Bryant (as his name is sometimes spelled) and General Elbert faced up the fork; the left nearly touched the creek and the right reached within about half a mile of the swamp that borders upon the Savannah River. In advance about a mile was a piquet of one hundred men which had been divided into several smaller ones with a chain of sentries between each, and in addition an advanced sentry for the whole; in the rear was posted the light infantry with one brass four-pounder near where the bridge had stood. They might have plainly perceived from several proofs that the larger part of the enemy had moved, but did not return to give notice of it. The first intelligence received of the enemy's movements was from an express that was on his way up to General Williamson's, who had scarcely communicated it when a message from Colonel Smith confirmed it. They came down about three o'clock in the afternoon, in three columns three abreast: the center column came down the road (at least the general could not discern the other two so plainly) and began firing at thirty yards distance.

In the words of General Bryan himself, taken from Colonial Records, Vol. 14, pp. 278-280, he says:

> I pointed out that my opinion was that the camp was not properly placed in being so near the bridge. Nevertheless a detachment of four hundred men were sent out that evening under the command of Colonel Caswell to surprise a piquet of the enemy. They passed the creek in a flat near where the bridge had been; on the 28th, which was Sunday, General Ashe (who was chief in command) left camp about ten o'clock in the morning to meet General Lincoln at Williamson's, but without giving me any commands or orders; the duty now falling upon me, I called a council of the field officers and determined for several reasons to move the camp a mile higher up the fork.

He could have wished to encamp across the road, but consulted the convenience of getting water, and found that it was not advisable. He immediately fixed places about three-quarters of a mile in front for the piquets, whilst the camp was further secured by a chain of sentries from the creek swamp across the road, and down the road to the light infantry in the rear; these precautions they thought sufficient for the evening. On Monday, the first of March, Colonel Williams, who was field officer of the day, acquainted General Bryan that the enemy had been on their lines all night. General Bryan, upon hearing this, doubled all the piquets, but had no horse to send out until about twelve o'clock, when Major Ross was prevailed upon, though his men had suffered very much for want of provisions, and their horses for want of forage. Here General Bryan adds how exceedingly uneasy he felt when he considered the long, fatiguing march the men had undergone, how wretchedly they were equipped, and how terribly they needed rest.

By an act of the Continental Congress on May 4, 1776, William Bryan, Esquire, was appointed brigadier general of the militia for the New Bern district. (See Colonial Records, Vol. 10, p. 563.) This accounts for the prominent part that he was enabled to play in the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge.

General Bryan was not the William Bryan that is spoken of in "Governor Tryon of North Carolina," by Marshall Haywood, as is the current opinion, for in that volume we find these words, "The only officer killed was the bearer of the Royal standard, Ensign William Bryan of Craven County. This gentleman was a near kinsman of Brigadier General William Bryan of the Revolution, and belonged to the well-known Bryan family still resident in New Bern." (Reference, p. 129, volume on "Governor Tryon of North Carolina.") These two men have been often confused, but we can see from this that Brigadier-General William Bryan never raised the English King's standard. In 1776, on April 4, the Provincial Congress met at Halifax and elected General Bryan, along with other representative men of Craven County to oppose Royal Government. (See Wheeler's History of North Carolina, Vol. 1, pp. 71-78.) On April 13, 1776, the Congress, then assembled at Halifax, appointed a committee of its ablest men to prepare a civil constitution, with General Bryan as one of the leading men. This Council of Safety then recommended to the people to elect on October 15 delegates for a council that was to meet in Halifax on November 12, 1776, which was to make a constitution of laws that were to serve as a corner-stone for all laws. (See Wheeler's History of North Carolina, Vol. 1, pp. 84-85.) General Bryan was a member of the House of Commons for the years 1780-1781 and 1782-1783. (See County Records of Craven County, p. 122.)

In Colonial Records, Vol. 13, we find a letter written by Governor Caswell to General Bryan in which he says:

> Mr. Hardy Bryan, who was appointed by the General Assembly to supply the several detachments ordered to march from the regiments belonging to your brigade, having declined that service, I am to request that you forthwith direct the commanding officers of the several regiments composing your brigade to appoint some persons to furnish the men marching from their respective regiments with provisions until they reach Halifax, N. C., as this very necessary business must not be neglected.

In Colonial Records, Vol. 14, p. 17, we find a letter written to Governor Caswell from General Lincoln:

> I hope as soon as the furloughs of your nine-months men shall expire they will be forwarded and that your militia will be relieved in time. The enemy lately moved as far as Augusta with, as I am informed, seventeen hundred men. We have a body opposite to oppose their crossing. General Ashe, with General Bryan's brigade, is gone up. It is a matter of great importance that we prevent the enemy from getting into the upper part of the country, from where we draw many of our supplies, in which are many unfriendly persons, and by which our communication with the Indians would be cut off, and they be obliged to turn their trade and receive their supplies through another channel, which would plainly not be to our advantage.

General William Bryan married three times—Mrs. Respass, Miss Green, and Miss Mackey. Miss Green was a daughter of Colonel James Green of the line of Peter Green of Burley Hall, England, and a sister of the Colonel Joseph Green. General Bryan's daughter, Eleanor Bryan, had the earrings torn from her ears by British soldiers. (This by tradition.) One day his wife and daughters were walking to a neighbor's house to call, and were surprised by a ruffian red coat who rushed out of the woods and pulled the earrings out of one of the girls' ears and demanded all of their jewelry. In terror they gave it up, all but one girl named Anne, who refused to take off one of her rings (which happened to be her engagement ring). He drew his sword and declared that he would kill her if she did not. She threw her hands over her head and said with her father's spirit, "I will die before you shall have it." In the midst of this revolting scene it is said that an aide de camp of the British officer rode upon the party just in time to witness this atrocity on the part of some of his soldiers, and immediately struck to the ground with his saber one of those cowardly wretches who died then and there. (This by tradition.)

General Bryan was engaged with his command in frequent collisions with the British forces who were constantly making incursions on the inhabitants of Craven County in the vicinity

of Core Creek and Fort Barnwell, his plantation and residence being located near Core Creek at the spot where Mr. Albert Wadsworth now resides. In one of the forays the British force greatly outnumbering his command, they routed Bryan's forces and came near capturing him. By a ruse of one of his faithful slaves, York by name, he was secreted by him and taken to an island in Neuse River near York's home, and regularly fed and taken care of for several days, the negro making his perilous trips to General Bryan always at night. The British entered his dwelling, ransacking every hole and corner to find him, but without success. This so exasperated them that they ordered the family out of the house and burned it to the ground, as found in Colonial Records, Vol. 15, p. 627.

Early one night as York stepped into the road (he had just taken his master's supper to him) he met a band of Tories, some of whom knew York and he knew them. The general was near enough to hear the whole conversation. They asked the negro where his master was, he replied that he did not know. "You are a liar," they said. "Now tell us where he is and we will give you money." (This part, which is traditional, was given the writer by Mrs. J. W. Waters, who has been unable to find out the exact amount that was offered to York.) The negro still contended that he did not know where the general was. Then they offered him his freedom and still he held out. Finally, becoming enraged they threatened to kill him if he would not tell. York told them to kill him, even then they would not find where "Marsa" was. One of them, so goes the account, was going to shoot him, but the captain stopped him, saying, "The poor negro does not know where his master is." So they went on and left the negro undisturbed.

The general afterwards said that he was afraid that they would hear his heart beat, so near were they to his hiding place. The person above mentioned as furnishing this source of information has pointed out the spot where the general

was in hiding at the time. York was an honored guest at the homes of all of General Bryan's children and grandchildren, and was often invited up to the sideboard to drink his French brandy out of the cut-glass decanters. Like most of his race, and ours too, York ardently loved intoxicants. He was a worthy negro and lived a respectable life, the general having given him a life estate in lands on the south side of Core Creek, and this land is known to every one at the present time as the "York field."

The Tories, as mentioned above, gave General Bryan trouble in that they burned up all of his property that they could. (See Colonial Records, Vol. 15, pp. 627-8.) This same passage gives account of his revenge, a part of which I will quote:

> After the enemy were in possession of New Bern a couple of days, they evacuated it and came up Neuse Road to our post at Bryan's Mill (this is part of a letter written from General Caswell to Governor Burke) and were very near to surprizing the party there which I had just left under the command of Colonel Gorham, who finding the enemy advancing in front, made every disposition to skirmish with them, thinking his right flank and rear well covered with horse. But on their approach in front the piquets on his right flank began to skirmish. He then found that the horse had not taken post as directed, and ordered a retreat, which he very well effected two miles across Neuse River. The enemy lay but one night there, burnt Bryan's house, Mr. William Herritage's and the Cox's dwellings, and much distressed and abused their families; then moved across the country to Trent River, and have gone toward the "Richlands" of New River. They let us accidently find out that their intentions were to go down the sound and destroy all the salt works. They have taken about fifteen prisoners. Their loss would have been much greater but for the scarcity of our ammunition which prevented my skirmishing to any great extent. General Bryan, the Herritages and Cox's have raised a party and burned up all of the Tories' houses near them. I am exceedingly sorry for the event and dread the consequences. Have given them orders to stop it, but fear that I cannot put an end to it.

This letter was written August 27, 1781.

General Bryan was a trustee of the school at New Bern. In Colonial Records, Vol. 24, p. 607, we find: "The General

Assembly appointed a schoolhouse at New Bern. This act was amended in 1784 and the following trustees appointed: Hon. Richard Caswell, Abner Nash, John Wright Starkey, General William Bryan, and Richard Dobbs Speight." He was sheriff and lieutenant-colonel while Caswell was colonel of the regiment during the year 1774-1775. (See Colonial Records, Vol. 21, p. 1072.)

Colonial Records, Vol. 24, p. 387, shows that by an enactment of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina a board of auditors was constituted and appointed in each of the districts of New Bern, Wilmington, Halifax, Hillsboro, Edenton, and two for the district of Salisbury, each board to consist of three members, to be composed of the following persons: James Coor, William Bryan and John Hawks for the district of New Bern (the rest of the names I will not enumerate).

He was appointed by the Provincial Congress to see that Thomas Emery would remove himself from the town of New Bern within ten days to the county of Dobbs, there to remain for the space of two months, on account of undue practices which tended to influence the minds of the people and prevent the militia of Craven County from turning out in defense and protection of the province. (See Colonial Records, Vol. 10, p. 632.)

It seems that his detachment was the center around which the others had their orders issued to them. From Colonial Records, Vol. 8, pp. 675-676, I quote the following:

Colonel Ashe will take command of the army and march with them to Colonel Bryan's, from whence the several detachments will march under the command of their respective commanding officers to their particular counties and be there discharged. The commissary will supply the army with provisions as usual until they get to Colonel Bryan's, and then furnish the commanding officers of the several detachments with a sufficient quantity to serve them to their respective homes. The whole of the artillery and ammunition to be escorted to New Bern from Colonel Bryan's by the detachment under the command of Colonel Leech. The horses taken in battle are to be divided at Colonel Bryan's—one-half to go to New Bern with

Colonel Leech, the other half to go to Wilmington with Colonel Ashe, where they are to be sold at public vendue, and the proceeds to be paid to the public vendue.

General Bryan's advice was constantly sought and his opinions highly respected. His appointment on countless committees shows how valuable a man he was to his community in those terrible days, regardless of the numerous other trustworthy positions that were held by him. In Colonial Records, Vol. 10, p. 175, can be found a statement to the effect that he was on a committee for the purpose of preparing a plan for the internal peace, order and safety of the province, and to make such an arrangement in the civil police of the province as may tend to supply in some measure the defect of the executive powers of government, arising from his Excellency's absence. (This refers to the absence of Governor Martin.) This body of men was also to take into consideration the propriety of appointing a committee of safety; the members to compose it, the manner and time of meetings, qualifications of the electors and elected, the number of which these shall consist, etc.; and further to report the necessity, if any there be, of forming other committees in order to relieve the province in the present unhappy state to which it was subjected.

That he was a man of some kindness of heart is proven by the fact that he expressed his desire and willingness to pardon one Reynold McDugall, who was a boy of about eighteen years of age, and condemned, on August 9, 1775, to death for murder. The case was one of pronounced guilt, but owing to the youthfulness of the criminal and the dependence of his mother upon him, General Bryan was in favor of pardoning him. This pardon was granted. (See Colonial Records, Vol. 9, pp. 683-685.)

William Bryan, Church Warden of Christ Parish of Craven County, was, as we can see, an influential man in his church. For reference to his active part in the affairs of the

Episcopal Church see the North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 2, No. 2, and paragraph 11.

He resigned as brigadier-general in 1779. (See Colonial Records, Vol. 13, pp. 754, 755, 793, 807, 808.)

General Bryan owned a large body of land where Tuscarora now stands. He built the mill on Core Creek just west of his home, which was at this time the most famous mill in Eastern North Carolina. The stream afforded water in the greatest drought. It had two saws and two grists, one for corn, the other for wheat.

I desire to emphasize the fact that Brigadier-General William Bryan was not killed in the battle of Alamance. Had he been killed in this battle, which was a battle between the English Colonists and the Regulators, in May, 1771, he certainly could not have been in a position to resign as brigadier-general in 1779. (Colonial Records, Vol. 13, p. 755.) It is generally thought by the majority of people that he met his death in this way. But our hero lived on and made a most heroic stand for his country that he loved so dearly and tried so faithfully to serve, as I have tried to show in the above. And was he not a hero? There were other men in the Revolution that held higher military positions than did he, but he was ever a true and loyal patriot, a highly respected and esteemed general.

For Whom Was Edgecombe County Named?

By Gaston Lichtenstein

It is said that Governor David L. Swain once attempted to count the errors in Wheeler's History of North Carolina. When the amazing figure of one thousand was reached, he put down the book. Whether this story be true or false, John H. Wheeler has squeezed more inaccuracies into a mass of valuable matter than any so-called historian to my knowledge. Yet, with all its faults, the work is worth a great deal to students. Herein they find a multitude of details which offer an unusual stimulus for research in order to prove their truth or falsity.

The first sentence of the chapter on Edgecombe alleges that the county was formed from Craven. For this bit of misinformation the authority cannot be determined. Edgecombe was a precinct from its origin until 1738, when the precincts of the colony became counties. Whether or not Governor Burrington's creation failed to receive legislative confirmation as a county before 1741, the Colonial Records expressly state that Edgecombe was formed from Bertie. Otherwise, what does the following extract mean: "Read a Bill entitled a Bill for an Act Appointing that part of Bertie Precinct which lies on the South Side of Roanoak River to be Establisht a precinct by ye name of Edgecombe."[1] Wheeler's first reference is to Martin's history, but the authority cited simply says that the county of Edgecombe, which had been erected by an order of Governor Burrington in council, was confirmed by law (1741). No mention of Craven is made by Martin. Before entering upon the subject proper, I respectfully ask that Bertie be given credit as the parent of Edgecombe. Thus, one error is disposed of.

Sentence two, of the chapter on Edgecombe, informs us that its name is Saxon, and signifies "a valley environed with hills," and is derived from the Earl of Mount Edgecombe,

[1] Vol. III, p. 640.

who, as Captain Edgecombe of the navy, had served with reputation under Admiral Byng, in 1756, at Minorca. How Wheeler could write such a sentence is beyond my comprehension, for he stated at the beginning of the chapter that Edgecombe was formed in 1733. The fight, in which Captain Edgecombe distinguished himself, occurred twenty-three years after Burrington erected the new precinct. How could the Governor name a portion of the Colony in 1733 for a man who *"had served"* in 1756?

George Edgecumbe, first Earl of Mount-Edgecumbe, was born in 1721. He was twelve years old, therefore, when Bertie precinct lost a big part of its territory. It is true that, in 1756, this nobleman assisted Admiral Byng; it is true, also, that he rose from midshipman to the rank of admiral in the English navy, but the distinguished services of George Edgecumbe could not have been retroactive. As a boy of twelve, he had almost certainly done nothing for which any honor was due him in the Colony of North Carolina.

Richard Edgcumbe, first Baron Edgcumbe and father of the admiral, was born in 1680. In 1733, when Edgecombe precinct was formed, this gentleman enjoyed the friendship of Horace Walpole; in fact, he is said to have been popular with George II because he was shorter than that diminutive monarch.[2] He occupied the position of a lord of the treasury for a number of years and, although politically corrupt in his management of the Cornish boroughs, seems to have left a worthy name in other respects. Walpole, whom he served as a most trusted subordinate, said Richard Edgcumbe was "one of the honestest and steadiest men in the world."

On the 14th day of November, 1732, Captain Burrington, Governor of North Carolina, wrote a letter to the Board of Trade and Plantations concerning Baby Smith. Most of the details are unrelated to the present subject and will be omitted. The lordships were informed that Baby Smith

[2] Dict. of Nat. Biog., Vol. XVI, p. 377.

needed an Instructor from a Gentleman in Hanover Square. The Governor continues: "I thought Smith would be at a great loss how to proceed against me. Upon Mr. Ashe's breach of promise in not repairing to London, therefore judged he would want an Instructor, and for Hanover Square I might very well think that a fitt place of Instruction, it was there I used to wait upon two Gentlemen for advise and assistance in my own affairs. The right honourable Mr. Edgcombe, allways generouse, wise and benificent is one of the persons I mean."[3]

Who was Mr. Edgcombe? The generous, wise, and beneficent gentleman was very probably the person whom Royal Governor Burrington selected to honor. As the Chief Executive of the Colony formerly went for advice and assistance to Mr. Edgcombe, it is fair to assume (other evidence being unsatisfactory) that George Burrington showed his gratitude by naming one of the three precincts, erected in the year following the date of the above letter, for his proved friend. But, was the gentleman Richard Edgcumbe?

A search through the Colonial Records reveals the information that on January 7, 1755, a Mr. Edgcumbe sat as a member of the Board of Trade. His fellow members, present at the particular meeting, were: the Earl of Halifax, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Oswald, and Mr. Fane. Although the first baron did not die until 1758, advanced age would be strong evidence to offer that he did not occupy a place on the Board of Trade. His son Richard, second Baron Edgcumbe and elder brother of the admiral, held a number of positions in the service of the English Government, and, like his father, enjoyed the friendship of Horace Walpole. While Richard Edgcumbe, the younger, may have served on the Board of Trade in 1755, he could not have been a friend of Governor Burrington in 1732 because he was then only sixteen years old.

Family history ought to be preserved, at least, through tradition. A considerable amount of matter, in the case of

[3] Vol. V, p. 480.

the Edgcumbe family, has been permanently preserved, but the data at my command throw no direct light on Edgecombe County. I wrote a letter to the present Earl of Mount-Edgecumbe and asked for his assistance. He replied kindly enough but could not help me. Therefore, the question is open: for whom was Edgecombe County named?

Biographical and Genealogical Memoranda

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT

A sketch of Chief Justice Walter Clark by Mrs. Moffitt appeared in THE BOOKLET of January, 1910.

WILLIAM HOLLISTER

The author of "William Bryan of Craven County, Brigadier-General in the American Revolution," is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Slover Hollister of New Bern, North Carolina. His mother is a Daughter of the Revolution, and, upon request, furnished this interesting sketch. The North Carolina Sons of the American Revolution offered a gold medal to schools and colleges of the State for the best essay on "Brigadier-General William Bryan of Craven County." The offer which was sent out is as follows:

"A GOLD MEDAL FOR BEST ESSAY

"The North Carolina Society of the Sons of the American Revolution offers a Gold Medal for best essay on William Bryan of Craven County, Brigadier General in the American Revolution.

"CONDITIONS OF CONTEST

"1. It will be limited to students of the colleges, high schools, public and private, in the State of North Carolina.

"2. All essays must be original work of the contestants, giving credit by quotations where verbatim copying is resorted to, and referring to book and page from which quotation is made.

"3. Essays must not exceed 3,000 words.

"4. In all essays facts are to be stated as facts and traditions as traditions.

"5. Three typewritten copies are required of each essay, one copy of which is to be sent to Judge S. C. Bragaw, ex-

President of the N. C. S. A. R., Washington, N. C., Mrs. W. N. Reynolds, State Regent D. A. R., Winston-Salem, N. C., and Dr. S. Westray Battle, Asheville, N. C.

"6. These essays must be filed with the above named persons before May 15, 1916.

"7. If several students in a college, or one high school, prepare essays, the best one is to be selected from these by a local contest, or in any other way the school authorities may prefer. Only one essay, the best, from any one college or school can compete in this contest.

R. T. Bonner, *Secretary,*
Aurora, N. C.

E. A. Harrington,
Greensboro, N. C."

Although it was William Hollister's graduating year at Davidson College and he had many outside duties—member Student Council, member Y. M. C. A. Cabinet, on editorial staff of the *Davidsonian,* member Blue Pencil Club, etc.—his mother was particularly anxious that he should try to win this medal, as General Bryan was his great-great-great-grandfather. He has had two years of medicine at Johns Hopkins and has two more before him.

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Vol. XVIII JANUARY, 1919 No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

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JOHN STEELE
Member First and Second United States Congresses; Comptroller of the Treasury under Washington, Adams, and Jefferson

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XVIII JANUARY, 1919 No. 3

John Steele

By Archibald Henderson

"North Carolina has produced few individuals," says that astute judge of men and affairs, David L. Swain, in speaking of John Steele, "whose public services offer more interesting topics for history and biography." Modest to a fault, exceptionally sensitive in disposition, he was at once rarely versatile and efficient. In the earliest years of the Republic, with his hand upon the nation's pulse, he numbered among his friends and familiar correspondents such figures as Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, Oliver Wolcott, Albert Gallatin, Joseph Habersham, James Iredell, Alfred Moore, Nathaniel Macon, and William R. Davie.

I

John Steele, named after his father's brother, was born at Salisbury, North Carolina, on November 16, 1764. His mother was first married to Robert Gillespie, who was murdered by the Indians in March, 1760. Her second husband was William Steel, Commissioner of the Borough Town of Salisbury. Known to history as Elizabeth Maxwell Steel, she endeared herself to her country by presenting to General Nathanael Greene, in the darkest hour of his career, her savings of years for the public service.

John Steele received his early education at the "English School" in Salisbury of which his mother thought so highly. An important influence was exerted upon young Steele during his earlier years by Dr. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle, the husband of his half-sister, Margaret Gillespie. As a youth, Steele attended the famous Latin School, Clio's Nursery, near present Statesville, North Carolina, opened by the Rev. James Hall about 1775. Under the influence of McCorkle

and Hall, who were inspired by the teachings of Nassau Hall and the Revolutionary zeal of John Witherspoon, Steele early exhibited a deep love of country and a flaming passion for liberty. At the age of thirteen, against his mother's will, he enlisted in the Continental Army; and soon afterwards his mother is writing to him as follows: "Since you have chosen that manner of life, it would give me the greatest pleasure to hear of your acquitting yourself with honor and faithfulness to your country."

After the expiration of his military service, young Steele returned to Salisbury and established a mercantile business, which doubtless often sent him on business visits to Cross Creek, near present Fayetteville, the economic center of the Scotch mercantile trade. Here he formed the acquaintance of the well-known merchant, Robert Cochran. Attracted by the charms of Mr. Cochran's daughter-in-law, Mary Nesfield, he successfully pressed his suit and was married to the woman of his choice on February 9, 1783. In a letter to his uncle, Ephraim Steele, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania (Salisbury, April 24, 1787), John Steele writes: "Mr. McCorkle's family, my mother's and my own are well. I have had two children but was unhappy to lose one last summer, as well as my old friend and benefactor, Robert Cochran of Fayetteville, with whom I was concerned in trade. Since his death I have conducted the business alone with tolerable success. Goods retail high in this place. The great quantity of paper money which circulates through this state is a heavy drawback upon our prosperity."

John Steele early displayed not only unusual capability in commercial enterprise, but also marked talent as a student of public affairs. On May 5, 1784, he was chosen Assessor for the Town of Salisbury; on March 12, 1787, he was qualified as Town Commissioner; and for many years he held the office of Justice of the County Court of Rowan. His conspicuous interest in public affairs, together with his general popularity, soon brought him into public notice. In 1787,

at the age of twenty-two, he was sent to the House of Commons as the representative of the Town of Salisbury. "Though his attention had been devoted to mercantile and agricultural pursuits," observes Moore, the historian, "he developed a strength and clearness in his address that were astonishing." The public confidence reposed in young Steele was demonstrated by his election to represent the town in the convention, held for the purpose of considering the propriety of adopting the new Federal Constitution, begun at Hillsborough on July 21, 1788. A remarkable testimony to Steele's ability is the fact that, in a membership of two hundred and eighty, he is ranked by Iredell's biographer with the great leaders, James Iredell, William R. Davie, Samuel Johnston, Richard Dobbs Spaight and Archibald Maclaine, as one of the half-dozen most prominent Federalists in the convention. "He was universally regarded," says McRee, "as a very enlightened politician, and accomplished gentleman." By Hubbard, Davie's biographer, Steele is described as diligent, clear-sighted, and for his knowledge of men and skillful marshaling of their forces a valuable ally of the cause of the Constitution. When Steele was instrumental in having the new county formed out of Rowan named Iredell, James Iredell wrote him a letter of hearty thanks (Edenton, February 7, 1789), in which he said: "My opportunities of rendering any public service have been very few; but no man's heart is more warmly disposed to the public interest than mine. I think neither you nor myself could give stronger proofs of it, than in supporting with all the earnestness in our power a Constitution which, in my opinion, gave us the only chance of being rescued from the dreadful evil of universal anarchy, which is as far removed from true liberty as despotism itself." Again Steele represented Salisbury, both in the Legislature of 1788 and in the Convention of 1789, which met at Fayetteville in November and by a large majority ratified the Federal Constitution.

II

On account of the prominent part he had played in political affairs, Steele was put forward by the people generally, irrespective of faction, in the Salisbury District, and at the age of twenty-five elected to the First United States Congress, which convened at Philadelphia on March 4, 1789.[1] During the two terms of his service in Congress, Steele won real and merited distinction. His speeches were marked by great earnestness, delivered with dignity, and stamped with the authority which rests on knowledge. Popularly classed as a Federalist, who had won his seat as an active supporter of the Constitution, he showed himself to be neither a partisan supporter of administrative measures nor a colorless recorder of Federalist opinion. In reality, his was the attitude of the statesman who is above party. The great veneration he felt for Washington was tempered by the consciousness that Congress, out of an excess of admiration for this great man, had "by law invested him with powers not delegated by the Constitution, which would have been intrusted to no other." Steele greatly admired the genius of his friend, Alexander Hamilton, as administrator and financier. Yet he was by no means an unqualified adherent of Hamilton; and on important occasions, he opposed measures of Hamilton's which he regarded as unwise and impractical. Supported by his colleagues, he opposed Hamilton's plan of the assumption by the Union of all the debts of the States contracted in gaining American independence, on the ground that it was impossible to adjust the account equitably. In conformity with well-considered views, he supported the bill for establishing a national bank, which was so vigorously fought by Jefferson and his followers on the ground of unconstitutionality. In the fight on the Secretary of the Treasury, he voted uniformly

[1]As North Carolina did not ratify the Constitution of the United States until November 21, 1789, the State had no representation until the second of the three sessions of the first Congress. John Steele took his seat on April 19, 1790. His colleagues in this Congress were John Sevier, Timothy Bloodworth, John B. Ashe, and Hugh Williamson, the last a Federalist. Both the Senators from North Carolina, Samuel Johnston and Benjamin Hawkins, were Federalists.

in indorsement of Hamilton, being supported by Williamson and opposed by Ashe and Macon. In recognition of the legal insight of Steele, he was appointed, along with Gerry and Williamson, to bring in a bill to adapt to the State of North Carolina the judiciary laws of the United States.

It was principally through the instrumentality of John Steele and Judge Spruce Macay, the Mayor of the town, that President Washington, on his tour of the South in 1791, was so elaborately greeted and hospitably entertained by the municipality of Salisbury. In his diary, May 30, 1791, Washington records: "In about 10 miles at the line which divides Mecklenburg from Rowan Counties, I met a party of horse belonging to the latter, who came from Salisbury to escort me on. . . . I was also met 5 miles from Salisbury by the Mayor of the Corporation, Judge McKay, and many others;—Mr. Steele, Representative for the District, was so polite as to come all the way to Charlotte to meet me. . . . Dined at a public dinner given by the Citizens of Salisbury; & in the afternoon drank tea at the same place with about 20 ladies, who had been assembled for the occasion." In his address of welcome, the Mayor voiced the delight of the inhabitants in Washington's visit and instanced "the fervor of the universal welcome which the grateful people gave him." Washington's reply, which expressed by indirection his satisfaction over the action of the people of the Salisbury district in sending Steele, a Federalist, to the first United States Congress, contains these words: "The interest you are pleased to take in my personal welfare excites a sensibility proportional to your goodness. While I make the most grateful acknowledgment for that goodness, allow me to observe that your own determination, coöperating with that of your fellow-citizens throughout the Union, to maintain and perpetuate the federal government, affords a better assurance of order and public prosperity, than the best meant endeavors of any individual could give."

The following letter, which Steele wrote to Governor Alexander Martin (New York, May 17, 1790), during the session

of the first Congress, is interesting as throwing light upon important political questions of the day:

SIR:—A great variety of business at present occupies the attention of Congress, and tho the sessions commenced with the year, there is little probability of adjourning previous to the 1st of August.

The President is dangerously ill of a pectoral complaint, the opinion of the faculty is against a recovery. Before this attack he was engaged in extending his appointments to the several departments of No. Carolina and the ceded Territory, but the secrets of his cabinet are retained in such absolute darkness, that were I to attempt to give you information, it would be mere conjecture. If this stroke should unfortunately prove fatal, the Vice President will be in office, by virtue of his present appointment, until the 4th of March, 1793. An event melancholy indeed. Shou'd it happen, perhaps it wou'd have been better for the United States, that Gen'l Washington had never been chosen; for relying on his virtue and abilities, Congress have in repeated instances, by law, invested him with powers not delegated by the Constitution, which I suppose would have been intrusted to no other man. These powers can never be recalled without the consent of his successor in office, or an union of sentiment, which in these factious times, is not to be expected.

The assumption of the State debts, we are told, will be brought forward next week in a new dress. This is intended, either to gull some of the more moderate members; or by delaying the progress of public business constrain some of the Georgians or No. Carolinians (who are anxious to return) to obtain leave of absence. Or the Eastern members have been tampering with the Pennsylvanians, by offering the permanent residence of Congress to Philadelphia. This surmise I have taken occasion to speak of to those who are most zealously attached to the interest of that city, holding out as a threat that if they did desert us, we shou'd most assuredly desert them; so that eventually Philadelphia might lose more by the bargain than she would gain.

A bill has lately been passed by the Senate, and sent to us for concurrence, designed to prohibit any further intercourse with Rhode Island, until she shall ratify. It is tyrannical and arbitrary in the highest degree, and the author of it, indeed the Senate by passing it, seem to have lost sight of that political connection which once existed, and of that spirit of moderation, and mutual forbearance, which ought forever to subsist between governments related as they are to us, as well as between individuals. That State, tho' comparatively small, was not backward in the late Revolution. She performed essential services in the common cause. She sustained important sacrifices, and is therefore entitled to respect. How far in her present politicks she has been wrong, or how far right, are questions which time only can decide.

I hope the bill will not pass our house. If it shou'd, there will be a proof given to the world, of the sandy foundation of all human friendship, or political connections.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With sincere attachment,
Your Excellency's
Most Humble Servant,
JNO. STEELE.

As an evidence of the popular appreciation in which his services in the first Congress were held, may be read today the following account in the *North Carolina Chronicle;* or, *Fayetteville Gazette,* of November 8, 1790:

On the last day of the supreme court at Salisbury, the grand jury appointed their foreman, William Dent, esquire, Major John Crump and Major Henry Terrell, a committee to wait upon John Steele, esquire, with the following address:

SALISBURY DISTRICT, SUPERIOR COURT,
September Term, 1790.

The grand jury for the district aforesaid, sensibly, and deeply impressed with the importance of the duties of their representatives in the congress of the United States, return their thanks to the honourable John Steele, esquire, for his spirited support, and faithful attention, to the interests of this state, during the last session of congress.

The grand jury would conceive themselves wanting in attention to the proper interests of the government in general, and this State in particular, should they withhold this testimonial of their approbation of Mr. Steele's conduct, as the representative of a free people.

WILLIAM DENT, *foreman.*	ZACHARIAH RAY.
JOHN CRUMP.	JACOB T. LONGINO.
HARRY TERRELL.	WALTER BRALEY.
JOEL LEWIS.	CHARLES POLK.
WILLIAM BETHELL.	OBEDIAH W. BENGE.
THOMAS KING.	JOSEPH HAYDEN.
JAMES COTTON.	JACOB CLINARD.
JOHN HOWEY.	JOHN (illegible).
WILLIAM KINDALL.	JAMES ADAMS.[2]

During his two terms in Congress, Steele took an active part in debate. Upon the question of the ratio of representa-

[2] For this account I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

tion, he made extended speeches, advocating one Representative for every thirty-five thousand persons; and pleaded for a recognition of the lessons taught by experience in America, rather than the following of precedents from Great Britain, which did not properly apply to American conditions. He spoke in favor of Nathaniel Macon's plan for protecting the "infant industry" of cotton raising; and in view of the fact that this "infant industry" was one day to become the greatest industry in America, it is interesting to recall Steele's declaration that at this early date "the farmers of North Carolina had gone largely into the cultivation of that article."

Not given by disposition to indulgence in oratorical flights, or perfervid declarations that he was a champion of the "Liberties of the People," Steele showed himself to be singularly fairminded and impartial. He was an independent in politics at the moment when political parties were just beginning to assume definite confrontation. A striking illustration of his independence and his transparent honesty is afforded in the case of his firm opposition to Clark's resolution for calling out the militia to protect the Southwestern frontiers. Familiar with conditions on the Indian border, Steele did not hesitate to tell the truth, espousing the unpopular side without regard for the effect such action might have upon his own political fortunes. His subsequent defeat for a third term in Congress was probably due to the speech in which the following veracious though unpopular assertion was made:

> That the white people are sometimes and often the aggressors (in conflicts between the whites and the Indians on the frontier) did appear from documents then on the files, that some such instances had come within my own knowledge, and as the information then to be acted upon only came from one of the parties, a recollection of what human nature is under the influence of passion, should cause the house to receive it with caution.

On December 19, 1792, Steele introduced a resolution for reducing the military establishment of the United States, assigning two motives for his action: to afford more effectual protection to the frontiers; and to obviate the necessity for

new taxes. On December 28, 1792, and on January 5, 1793, he made able and extended speeches in advocacy of his resolution. Drawing illustrations from flagrant instances of the failure of army regulars, who were only mechanical in their discipline, to cope successfully with Indian tactics, Steele eloquently asserted the superiority of the frontiersmen as militia in engaging and conquering the savage foe. Worthy of record is his tribute to the militia, and in especial to the great Indian fighters of the Old Southwest:

> Who fought the battle of Bunker Hill? Who fought the battles of New Jersey? Who have fought the Indians so often with success, under Generals Wilkinson, Scott, Sevier, and others? Who marched in 1776 under General Rutherford, through the Cherokee nation, laid waste their country, and forced them to peace? Who fought the battles of Georgia, under Clark and Twiggs? Who fought the battles of South Carolina, under the command of an honorable member now present?
>
> Who fought the ever-memorable battles of Cowpens, Kings Mountain, Hanging Rock, Blackstocks, the pivots on which the Revolution turned in the Southern States? In short, who fought all the battles of the Southern States, while we had a mere handful of regular troops, scarcely the shadow, much less the reality of an army?
>
> They were all fought by freemen, the substantial freeholders of the country; the men attached to the Revolution from principle; men who were sensible of their rights and fought for them.

III

While the North Carolina representatives were unanimous on the motion to reduce the army, as amended by Williamson, and in opposition to extending the Indian war, Steele's advocacy of these measures was adduced against him to his damage by political opponents in proof of his alleged lack of sympathy with the people of the West and indifference to the sufferings of the borderers at the hands of the Indians. During his stay in Congress, he wrote numerous political letters to leading men of his district, irrespective of party; and transmitted a wealth of information on national affairs to his constituents through the medium of Dr. John Sibley, editor of the *Fayetteville Gazette*. In answer to the charge of having been independent in politics, Steele vigorously

retorted: "I represented the division, and was not elected by or for any particular party. Being the representative of all, I attempted to give information to all . . ." In the days of his congressional service in Philadelphia, Steele became a close friend of Alexander Hamilton; and through this connection, his acquaintance with Washington, by whom he was held in high regard, and the bent of his own political ideas and convictions, he gradually became more deeply imbued with Federalist principles. His correspondence with Hamilton is rich in historical interest; and the following extract from one of his letters (Steele to Hamilton, Salisbury, March 17, 1793) is illuminating:

> To support a constitution which has cost the best people in the Union so much pains to establish, to counteract the nefarious designs of its enemies, and to rally round the Federal government as a Standard where our most precious liberties are well secured, is the duty of men who possess talents, property, reputation, or influence. Of this, if ever I doubted, my doubts have been removed by late political occurrences, none of which are more alarming to the friends of systematic and stable government, than the unwise, indecent, and poisonous opposition, to the declaration of neutrality. The decided and patriotic part which the President took on that subject, has raised him some enemies here, as well as in Philada.; but it has increased the veneration and love of all the *sober-minded well-wishers* of national prosperity.
>
> Our state elections are over. I have accepted a seat in the Assembly. Colo. Davie, whom you have often heard me speak of, is also in, and if there can be a necessity for such a measure, I am sure the Legislature wou'd express in decided terms an approbation of the wisdom which dictated that Proclamation. Though I am sure that success wou'd attend such a motion through both houses, yet I cannot help questioning the propriety of an individual state interfering at all, either to approve or censure the administration of the general Government.
>
> No step shall be taken in relation to it without due deliberation, and advice wou'd not be unacceptable. Neutrality is the wish of every good man in this State who has sense enough to know his country's *solid interest*, and the president may be assured of this, without our troubling him to answer a profusion of addresses.

IV

In a letter to the Grand Jury of Salisbury in 1792, Steele gave an account of his stewardship in Congress, and expressed his intention of permitting his name to be presented before the Legislature as a candidate for the United States Senate. At the session of the Legislature at New Bern in November and December, 1792, he was a prominent candidate for Senator, along with William Blount and Alexander Martin. Largely as the result of violently partisan accusations by Montford Stokes, to the effect that Steele had fashioned his views "on the political complection of his correspondents," that his principles were "all aristocratical," and that he was the devoted adherent of Alexander Hamilton, Steele was defeated—Martin winning the seat by a small majority.

In 1795, Steele was put forward as the candidate of the Federalist party for United States Senator. His Republican opponent was Timothy Bloodworth. It was locally urged against Steele by leading opponents, in especial by Joseph McDowell of Quaker Meadows, that he "was considered by a great many members from the Southern States . . . to have joined the aristocratical party" and to have become an ardent adherent of Alexander Hamilton. In addition to this local opposition, outside influence, notably that of Pierce Butler of South Carolina, was brought to bear against Steele in question of his "steady Republicanism." Much to the chagrin of the Federalist leaders, who had a poor opinion of Bloodworth's ability, Steele was defeated in consequence of the charges so dexterously advanced by his opponents. During this period, Steele remained prominently in the public eye. On January 8, 1794, he was appointed, by Governor Richard Dobbs Spaight, Major General of the Fourth Division of Militia of North Carolina. In 1794 and 1795, he represented the Salisbury District in the North Carolina House of Commons, and played an influential part in the proceedings.

Thomas Benbury—A Brigadier General of the American Revolution

By Emily Ryan Benbury Haywood
(Mrs. Hubert Haywood)

Thomas Benbury was born in 1736, at his father's home, "Banbury Hall," five miles from Edenton on the Albemarle Sound. He was the son of John Benbury, born 1707, died 1774, his wife's name being Mary. He was a member of the court in 1756, and also a vestryman of St. Paul's Parish, Edenton.

The grandson of William Banbury, who married Jean or Jane Minsey, and is first mentioned in the court records of Chowan County in 1684, when he had a deed recorded as a gift from his mother-in-law, Mrs. Dorothy Minsey, at which time he was said to be twenty-one years old. This was about twenty-five years after the first permanent settlement of North Carolina. He was a member of the first vestry of the Church of England ever held in North Carolina, which was that of St. Paul's Parish, Edenton, on which he served continuously until 1708, and was also a member of the first vestry in North Carolina, that of 1705, which ever voluntarily assessed itself for the benefit of the Church.

Tradition says that the family of Banbury, as it was originally called, settled first on the James River, later moving to Nansemond County, Va.; finally migrating to Albemarle, in the Province of Carolina, as this whole section was then known. The supposition is that the family originally emigrated from in, or near, the town of Banbury, in England, which is only a short distance from London and the town of Oxford. Just when the final change in the name was made is not known, but it must have been during the life time of William, for in 1701, as a member of the vestry of St. Paul's Parish, it is written Banbury, but in his will he signs himself William Benbury, and, so far, there appears to have

been no further use of the original form. It was a common custom among the early Colonists to vary the spelling of a name. For more than a hundred years Banbury or Benbury Hall remained in the family, until finally in the course of time it passed into other hands, and its name was changed to "Athol," by which name it is now known. It is owned by Mr. Julian Wood, of Edenton, N. C., whose wife is the granddaughter, seventh in descent, from its original owner.

Thomas Benbury married Thamer Howcott in 1761, who lived only a few years, dying in 1765, leaving two children, Samuel, who died early, and Richard. In 1769 Thomas Benbury married Betty _____ for his second wife. She lived only a short while and left no children. As were his father and grandfather before him, he was a churchman and a vestryman of the Parish of St. Paul's, also a member of the Edenton Lodge of Masons. He was connected by ties of kinship and association with all the leading men of the State, and by his intimate friends was called "Old Tom." He was a zealous and active member of all public affairs, and as the people were growing restive under British rule and "Taxation without Representation" was growing to be an ever-increasing anxiety and cause of unrest among them, he became an early and ardent advocate of their cause and aligned himself with them at the earliest opportunity, and from that time until the final independence of the American Republic he was one of the most zealous and ardent of patriots.

In 1774, August 22, a call was issued by the freeholders of the Parish for a meeting to be held at the courthouse in Edenton, for the election of delegates to the first Provincial Congress, to be held in New Bern on the 25th of the same month in defiance of the royal authority. This meeting was well attended, and resolutions were passed expressing in no uncertain terms their indignation against the Government of Great Britain, the British Parliament, the imposition of taxes, duties, etc.

The Boston Port Bill was also denounced. The delegates appointed were Samuel Johnston, Thomas Oldham, Thomas Jones, Thomas Benbury, Thomas Hunter, and Joseph Hewes, all of whom attended.

At this Congress Thomas Benbury, Governor Johnston, and Joseph Hewes, were appointed from this district to present these resolutions to the General Congress in Philadelphia. Thomas Benbury was also a delegate to the other Provincial Congresses held in New Bern, Hillsboro, and Halifax. He was a member of the vestry which wrote and signed what was called the famous "Declaration of Independence" of St. Paul's Parish, Edenton, June 19, 1776, but which was afterwards said to be a copy of one prepared by the State Congress in 1775, though many have doubted this. The following is a copy, as it appears on the Church Register in Edenton:

ST. PAUL'S PARISH, 1776.

Be it remembered that the Freeholders of St. Paul's Parish, met the Sheriff at the Court house in Edenton, on Monday, the eighth of April, then and there pursuant to an Act of the Assembly, did elect the following persons to serve as Vestrymen for one year. (Agreeable to resolve of the Provincial Congress, held at Halifax on the second of April, and qualified agreeable thereto), Vizt, Thomas Bonner, William Boyd, Thomas Benbury, Jacob Hunter, John Beasley, William Bennett, William Roberts, Richard Hoskins, David Rice, Aaron Hill, Peletiah Walton, William Hinton.

We, the Subscribers professing our Allegiance to the King, and acknowledging the Constitutional executive power of the Government, do solemnly profess, testify and declare that we do absolutely believe that neither the Parliament of Great Britian, nor any member or Constituent Branch thereof, have a right to impose Taxes upon these Colonies, to regulate the internal Policy thereof, and all attempts by Fraud or Force to establish and exercise such Claims and Powers, are Violations of the Peace and Security of the People, and ought to be resisted to the utmost, and that the people of this province, singly and collectively, are bound by the Acts and Resolutions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, because in both they are freely represented by persons chosen by themselves, and we do solemnly and sincerely promise and engage under the Sanction of Virtue, Honor and the Sacred Love of Liberty due our Country, to Maintain and support all and every, the Acts, Resolutions and Regulations, of the said Continental and Provincial Congresses to the

utmost of our power and ability. In Testimony whereof we have hereto set our hand this 19th day of June, 1776.

RICHARD HOSKINS.
DAVID RICE.
AARON HILL.
PELETIAH WALTON.
WILLIAM HINTON.
THOS. BONNER.
WILLIAM BOYD.
THOMAS BENBURY.
JACOB HUNTER.
JOHN BEASLEY.
WILLIAM BENNETT.
WILLIAM ROBERTS.

In 1778, we find him acting with a friend, Rob Smith, in the capacity of agent for the State, in the reception of some cannon which had been ordered from France by the General Government, at the request of the two States, Virginia and North Carolina; though judging from the interesting correspondence which follows, Mr. Benbury and Mr. Smith acted first, and sought permission of the Governor afterwards. The two cannon, now mounted and placed on either side of the Washington Monument in the southern end of the Capitol Square in Raleigh, are a part of that consignment. The correspondence between Governor Caswell, Thomas Benbury and Rob Smith relative to the same, found among the letters taken from the Governor's letter book and published in the Colonial Records, will prove interesting:

EDENTON, 19th November, 1778.

Captain Berritz of the ship named the "Heart of Jesus," arrived here some time in the month of July last. On his arrival, he wrote a certain Mr. Holton, he says, indeed we know he did. He likewise wrote to Congress what he should do with the cannon he had on board, say twenty eight 24 pounders, to which he never received any answer; but about a month ago, a gentleman from Virginia produced an order for one half, or twenty two of the cannon, for that State, and at the same time exhibited an extract of a Resolve of Congress, by which it appears the contract for the cannon had been applied for by the delegates of the two states, Carolina and Virginia, and was granted. The State of Virginia are to have twenty two of the cannon, and our State Twenty-three. The contract made by the Agents in France is to pay 150 lbs. of tobacco, for

every 100 lbs of iron cannon, for the credit of the State, we have thought it our duty to receive the cannon. The Captain proceeds with the other two and twenty that is ordered to South Quay, where the tobacco is ready for him, for the Virginia half or share. We wish to know if we have acted right in what we have done (we have told your Excellency our motives). What should be done with the cannon, and to know what way the Captain can be paid the tobacco. His time has been some time out, and he will lay after his return from South Quay, at the demurrage, we believe of 50 lbs per day. We hope we will be excused for the freedom we have taken, and are with every sentiment of respect and regard and esteem,

Your Excellency's mo' ob'. and very humb. srvts,

ROB SMITH.
THOS. BENBURY.

In reply is an order from Governor R. Caswell to Robert Smith, Esquire, Kinston, 3d of December, 1778:

SIR: Please to deliver Captain Willis Wilson eight 18 pounders for the use of Fort Hancock, and if there are any among the guns purchased for the State and received by you and Mr. Benbury, any which will suit his ship, please also deliver them. I have not yet been favored with the account of the weight of the Guns, or any of your favors, since the return of your Express respecting the cannon,

I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. CASWELL.

Judge Clark, in the Colonial Records, says:

The ship referred to was the Caswell, Captain, John Easton. She was ordered to proceed immediately to Ocracoke. "You are to receive from Mr. Robert Smith eight 18 pounders, lately imported there from France, and received by Messrs. Smith and Benbury for the use of this State. If there are any other Guns in Mr. Smith's possession that will be useful in your ship, apply to him and he will deliver them," etc., and this letter from Thomas Benbury and Robert Smith to Gov. Caswell, in reply, dated Edenton, 10th of December, 1778:

SIR: We received yours of the 24th November. The reason of your not hearing from us before is explained in Mr. Smith's letter. Captain Barrets proceeding to South Quay with his vessel left us no Invoice of the Cannon left here. We have examined the Cannon, but from the Swedish marks we cannot determine the quantity of Tobacco that the State will have to pay, but as near as we can guess, we have to pay from one hundred and sixty thousand weight of tobacco. As to that part of your Excellency's letter relative to

purchasing Tobacco, we can only answer that we can purchase none here, but as the meeting of the General Assembly is near at hand, we doubt not but they will be able to remove every difficulty, and prevent the demurrage, if any, from being considerable against this State. The cannon shall be delivered as your Excellency ordered, and your commands in every other respect concerning them shall be faithfully obeyed.

We are with respect, sir,

Your Mo. ob. humbl Srvts.,

THOS. BENBURY.

ROB. SMITH.

Thomas Benbury was a member of all the Provincial Congresses and Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1778 to 1782. He was a member of the Edenton District Committee of Safety, Major of State Troops, and Paymaster of the Fifth Regiment and Commissary General. In 1779 he was made Brigadier-General, and it is said that he took part in the Battle of Great Bridge. These were very trying times to the colonists, and the following letters also from the Colonial Records, reflect in part, at least, a portion of their anxieties, and are therefore worthy of being reproduced.

The first is from Colonel Alexander Martin and Thomas Benbury to Governor Nash:

HILLSBOROUGH, August 23rd, 1780.

To his Excellency ABNER NASH, *Esquire, Captain General, Governor, etc., etc.*

SIR: In answer to your Excellency's message of this Day. We, the members Convened, beg leave to hint to your Excellency as our private Sentiments the following Important Objects First, That we advise your Excellency to call out from such Districts and Counties such a Body of the Militia, not exceeding one half to be proportioned as you think necessary, and that they march immediately, by the shortest and most convenient route to join Gen'l Caswell, or to any other post you shall please to appoint, their serving three months, to commence from their rendezvous at Headquarters, or such post as may be Directed, unless sooner disbanded, shall be recommended to the General Assembly as a Tour of Duty.

We further advise your Excellency to order the Commanding Officers of the several Counties, out of which you may order the Militia, to appoint Contractors or Commissioners to provide provisions, spirits, and other necessaries for the use of the Militia to be called into Service, and the members here present engage their Faith

and Honor, to use their Influence in the General Assembly that an adequate, full and ample satisfaction be made for the same, and that Col. Long be directed to immediately purchase, or in case of refusal, to impress all the Iron pots and Kettles now at Wilcox's Iron Works and forward them immediately to Camp.

That your Excellency be requested to issue a Proclamation requiring all Deserters and Refugees belonging to this State, to repair to Headquarters, and that the Commanding Officers of the respective Counties, exert themselves in carrying the purport of such proclamation into Effect, in apprehending and forwarding such persons immediately to Headquarters.

We shall continue a few days at this place, for the purpose of forming an Assembly, in which Time we will gladly and cheerfully advise your Excellency, in any matter that may tend to the Defense of the State.

In the present Critical Conjunction, we submit to your Excellency's prudence, all other matters respecting the Defense of this State. By order and in behalf of the members present,

ALEX MARTIN.
THOMAS BENBURY.

Again we find in the Colonial Records, this correspondence from Thomas Benbury to Governor Nash, in which he signs himself in his official capacity as Brigadier-General:

EDENTON, 22nd October, 1780.

To His Excellency, ABNER NASH,
New Bern, N. C.

SIR: I have at this moment received information that the Enemy are landing forces at Kemps Landing in Virginia. I have in consequence of this information sent an Express in order to learn their movements. I have also dispatched letters to the different Colos. in my district, requiring them to have their regiments equipped in the best manner they can, and to hold themselves to march on the shortest notice. I have likewise written to Col. Long for one thousand stand of arms, if to be spared, we not having one Hundred good Muskets in the district. I hope all this will meet your Excellency's approbation and that you will direct how I am further to proceed. My information says there are sixty Sail of vessels, but the number of troops not known.

I am to inform your Excellency that last Monday, two large Gallies, with sliding Gunter mast, as was judged, about sixty men in each, came over Roanoke Bar, and went through the marshes. On receiving this information, the town of Edenton sent out a Boat to reconnoitre, which is not returned. The town have been under an alarm ever since this information came up. We this moment learn

that fireing was heard last night, the occasion of which we know not, but Conjecture it to be some of the homeward bound vessels, who have fallen in with these Gallies. I shall keep your Excellency informed from time to time of what happens in this quarter.

I have the Honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedt and very humble Servt.,
THOS. BENBURY,—B. G. P. I.

Again in a few days this letter follows:

EDENTON, 30th October, 1780.

To Governor ABNER NASH,

SIR: I have this moment by the return of one of my Expresses received a Letter from Colo. Senf, a copy of which I take the liberty to inclose. You will see by that letter we are in a fair way to be overrun by the Enemy. This morning I was informed by express that three hundred last evening of the Enemy had marched for South Quay and that one thousand were under march for this place from Suffolk. We have made a stand at Norfleet's Mill, about thirty five miles from this place, with the few Militia that will turn out, but I am sorry to say, I never saw, or expected to see men so backward, they seem ready made slaves. The town turn out pretty well, but they are worn out, they expect all to be ruined. I left camp this morning, and am this moment to set out on my return. For God's sake, for the sake of that Liberty we are contending for, give us every aid you can.

I have the Honour to be,
Your Excellency's Most Obedt Servt.,
THOMAS BENBURY, B. G.

With the close of his services as Representative to the General Assembly in 1782, General Benbury was succeeded in 1783 by his son Richard, while he took a much needed rest and enjoyed the quietude of his home for a few years, until 1790, when he was appointed Collector and Inspector of the Port of Edenton by General George Washington, who was then President. This was at that time a position of great importance, though today it hardly seems possible. This position he held until his death February 5, 1793, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, leaving one child, his son Richard. He left a large estate and was the owner of a number of slaves, as we learn from the first census of the Government, taken in 1790, in which he is registered from the Edenton

District as the head of a family and the owner of eighty-eight slaves. His burial place is not known, but is supposed to be at "Banbury Hall" where a portion of the old graveyard is still preserved.

Several of these commissions, signed by Washington, and countersigned by Thomas Jefferson, also an autograph letter from Alexander Hamilton, informing him of the appointment, are still preserved by the family.

With the story of patriots such as Thomas Benbury—and there were many others—it would be disloyalty if we of later generations did not give to North Carolina "Our hearts' utmost devotion," as Judge Gaston wrote in his beautiful hymn to our State, and unite with him in saying:

> Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her;
> While we live, we will cherish, protect and defend her.

Bibliography—Family Bibles, Wills, Letters and Traditions; Church Register of St. Paul's Parish, Edenton; Court Records; Colonial Records; Wheeler's History of North Carolina; Hathaway's Historical and Genealogical Register; Marshall Delancey Haywood; Church History of North Carolina; Government Census of 1790.

The Trial of Henry Wirz

By Sarah W. Ashe

[Recently the fact that Henry Wirz was tried by a court-martial—or rather by a commission of military officers—and put to death for alleged cruelties to Federal prisoners confined at Andersonville, has been given prominence, and he has been held up as one who perpetrated outrages against the rules of civilized warfare and in disregard of the dictates of humanity. Because of the revival of that slander on him that likewise involves the fair name of the Confederate Government and of the people of the South, we devote space at this time to a true statement of the matters connected with his trial.—Editor.]

In the fall of 1865, several months after the overthrow of the Confederacy, there took place in Washington City two judicial murders, which will ever stain the annals of the conquering states—that of Mrs. Surratt, hung for complicity in the assassination of Lincoln, and that of Henry Wirz—a physician and man of high character—who, six months after the war was ended, was tried by court-martial, convicted and hanged on the charge of having conspired with Jefferson Davis and other Confederate leaders to torture and murder prisoners under his care.

The innocence of Mrs. Surratt has been fully shown in the account of her trial written by her lawyer, the Hon. Reverdy Johnson of Maryland; but the facts in regard to Wirz are not generally known.

When in the shadow of death Captain Wirz was offered life if he would implicate Jefferson Davis in these alleged atrocities. He preferred death to a life won by such means, and died pleading that his name be rescued from infamy.

The highest officers of the Confederacy were indicted with him; and through them, the Southern Confederacy. As a sacred duty to itself, therefore, the South should bear always in mind the truth concerning the trial and death of the martyred Wirz—a stranger in our land—who threw in his lot with us, served the Confederacy faithfully, and paid for his fidelity with his life.

That there should have been any suffering among prisoners on either side during the war must ever be deplored; that there should have been any prisoners to suffer is entirely due to the war policy of the North.

The conduct of the Confederate Government towards its prisoners is above reproach and was ordered by the truest feelings of humanity. Its policy was fixed by law. By act of Congress passed at the beginning of the war, it was provided that prisoners of war should have the same rations, in quality and quantity, as Confederate soldiers in the field. By an act passed afterwards, all hospitals for sick and wounded prisoners were put on the same footing with hospitals for sick and wounded Confederates. This policy was never changed. Whatever food or fare the Confederate soldiers had, whether good or bad, full or short, the Federal prisoners shared equally with them.

Although deprived of medicines through the policy of the Federal Government, and with but a scant supply of provisions and clothing, her ports blockaded and her resources exhausted, the prison records of the South were better than those of the North. The death rate in Southern prisons was less than nine per cent; that in Northern prisons was twelve per cent. And, great as was the mortality at Andersonville, it was four per cent less than at the Federal prison of Rock Island, Illinois, notwithstanding the fact that the Northern authorities had abundant means of alleviating the sufferings of their unfortunate prisoners. From the first the South desired an exchange of prisoners. The Federal Government, on the other hand, affected to consider the secession a rebellion, upholders of the Confederacy as rebels and traitors, her men-of-war piratical vessels, and her sailors pirates, and, as such, the latter, when captured, were loaded with irons and condemned to be hanged. Only by the protests of European governments and threats of retaliation by the Confederate Government was it deterred from its proposed course.

While in 1862 a cartel was arranged, by which all pris-

oners were to be exchanged man for man, and the excess on either side paroled, by which all prisoners would have been released—after the battle of Gettysburg, when the North held the majority of prisoners, this was discontinued. From this time it became the fixed policy of the Federal authorities to make no exchanges.

"If we begin a system of exchange," wrote General Grant, "which liberates all prisoners taken, we will have to fight on until the whole South is exterminated."

In the spring of 1864 the Confederate Government found itself, in consequence of this policy of nonexchange, overburdened with prisoners, and established a large camp for them at Andersonville, Georgia, a spot selected on account of the mildness of climate, abundance of water, and the absence of malarial conditions.

Every provision possible was made for the health of the inmates. The law requiring prisoners and guards in all southern prisons to fare in food alike was rigidly observed, the rations issued daily being the same in quantity and quality as those issued to our soldiers in the field. They consisted principally of corn meal and beef or bacon, the only food obtainable at the South at that time. This food, even at best, was unpalatable to men who had never used corn meal in any form before, and diarrhea, the usual result of its use by those unaccustomed to it, was produced. This disease, hard to arrest at best, became unmanageable for want of proper remedies, and the sufferers fell easy victims to more serious troubles—camp gangrene and scurvy. These diseases attacked guards and prisoners alike—the officers, Wirz, Winder, Colonel Gibbs, and Dr. Stephenson, all having gangrene. To cope with these diseases medicines were necessary, and the Union Government had made medicines contraband of war. Medical stores, even when the private property of physicians, were destroyed in conquered sections, and persons attempting to send medicines South were arrested and cast into prison, and we pleaded in vain to be permitted to buy them with gold or cotton.

All that humanity could suggest was done. Wheat, sugar, coffee, and other luxuries, when obtainable, were provided for the use of the sick, and well prisoners were billeted on the families near Andersonville, where they would be in less danger of contagion.

The Confederate War Department took steps for a thorough inspection of the camp. All well prisoners were removed to other places and by September only the sick were left at Andersonville. By this time the virulence of the diseases had begun to abate, the death rate having been greatest during August.

In charge of this hospital was Dr. R. R. Stephenson, surgeon in chief, with a staff of thirty assistants. Colonel Gibbs was commandant of the post, and Capt. Henry Wirz had charge of the prison proper.

Henry Wirz, the officer in charge of the Andersonville prison, was a physician by profession, and was born in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1822. He emigrated to America in 1849, and first settled in Louisville, Kentucky, removing subsequently to Louisiana, where he practiced his profession until the beginning of the war between the States. When the war broke out he was one of the first to enlist in the Southern cause. He served as a private in the memorable battle of Manassas, where he received a wound in the arm, injuring the bone, from which he suffered up to the day of his execution. After leaving the hospital in Richmond he was placed as a clerk in Libby Prison. Afterwards he was commissioned as captain in the Confederate Army, and was appointed deputy marshal, and in 1862 he visited all the prisons in the South as inspecting officer.

The high esteem in which he was held at Richmond is evidenced by the fact that he was appointed in the latter part of 1863 by President Davis to carry secret dispatches to the Confederate Commissioners—Mr. Mason in England and Mr. Slidell in France—and to all the financial agents of the Confederate Government in Europe. On his return, in

January, 1864, he was assigned to duty under Brig.-Gen. John H. Winder, who, on April 4, 1864, placed him as superintendent of the Confederate States military prison at Andersonville, Georgia, where he was still on duty at the close of the war.

A man of tried integrity and much experience in prison work, he was well fitted for a position of such responsibility. Indeed, he was appointed to that post on account of the efficiency shown while engaged in like work at Richmond.

He had been from the opening of the war a loyal subject to the land of his adoption, and had from the first been called to positions of trust and high honor, requiring delicacy in handling, to which he was particularly adapted by reason of his foreign birth, high character and other qualifications, and in all of these he had served satisfactorily.

In his private life Captain Wirz is described as being an affectionate husband and father, and the kindest of men, one careful of the comforts of his servants and of the animals about him, and so solicitous about the welfare of the prisoners in his charge that he often deprived his children of their daily cup of milk—one of their few luxuries—for the benefit of the sick in the hospital.

Colonel Hammond, one of the prison inspectors sent to Andersonville, made a special study of its commandant, Captain Wirz, and leaves us this description of him:

> Major Wirz was at this time about forty years of age, and was a trained soldier; a little below medium height, slight of figure and lean almost to emaciation, with dark hair and brown eyes; direct in manner and expression, and active and alert in movement. He impressed me as one peculiarly fitted for the details of military administration and control. His right arm had been mutilated near the wrist, caused by a fragment of a shell in an engagement near Baton Rouge, Louisiana, incapacitating him for active field service. He was at my side during my visits to the sick and dying in the hospital and while passing among the scarcely less wretched inmates of the stockade. At night he went over the prison records with me, explaining minutely the needs and deficiencies of each department, and when I was on the point of leaving Andersonville he implored

me, with tears streaming from his eyes, to urge upon the authorities at Richmond the absolute necessity for more and better food for the prisoners, for medicines, tents and lumber, and recommended that I should advise that they should send as many of the prisoners as could be furnished with transportation to Richmond or Savannah, and there turn them over unconditionally to the Federal authorities.

Colonel Hammond mentioned how Wirz passed, unarmed and unattended, with him through every part of the stockade, without receiving any unkind expression or threatening gesture; and, when questioned whether he had no fears for his personal safety, he replied: "They know I am doing my utmost for them."

As the war proceeded and the death struggle of the Confederacy grew more tense, the difficulty of holding and caring for the prisoners at Andersonville became, of course, much greater. Again and again Commissioner Ould proposed that each government should send its own surgeons to care for its own men, and that these surgeons should distribute such money, food and clothing as might be provided for them. No notice was taken of these propositions.

On the appearance of disease in Andersonville Commissioner Ould was directed again to urge the exchange of these prisoners, and to offer to buy medicines from the Federal authorities exclusively for their use, making offer to pay cotton, gold or tobacco for them, and even two or three times the prices for them, if desired, agreeing also that these might be brought into the prisons by the United States surgeons themselves and distributed by them. No method was left untried to induce the Federals to accede to an exchange. Commissioners were sent; Lee and Vice President Stephens interceded. By advice of the prison officials the prisoners themselves memorialized the Federal Government, praying to be released—all without effect.

In the meantime some of the prisoners at Andersonville had been sent to Washington to plead their own cause. It was of no avail. President Lincoln refused to see them, and they were made to understand that the interest of the Gov-

ernment required that they should return to prison and remain there.

Offer was now made to release all these prisoners without any equivalent if the Federal authorities would receive them. In August the whole body of men, 6,000 in number, at Andersonville was offered without any equivalent, and they were delivered to the Federal commander in Florida, who declined to receive them, and so they had to be brought back to their prison camp.

To turn the attention of the northern people from this war policy the accusation of deliberate cruelty was brought against the South. At the end of the war, therefore, feeling against the South was very bitter, and to satisfy this demand for vengeance a victim was needed.

In direct violation of the terms of Johnston's surrender, Captain Wirz, a paroled Confederate officer, who, assured of safety, lay at home sick and suffering from an unhealed wound, was arrested, separated from his wife and children, whom he never saw again, and hurried to Washington City, where he was confined in the Old Capitol Prison.

After several months spent in arranging the court-martial and finding witnesses, Captain Wirz was arraigned on two charges: conspiracy and murder. Indicted with him as co-conspirators, in a plot to torture and murder prisoners of war, were Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, Seddon and others, all of whose names, except that of Lee, appear on the findings of the court.

Arrangements having been completed, on August 23d the following order was issued:

SPECIAL ORDER NO. 453.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, August 23, 1865.

A special military commission is hereby appointed, to meet in this city at 11 o'clock a.m., on the 23d day of August, 1865, or as soon thereafter as practicable, for the trial of Henry Wirz and such other prisoners as may be brought before it.

DETAIL FOR COMMISSION.

Maj.-Gen. L. Wallace, U. S. Volunteers.
Brevet Maj.-Gen. G. Mott, U. S. Volunteers.
Brevet Brig.-Gen. John T. Ballier, Colonel Ninety-eighth Volunteers.
Brig.-Gen. Francis Fessenden, U. S. Volunteers.
Brevet Brig.-Gen. G. W. Geary, U. S. Volunteers.
Brevet Gen. L. Thomas, Adjutant-General U. S. A.
Brig.-Gen. E. S. Bragg, U. S. Volunteers.
Brevet Col. T. Allcock, Lieutenant-Colonel Fourth New York Volunteers.
Lieut.-Col. I. H. Stibbs, Twelfth Iowa Volunteers.
The commission will sit without regard to hours.

BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Before the military commission thus convened in violation of the Constitution, which requires that every man held for a capital offense be tried before a jury and after presentment by a grand jury, Henry Wirz was tried on the charge as specified in the first Special Order, No. 524, of having conspired with Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, James A. Seddon, Howell Cobb, John H. Winder and others, to torture, injure and murder the Federal prisoners held by the Confederates at Andersonville, Georgia. He was accused, under thirteen separate specifications, of shooting the prisoners, punishing them cruelly in irons and stocks, of poisoning them with impure vaccine matter, of pursuing them with bloodhounds, of using a dead line, of furnishing insufficient food and impure water, and of murdering, in cold blood and with his own hand, thirteen of these helpless men.

In answer to these charges Wirz put in pleas to the effect that he had been paroled by General Wilson; that he denied the jurisdiction of the court to try him; that, war being over and civil law restored, there was no military law under which he could be tried. He moved to quash the charges for vagueness as to time, place and manner of offense; that he had been put on trial on August 21st, and that the court had been adjourned without his agency or consent, and that he should not be arraigned as before; and, finally, he claimed discharge, because, as an officer in the Confederate Army, he was en-

titled to the terms agreed to between Generals Sherman and Johnston upon the surrender of the latter.

All these pleas being overruled except the second, the prisoner pleaded not guilty, and the trial proceeded until November 4, 1865, when, Wirz having been found guilty on all the specifications but three, the following order was issued:

GENERAL COURT-MARTIAL—ORDER NO. 607.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 6, 1865.

Before a military commission which convened at Washington, D. C., August 23, 1865, pursuant to paragraph 3, Special Order No. 453, dated August 23, 1865, and paragraph 13, Special Order No. 524, August 22, 1865, War Department, Adjutant-General's Office, Washington, D. C., and of which Maj.-Gen. Lewis Wallace, U. S. Volunteers, is president, was arraigned and tried Henry Wirz.

Finding.—The commission, after having maturely considered the evidence adduced, find the accused guilty, as follows:

Of specification to charge 1, guilty, after amending said specification as follows: In this, that the said Henry Wirz did combine, confederate and conspire with them, the said Jefferson Davis, James A. Seddon, Howell Cobb, John H. Winder, Richard B. Winder, Isaiah H. White, W. S. Winder, S. Reed, R. R. Stephenson, S. P. Moore, _____ Keer (late hospital steward at Andersonville), James Duncan, Wesley W. Turner, Benjamin Harris, and others whose names are unknown, maliciously and traitorously and in violation of the laws of war, to impair and injure the health and to destroy the lives of a large number of Federal prisoners, to wit, 45,000 soldiers, etc.

In like manner the court-martial found Wirz guilty on all the principal specifications on which he was tried, two-thirds of the court concurring.

As the result of this trial Henry Wirz was, on November 6, 1865, sentenced to be hanged, and four days later, on Friday, November 10th, the sentence was carried into effect.

It will be noticed that, in both the charges and specifications and in the finding of this court, not Captain Wirz alone, but many of the most prominent officials of the Confederacy were included. Their fair name stands or falls with his.

Consider the language of Chipman, Judge Advocate, in summing up:

"Whilst the evidence adduced convicts Wirz of contributing directly to the death of over ten thousand Union soldiers, and, with his own hand and by his direct order, committing thirteen individual murders, the evidence also presents the horrible fact that he was but an instrument in the hand of Jefferson Davis, James A. Seddon and other prominent rebels, and, while Wirz suffered deservedly, there are those yet unpunished more richly deserving an ignominious death."

None of the others was ever brought to trial, though all could easily have been produced.

The court having been convened to convict, the ordinary forms of justice were dispensed with. All evidence against the defendant was received and that in his favor excluded. The defendant's counsel was denied access to records open to the counsel for the prosecution. Witnesses were intimidated, others forbidden to testify, and at the outset of the trial an important witness for the prisoner was arrested and sent to jail.

Men of high social standing from Georgia and other Southern States were subpœnaed by Wirz's counsel and went to Washington, ready and eager to testify to his character and humane conduct towards the Union prisoners, but were not allowed to do so.

The Confederate Commissioner of Exchange, General Ould, and the Federal Commissioner, General Mulford, were prepared to give evidence of the earnest desire of the Southern authorities for exchange of prisoners, but were not called upon.

On the trial the reports of Drs. White and Stephenson were suppressed, and garbled extracts from those of Dr. Jones and of others were used. The reports of Imboden and Hammond were taken from them and they were not permitted to testify.

As part of the defense it was intended to show the brutal treatment of prisoners in northern prisons, and that systematic cruelty was practiced for the purpose of forcing them to take the oath of allegiance. The names of witnesses by

whom it was intended to prove these things were handed to Mr. Baker, assistant counsel to Judge Advocate Chipman. None of these witnesses appeared; the subpœnas for them were never issued, having been suppressed by the Judge Advocate on the gronud that "it was not proper that such testimony should see the light."

Chipman afterwards admitted that he refused to have subpœnas issued for some of the "rebel functionaries whose testimony was considered important to the defense." Among the men whose testimony was thus rejected was General Lee, whose simple word would have gone far to prove to the world the truth.

Still many of the prisoners desired to do him justice and would gladly have testified in his favor if permitted. A letter from one of these to the *New York News,* fully exonerating Wirz, may well stand as a type of evidence refused.

Of all the witnesses only fifteen could be brought to swear that Wirz was ever guilty of murder. It was proven that all of those swore falsely, some for money, some from malice, some from love of notoriety.

Of those men alleged to have been murdered, the names of very few were given, and not one man could be identified. Yet such testimony was received. Some swore to acts committed by Major Wirz at Andersonville when he was actually absent in Augusta on sick leave.

The chief witness, the man whose testimony was most relied on, a miserable, perjured wretch, received a Government appointment at the beginning of the trial in return for his evidence to come. He claimed to be a Frenchman, a kinsman of Lafayette. He proved to be a German deserter from a Federal regiment and probably never was at Andersonville at all. To such testimony did the unfortunate Wirz owe his death.

No crime was too horrible to be imputed to him; and the pictorial papers were ablaze with illustrations of his imagined atrocities. The South, impotent even to protest, looked on

in horror, while Wirz, conscious of having done only his duty as a humane officer and Christian gentleman, could find no words to express his amazement.

In Washington none dared to speak in his favor. His accusers were "patriots," his friends "traitors." So odious did those bent on his destruction make him that the consul-general from Switzerland refused to receive the money some offered for his aid, and the unhappy man was forced to ask assistance to meet the necessary expenses of the trial from the *New York News*. His lawyers at last resigned the case in despair of aiding him and unwilling to bear longer the odium attached to their position; and only one, the noble-hearted Louis Schade, remained faithful to him. He stood by him to the last, without expectation of reward or hope of saving him; and, two years after Wirz's death, when he thought the public mind might be calm enough to receive it, he published a letter, giving the most trustworthy account of the trial now in existence.

Captain Wirz, the man so foully calumniated, was in no conceivable manner responsible for the condition of things at Andersonville. A subaltern officer, placed as guard of a prison, he had no power to alter the existing conditions. The nature of the food, the number of inmates and the lack of comforts were as totally beyond his control as was the heat of the southern sun; and, far from being the fiend he was portrayed to be, the kindliness and humanity of his nature are attested by all those who knew him. It is proved by the unimpeachable testimony of Dr. Stephenson, General Imboden, and others who were with him at Andersonville that he was always most solicitous for the welfare of the prisoners in his care; that he deeply deplored their sufferings and did all in his power to alleviate them. We find that, by letters and reports, he sought to bring the state of affairs at the camp to the notice of the proper authorities, suggesting and urging the trial of such remedies as occurred to him to be practicable. Except for about three weeks in August, 1864, when, gan-

grene having attacked an old wound in his arm, he was sent to Augusta by order of his physician, he was never absent from his post of duty, but was engaged day and night with the other faithful surgeons in attending to the needs of the sick and dying. Every prison inspector would have testified to these things had it been permitted.

Yet one last chance of life was to be offered Wirz. "On the night before the execution," says his lawyer, Louis Schade, "some parties came to the confessor of Wirz, Rev. Father Boyle, and also to me, one of them informing me that a high cabinet officer wished to assure Wirz that, if he would implicate Jefferson Davis with the atrocities committed at Andersonville, his sentence would be commuted. He requested me to inform Wirz of this. In the presence of Father Boyle, I told Wirz next morning what had happened. The Captain simply and quietly replied: 'Mr. Schade, you know that I have always told you that I do not know anything about Jefferson Davis. He had no connection with me as to what was done at Andersonville. If I knew anything of him I would not become a traitor against him, or anybody else, even to save my life.' With his wounded arm in a sling, the poor prisoner mounted, two hours later, the scaffold. His last words were that he died innocent. The 10th day of November, 1865, will, indeed, be a black stain upon the pages of American history. Not even a Christian burial of the remains of Captain Wirz was allowed by Secretary Stanton. They still lie side by side with those of another acknowledged victim of the military commission, the unfortunate Mrs. Surratt, in the yard of the former jail of this city."

Far from his native land and kindred, and apparently forsaken by the land of his adoption, surrounded by enemies whose every look spoke execration, Wirz lingered in prison alternating between hope and despair and hardly recognizing himself in the monster whose crimes were being blazoned to the world. His cup of woe was very full.

Near the end of his trial he wrote a letter of appeal to

President Johnson, in which his innocense of crime and his simplicity of soul speak for themselves. He protests his innocense. "I am charged with crimes so heinous," he says, "the mere thought of them makes me shudder. Truly when I pass in my mind over the testimony given I sometimes almost doubt my own existence. I doubt that I am the Captain Wirz spoken of. I doubt that such a man ever lived, such as he is said to be, and I am inclined to call upon the mountains to bury me and hide my shame. I have erred as all other human beings, but of those things of which I am accused I am not guilty."

No appeal could avail to save one doomed from the first to die—a vicarious sacrifice for the imputed crimes of the South.

Four days later Wirz was released from suffering, and he passed from the jurisdiction of an earthly tribunal, where malignity had usurped the place of justice, to that higher judgment seat, before which the unjust judge and the innocent victim must alike appear.

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Vol. XVIII APRIL, 1919 No. 4

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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Great Events in North Carolina History

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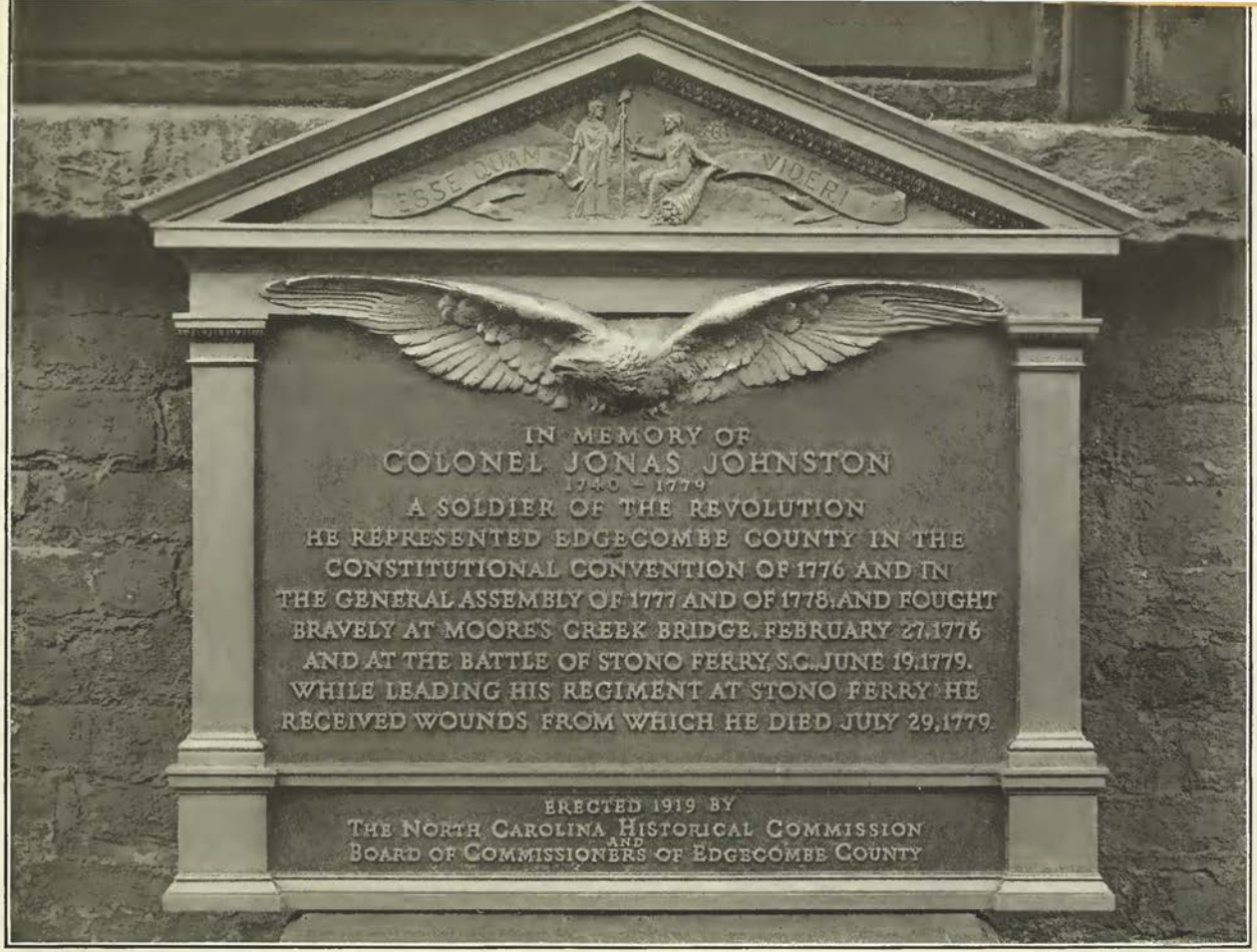

Tablet to Colonel Jonas Johnston in the courthouse at Tarborough, N. C. Unveiled by Miss Martina Carr, May 30, 1919.

Vol. XVIII APRIL, 1919 No. 4

The
NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
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THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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John Steele

(Concluded)

By Archibald Henderson

V

As early as 1793, Steele was under consideration for national preferment. His talents were especially appreciated by Hamilton, who remained in correspondence with him. The fact that Steele, in 1792, though under thirty years of age, had been prominently pressed for the Senate, and again in 1795 had been the candidate of his party for the Senate, gave him strong claims to recognition by Washington, who was well acquainted with him and had a very favorable opinion of his ability. Upon the resignation of John Davis of Massachusetts as Comptroller of the Treasury, John Steele was appointed to that office, his commission bearing the date July 1, 1796.

Before taking up in more detail the career of Steele as Comptroller of the Treasury, some quotations from the correspondence of Steele and Hamilton may throw interesting sidelights upon important events and issues of the time. In a letter to Steele (Philadelphia, October 15, 1792), Hamilton makes a noteworthy pronouncement upon the presidential situation, which is of especial interest for its reference to Aaron Burr, Hamilton's evil genius.

> Mr. Adams is the man who will be supported in the Northern and Middle States by the friends of the Government. They reason thus—"Mr. Adams, like other men, has his faults and his foibles—some of the opinions he is supposed to entertain, we do not approve . . . but we believe him to be honest, firm, faithful and independent—a sincere lover of his country—a real friend to genuine liberty; but combining his attachment to that with the love of order and stable

government. No man's private character can be fairer than his. No man has given stronger proofs than him of disinterested and intrepid patriotism. We will therefore support him as far preferable to any one who is likely to be opposed to him."

Who will be seriously opposed to him—I am yet at a loss to decide. One while, Governor Clinton appeared to be the man. Of late there have been symptoms of Col. Burr's canvassing for it. Some say, one or both, of these will be played off as a diversion in favour of Mr. Jefferson.

I do not scruple to say to you that my preference of Mr. Adams to either of these characters is decided. As to Mr. Clinton, he is a man of narrow and perverse politics, and as well under the former as under the present Government he has been steadily since the termination of the War with Great Britain opposed to national principles. My opinion of Mr. Burr is yet to form—but according to the present state of it, he is a man whose only political principle is to *mount at all events*—to the highest legal honors of the Nation, and as much further as circumstances will carry him. Imputations not favorable to his integrity as a man rest upon him; but I do not vouch for their authenticity.

There was a time, when I should have balanced between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams; but I now view the former as a man of sublimated and paradoxical imagination cherishing notions incompatible with regular and firm government.*

On April 8, 1793, Edmund Charles Genet, the accredited representative of the new French Republic, landed at Charleston. It was with a feeling little short of consternation that the American people noted his extraordinary activities in enlisting seamen, commissioning officers, and fitting out privateers, for the unconcealed purpose of preying upon British commerce. One week after Washington issued his Proclamation of Neutrality (April 22, 1793), Genet was at Salisbury, North Carolina, on his way northward; and the following extract from a letter written by Steele to Hamilton (Salisbury, April 30, 1793) contains a vivid pen-picture at close range of Citizen Genet at this stirring period in American history:

This morning Mr. Genet, the French Minister, set out from this place for Philadelphia. . . . You have heard much of *this citizen*, no doubt, and therefore anything of him from me will seem super-

* For a copy of this letter I am indebted to the courtesy of Judge H. G. Connor.

fluous; but as I am writing of the man that we are all afraid of, permit me to say that he has a good person, fine ruddy complexion, quite active, and seems always in a bustle, more like a busy man than a man of business. A Frenchman in his manners, he announces himself in all companies as the minister of the republic, &c., talks freely of his commission, and like most Europeans, seems to have adopted mistaken notions of the penetration and knowledge of the people of the United States. He is, or affects to be, highly gratified by the affectionate treatment he has thus far experienced from the Americans, except of Charleston, where an insult was offered to a French seaman, which he attributes to the merchants, who seem in his opinion almost wholly attached to the British. The minister, notwithstanding his good-nature, spoke angrily of this insult, and for a moment deviated from his system, which I think is to laugh us into the war, if he can. The best informed men in this State, who are wholly disinterested, continue uneasy, from an apprehension that our political connection with France, and our commercial intercourse with England, will place the United States in a delicate, if not a dangerous situation during the war.

I have often said, on proper occasions, that the friends to neutrality and peace would find in the Secretary of the Treasury an able and zealous friend. . . . The best men in this country rely chiefly upon your talents and disposition to avoid the rocks which lie upon the right hand, and upon the left, ready to dash our young government to pieces upon the least unskillful pilotage.

VI

On November 15, 1796, Steele sent to the General Assembly of North Carolina his resignation both as Justice of the Peace for the county of Rowan and as Major General in the Fourth Division of the Militia of North Carolina—in consequence of the assumption of his new duties and of his removal to Philadelphia. Early in July of that year he had formally taken charge of the office of the Comptroller of the Treasury, in which office he had been preceded by Nicholas Eveleigh of South Carolina, Oliver Wolcott, Jr., of Connecticut, Jonathan Jackson of Massachusetts, and John Davis of Massachusetts. For the next six years, Steele assiduously devoted himself to the onerous and taxing duties of that office.

The accounting system of the Treasury Department, designed to concentrate all accounting agencies in that department, was created by Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary

of the Treasury. In the original organization of that department, by the act of September 2, 1789, provision was made by the first Congress for a Secretary of the Treasury, an assistant to the Secretary, a Comptroller, an Auditor, a Treasurer, and a Register. Under the terms of that act, it was the duty of the Comptroller to superintend the adjustment and preservation of all public accounts; to examine all accounts settled by the Auditor and certify balances arising thereon to the Register; to countersign all warrants drawn by the Secretary of the Treasury, which were warranted by law; to report to the Secretary the official forms of all papers to be issued in the different offices for collecting the public revenue, and the manner and form of keeping and stating the accounts of the several persons employed therein; to provide for the regular and punctual payment of all moneys which may be collected and to direct proceedings for all delinquencies of officers of the revenue and for debts due the United States.

Steele took up his quarters in Philadelphia at Francis's Hotel; and in a letter to his wife, written shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia, he thus describes the routine of his daily life:

> It will no doubt be some satisfaction to you to know the nature of my office duties, and other minutiae relative to my situation. The papers are kept in a large house in Chestnut Street, about the center of the city. The Secretary of the Treasury and his clerks occupy the lower story, the comptroller and his clerks the rooms of the second story, and the Register of the Treasury and his clerks the third story. . . . Under my direction there are thirteen clerks and a doorkeeper, and indeed there is business enough for the whole. *Writing, writing, writing* in this department is the whole duty of man, and at this you know I can do a reasonable share. I go to the office every morning after an early breakfast, continue there until three o'clock, dine, and after dinner return to business again until sunset or dusk. The clerks are all at liberty after three o'clock, tho' some of them return and do business in the afternoon from choice. These are allowed an additional compensation.

In the first days of his residence in Philadelphia, he wrote his wife: "In leisure books shall be my companions"; but

it was not long before his duties became so onerous that he was kept regularly at his office until nine o'clock in the evening. "Even on Sundays," he says, "I have not leisure to go to church, except now and then when I understand a person of particular eminence is to preach. Besides other vast cares upon my mind, not one dollar can go in, or out of the Treasury of the United States without my name and that of the Secretary of the Treasury."

VII

An interesting picture of social life in Philadelphia and in Washington, during the early sessions of Congress in the two capitals, are found in the letters of General Steele and his daughter, Ann Nessfield, written home from time to time to Mrs. Steele at Salisbury. Mrs. Steele seldom accompanied her husband to either place; and her associations with Philadelphia were saddened by the death of her infant son, whom she lost there in 1798. A few brief extracts from the letters must suffice to give us a glimpse or two of the social happenings of the day. A corner of Steele's heart, revealing his deep and intense love for his wife—the "Polly" of his letters—is portrayed in the following extract from a letter to her, written from Philadelphia (January 31, 1793), in which he mentions dining with Washington:

> I dined to-day at the President's in a very large company of ladies and gentlemen. On such occasions, without you, I feel like Captain O'Blunder, "Alone in the throng." The truth is, I feel every day more and more disposed to believe that there is no happiness to be found out of a man's own house. Any mortal who thinks that honor and fame will confer that inestimable boon called happiness, in the end like Solomon will find himself grossly mistaken. Believing in that opinion I rejoice with all my heart that my political course is almost finished. . . . The President today asked me to drink a glass of wine with him. This is considered here a great honor. It may be so; but I would have been more highly gratified in drinking a glass with my own dear Polly.

During the year 1801, General Steele was accompanied to Washington by his sprightly and witty daughter, Ann Ness-

field; and they took quarters at a Miss Beall's in Georgetown. A few quotations from her letters home carry the piquancy of interest which attaches to experiences associated with personages of historic note. Writing to her mother on November 4, 1801, she says: "I dined at Mr. Madison's both last Sunday and today—nothing uncommon in any of the dinners—not a bit better than your own, and in no more style. . . . As for fashions, every thing is Crazy Jane, and the more you can imitate a crazy person the more fashionable you are." On Christmas day, 1801, she writes: "In the morning we visited the Roman Catholic Chapel in this place (Georgetown), and were entertained with a great quantity of show but very little substance. We returned home to dinner, and drank tea with Mrs. Orr from whence we have just returned. . . . I was in company with Mrs. Murry (William Vans Murray?) the evening before last and must positively give you a description of her head-dress. Well, it was a colored cotton handkerchief, red and spotted with yellow. . . . I don't know what to call it for it would be highly improper to call it a handkerchief." At times, too, Ann wrote with precocious solemnity of her father's affairs; and the following extract must be regarded as only partially explaining the reasons which actuated General Steele in his retirement from office. "The other evening," writes Ann to her mother, not long before her father resigned the Comptrollership of the Treasury, "I had a long conversation with Papa respecting his resignation and I have concluded that it is better for him to retire from public business. He says that as we are situated now we spend all his salary and it will appear very singular if we should continue to live, part of the family in Carolina and the other part in Washington; and as to our living, all of us, here, it is out of the question, for we could not even live comfortably on less than five thousand dollars, which is just twice as much as his income."

One of the most fascinating memoirs of the period is *The First Forty Years of Washington Society,* as portrayed by the

family letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith (Margaret Bayard). In a letter (July 5, 1801) to his sister, Mary Ann Smith, Mr. S. H. Smith draws a vivid picture, in which Steele incidentally appears and Jefferson is, of course, the central figure.

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of passing a few minutes with you, chiefly to draw a picture, which I know will give your patriotic heart delight, a picture of Mr. Jefferson in which he was exhibited to the best advantage. About 12 o'clock yesterday, the citizens of Washington and Geo. Town waited upon the president to make their devoirs. . . . We found about 20 persons present in a room where sat Mr. J. surrounded by the five Cherokee chiefs. After a conversation of a few minutes, he invited his company into the usual dining room, whose four large sideboards were covered with refreshments, such as cakes of various kinds, wine, punch, &c. Every citizen was invited to partake, as his taste dictated, of them, and the invitation was most cheerfully accepted, and the consequent duties discharged with alacrity. The company soon increased to near a hundred, including all the public officers and most of the respectable citizens, and strangers of distinction. Martial music soon announced the approach of the marine corps of Capt. Burrows, who in due military form saluted the President, accompanied by the President's March played by an excellent band attached to the corps. After undergoing various military evolutions, the company returned to the dining room, and the band from an adjacent room played a succession of fine patriotic airs. All appeared to be cheerful, all happy. Mr. Jefferson mingled promiscuously with the citizens, and far from designating any particular friends for consultation, conversed for a short time with every one that came in his way. It was certainly a proud day for him, the honours of which he discharged with more than his usual care. At 2 o'clock, after passing 2 hours in this very agreeable way, the company separated. At 4 a dinner was given at McMunn and Conrad's,* where all the civil and military officers attended, and a number of citizens, which, including the former, amounted to about 50. Everything here was conducted with great propriety, and it was not unamusing to see Mr. Gallatin, Madison, and Dearborn on one side directly opposite to Mr. Meredith, Harrison, Steele on the other. . . . Thus you see that we are here at least all Republicans and all Federalists.

VIII

Upon the accession of John Adams to the Presidency, Steele was retained in office as Comptroller of the Treasury;

* A boarding house near the Capitol.

and he continued to fill that office until the close of Adams's administration. In the year 1800 a division in the ranks of the Federalists seriously threatened the chances of Adams in the coming Presidential election. The Hamiltonian section of the party was out of sympathy with the President. Oliver Wolcott, although holding the office of Secretary of the Treasury, was deep in intrigues against Adams; and to McHenry, the Secretary of War, who was also in the cabal, he wrote (June 18, 1800): "The prospect is almost certain that the country will be freed from the greatest possible curse, a Presidential administration, which no party can trust, which is incapable of adhering to any system, in connection with which no character is safe." As soon as it became plain that Charles Cotesworth Pinckney could not be elected President, and believing it to be incompatible with honor and a suitable respect to his own character—as he put it!—to serve longer under Adams, Wolcott sent in his resignation on November 8, 1800, to take effect on the last day of December. Two days later (November 10), Adams accepted Wolcott's resignation.

In recognition of his great ability as a financier and of the skill, wisdom and discretion with which he had administered the office of Comptroller during two administrations, President Adams at once offered to Steele the post of Secretary of the Treasury. Steele was loth to accept the appointment so near the end of Adams's administration; and wrote to his close friend, John Haywood, of Raleigh, the State Treasurer, asking his advice as to the best course to pursue. In his reply, Haywood says: "The appointment now offered to you is completely gratifying and satisfactory to me; inasmuch as I consider it among the most distinguished and dignified in the gift of the Government. . . . As Secretary of the Treasury, you would be of higher grade, and more immediately of the President's constitutional advisers than at present. . . . I am clearly of opinion, you suffer yourself to be too far influenced by the principle of delicacy you state; as a proof of this, I am free to say, that I would as soon and as willingly accept from Mr. Adams, on the last day

of his administration, any appointment he might think proper to confer on me, of which I believed myself worthy, and which the world or those who knew me considered me equal, as at any point of his administration. . . . In every view of the business, I am clear you ought to accept." Unable to overcome his delicacy of feeling in the matter, however, Steele declined the distinguished honor proffered him by President Adams; and on December 30, the President nominated Samuel Dexter as Secretary of the Treasury.

IX

Upon his accession to office, Jefferson appointed Albert Gallatin to the post of Secretary of the Treasury; and Steele, whose conduct of the office of Comptroller had been conspicuous for efficiency, he persuaded to remain. Steele remained in office against his own inclination; for he was unable for financial reasons to remove his entire family to Washington and for many months his health had been troubling him. Writing to Jefferson on July 11, 1801, Steele says: "I have for some time past wished to obtain leave of absence from the seat of Government to visit my friends in Carolina, and by a temporary relaxation from business, shake off, if possible, a complaint which gives me great uneasiness." One year later, in a letter to his wife (June 26, 1802), he says: "Since the middle of September, 1800, I have enjoyed the society and comforts of domestic life but nine weeks, and during all that time my anxieties have been increased by a delicate state of health, and the incessant cares of a laborious office."

At some time prior to this, Steele had communicated to his close friend, Nathaniel Macon, his intention of resigning. On June 2, 1802, Macon, who was really the leader in Congress of the opposite party, wrote to Steele: "I am extremely desirous that you should not retire. . . . I cannot refrain from saying, that I do not know any person, that would be so generally acceptable as yourself, nor can a stronger proof be given in favor of any public character, than that in times when party runs rather high, he should by the faithful

& upright discharge of his official duty obtain the confidence of all candid men." Despite the urgency of Macon, of the opposite political party but his warm personal friend, Steele wrote as follows to Jefferson:

Sir, WASHINGTON, June 28, 1802.

About the 10th of next month, I wish to be favored with your permission to visit my family in Carolina. Hitherto a variety of considerations have restrained me from removing them to this place. Among others, a desire not to do anything which would render it inconvenient for me to conform to your views, whatever they might be, in relation to the disposition of my office. I thought it my duty also to postpone any communication of my sentiments to you on this delicate subject, until you should have had leisure to mature an opinion of my public conduct, and until Mr Gallatin, with all the assistance which I could give him in the mean time, should have become sufficiently acquainted with the forms, and principles of business in the Department to experience no inconvenience from a new appointment if that should be your intention, or if circumstances on my part should render a resignation necessary. After leaving the seat of Government with the permission which I now solicit, I am not certain that it will suit me to return: but if I should conclude to do so, my family will accompany me about the beginning of October, and in deliberating with them in the course of the summer on a step which must be attended with trouble, and the sacrifice of many domestic comforts, it will be extremely gratifying to me, to be certain that I understand your wishes. The politeness with which you have uniformly honored me since our first acquaintance, and a certain bias which is inseparable from the reflection, that we are citizens of the same Geographical section of the United States cannot but increase my reluctance to withdraw my services, if they are considered of any importance to your administration. Salary although necessary to me, in relation to my private circumstances is far from being my principal object in serving the public. In a country as free as this happily is, a man should have higher, and better views.—Mine are regulated by a desire, I trust an honest one, to be useful and in that way to acquire reputation, by deserving it. I am sensible, however that in times like the present, it is not possible for any man to continue in such an Office, with satisfaction to himself, or advantage to the public unless he can have reason to be assured that your confidence in his fitness is entire.

I have the honor to be, Sir
With sentiments of perfect respect
Your most obt servant
Jno Steele

Thomas Jefferson Esq
President of the United States.

In his very courteous reply, written two days later, the President says, among other things: "I am happy in the occasion it (your letter) presents of assuring you unequivocally that I have been entirely satisfied with your conduct in office, that I consider it for the public benefit that you should continue, & that I never have for one moment entertained a wish to the contrary. I will add, and with sincerity that I should with reluctance see any circumstance arise which should render your continuance in office inconsistent with your domestic interests or comfort, the possibility of which is intimated in your letter. Your deliberations with your family therefore on their removal hither may be safely bottomed on the sincerity of these dispositions on my part; and I shall be happy if they should have the effect of determining their & your resolutions to that measure." To this letter of the President, Steele made the following reply:

WASHINGTON, July 1st 1802.

Sir,

I am extremely gratified, and obliged by your favor of yesterday. It has determined me to postpone my journey to Carolina until the last week of this month which is the more agreeable to me, as my absence will then correspond with the general arrangements of the Executive.

If my private affairs can possibly be made to admit of it, a sense of gratitude for what I consider equivalent to a new appointment will induce me to return: but whether in or out of office, I pray you to be assured, that I shall always consider it a flattering distinction to be honored with your confidence, and that it will be my study and my pride to merit the favorable opinion which you have had the goodness to express to me.

I have the honor to be, Sir
With the highest consideration
Your most obedient servt
Jno Steele

Thomas Jefferson Esqre
President of the United States.

Upon his return to Salisbury on August 17, and after consultation with his family, all of whom like himself were in poor health, General Steele sent in his resignation to the President.

Sir, SALISBURY, September 30th 1802.

After leaving the seat of government on the 6th of Augt last with the permission which you did me the favor to grant to me I arrived at this place on the 17th where I found my family in their usual health; but I had been at home only a few days before nearly the whole of them (Mrs Steele of the number) were taken down with a fever which prevails very generally among the inhabitants of this part of the country. Scarcely a single family in our neighborhood can be said to have escaped. Mine continues to be so much indisposed that I am under the necessity of relinquishing (for the present) the intention of removing them to the seat of government, and consequently of requesting that you will be pleased to accept my resignation of the office of Comptr of the Treasury. With my resignation you will I hope also have the goodness to accept an assurance, that I am duly sensible of your polite treatment and that in future it cannot but be a source of pleasing and grateful reflection to me to have been invited by you to continue in the public service.

I have the honor to be, Sir
With perfect consideration
Your mot obt & hume servant
Jno Steele.

Thomas Jefferson Esqre
President of the U. States.

By this same post, Steele sent a letter to Nathaniel Macon, in which he says: "Since the last of Augt my family has been so much indisposed (Mrs. Steele of the number) that I have not in my power to make any arrangements in my private affairs preparatory to their removal to the seat of Government, and it is too irksome to live there as I have done for some time past without them. Thus circumstanced I have found myself under the necessity of relinquishing (for the present) the intention of returning. The mail which carries this carries also a letter to the President requesting him to accept my resignation." At the same time, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Gallatin, he says: "In conducting, for six years past, the business of an office distinguished for the labor and responsibility which it imposes my first object has constantly been fidelity to the public, the second, a respectful deportment toward those with whom it was my duty to maintain official intercourse. It will afford me no small degree of gratification to understand that I have succeeded in these to your satisfaction."

The genuine regret which Macon felt over Steele's resignation is expressed in the following quotation from a letter to Steele, written from Buck Spring, Macon's plantation, on October 10, 1802: "Yours of the 30 ultimo has been received, and it is with real sorrow that I learn of your determination to resign. The reason which produces the resignation is surely a cogent one, but I think it probable that the season is approaching which will restore your family to health, and then you might with convenience have removed them to Washington. The office of Comptroller is surely among the most important in the U. S., especially as it relates to revenue; besides this, the settling accounts with foreigners, is one in which both the interest and honor of the nation are concerned; nor can I close this sentence without repeating my sincere regret at your resignation; who will be your successor I cannot even guess. No doubt many may be found willing enough to accept the office who know nothing of the duties; and I devoutly wish that a successor may be found, adequate in all respects to the office; I know from the best authority that the President was highly pleased with your conduct . . . "

The incident closes with Jefferson's letter to Steele (December 10, 1802), accepting his resignation, in which the President pays Steele this gracious tribute:

> Although in a former letter I expressed to you without disguise the satisfaction which your conduct in office since my coming into the administration had given me, yet I repeat it here with pleasure; and testify to you that setting just value on the able services you rendered the public in the discharge of your official duties, I should have seen your continuance in office with real pleasure & satisfaction and I pray you to be assured that in the state of retirement you have proposed, you have my prayers for your happiness and prosperity, and my esteem and high consideration.

X

Upon a number of occasions, General Steele was called upon by both the national and state governments, to exercise his diplomatic and executive talents as boundary commis-

sioner. In 1797, Tennessee addressed a memorial and remonstrance to the United States upon the subject of the Indian title to lands within that State. Following a discussion in Congress, President Adams appointed as commissioners for concluding a treaty with the Indians John Steele, Alfred Moore, and George Walton. After preliminary negotiations were conducted in midsummer, 1798, the definitive treaty was concluded at Tellico on October 2, 1798, the Hon. George Walton and Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Butler acting as commissioners on behalf of the United States—Moore having returned to North Carolina and Steele having returned to Philadelphia to resume his duties as Comptroller of the Treasury.

Pursuant to a resolution passed by the State of North Carolina in 1801, the correspondence between the governors of North Carolina and South Carolina resulting therefrom, and the passage of certain acts of the general assembly of North Carolina in 1803 and 1804, Governor James Turner in October, 1805, appointed as commissioners on the North Carolina-South Carolina boundary line General John Steele, Colonel John Moore, and General James Wellborn. After a series of meetings between the commissioners of the two States, an extended conference was held at Columbia, S. C., in July, 1808, and articles of agreement were drawn up. Disagreement arising over the third article of the "Conventional Agreement," another set of commissioners was appointed in December, 1812, by Governor William Hawkins, to wit: John Steele, Montfort Stokes, and Robert Burton. Following a series of conferences with the South Carolina commissioners, a provisional article was entered into on September 4, 1813, which was ratified by the two States; and the line was accordingly run and marked. General Steele, who played the leading part in this difficult and delicate negotiation, gained universal approbation for the ability, tactfulness, and skill which he displayed throughout.

The most difficult of all the boundary disputes which

General Steele was concerned in settling was the famous controversy between Georgia and North Carolina over the "orphan strip," a tract of territory some twelve miles wide in Buncombe County, North Carolina, which Georgia in 1803 erected into the county of Walton. This territory lay south of the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, as then located; but grave doubts were raised as to the proper location of this line. North Carolina scientists having located this line far to the south of where it was supposed to run, North Carolina served notice upon Georgia in 1805 of her claim to the territory as part of Buncombe County. Following disturbances in the territory, Governor Jared Irwin of Georgia wrote Governor Nathaniel Alexander of North Carolina, suggesting the appointment of commissioners to settle the disputed boundary. On January 1, 1807, Governor Alexander appointed John Steele, John Moore, and James Wellborn as commissioners; and the Rev. Joseph Caldwell, President of the University of North Carolina, acted as scientist for the State in making the observations. When the thirty-fifth degree of latitude was run, it was found to be "twenty-two miles within old Buncombe"—much to the astonishment of the Georgians; and it was agreed by all that the actual line ran a little south of Cæsar's Head. The provisional agreement entered into by the commissioners on June 27, 1807, led to an extended controversy, which was finally productive of considerable bloodshed. North Carolina ratified the agreement; but Georgia refused to accept the findings of her own commissioners. Having once already appealed to Congress for settlement, Georgia again in 1807 appealed to Congress, but unsuccessfully—Congress paying no attention to the matter. For the next three years, Georgia persisted without success in her efforts to retain the territory; and finally North Carolina had to dispatch a company of State militia in December, 1810, to take possession of the county of Walton. Two pitched battles, and some small skirmishes, in which a number of lives were lost, were fought before the Georgians were finally

ousted and the so-called county of Walton, Georgia, was finally merged into Buncombe County, North Carolina.

XI

When General Steele resigned his post as Comptroller of the Treasury, it was his intention to devote his leisure to the pleasures of polite literature, in particular the reading of French works in which he was proficient; to improvements in agriculture on a scientific and intensive basis; and to the calm enjoyments of domestic life in the bosom of his family, which had so long been denied him. "These," he observed to Macon, "will fill up my time to the exclusion of politicks, and with them I trust every passion which could disturb a virtuous and tranquil retirement." General Steele had quite extensive land holdings, including plantations and town lots. The two major properties were the beautiful plantation of eight hundred acres, "Lethe," on the Yadkin River below the Trading Ford and next to Albert Torrence's plantation; and "Lombardy," the estate near Salisbury where his family resided, including upwards of nine hundred acres. The dwelling house, which was erected in the first years of the last century on the latter property, is today in excellent preservation, although modernized in appearance.

The members of the Steele family, as their letters show, were on terms of delightful ease and informality in their intellectual intercourse with each other—a relationship somewhat unusual in an age marked by stilted language and formal deportment. Ann Nessfield was educated at Dr. Van Vleck's famous Moravian School at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; and she spent a good deal of time with her father. Mrs. Steele seldom went on to Washington or Philadelphia; and General Steele's enforced absence from home for long periods of time was a source of continuing regret to all the family. Of the children of General and Mrs. Steele, three died in infancy—one born at Salisbury who died without a name in the summer of 1786; a son, William, who was born

at Salisbury on March 18, 1793, and died August 18, 1794; and another son, born in Philadelphia on January 4, 1798, who died May 4 following without a name, the body being interred in the Pine Street Meeting House burying ground. Three daughters survived: Ann Nessfield, born January 27, 1784, who was married to General Jesse A. Pearson on February 13, 1804, and died October 4 of the same year; Elizabeth, born August 5, 1795, who was married on June 28, 1814, to Colonel Robert Macnamara, a prominent citizen of Salisbury, and died at Annsfield, near Salisbury, November 28, 1834; and Margaret Gillespie, born January 31, 1790, who was married to Dr. Stephen Lee Ferrand, a distinguished physician of Salisbury, on March 3, 1819, and died, as did her infant also, on May 13, 1824.

After his retirement from public life, General Steele assiduously devoted himself to that course of general reading which, as he expressed it to Macon, "keeps me employed with the hope of becoming a more intelligent and useful member of society." After the model of Washington, he carried out experiments in improved modes of agriculture; managed his estate with efficiency and economy; and in particular, devoted no little attention to the rearing and racing of blooded horses. He was a leading figure in the Salisbury Jockey Club; and the annual races run there were conducted according to regulations which he drew up. Probably the most famous of his racing horses were the blood-bay, "Statesburg," whose performances on the turf were pronounced by contemporary authorities to "have equalled if not surpassed those of any horse of his size on the Continent"; and "Midas," another famous racing horse of wonderful speed. These and others of his blooded horses ran in the big races of the day—at Salisbury, Cheraw, Camden, and Charleston.

While living the life of the gentleman farmer, who assiduously read the classics and the standard works of polite literature, and carried on an extensive correspondence with the leading men of the day, General Steele was by no means

divorced from public activity during the last decade of his life. There were the onerous and exacting duties of boundary commissioner, which involved considerable correspondence and the writing of voluminous reports. Moreover, General Steele was frequently called upon to represent the Salisbury District in the House of Commons. He served in the Legislatures of 1806, 1811, 1812, and 1813, sometimes as Speaker of the House; and he was elected for another term on the day of his death, August 14, 1815.

XII

John Steele is said to have been one of the most versatile men North Carolina has ever produced. Grave in temperament and of a serious bent of mind, he always conducted himself with great dignity; and he was seldom seen to smile. The portrait of him, made by the famous miniaturist, James Peale, in 1797, portrays a man both handsome and bland. At the height of his career he was credited with being the most popular man in North Carolina.

The inscription upon his tombstone and contemporary obituaries speak best of the man and the place he filled in the life of the time. The marble shaft in the private burial ground at "Lombardy," now known as "Steeleworth," bears the following inscription:

In the Memory of
GENERAL JOHN STEELE
Died, Aug. 14, 1815
Age 50
Consecrated by Conjugal
and
Filial Affection
An Enlightened Statesman
A Vigilant Patriot
An Accomplished Gentleman.
The Archives of his Country testify the services of his
short but useful life. Long will that country
deplore his loss, but when will this sequestered
spot cease to witness the sacred sorrow
of his Family and Friends.

The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

Volume XIX of THE BOOKLET will be issued quarterly by the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, beginning July, 1919. THE BOOKLET will be published in July, October, January, and April. Price $1.00 per year, 35 cents for single copy.

EDITOR:
MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

BIOGRAPHICAL EDITOR:
MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

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"A great man has fallen in Israel."

Died, a few days ago, at his seat near Salisbury, *General John Steele*, long known as a distinguished statesman.—General Steele was a member of Congress soon after the adoption of the Constitution, contributed his full share to the establishment of the Government, and to give effect to those measures and policies which were pursued under the first administrations. He was afterwards for several years Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States, and has since occasionally been a Member of the Legislature of his native State. . . . The knowledge of General Steele was various and profound, and his reasoning powers great. Among the political sages of our country he has left a chasm that will not easily be filled.

Life and Services of Colonel Jonas Johnston*

By Kemp Davis Battle

When I received Miss Hinton's cordial invitation to take part in these interesting proceedings, there were two things in her letter which I particularly noted: first, that my address was to be read; second, that it was to be, to use her tactful language, "not of great length." I shall give myself the benefit of the first provision and I shall try to give you the benefit of the second.

At the outset, I desire to acknowledge my obligations to Miss Hinton for furnishing me the material for this modest sketch. She has manifasted the enthusiastic and patient diligence of the historian in assembling every available record and reference bearing upon the life of her distinguished ancestor. Indeed, what I say today adds very little to a paper read by her before the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution.

The biographical data in reference to Colonel Johnston's life is comparatively meager. He was born in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1740, the son of Jacob Johnston and Mary Waller Johnston. During his early youth, his parents removed to Edgecombe County, which was thenceforth his home. In estimating his talents and character, it is important to remember that Jonas Johnston was raised a plain, simple, hard-working farmer, with no education save that which strong minds are able to extract from the stream of practical experience. In 1768, at the home of Aquilla Suggs, near Tarboro, he was married to Esther Maun or Maund, of Norfolk County, Virginia, a woman who, in good sense, in resourcefulness, and in strength of character, seems to have been quite his equal. Both parties had in ample measure

* Address by Kemp Davis Battle, a descendant of Major Amos Johnston, delivered at the presentation of a tablet to Colonel Jonas Johnston by The North Carolina Historical Commission and the Board of County Commissioners of Edgecombe, to the County of Edgecombe. It was accepted by the Chairman, William G. Clark. Published by request.

that self-reliance, that ability to rise to any emergency, that capacity to maintain one's footing no matter how fast may flow the stream of difficulty or adversity, in a word, that "spiritual toughness" which makes the lives of our pioneering forefathers so entrancingly picturesque.

Emergencies seem always to produce or to discover men of unusual strength to deal with them, and so it was with Jonas Johnston. To us who live in an age when electric communication has girdled the globe; when our morning newspaper chronicles every significant happening from one end of the earth to the other; when the jungles of Africa, the steppes of Russia, the plains of Tibet and the pampas of Argentine alike seem almost around the corner; when man travels with equal ease under the sea, through the air, and upon the crust of the earth; when the telephone and the telegraph are beginning to seem archaic, as wizard inventors weave us fantastic tales of individual automatic wireless telephones carried like a bunch of keys in the pocket; when the automobile, having vanquished the horse, begins to tremble at the advent of the aeroplane; to us, I say, it is almost impossible to comprehend the material and physical difficulties with which our forefathers contended at the time of the Revolution. Communication was by coach, by carriage, by wagon, by horseback or by foot. The roads, measured by present standards, were impassable. Public schools were unknown, education was the boon of the favored few. When we bear these conditions in mind, it should excite equally our humility and our amazement to contemplate the intelligence, the comprehension, the wisdom, the foresight and the idealism of that noble band of patriots who builded our Republic. In that great task, Jonas Johnston, unlettered plowboy, but endowed by nature with strength of character and of mind buttressed with courage and determination, played a man's full part.

Espousing from the beginning the cause of liberty, Johnston, who was then in his thirties, early became a leader. He

was conspicuous at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, where he manifested the coolness and intrepidity under danger which characterized his brief but gallant military career. In those early days, the struggle which finally terminated in our independence, bore largely the earmarks of a civil dispute. The Tories were numerous, influential, and bold. A preliminary period of strife was necessary before the colonies were able to organize a comparatively united front against the English arms. Johnston did yeoman's service in this work. On one occasion he organized at Tarboro a band of volunteers which he led down to the Cape Fear River where a Tory uprising was causing grave anxiety. The expedition was entirely successful and it was probably in recognition of his services that he was given a commission as First Major by the Provincial Congress at Halifax. This was on April 22, 1776. From that time on he was constantly engaged in the fight for freedom. It is true that he missed a good deal of time from the military forces while attending various sessions of the Provincial Congress, of which more hereafter. His necessary absence from his regiment and his early death doubtless prevented him from attaining the reputation as a military leader which would otherwise have been his. Nevertheless, his record in that respect is one of which his descendants may well be proud.

But before actual fighting could begin, there was much preliminary work to be done. Johnston was not found wanting. When the Council of State met at New Bern, September 2, 1777, the Governor laid before the board the resolve of Congress to divide the States into districts with one person in each district to recruit men to fill the regiments raised in such State. For Edgecombe, Jonas Johnston was appointed. (State Records 22, page 926.) The Provincial Congress at Halifax, April 19, 1776, appointed Henry Horn and Jonas Johnston "to receive, procure, and purchase firearms for the use of the troops." (State Records 10, page 525.) When the Council of State met at Kinston, December, 1778, Col. Jonas Johnston laid before the board an account for sundries

furnished the militia marching from Edgecombe. The Governor advised the board to grant a warrant on Treasury in favor of Col. Johnston for 400 pounds. (State Records 22, page 942.) A letter written by Major Johnston (now a Lieutenant-Colonel) to Governor Caswell, under date of November 24, 1778, and found in State Records 13, page 298, is so illuminating as to the difficulties which our hero was encountering and so eloquent of his resourcefulness and determination, that I venture to quote it in full:

May it please your Excellency: I have herewith sent you the Commissions of Capt. Davis and Ensign Gay, resigned, the former through infirmity, the latter through cowardice and as no Ensign offers to supply the place of Gay our detachment is without any Captain. Lee who now heads the Company, is a volunteer, who accepted the office in the room of Davis resigned, and as I have no blank commissions he is without. One Absolum Barnes, our Lieutenant, has a commission. I am sorry to inform your Excellency of so many resignations at present, but it is out of my power to help it. I have furnished Capt. Lee with 934 lbs. of beef, 2 barrels of meal, and 8 pots and 8 axes, and am happy to inform your Excellency that the men are mostly in good health, and now on duty; are in high spirits and resolved to encounter every difficulty. I can only add, I am sorry that more of our old Captains would not go with them, as I think so large a detachment deserves a good Captain and so no more at present but Sir I still remain,

Your Excellency's mo. huml. servt.,

JONAS JOHNSTON.

N. B.—The other detachment is now drafting, and will march as soon as possible. J. J.

One can form from the foregoing disconnected incidents some slight estimate of the patriotic and valuable work performed by Colonel Johnston in the immensely important task of raising and equipping and drilling the troops which were to test their mettle with the British. Indeed, a little reflection leads to the conclusion that this harassing and sometimes disheartening work was more far-reaching in its results than gallantry on the field of battle. At length, however, Colonel Johnston took command of his regiment, and with Colonel Caswell marched to South Carolina where help was greatly needed. The best record of his activities there is contained

in a series of letters written by him to the Governors of North and South Carolina. These letters bear unmistakable evidence of the man's statesmanlike judgment and indomitable will-power. His career ended with the Battle of Stono Ferry, fought June 20, 1779. In this engagement he greatly distinguished himself by his personal courage and the skill with which he handled his men. Tradition has it that the title of General was conferred on him by the War Department for bravery in the Battle of Stono Ferry, but this cannot be verified. The wound which he received that day deprived the country of a leader of very great promise. Suffering both from wounds and sickness, he was granted a furlough and started on his journey home. His wife set out from Edgecombe to meet him, traveling in a gig, and attended only by a colored servant. He reached the home of a Mr. Amis on Drowning Creek, S. C., where on July 29, 1779, he died. The sword which he wore at Stono Ferry and which had been captured from the Hessians, was inherited by Governor Elias Carr and is now in the Arts and Industry Building, Smithsonian Institution, in Washington.

At the present time, Colonel Johnston is usually thought of as a soldier, but it was probably in civil life that he achieved greater eminence and made a greater contribution to his country. And here I must again call to your attention the fact that he never received a formal education and that his success was purely the result of his natural strength of mind and integrity of character. I quote from an article in the *North Carolina University Magazine* of April, 1861, written by Jeremiah Battle, M.D.: "Although he was almost destitute of education, he was a considerable orator; and whenever he rose to speak in those public assemblies the greatest attention was paid to his opinions, as they ever carried the strongest marks of good sense. His language was bold and nervous; well adapted to incite the people to patriotic exertion. He was modest, yet competent, prompt and decisive." It is to be understood that the word "education" is used in the sense

of "schooling." Using the word in its widest sense, he did have an education. Colonel Johnston was a member of the Provincial Congress from 1776 to 1779, inclusive, and took a promient part in its affairs. It may be interesting to name some of the committees on which he served, as follows: Committee on Enquiry; on Consideration of Messages from the President of the Congress; Claims and Accounts; to Establish Courts of Justice of the Peace; on the Disposition of the Public Salt; on the Erection of a State House, Land Office, and Treasurer's Office; to Examine the Accounts of the Paymaster-General; to Devise Means for Paying for a Quantity of Cannon brought in by the Ship Holy Jesus; and the Committee to Raise Men to March to the Southward." He must have taken the last appointment very much to heart, as he ended by marching southward himself—to his death.

Among the bills which he introduced were the following: "A bill to regulate the fees of Justices of the Peace and Clerks of the Superior Court;" "A bill to construct a bridge over Contentnea Creek;" "A bill to dock the entails of land;" and "A bill for emitting 850,000 pounds in bills of credit for discharging debts incurred by the State in raising men to reinforce the battalions belonging to this State in the Continental Army; and calling in all former emissions and for other purposes." To me there is something very impressive in the picture of this unlettered Edgecombe farmer introducing the financial measures for meeting the State's needs in those anxious and trying times. We find him voting in the affirmative on the bill to confiscate the property of all those inimical to the United States. He voted "yea" on "A bill for levying a tax for the year 1779, that the bill be amended by levying a tax of three pence on each pound of taxable property instead of two pence." It sometimes takes as high a quality of courage to face popular disfavor by voting to increase taxes as it does to face a cannon volley. These fragmentary references to Colonel Johnston's legislative career do not purport to do more than cast a flickering spot-

light on his manifold activities. I think they do, however, suffice to present to us a man of progressive ideals, respected among his fellows for his practical knowledge and experience, successfully active in a variety of fields, a substantial, forceful, forward looking patriot.

As we are largely indebted for this occasion to Colonel Johnston's descendants, it seems permissible to give some account of his family and connections. His wife, Esther Maun, must have been a woman of great strength of character. When the war came, Colonel Johnston had just started to erect a residence. The frame dwelling had been completed on the outside, and the laths within were ready for the plastering. Work was necessarily suspended and was not resumed during the owner's lifetime. Colonel Johnston was less than 40 years of age at his death and had given too much of his time and attention to public matters to have accumulated any considerable property. Mrs. Johnston was left with a small farm and five small children. Devoting all her energy and resources to the education of her children, she abandoned all plans for completing her home and did not resume the work until each child had received what was for that age a good education. By industry and economy she met with entire success the responsibilities which her husband's death imposed upon her and won the respect and admiration of all her neighbors. For the last 15 years of her life she was paralyzed but reached the ripe age of 89 years. She is buried on the Johnston plantation, now belonging to the Cobbs of Vinedale. The grave is marked by a tombstone erected by Jonas Johnston Carr, the railing by the Ruffins. I quote the words of one who knew her: "Her own dissolution she looked to without fear, though helpless in body she was strong in faith, and her lamp burned clearer as her sun of life shed its last rays on the fleeting pleasures of this world."

The only children of Jonas Johnston and his good wife which survived and left descendants were four daughters:

Elizabeth, who married first, John Bell, second John Andrews; Celia, who married first, Jesse Hines, and second Elias Carr; Prudence, who married Peter Hines; and Mary, who married Samuel Ruffin. Among their descendants are the names of the following families: Bell, Hines, Carr, Prince, Blount, Vines, Cobb, Ruffin, Andrews, Barnes, Horne and Hinton.

Among those who have attained distinction of various kinds are the following: Hon. Richard Hines, Congressman from North Carolina; Jonas Johnston Carr, of "Bracebridge Hall," southern planter; Dr. Peter Evans Hines, Surgeon Provisional Army Confederate States; Col. A. B. Andrews, railroad builder; Governor Elias Carr; Mrs. David Hinton, a representative of the best Southern Womanhood; Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, personally known to all present; R. A. Blount, son of R. E. Blount of Paris, a Lieutenant of the Foreign Legion, and a wearer of the Croix de Guerre with Palms for gallantry at Verdun; and William Kearny Carr of Washington, D. C., who died some two or three years ago. W. K. Carr was a scientist and student of the very highest rank. In my opinion he possessed probably the most comprehensive and powerful intellect which Edgecombe County has ever produced.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, I hold it altogether fitting that we should meet to pay a tribute of respect to this sturdy patriot. By his heavy labors in raising and equipping troops to fight in the cause of freedom, by his wise statesmanship in our legislative assemblies, by the sacrifice of his life in defense of our common country, and by his useful and distinguished posterity, he has put the State of North Carolina as well as the county of Edgecombe very much in his debt. It is good that this tablet will adorn our courthouse as his memory adorns our history.

Mr. Chairman of the Board of County Commissioners, it is my high pleasure and distinguished privilege, on behalf of the State Historical Commission, the County Commissioners,

and Colonel Johnston's descendants to present through you to the county of Edgecombe this memorial to her worthy son. May future generations of her citizens by it be inspired to emulate his example and to cherish his memory.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR

Family tradition claims that Colonel Johnston's father came to America from the north of England. The family is not of Scottish origin.

Governor Henry Toole Clark was well versed in the genealogy of the prominent families of his county (Edgecombe). It was he who compiled and arranged the "Johnston Family Tree," some copies of which are today carefully preserved by the descendants of the hero of Stono Ferry.

Colonel Jonas Johnston was an Episcopalian. His Prayer Book is in the possession of descendants in North Carolina.

At the General Assembly held at New Bern November, 1777, "Mr. Jonas Johnston presented a petition from a number of inhabitants of Edgecombe County, praying to have the same divided."

In 1776 the Convention established "An ordinance for appointing Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs and Constables for the several counties in this State, for erecting County Courts for the purposes of holding sessions of the Peace, and putting into execution the laws relative to Orphans, Guardians, and highways until provisions shall be made by the General Assembly for the same." Jonas Johnston was appointed a "Justice for keeping the Peace in Edgecombe. The other J. P.'s appointed for Edgecombe at the same time were: Aquila Sugg, Edward Moore, Samuel Ruffin, Duncan Lamon, Elisha Battle, William Haywood, Sherwood Haywood, Henry Erwin, Joseph Williamson, John Thomas, Matthew Drake, Noah Sugg, Robert Bignall, Nathan Bodie, Exum Lewis, William Hall, Isaac Sessums, Jacob Dickinson, Arthur Arrington, and Joseph Pender, Esquires."

In the spring of 1778 Colonel Johnston was appointed entry taker for Edgecombe, which office he accepted. This prevented his holding his seat in the General Assembly, according to the twenty-fifth section of the Constitution, which did not allow "a receiver of public monies" "a seat in the General Assembly." On April 28, 1778, a motion was carried to fill the seat "vacated by his acceptance of the entry taker's office." However, on August 3, 1778, he appeared as a member of the General Assembly, so he must have resigned the county office.

"At a Council held at Kinston, the 9th September, 1779,

"Resolved, The Governor be advised to appoint Henry Hart, Esq., Colonel of the Company of Edgecombe, in the room of Colonel Johnston, deceased; Isaac Sessums, Lieutenant-Colonel; Henry Horne, First Major, and Amos Johnston, Second Major."

A Composition by John Graham

Afterwards Dr. John Graham, as a Student at Queen's Museum, Charlotte, N. C., July 30, 1776

A DECLAMATION

My worthy Auditors: Sensible of my inability to appear as a publick speaker before you here today with approbation, I would request this of you before whom I have the honour of declaiming from this stage, that if the subject which I shall treat of, be not discussed to as great perfection as it might be (which I confess is the case) you will judge of my performance with mildness and candor.

I have often wondered that learning is not thought a proper ingredient in the education of women. For seeing they have the same improveable and docile minds as the male part of the species, why should they not be cultivated by the same method? Why should reason be left to itself in one of the sexes and be cultivated with so much care and diligence in the other? Why should man's reasonable companion be left to wander in the dark Vale of Ignorance whilst he is permitted to glide along in the flowery Paths of Learning?

There are several reasons why learning seems equally adapted to the female world as to the male. As in the first place, because they have more spare time on their hands and lead a more sedentary life. Their employments are for the most part of a domestic nature and not like those of the other sex, which are often inconsistent with study and contemplation, as being harrassing and disturbing to the mind.

A second reason why women should apply themselves to the study of useful knowledge as well as men is because they have that natural gift of speech, that velocity of the little

* Dr. Graham was an older brother of Gen. Joseph Graham. Upon his graduation in 1778 he was awarded a diploma, which is the only diploma granted by Queen's Museum now in existence.

machine called the tongue, in much greater perfection. And seeing they have so excellent a talent, such a Copia Verborum, or plenty of words, it is a pity they should not put it to some commendable use.

If the female tongue will be in motion, why should it not be set to go right? Could they discourse on philosophical subjects, or on the revolutions of antiquity, it might possibly divert them from publishing the faults, disclosing the secrets, and blemishing the character of their neighbors: could they talk of the different aspects and conjunctions of the planets, they need not be at the pains to comment upon oglings and clandestine marriages. In short, were they furnished with matters of fact out of the arts and sciences, it would now and then be of great ease to their invention.

There is another reason why those especially who are women of quality should apply themselves to letters, namely, because their husbands are sometimes strangers to them; and it seems to me to be a matter truly lamentable that there should be no knowledge in a family either by the father or mother.

To what is it owing, unless to the illiterateness or neglect of parents, that we see so many impudent, ill-bred children, who not being restrained in their childhood from, but rather indulged in, their youthful fancies; arriving at manhood and their licentiousness increasing proportionably, they become rude and insolent to their superiors, subject neither to ministers or magistrates, not even to parents themselves, but, as the celebrated Mr. Young says:

"Ripe from the tutor, proud of liberty,
He leaps enclosure, bounds into the world;
The world is taken, after ten years toil,
Like ancient Troy; and all its joys his own.

"Alas, the world's a tutor more severe,
Its lessons hard, and ill deserved his pains;
Unteaching all his virtues Nature taught,
Or Books (fair Nature's advocates) inspired."

From whence proceeds this misfortune, that so many flourishing branches, who might have become useful members of society, an honor to their parents, and an ornament to their country, should shoot up as it were into so many cumbersome trees, spending their life in inactivity and sloth, lying by among the number and refuse of mankind, unless from a bad or rather no education?

Another reason why women ought to be educated proceeds from the many advantages which are consequences therefrom; for the tutelage of children being almost solely in the hands of mothers, they have the most excellent opportunity of infusing the noblest principles into them, of rooting out the very seeds of vice, and by turning off the stream at the fountain into proper channels, before that the water may have worn deep the natural channel with its swift running current; they might by this means convey the stream between rocks and precipices into foreign lands, and distant nations receive the benefit of the increasing rivulet, and reap the advantages of it a thousand years hence.

If we look into the histories of famous women, we find many eminent philosophers of this sex; nay, we find that several females have distinguished themselves in those branches of philosophy which seem almost repugnant to their natures.

There have been famous Pythagoreans, notwithstanding most of that philosophy consisted in keeping a secret, and that the disciple was to hold her tongue five years together. I need not mention Portia, who was a stoic in petticoats: now Hipparthia, the famous she-cynick.

Learning and knowledge are perfections in us, not as we are men, but as we are reasonable creatures, in which order of beings the female world is upon the same level with the male. We ought to consider in this particular, not what is the sex, but what is the species to which they belong. At least, I believe every one will allow me, that a female philosopher is not so absurd a character and so opposite to the

sex, as a female gamester; and that it is more irrational for a woman to pass away her time at cards or dice, I might likewise have said in immoderate dressing, than in laying up stores of useful learning. This therefore is another reason why I would recommend the study of knowledge to the female world, that they may not be at a loss how to employ those vacant hours that lie heavy on their hands.

I might also add this motive to my fair auditors, that several of their sex, who have improved their minds by books and literature, have raised themselves to the highest posts of honor and fortune, but I shall conclude this head with the history of Athenais, which is a very signal example to my present purpose.

The Emporor Theodosius being about the age of one and twenty and designing to take a wife, desired his sister, Pulcheria, and his friend, Paulinus, to search his whole empire for a woman of the most exquisite beauty and highest accomplishments. In the midst of this search, Athenais, a Grecian virgin, accidentally offered herself.

Her father, who was an eminent philosopher at Athens, and had bred her up in all the learning of that renowned place, at his death left her a very small portion, in which also she suffered great hardships from the injustice of her two brothers.

This forced her upon a journey to Constantinople, where she had a relation who represented her case to Pulcheria in order to obtain some redress from the Emperor. By this means that religious princess became acquainted with Athenais, whom she found the most beautiful woman of her age and educated under a long course of philosophy in the strictest virtue and most innocence. Pulcheria was charmed with her conversation and immediately reported to the Emperor, her brother, Theodosius. The character she gave made such an impression on him that he desired his sister to bring her away immediately to the lodging of his friend, Paulinus, where he found her beauty and her conversation beyond the highest

idea he had framed of them. His friend, Paulinus, converted her to Christianity and gave her the name of Eudosia; after which the Emperor publickly espoused her, and enjoyed all the happiness in his marriage which he had promised himself from such a virtuous and learned bride. She not only forgave the injuries which her two brothers had done her, but raised them to great honours; and by several works of learning, as well as by an exemplary life, made herself so dear to the whole empire that she had many statues erected to her memory and is celebrated of the church as the Ornament of her Sex.

JOHN GRAHAM.

July 30, 1776.

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AMENDED BY CHAPTER 714, PUBLIC LAWS OF 1907

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Vol. XIX JULY-OCTOBER, 1919 No. 1-2

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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Vol. XIX JULY-OCTOBER, 1919 No. 1-2

The
NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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MAJOR-GENERAL CALVIN JONES
Grand Master of Masons, 1817-1820

The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XIX JULY- OCTOBER, 1919 No. 1-2

Calvin Jones*

Physician, Soldier and Freemason

By Marshall DeLancey Haywood

Major-General Calvin Jones, an officer of North Carolina troops throughout the Second War with Great Britain, a physician and scientist of marked ability, and Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of North Carolina, was born at Great Barrington, Massachusetts, on the 2d day of April, 1775. His birthplace was in the Berkshire Hills. His father was Ebenezer Jones, a soldier in the Army of the Revolution, and the maiden name of his mother was Susannah Blackmore. The family's earliest progenitor in America was Thomas Ap Jones, a Welchman, who settled at Weymouth, Massachusetts, in 1651. From him, Ebenezer Jones was fourth in descent.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Of the early life of Calvin Jones we know little. We get a slight glimpse of the surroundings of his infancy in a letter to him from his father's sister, Mrs. Mary Collins, who says: "I came to your father's house to stay with your mother while your father and Uncle Joseph went to fight for their dear country. You were then 16 months old." A letter from his father declares: "Your mother and I made slaves of ourselves that our children might have education." We are unable to ascertain in what institutions Calvin Jones received his education, but that he was possessed of a varied store of knowledge in state-craft, medicine, surgery, science, history,

* Reprint from Proceedings of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Nortth Carolina, A.D. 1919.

botany, and polite literature, there is ample proof. The study of medicine he began in boyhood, and he made such wonderful progress in that science that he was able to stand an examination on the subject at the early age of seventeen. A certificate, or medical license, now owned by his descendants, reads as follows:

These may certify that Calvin Jones, on ye 19th of June, 1792, offered himself as a candidate for examination in the Healing Art before the United Medical Society. He was likewise examined and approved of by the said Society as being well skilled in the Theory of the Physical Art, and by them is recommended to the Publick, as per Order of James Batten, president.

DOCT. DAVID DOTY, Secretary.

We have never been able to learn where this United Medical Society was located. Before leaving New England, Dr. Jones practiced his profession with marked success, as we learn from general letters of recommendation and introduction from physicians with whom he had been associated before removing to North Carolina.

LEGISLATIVE, MEDICAL, AND JOURNALISTIC CAREER

It was about the year 1795 that Dr. Jones settled in North Carolina, locating at Smithfield, in Johnston County. He soon gained the esteem and confidence of the general public in his new home, likewise attaining high rank among the most progressive and enlightened medical men of North Carolina.

In the course of time, Dr. Jones was called into public life by the voters of Johnston County, being twice elected a member of the North Carolina House of Commons, serving in the sessions of 1799 and 1802. He was an active, useful, and influential member of these bodies. His speech (November 20, 1802), against the proposed appropriation to establish a penitentiary, in the nature of a mild reformatory, was an argument of great force which was reported in short-hand by Joseph Gales, editor of the *Raleigh Register,* for the use of

his paper (see issue of December 14th), and it was later republished in a small pamphlet. In this speech Dr. Jones said:

"The plan of lessening the frequency of crimes, by reforming instead of punishing criminals, has originated in principles that I revere; but sure I am the advocates of this measure are mistaken in the effects it is calculated to produce. * * * This extravagant project, in other States, has been more to accommodate vagabond wretches whom the jails of Europe have vomited upon our shores, than native citizens, and this strongly increases my objection to the measure. In New York, I am assured from authority on which I can rely, that two-thirds of the criminals in the State prison are freed negroes and foreigners. The prudent policy of this State [North Carolina], in refusing to liberate any of its slaves, will relieve us from one species of these pests of society, but we have no security against the other except in the rigor of our laws."

Concerning emigrants from Europe to America, Dr. Jones added: "There are many of them who were an honor to their own country, and who are now an ornament to this. I object only to these vagrant wretches who have no trade or profession but thieving and sedition; whose schools of education have been jails and armies, and who transport themselves here to avoid a transportation to Botany Bay, or to elude the pitiless noose of the hangman."

The session of 1802 ended the services of Dr. Jones as a member of the House of Commons from Johnston County, but, after his removal to Raleigh, he was honored with a seat in the same body as a representative from the county of Wake, as will be mentioned later on.

So far as is known, Dr. Jones was the first physician in North Carolina to discard the old treatment by inoculation as a preventive of small-pox, and to substitute therefor the new process of inoculation now known as vaccination. So up-to-date was Dr. Jones that he was extensively practicing this treatment before the experiments of its discoverer (Dr. Jenner) were completed in England. In 1800, while still living in Smithfield, Dr. Jones announced through the newspapers that he would begin a general practice of vaccination—or inoculation as it was still called—in the Spring of the following year. Later he decided to postpone such action until he

could get the benefit of reports of more recent experiments elsewhere; and he published in the *Raleigh Register,* of April 14, 1801, a card in the course of which he said:

"The public have been taught to expect, from my advertisements of last year, that I shall, in the ensuing month, commence inoculation for the Smallpox; but I am prevented from doing this by the consideration of what is due from me to those who would have been my patients, whose ease and safety my own inclinations and the honor of my profession bind me to consult."

In this card, Dr. Jones further said of Dr. Jenner's discovery that eminent practitioners in England, Scotland, Austria, and France were using the treatment with success, while Dr. Mitchell, of New York, and Dr. Waterhouse, of New Hampshire, were among the American physicians of note who had been engaged in the same work.

In conjunction with a number of other well known physicians of the State, Dr. Jones was one of the organizers of the North Carolina Medical Society in the year 1799. On the 16th of December, in that year, these gentlemen met in Raleigh and perfected an organization. Dr. Jones was elected Corresponding Secretary or "Secretary of Correspondence," and served in that capacity during the life of the Society. This organization held meetings in Raleigh during the month of December in the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804. The meeting in the year last named adjourned to reconvene at Chapel Hill, the seat of the University of North Carolina, on July 5, 1805. I can find no record of the Chapel Hill meeting, though it may have taken place; nor can I find any notice of subsequent meetings. In the issue of the North Carolina Booklet, of January, 1917, is a brief account which I wrote of this society. During its short-lived existence, many enlightening medical essays were read before it by its learned members, and much useful knowledge was thereby disseminated. Among other things, the society collected a botanical garden and natural history museum. Many years later, Dr. Jones, on the eve of his removal to Tennessee in 1832, turned over

to the University of North Carolina a collection of this nature, which may have been the same. Alluding to this gift in his *History of the University of North Carolina,* Dr. Battle says:

"About this time a prominent Trustee, of Wake County, about to remove to Tennessee, General Calvin Jones, presented to the University his 'Museum of artificial and natural curiosities.' Probably some of these are somewhere among the University collections, but it is doubtful if they can be identified."

This collection contained a great variety and wide range of objects—from small botanical specimens to mastodon teeth and the bones of other prehistoric animals.

Dr. Jones was not only an enlightened and accomplished physician, but practiced surgery with notable success, many of his operations being of the most delicate nature—on the eye, ear, and other sensitive organs, which are now usually treated by specialists. He was also the author of a medical work entitled *A Treatise on the Scarletina Anginosa, or what is Vulgarly Called the Scarlet Fever, or Canker-Rash, Replete with everything necessary to the Pathology and Practice, Deduced from Actual Experience and Observation, by Calvin Jones, Practitioner of Physic.* This work was published at Catskill, New York, by the editors of the *Catskill Packet,* Mackay Croswell and Dr. Thomas O'Hara Croswell, in 1794.

Being a mutual friend of the parties concerned, Dr. Jones deeply deplored the political quarrel between the Honorable John Stanly and Ex-Governor Richard Dobbs Spaight at New Bern, in the early Fall of 1802. Together with other friends of those gentlemen, he earnestly sought to arrange their differences on a basis honorable to both. These commendable efforts were vain, however, and, when the code duello was resorted to, thinking his services as a surgeon might be of some avail, Dr. Jones was one of the party (not inconsiderable in number) which was on the ground when the hostile meeting took place, on September 5th. After several

shots were exchanged without effect, Stanly's fire brought down his antagonist, who was carried from the field in a dying condition and expired shortly thereafter.

It was about 1803 that Dr. Jones left Smithfield and took up his residence in Raleigh. A few years later he was elected Mayor of the capital city—or "Intendent of Police," as the municipal chief magistrate was then called. Honors, too, came to him from the county of Wake, which he was elected to represent in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1807. His seat in that body was contested on the ground that (it was alleged) he did not own a one hundred acre freehold, as was then required of Commoners by the Constitution of the State; but the committee on privileges and elections, after hearing both sides, decided unanimously that "the allegations set forth in said petition are unfounded." Dr. Jones consequently kept his seat, and was a useful member of this Legislature, serving as chairman of the committee to preserve and perpetuate the paper currency of the State, as chairman of the committee to investigate the laws relative to slaves charged with capital offenses, and was a member of the committee on militia. He may have been a member of other committees in the same General Assembly. In connection with the contested election of Dr. Jones I may add that I do not know how much Wake County land he owned in 1807, but the court-house records show that he acquired extensive tracts in this county at a later date.

For a while Dr. Jones devoted some (though not all) of his time to journalism. In the Fall of 1808 he became associated with Thomas Henderson, Jr., in publishing and editing the *Star,* under the firm name Jones & Henderson, and later Thomas Henderson & Company. The files of the *Star* show the wide range of knowledge possessed by its editors in the various fields of science, art, history, and *belles lettres,* as well as in events (political and otherwise) then current. Henderson, like Dr. Jones, became an officer of North Carolina militia in the War of 1812-15. On January 1, 1815, Dr.

Jones disposed of his interest in the *Star* to Colonel Henderson, who thereupon conducted the business alone until January, 1822, when he sold his paper and printing outfit and went to Tennessee.

While Dr. Jones, otherwise known as General Jones, and Colonel Henderson were associated in the ownership and editorial management of the *Star,* the latter had a narrow escape from death by drowning, being saved by the heroism of Jacob Johnson, father of President Andrew Johnson. Captain William Peace, of Raleigh, an eye-witness of this occurrence, recounted it in writing half a century later to Ex-Governor Swain, who repeats it in an address on Jacob Johnson, delivered when a headstone was placed over his grave, June 4, 1867. Captain Peace said:

"At a large fishing party at Hunter's Mill Pond on Walnut Creek, near Raleigh, upwards of fifty years ago, the late Colonel Henderson proposed for amusement a little skim in the canoe on the pond. He, a young Scotch merchant named Callum, and myself, entered the canoe. Henderson was helmsman and knew that neither Callum nor myself could swim. He soon began to rock the canoe, so as at times to dip water, and just above the pier-head of the pond, bore so heavily on the end where he was sitting as to tilt and turn it over, throwing all three into the pond. Callum caught hold of me. I begged him to let go, as I could not swim. He did so, and seized Henderson, and both sank to the bottom in ten feet of water. I struggled and kept myself above water until they came to my assistance from the shore and carried me out. A cry was then made for Henderson and Callum. Jacob Johnson was standing on the pier-head. Without a moment's hesitation he leaped into the pond, dived in the direction of where he saw them sink, caught hold of Henderson and brought him up. In an instant a dozen swimmers were in the water from the shore to assist in bringing Henderson out, and Callum with him, who was clinging to the skirt of Henderson's coat underneath, and at the moment invisible."

Commenting upon the event just described in the account by Captain Peace, Governor Swain said:

"Fortunately for the sufferers, the late General Calvin Jones, Henderson's partner, was on shore. He was an eminent and able physician and surgeon, and the most efficacious means for the relief of the apparently drowned men were promptly applied. Henderson was soon able to speak, but life was, to ordinary observers, extinct in

Callum, who was longer under the water. After an anxious interval of painful suspense, he exhibited signs of life, was restored, and lived to marry and rear a family. * * * Henderson suffered from the effects of the adventure during more than a year; and Johnson, though he survived for a longer period, passed away eventually, a martyr to humanity."

Like nearly all other editors of his day, Colonel Henderson operated a book and stationery business in connection with his newspaper office, and Dr. Jones also owned an interest in that establishment.

In the early part of the nineteenth century the American Colonization Society was organized by some of the foremost men of the United States for the purpose of thinning out the free negro population of the country by deporting to Liberia such members of the race as were willing to undertake the establishment of a republic of their own. The gradual emancipation of the slaves was also an event these gentlemen had in view. On June 12, 1819, the Reverend William Meade, of Virginia, later Bishop, came to Raleigh and formed a local branch organization. General Jones was much interested in the movement, and was elected a member of the Board of Managers of the branch then formed. Among the officers were: President, Governor John Branch; and vice presidents, Colonel William Polk, Chief Justice John Louis Taylor, Judge Leonard Henderson (later Chief Justice), and Archibald Henderson. This movement, as is well known, was eventually a failure, owing to the violent hostility it encountered from the more radical abolitionists of the North.

After successfully devoting himself to the medical profession for many years, and attaining a high reputation therein (as already shown), Dr. Jones finally abandoned active practice in order to devote himself to the management of his agricultural interests.

MILITARY CAREER.

Interest in military matters was a life-long characteristic of Dr. Jones. Almost immediately after his arrival in North

Carolina, and before he removed to Raleigh, he was an officer of a regiment in Johnston County. Among the papers left by him is an autograph letter from President John Adams, dated Philadelphia, July 5, 1798, addressed to "The Officers of the Johnston Regiment of Militia in the State of North Caroina," and thanking them for their regiment's patriotic tender of services in the event of a war with France, then imminent, but which was happily averted. In the course of this letter the President bitterly declared: "Our commerce is plundered, our citizens treated with the vilest indignities, our Nation itself insulted in the persons of its ambassadors and supreme magistrates, and all this because we are believed to be a divided people."

In 1807 began the mutterings which a few years later culminated in the second War with Great Britain. On June 22d, the British man-of-war *Leopard,* in enforcing the alleged right of search through American ships for real or supposed deserters from the Royal Navy, met with resistance from the American frigate *Chesapeake,* which it attacked and captured, killing and wounding many of the crew, at a time when the two countries were supposed to be at peace. In consequence of this outrage, all America was aflame, and mass meetings were held in the more important North Carolina towns to protest against this insult to the Nation. As early as 1806 Congress had passed an act authorizing the President, in cases of emergency, to call out the State militia to the number of 100,000. Acting on this authority, President Jefferson ordered the militia of all the States to "take effectual measures to organize, arm, and equip, according to law, and hold itself ready to march at a moment's warning." The quota required of North Carolina was 7,003, including artillery, cavalry, and infantry. The city of Raleigh and its vicinity were not backward at this juncture. Among the volunteer companies which offered their services was the Wake Troop of Cavalry, organized and commanded by Captain Calvin Jones. It held a meeting on July 4th and passed a patriotic and spirited set

of resolutions, saying in part: "The spirit of the patriots who eternalized the day we are now assembled to celebrate, our principles, our feelings, and the conviction of duty, require that we offer to the President of the United States our services to protect the rights and avenge the wrongs of the Nation." This day in 1807, like all recurring anniversaries of American Independence, was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony by our ancestors assembled on the capitol grounds in Raleigh, "Captain Jones's Troop of Cavalry" and "Captain Peace's Company of Infantry" constituting the military feature. The Governor, State officers, the Judiciary, members of the bar, and a large concourse of citizens in general were in attendance. Among the toasts offered were the following:

"The memory of Washington: may the services which he rendered to his country be forever engraven on the hearts of Americans."

"The Government of the Union: may it always prove our sheet-anchor against domestic treason and foreign aggression."

"The State Governments: free, sovereign, and independent."

"The memory of the Seamen who lately fell a sacrifice to British outrage: may the atrocity of this act produce the adoption of such measures as shall secure us from future violence, and establish our maritime rights on a firm foundation."

"Good Neighborhood: may no religious or political difference of opinion interrupt the harmony of society; however men may vary in sentiment, may they all agree to be kindly disposed to each other as Brethren of the same great family."

Artillery was not lacking on this occasion, and a salute "in honor of the Union"—one round for each State—was fired, after which the company "partook of a plentiful and elegant dinner," a part of this being the above mentioned toasts. The old *Raleigh Register,* which gives us an account of these ceremonies, concludes the program by saying: "In the evening a ball was given to the ladies, which was kept up with equal spirit and decorum till near twelve, when *Propriety,* the best guardian of public amusements, moved an adjournment, which was immediately adopted."

War with Great Britain being averted in 1807, the services of the cavalry company commanded by Captain Jones were not needed then, but he continued his labors in training this troop and brought it up to so high a state of discipline that his talents were recognized by his being promoted to succeed Adjutant-General Edward Pasteur, when that gentleman resigned on June 7, 1808. That his capability was fully recognized is evidenced by the fact that he was reëlected by succeeding General Assemblies as long as he would hold the commission, serving under Governors Benjamin Williams, David Stone, Benjamin Smith, and William Hawkins. It was during the administration of the last named that the War of 1812-15 came on. Soon after the beginning of that conflict, Adjutant-General Jones, seeking more active service, sent in his resignation on January 23, 1813, and accepted a commission (dated December 14, 1812) as Major-General in command of the Seventh North Carolina Division of Militia, his jurisdiction extending over the forces of eight counties. Under him were Brigadier-General Jeremiah Slade, commanding the Fifth Brigade, being the forces of Martin, Edgecombe, Halifax, and Northampton counties; and Brigadier-General John H. Hawkins, commanding the Seventeenth Brigade, being the forces of Wake, Franklin, Warren, and Nash counties. In the Summer of 1813 the British forces made an extensive naval and military demonstration against the South Atlantic States, and it was thought that Virginia would be the first place attacked. Thereupon the Macedonian cry, *Come over and help us,* was sounded across the border by the *Richmond Enquirer,* which said: "If our brethren of North Carolina be exempted by the nature of their coast from maritime aggressions, will they not share with us the danger?" General Jones was not slow to heed this call, and began raising a corps of mounted volunteers with which to march to the assistance of our sister State. Announcing this purpose, the *Raleigh Register,* of July 9th, said editorially:

"We have pleasure in mentioning that General Calvin Jones, of this city, is about to raise a Corps of Mounted Volunteers, instantly

to march to the assistance of the Virginians against the attacks of the British. * * * The citizens of the several counties are requested to meet at their Court Houses on Monday, the 19th instant, and such as are disposed to join this Patriotic Corps are to sign a writing to the effect. By the 25th it is expected the corps will be ready to march. The members are to equip themselves. A part are to be armed with rifles—the rest with muskets, the latter to be furnished by His Excellency the Governor."

In the *Star,* a Raleigh paper published on the same date, appears a stirring and patriotic address issued by General Jones, setting forth the details of his proposed expedition. In part he said:

"I propose to raise a corps of Mounted Volunteers for a three months' service, to march immediately to the shores of the Chesapeake. The design has the favor and approbation of the Commander-in-Chief. All who burn with the ardor of patriotism, or feel a passion for military fame, are now invited to rally around the standard of their country. * * *

"It is required that each volunteer be strong, healthy, and capable of enduring fatigue; that he be respectable for his character and manners—one whose sense of honor and love of fame will supply the absence or defect of rigid discipline; that he be temperate in the use of strong liquors, and able to incur the expenses of equipments, travelling and other contingencies. Each must be well mounted on a strong, active horse, of about five feet or upwards in height.

"The uniforms will be round jackets (double-breasted) and pantaloons of cotton homespun, dark blue and white, mixed; round black hats, with blue cockades; suwarrow boots* and spurs. Each will be armed with a broad-sword or sabre, or, for want thereof, a cut-and-thrust sword, slung over the shoulder by a white belt three inches wide, and a pair of pistols. As many as have rifles and are expert in their use, will be armed with them. The others will be furnished with muskets by the public.

"Each volunteer will be provided with a valise, blanket, overcoat or cloak, with such body garments to be worn under his uniform as he shall choose. Care will be taken that all the equipments are in good condition. Where it is proposed to take servants, there will be such an arrangement made among the volunteers of each county so that the corps will be incumbered with as few as possible.

"The officers will be selected by the Commander-in-Chief after the corps shall have been mustered at its rendezvous. The commandant will have the right of dismissing from the service any man who shall drink intoxicating liquors to excess, or be guilty of any other ungentlemanly conduct.

*A military boot taking its name from Field Marshal Suwarrow, of Russia. M. DeL. H.

"North Carolinians! an appeal is now made to your patriotism, your bravery, and your love of honorable fame. The character of your State depends on the success of this appeal. Arise, gallant spirits, and do justice to yourselves, and to the expectations of your country."

Editorially commenting upon this address by General Jones, the *Star* said: "From the spirit manifested in this place when the intention was first announced, we feel confident that, with proper exertions, a corps may be readily raised that will do credit to the State. Some of our first characters have already offered themselves." Upon being advised by General Jones of the enterprise he had in view, Governor Barbour, of Virginia, was not slow in conveying the thanks of his State, and wrote (July 5, 1813) saying:

"I should do great injustice to our feelings were I to withhold an expression of our grateful acknowledgments of your affectionate and magnanimous conduct. Nor do the emotions it inspires flow altogether from selfish considerations. We see, in the part you are acting, that spirit which bound us together as a band of brothers during the Revolution and carried us in triumph through that glorious conflict, and which, can it be kept alive, will give, under Providence, immortality to our confederated republic—the last hope of man."

Before General Jones could finish mustering in his corps of volunteers to aid Virginia there was need of his services nearer home, for the enemy unexpectedly landed on the coast of North Carolina at Ocracoke Inlet and the small hamlet of Portsmouth, at the inlet's mouth, also threatening the more important towns of Beaufort and New Bern. The *Star,* of Friday, July 23d, made announcement of this startling fact as follows:

"The news of the invasion reached this city on Saturday about eleven o'clock. On Sunday, General Calvin Jones, with his aides-de-camp, Junius Sneed and George Badger, and with Captain Clark's company of Raleigh Guards, consisting of fifty men, took the road for Newbern. On Monday morning, His Excellency Governor Hawkins, with Colonel Beverly Daniel, one of his aides, General Robert Williams and Major Thomas Henderson, with Captain Hunter's troop of Cavalry, moved off towards the same point. On Wednesday the requisition infantry from this county, amounting to one hundred men, accompanied by Colonel A. Rogers and Major Daniel L. Barringer,

followed on. The Governor has ordered the greater part of the detachment of militia to the several sea-ports of this State; and, being almost destitute of munitions of war of every kind, he has ordered some of the United States arms now lying at Wilmington, to be sent to Newbern, and has caused to be purchased and sent thither all the powder and lead that could be procured in Raleigh, Fayetteville, Hillsborough and other places. He has for the present given the command of Newbern and on the sea-coast to Major-General Calvin Jones, but intends to conduct the general operations of the forces of this State in person, and to front the enemy in battle. We learn that great activity prevails among the militia in the lower parts of the State; they are flocking in from all quarters to the standard of their beloved country.

"Upon this occasion the ladies of Raleigh distinguished themselves for that love of valor and zeal of patriotism which characterizes their sex. They not only surrendered their husbands and sons to the dubious fate of war and encouraged the glorious enterprise by incentive persuasion, but were actively employed in fitting their brethren for an hasty march. In a few hours they made one hundred knapsacks."

While the more active citizen soldiery were hurrying to the sea-coast, a company of older men was organized in Raleigh for home defense. Colonel William Polk, who had valorously fought seven years for American independence in the Revolution, and had declined a Brigadier-General's commission tendered him by President Madison on March 25, 1812, now took command of this "City Corps" as Captain; and three other leading citizens, Judge Henry Seawell, William Boylan, and William Peace were Lieutenants.

General Jones arrived in New Bern on July 20th; and, acting upon the authority conferred on him by Governor Hawkins, assumed the command of all the State troops mobilized in that vicinity. The Governor himself reached New Bern the next day. Fears being felt for the safety of Beaufort, a large detachment was ordered to that town to garrison its fortifications, consisting of Fort Hampton, Fort Lawrence, Fort Gaston, and Fort Pigott.

The British force landed at Ocracoke and Portsmouth on July 11th. It was a most formidable one, and was commanded by no less a personage than Admiral Cockburn, who a year later was to play so conspicuous a part in the capture

Raleigh

and destruction of our national capital. The fleet consisted of a seventy-four gun man-of-war, six frigates, two privateers, two schooners, and a considerable number of smaller vessels, including sixty or seventy barges and tenders. The entire force was estimated to be from one to three thousand seamen, marines, and infantry. This force captured the American barge *Anaconda,* of New York, the letter-of-marque schooner *Atlas,* of Philadelphia, and some smaller craft at Ocracoke, and pitched their tents on the beach. As soon as the fleet had been sighted, the collector of customs at Portsmouth, Thomas S. Singleton, packed his more important official records on board the revenue cutter *Mercury,* commanded by Captain David Wallace, and sent that vessel to give the alarm in New Bern, which (as was later learned) the British had intended to surprise and capture. Despite the superiority of their numbers, the enemy did not gain possession of Ocracoke and Portsmouth without resistance. Writing of the affair to Governor Hawkins in a letter dated July 24th, Collector Singleton said:

"The *Anaconda* and *Atlas* commenced firing very spiritedly, though it was of short duration, for the former had but fifteen men on board and the latter but thirty. They were therefore compelled to submit to overwhelming numbers, as there could not have been less than three thousand men at that time inside the bar and crossing it together. The men abandoned the brig [the *Anaconda*] and schooner [the *Atlas*] and betook themselves to their boats, most of whom escaped. The Captain of the *Atlas* remained in her and continued to fire at the enemy after all his men had forsaken him. Several of the barges proceeded in pursuit of the cutter [the *Mercury*], thinking (as they afterwards said) if they could have taken the cutter, they would have precluded the possibility of information reaching Newbern until they arrived there themselves. The cutter very narrowly escaped by crowding upon her every inch of canvas she had, and by cutting away her long boat. The Admiral did not hesitate to declare that it was his intention to have reached that place [New Bern] previous to the receiving any intelligence of his approach. After pursuing the cutter eight or ten miles through the sound, they gave out the chase and returned. Several hundred men were landed at Portsmouth and I presume as many on Ocracoke. Among those landed at Portsmouth there were about three hundred regulars of the 102d

regiment under the command of Colonel Napier, and about four hundred marines and sailors. They had several small field pieces in their launches, but did not land them, finding no necessity for them."

Later on in the letter, just quoted, Mr. Singleton gives an account of numerous depredations and robberies committed by the invaders while on the North Carolina coast. They remained five days, and set sail on July 16th, without attempting to penetrate inland. Whether their departure was due to fear of the devious channels, which were so difficult to navigate, or whether they learned from the current North Carolina newspapers—of which they are known to have obtained a supply—what formidable measures were in preparation for their reception, will probably never be known. The fleet sailed southward, and it was consequently surmised that the Cape Fear section might be the next point of attack. Large numbers of troops were therefore hurried to that locality, but the British never landed again in North Carolina at that time. They did, however, send a flag of truce back to Ocracoke, announcing that they had formally proclaimed a blockade of the coast of the State.

Though not destined to have the opportunity of displaying their prowess in battle, no country ever had a more ready, vigilant and courageous class of citizen soldiery than those who hurried to the defense of North Carolina during the Summer of 1813. Many county detachments, more than a hundred miles from the prospective seat of war, marched down to the coast as soon as they could be gotten under arms, while the county seats and "muster-grounds" of more westerly sections of the State were soon teeming with patriotic volunteers, ready and eager to aid in repelling the invaders of their country.

In this campaign of 1813, Governor Hawkins remained on the sea-coast about a month, making personal inspection of the defenses from Ocracoke Inlet to New Inlet, and returned to Raleigh on the 16th of August. General Jones also returned when it appeared that there was no immediate likeli-

hood of further trouble with the British in North Carolina. The *Raleigh Register,* of September 3d, said that a rumor had gained currency to the effect that a dispute had taken place between the Governor and General Jones, but the editor says: "We are authorized to state that the report is utterly destitute of any foundation in truth." That no coolness existed between these gentlemen is evidenced by the fact that, a few months later, when the General Assembly of North Carolina sent a complaint to the National Government of the neglect of the coast defenses of the State, Governor Hawkins designated General Jones for the duty of calling in person on President Madison and bringing this matter to his attention. The following item on that subject is from the *Raleigh Register* of December 3, 1813:

"General Calvin Jones has been appointed by His Excellency the Governor to present the Address of the General Assembly, lately agreed to, to the President of the United States, and yesterday set out on his journey."

So far as I am able to learn the British never sent a formidable force against North Carolina after the year 1813, though small marauding parties came by sea on more than one occasion. So free, indeed, was the State from local dangers that large numbers of her troops could be spared for service further northward, on the Canadian frontier; also nearer home, in Virginia, and against the hostile Creek Indians.

Norfolk and its vicinity, in Virginia, being again threatened by the British, President Madison, on September 6, 1814, made a requisition on Governor Hawkins for a large force to be detached from the militia of North Carolina and temporarily mustered into the service of the General Government. When it became known that this action would be taken, General Jones wrote the Governor, on July 31, 1814, asking for the command of that part of the militia which should be ordered to active service. This tender was not accepted. A little later, however, on September 26, 1814, the

Governor commissioned him Quartermaster General of the Detached Militia of North Carolina. In the letter accompanying this commission, General Jones was informed that fifteen companies (containing in the aggregate fifteen hundred men) had been ordered to rendezvous at Gates Court House, under the command of Brigadier-General Jeremiah Slade, and to march thence to Norfolk. This commission was accepted by General Jones, who at once repaired to the encampment at Gates Court House, arriving there on the 30th of September. On October 1st, he wrote from the camp to Governor Hawkins, saying: "About one-third of the troops are under the shelter of houses, piazzas, &c., in the village, the remainder being encamped in the woods and fields adjacent. Today a regular camp will be marked out, and brush defences against dews and slight rains will be raised." Later on he says, in the same letter: "Though the privations and exposures of the men, suddenly translated from ease and plenty to the face of a hastily formed camp, are considerable and must be felt, yet they have assumed so much of the soldier as to scorn complaint. The men are cheerful and generally healthy." He also said the troops would be marched in small detachments and by different routes, on account of the scarcity of water, and to ensure the accommodation of barracks.

These troops were not armed until their arrival in Norfolk, where they were mustered into the service of the General Government. Writing from that city to Governor Hawkins, on October 8th, General Jones said:

"I have the honor to inform you that four companies of our Detached Militia arrived yesterday and encamped at Mooring's Rope Walk, the best encampment for health and convenience, I think, about Norfolk. A bridge, which had been broken down, is rebuilding and unites the peninsular, on which the Rope Walk is, immediately with the town. * * *

"The appearance of our Militia, on their entrance into Norfolk, was such as I think did them considerable credit. It was generally commended by the citizens and military here. My gratification would have been heightened could they have presented themselves armed.

"I accompanied Generals Porter and Taylor today to Forts Norfolk and Nelson, and to Craney Island, and rode round the lines of defense on the land side. The strength of this place is very formidable, and is daily increasing.

"I am at the point of setting out on my return home, and expect to arrive at Gates Court House tomorrow."

The early return of General Jones was due to the fact that his services as Quartermaster General were not needed after the North Carolina troops were mustered into the service of the General Government.

The North Carolina troops remained in and around Norfolk for many weeks, and were not entirely disbanded until after the return of peace. The treaty of peace was signed at Ghent on Christmas Eve, 1814, but news of that event did not reach Raleigh until February 18, 1815. It caused great rejoicing and was celebrated by religious services as well as public demonstrations. As is well known, the bloody battle of New Orleans was fought more than a fortnight after the treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, but long before news of it was received. The day on which the news of victory at New Orleans reached Raleigh was February 12, 1815.

So efficient had been the efforts of General Jones at the time of the British invasion of North Carolina in 1813, that a strong effort was made by his friends to secure for him a commission as Colonel in the regular army. Senator Stone claimed that he had received a promise of it from the Secretary of War; and, in a letter to Jones, complained bitterly of the Secretary's failure to keep his word.

His service with the North Carolina troops at Norfolk in the Fall of 1814 was the last active participation by General Jones in military affairs. Peace coming soon thereafter, he could now devote his talents to the more pleasing pursuits of a tranquil life.

SERVICES TO MASONRY

Possessed, as he was, of high educational attainments and fine sensibilities, Calvin Jones was not slow to appreciate the

beautiful symbolical teachings of morality and charity embodied in the principles of Freemasonry, and he became an ardent devotee of that ancient fraternity.

The first Masonic organization which existed in Raleigh was Democratic Lodge, No. 21. A large portion of the membership of that Lodge having imbibed some of the evil principles of the French Revolution, then in progress, it gradually fell into disfavor and finally passed out of existence. The city of Raleigh, however, did not long remain without a Lodge. On December 15, 1800, Grand Master William Polk issued a charter to Hiram Lodge, No. 40, theretofore operating under a dispensation from Grand Master William R. Davie. Calvin Jones became a member of Hiram Lodge shortly after its establishment, and was elected Worshipful Master on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, December 27, 1805. He served in that capacity for one year. On December 11, 1809, he was elected Junior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina—or "The Grand Lodge of North Carolina and Tennessee," as it was called until 1813, when Tennessee became a separate Grand Lodge. General Jones had served as Junior Grand Warden only one year, when he was advanced to the station of Senior Grand Warden, holding the latter position from December 1, 1810, until December 8, 1817. On the latter date he became Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, succeeding the Honorable John Louis Taylor, who soon thereafter was to become first Chief Justice of the newly created Supreme Court. General Jones was three times elected Grand Master, his services as such ending on December 16, 1820. Few finer tributes to Masonry can be found than the one contained in the official address of Grand Master Jones to the Grand Lodge in 1819. In part he said:

"The human family have enjoyed partial relief from the benign influence of our principles, without knowing the source of their blessings. The torch of science dissipates the darkness of one portion of the globe; in another, the fetters of slavery are broken; in one place, the infidel is converted; in another, the Christian is taught to feel the

Wake Forest, N. C.
HOME OF GENERAL CALVIN JONES

spirit of his religion; everywhere men begin to regard each other as members of the same family, and to place in the rank of duties the virtues of universal benevolence. Be it so. Under whatever denomination these happy effects are produced, it is our duty to rejoice that some seeds, scattered by our Order, have fallen on good ground. Were the principles of Masonry unveiled to those worthy men who direct their efforts to a single object, which they pursue with inadequate means, they would find how comprehensively beneficent are the principles of the Craft. To point out to man the duty of loving his brother, of assisting him in difficulty, of comforting him in afflictions, and to do all that these duties enjoin without regard to difference of nation, religion or politics; and further, to concentrate the lessons of experience as to the most effectual mode of performing these duties, and by the aid of an universal language to make our designs equally intelligible to the inhabitants of every clime—to do these things is to go beyond the powers of any society, however intelligent and estimable, whether Peace, Anti-privateering, or Colonization.

"Let us then, Brethren, pursue the noiseless tenor of our way, assisting every one engaged in the same cause, under whatever name or denomination known, according to the measure of his wants and our own ability, and be like the gentle but constant stream whose waters are concealed from the eye by the luxuriant plants upon its margin but whose effects are visible in the fertility it imparts to the various soils through which it meanders.

"Let us improve in our minds a lively impression of the true principles of our association, remembering that religion and politics are never to be subjects of discussion; that the religion of a Mason is love, veneration, and gratitude to the Supreme Architect of the Universe; that the doing good to all His creatures, especially to those of the 'household of faith,' is the most acceptable service and the first of duties; that the rights of conscience are inviolable, and that the Mussulman and the Christian, who love their brother and practice charity, are alike the friends of Masonry and of man."

In addition to the Masonic services in the official capacities heretofore enumerated, General Jones was a useful committee worker in the sessions of the Grand Lodge. Together with John A. Cameron, Moses Mordecai, William Boylan, and Alexander Lucas, he was appointed on a Grand Lodge committee which was authorized to coöperate with a similar committee from Hiram Lodge, No. 40, in erecting a Masonic Hall for the joint use of the two bodies on a lot which had been presented by a member of Hiram Lodge, Theophilus Hunter, the younger, and which lot stood on the northeast corner of Morgan and Dawson Streets. Half of the cost of

building was paid by the Grand Lodge and half by Hiram Lodge. The corner stone was laid by Grand Master Robert Williams on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1813. This building served its purpose until some years after the War Between the States, and venerable Masons are still living in Raleigh who received their degrees within its walls. The corner stone itself was exhumed by order of Hiram Lodge in March, 1880, and is now preserved in the ante-room of the Grand Lodge Hall in the Masonic Temple at Raleigh. Unfortunately it is a solid block, having had no compartment for the records which are usually contained in a corner stone. The old inscription on it reads:

The Grand Lodge of No. Carolina and
Tennessee
Hiram Lodge, No. 40, City of Raleigh
June 24, A. L. 5813, A. D. 1813. R. Williams, G. M.

Grand Master Williams, who laid this corner stone, was at that time Adjutant-General of North Carolina, succeeding General Jones, as already mentioned. He came to Raleigh from Surry County, and should not be confused with Dr. Robert Williams, of Pitt County, also a zealous Mason, who had formerly been a Surgeon in the Army of the Revolution.

HOME AT WAKE FOREST AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Owning a large number of slaves who could not be profitably employed within the limits of a town, General Jones determined to remove from Raleigh and take up his abode in a rural neighborhood. North northwest of Raleigh, about sixteen miles, on the old stage road and mail route running northward via Oxford and Warrenton, North Carolina, and Petersburg, Virginia, was a country neighborhood, of healthy altitude and fertile soil, known as the Wake Forest section. In that pleasant locality, about the year 1820, General Jones took up his abode on a plantation of 615 acres, which he had purchased from Davis Battle. There, for about a decade, he

kept open house to friends from far and near, in his "hospitable mansion," as Governor Swain describes it in his Tucker Hall address, referring to an occasion during his young manhood, in 1822, when he was nursed back to health within its walls, after a long and almost fatal attack of illness. Though not occupying its former location on the campus, the old home of General Jones is still standing and in a good state of preservation, being a substantial structure built at a time when massive timbers, well seasoned, were in use. After having served as a residence for several members of the faculty in bygone years, it is now the home of a club of students.

In the cause of public education, few more indefatigable workers than General Jones could be found in North Carolina. For thirty years, from 1802 until his removal to Tennessee in 1832, he was a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina. That he was no figurehead the old records of that institution fully attest. In the Raleigh Academy he also took a deep interest, and was a trustee of that school for some years. Dr. Battle, in his *History of the University of North Carolina,* gives an amusing extract from a letter written by General Jones in 1811, expressing great dissatisfaction at an effort then being made to have some students, who had been expelled from the University, admitted into the Raleigh Academy. General Jones said he was greatly astonished that Governor Stone, one of the trustees of the academy, should wish them admitted, but he was not at all surprised that the Governor should have been seconded in his efforts by another trustee, Mr. Sherwood Haywood, a "good, polite, clever, worthy man, who never contradicted any one in his life." As Mr. Haywood was my grandfather, and as "to err is human," I am glad to know that the substance of his sinning was the fault ascribed to Sir Lucius O'Trigger—"too civil, by half."

For some years before Wake Forest College (first called Wake Forest Academy and later Wake Forest Institute) was established, there were several useful schools in the section of

Wake County where the college now stands. One of these was Forest Hill Academy, incorporated by Chapter 107 of the Laws of 1818; but, so far as we know, General Jones did not become connected with the governing body of that institution after his removal to the neighborhood where it was located. In January, 1823, Samuel Alston and Calvin Jones, members of the Board of Trustees, signed the announcement of the beginning of a session, on February 1st, of Wake Forest Academy, situated "fifteen miles north of Raleigh and within two miles of the Wake Forest Post Office, in one of the most pleasant, healthy, and reputable districts of our country." The teacher in charge of this school was James Pheelan. When General Jones first advertised his Wake Forest plantation for sale in 1827, he incidentally mentioned that there were three excellent schools (one classical) in the neighborhood. In the year following he gave notice of the opening of Wake Forest School, for both sexes, near his own residence. On June 26, 1831, he also announced through the papers that the Wake Forest Female School would be opened on the third Monday of the ensuing month of July, with Mrs. Phillips as principal and two "competent young ladies" as assistants. Mrs. Phillips was a Northern lady, strongly recommended by Bishop Griswold, of Connecticut, and other well-known men. This academy for girls was operated in General Jones's residence, where both teachers and pupils were housed. In concluding the last mentioned announcement, General Jones said: "The pure air and water, healthfulness, and good society of this place are too well known to require mention. That the location of this Seminary is in every respect proper may be inferred from the fact that Wake Forest has, for a number of years past, supported excellent and prosperous schools." In a sketch of General Jones in the "Benefactor's Number" of the *Wake Forest Student,* January, 1911 (this being a re-print of an earlier sketch), the late President Charles E. Taylor, of Wake Forest College, referring to this school for young ladies, says that an aged lady, who had been educated there, had stated to him that it was

the custom of the Bishop of the Episcopal Church to make annual visitations there for the purpose of confirmation.

Several years before and for some time after General Jones sold his plantation at Wake Forest and removed therefrom, there was also located in that vicinity a school known as the Wake Forest Pleasant Grove Academy. Whether he ever had any connection with that institution does not appear.

Having made large investments in land on the vast domain in West Tennessee which the Government had acquired from its Indian owners, and which was known as the "Chickasaw Purchase," General Jones decided to remove with his wife and family to that locality in order to protect his interests there. As he had no intention of returning to North Carolina, he decided to dispose of his Wake Forest plantation. As money in that day had a larger purchasing power than now, and land was not costly, the price for which he held the plantation—with its great house, cabins, and other out-houses —was only $2,500. About this time the North Carolina Baptist State Convention instructed a committee of its members to purchase a site for an institution of learning which that denomination had determined to build, and this committee opened up negotiations with General Jones with a view to acquiring his plantation and equipment. Describing the transaction which followed, in an address at the semi-centennial of Wake Forest College, February 4, 1884, the Reverend James S. Purefoy said:

"Elder John Purefoy was one of the above committee, and a near neighbor of Dr. Calvin Jones, who owned the farm where the college now stands. Dr. Jones held his farm of 615 acres at $2,500; but, for the cause of education, he proposed to Elder Purefoy to give the Convention (through the committee) $500, and sell the farm for $2,000. Elder Purefoy recommended the farm to the committee, and it was purchased by the Convention for $2,000."

The committee which received the deed of transfer, August 28, 1832, from General Jones, for the use of the Baptist State Convention, consisted of John Purefoy (or Purify,

as it was then written), William R. Hinton, Simon G. Jeffreys, Jr., and James J. Hall.

General Jones always showed a kindly interest in the welfare, both moral and physical, of his slaves. They were comfortably clad, well fed, and housed in such good quarters that their cabins were used as temporary dormitories for the students when Wake Forest Institute, the fore-runner of Wake Forest College, began operations. The first principal of Wake Forest Institute—also first president of Wake Forest College—was the Reverend Samuel Wait, who wrote the following interesting account of the early days spent on the plantation which had been purchased from General Jones:

"The former owner of the premises we now occupied had encountered much expense to provide for the comfort of his servants. I found seven good, substantial log cabins, made mostly of white oak, with hewn logs; good doors, floors, roofs, and, with one exception, windows. These were washed out cleanly and white-washed. Good, new furniture was provided for each house. And, although it was known that the cabins were built originally for servants, and occupied at first by them, I never heard of the least objection to them from any student. * * *

"The only place I could convene the students for morning and evening prayers, or lectures, was the building erected by Dr. Jones for a carriage house, 16 feet by 24 feet."

From this small beginning of Wake Forest Institute (at first a manual training as well as classical school) has grown Wake Forest College, with its modern equipment, scholarly faculty, and fine student body—one of the most notable educational achievements of the Baptist Church in America.

LIFE IN TENNESSEE, DOMESTIC AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONS AND CONCLUSION

It was about the year 1832 that General Jones removed with his family to Tennessee, though he had paid visits to that locality before. He owned about 30,000 acres of land in that State. His home plantation in Hardeman County, near the town of Bolivar, contained 2,500 acres. On the northern part

of this tract he built a house of moderate dimensions. To this he gave the name of Wake Park, in memory of the happy years he had spent in Wake County, North Carolina. A little later, wishing to have more commodious quarters for his household, he removed two miles further south, on the same estate, to a point where he had erected a spacious mansion which he called Pontine, this name probably being derived from the Pontine Marshes, adjacent to the city of Rome. At Pontine the closing years of his life were spent, "retired from public employment, and enjoying, with ample wealth around him, the *otium cum dignitate* of the typpical Southern planter," to quote the language of his ardent admirer Judge Sneed. The site of Pontine is now owned by the State of Tennessee, being occupied by the Western Hospital for the Insane. It was purchased by the State from Colonel Paul Tudor Jones, younger son of the General. It is a remarkable circumstance, commented upon by President Taylor, of Wake Forest, in the sketch already quoted, that each of the two country estates occupied by General Jones in North Carolina and Tennessee is now occupied by a great institution—one for the education of youth at Wake Forest; and the other, near Bolivar, as a home and hospital for the mentally afflicted.

While a practicing physician in Raleigh, Dr. Jones had become engaged to be married to Ruina J. Williams, a young woman of rare loveliness, who was the daughter of Major William Williams, of "The Forks," in Franklin County, not far from the county of Warren. Before the union could be consummated, however, she fell a victim to consumption, passing away on the 20th of September, 1809, in the twenty-first year of her age. The beautiful faith and fortitude displayed in her last illness formed the subject of a small brochure entitled *The Power and Excellence of Religion,* written by the Reverend Joel Rivers, and published by the Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Nearly ten years later, on April 15, 1819, when forty-four years of age, Dr. Jones

married the widowed sister of Miss Williams. This was Mrs. Temperance Boddie Jones, *née* Williams, widow of Dr. Thomas C. Jones, of Warrenton. This lady, by her first marriage, was the mother of Thomas C. Jones, who was born in 1811 and died in Corinth, Mississippi, in 1893. The children of her marriage to General Calvin Jones were (in addition to several who died young) three in number as follows:

I. Montezuma Jones, born in 1822, at Wake Forest, who married Elizabeth Wood, and died near Bolivar in 1914, leaving issue.

II. Octavia Rowena Jones, born in 1826, at Wake Forest, who married Edwin Polk, of Bolivar, and died in 1917, leaving issue.

III. Paul Tudor Jones, born in 1828, at Wake Forest, who married (first) Jane M. Wood, and (second) Mary Kirkman; and died in Corinth, Mississippi, in 1904, leaving issue by both marriages.

General Calvin Jones had a younger brother, Atlas Jones, who was a graduate of the University of North Carolina in the class of 1804, was afterwards tutor of Ancient Languages at the same institution, and a Trustee from 1809 until 1825. He became a lawyer and practiced at Carthage, in Moore County, North Carolina, where he married Rebecca Street. He also lived for a while in Raleigh. He removed to Tennessee about the year 1825, and settled at Jackson, in that State. After his will was recorded in Tennessee, it was sent to Raleigh and again recorded, as he owned real estate in the latter city. In this will, his brother, Calvin Jones, and a nephew, Montezuma Jones, are named as executors. In his excellent *History of the University of North Carolina,* Dr. Battle is in error when he states that Atlas Jones was a son of Edmund Jones, one of the early benefactors of the University. General Calvin Jones also had a sister, Mrs. Higbee, who lived in Raleigh for a while, and kept house for him there before his marriage.

PONTINE

The Home of General Calvin Jones near Bolivar, Tennessee

One distinguished Tennessean, Judge Calvin Jones, of Somerville (a graduate of the University of North Carolina in the class of 1832), though he bore the same name as General Calvin Jones, was not related to him. He was, however, his namesake—both families removing to Tennessee from North Carolina, where they had been friends.

Though never an office-seeker, either in North Carolina or Tennessee, General Jones took a commendable interest in politics. In his younger days he was a Federalist. After that party passed out of existence, and the Whigs and Democrats became contestants for the mastery of the Government, he alligned himself with the Whigs. He was one of the vice-presidents of the National Whig Convention at Baltimore in 1844, which nominated Henry Clay for President.

After the adjournment of the convention last mentioned, General Jones made an extensive tour of Europe, being accompanied by his daughter. At that time he was nearing his three score years and ten, but still active and in good health.

In the final degree of Ancient Craft Masonry, the newly made Brother is exhorted so to live that in old age he "may enjoy the happy reflections consequent on a well-spent life, and die in the hope of a glorious immortality." The life of Past Grand Master Jones was a triumphont fulfilment of this precept. With the serene faith and humble hope of a Christian, amid the beautiful surroundings of his estate at Pontine, near Bolivar, he peacefully came to the end of his earthly pilgrimage on the 20th day of September, 1846. A notice of him, published in the *Somerville Herald,* and later copied in the *Raleigh Register,* of October 16th, was as follows:

"DIED.—At his residence near Bolivar, in Hardeman County, on the 20th instant, General Calvin Jones, in the 73rd year of his age. General Jones was a native of Connecticut, where he was educated. He removed in early life to Raleigh, North Carolina, where he established a high reputation for honor and probity, and was successful in winning the approbation of his fellow men in the pursuits of life. He emigrated to Hardeman County fourteen years since. In the

region of the country in which he spent his ripe old age, he was regarded by all as a pious Christian, a gentleman in his deportment, full of the 'milk of human kindness' and a most valuable citizen. He sustained all the relations of life in the most unexceptionable manner; and, though he had reached to that period of life of man when its end must hourly be anticipated, such were the consecrated ties of friendship and love which bound him to the hearts of his family and the circle of his acquaintances that none were prepared to surrender so rich a gem to the remorseless grave—they mourn for him as for the loss of their hearts' chief jewel; and in their sorrow the whole community sympathize."

Though General Jones may have been educated in Connecticut, as stated in the notice just quoted, he was not a native of that State. As heretofore noted, he was born in Great Barrington, Massachussetts. His birthplace, however, is not many miles from the Connecticut boundary.

Many years after the death of General Jones, the State of Tennessee (as already mentioned) acquired by purchase his former plantation near Bolivar, and erected thereon the Western Hospital for the Insane. This institution was formally opened in July, 1890, when several addresses were delivered —one by the Honorable John Louis Taylor Sneed, formerly a Judge of the Tennessee Supreme Court.* Judge Sneed was a native North Carolinian, born in Raleigh. He was a son of Major Junius Sneed, who (as we have already seen) was one of the aides-de-camp of General Jones when the British landed in North Carolina in 1813. Judge Sneed was also maternally a grandson, as well as a namesake, of Chief Justice John Louis Taylor, of the North Carolina Supreme Court, who was the immediate predecessor of General Jones as Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of North Carolina. In the course of his remarks, Judge Sneed said:

"In conclusion, fellow-citizens of Hardeman, allow me to indulge in a reminiscence of the long ago, which you, at least, will appreciate. * * * Yonder stood a cottage which was the abiding place of hospitality, charity, and all the golden virtues which decorate the higher Christian life. It was the home of filial affection and parental tenderness, the common resort of the most elegant and cultured

* For sketch and portrait of Judge Sneed, see Green Bag magazine (Boston) May, 1893, page 233.

society, a place from which no poor man was ever turned comfortless away—the happy homestead of a happy household. The grand old master of that household has long since passed over the river, and his gentle and loving wife now sleeps by his side. In life both were loved and honored for all the graces that adorn human character and win human respect and admiration. In death, both are remembered by the rich and poor as examples of all that was noble, philosophic, gentle, and humane. * * *

"I was for a long period of my student life an inmate of that cottage and treated as one of the children of the family. A thousand years of life's changes and revolutions could never efface the impressions I then received of the moral and intellectual character of the grand old man. He had been a deep student of science, history and philosophy. His mind was a treasure house of knowledge, gathered from books, from foreign travel, and from his close fellowship with the great men and statesmen of the country. And yet, with a splendid capacity for the higher achievements of state-craft, he cared nothing for the tinsel of rank or the prestige of office, but preferred in his late years to tarry beneath his own happy roof-tree and to watch the development of his children; to educate them in virtuous principles; to do his duty well as a neighbor, a friend, a philanthropist, and to enjoy through the lengthening shadows of a useful life the sweet companionship of his loving wife. * * *

"He was my Gamaliel, my oracle, from whom any docile youth could learn 'the wisdom of the wise, the strength that nerves the strong, and the grace that gathers around the noble.' In broad philanthropy and charity, in learning and culture, I thought him the greatest man I ever saw; and, in Roman virtue, severity of morals, and dignity of character, the most august and admirable.

"I particularly remember his tender sympathies for that unfortunate class whose reasons were overthrown, and his theories upon the treatment of mental diseases. And now, as I look upon the splendid pile which has taken the place of that happy homestead and reflect upon the noble and Christly purposes to which it is today dedicated, I can but think if that grand old man, with all his tender solicitude for a better and holier treatment of the mind diseased, could revisit the ground on which his happy homestead stood and see the changes for himself, he would rejoice that things are just as they are. All honor to the memory of General Calvin Jones!"

The beautiful address by Judge Sneed, just quoted, first appeared in the *Evening Democrat,* of Memphis. For a copy I am indebted to the sketch in the *Wake Forest Student,* by President Taylor, to which allusion has already been made.

General Jones was a deeply religious man and a communi-

cant in the Episcopal Church. During the time he resided in Raleigh, there was no house of worship owned by his Church, the parish of Christ Church not being organized until August 21, 1821. He was similarly situated at Wake Forest. On April 17, 1834, not long after his arrival in Tennesee, he was one of the founders of the parish of St. James, in Bolivar, an organization having for its first rector the Reverend Daniel Stephens, and formed during the Episcopate of Bishop Otey, a disciple of the great Bishop Ravenscroft, of North Carolina. Two of the clerical friends of General Jones, Bishops Otey and Green (the latter elevated to the Episcopate after the General's death), had been students and later tutors in the University of North Carolina when Jones was a trustee. General Jones enjoyed the companionship of thoughtful clergymen of all creeds. In addition to association with such leaders of his own Church as Bishops Ravenscroft, Otey, Polk, and Green, he had been one of the many Episcopalians, in the early days of Raleigh, forming a part of the congregation of the scholarly "pastor of the city," the Reverend William McPheeters, of the Presbyterian Church. A strong friendship also sprang up between himself and Elder John Purify, a forceful leader of the Baptists of North Carolina. As heretofore mentioned, General Jones and Elder Purify were residents of the same country neighborhood in the northeastern section of Wake County, where Wake Forest College was later established.

General Jones was a man of striking appearance. He was 5 feet 10½ inches in height, deep-chested, and weighed about 240 pounds. His eyes bore a kindly expression and were hazel in color, his hair was brown, his forehad high, his nose slightly Grecian, and his mouth clearly portrayed the firmness and decision which marked his character through life. Viewed from any standpoint, he was a strong man—strong morally, mentally, and physically. Three portraits of him are now in Wake County: one in the Grand Lodge Hall, and one in the office of the Adjutant General, at Raleigh; and

one at Wake Forest—the last mentioned having been presented to the college by Wake Forest Lodge, now No. 282, but originally No. 97.

I have now told what I have been able to learn of the upright life and honorable career of Calvin Jones. His memory, it is true, does not stand broadly emblazoned on history's page as:

> "One of the few, the immortal names,
> That were not born to die"—

but we do no violence to truth in portraying him as consistent Christian, a vigilant patriot, an accomplished physician, a versatile scholar, a loyal Mason, and a hospitable gentleman, well worthy to be classed "among those choicest spirits who, holding their consciences unmixed with blame, have been in all conjunctures true to themselves, their country, and their God."

North Carolina State Currency

(From Confederate and Southern State Currency)

By William West Bradbeer

By Act of May 11th, 1861. $3,250,000.
Dated Oct 1st. 1861.

Ptd. by "F. W. Borneman, Charleston, S. C."

			Serial Letter	*Rarity*
1	$2.	Figure "2" within circle at lower left. "2" at upper right. Printed on N. C. broken bank bills of $3, $4, $5, $10, $20, $50, $100. (The $50 and $100 are conjoined).	A	2
2.	$2.	Same as last.	B	2
3.	$2.	Same as last.	C	2
4	$2.	Same as last.	D	2
		Dated Oct. 2nd. 1861.		
5	$2.	Same as last,	A	2
6	$2.	Same as last.	B	2
7	$2.	Same as last.	C	2
8	$2.	Same as last.	D	2
		Dated Oct. 2nd. 1861.		
9	$2.	Same type as last. Printed on back of N. C. $1000. bond. Coupons of bond payable "At the Bank of The Republic" New York. "Two Dollars" in red on back.	A	4
10	$2.	Same as last.	B	4
11	$2.	Same as last.	C	4
12	$2.	Same as last.	D	4
		Dated Oct. 2nd. 1861		
13	$2.	Same type as last. Plain back.	A	4
14	$2.	Same as last.	B	4
15	$2.	Same as last.	C	4
16	$2.	Same as last.	D	4

			Serial Letter	*Rarity*
		Dated Oct. 2nd. 1861.		
17	$2.	Same type as last. "Two Dollars" in red on back.	A	4
18	$2.	Same as last.	B	4
19	$2.	Same as last.	C	4
20	$2.	Same as last.	D	4

		Dated Oct. 4th. 1861.		
21	$2.	Same type as last. Plain back.	A to E	2

		Dated Oct. 6th. 1861.		
22	$2.	Same type as last. Plain back.	A to E	2

"N. C. Inst. Deaf & Dumb Print."

Dated Oct. 2nd. 1861.

23 $2. Watch dog and safe at lower centre. Liberty standing at left end beside the American eagle. Printed on back of N. C. bond. No serial letter. This is an exceedingly rare type.

"N. C. Inst. Deaf & Dumb Print."

Dated Oct. 1st, 1861.

Without Serial Letter.

24 $1. Watch dog and safe at lower centre. Statue of Minerva at left end. Printed on backs of N. C. broken bank bills of $3. (Black) $3. (Red) $4. $5. (Black) $5. (Red) $10. (Black). $10. (Red) $20. $20-50. (Conjoined) $50-100. (Conjoined). "Two Dollars" in red on back of each. 2

		Dated October 2nd. 1861.	
25	$1.	Same as last.	2

			Serial Letter	*Rarity*
		Dated October 3rd. 1861.		
26	$1.	Same as last.		2
		Dated October 4th, 1861.		
27	$1.	Same as last.		2
		Dated October 5th. 1861.		
28	$1.	Same as last.		4
		Dated October 5th. 1861.		
29	$1.	Same type as last. Printed on back of N. C. bond.		4
		Without printer's name.		
30	$1.	Small ship at lower centre. Statue of Minerva at left. Consecutive dates Oct. 10th. to Oct. 21st. 1861. Plain backs.	A	2
31	$1.	Same as last including dates.	B	2
32	$1.	Same as last. With red overprint. Also "One Dollar" in red on back. Plain paper.	A	2
33	$1.	Same as last.	B	2
		Paper watermarked "TEN."		
34	$1.	Same type as last. Consecutive dates. Oct. 16th. to Oct. 21st. 1861. Plain backs.	A	4
35	$1.	Same as last.	B	4
		Paper watermarked "T. C. & Co"		
36	$1.	Same type as last. Consecutive dates. Oct. 16th. to Oct. 21st. 1861. Plain backs.	A	4
37	$1.	Same as last.	B	4
		Paper watermarked "TEN"		
38	$1.	Same type as last. Consecutive dates. Oct. 16th. to Oct. 21st. 1861. Red overprint on back of each. Also "One Dollar" in in red on backs.	A	4

			Serial Letter	Rarity
39	$1.	Same as last.	B	4

Paper watermarked "T. C. & Co"

40	$1.	Same type as last. Consecutive dates. Oct. 16th. to Oct. 21st. 1861. Red overprint and "One Dollar" in red on backs.	A	4
41	$1.	Same as last.	B	4

By Act of June 28th. 1861. $200,000.
"J. Spellman, Public Printer."
Dated Oct. 1st. 1861.
Size about 1½ by 3 inches.
Without any serial letter.

42	50c.	Type set. Plain paper.	3
43	25c.	Type set. Plain paper.	3
44	20c.	Type set. Plain paper.	4
45	20c.	Type set. Plain paper tinted blue.	4
46	20c.	Type set. Printed on back of N. C. bond.	4
47	10c.	Type set. Plain paper.	3
48	5c.	Type set. Plain paper.	3

Paper watermarked "TEN".
Without any serial letter.

49	50c.	Type set.	4
50	25c.	Type set.	4
51	20c.	Type set.	5
52	10c.	Type set.	4
53	5c.	Type set.	4

With serial letters.

54	50c.	Type set. Plain paper.	A	4
55	25c.	Type set. Plain paper.	A	4
56	20c.	Type set. Plain paper.	A	5
57	10c.	Type set. Plain paper.	A	4
58	5c.	Type set. Plain paper.	A	4
59	50c.	Type set. Plain paper.	B	4
60	25c.	Type set. Plain paper.	B	4
61	20c.	Type set. Plain paper.	B	5
62	10c.	Type set. Plain paper.	B	4
63	5c.	Type set. Plain paper.	B	5

			Serial Letter	Rarity
		Paper watermarked "TEN."		
64	50c.	Type set.	A	5
65	25c.	Type set.	A	5
66	20c.	Type set.	A	6
67	10c.	Type set.	A	4
68	5c.	Type set.	A	6
		Paper watermarked "TEN."		
69	50c.	Type set.	B	4
70	25c.	Type set.	B	5
71	20c.	Type set.	B	6
72	10c.	Type set.	B	4
73	5c.	Type set.	B	6

By Act of Dec. 1st. 1861. $3,000,000.
Eng'd. by "J. Manouvrier. N. Orls. La."
WRITTEN DATE JAN'Y. 16th. VRFB.

74	$100.	Agricultural tools and products. Commerce seated at right. Printed on back of N. C. bond.	A	8

WRITTEN DATE FEB. 15th. VRFB.

75	$20.	Ceres volant. "Fundable in six per cent coupon bonds" printed on upper and lower edge. Plain back. *Note*—Most of the notes of this year are stamped fundable etc. in red on their face.	A to D	4
76	$20.	Same as last. Printed on back of Bill of Exchange.	A to D	4
77	$20.	Same as last. Printed on back of Bill of Exchange. "Fundable in six per cent" bonds on upper edge only.	A to D	4

WRITTEN DATE MARCH 1st. 1862.

78	$20.	Same type. Printed "Fundable in eight per cent" bonds on upper edge only. Plain back.	A to D	4
79	$20.	Same as last. Printed on back of Bill of Exchange.	A to D	4

Eng'd by J. T. Paterson & Co. Augusta, Ga.
WRITTEN DATE MAY 1ST. 1862.

			Serial Letter	*Rarity*
80	$20.	Railway train. Stalks of corn and wheat at left. Both edges trimmed close to eliminate "Fundable in eight per cent coupon bonds".	A to D	6

Eng'd by "J. Manouvrier. N. Orls. La."

WRITTEN DATE JAN'Y. 1st. 1862.

81	$10.	Railway train. Printed at lower right "Bearing interest at the rate of six per cent per annum." Also printed on back of N. C. bond; the coupons of which are made payable at the Bank of the Republic. N. Y.	A to D	6

WRITTEN DATE FEB. 15th. 1862.

82	$10.	Same type as last. But printed "Fundable in six per cent coupon bonds" at lower right. Plain back.	A to D	4
83	$10.	Same as last. Printed on back of Bill of Exchange.	A to D	4

WRITTEN DATE MARCH. 1st. VRFB.

84	$10.	Same type as last. Printed "Fundable in eight per cent coupon bonds" on lower right. Paper watermarked "TEN."	A to D	6

WRITTEN DATE. FEB. 15th. 1862.

85	$5.	Ceres seated. Ship at left of centre.	A to D	7

WRITTEN DATE. MARCH 1st. VRFB.

86	$5.	Liberty standing. Ceres seated. Railway train at right end.	A to D	3

WRITTEN DATE. JULY 1st. 1862.

Eng'd by J. T. Paterson & Co. Augusta. Ga.

87	$5.	Steamship at sea. Ceres at left end.	A to D	3

			Serial Letter	*Rarity*
		LITHOGRAPHIC DATE. SEP. 1st. 1862.		
88	$1.	Figure "I" in circle at lower left. Small serial letter at upper left.	A to E	3
89	$1.	Same type as last. Large serial letter.	A to K	5
90	50c.	Ship at sea. No serial letter. "No" written at left end. Serial number over "1866" at right. Plain back.		2
91	50c.	Same as last. Printed on back of N. C. bond.		2
92	50c.	Same type. Without "No" at left. Number over "1866". Plain back.		2
93	50c.	Same as last. Printed on back of N. C. bond.		2
94	50c.	Same type. Without "No" at left. Serial number at lower left. Plain back.		2
95	50c.	Same as last. Printed on back of N. C. bond.		2
96	50c.	Same type. Without "No" at left. Serial number at lower right. Plain back.		3
97	50c.	Same as last. Printed on back of N. C. bond		3
98	50c.	Same type. "No" written at left. Number over "January." Serial letter at right centre.	A to N	4
99	50c.	Same type. Without "No" at left. Number at left end. Serial letter at right centre.	A to O	3
100	50c.	Same type. Large serial letter at left end. Number at right centre.	A to N	5
101	50c.	Same as last. But much smaller letter at left.	A to N	4
102	25c.	Ceres at left end. Large serial letter at left of "25 Cts."	A to O	4

			Serial Letter	*Rarity*
103	25c.	Same type. Small serial letter at left of "25 CTs."	A to O	5
104	25c.	Same type. Serial letter at upper right corner.	A to O	5
105	25c.	Same type. Serial letter at right.	A to O	2
106	25c.	Same as last. Printed on back of N. C. bond.	A to O	4
107	25c.	Same as last. Printed on back of bond issued to amend the charter of the Wilmington, Charlotte & Rutherford Railway Co.	A to O	5
108	25c.	Same type. No serial letter. Number below "Raleigh".		3
109	25c.	Same as last. Number at right of "1866".		3
110	25c.	Same as last. Printed on back of N. C. $1000. bond.		3
111	25c.	Same as last. Printed on back of N. C. $500. bond.		4
112	25c.	Same as last. Printed on back of N. C. $200 bond.		4
113	10c.	Hornets nest.	A to U	2
114	10c.	Negro plowing.	A to U	3
115	10c.	Same type. Serial letter written at left end.	A to U	4
116	10c.	Same type. Without serial letter.		4

AUTHORIZED BY ACT OF DEC. 20TH. 1862.

$3,000,000. in large notes.
$1,400,000. in small notes.

Eng'd and Lith'd by J. T. Paterson & Co. Augusta. Ga.

LITHOGRAPHIC DATE. 1st JAN. 1863.

117	$50.	Bust of Gov'r. Zebulon Vance. Justice at left. Plain paper.	A to K	5
118	$50	Same type. Paper watermarked "J. Whatman. 1864."	A to K	6
119	$20.	Bust of Gov'r Zebulon Vance. Hornets nest at left end. Plain paper.	A to K	5
120	$20.	Same type. Paper watermarked "J. Whatman. 1864."	A to K	6

Eng'd by J. T. Paterson & Co. Augusta. Ga.

			Serial Letter	*Rarity*
		WRITTEN DATE JAN. 1ST. 1863		
121	$20	Railway train. (Same type as number 80.)	A to D	6
122	$10.	State capital at Raleigh. Bust of D. W. Courts at lower right. "X" and "TEN" in red.	A to H	4
123	$5.	View of harbor and City of Wilmington. N. C. Bust of D. W. Courts at right. Liberty at left end. "FIVE" in red.	A to H	3
124	$5.	Steamship at sea. Ceres left. Same type as No. 87.	A to H	3
125	$3	Liberty standing. Ceres seated. Serial letter at right. Plain paper.	A to H	3
126	$3.	Same type. Paper watermkd. "TEN".	A to H	4
127	$3.	Same type. Paper watermkd. "FIVE"	A to H	4
128	$3.	Same type. Serial letter at left. Plain paper.	A to H	5
129	$3.	Same type. Paper watermkd. "TEN".	A to H	5
130	$3.	Same type. Paper watrmkd. "FIVE."	A to H	5
131	$2.	State Capitol. Figure "2" at each upper corner.	A to M	3
132	$1.	Figure "1" supported by Commerce and Industry. Factories and shipping in the background.	A to M	2
133	$1.	Same type. Double serial letters.	AB to AM	4
134	75c.	Industry standing beside beehive. Emblems of Commerce in the background.	A to O	3
135	50c.	Sailing vessel. Serial letter at upper left. Serial number at right centre.	A to O	2
136	50c.	Same as last. Serial number at left centre	A to O	3
137	50c.	Same type. Serial letter and number at right centre.	A to O	3
138	50c.	Same as last. Serial number at lower left corner.	A to O	3

			Serial Letter	*Rarity*
139	25c.	Ceres standing at left end. Plain back.	A to O	2
140	25c.	Same type. Printed on back of N. C. $50. of 1863.	A to U	5
141	25c.	Same type. Printed on back of $20 of 1863.	A to U	5
142	25c.	Same type. Printed on back of N. C. $3. of 1863.	A to O	4
143	25c.	Same type. Printed on back of 5c. Mechanics Bank of Augusta. Ga.	A to O	4
144	25c.	Same as last. Figure "5" in red below "Mechanics Bank."	A to O	4
145	25c.	Same type. "One" in green on back.	A to O	5
146	25c.	Same type. "25 Cts." in red on back.	A to O	5
147	10c.	Hornets nest.	A to U	2
148	5c.	Liberty and Peace, within circle.	A to U	2

BY ACT OF DEC. 12th. 1863. $400,000.

DATED JAN'Y. 1ST. 1864.

149	50c.	Sailing vessel. "50 Cts." in red on face of note.	A to P	2
150	25c.	Ceres standing at left end. "25 Cts." in blue on face of note. (Serial letter I is unknown on the last two types.)	A to P	2

Sec. 2495. Scale of depreciation of Confederate currency established. Ord. of Convention, 1865. 1866, c. 39, s. 1.

WHEREAS, by an ordinance of the convention, entitled "an ordinance declaring what laws and ordinances are in force, and for other purposes," ratified on the eighteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, it is made the duty of the general assembly to provide a scale of depreciation of the Confederate currency, from the time of its first issue to the end of the war; and it is further therein declared that "all executory contracts, solvable in money, whether under seal or not, made after the depreciation of said currency before the first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and yet unfilled (except official bonds and penal bonds payable to the estate), shall be deemed

to have been made with the understanding that they were solvable in money of the value of said currency," subject, nevertheless, to evidence of a different intent of the parties to the contract. Therefore,

The following scale of depreciation is hereby adopted and established as the measure of value of one gold dollar in Confederate currency, for each month, and the fractional parts of the month of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, from the first day of November, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, to the first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, to wit:

Scale of depreciation of Confederate currency, the gold dollar being the unit and measure of value from November first, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, to May first, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five:

Months	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865
January		$1.20	$3.00	$21.00	$50.00
February		1.30	3.00	21.00	50.00
March		1.50	4.00	23.00	60.00
April		1.50	5.00	20.00	100.00
May		1.50	5.50	19.00	
June		1.50	6.50	18.00	
July		1.50	9.00	21.00	
August		1.50	14.00	23.00	
September		2.00	14.00	25.00	
October		2.00	14.00	26.00	
November	$1.10	2.50	15.00	30.00	
December	1.15	2.50	20.00		
" 1st to 10th, inclusive				35.00	
" 10th to 20th, inclusive				42.00	
" 20th to 30th, inclusive				49.00	

Dolly Payne Madison

By J. A. Hoskins

The most famous personage born within the confines of historic Guilford County was undoubtedly Dorothy Payne Madison, wife of our fourth President. She first saw the light of day May 20, 1768, near old New Garden Quaker meeting house, (Guilford College.) The records of this meeting show that "John Payne was born ye 9 of ye 2 Mo., 1740 (old style), Mary, his wife, was born ye 14 of ye 10 Mo., 1743. Walter, their son, was born ye 15 of ye 11 Mo., 1762. William Temple, their son, was born ye 17 of ye 6 Mo., 1766. Dolly, their daughter, was born ye 20 of ye 5 Mo., 1768." This from the New Garden monthly meeting minutes, which also show: "1765 11 Mo. John Payne produced a certificate for himself and his wife from the Monthly Meeting of Cedar Creek in Virginia, dated the 12th of 10 Mo., 1765, which was read and accepted."

"1768, 11 Mo., New Garden Preparative Meeting informs this Meeting that John Payne requests a certificate to the Monthly Meeting at Cedar Creek in Virginia. Richard William and B. Bales are appointed to enquire into the life and conversation and affairs and if they find nothing to hinder prepare one and produce it to next meeting."

"1769, 2 Mo. The Friends continued last Mo. to correct the certificate of John Payne having complied therewith and produced it to this meeting, which was read and signed."

Thus it appears clear, unmistakable and unimpeachable that John Payne and family settled at New Garden in November, 1765, and that he returned to Cedar Creek, Hanover County, Virginia, in February, 1769. In the meantime William Temple Payne was born in 1766, and Dolly, May 20, 1768. She, as an infant, lived at New Garden, Guilford County, North Carolina, less than one year. (Guilford was formed from Rowan and Orange 1771.) Tradition has it

that the exact spot of the Payne home was just south of the residence of Dr. M. F. Fox, and near thereto.

John Adams, writing to his wife from Philadelphia, said, "I dined yesterday with Madison. Mistress Madison is a fine woman. Her sisters equally so. One of them is married to George Steptoe Washington. The ladies are of a Quaker family, one of North Carolina." Agnes Carr Sage says, "She was born in an old North Carolina homestead."

Sarah K. Bolton says, "Dolly Madison was born May 20, 1772, on a North Carolina plantation." Ellett says, "John Payne removed to North Carolina where was situated the plantation his father had given him," and that "Dorothy Payne was born May 20, 1772." Appleton says, "Dorothy Payne was born in North Carolina May 20, 1772." Thus we are confronted with a discrepancy of even four years as to her birth. This is accounted for by the vanity of this great and good woman. Her early biographers got her age wrong and the others followed. Edna Kent Bernard, in "Dorothy Payne. Quakeress," (1909) sets this matter right quoting records of North Carolina, Virginia and Philadelphia Friends' Meetings and sketches her career in a most charming manner, throwing many sidelights on her brilliant life and the early history of Virginia and the Quaker settlement at Cedar Creek as well as the early slavery question.

The first publication setting forth the true facts of her birth at New Garden, North Carolina, appeared in the American Friend, April 12, 1906, and was written by Miss Julia S. White, the very capable librarian of Guilford College. It is certain that she was the first writer to give the true recorded facts. There had been traditions as to her birth here. I heard of these as far back as 45 years ago, but had no tangible proof until Miss White gave the record and minutes of the New Garden Meeting in her article in the American Friend. Dorothy Payne was the granddaughter of John Payne, an English gentleman of wealth and education, who migrated to Virginia early in the 18th century. He married Anna Flem-

ing, granddaughter of Sir Thomas Fleming, one of the early settlers of Jamestown, and a great granddaughter of the Earl of Wigton, Scotland. His son, John Payne, Dorothy's father married the beautiful Mary Coles, first cousin of Patrick Henry. She was the daughter of William Coles, of "Coles Hill," Hanover County. Jefferson had been her ardent admirer, and in earlier years the rival of John Payne. She had met at "Enniscorthy," the home of her cousin, Col. John Coles, of Albemarle County, many of the great men of Virginia, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Randolph. Patrick Henry, Wirt, Edmunds, Henry Lee, the Winstons, and many others. This place was 10 miles from "Monticello." The Paynes were descended from a brother of Sir Robert Payne, M. P., for Huntingdonshire.

John Payne was a member of the house of delegates of 1780. He removed to Philadelphia in 1783. He had manumitted his slaves prior thereto. He was among the first to do so in Virginia. Dorothy Payne married John Todd, attorney at law, of a prominent Quaker family of Philadelphia. They were married in old Pine Street meeting house, according to the solemn marriage ceremony of the Friends. Her sister, Lucy Payne, married George Steptoe Washington, nephew, namesake and ward of President Washington. Her sister, Anna, married Senator Richard Cutts, from Maine, then part of Massachussetts, in the year 1804. Adele Cutts, their granddaughter, married Senator Stephen A. Douglas. She was his second wife. She afterwards married Gen. George R. Williams. Dorothy Payne Todd married James Madison in 1794 at "Harewood," the home of her sister, Lucy Payne Washington. She died in 1849, surviving her distinguished husband 12 years. Many of her letters are undated. She was whimsical as to her age. She ignored birthdays. She greatly preferred to forget them. This was one of her foibles. As William Temple Payne, her brother, was a Tar Heel and a Guilfordian, I will add that he died in 1795. He never married.

Dorothy Payne Madison during 11 administrations was the intimate friend of our Presidents and their families. She knew well Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, the Adamses, Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison, Tyler and Taylor, Hamilton, Clay, Calhoun and Douglas.

Burr had the honor of introducing Madison to the charming Mistress Todd. There were no more cultured people, nor polite society in Virginia than was to be found at Cedar Creek. Clay was born near there in Hanover County, as was Patrick Henry. Patrick Henry and the Winstons had Quaker ancestors.

Mistress Madison wore the plain dress and "pretty Quaker cap" until her advent as mistress of the White House, and used the plain language of Friends, the soft "thee" and "thou" all her days. Her manner was irresistably charming. She was loved and honored during many years. The simple country maiden, reared by conscientious Quaker parents, was transformed into the queen of American society, and one of the greatest of women. She was a graceful, tactful leader of society. She was named for her mother's friend and cousin, Dorothea Spottswood Dandridge, the granddaughter of Governor Spottswood. This lady married first Nathan West Dandridge and afterwards became the second wife of Patrick Henry.

The New Garden Monthly Meeting was set up 1754. The colonists from New Garden, Pa., and the Island of Nantucket, were a sturdy, thrifty people and from them have sprung many good and great men and women. New Garden boarding school was established in the year 1837. It was succeeded by Guilford College. Prior thereto the Friends maintained monthly meeting schools of a high order. New Garden boarding school and Guilford college have always stood high as educational institutions.

Summerfield, N. C., Sept, 25, '19.

Bruce's Cross Roads

By Joseph A. Hoskins

The name of Charles Bruce is deserving of mention in connection with Bruce's Cross Roads (now Summerfield). In colonial times, and up to 1832 when he died, aged almost 100 years, he lived here.

Charles Bruce was a remarkable man. He was a strong whig and ardent patriot. Was member, together with Ralph Gorrell, Joseph Hines, Isham Browder and David Caldwell, of the Halifax Congress (November, 1776) that framed our constitution and organized the state. Was appointed agent, with Daniel Gillespie, by the Provincial Congress (April, 1776) to purchase firearms and ammunition for the troops. Was made a member of the Committee of Accounts by the Halifax Congress. Appointed general recruiting officer (September, 1777) by council of state. Member House of Commons 1782. State Senator 1783. Appointed 1782, together with Fraugott Bagge and James Hunter, auditor for Salisbury District for settlement of claims against the state. 1784 was made Commissioner of Confiscated Property. Member of Council of State under Governor Alexander Martin, 1790, and was councillor at the time of General Washington5s southern tour, 1791, and had the honor of entertaining the President on his reutrn trip north after leaving Salem. Was justice of peace for many years and postmaster for thirty years. Was Chairman of County Court for many years and on Boundary Commission, 1785, for dividing Guilford County. Was on commission to build courthouse and jail at Greensboro. County seat moved 1808. He married Elizabeth Benton, stated to be a sister of the father of Senator Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri. (Bruce had lived in Orange County, N. C., before settling in Rowan (now Guilford), as had Mr. Benton.)

Mr. Bruce's home was a center of the revolutionary spirit and a meeting place for the organization, Friends of Liberty. He was a large land owner and slaveholder, merchant and surveyor. He obtained grants from Granville and State of North Carolina for thousands of acres in what is now Guilford and Rockingham Counties. Bruce's Cross Roads was a general muster ground. In 1776 Captain Dent was killed there at a general muster, being one of the first North Carolinians to fall in the struggle. Ashe says: "In Guilford, Colonel James Martin assembled the Whigs at the Cross Roads, but the Tories resolutely pressed against them. A company of which Samuel Deviney, one of the former Regulators, was the head, on being opposed by Captain Dent, shot him." It was at Bruce's Cross Roads that the encounter between Light Horse Harry Lee and Colonel Tarleton occurred February 12, 1781. Lee was encamped at Bruce's house on Greene's retreat to the Dan. He was attacked by Tarleton and Lee's bugler boy, Gillis, was killed in cold blood. In the counter attack Lee avenged the death of the devoted bugler by slaying seven of the dragoons. Greene and his army continued the retreat, pursued by Cornwallis. That night part of the British army under GeneralO'Hara camped at Bruce's. He had fled with Colonel Lee across the Dan and was with him at the Battle of Guilford March 15. The Charles Bruce home plantation is now owned by Joseph A. Hoskins. The Bruce house stood where now stands the Hoskins home. It is traditionary that the Bruces were exiles from Scotland, and that antipathy to the house of Hanover partly accounts for Charles Bruce's extreme Whig principles and great activity in the Revolution.

Two other names are worthy of mention in connection with Bruce"s Cross Roads. It was here that Hezekiah Saunders kept a wayside inn and where the stage coaches north to south changed horses. In the autumn of 1822 two young men from New England journeying to South Carolina and Georgia, respectively, alighted from the stage coach to break-

fast with Mr. Saunders. The young men were Sidney Porter and Nathanial Boyden. Impressed by the attratcions of the locality and the bountiful repast, they decided instanter to end the journey and cast in their fortunes with the people of the Old North State. This decision changed the whole course of their lives.

The Saunders house still stands and is the home of Mrs. Catherine Brittain. Nathanial Boyden taught school here fall and winter of 1822, boarding with Mr. Saunders. He became famous as eminent lawyer, Whig Congressman and Supreme Court Judge, and the ancestor of the distinguished family of that name in this state. Colonel A. H. Boyden ,of Salisbury, is a son of Judge Nathaniel Boyden.

It is probably not too much a stretch of imagination to conjecture that Sidney Porter lingered many days at this hospital hostelry, before finally locating in Greensboro. He became the ancestor of the distinguished Porter family of Guilford. The versatile genius, William Sidney Porter (O. Henry), is probably the most famous offspring of this Porter family.

Referring to Charles Bruce. His son George represented Guilford in the House of Commons 1798-99 and 1801, and was a member of the State Senate, 1802. He was a soldier of the Revolution. Another son of Charles, Abner, was Clerk of the Court of Orange County for many years. Hon. Willis Dowd, of Charlotte, was a grandson of Abner, as is Prof. Jerome Dowd, of the University of Oklahoma, and great-grandsons of Charles Bruce.

Charles Bruce, Jr., settled in Darlington, S. C., and became ancestor of the family of that name there and at Camden. Alfred and Felix settled in Caroll County, Tennessee, on the lands of their father, Charles Bruce. James Allen lived at Summerfield in the old days prior to 1840. William E. Allen, of Greensboro, is a grandson. The postoffice was called Bruce's Cross Roads in colonial times and up to about 1820. It was one of the important settlements in the county, ante-

dating Martinsville (Guilford Courthouse). It was on the great stage road north to Piedmont and Western North Carolina, upper South Carolina and Georgia. This continued the leading thoroughfare till the coming of the North Carolina Railroad.

When Greene withdrew after Battle of Guilford, he sent his baggage via Bruce's Cross Roads to the Dan. This road is still called Baggage Road. The late Charles H. Wilson was a garndson of Hezekiah Saunders, as is John B. Ogburn. Mrs. J. Thomas Rhodes is a granddaughter.

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The Raising, Organization and Equipment of North Carolina Troops During the Civil War

By Walter Clark,
Chief Justice of North Carolina Supreme Court

When Sir Walter Scott issued the first of his novels in 1805 it dealt with the war of 1745, the last attempt of the Stuarts to regain the throne, and he entitled it "Waverley, or 'Tis 60 Years Since." It is almost sixty years since our great struggle began in 1861, and it would be far easier for a great writer like Scott to clothe the palpable and familiar with the glamor of romance than it is for me to present to this generation an accurate, lifelike picture of the supreme effort of North Carolina in 1861-5.

As compared with the great world struggle now in progress the War of 1861-5 seems small, but up to that time it was the greatest which the world had known. It lasted for four years, and the Federals first and last put into line 2,850,000 soldiers. On the Southern side there were between six hundred and eight hundred thousand. The exact number cannot be settled, for our records have been largely lost. It is safe to say that no war was ever entered into with greater unpreparedness on both sides. When the South went in she had no government but had to form one. It had not a soldier but had to call out an army, clothe, arm, and discipline it. It had no treasury and not a dollar to put in it. It was without factories to make munitions or arms and without adequate facilities to clothe or feed the troops, for we had relied for years upon the North for manufactured articles and upon the Northwest for meat and corn and flour.

The North had as a nucleus a small army and a navy, an organized government and a treasury. But the state of unpreparedness on both sides was beyond description. After

the first battle of Manassas the Confederate Government notified the Governor of this State that there was not enough powder in the Confederacy for another day's battle. This may be one of the reasons why the Confederates did not pursue their advantage by capturing Washington. So little aware was the North of the magnitude of the struggle that many of their regiments then, and even later, were "100 days men," enlisted for that period, with the impression that the Rebellion could be put down in that time, and by undrilled men. In North Carolina the first regiment we sent out, the "Bethel Regiment," of glorious memory, commanded by Col. (later Lieut. General) D. H. Hill, was enlisted for six months, and the rest of our regiments for twelve months, except the ten State regiments which, with a foresight not shown probably by any other Southern State, were enlisted for "three years, or the war." These regiments were officered by appointment of the Governor, while the others, which were volunteer regiments, elected their own officers.

The condition of things in the spring of 1861 would be hard to describe. Though South Carolina seceded on 20 December, and other Southern States followed in January and February, and the new hostile government inaugurated its president at Montgomery, 22 February, 1861, General Lee accepted a commission from Abraham Lincoln in the latter part of March, and did not resign till after Virginia seceded on 23 April. In the meantime hostilities had been begun by the attack on Fort Sumter on 12 April, and prior to that time the *Star of the West* had been fired on in an attempt to enter Charleston harbor. Indeed there were officers afterwards prominent in the Confederate Army who did not leave the United States service till May. General Martin, afterwards so conspicious in organizing men and material for North Carolina, did not resign from the United States Army till our Ordinance of Secession was enacted, 20 May. And on his way home from his distant post in Kansas he met on the train his old army friend, U. S. Grant, and traveled

amicably with him through Illinois and Indiana to Cincinnati, Ohio.

The utter inability of the people of both sections to foresee the magnitude and duration of the struggle before them, added to the utter lack of preparedness on both sides, is shown by a common saying by speakers on both sides in raising volunteers, that they would "contract to wipe up the blood that would be spilled with a silk pocket handkerchief." This was true of the Confederate Government, which persistently refused, in the summer of 1861, to negotiate a loan of six hundred millions of dollars which was tendered by capitalists in Europe, and President Davis gave positive instructions that in no event should more than $15,000,000 be accepted. If the loan had been taken, of the magnitude offered, the Confederacy would early have been supplied with ammunition, arms, provisions, and a navy, and the blockade later, to which we owed our defeat, would have been impossible. It is quite clear that it was the failure of the Confederate officials to take this step of preparedness, even at that late date, which rendered vain the valor of our troops and the genius of our generals. Indeed, aside from the preparedness which we could even then have made, the European governments would have intervened, if necessary, to have preserved the investment of their capitalists in the $600,000,000 loan which would have been taken if secured on cotton.

There can hardly be found an instance in history of equal want of preparedness except in our War of 1812, when a force of 4,000 British soldiers, returning from the West Indies, landed at Point Lookout at the mouth of the Potomac, 2,500 of whom defeated the American Volunteers at Bladenboro, when President Madison (a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787) and the Secretary of War, Monroe (a soldier of the Revolution), were present. It is said that 250 men of the British Army composed the force which captured Washington, burned the Capitol and the White House and destroyed public property, and that our Capital

City was held that night by one single British soldier as a sentry on Capitol Hill.

In North Carolina, though we did not secede till 20 May, 1861, the Legislature which met 1 May provided for the raising of ten regiments "for three years, or the war," for the raising of volunteers and organization for the coming struggle. In a short time General Martin was made Adjutant General, Major John Devereux, Quartermaster, and Major Thomas D. Hogg, Commissary. At once steps were taken to procure supplies. Horses for the cavalry and transport service were brought from Kentucky, which was then still neutral ground, and were hurried in droves through the mountains. Saddles and harness material were secured by special agents in New Orleans and rushed to Raleigh by rail. Powder works and arsenals for the manufacture and remodeling of arms were created. Thirty-seven thousand muskets were taken possession of by the State in the capture of the arsenal at Fayetteville. These were mostly flint and steel, and skilled workmen were secured to turn them into percussion weapons, but even then so scarce was the supply of guns that we manufactured a large number of pikes, which were wooden poles shod at one end with iron (samples of which can be seen in our Historical Museum), and with these some organizations were equipped while others were entirely unarmed. Indeed, it was not until after several victories that, by the capture of arms and munitions, especially by the careful gathering up of the arms thrown away by the Northern troops in flight, we were able adequately to equip our soldiers. In fact, it was not until after the "Seven Days Battles Around Richmond," in June and July, 1862, that, by means of the large captures of guns and cannon, the South was at all able to adequately equip its soldiers. During the entire war a large part of our equipment of arms and munitions consisted of those taken from the enemy.

In May, 1861, the State established camps of instruction at various points, and skilled armorers were gradually edu-

cated, by the aid of the few we had, to make sabres, bayonets, and swords. For a long while percussion caps were made by a private firm (Kuester) in Raleigh. Shoes and clothing factories were located at several points in the State. Quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance stores were collected, and cannon were provided for the artillery largely by melting down the church bells, which source of supply was supplemented from time to time by captures from the enemy.

The energy and ability shown by North Carolina in these preparations were very remarkable, and showed the innate ability of our population.

The most remarkable instance in this line was the purchase by the State in 1862 of the *Ad-Vance* and three other vessels and the sending by this State of Mr. John White of Warrenton and Col. Duncan K. McRae to sell cotton and purchase supplies for our soldiers. No other State did this, nor did the Confederate Government. It is doubtful whether the State could either have clothed or fed its people but for this enterprise. The list of importations is a curious one and reflects the needs of the State. From the records now being complied by Dr. D. H. Hill we find that ordnance stores to the amount of $488,000 and cotton cards to the value of $594,000 was brought into Wilmington. It was through these cotton and wool cards that the women of the State were able to clothe their families during the last two years of the war. Even the tacks with which these cards were fastened to the wooden handles had to be imported with them. Among the importations were cloth for uniforms, overcoats, jackets, trousers, caps, shoes, boots, sacks, angora skirts, oil cloth, oil tape, thread, button, paper, calf skins, leather, medicines, dyes, belting, cobbler's awls, needles, bleaching powders, buckles, scythe blades, iron, copper, wire, nails, and many other articles.

Most of the imported cloth was manufactured into uniforms for the men or sold to the officers. This work was done in a most systematic manner. The manufacturing es-

tablishment at Raleigh was presided over by Capt. J. W. Garrett, and afterwards by Major W. W. Pierce and Major H. A. Dowd. It was in the Quartermaster's Department, of which Major John Devereux had general supervision. The clothing was cut by expert tailors and then given out to women to be made into garments. Some of the material was shipped to various towns in the State and made up by clubs of women and shipped back. Blockade running was not only an absolute necessity to the State but was a success financially, for on 9 March, 1865, near the end of the war, the business showed a profit of $1,325,000. This was largely made of course by the difference between the price paid by the State for cotton and the value of the articles brought back by the steamers on their return voyages to the State. The steamers ran the blockade from Wilmington nearly due south to Nassau, in the Bahamas, to which point the supplies were brought without risk from England and stored.

Not only were the North Carolina troops supplied with uniforms but a very large part of the cloth and the uniforms were sold to the Confederate Government. When Longstreet's corps were sent to the west, where it enabled the army to win the victory at Chicamauga, it was furnished with new clothing entirely from North Carolina, both for the men and officers.

The greater portion of the medical supplies for the Southern army was thus brought in by the North Carolina blockading steamers, and was unobtainable otherwise.

Major T. D. Hogg, who was head of the Ordnance Department and later of the Commissary Department of the State, kept on hand, as he said, "Everything from frying pans to cannon," and the department supplied every conceivable article to the army. In the Ordnance Department the State was constantly manufacturing or remodeling arms and repairing and putting into condition those captured from time to time from the enemy or picked up on the battlefield. Nitre for gunpowder was obtained mostly by dig-

ging up the ground in the smokehouses throughout the State and leaching out the nitre.

The State contracted with the Confederate Government to make all the clothing for the North Carolina troops after they were turned over to the Confederacy. During the first winter of 1861-1862 there was so large a rush of men to arms that the soldiers suffered considerably from cold. So great was the destitution that the women of the State, as patriotic then as now, took up the carpets from their floors, cut them up and lined them with coarse cloth and sent them on to the troops for use as blankets. Agents were sent as far South as New Orleans, and these also scoured the State, to buy blankets and warm clothes for the North Carolina troops.

Not only did the State make clothing it went into the manufacture of arms, and at the Fayetteville arsenal thousands of good rifles were made. Later, rifle factories were established as private enterprises at Jamestown, Greensboro, and other points, and a firm in Wilmington made sabres and bayonets. A boring machine was devised by which smooth-bore muskets were turned into rifles, and thousands of antiquated muskets were changed from flint and steel to percussion locks.

The State also arranged with manufacturers at many points in this State to go into the manufacture of shoes. To some of these the State furnished the hides, and in many cases the State bought green hides and had them tanned on shares. Agents were sent into all the western counties to buy hides, leather, and wool. These were collected and hauled to the manufacturers, to a very large amount in wagons, or accumulated in warehouses, for it must be remembered at that time we had not more than a third of our present railroad mileage.

To keep on hand a large supply of cotton goods, the State agreed to take the total output of many of the cotton mills and pay them 75 per cent profit. The lack of clothing among the people at home became so severe that certain days were

set apart on which the output of the mills might be sold, and on those days large numbers of women came from all quarters to buy the cotton yarns or cloth. In some cases they walked even ten or twelve miles and carried their yarn and cloth home on their backs, and sometimes in carts or wagons.

Time fails me to go into all the various enterprises which the State inaugurated to support its armies in the field. Details are largely given by Major A. Gordon and Major W. A. Graham of the Adjutant General's Deperatment in the First Volume of the "N. C. Regimental Histories." A committee was appointed in 1867 to ascertain the amount expended by this State in aid of the war, composed of J. C. Harper, R. H. Battle, and H. W. Husted, whose report shows that the State expended for military purposes alone, to carry on the war (leaving out the last three months, for which the records were lost), more than $37,000,000. While part of this was in Confederate currency it is fair to estimate that full $20,000,000 was furnished by this State for that purpose. This was exclusive of the amounts which were spent by the several counties for the relief of the widows, wives, and children of the soldiers and to relieve distress among the old and infirm. The State established salt works on the coast and also took part in the manufacture of salt at Saltville, in Southwest Virginia. By this means the State, and especially the country districts, were supplied with that indispensable article.

In addition to these expenditures the State used a large sum in the blockade business. In that business the State imported $5,947,000 of goods, in addition to the cost of the steamer *Ad. Vance* and our three other vessels, the *Don,* the *Hansa,* and the *Annie.*

These various enterprises were largely suggested by and due to the energy of Gen. James G. Martin, who had seen service in the Quartermaster's Department of the United States Army, but he was most ably seconded by Major John Devereux, Major T. D. Hogg, and the other officials under

him. Governor Vance, being the Governor of the State at that time, assumed the responsibility for the *Ad Vance* and the entire system by which the State imported these necessary articles, and he did so against the advice of eminent counsel who assured him that such action would make him liable to impeachment. He reaped his reward in the approval of the soldiery, whom he kept warm and supplied with clothing, food, and other necessaries, and in the remembrance of the people at home whom he supplied with salt and other necessary articles, and he won the lasting gratitude of the women to whom he furnished the cotton cards which enabled them to clothe themselves and children, and this made him after the war invincible in the hearts of the people of North Carolina.

The "blockade-running" enterprise of this State was not adopted by any other Southern State nor, strange to say, by the Confederate Government, to whom the State turned over a large part of the supplies it received by these methods. When the war ended North Carolina still had on hand here and in London many thousand bales of cotton which it had bought for this trade and the largest supply of English cloth for soldiers and officers, which were stored at Greensboro. The enterprise was successful till September, 1864, when the Confederate Government, having taken for a cruiser the supply of anthracite coal brought from England which the *Ad. Vance** had stored up in Wilmington for her own use, she was forced to use the bituminous and inferior coal from Chatham County, and the black trail of smoke that she made and a lowered speed caused her capture.

As to provisions, so large a part of Virginia was occupied b ythe enemy and the other Southern States being less fitted for raising corn and farther from Lee's army, more than half of the supplies of that army came from North Carolina. Major Hogg, the Commissary of this State, said that in the spring of 1865 North Carolina was feeding more than half of Lee's army.

* This was a double pun. The vessel was primarily named Ad-Vance, i.e., "to-Vance," and the "Advance" or *first—not* A. D. Vance.

It is to be remembered that the taxes of the Confederacy were largely levied in kind by the tithing bureau which received from each farm one-tenth of all the meat, corn, and other provisions raised which were put into the tithing warehouses and thence transported to the army from time to time as needed. There were tithing agents in each neighborhood who saw to it that the farmer turned over to the Government one-tenth of his produce, and over him was a tithing agent in each county. In a time of depreciated currency, and of an imperative demand for provisions by the army, no better system probably could have been devised.

The Confederate conscript law was adopted early in 1862 by which all men between 18 and 35 were taken for the army, with certain exemptions, on account of disability and public service. The age later was changed from 18 to 45. In the spring of 1864 the necessity of filling the ranks was such that boys from 17 to 18 were conscripted and formed into regiments and batalions of Junior Reserves, and those from 45 to 50 were likewise formed into Senior Reserves.

Nor should mention be omitted of the large supplies which were sent by the women of the State from their scanty stores to their relatives in the army. During the last three months of 1864, as Pollard's History states, $325,000 worth of supplies passed through the office in Richmond sent by the women of this State direct to our soldiers in our time of greatest destitution, in addition to what the State Government was officially sending to the troops.

Throughout the war it was noted, without contradiction, that the best supplied, best clothed and equipped soldiers of the whole army were from North Carolina.

I cannot undertake in the brief space of this article to narrate what would require a volume, in order to set out adequately the support which North Carolina furnished to the Confederacy. It must be recalled that while now the State has 2,500,000 people, by the census of 1860 she had only 992,622, of whom full one-third were negroes. These

latter did their share in faithfully furnishing provisions raised on the farms for the support of the soldiers and of the people at home. To their credit there was not a single attempt, recorded in the four years, of insurrection or lawlessness. Out of less than 700,000 white population the State sent 125,000 splendid soldiers to the front besides the Home Guards, who preserved order, guarded bridges, and at times strengthened our lines in North Carolina. Many thousand negroes were also drafted from time to time to build breastworks and forts.

The proportion of soldiers furnished by this State to the Confederate cause was nearly one in every five of the total white population. This is a larger ratio than is now being furnished by Germany in her strenous efforts, though that country is largely aided by the enforced work of prisoners and of the population drafted fro mBelgium and other occupied territory, contrary to all the rules of civilized warfare and the express stipulations of the Hague treaties.

It is safe to say that of the armies of the thirteen Confederate States, more than one-sixth were soldiers from this State. This State also furnished fully one-fifth of the provisions and other supplies for the Confederate armies.

Unlike Germany, with its thirty years preparation for war, North Carolina went into the war totally unprepared. But she grappled the task which came to her, and no state on either side, and probably no state in history, furnished from its population a larger proportion of soldiers, nor from its material resources a larger support, to the cause in which it embarked than this Commonwealth. If the cause finally failed no blame can be laid upon a state which went into that war reluctantly but which, when it once entered, stinted neither in men, in courage or in supplies in its ardent support to the side which its people had espoused.

Tar River (The Name)

By Bruce Cotten

It seems to be well established, both by tradition and by official documents that this river was once sometimes called Taw River. Most of our North Carolina histories have so stated and there are numerous wills, deeds and other papers preserved which refer to it as Taw or Tor River.

Lawson in his thousand miles journey in 1701 appears to have crossed Tar River a few miles below the present town of Greenville. However, he calls it the Pampticough and neither in his text nor on his map does the name Tar, or Taw, appear.

Williamson calls it Taw River wherever referred to in his work, and says that in the Indian language the word Taw signifies the river of health.

Dr. Hawks repudiates this assertion of Williamson and says:

"Its name is not Tar, though Col. Byrd called it by that name more than one hundred years ago. Others have supposed its original Indian name to be Taw or Tor, which Williamson with his customary dogmatism, ignorantly states means 'Health.' It never had such a meaning in any dialect of the Algonquin or Iroquois that we have met with (and these were the two mother languages of the Indians of the eastern side of North Carolina) nor was there any such Indian Word as far as we can discover; though such a syllable formed from an Indian word, is found in the composition of Indian words, according to the known polythinseticism of our Indian tongues. But the river was notwithstanding, called Taw, for we find (as I am informed by a friend*) that name applied in a patent of 1729.

* H. T. Clark, Esq., of Edgecombe.

"Wheeler, Simms, Emmons and Cook, all modern authorities, repudiating 'Tar' call it 'Tau.'

"Mr. Clark thinks that from analogy, it should be written 'Taw' and cites the names *Haw, Catawba, Chickasaw, Choctaw,* where the syllable terminates with *w.*

"But the fact is that in the orthography of Indian names and words it is important to know to what country the individual belonged who first wrote them down for the eye of civilized man; otherwise the pronunciation may be mistaken.

"For ourselves while we are quite sure the river's true name never was Tar, we doubt whether Taw is the original word.

"Words of one syllable are exceedingly rare in the Indian languages, and especially in the name of places. They are almost invariably compounds.

"Its Indian name was Torpaeo and we think it should be so called now. Taw is but a corruption of the first syllable Tor. We have tried in vain to discover the meaning of the compound Tor-paeo."

Dr. Hawk's assertion that its Indian name was Torpaeo rests solely upon a map and an account of a journey accredited to John Lederer, a German, who claimed to have traveled far into the country south of Virginia in 1670.

Lederer, it seems, with certain Englishmen, was commissioned by Governor Berkely of Virginia to make the journey, for the purpose of exploration and for the purpose of discovering a pass over the mountains. His English companions deserted him on the upper James and Lederer claims that he made the journey accompanied only by an Indian guide named Jackzetavon.

Upon his return to Virginia he was received with insults and with such reproaches that he believed his life in danger; the Virginias very frankly disbelieving his statements as to his travels and discoveries.

Whereupon Lederer betook himself to Maryland where he succeeded in interesting the governor, Sir William Talbot,

who having been convinced that he was "a modest and ingenious person and a pretty scholar" himself translated, from the Latin into English, his account of his journeyings and printed the whole, with a map in London in 1672.

This account of Lederer, as translated and published by Talbot, sets forth geographic conditions which we know could not have existed in North Carolina and the impression gained is that the Virginians were entirely right in their estimate of the man'h worth.

From the text it is impossible to recognize, positively, any part of North Carolina and the conviction is strong that Lederer never made the journey claimed, but has set forth, both in his text and on his map his impressions and idea of what that country was, as understood perhaps from Indians and frontier reports.

South of the Roanoke two rivers are shown, the Torpaeo and the Errico. Both are erroniously made to flow into Roanoke river.

The Torpaeo is undoubtedly intended for what is now Tar river and the Errico either the Neuse or Contentnea Creek. This arrangement of these streams is likewise shown on a map prepared for the Lords Proprietors in 1671, which for the interior of the country is the same as the Lederer map; one being a copy of the other so far as they relate to the interior of the country called Carolina.

This name Torpeaeo does not appear in any other description or map preserved of the country, but several Indian names compounded with the sound of "tor" subsequently appear on the map and in the records as well and are generally located on Tar River, or in the vicinity of Contentnea Creek.

Tauhunter was an Indian town either on the Tar, or on Contentnea Creek, more likely on the latter and the name seems to have been preserved in Nahunter Creek in Greene County.

Toisnot is the beautiful name of a creek and swamp in Wilson County and was the name of a pretty village in the

same county, until changed into the homely compound of Elm City.

Other Indian names in that section had sounds that might have led into a corruption of Taw, or Tor. Lawson in describing his crossing of what seems to have been Contentnea Creek says it was called by the Indian Chattoukau. This name also appears to have been the Indian name for the point of land whereon New Bern stands, and is said to have been taken to New York by the Tuscarora Indians and as Chautauqua became the name of a lake, town and county in that state from which is called our modern Chautauqua.

Just how the Indians applied these names, whether to a stream, a location, to a general section or tribe cannot be said, but at least there were some words or names in the Indian dialect of the section between Tar River and the Neuse which could have been suggested to the early settlers to call this river Taw after their own Taw River in England from the vicinity of which many of them came. Indeed this seems a probable explanation of the early efforts to call it Taw.

Taw River in England is a beautiful little stream, having its source among the "Tors" of Dartmoor in Devonshire and flowing north into Bidiford Bay. These Tors, or huge blocks of granite that crown most of the hills, are a striking characteristic of the landscape in the county where Sir Walter Raleigh was born and the name Tor and Taw has been very plentifully applied to the topography of the surrounding country.

There are many prominent Tors such as Yes Tor, Back Tor, High Tor, Cor Tor and Hare Tor while besides Taw River we have Tawton, Torquey, Tor Bay and many other names that trace their origin directly to the Tors. The word is also spelled Tor and Taw just as to the river was in North Carolina.

The word is of Saxon origin though some say it was applied by the Romans to these hill tops in Devon because they

sometimes present a shape resembling the Greek letter tau (?). However the word is applied in Devonshire to any elevation that has rocks on its summit, just as "scar" is used in Yorkshire. It is also said that the first marbles were made from the stone of these Tors, hence the game Taw, and the position of Taw is still a prominent position in the playing of that most scientific of all juvenile games now called marbles.

Very many of the early settlers who came to Virginia and North Carolina came from the vicinity of Taw River and the Tors of Devonshire. Indeed after the battle of Sedgmoore in 1685, Devonshire was almost depopulated so great was the exodus, enforced or otherwise, to different parts of the new world. Very many of these people found their way to Virginia and into North Carolina.

Coming first upon Tar River in what is now Edgecombe or Nash County, there is reason to believe that these early settlers did not know that it was the same stream that lower down was called Pamlico. The impression being that it was tributary to the Roanoke as set forth in the maps of Lederer and Ogilby. Indeed some Scotch families having early settled south of the Roanoke in what is now lower Halifax County, the section was called "The Scotland Neck" under the impression it would seem that it was on a neck formed by the confluence of these two streams, or by Fishing Creek and the Roanoke.

So these people christened this river, or attempted to christen it, Taw River after their own Taw River in far off Devonshire just as Englishmen have always wanted to carry their place names with them. We know of course, that the attempt failed and the river was called Tar almost as soon as it was called Taw. If there was something in the Indian dialect of the section that suggested Taw, Taw itself at once suggested Tar, in honor of the then principal commodity of the country through which it flows. So Tar River it has been called exclusively for many years now and will no doubt continue by that name always.

Those settlers who pushed their way down the river called it Tar while those who pushed their way up the river, from old Bath County called it Pamlico, and it was known as Pamlico far up into what is now Pitt County. Finally as the up stream settlement dominated, the town of Washington became the dividing line, below which it is called Pamlico, above which it is called Tar River.

Antique China Water-Pitcher, 1775 at Edenton

Its Masonic And Poetic Decorations

In the Masonic Lodge at Edenton, North Carolina, which was established in 1775 under a chart from the Duke of Beaufort, then grand master of Masons in England, there is a very old and unique china pitcher, supposed to have been purchased as a water-pitcher when the lodge was first organized. It is beautifully decorated; on one side is a ship under full sail, on another some scene connected with the exploits of the Knights Templar, and on the third the following verses interwoven with the different emblems:

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That all other orders however exteemed,
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The greatest of Monarchs, the wisest of men,
Freemasonry honoured again and again,
And nobles have quitted all other delights,
With joy to preside o'er our mystical rites.
We always are free, etc.

Tho' some may pretend we've no secrets to know,
Such idle opinions their ignorance show,
While others with raptures cry out they're revealed,
In Freemasons' bosoms they still lie concealed.
We always are free, etc.

Coxcombical pedants may say what they can,
Abuse us, ill use us, and laugh at our plan,
We'll temper our mortar, enliven our souls,
And join in a chorus o'er full flowing bowls.
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(2) To publish a complete history of North Carolina in the World War.

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Vol. XIX JANUARY, 1920 No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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*Died November 25, 1911.
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The North Carolina Booklet

Vol. XIX JANUARY, 1920 No. 3

Preservation of North Carolina's World War Records

By R. B. House,

Collector of War Records for North Carolina Historical Commission

One of the first acts of the North Carolina Council of Defense was the appointment of a Historical Committee under the leadership of Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission. Thus, at the very beginning of the war, the State of North Carolina organized the work of preserving its history.

The Historical Committee strove by means of circular appeals to all citizens of the State, and by the appointment of representatives in the several counties, to preserve documents illustrating every phase of North Carolina's participation in the war.

The culmination of the Historical Committee's work was the enactment by the General Assembly in 1919 of the following provision for the collection of war records, and the preparation of a history, being sections 3-6 of Chapter 114, Public Laws of 1919.

"Section 3. That for the purpose of putting in permanent and accessible form the history of the contribution of North Carolina and of her soldiers, sailors, airmen, and civilians to the Great World War while the records of those contributions are available, the North Carolina Historical Commission is hereby authorized and directed to employ a person trained in the study of history and in modern historical methods of investigation and writing, whose duty it shall be, under the direction of said Historical Commission, to collect as fully as possible data bearing upon the activities of North Carolina and her people in the said Great World War, and from these to prepare and publish as speedily as possible an accurate and trustworthy illustrated History of North Carolina in the Great World War.

SEC. 4. The said history shall give a reliable account of the:

(*a*) Operations of the United States Government in North Carolina during the war;

(*b*) Operations of the North Carolina State Government in war times;

(*c*) Operations of county and local government in war times;

(*d*) War work of volunteer organizations;

(*e*) Military, naval, and air service of North Carolina units and of individual North Carolina soldiers, sailors, and airmen;

(*f*) Organization and services of the Home Defense;

(*g*) A roster of North Carolina soldiers, sailors, and airmen in the war;

(*h*) Services of North Carolinians in national affairs during the war;

(*i*) Effects of the war on agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, finance, trade and commerce in North Carolina;

(*j*) Social and welfare work among the soldiers and their dependents;

(*k*) Contributions of schools and churches to the war and the effect of war on education and religion;

(*l*) Such other phases of the war as may be necessary to set forth the contributions of the State and her people to this momentous event in the world's history.

SEC. 5. That after the preparation of such history the said Historical Commission shall have the same published and paid for as other State printing, and said Historical Commission shall offer such history for sale at as near the cost of publication as possible: *Provided*, that one copy of such history shall be furnished free to each public school library in North Carolina which shall apply for the same: *Provided also*, that said Historical Commission may exchange copies of said history for copies of other similar histories of the war; and *Provided further*, that all receipts from the sale of said history shall be covered into the State Treasury."

The North Carolina Historical Commission appointed R. B. House to direct the work of collecting war records. The Collector of War Records took up his duties June 16, 1919, under the foregoing Chapter enjoining on him the two-fold task of collecting all data concerning North Carolina in the World War, and the preparation of a history of North Carolina in the World War. The collection of data is at present the paramount purpose of the department.

In the chapter of the law outlining his duties, the plan for collecting war records extends from that of collecting data

about the government of the United States, the government of North Carolina, the local government of counties and communities, down to the records of individual soldiers, sailors and civilians. The first step taken by the Collector was to make a survey of official records produced by the war. About this time representatives from other State War History Organization met in conference in Washington, D. C., to organize some general plan of surveying the archives of the national government and finding out what records were necessary for use by the States. The outcome of this conference was a committee to work with the Adjutant General and with the Navy Department to systematize the transcript of service records that will be given to the Adjutant Generals of the various States, and in the second place, the formation of an association with a membership of $200 a year, which association maintains a bureau of research in Washington for the purpose of assuring to each State its quota of records in the national government.

The next step was a survey of record-producing agencies in the State Departments. The records of the State Council of Defense, the State Food Administration, and the State Fuel Administration have been turned over to the Department of War Records. The Adjutant General is in constant coöperation with the Collector of War Records in regard to the preparation of a roster of all North Carolina men in the service. The departments of State, Education, Health, Agriculture, and Labor and Printing have been canvassed, and they are holding in reserve their correspondence until the Collector of War Records can go through these files and take out what pertains to the World War.

The official records of government organizations in the counties and the records of volunteer war work organizations are in a somewhat chaotic condition. Repeated circular letters to practically every such agency in the State, visits to them here and there, and the work of volunteer representatives of the Historical Commission in the various localities

reveal the fact that in some cases records have been destroyed, in other cases that no records have been kept, and yet again that where records are kept the officials of the various organizations are lax in responding to the request of the Collector for these records.

In an effort to stimulate local interest in the various localities, the Collector of War Records has endeavored to secure in each county a representative for the white race and one for the colored race to organize and direct the work for the various counties. White collectors have been secured in sixty-four counties and colored collectors have been secured in sixty-two counties. The work of these collectors has been spasmodic and somewhat ineffective, and just now plans are maturing for a conference of these collectors to be held in Raleigh for the eastern collectors and in Salisbury for the western collectors, in an effort to put on a drive for war material in North Carolina and to organize a State association for the collection of war records.

Various organizations, however, have offered their coöperation to the Collector of War Records in getting together data concerning the war, notably the Red Cross, the American Legion, the D. A. R., and the North Carolina Division of the U. D. C. All of these organizations have passed resolutions approving the work of the Historical Commission and pledging themselves to appoint local committees to carry on the work. The D. A. R. is especially interested in compiling military records. The U. D. C. is also supplementing this work. The American Legion is preparing a type of blank which will be filled out in duplicate by each member of the Legion joining, one copy of which shall be sent to the Historical Commission. Also, after some efforts by correspondence, the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs has pledged its support to the work, and they are preparing reports of their work. It seems that these war work organiza-

tions will eventually enable the Collector of War Records to secure individual reports from each community organization.

Response from local draft boards and county councils of defense has been so meager as to make a change of tactics necessary, and as yet no definite system of obtaining these records has been devised. It is hoped that an examination of the records of the State Council of Defense will open up ways of securing clues to information in the various counties that will supplement references to these counties in the general reports of the State Council of Defense.

Through the publicity given to this work and the efforts of particularly active collectors in various sections of the State and by correspondence with individuals possessing collections, a valuable collection of letters, photographs, scrap books, and other individual material is being brought together.

The general duties of the Collector of War Records may be divided under the heads of administrative work in the office, field work, publicity, and research. Under the head of administration comes the conduct of a voluminous correspondence, both by the writing and answering of individual letters and by the sending out of circular letters, several thousand of which have been issued from the office. The task of administration has somewhat overbalanced the other three divisions of the work. Field work on the whole has been unsatisfactory, because at present the general nature of the work is not sufficiently advertised in the various counties to make a trip very profitable, and better results have been accomplished by the securing of local organizations from the office. However, valuable clues of various material have been collected by trips in Pitt County, Halifax, Warren, Guilford and Orange counties, by a trip to the reunion of the Old Hickory Division in Greenville, S. C., and by a trip to the Conference of State War History Organizations in Washington, D. C.

In the department of publicity three bulletins have been issued by the office, which have been included in letters; one arguing for the preservation of materials as a civic duty, and two outlining in some detail the materials wanted and the methods by which they can be collected.

Research work has in general been devoted to answering questions coming in from various individuals, furnishing lists of soldiers in various communities, and in general acting as a clearing house of information about the State in the war.

Concrete results of this system may be shown by the following digest of materials on hand:

Of North Carolina units we have nine official histories and collections of official papers.

By correspondence with officers of the army and navy, twenty collections of individual records have been secured. Eleven collections of individual soldiers' letters, three diaries, official records of Distinguished Service Cross citations, some 300 photographs.

Histories of 33 chapters of the Red Cross, reports from the County Council of Defense in 14 counties, official reports on the five Liberty Loan drives, and a valuable collection of letters and reports showing individual features of these drives.

Lists of drafted men from every county in the State, complete records of the Food Administration, complete records of the Fuel Administration, complete records of the North Carolina Council of Defense.

Program of coöperation with the American Legion insuring all the records made by them up to date, complete records of the War Camp Community Service, fragmentary collection of material about the work of women in the war.

Five collections of county history, complete records of Jewish military service in North Carolina, and a miscellaneous collection on economics, education, religion; the *New York Times* war volumes, 20 in all; complete files of the

Army and Navy Journal through the years of the war; files of the *Stars and Stripes,* with the exception of about 20 numbers; and miscellaneous periodicals, pamphlets and publications not kept in the State Library.

While this digest of material attempts to outline the nature of documents on hand, nevertheless no elaborate system of cataloguing and digesting this material has been attempted, and therefore it is quite possible that information more than is mentioned in the above digest may be found.

The materials in hand are very fragmentary and the work is unsatisfactory from the standpoint of publication. This is due to three causes: First, the fact that most of the documents desired are not yet mature enough for collection, most of them being in the hands of the organization preparing them. In the second place, the people are not yet educated to the full value of preserving war records and are correspondingly unresponsive to pleas for help. In the third place, the force of the Department of War Records is entirely inadequate to a speedy survey and canvass of so large a State as North Carolina.

On the other hand, it is extremely doubtful whether a larger force and an attempt to speed up the work would produce paying results, for the simple reason that the collecting and digesting of this material is entirely a matter of time and study.

A more extensive and hearty coöperation of the people of North Carolina, however, is absolutely essential to success in this undertaking. The people possess the records to do with what they will, and the success of the Collector of War Records waits on their pleasure. If they choose to pay no attention to the need of prompt and speedy action in preserving records that are speedily being destroyed, the history of the war must be consequently incomplete. But if they choose to coöperate with the Collector, both in giving him records in their personal possession, and in urging like action on their

neighbors, then nothing can prevent the history from being full and accurate, for the work has started in ample time.

The Collector of War Records urges, therefore, that all patriotic citizens of North Carolina donate enough of their time and attention to finding out what is wanted of them. A postal card to the Collector of War Records will bring full particulars. And there is no citizen of the State who cannot be of service in preserving the history of these times.

Some Autograph Writings of General Joseph Graham

Miss Hinton:—I hand you for publication in the Booklet some autograph writings of Gen. Joseph Graham, which I did not have until two or three years after the publication of the book, "Gen. Joseph Graham and his Revolutionary Papers."

1st. Autobiography of Gen. Jos. Graham.

"I was the third son by a second wife; my father lived in the State of Pennsylvania in Chester County near a mill on White Clay Creek, then belonging to the Hon. Judge Evans. I was born on the 13th of October, 1759, at said place, about five years after which my father died leaving behind him three sons and two daughters, the oldest of which was but nine years of age. He had a lease of the land of said Evans which expired about a year after his decease. This induced my mother at that period to remove to Carolina, as she had been encouraged to do by a distant relation who lived there. She removed in the autumn of the year 1765 to Mecklenburg County in North Carolina, and the winter following moved as far to the south as Tyger River. The land she settled on not being her own and the situation being almost a frontier to the Indians, together with the weakness of the settlement so that no prospect offered for the schooling of her children, induced her to return to Mecklenburg in the year 1767 after residing two years on Tyger. Having procured a tract of land nigh Charlotte a servant man whom she brought out together with us cleared some land, got up a cabin and not long after sent us to school. My oldest brother by this time having acquired more steadiness from his age than the rest of us, or perhaps his capacity was better, made considerable progress in writing, arithmetic, etc., in so much that she was generally advised by the neighbors to send him to the grammar school which together with his own inclina-

tion perusaded her to agree he began in the year —74. The interest due on the money coming to us of my father's estate was the only fund promised to support his education, her finances by this time would not admit of any aid and that was not more than sufficient for that purpose. He having the advantage of a number of books besides those of Greek and Latin I did not fail to read them with attention, especially History, Geography and the Sciences, still had it in view to go to the grammar school if circumstances would admit."

"He never realized his anticipations to attend Queen's College or the grammar school as it was generally called. About the time he and George would have been ready to enter the school, they entered the American Army and served during the war, George entering in December, 1775, and Joseph on May 18, 1878. Not having sufficient money from the funds designated for the education of himself and his brothers, he and George concluded that as John was the oldest they would give him the first opportunity, that it was better to have one boy well educated than three with only a partial education. John graduated at Queen's College in 1778, and afterwards attended Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia, having read medicine with Dr. Rush, one of the most noted physicians of that time, who took him into practice with him. He afterwards became a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army.

2. There was also found in his own handwriting two pieces of paper, "James Graham," who was his father, and "George Graham," who was an elder brother.

James Graham.

"At the age of eighteen he emigrated from the Carlingford Bay, in the County of Down, Ireland, in the year 1733, to the then province of Pennsylvania.

"By tradition in the family he was a grandson of a follower and kinsman of the celebrated Montrose, who made such a

figure in the civil wars in Scotland in the reign of Charles I, and when the English Army prevailed in Scotland, Montrose fled to Holland, and his adherents, among whom was a clan of the Grahams, and others, passed over into the north of Ireland, where many of their descendants yet reside. James Graham dying when his children were young, his widow moved with the family to Mecklenburg, N. C., when his son George was ten years old."

GEN. GEORGE GRAHAM.

"He was the son of James Graham, who at the age of 18 migrated from Carlingford Bay in the County of Dawn, Ireland, in the year 1733 to the then province of Pennsylvania. By a tradition in the family he was grandson of a follower and kinsman of the celebrated Montrose, who made such a figure in the civil wars in Scotland in the reign of Charles the First, and when the English Army prevailed in Scotland Montrose fled to Holland and his adherents, among whom was a clan of the Grahams and others, passed over into the north of Ireland, where many of their descendants yet reside. James Graham dying when his children were young, his widow moved with the family to Mecklenburg, North Carolina, when George was 10 years old."

In "Gen. Joseph Graham and his Revolutionary Papers" there are accounts of James and George Graham to which the reader can refer for further notice of them.

March 1, 1920. W. A. GRAHAM.

Colonel Philemon Hawkins, Sr.*

By John D. Hawkins

Colonel Philemon Hawkins, of Pleasant Hill, Warren County, North Carolina, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, having for many years entertained the desire to call together his descendants and connexions, as well as those of his late father, Col. Philemon Hawkins, senior, deceased, at his late residence in Warren county, with the view, thus assembled, to unite in bearing testimony to his worth and to his memory, and to cement together more closely the whole family union, did, on the 28th day of September, 1829, thus assemble them, as well as health and circumstances permitted; and he invited many respectable friends to associate upon the occasion, having previously caused the old family Mansion House of the deceased to be fitted up. When thus assembled, he called upon his grandson, Leonidas Polk, and great grandson of the deceased, to offer up to the Throne of Grace a prayer upon the occasion, who delivered an elegant and a very appropriate prayer. And he called upon his son, John D. Hawkins, and grandson of the deceased, to deliver an oration commemorative of his history, and his virtue; when he delivered the following:

My relatives and respected hearers:

I am called upon by Col. Philemon Hawkins, now the elder, to fulfil a trust, which his great desire to greet his relatives and friends, influenced at the same time by the most profound filial veneration, has induced him to impose. It is for me to attempt on this day to do justice to the character and memory of Col. Philemon Hawkins, senior, deceased. The task is a novel one, and the theme requires abler efforts than, I fear, I can bring to the discharge of it. It is therefore with great distrust I attempt to approach it. An assemblage of this sort, and upon such an occasion, is not only new, but unprecedented in our section of country. But, notwithstanding its novelty, what can be more justifiable, or more

*This address was delivered by the late Colonel John D. Hawkins, at a family reunion in Warren County on September 28, 1829. Together with above preamble it was published in pamphlet form in 1829. Pamphlet was republished in 1906 by Dr. A. B. Hawkins, of Raleigh, a son of John D. Hawkins.

Editor Booklet.

interesting than to witness a large assemblage of relatives and friends, called together by the venerable head of his family association, to pay homage to the great worth of a departed ancestor, who, when living, stood pre-eminently at its head? It is an effort, although a feeble one, to arrest from oblivion the recollection of one, whose memory is fast fading away, and ere long will be forgotten, because all who knew him will soon have passed by and be forgotten also.

To hold up to view the successful enterprise, the patriotism and the virtues of the departed dead, is the province of biography, which acts as a mirror to reflect upon the living, examples of wisdom and of worth, from whence may be derived the most salutary lessons. If biography in general produces these conceded results, its benign influence will operate in an increased ratio upon relatives, when contemplating the enviable character of a departed and beloved ancestor.

Col. Philemon Hawkins, senior, deceased, was born on the 28th of September, 1717, on Chickahominy river, near Todd's bridge in Charles City county and State of Virginia, this day 112 years ago. He was the oldest child of his parents, Philemon and Ann, and his father died when he was of tender years, leaving three children, Philemon, John and Ann. Although Philemon the elder died, leaving to his children a scanty patrimony, he seemed to have entertained peculiar notions of predilection in regard to them. He felt towards them an unusual confidence; for, by his will, he desired that they should come to the control of their patrimony at the age of 18 years; and this confidence, as regarded the subject of this memoir, was not misplaced.

The widowed mother Ann afterwards intermarried with a native of Ireland; and by the time her son Philemon had reached the appointed age of 18, his celebrity for industry and manly deportment excelled all his associates, even those of riper years, and was of extensive circulation, a sure prognostic that he would rise above his then condition. Col. Lightfoot, of Williamsburg, a gentleman of great wealth and

discernment, had three plantations in Charles City county and the fame of our then youthful ancestor had reached him, though he lived 60 miles distant, and had deeply impressed him with a desire to place these three estates under his youthful control. He sent for him to come to Williamsburg, and on getting there, they made a contract, the stipulations of which showed at once the confidence of the employer and the great reputation for good management and great ability in the employed. But his mother was unhappily married. It was her misfortune not to find in her husband that conjugal tenderness, affection and forbearance, which the wedded estate should assure to those who enter into it. The ill treatment of her husband had rendered the protection of her son Philemon necessary to her safety. And her husband's embarrassments and difficulties had fixed in him a determined resolution to remove to North Carolina. This was a trying time for the mother. To accompany her husband she was compelled to do; but to leave her son would bereave her of that protection which had not only stayed the arm of cruelty, but was further necessary to aid her with the necessaries of life, and to dispel the sad gloom of a cheerless fireside. She entreated her son to accompany her, and he pleaded his engagement, and the necessity he was under honorably to fulfil it. Under these distressing and conflicting embarrassments, the unhappy mother repaired to Williamsburg to entreat Col. Lightfoot to let her son off from his bargain, that he might accompany her to North Carolina. When she named the subject to him, he peremptorily refused to let him off, saying, although he was but a boy, he had long desired his services and the pay he was to give him was ample; and that he should not only injure himself, but her son, by letting him off from the contract. With this mortifying and most distressing rebuff the distracted mother retired to a neighboring place to spend the night, having been unwilling to expose to Col. Lightfoot's views the secret motives which so much prompted her to desire the company

of her son. There melancholy, with all its accompaniments of distress, harrowed up her soul, and she resolved to try Col. Lightfoot once more, though mortifying, to tell him the cause of her importunities. She gained his presence the next morning, and found upon his brow that peculiar look, which indicated unwillingness to hear any more from her upon the subject of her errand. But she entreated him to listen to her motives, and unfolded to him her situation; that although her son was but a boy, he was her gallant protector and defender. This changed the scene. Col. Lightfoot, as a man of chivalry, could not permit his interest to weigh against a woman's safety and a mother's safety too, when that was to be secured by the presence of her son. He instantly said, "Go madam, and take your son. His great worth had caused me to desire much his management of my business; but your need is entitled to the preference; and those rare qualities and powers, which he possesses, and which had gained him my confidence and esteem, will ensure your protection."

Philemon, together with his brother John and his sister Ann, accompanied his mother and her husband to North Carolina, and they settled upon Six Pound creek, then Edgecombe, now Warren county. Nearly the whole country was then a wilderness inhabited by Indians and the wild beasts of the forest. This country was then called a frontier, where civilization had shed abroad but little of its influence, and where the first settlers had to share, in a great degree, the privations which attended the first settlers of these United States. Persecution conduced to the first settlements of America, and that though of a different sort, fixed the destiny of this branch of the Hawkins family in this country.

There were other branches from the Charles City stock, which migrated to other parts of the Union; one went to the State of Kentucky, which produced Joseph Hawkins, formerly a member of Congress from Kentucky, and who afterwards died in New Orleans. That gentleman traced his connexion with our family in a conversation with our distin-

guished and venerable fellow citizen Nathaniel Macon, Esq., who now contributes by his presence to commemorate this occasion, and this day.

This branch of the family came here headed by Philemon, who was but a youth a little turned 18 years of age, poor in purse, but rich in spirit. By the sweat of his brow he sustained his mother, his sister and his brother with all the comforts their wants required. He cheered the drooping spirits of his mother, and, by every effort in his power, contributed to her wants and her wishes. His filial affection is recounted the more willingly, because it is a virtue he not only practiced, but because his course was such as to inspire his descendants with his kindred spirit; and it is that spirit which gave rise to this assemblage, and it is one of the manifold evidences of its analogy to the parental stock which gave it birth. May its influence descend to the remotest family generation in parallel with this laudable example!

In the year 1743, he intermarried with Delia Martin, the daughter of Zachariah Martin, Esq., who lived in an upper county of Virginia. But she lived with her brother, Capt. John Martin, on Sandy Creek, then Edgecombe, now Franklin county. They were married in Virginia at a church in the county of Brunswick, by Parson Beatty. By her he had Fannie, who intermarried with Maj. Leonard Bullock, Col. John Hawkins, Col. Philemon Hawkins, Col. Benjamin Hawkins, late Superintendent of Indian affairs, Col. Joseph Hawkins of the Continental army, and Ann, who intermarried with Micajah Thomas, Esq. All of whom have long since passed to the tomb, except our venerable host Col. Philemon Hawkins who is also the only survivor of the signers of the Constitution of North Carolina ratified in the year 1776; and whose laudable desire to see all together the descendants of his worthy father, as well as his collateral kindred, has invited us here this day that his history may be told over, to excite us to inculcate his virtues, and to profit by his examples, at the same time we attempt to do honor to his memory.

Our worthy ancestors lived at the mouth of Six Pound creek on Roanoke river, about ten years. They then removed to *this* tract of land, and not many years afterwards to *this place,* which was then in the county of Edgecombe. The province of North Carolina was divided at an early period of our history as suited the then Lords Proprietors, and their government, into eight precincts, as they were called, to wit: Beaufort, Carteret, Chowan, Craven, Currituck, Hyde, Perquimans and Pasquotank, to which Bertie precinct was afterwards added, by a division of Chowan. These precincts embraced the whole province and were afterwards called counties, and were divided and sub-divided and other counties erected as the population extended and the reasons and necessities of the province developed themselves. The first settlements were made upon the seashore and they extended westwardly, as they increased. The metes and bounds of these counties or precincts were but little known, and, owing to the savage inhabitants of the country, their geography could not be better ascertained at that time. Legislative acts were frequently resorted to, to settle occurring disputes about boundary and to form new counties, where the interest of the inhabitants required them. This section of country, as well as I can now ascertain it, was comprehended within Beaufort precinct, and Edgecombe county spread largely within its limits. From Edgecombe the county of Granville was taken in the year 1746, and the dividing line began at the mouth of Stone House creek, on Roanoke river. Thence to the mouth of Cypress swamp, on Tar river and from thence across the river in a direct course to the middle ground between Tar river and Neuse river, being the dividing line between Edgecombe and Craven counties. The uncertainty of this latter line now forms the subject matter of an unsettled dispute as to boundary between the counties of Wake and Franklin. In 1764, the county of Bute was taken from the county of Granville; and in 1779 the county of Bute was divided into the counties of Warren and Franklin.

I have been thus circumstantial in the detail of the change and formation of counties, because our ancestor figured in many of them, living the greater part of the time at the same place. In the year 1757 he was elected High Sheriff of Granville county, which then consisted of what Granville now is, added to all Franklin, and all that part of Warren lying to the south of Roanoke river. In this extensive country, where civilization was far from being complete, and where the arm of the law was weakened by an habitual insubordination, great energy of mind as well as personal bravery was required to perform the duties of sheriff. These qualities he possessed in an eminent degree; and when his deputies were overpowered, as was sometimes the case, by those who threw off the restraints of the law, he repaired at once to the scene of action, and, even when threatened to be mobbed would personally attack the leader, having the address at the same time to win over his followers to a more correct course. This once occurred in the Little river settlement now in the county of Franklin, where one Bud Kade headed a mob to avoid paying taxes. And in the year 1759 when Robin Jones was considered the most eminent lawyer in this country, many of the suitors in Granville court, whose misfortune it was not to get him on their side, lost their causes, as they supposed, by his superior knowledge, and they fixed the determination to drive him by violence from the court. A threat to this effect, it was hoped, would deter him from attending the court; but Mr. Jones was not thus to be alarmed. He felt that he was shielded by his duty to his clients and the laws of the country; and that if the deputies could not enforce subordination, he relied upon the High Sheriff. To that end, he privately advised the High Sheriff of the machinations planning, and solicited his personal attention early at court, prepared for events, and to keep order. Accordingly the High Sheriff attended court at an early hour, armed to meet any occurrence. Robin Jones informed the court of the danger which threatened him, urging at the same time that he was an officer of the

court, and entitled to its protection. The court ordered the sheriff to keep out of the court house all persons disposed to produce a riot. Thus protected by the constituted authorities, and firmly supported by his own inclination, he met at the courthouse door the ringleaders, and some of them were bold and conspicuous characters; for among them was Col. Benton, the grandfather of Col. Thomas H. Benton, the present Senator from Missouri, who felt himself aggrieved and justified in the course he took. The threatening rioters assembled at the courthouse door, armed and made a show to enter; but were prevented by the determined spirit of the High Sheriff whose look, with arms in his hands, was too convincing that the entrance would be too costly; and, therefore, they desisted from their purpose and dispersed.

The construction of the government which existed at this period of our history was one of such discordance between the governors and the governed, that that moral force which is essential to its well being, and to the comenting together of all its parts, did not exist. The idea of subjection to a foreign yoke, of a tributary obligation, even of the mildest form, is repugnant to the choice; and although the idea might not at that time have been entertained to throw it off, yet a restlessness and a dissatisfaction prevailed and a slight matter was calculated to produce a popular ferment. We can trace this jealous discontented spirit through our history for a long time before it broke out in the Revolution which cured us of that grievous disquietude. It was that disquietude, but more systematically kept up, which had increased to an unprecedented height, and caused the Regulators to assemble in the year 1771 and which ended in the battle of the Alamance on the 16th day of May of that year. Gov. Tryon, the then Governor of the colony of North Carolina, resided at New Bern and finding that the Regulators were trampling down everything like government, and, if not resisted, would throw the whole country into anarchy and misrule, and being by education a military man, and of great personal bravery, he

resolved to march against them, and called to his assistance a considerable military force. He at the same time called to his assistance as many of the most respectable citizens of the colony as he could, thereby calculating to add to his military the moral force of the country. His assemblage on this occasion was large. It contained many of the first characters of the colony and it had, as was expected, the calculated imposing effect. The number on the side of the Regulators was the largest; but they lacked discipline or unity of action. Upon this occasion his Excellency selected our venerated ancestor as his chief Aid-de-Camp and assigned to him the hazardous duty to read to the Regulators his Proclamation, which he did promptly. And after the battle commenced, he was the bearer of the Governor's commands throughout the whole action. This so exposed him to the fire of the enemy, that his hat was pierced by two balls, various balls passed through his clothes, and one bullet and two buck shot lodged in the breech of his gun, which he carried and used during the action. But he had the good fortune not to be wounded. After the battle was over, he was complimented by the Governor for the very efficient aid he gave him, and for the bravery and ability he displayed during the engagement.

The spirit of dissatisfaction, which had so often manifested itself, although apparently quieted for the time, continued to increase until it burst in open opposition to the British Government, about four years after the battle of the Alemance, and terminated in the establishment of the independence of the United States. It is a little remarkable that during his arduous struggle for our independence, those who had been found, during minor conflicts, arrayed against the government and laws, were never found acting conspicuously in support of it. On the contrary, many of them were Tories; and those who fought bravely under the banners of George III, against the Regulators, were, during that great struggle, the true Whigs of the country. The reason for this difference seems to have arisen from the circumstance that many of the

Regulators were enemies to good order and to government generally, and for these causes were unwilling to unite in any systematic efforts to shake off the British yoke.

During this great struggle for American liberty, our ancestor being three score years old, did not render himself conspicuous in a military point of view, except by pushing forward his sons in aid of the good cause, by supplying them with all the money and other means which they required for that purpose. But he was offered the command of a Brigadier General, which he declined, preferring to act in a civil capacity. Although he was thus old, he had the industry, activity and enterprise of a younger man, and preferred that his sons should go forth in personal defence of the country, while he stayed at home and made and supplied them with the necessary funds; and this he did largely, as occasions required them, feeling and acting for the good cause more efficiently than he could have done in the field. But after the adoption of the Constitution in 1776, and upon the election of Richard Caswell, who was the first Governor of the State of North Carolina, he was elected by the General Assembly one of the Counsel of State; which station he filled for some time, not only with Governor Caswell, but subsequently with Governor Alexander Martin.

Col. Philemon Hawkins, our ancestor, was a man about five feet nine inches high, very compactly built, and, when in vigorous health, weighed about one hundred and fifty-eight pounds. He possessed uncommon muscular powers and bodily activity, and a strength of constitution, which enabled him to bear fatigue and fitted him for hardships. His early education had been scanty, owing to his poverty and the loss of his father; but his natural mind was vigorous and comprehensive, well fitting and qualifying him for correct judgment, for which he was conspicuous. This made him seem to be correct by intuition; although he would make very logical deductions, showing at the same time the possession of strong reasoning powers. His buoyant and enterprising spirit al-

ways kept him one of the first men of his time. This, added to his extensive business, gave him the great knowledge of men and things, which he so eminently possessed, and were the great sources of his general intelligence. Not having had the benefit of a more early and liberal education, and feeling great need of it, and particularly for its concomitants, good language and the free use of words, he resolved at a very early period to acquire the means, and to give his sons good educations. He soon obtained by his assiduity the money, but the patrons of literature were so few, and seminaries of learning so scarce, that there was not a classical school in all this country to which he could send his two first sons, Col. John and Col. Philemon Hawkins. Under such circumstances, he concluded to send them to Scotland, under the protection of a friend; but Col. John Hawkins was so nearly grown, and unwilling to go, that the idea was abandoned. When Col. Benjamin and Col. Joseph Hawkins arrived at the proper ages, he sent them to Princeton College, which seminary was at that time, owing to the great want of intercourse, such as is now in use, by stages and steamboats, almost as difficult of access as many of the European colleges. They continued at Princeton, progressing regularly in their collegiate course, and were only prevented from receiving the honors of the college by the war of the Revolution, which waxed warm at Princeton, and in the Jerseys, and suspended the business of that institution.

From the end of the Revolutionary war to the time of his death, our venerated ancestor gave his attention mainly to the pursuits of private life. He was a Justice of the Peace from an early period, as long as he lived, and was a valuable member of the Court of his county. His favorite pursuits from early life, were raising stock, cropping, and the pursuit of some regular profitable business; and, by a steady application to them all, he acquired great wealth. At the opening of the land office under the present government, having the ability, he became largely interested in taking up

and acquiring lands, as well as all other property; he became entangled in many legal difficulties growing out of the state of the country and the speculations consequent upon a change of its policy. This new business, calling into action his superior judgment, showed him to possess an adaptation for it; for he uniformly prevailed. This latter business, and his often seeking distant markets for what he had to sell, added to his previous very extensive acquaintance, rendered him one of the most noted men in this country; and, what was calculated to keep up his notoriety, his was a house of unbounded hospitality. It was always open to administer to the comforts of all. And here I may be permitted to say, that no man ever had a helpmate, whose general good sense, good management, and superior domestic economy, exceeded that of Mrs. Delia Hawkins, the wife of Col. Philemon Hawkins, sen'r, deceased. They were both poor originally, and had to resort to all the drudgery of labor attending that condition in life. But, by their good conduct and superior good sense, the scene was soon changed, and as they travelled on through life, increasing in wealth, they also increased in respectability and refinement, till at length their house—*this house*—was the resort of the fashionable and the gay, the man of business and the literati of the country. All found here a plentiful, an elegant, and a sumptuous repast. Although Col. Philemon Hawkins was not himself a man of science, his sons Benjamin and Joseph were, and they lived here with their parents, and added a zest to all that was agreeable. The style and fashion of the place was noted and exemplary, and the resort to it from many parts of the world considerable. During the French Revolution in 1792, there were many men of note from France, who resorted here to enjoy the great pleasure of conversing in their own language, which Col. Benjamin Hawkins, from his classical knowledge of it, was enabled to afford them.

Col. Philemon Hawkins, sen'r, deceased, lived up to the maxim, that extended hospitality, properly conducted, did

not conflict hurtfully with the true rule of domestic economy; that the additional supply to be laid in for that object, only required an additional effort to procure it, which the company of friends always doubly paid him for. So that he set down these few additional efforts as better and more agreeably requited than those bestowed for the sake of money alone. And as the human character seems generally to be better satisfied, and more regaled by variety, it might be permitted to weigh this maxim and see if its analysis proves its correctness. He pursued the rule of being generally employed in some useful business, or to some useful purpose, and by way of innovating upon its monotony, he would put forth his additional efforts to the cause of hospitality, by way of change, and agreeable relaxation in the same pursuit. By this means, though the pursuit be the same, the object aimed at was different, and that constituted the pleasurable variety. For the variety sought for, is to the sense, and if the same pursuit produces it, which in every other respect is useful, it is more than safe to rely upon this maxim. If this, then, is a logical deduction, in a money making sense, and so it may be by keeping off worse pursuits, it surely should not be departed from. And to the pleasure and reciprocal advantage afforded by the practice of hospitality, is to be added the sum of advantage to those upon whom it is bestowed.

This house, once animated by the presence of our venerated ancestors, and once the seat of pleasure, of grandeur and of science, has undergone by the work of time a great change; and what is there upon which time will not leave its stamp? For many years it has been almost deserted, and for a long time in a state of dilapidation; and could the spirit of the dead look back upon that earthly tabernacle which was occupied in life, surely the spectacle to our ancestors must have presented a sad contrast. But the day of resurrection for this spacious old mansion is at hand. Our venerable host has decreed it to be so. Ere long the extensive repairs already begun, and which are far advanced, will be completed, when

it will present again its ancient appearance, somewhat modified, and somewhat improved. And one great incentive to this work arises from the holy feeling of reverential regard for its ancient owners; and that appearances should be revived here as a tribute to their memory. The example thus set of reverence to parents, if followed, will never fail to enkindle and to keep alive those finer feelings of the soul, which ennoble our character and our nature, and have been valued in all ages as virtuous testimony of grateful benevolence. History records it as great virtue in Epaminondas, that in the celebrated Battle of Leuctra, where he gained unfading laurels as a general, upon being felicitated for the renown he had won, he showed his greatest pleasure consisted in the pleasure his parents would enjoy at his victory.

This day one hundred and twelve years ago, Col. Philemon Hawkins, sen., deceased, was born, and he died on the 10th day of September, 1801, having lived nearly eighty-four years. He has now been dead upwards of twenty-eight years, and notwithstanding the long time which has rolled on since his death, his appearance is still fresh in the recollection of many of us; and his manly perseverance, his steady habits of useful industry, his systematic arrangement of his business and his time, his contempt for idleness and dissipation, will, it is earnestly hoped, never be forgotten by us. He was a great friend to schools. Not having had himself the benefits of a liberal, scientific education, but possessing in an eminent degree all that practical good sense which could estimate the worth of it, he was their liberal patron. He was a strong advocate for internal improvements. His comprehensive mind pioneered him through the ways which are now followed, though slowly, to advance the best interests of the country in the way of its improvement. He had himself struggled through the wilderness, had seen the face of the country gradually improve, and he regretted much that all his influence could achieve was to open new roads, from whence great benefit was derived.

When we take a review of his rise and progress in life, and contrast them with the idleness and dissipation of the present day, we are ready to exclaim, that degeneracy is surely among us. He lived within his income, and caused it continually to increase; by which he was not only increasing his ability to live, but to increase his fortune, and to add to his power to be useful. Accustomed to labor in early life, laudable industry was viewed by him as a great virtue, and as the road to honor and usefulness; and he who practiced it, was much exalted in his estimation. He always looked back to the days of his early life with pleasing reminiscences, and the most grateful feeling to the Giver of all good for having inspired him with the resolution, and given him the ability and the aptitude for labor and industrious enterprise, by which he had been able to throw off the shackles of poverty, and to acquire an ample fortune to raise and to sustain his family and himself in his old age. If a similar course was now pursued, much happier indeed would be the condition of this country. Let us then emulate his virtues, and inculcate his habits, and instill into the minds of our children the examples of his prosperous and useful life; and when each rolling year shall bring around the day of his birth, let us hail it as his natal day, and endeavor to imprint it deeper and deeper in their hearts.

George Washington in Guilford

By J. A. Hoskins

There has been a discussion going on regarding distinguished personages whose history is connected with Guilford county. It has been shown that the wife of our fourth President was born at New Garden (Guilford College); that our seventh President had been a resident of our county and a member of our bar. We now come to the greatest of them all, our first president, the immortal George Washington. His history is indisputably linked with that of Guilford. He was entertained at Guilford courthouse (Martinsville) June 2 and 3, 1791, by Governor Alexander Martin, on his southern tour, and visited the scenes of the great conflict between our own General Greene and General Lord Cornwallis. I am here presenting his Journal from June 2 to June 27. This is the first appearance of this part of Washington's diary of his southern tour. It has long been a moot point as to whether Governor Martin entertained President Washington, at Guilford courthouse, or at Danbury, his plantation on the Dan in Rockingham county. The tax returns show. Governor Martin had a home in Martinsville late as 1806. The diary sets the matter straight. Judge Douglas, in his address at Guilford Battleground celebration, and which is in booklet form, was in error in saying that this historical event took place "at Danbury." Mr. Frank Nash in his admirable paper on Governor Martin follows Judge Douglas in this matter. It is true that "Alexander Martin, Go" was enumerated in the first federal census, 1790, in Rockingham county. This is shown by the volume of Colonial and State Records, containing the first census. He had also a home in Martinsville, and there he did the honors. Judge Douglas was, no doubt, relying on the first census. His address is a splendid

effort and throws much light on the life and times of Governor Martin.

The copies I have of the Diary, Southern Tour, are photostat copies of the original note book in Washington's own handwriting, obtained from the Library of Congress.

From the record in Washington's own writing I quote: (note book).

"Thursday, June 2, 1791.

"In company with the Governor I set out by four o'clock for Guilford, breakfasted at one Dobsons, at the distance of eleven miles from Salem and dined at Guilford, sixteen miles farther, where there was a considerable gathering of people who had received notice of my intention to be there today, and came to satisfy their curiosity. On my way I examined the ground on which the action between General Greene and Lord Cornwallis commenced, and after dinner rode over that where their lines were formed and the score closed in the retreat of the American forces. The first line of which was advantageously drawn up and had the troops done their duty properly the British must have been sorely galded in ye advance, if not defeated. The lands between Salem and Guilford are in places very fine but upon the whole cannot be called more than middling, some very bad. On my approach to this place (Guilford) I was met by a party of light horse which I prevailed on the Governor to dismiss and to countermand his orders for others to attend me through the State.

"Friday, 3.

"Took my leave of the Governor, whose intention was to have attended me to the line, but for my request that he would not, and about four o'clock I proceeded on my journey, breakfasted at Troublesome Iron Works, called fifteen but at least is seventeen miles from Guilford, partly in the Rain and, from my information, or for want of it, was obliged to travel twelve miles further than I intended to-

day, to one Gatewood's within two miles of Dix' Ferry over the Dan, at least thirty miles from the Iron works. The land over which I passed this day were of various qualities and as I approached the Dan, were a good deal covered with pine. In conversing with the Governor, on the state of politics in North Carolina I learned with pleasure that opposition to the general government and the discontent of the people were subsiding fast and that he should so soon as he received the laws which he had written to the Secretary of State for, issue his proclamation requiring all officers and members of the Government to take the oaths prescribed by law. He seems to condemn the speculation in lands and the purchases from the State of Georgia, and thinks, as every sensible and disinterested man must, that schemes of that sort must involve the country in trouble, perhaps in blood.

"Saturday, 4.

"Left Mr. Gatewood's about half after six o'clock and between his house and the Ferry passed the line which divides the State of Virginia and North Carolina and dining at one Wilson's, sixteen miles from the Ferry, lodged at Halifax Old Town.

"The road from Dix' Ferry to Wilson's passes over very hilly (and for the most part) indifferent land being a good deal mixed with pine though it is said here that pine when mixed with oak and more especially with hickory is not indicative of a poor soil. From Wilson's to Halifax Old Town the soil is good and of a reddish cast. Having this day passed the line of North Carolina and, of course, finished my tour thro' the three southernmost states, a general discription of them may be comprised in the following few words. From the Seaboard to the falls of all the rivers, which water the lands, except the swamps on the rivers and the lesser streams which empty into them and the interval lands higher up the rivers is with but few exceptions neither more nor less than a continued pine barren, very thinly inhabited. The part next the Seaboard for many miles is a dead level and badly

watered. That above it is hilly and not much better than barrens, if possible less valuable on account of its hills and because they are more inconvenient to market, supposing them capable as the lands below, of producing beef, pork, tar, pitch and turpentine. The lands above the falls of the several rivers from information, and as far as my own observation has extended, is of a very superior kind, from their being of a greasy red with large oaks intermixed with hickory, chestnut, etc., excelling in producing corn, tobacco, wheat, hemp and other articles in great abundance and are generally thickly inhabited, comparatively speaking with those below.

"In the lower country (near the Seaboard) in the States of South Carolina and Georgia, rice as far up as the swamps extend is almost the sole article that is raised for market, some of the planters of which grow as much corn as with the sweet potatoes, support their people. The middle country, that is between the rice lands and the falls of the rivers, and a little above them, is cultivated chiefly in corn and indigo and the upper country in tobacco, corn, hemp, and in some degree the smaller grains. It is nearly the same in North Carolina with this difference, however, that as not much rice is planted there, especially in the northern part of the State, corn, some indigo, with naval stores and pork, are substituted in its place, but as indigo is on the decline, hemp, cotton, etc., are grown in its place. The inland navigation of the rivers of these three States may be improved according to the ideas I have formed of the matter to a very extensive degree to great and useful purposes and at a very moderate expense, compared with the vast utility of the measure inasmuch as the falls of most of them are trifling and their lengths are great, going to the markets penetrating the country in all directions by their lateral branches and in their present state (except at the falls which, as has been observed before, are trifling) navigable for vessels carrying several hogsheads of tobacco or other articles in proportion. The prices at which rice lands in the lower parts of the States

are held is very great. Those of which, if have been improved, from twenty pounds to thirty pounds sterling and, fifty pounds has been given for some, and from ten pounds to fifteen pounds is the price of it in its rude state. The pine barrens adjoining these sell from $1 to $2 per acre, according to circumstances.

"The interval lands on the rivers below the falls and above the rice swamps also command a good price but not equal to those above and the pine barrens less than those below. The lands of the upper country sell from four to six or seven dollars, according to the quality and circumstances thereof. In the upper parts of North Carolina wheat is pretty much grown and the farmers seem disposed to try hemp but the land carriage is a considerable drawback having between 200 and 300 miles to carry the produce either to Charlestown, Petersburg, or Wilmington, which are their three great marts, though of late Fayetteville receives a good deal of the bulky articles, and they are water borne from thence to Wilmington. Excepting the towns and some gentlemen's seats along the road from Charlestown to Savannah there is not within view of the whole road I traveled, from Petersburg to this place, a single house which has anything of an elegant appearance. They are altogether of wood, and chiefly of logs, some indeed have brick chimneys but generally the chimneys are of split sticks, filled with dirt between them. The accommodations on the whole road, except in the towns and near there, as I was informed, for I had no opportunity of judging, lodging having been provided for me in them (at my own expense) were found extremely indifferent, the houses being small and badly provided either for man or horse tho extra exertions when it was known I was coming, which was generally the case, were made to receive me. It is not easy to say which road, the one I went or the one I came, the entertainment is most indifferent, but with truth it may be added, of course, that both are bad, and is to be accounted for from the kind of travelers which use them,

which, with a few exceptions only, on the upper road, are no other than wagoners and families removing, who generally take their provisions along with them. The people, however, appear to have abundant means to live well. The grounds, where they are settled, yielding grain in abundance and the natural herbage a multitude of meat with little or no labor to provide food for the support of their stock, especially in Georgia where it is said the cattle live thru the winter without any support from the owners of them. The manners of the people, as far as my observation, and means of information extended, were orderly and civil and they appeared to be happy, contented and satisfied with the general Government, under which they were placed. Where the case was otherwise, it was not difficult to trace the cause to some demi-gogue or speculating character. In Georgia, the dissatisfied part of them, at the late treaty with the creek Indians were evidently land jobbers who strangled every principle of justice to the Indians and policy to their country, would, for their own immediate emolument strip the Indians of all their territory, if they could obtain the least countenance to the measure, but it is to be hoped the good sense of the state will set its face against such diabolical attempts and is also to be wished and by many it was said it might be expected that the sales by that state to what are called the Yazoo Companies would fall thru. The discontents which it was supposed the last Revenue Act (commonly known by the Excise Law) would create, subside as fast as the law is explained and little was said of the Banking act.

"Sunday, 5th.—Left the Old Town about four o'clock a.m., and breakfasted at one Pridies' (after crossing Bannister River one and a half miles) about eleven miles from it, came to Stanton River, about twelve, where meeting Col. Isaac Coles (formerly a member of Congress for this district) and who pressing me to it, I went to his house, about one mile off to dine and to halt a day for the refreshment of my-

self and horses, leaving my servants and them at one of the usually indifferent taverns at the Ferry that they might be no trouble or be inconvenient to a private family.

"Monday 6th.

"Finding my horses fared badly at the Ferry for want of grass and Col. Coles kindly pressing me they were accordingly brought there to take the run of it until night. Dined with the gentleman today also. The road from Halifax Old Courthouse or Town to Stanton River, passes for the most part over this land, a good deal mixed with pine.

"Tuesday, 7th.

"Left Col. Coles by daybreak and breakfasted at Charlotte C. H., 15 miles, where I was detained some time to get shoes put on such horses as had lost them, proceeded afterwards to Prince Edward C. H., 20 miles further. The lands from Stanton Ferry to Charlotte, C. H. are generally good and pretty thickly settled. They are cultivated chiefly in tobacco, wheat and corn with oats and flax. The houses, tho none elegant, are generally decent and bespeak good livers, being for the most part weatherboarded and shingled, with brick chimneys, but from Charlotte, C. H. to Prince Edward, C. H., the lands are of an inferior quality with few inhabitants in sight of the road. It is said they are thickly settled off it. The roads by keeping the ridges pass on the most indifferent ground.

"Wednesday, the 8th.

"Left Prince Edward, C. H., as soon as it was well light, and breakfasted at one Treadway's, 13 miles off, dined at Cumberland, C. H., 14 miles further, and lodged at Moore's Tavern, within 2 miles from Carter's Ferry, over James River. The road from Prince Edward, C. H., to Treadway's was very thickly settled, altho the land appeared thin and the growth is a great degree pine, and from Treadway's to Cumberland, C. H., they were equally thickly settled, on better land, less mixed, and in places not mixed with pine. The buildings appeared to be better.

"Thursday, 9th.

"Set off very early from Moore's, but the proper ferry being hauled up, we were a tedious while crossing in one of the boats used in the navigation of the river, being obliged to carry one carriage at a time, without horses and crossways the boat, on planks. Breakfasted at a Widow Pains', 17 miles on the north side of the river, and lodged at a Mr. Jordans, a private house, where we were kindly entertained and to which we were driven by necessity by having rode not less than 25 miles from our breakfasting stop thru very bad roads in a very sultry day without any rest and by missing the right road had got lost. From the river to the Widow Pains' and thence to Anderson's Bridge, over the North Anna Branch of the Pamunke the lands are not good nor thickly settled on the road, nor does the soil or growth promise much (except in places) from thence for several miles further, but afterwards thru the county of Louisa, which is entered after passing the bridge, the river over which it is made, dividing it from Goochland they are much better and continued so with little exception quite to Mr. Jordan's.

"Friday, 10th.

"Left Mr. Jordan's early and breakfasted at one Johnson's, 7 miles off. Reached Fredericksburg, after another (short) halt, about 3 o'clock, and dined and lodged at my sister Lewis'. The lands from Mr. Jordan's to Johnson's and from thence for several miles further are good but not rich afterwards. As you approach nearer the Rappahannock River they appear to be of a thinner quality and more inclined to Black Jacks.

"Saturday, 11th.

"After dinner with several gentlemen, whom my sister had invited to dine with me I crossed the Rappanhannock and proceeded to Stafford C. H., where I lodged.

"Sunday, 12th.

"About sunrise we were off, breakfasted at Dumfrees and arrived at Mt. Vernon to dinner. From Monday, the 13th,

until Monday, the 27th, (being the day I had appointed to meet the Commissioners under the Residence Act, at Georgetown) I remained at home, and spent my time in daily rides to my several farms and in receiving many visits.

"Monday, 27th.

"Left Mt. Vernon for Georgetown before six o'clock, and, according to appointment met the Commissioners at the place by nine, then calling together the proprietors of the lands, on which the Federal City was proposed to be built, who had agreed to cede them on certain conditions, at the last meeting, I had with them, at this place."

The Most Distinguished Member of the Guilford Bar

By J. A. Hoskins

I have read with a great deal of pleasure the admirable address of welcome by Hon. George S. Bradshaw on the occasion of the meeting of the State Bar Association and was surprised at his omission of the name of Andrew Jackson, seventh President, from the long list of members of the Guilford bar, and again surprised that doubt should exist as to the authenticity of his Guilford residence and as to his being a former member of our bar. The old minute book of Pleas and Quarter Sessions in clerk's office, Greensboro, says: "Andrew Jackson produced a license from the judges of Superior Court of law and equity to practice law and was admitted an attorney of this court November, 1787." What has probably caused confusion is the fact that there was another Andrew Jackson in the county. The old minute book shows in 1798 Andrew Jackson attorney for William Bridges, acknowledged deed from Daniel Dawson for 74 acres. This was a power of attorney and the record so states. He was not a lawyer as has been erroneously claimed by some. This has been the stumbling block. It is clear that there was but one lawyer Andrew Jackson admitted to practice. Court record states in another place John Hamilton proved a power of attorney from William Bridges to Andrew Jackson empowering him to make title to David Dawson, Jr. In 1800 Andrew Jackson served as juryman. In 1801 Andrew Jackson was appointed road overseer. Andrew Jackson was appointed constable. In 1806 letters of administration on the estate of Andrew Jackson, deceased, were granted John Starrett and Edward Grau. It is clear that the record here refers to another Andrew Jackson who held the various small positions and died in 1806. The hero of the battle of New

Orleans left Martinsville (Guilford courthouse) May, 1788, with Judge John McNairy to take up his duties as public prosecutor for the western district (Tennessee). Judge McNairy to assume the duties of Judge. They traveled on horseback. Parton says that "In the winter of 1784 and 1785 Andrew Jackson left his home in the Waxhaw settlement, S. C., and came to Salisbury, N. C., where for something over two years he studied law, at first in the office of Spruce McKay and afterwards in that of Colonel Stokes and that in November, 1787, he was licensed to practice law." (This latter date corresponds exactly with the record of minute book of Guilford court.)

Investigators, and there have been many, when finding the reference to "Andrew Jackson, attorney for William Bridges," in the year 1798 stopped there and asserted this was the attorney, Andrew Jackson, who was admitted to practice 1787.

He was born March 15, 1767, and was not quite 21 years of age. Parton states specifically that Jackson was for a short time in Martinsville. He was there evidently from November, 1787, to May, 1788, with his friend, Judge McNairy, and no doubt together they were preparing for their great work in Tennessee. This would make him a resident of Guilford county for six months and a member of Guilford bar. Sumner and Brown failed to make mention of his stay in Martinsville, otherwise agreeing with Parton as to the other facts, figures and dates. Parton is the great biographer of Jackson and he is corroborated by the court records of Guilford. This is the documentary proof. Now, for the traditionary. The writer of this distinctly remembers many years ago hearing the late W. S. Hill, Esquire, of Greensboro, often say that his father, Wilson Hill, knew Jackson when he resided in Martinsville, that he was a visitor in his father's home, that his father journeyed to Washington during the presidency of Jackson, that he called upon the President, and they talked over old times. Wilson Hill was

a prominent citizen of this county, lived in good style at a place that is now called Scalesville in the north part of the county. The Hill place was afterwards known as the "Anselm-Reid Place." Again, Jackson was often a visitor in the home of Charles Bruce, of Bruce's Cross Roads (Summerfield). Stockard mentions this tradition. It is quite likely, for Bruce and Jackson were kindred spirits. They were both of Scotch descent. Bruce maintained a race track and a stud of racers.. He kept deer and fox hounds. He was a distinguished man and had served in the Halifax congress, as state senator, and a member of the county court and as its chairman, and afterwards other offices of honor and trust. He was intensely devoted to the cause of the Revolution, as was Jackson. Jackson at this time was a horse racing, cock fighting, rollicking young dare devil. He wrought well in his day and generation for the Republic.

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DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
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Editor North Carolina Booklet,
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The
NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

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DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

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The North Carolina Booklet

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Shall This General Assembly of North Carolina Ratify the 19th Amendment?*

By Hon. H. G. Connor, Jr.

In approaching a consideration of this resolution, and in discussing it, I shall confine myself, as nearly as may be, to two questions or propositions, which, briefly stated, are as follows:

1. Has this General Assembly at this time the moral or political right to ratify this amendment?

2. Conceding the first proposition, is it expedient that we do so?

In approaching a consideration of the first proposition, certain fundamental principles which lie at the very foundation of that system of Government which we inherited from those who founded it should be borne in mind.

We are reminded in the Declaration of Rights of the first Constitution adopted in this State, that of 1776, that the opening words thereof are:

(1) "That all political power is vested in and derived from, the people only.

(2) "That the people of this State ought to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the Internal Government and Police thereof."

Again, in the Declaration of Rights of the Constitution of 1868, which is our present Constitution, we read: "That all political power is vested in, and derived from, the people;

*This speech was delivered before the North Carolina Senate in August, 1920, when, under the superb leadership of Senator Lindsay Warren, the Rejectionists defeated the ratification of the proposed Nineteenth Amendment.

all Government of Right originates from the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole."

Again, we are told in this Declaration of Rights of the Constitution of 1868, "That the people of this State have the inherent, sole and exclusive right of regulating the Internal Government and Police thereof."

By whom was this Government founded? We are given the answer to this question in the Constitution of the United States and in the Constitution of North Carolina of 1776, and also in the Constitution of North Carolina of 1868. The Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of North Carolina of 1868, both open with "We, the people." The Constitution of 1776 opens thus: "The Constitution or form of Government agreed to and resolved upon by the representatives of the freemen of the State of North Carolina, *elected and chosen for that particular purpose,* in Congress assembled at Halifax, the 18th of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six."

To avoid any confusion of thought or understanding, let it be admitted at the outset that the words, "We, the people," in both the Federal Constitution and the State Constitution of 1868, and the word "freemen" used in the Constitution of 1776, mean one and the same thing; that is, they mean that portion of the people of North Carolina and the other States, who, under the laws of these States, at the time of the adoption of these Constitutions, were electors by the laws of the various States in which they lived. That is to say, the words, "We, the people," and "the freemen" mean "electors."

We are reminded by Chief Justice Marshall, in McCulloch vs. Maryland, that it was the people of the United States, and not the States, who adopted the Federal Constitution. We are all familiar with the historical fact that the convention at Philadelphia submitted the question of ratification, not to the Legislatures of the various States, but to con-

ventions of the people of the various States called for that purpose. It has always been understood that constitutional conventions in the American system of government were the creation of the people, the electors of the various States in convention assembled, through their representatives. It is our nearest approach to pure democracy.

May I not then be permitted to say that it is a fundamental principle of American government, that the people, the electors and they only, founded this system, under which we live. As a corollary thereto, the people necessarily reserved unto themselves the right to alter or amend it, and never intended to delegate that power to any but representatives chosen by them for that particular purpose.

I, therefore, contend that my first proposition, that is, "Have we the moral or political right to ratify this amendment?" is the proposition involved, and not "Shall we or shall we not adopt Woman Suffrage?"

If all the political power is vested in, derived from, the people, and government of right originates from them, as the people of North Carolina have on the most solemn occasions of their political existence declared and reiterated, what right, political or moral, have we to take it from them, that is, to deprive them of a right which they have reserved unto themselves?

The people of North Carolina have been especially cautious in reserving unto themselves the right to amend, alter, change or otherwise deal with their fundamental law. The Constitution of 1776 contained no provision whatever for amendments or for any future constitution.

During the long agitation leading up to and culminating in the convention of 1835, there was never a suggestion, so far as I have been able to discover, that the Constitution could be changed, other than by a convention of the people. The Act under which the convention of '35 was called, provided that the question of "Convention" or "No convention" should first be voted upon by the people.

The convention of 1835 adopted a method of amending the Constitution, which is in effect the same method as is contained in the Constitution of 1868. A reading of the section, being section 2 of Article IV of the Amendments of '35, as well as a reading of Article 13 of the Constitution of '68, clearly demonstrates that the people reserved unto themselves the right to pass upon each and every amendment, and the right to pass upon the question of "Convention" or "No convention." No Legislature has ever sat in North Carolina which was authorized by the people of North Carolina to change by the crossing of a "t" or the dotting of an "i" their fundamental law. They have ever been jealous of this right. In the face of these conditions, we now hear it seriously contended that this Legislature shall arrogate to itself, without authority given unto it by the people, not to change the Constitution of North Carolina directly, but to change that which is over, above and superior to it, the Constitution of the United States, and not only change the Constitution of the United States, but change it in such a way that the State Constitution itself is changed without regard to the question whether the people of the State approve it or not. To put it more clearly, but not less truly, it is seriously proposed that eighty-seven members of this Legislature, all chosen since the submission of this amendment, shall take from the people of North Carolina, and I mean the electors, the power and privilege of passing upon the question of ratification or no ratification by electing representatives who would vote in accordance with their wishes. Twenty-six men in the Senate, sixty-one in the House, supposing a full attendance, eighty-seven in all, by voting for ratification, may change the Constitution of the United States and thereby the State Constitution, regardless of the will of the other two and a half million people in the State or that portion of the two and a half million who are the electors, without any opportunity for these people to express their will thereon. With a bare quorum in the Senate, fourteen men, and a bare quorum in

the House, thirty-two men, forty-five in all, by arrogating and taking unto themselves this power, can forever take away from the people, their constituents, the power to pass upon this question. It is proposed that a majority of the present Senate and House, in a vital respect, without instructions from the people, without adopting any method of ascertaining their will in the matter, shall surrender a "right of regulating the Internal Government" of the State, a right which the Constitution we have sworn to support declares is a matter over which the people of the State have "the inherent, sole and exclusive control."

Seldom has it ever been suggested in a free country, that men who for the moment occupy particular offices shall exercise such autocratic power, or rather exercise power so autocratically, and it cannot be called by any other name, with any regard to the truth. Of course it should be needless to say that what the amendment accomplishes has nothing to do with the principle involved, but for the moment, permit me to repeat that this particular amendment does, in fact, take away from the people of the State of North Carolina, and from every other State in the Union, power which they now have. In language it confers nothing upon any one except upon Congress, but takes away from each and every State power which it not only now has, but which each and every State has always had since the foundation of this Government, and power which the people of North Carolina have repeatedly declared to be a matter of their "inherent, sole and exclusive" right to have and keep unto themselves.

I consider it a fundamental proposition, lying at the foundation of representative government, that no Legislature of this or any other State has the moral or political right to ratify an amendment which has been submitted by Congress, subsequent to the election of that particular Legislature. Any Legislature that does so in North Carolina, in my humble judgment, will suffer at the hands of the people when next the people are called upon to exert the residuum of power left in them.

The people of North Carolina were slow to ratify the Federal Constitution; they were slow to attempt to repeal the resolution of ratification in 1861. They are rather slow in moving politically, but when they do move, they are rather determined in their manner of moving. They have not given to this special session authority to change the State Constitution. They never intended to give it the right to change the Federal Constitution. I admit your power, but I decline to accede to your proposition that you have the right to do this thing.

At the risk of being tedious, I repeat: The control of the franchise is one of those "inherent, sole and exclusive" Internal Regulations which the people of North Carolina have declared again and again they propose to keep to themselves. This resolution of ratification proposes to surrender this to the United States Congress. It forever deprives the people of North Carolina of the power to pass upon this question themselves or by their instructed representatives. Not one of us was elected by the people to do this thing. We have no authority or commission from our constituents to act in the matter. We have neither the moral nor political right to act at all. We should await a mandate from the rulers, rather than obey one from their servants, chosen for an entirely different purpose.

Passing to the second proposition, that is, "Is it expedient that we ratify this amendment?" one of the questions which presents itself is, "why this sudden hurry?" We are told we will have the opportunity, the high honor, of conferring the suffrage upon all the women of the United States. I would state it rather in this way: That we may have the honor of taking away from every State in the Union the right to determine whether women shall vote within that State.

We are told that if we ratify that it will cause many women in States where they now have the privilege of voting to vote the Democratic ticket in November. Our Republican friends are told that their action in voting to

ratify will cause many women in such States to vote the Republican ticket in November. We, the Democrats, are further told that if we refuse to ratify we will cause many women to vote the Republican ticket, and my Republican friends, on the contrary, are told that if they refuse to ratify, they will cause many women to vote the Democratic ticket. If we both vote to ratify, certainly all these results cannot be accomplished. Just how all these various, inconsistent, opposite and entangled results are to be accomplished is not explained and will not be, for they are incapable of explanation. The proposition that the women of Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming, the States in which they have full suffrage, will be influenced to vote in accordance with the action of the Democratic or Republican members of the Legislature of North Carolina, involves several fundamental errors.

One of these errors is that it is assumed that they will exercise their right of suffrage to reward or punish some party rather than exercise it for the purpose of assisting in solving the problems confronting the American people. I do not believe that the women of this country will be influenced by any such motive.

Assuming that women will exercise their right of suffrage where and when they have it to reward or punish, then it is further argued that suffrage is coming anyway, and that as a matter of expediency we should not stand in the way of its coming. Of course this is no valid argument, it is simply begging the question, but let us for a moment consider what lies at the bottom of this assumption.

There have always been those who attempt to calmly and coldly calculate the ultimate result and to act accordingly. This sort of thing has been by some called "getting on the winning side" and "getting on the band wagon." Men have played this game successfully and unsuccessfully, but seldom with honor. Admitting that this be the motive, men and

women of honor never judge such persons by their success in guessing, but they go deeper and very properly dismiss both, the successful and the unsuccessful, with the word "trimmer."

If this be the only reason which can be advanced, I trust that I will be honored by those who would advance it by having them pass me by. Comparisons are said to be odious, but without meaning to be odious, let us for a moment pause. Does any one suppose that Washington, Henry, Jefferson, Harnett, Hooper, the Adamses and hosts of others in 1776, stopped to calculate the chances of success of the three million colonists in the struggle with the greatest empire then in existence? If so, then no sane man could or would have calculated in 1776 that this handful of people, scattered along 1,500 miles of sea coast, with nearly one-third of them opposed to the movement, had the slightest chance of winning. Such, however, was not the make-up of those who brought this Nation into life and wrote her Constitution.

Does any one suppose that Lee, the Johnsons, the ancestors of some of my colleagues, when called to defend their States from invasion, stopped to ask whether they were doomed to ultimate defeat? Certainly they did not, but they obeyed the call of the Constitution of their States and their people. Such was the make-up of those men.

Has it come to pass that the blood which ran through their veins has become so weakened in this generation that their sons and grandsons would calmly listen to this proposition without a blush of shame?

These words are not applicable to any one who conscientiously thinks that he has the moral right to vote for the ratification of this amendment and that ratification will redound to the benefit of his State and country.

We are also told that as it is bound to come, that the delay which may be occasioned by our refusal to ratify may change the election of a President. Well, are we to amend the Constitution every four years to capture a presidency? If that

is the only way we can elect a President, we had best lose out. Did it ever occur to you that we might lose as many votes as we might gain? Neither is a reason for voting one way or the other upon this resolution, but there is as much danger in the one case as in the other. And, in passing, let me add: From my limited knowledge of the situation, speaking as a Democrat, we will stand an awfully good chance of losing very many votes if we ratify, and I think I know whereof I speak. We, as a party, will be held responsible, for we have the power and by its use shall we be judged.

Let's for a moment, however, consider what will be the effect of the passage of this resolution: Fifteen States have granted suffrage to women. We then have thirty-three States in which women do not vote. In these thirty-three, however, are included those in which they have Presidential suffrage.

If this resolution is passed by both Houses, then every woman in the United States will have the right to register and vote, if she can qualify under the election laws of her State. In those States in which they do not vote, there is not and cannot be any machinery or provision of law for the registration and voting of women. I do not see how it would be possible to avoid calling a special session of the General Assembly in the thirty-three States of the Union in which women do not have suffrage, in order that necessary laws providing machinery for the registration and voting of women in an election which is to be held within less than ninety days, be passed. If this is not done in each of the thirty-three States, then in the States in which it is not done there will of necessity, be chaos. Any man would be justified in refusing to act as a registrar or judge of election if this resolution is adopted and his State does not provide the machinery for the registration and voting of women. Suppose we were not in special session and this amendment were ratified by another State? How would it be possible for any registrar or judge of election in this State to determine what

woman was entitled to register and vote and what not? Which of the various qualifications shall be applied to woman and which not? If she and her husband live separate and apart, where is her residence? It may be easy to answer these questions on the floor of this Senate, but how about on election day? There every registrar and poll holder must answer at his peril. An incorrect answer may mean imprisonment.

Can it be expedient that we calmly and deliberately do an act which will of necessity cause thirty-three States to have special sessions, thereby putting the taxpayers of those States to the enormous expense incident thereto? Would this be a sisterly act on our part?

But it is said that the State Convention and the National Convention have called upon us Democrats to do this thing; that the present President, a Democrat, is urging it, and that the nominee of both great parties are also urging it. The National Democratic Convention held in the city of San Francisco was called to deal with national matters. The present President was elected to deal with national matters. One of the two gentlemen from Ohio who are running for the Presidency, will have to deal with national matters when elected. Neither the convention nor either of these three gentlemen had anything to do with the Internal Regulations of this State. The people have reserved that unto themselves. I venture the assertion that this General Assembly is better qualified to deal with this question than either of the national candidates or the present incumbent. To be perfectly frank with you, these gentlemen are walking in where they have not been invited; they are uninvited counselors.

However, suppose we consider the State platform for a moment: No one has been elected under that platform and no one knows whether that platform will be approved by the people or not, and no one is bound by it.

I do know, however, that we Democrats were elected upon a platform adopted in St. Louis in 1916, in which it is said:

"We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the states upon the same terms as to men." You Republicans were elected upon a platform adopted in Chicago, which says: "The Republican party reaffirms its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself."

I congratulate my Republican friends upon their arrival at sound Democratic principles, for the planks in these two platforms are as sound Democratic doctrine as ever fell from the lips or pen of Thomas Jefferson, of Andrew Jackson, of Zebulon B. Vance, of Thomas J. Jarvis, of Alfred M. Scales, or of Charles B. Aycock. Upon that principle we Democrats have fought many political battles. It has been preached in every township in North Carolina, in every county, in every State in the Union.

North Carolina has been committed to it from its nativity. It is the foundation stone of local self government, for how can California or Maine have local self government when North Carolina dictates to either who shall vote in local elections?

Upon this principle thirteen States have granted suffrage to women. To this action on their part I have no complaint. I only want to refrain from taking that power from the other thirty-three, for such would be the effect of this amendment, if adopted, even though its adoption be for expediency's sake.

Shall we now depart from that principle? Shall we, for expediency's sake, join with those who for a half century have endeavored to take this right away from us?

I know not where others may stand, but as for me, I propose to stand by the teachings of my fathers in Democracy; to stand with Vance, Jarvis, Scales, Aycock and that great host who, leading the people of North Carolina, in their days

of trial, preached, yes preached, this as the very keystone of the arch. I shall not today repudiate them. I shall stand with the people of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, whose sons mingled their blood with the sons of this State, whose sons, under Lee and Jackson, shed their blood with our ancestors under Pettigrew and Hill, and Pender and Ramseur and Scales, upon many a bloody field from Bethel to Appomatox. In doing so I have the assurance, certainly of my own mind and conscience, that I am acting in obedience to the Constitution of North Carolina, the best traditions of her people, and obeying the dictates of sound, moral and political expediency, and this, I take it, is the measure and standard set by the fathers to the representatives of the people.

A Sketch of Fort Dobbs*

In Iredell county, upon an eminence about two miles north of the town of Statesville, stands a granite boulder which marks the site of old Fort Dobbs, that place of refuge to the early settlers, in the days when Cherokees and Catawbas roamed unmolested through the forests of North Carolina. The only remaining traces of the old fort are the marks of an excavation which show its location, and near by a depression overgrown with tangled clumps of bushes, said to be the site of the old well. Truly, it was an excellent site for a fort. That fact is still apparent even today, when it is but a quiet spot in the midst of cultivated fields, for from its walls the slopes of the seven hills, which surrounded it in the distance, could be plainly seen, and the approach of the enemy detected long before attack was made, while we can imagine that on many a night its light shone out for miles around, a beacon to guide the settlers, fleeing to safety within its walls.

On the first day of November, 1754, Arthur Dobbs, of County Antrim, Ireland, was made Governor of North Carolina to succeed Gabriel Johnston, who died in 1752. Governor Dobbs arrived during the French and Indian war, and finding the colony provided with very little means of defense, he immediately set to work to remedy this. He was especially interested in the western portion of the province, having himself received large grants of land between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers in 1745; and so in December, 1754, he persuaded the Assembly to vote money for the purpose of equipping a company of fifty men to defend the western frontier and assist in building a fort.

The news that a fort was to be built for their protection must have been very welcome indeed to the settlers in those troublous times, for they had been very much annoyed by

*This paper, written by Miss Rosamond Clark of Statesville, won the gold medal awarded by the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, in a State-wide contest. It is printed by request.

the Indians. There is a record of a meeting between the settlers and the Catawba Indians, held at Salisbury August 29, 1754, at which numerous charges were brought against the Indians by the settlers. (Col. Rec., Vol. 5, p. 143.) These charges were answered by King Haglar of the Catawbas, who brought some counter charges against the white men and asked that no more strong drink be sold his warriors. This treaty was closed with protestations of friendship on both sides, and there was no further trouble until September 16th. On that date a massacre was committed by the Cherokees at the homes of John Gutrey and James Anshers, in which seventeen persons were killed and ten afterwards reported missing. A petition for aid having been sent to Matthew Rowan, president of the council, he sent supplies of powder and lead, and ordered Colonels Smith, of Rowan, and Clark, of Anson, to see to the welfare of the settlers and put the Catawba Indians on the trail of the murderers.

In June, 1755, Governor Dobbs made a journey to the western frontier for the purpose of selecting a site for the fort and inspecting his claim. Three companies of men, under the leadership of Captain Hugh Waddell, were sent ahead to scout the country to the westward. In July, 1755, there was a meeting between the two parties and the site of the fort was selected. When the Assembly met at New Berne, the 28th day of September, Governor Dobbs "recommended the erection of a fort between Third and Fourth creeks, near the South Yadkin, in the county of Rowan (now Iredell), a central spot between the northern and southern boundaries of the province." (Martin's History, Vol. I, pp. 82 and 83.)

The work of constructing the fort was begun in the autumn of 1755, and it was completed the following year. It was constructed of oak logs and was "a good and substantial building, 53 feet long by 40 feet wide, the opposite angles 24 feet by 22 feet. In height 24½ feet. It contains three floors, and there can be discharged from each floor at one and the same time about one hundred muskets." (Col. Rec., Vol.

5, p. 48.) The garrison of Fort Dobbs in the year 1756 consisted of 46 men, both officers and soldiers, and was in command of Capt. Hugh Waddell.

In February, 1756, Captain Waddell left the fort for a short time, having been sent out to negotiate treaties with the Cherokees and the Catawbas, and in May, 1756, there was another conference between the Catawba Indians and their white brethren at the home of Mr. Peter Arran in Salisbury. The Catawbas were led by King Haglar and Chief Justice Henley spoke for the settlers. A treaty was negotiated, and the Indians pledged undying friendship to the settlers.

Troops appear to have been kept in Fort Dobbs almost continuously from the time of its completion until about the year 1762. Williamson's History, Vol. I, p. 83, says that the garrison generally consisted of about fifty men. However, in 1757 Waddell and his company marched to the relief of Fort Loudon, a fort situated about thirty miles from the site of Knoxville, Tennessee; and again in 1758 Waddell, now Colonel Waddell, marched at the head of three companies to take part in the final expedition against Fort Duquesne. They were absent from the fort from the early summer until the winter of 1758, and during that time Fort Dobbs was left in charge of two men, Jacob Franks and an unknown assistant.

During the winter of 1758-59, the fort was of great service to the colonists, for the Cherokees were becoming more and more hostile. A great number of the settlers left their homes and came to dwell in the fort. The men went out in armed bands to work the fields and gather in supplies, while the women and children remained in the fort for protection. One of these armed bands was surprised and attacked by Indians at the home of Moses Potts, about four miles north of the present town of Statesville. Seven of the band were killed on the spot and tradition says that others fell on the way to the fort. One of these is said to have fallen and been buried by his comrades in front of the home of Mr. Alexander Hug-

gins, a short distance from the fort. This old house still stands.

The year 1759 found the raids of the Cherokees increasing, and Hugh Waddell was given power by the Assembly to call out the militia of Orange, Rowan and Anson counties in case of need. During the fall and winter of 1759-60, the fort was again used as a place of refuge, and on the night of February 27th, 1760, an attack was made by sixty or seventy Indians. This party was met by a party of about ten men, including the commanders, Andrew Bailie and Hugh Waddell, at a distance of about three hundred yards from the fort. In regard to this attack, Waddell says in his account: "I had given my party orders not to fire until I gave the word, which they punctually observed. We received the Indians' fire. When I perceived they had almost all fired, I ordered my party to fire, which we did, not further than twelve steps, each loaded with a bullet and seven buckshot. They had nothing to cover them, as they were advancing, either to tomahawk us or to make us prisoners. They found the fire very hot from so small a number, which a good deal confused them. I then ordered my party to retreat, as I found the instant our skirmish began another party had attacked the fort. Upon our re-enforcing the garrison the Indians were soon repulsed, with, I am sure, a considerable loss. From what I myself saw, as well as those I can confide in, they could not have less than ten or twelve killed and wounded, and I believe they have taken six of my horses to carry off their wounded. The next morning we found a great deal of blood and one dead, whom, I suppose, they could not find in the night. On my side I had two men wounded, one of whom I am afraid will die, as he is scalped; the other is in a fair way of recovery; and one boy killed near the fort, whom they durst not advance to scalp. I expected they would have paid me another visit last night as they attack all fortifications by night, but find they did not like their reception." (Col. Rec., Vol. 7, p. 229). Of the two men, who

are mentioned as having been wounded, one, Robert Campbell, afterward recovered; but R. Gillespie, Sr., who was scalped, died of his wounds."

There are no further records of attacks against the fort by Indians. During the summer of 1760 the tribe of Catawbas was almost annihilated by a terrible scourge of small-pox, and in 1761 Colonel Waddell led an attack against the Cherokees. They were defeated in a fierce battle near the present town of Franklin, peace was made and the settlers were once more able to dwell in their own homes in peace and safety.

Hugh Waddell, not being longer needed in Fort Dobbs, was allowed to retire from active service, and in 1762 he left the fort and settled upon a lot in Wilmington given him by his friend, Edward Mosely. Captain Andrew Bailie and the garrison of Fort Dobbs left soon after and Walter Lindsay was left to care for the provisions in the fort.

From this time forward we know little concerning Fort Dobbs. In February, 1764, the committee of public claims recommended to the Assembly that the supplies should be removed from the fort to avoid further public expense. There is a tradition that the fort was used for the storage of ammunition during the Revolutionary War, and also that in 1776 it was used as a refuge by settlers during a Cherokee uprising. The story runs that it was finally destroyed by fire, though probably not until the greater portion of it had been removed. The logs which were removed are said to have been used in the construction of the "Stevenson schoolhouse" on the Adderholdt plantation. Tradition also says that one of Governor Dobbs' cannon was thrown into a deep well near the fort, after it had ceased to be used as a stronghold, and in 1847 the old well was opened and excavated to a depth of 40 feet, but no cannon was discovered. It is probable that the cannon was thrown into another well, the traces of which have not been found.

How many settlers were sheltered in the old fort in those bygone days we cannot tell. It is certain that two children

were born in it, Rachel Davidson, in 1758, and Margaret Locke, in 1776. Imagination draws many a picture of the dangers and hardships in the life of the early citizen but the reality of it we may not know. Only a few brief records, with here and there a tradition, are left to remind us of the brave men and women who toiled and struggled for existence in the shadow of old Fort Dobbs.

It is the purpose of the North Carolina Daughters of the American Revolution to restore the Old Fort in the near future, so that we may hope to see erected upon this historic site a reproduction of Fort Dobbs, which will serve to perpetuate the memory of the Old Fort and the brave deeds of its people in the hearts of their descendants.

Old Waxhaw

By Lily Doyle Dunlap.

Old Waxhaw Presbyterian Church is of national interest because of the active participancy of its people in the cause of American liberty. It was settled by a sturdy folk who were fleeing from religious oppression and unjust tyranny to freedom of faith and speech—folk who had "moved on," and at every halt been sent further by the club of royal policemen until, taking their stand at Waxhaw, they swore to "run no more, but with God's help and their swords to fight for liberty."

Many of these families were chips from the landed gentry of Ireland and Scotland, and not of plebian ancestry. Years afterwards some of their descendants fell heir to earldoms which they refused to accept.

The date of the first building is not known as it was before the lot was deeded. We know this because the deed made the 9th of May, 1758, contains this phrase: "Beginning at a stake upon the south side of an house built for Divine Service," etc. The deed is made by "Robert Miller and Jean, his wife," to Robert Davis, Robert Ramsay, John Line, Samuel Dunlap and Henry White.

Other early elders of this church were Andrew Pickens, Sr., Patrick Calhoun, Robert Dunlap, Robert Crockett, James Walkup, Andrew Jackson, Sr., William Blair and others, including Alexanders, Hueys, Pinckneys, Crawfords, Jacksons, Montgomerys, Fosters, Carrutherses, Caldwells, etc.

Early ministers were Rev. Alexander Craighead, Rev. William Richardson, Rev. Hugh Waddell, Rev. Hugh McCain and others.

Andrew Pickens, Sr., was the father of Andrew Pickens, Jr., who was a brigadier-general in the Revolution and the

progenitor of a prominent South Carolina family—a governor, a diplomat to Russia, and Douscha Pickens Dugas, the "Joan of Arc of South Carolina."

Patrick Calhoun was the father of John C. Calhoun, Vice-President of the United States. He was twice married—first to Jane Craighead, daughter of Rev. Alexander Craighead, who lived only a short time, and secondly to Martha Caldwell, the mother of John C.

The Dunlaps were of a noble old Scotch family who were intimate friends and court advisers of William, Prince of Orange. Eleven of the Waxhaw family were in the Revolution, most of them officers.

The Crocketts were a French Huguenot family who fled to Ireland and on to America. David Crockett, of Alamo fame, was descended from the Waxhaw Crocketts.

James Walkup was a staunch Scotchman and a captain in the war. He owned the mill where was fought the Battle of Walkup's Mill. He was a man who had money, and being much away in the army and knowing the disposition of the Tories he took the precaution to hide his gold and valuables in a pot which he cached in the bottom of the middle of his mill pond. As he had feared, the Tories came to his home plundering for treasure. Chagrined at finding none they hung his son Robert, who was little more than a baby, by his thumbs, trying to force him to tell where the money was hid. The child was too young to put sentences together intelligently but pointed to a stake that his father had driven in the pond to mark the place of the pot. The Tories thought that it was impossible to hide treasure under water, so after relieving themselves of their disappointment by torturing the child, went away.

William Blair was a Scotch-Irishman who, at a tender age, came with his parents to Waxhaw from Antrim, Ireland, in 1754. He, with several cousins, served valiantly in the American army. He was in many battles and in one engagement was wounded. After the war he was offered pay for his

services but replied: "If the small competence I now possess fail me I am both able and willing to work for my living, and if it again becomes necessary I am willing to fight for my country without a penny of pay." The wife of his first cousin, also William Blair, was one of those great souled Irish women whose heart melted at sight of suffering. Once, when returning from the American camp near Salisbury, N. C., wither she had been to take clothing and a basket of cheer to her soldier husband, she came upon a smoking ruin about which shivered a woman and several children, who were clad in nothing but night clothes. The Tories had burned their home and all their possessions. Mrs. Blair immediately doffed her skirt which she gave to the woman and went on her horse-back homeward way in her red flannel petticoat.

Andrew Jackson, Sr., was father of Andrew Jackson, Jr., seventh President. The interesting history of this family is known. Andrew Jackson never forgave the British for Tarleton's slaughter at Waxhaw and at the Battle of New Orleans he exclaimed, "Now, by h——, we'll give them a taste of Waxhaw!" and we all know how he kept those words.

Rev. Alexander Craighead was probably the first preacher at Waxhaw. He moved from there to Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, where he became famous as the sower of the seeds that sprouted the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. Some historians even claim that he was also the propagator of the spirit that culminated in the Philadelphia declaration. He was forced to move from Pennsylvania and Virginia because of royal disfavor to his doctrines.

Rev. Hugh Waddell, famous for his brilliance and deep piety, was another minister, and he married a Waxhaw girl, Catherine, daughter of Patrick Calhoun. There is a pretty romance about this marriage that makes an interesting story. The fame of Mr. Waddell had preceded him to Waxhaw, and when it was known that he was coming to preach there the eldership was much exercised over his entertainment,

each coveting the honor. It was finally settled that the senior elder should have the privilege and Patrick Calhoun became the host expectant.

The boy preacher, for he was barely out of his teens, was on his horse-back way all unconscious of the furore his advent was causing among the good blue stockings of Waxhaw.

The journey required many days of travel and wherever night overtook him there he slept, housed or unhoused as the situation admitted. One of these nights was like that of Jacob of old, fraught with dreams, not, however, of heavenly angels, but of an earthly angel, who was to ascend with him the hill of life. The end of his journey saw the consummation of this dream to the least detail, to the exceeding embarrassment of the young divine, an embarrassment mixed with joy for he realized that he had found his Rebekah, and she that her Isaac had come, so by and by they married.

John C. Calhoun spent much of his time with this brother and sister, who had laid in him the foundation that was his incentive to greatness.

Rev. William Richardson was the most famous resident minister of Waxhaw. He, like all Presbyterian preachers, believed that education was the first great help in establishing a true and useful religion, and so began a Latin school where many boys of the Carolinas received instruction that fitted them for large service. Of these youths Andrew Pickens, Sr., organized a military company, which exercise later stood them in good stead.

Rev. Richardson was given to attacks of melancholia, caused by the sufferings of his people in Scotland and the condition of the colonies. In one of these he committed suicide. This being deemed an unpardonable act, and one that, if known, would work serious harm to those good practices that he had labored to teach, it seemed expedient to keep the manner of his demise secret. But the suspicious soon detected signs ulterior and tongues began to wag with the result that the beautiful widow was openly accused of having be-

witched her husband to his death. The relatives of Mrs. Richardson were resentful and declared that she should be exonerated by a trial for witchcraft, which was that the corpse of the dead be exhumed and the accused one required to touch it, when, if guilty, blood would immediately gush forth. Accordingly a day was set, the congregation assembled, the buried man pulled up and Mrs. Richardson put to the test, but not a drop of blood appeared. 'Tis said that one man crushed her hand into the forehead in his eagerness to see the blood flow. The persecutors had lost.

In the assembly was a courageous youth whose disgust attained to such an heighth at this loathsome indignity to so sweet and innocent a woman that he followed her home and offered to her the comfort of his love and the protection of his strong arm. She no doubt felt the need of both in her childless widowhood, and she soon became Mrs. George Dunlap. When the Revolution came on she displayed heroism. With Mrs. Andrew Jackson, Sr., she nursed the wounded Americans after Tarleton's slaughter, and at Charleston, and was with Mrs. Jackson when she died, nursing her through her illness and preparing her for burial.

William Richardson Davie was a nephew and namesake of the preacher. His mother gave him to her brother and wife at his birth and when five years old he was sent over to his foster parents in the care of his father's nephew. Some years later Mr. and Mrs. Davie came over but little William continued with Mr. and Mrs. Richardson who took much pains with his rearing, intending him for a minister. But God had disposed otherwise and he became a great general in the Revolution, the third Governor of North Carolina, and envoy to France during the reign of Napoleon.

It was the first and second Maryland regiments of artillery under General De Kalb that went to relieve Lincoln, who were cut to pieces by Tarleton.

On the 8th of September, 1780, General Davidson, encamped at Waxhaw, wrote the commanding general: "No

people have a better right to protection than those of this country. They have fought bravely and bled freely."

The old church was used as a hospital after Tarleton's slaughter, and many a Carolina and Maryland soldier found their last home in the old cemetery.

These heroes and heroines, with numerous others, rest in this old spot where tall pines whisper requiems and fragrant thorn roses and blue starred periwinkle hold closely the earth about these hallowed mounds.

May our dear boys of today, like Jackson, remember Waxhaw in the spirit, not of hate to any people, but that autocracy must fall and liberty prevail throughout the world.

Pronunciation of "Raleigh"

By Capt. S. A. Ashe.

The Christian Science Monitor in a recent issue says:

"The preparations for the Raleigh commemoration bring up once more the question of how Raleigh should be pronounced. It is very common to hear the name spoken as if it were the Greek Ralli, yet Sir Walter, though spelling his name Ralegh as often as not, quite often spelled it Rauleygh and Raulwy, showing quite plainly that however it was spelt, and there was something like seventy variations of the name, it was never anything but Rauley to the ear. However, the matter is an unimportant one, though most people will admit that the owner of a name should be the person to decide as to its pronunciation."

And a friend asks me to say something about it.

Sir Walter's family name is now written in England as he himself generally wrote it—Ralegh; but over here we fancied Raleigh. But no matter how written the pronunciation might well be the same.

The family was a very old family of Devonshire. It is said—"A Raleigh matched with Damorye's daughter, by Elizabeth de Clare, a grand-daughter of King Edward, the First."

In that part of England, as I understand it, the old Anglo-Saxon e had the sound of a; and a had a sound like aw or au. So Raleigh would have been pronounced Rawly, or Rauly.

Sir Walter generally wrote his name Ralegh, as also did his wife; but some few of his letters are signed Rauleigh and Rauley. Some signatures are Raleigh; and his wife sometimes wrote Raleigh. Others, in writing his name, whether in letters or in court proceedings, appear to have followed the pronunciation.

His pedigree in the Herald's office, from the "Visitation of Devonshire" made in his lifetime, when he wanted to establish kinship with the Queen through Edward, the First, runs—"Sir Hugh Rawleigh," and so on down through ten generations to "Sir Walter Rawleigh," himself.

When he first went to court, Queen Elizabeth knew of him —for his Aunt Kate Ashley had in some measure raised her, and she certainly knew his name; and she wrote it "Rawley"; and she showed him favor and pushed his fortunes "as our Servant Walter Rawley," "in respect of his kindred that have served us near about Our person."

And in the entries in the court records he was "Rawley." "Sir Thomas Parrott and Walter Rawley, gentleman, being called before their Lordships for a fray between them;"—and as "Rawley" he was sent to Fleete prison, till he gave bond to keep the peace.

And when as a gallant he needed trimmings, the warrant book tells us that the Queen gave "to our well-beloved servant, Sir Walter Rawley, Knight, Captain of the Guard, six yards of tawney medley with a fur of black budge."

All through his life, among the courtiers, when they did not write it Ralegh, he was either Rawley, or Raughley, or Rawleighe.

And at his trial, old Coke wrote the name Rawley—and also Raleighe; while in the body of the proceedings he was called indifferently Rawlie, Rawly, Rawley, and his wife was "Rawlye's wife." Others wrote the name Rawleigh, Raghley, and Rawleighe.

But however it was written, the pronunciation seems to have ever been Rawly; and that conforms to the Anglo-Saxon a in Devonshire as I have understood it. Spellings vary, but the pronunciation of old names is maintained through generations. A recent letter from Brookline, a suburb of Boston, narrates: "I was enquiring for the store

of Mr. Pierce. Nobody knew; till finally one woman laughed at me, and said, 'Oh, you mean Mr. Prers.' "

In this State, the people commonly call the capital of the State "Rolly." I recall some doggerel of 1858:

"And ————, too, the jolly
Has gone up to Rolly."

Some of North Carolina's Notable Women

Colonial Heroines:

Eleanor Dare; Catherine Sherrill.

Revolutionary Heroines:

Miss Margaret McBride; Miss Ann Fergus; Mrs. Rachel Caldwell; Mrs. Robin Wilson, the heroine of Steel Creek; Mrs. Martha McFarlane Bell; Mrs. Brevard; Mrs. Elizabeth Forbis; Mrs. Elizabeth McGraw; Mrs. Sarah Logan; Mrs. Rachel Denny; Mrs. Mary Morgan; Mrs. Ashe, who gave eight sons to the rebel army; little Martha Lenoir.

Literary Women:

Miss Martha (or Pattie as she was more generally known) Mangum, of "Walnut Hall" in Orange County, daughter of the Honorable Wiley P. Mangum; Mrs. Mary Bayard (Devereux) Clark; Mrs. Cornelia (Phillips) Spencer; Mrs. Mary (Ayr) Miller (Mrs. Willis Miller); Mrs. Margaret (Mordecai) Devereux (Mrs. John Devereux) of "Will's Forest"; Christian Reid.

Belles, Beauties and Social Leaders:

Mrs. Delia (Haywood) Badger (Mrs. George Edmund Badger); Mrs. Lucy (Williams) Polk (Mrs. William Polk and sister-in-law of President James Knox Polk); Mrs. Dolly (Payne) Madison (wife of President James Madison); Miss Sue Pelham (of Granville County); Miss McNair, who married a Hines; Mrs. Jane (Saunders) Johnston (daughter of the Honorable Romulus M. Saunders, Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain, and wife of General Bradley Johnston of Maryland); Mrs. Maria (Somerville) Hoge (wife of Associate Justice John Blair Hoge of the Supreme Court of the United States); Mrs. Cora (Manly) Singletary (Mrs. George Singletary); Mrs. Cora (Morehead) Avery, of whom a Senator in the State Senate in speaking of a certain North Carolinian, said: "when kneeling at the shrine of her di-

vinity"; Mrs. Virginia (Tunstall) Clay-Clopton (Mrs. Clement Claiborne Clay, later Mrs. David Clopton).

The following have been written up in the *North Carolina Booklet:*

Little Virginia Dare; Betsy Dowdy; Penelope Barker and the fifty-one ladies of the Edenton Tea Party; Rebecca Lanier; Grace Greenlee; Elizabeth Maxwell Steele; Martha MacFarlane Bell.

The following list has been furnished by that gifted writer and charming lady, Mrs. Lutie Andrews McCorkle:

Lady Granganimeo
Isabel Johnston
Esther Wake
Flora McDonald
Miss Balfour
Lucy Alston
Mother of Andrew Jackson
Miss Bettie Haywood
Margaret Gaston
Mrs. Willie Jones
Mrs. Allen Jones
Aunt Abbie House
Mrs. Z. B. Vance (Harriet Espy)
Mrs. Stonewall Jackson.

Kiffin Yates Rockwell *

By R. B. House
(The North Carolina Historical Commission.)

On September 23, 1916, by cable, telegraph and wireless, news flashed around the world that the aviator, Kiffin Yates Rockwell, after so many miraculous escapes, had at last fallen in combat for France. His comrades in Escadrille 124 mourned him as their best and bravest; France mourned him as a fighter not to be replaced; America mourned him as the second of her sons to fall in air combat, following so closely in the steps of Victor Chapman, her first. All the world paid tribute to him. For Kiffin Yates Rockwell was a leader in that group of young men who left the paths of peace in their own neutral countries to fight for France, and in her person, for civilization. Chapman, Rockwell, McConnell, Genet—these men were the pioneers of America in France, and in the air. They have all fallen on the field of honor, fell there before America entered the war. And now that over sixty thousand Americans, fallen under the Stars and Stripes, sleep in France beside these men, we realize some of the full measure of their achievement, and honor them for leading the way.

But in 1916 the majority of Americans were in that state of mind that echoed the slogan, "He kept us out of war," over the country in a triumphant presidential campaign. Why American boys should give their lives in the European war except as in a gamble for adventure was not clear to most Americans; why they should give them to France was a problem that rankled in the minds of many of our citizens at that time, even pro-German.

*Note.—The Booklet, in presenting this interesting sketch of one of the most renowned heroes of the World War, is departing from a long established custom since the history of the present has not heretofore been considered. The Colonial, Revolutionary and Confederate periods only have received attention. Publishing this is an exception and not intended to introduce a precedent. THE EDITOR.

And so it was that his mother, in Asheville, North Carolina, asked herself why it was that she, a Carolinian by birth and sympathy, should sacrifice her son in France, and her questions were augmented by similar ones from relatives and friends all over the country. Kiffin, though gloriously dead, might have been saved, it seemed. She had tried to save him from himself by persistent entreaties to the Department of State in Washington to get her boy out of the French army, and by similarly persistent demands to the French Government to release her son. But before Kiffin fell she had come to see what he was fighting for, and it was not long after he fell before she was a sister in suffering to thousands of other American mothers who likewise had come to see why it was that their sons had to die in France.

Kiffin Yates Rockwell was the first North Carolinian to give his life in the world war, the first American volunteer for service in France, the first American to bring down a German plane, the premier fighter of his time in the Escadrille LaFayette, and after Victor Chapman, his comrade, the first American airman to fall in battle. He belongs to North Carolina by parentage on his father's side, and by residence, to South Carolina by parentage on the side of his mother, and to Tennessee by the actual event of birth. So it is that the sister states who share in common the glories of achievement in the records of the Old Hickory and Wildcat Divisions, also share in the glory of their premier fighter.

The father of Kiffin Rockwell was James Chester Rockwell, of Whiteville, in Columbus County, North Carolina. By vocation he was a Baptist preacher, by avocation a poet of promise. The Rockwell family is of French extraction, being lineally descended from Ralph de Rocheville. The first of the name to settle in America was the Puritan deacon, William Rockwell, who came to live in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in the year 1630. When the family came into North Carolina is not clear, but they were established

in this State before the Civil War, for from North Carolina Henry Clay Rockwell, the aviator's grandfather, went as a captain in the Confederate Army.

Kiffin's mother was Loula Ayres, daughter of Major Enoch Shaw Ayres, of South Carolina, himself a Confederate veteran. She comes also of French Huguenot extraction. An early member of the Rockwell family was on the staff of General Washington.

From these parents Kiffin Yates Rockwell was born in Newport, Tennessee, September 20, 1892. His parents had moved to Newport sometime before this in search of health for his father. He was named Kiffin in honor of William Kiffin, an English home missionary in the fifteenth century, and Yates for Matthew Yates, a foreign missionary from North Carolina in the nineteenth century. At the age of 26 his father died, leaving his mother to care for Kiffin, his elder brother, Paul Ayres, and a younger sister.

His mother became a teacher, and founded the system of schools that obtains today in the little town of Newport. While Kiffin was still in the grammar grades she moved with her family to Asheville, to give them better opportunities in education and herself in business. She took up the successful practice of osteopathy. Kiffin entered the Orange Street school, where he became a favorite pupil of Mrs. Mary Walden Williamson. Dr. George T. Winston, in a memorial to Kiffin Rockwell, quotes Mrs. Williamson in the following description of Kiffin at the age of fifteen:

"A handsome, intelligent, chivalrous boy of fifteen, immaculate in person as in honor, impatient of the tedium of school routine, restive, though ever courteous under restraint; with serious deep-set, gray-blue eyes, aglow with enthusiasm over tales of daring adventure; breaking rarely into surprising light of merriment." Even this early Kiffin and Paul pondered over the history of their ancestral country, France, and reached the conclusion that if France were ever attacked they would fight for her.

Kiffin's mother had hoped for him to lead a life of scholarship. With this in view, she encouraged him to pursue studies at Virginia Military Institute, and later at Washington and Lee University. Although Kiffin spent some years at Virginia Military Institute and Washington and Lee, it was with no love for scholarship, and no intention of leading a scholarly existence. One real association of school days that inspired him to the day of his death was membership in the Sigma Phi Epsilon fraternity. Both he and his brother Paul were good fraternity men, loyal and ideal.

Without graduating he went from college into advertising journalism, organizing and conducting successfully a project for publishing advertising editions of newspapers. In this business he traveled over the United States and Canada, finally coming to rest in Atlanta, Georgia, as a member of the Massingale Advertising Agency. It was here that he was working when in August, 1914, Europe hurried into war. Kiffin and Paul Rockwell were on their way to France on August 3, 1914, by the first boat they could take. Landing in Liverpool, they made arrangements at the French embassy for entering the French army. From London they went by Havre to Paris, and there at the Invalides entered the French service on August 30, 1914. Training first at Rouen, then at Toulouse, and finally at Camp de Mailly, they made ready for a winter in the trenches with the Foreign Legion.

After many months in the trenches, he moved with his regiment to the 1915 battles in Artois. At the storming of Neuville-Saint-Vaast, May, 1915, he fell severely wounded in the thigh by a bullet. He recovered from his wounds, and by opportunity secured for him by influential friends, began the study of aviation, completing his education in the air in time to become, with Chapman, Prince, Thaw, Cowdin, McConnell and others, the organizer of the Escadrille LaFayette. His success was immediate. On May 18, 1916, at Hartmannsvillerskopp in Alsace, he brought

down the first German plane of the many to fall at the hands of the Escadrille LaFayette. In rapid succession he won the Medaille Militaire, the Croix de Guerre, and three palms for additional citations. He rose from pilot to brevet lieutenant in the space of four months. Over Verdun he was indefatigable, engaging in over thirty-four victorious flights, and winning the title, "Aristocrat of the Air." By September he had brought down three planes which officially were credited to him, and seven more of which there is no reasonable doubt as to his credit. Captain Thenault, his flight commander, said of him: "Where Rockwell was, the German could not pass, but was forced rapidly to take shelter on the ground." In one combat he was struck in the face by an explosive bullet. Refusing to retire for the day, he re-engaged the enemy and brought down another plane.

On September 23, 1916, Rockwell attacked the enemy near the same spot where he had won his first victory. Although he had come successfully through one hundred and forty-one previous battles, and single-handed had driven off ten German planes, this time fate willed that he should fall —killed by an explosive bullet from a German machine gun. He was buried at Luxiul with the honors of a general. "The best and bravest of us is no more," was the comment of his commander and his comrades.

Kiffin Rockwell's achievements in the air and previously in the trenches rank him as one of the greatest of the allied fighters. For his services he received the highest honor the French Government can give. But the most remarkable feature of his life is the perfect coordination of purpose and achievement in his spirit. He was indefatigable in battle because he was invincible in his conviction that he was defending civilization. In his school days, even, he had considered the possibility of France's being attacked and had resolved to fight for her. On August 3, 1914, he offered his services to the French Government. To his brother Paul he wrote, "If France should lose, I feel that I should

no longer want to live." But with all his love for France he retained his sense of responsibility as an American. "I am paying my part of America's debt for Lafayette and Rochambeau," was his expression that has been echoed and re-echoed by American fighters from private to General Pershing.

His attitude towards death was a triumphant assertion of immortality. In a letter to Mrs. John Jay Chapman about the death of Victor, he dwells repeatedly on the idea that death had no part in such a life as Victor's; that Victor is still alive and fighting because his spirit has passed into his comrades. On another occasion he gave expression to an attitude toward death that caught the imagination of the French, and became a part of their own thought. "From the day a man enters the army," he said, "he should consider himself as good as dead; then every day of life is just that much gained." Acting on this belief he hardly gave his attendants time to fill the gas tank of his plane and keep it in repair, so constantly was he fighting.

Not the least of his victories was his winning his mother's support. Mrs. Rockwell had rebelled against his going to France at all, and she had continued to move the American and French governments in efforts to get Kiffin back home, until finally Kiffin brought her to realize that he could not retire from the struggle to which he had committed himself, and that he would not if he could. For he wrote her in his last words that referred to death, "If I die I want you to know that I have died as every man ought to die—fighting for what is right. I do not feel that I am fighting for France alone, but for the cause of all humanity—the greatest of all causes." Catching up in these words the whole spirit of America as it arose at white heat for war, Kiffin not only won his mother to his cause, but his countrymen also. Of the thousands of Americans who followed him in death, he became an elder brother, a pioneer in the crusade for humanity.

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(1) To collect as fully as possible data bearing upon the activities of North Carolina and her people in the Great World War.

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OCT. 1920, JAN.-APRIL. 1921 Vol. XX, Nos. 2, 3, 4

The North Carolina Booklet

GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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Great Events in North Carolina History

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The
NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes. EDITOR.

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GEN. WILLIAM RUFFIN COX

Address of Hon. Frank S. Spruill, of Rocky Mount, in presenting to the State the portrait of the distinguished Confederate officer.

I am commissioned by Mrs. William Ruffin Cox to present to the State this portrait of its distinguished son, and to speak briefly of his illustrious career and great achievements.

I approach the performance of this pleasing task with cheerful alacrity, for chronicler has rarely had a richer theme.

The records of history are more and more becoming pictorial. Posterity, reading of the high deeds of some dead and gone soldier or statesman, naturally desires to know what manner of man he was. In the absence of portrait or likeness, imagination often supplies the details, and, if his career has been one of great deeds and knightly prowess, we think of him as one

> "—— like old Goliath tall,
> His spear an hundred weight."

It is meet that we should hang upon the walls of the State's Hall of History portraits of the men who have made our history glorious. They remind us of the illimitable vastness of opportunity to him who is willing to serve; they preserve in pictorial form the history and traditions of a great though modest commonwealth; they inspire us with a laudable desire to live our lives that posterity may say of us that we also "have done the State some service."

And so we come today to speak of one who writ his name large in the annals of the State's history; of one who in every walk of life into which he directed his steps, made the observer take note that a *man* had passed.

In our childhood days we used to stand against the wall

to be measured of our stature, and in many an old homestead in the State upon the crumbling walls are marked the records of the children's annual growth. It was before the days of automatic devices that, for a penny in the slot, will weigh and measure you, and prophesy your future fortune.

It is my purpose briefly to stand General William Ruffin Cox against the wall of history, and measure, as best I may, his stature as a soldier, as a statesman, and as a civilian.

It is not necessary or desirable to make this address a mere biographical sketch of our distinguished subject; a skillfuller and abler hand than mine has done this. Captain S. A. Ashe has penned the inspiring story and preserved it in permanent form, in volume one of the "Biographical History of North Carolina."

I have drawn largely upon this incomparable sketch for my facts in the preparation of this paper, and here and now wish to make to him due acknowledgement.

Born of highly honorable parentage, on March 11, 1832, General Cox was a descendant of the Cavalier rather than the Puritan. He was orphaned by his father's death when only four years old, and upon his cultured and gifted mother fell the burden of his early training. There was something in the serene and stately bearing of the man—in his perfect poise—in the careful modulation of his rich masculine voice—and in his grave and dignified courtesy, that, to the end, reflected the early impression of that magical mother love and training.

He came to the bar in Tennessee in 1852, and resided at Nashville until 1857, as the junior partner of John G. Ferguson, a lawyer of distinction and a kinsman of Hon. G. S. Ferguson, some time judge of our Superior Court.

In 1857 he married Miss Penelope B. Battle, sister of the wife of the late Dr. Kemp P. Battle, of Chapel Hill, and came to North Carolina to live.

The mutterings of the coming storm were already audible. The political atmosphere was becoming more and more tense

and surcharged with feeling and, as the crisis approached, the question of State's rights was being discussed, not always calmly, alike by the learned and the unlearned. General Cox, who had, in 1859, removed to Raleigh, was an ardent believer in the doctrine of State's rights as expounded by Mr. Jefferson Davis, and, believing that war was inevitable, in company with several others, he equiped a battery. So began his highly honorable military career.

Almost immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities, he was appointed by Governor Ellis, major of the Second North Carolina troops and entered upon actual service.

Time and space will permit us to do no more than touch upon the "high lights" of one of the most unique military careers in the great War between the States. General Cox and the Second North Carolina Troops were to win imperishable renown before the curtain fell upon the lurid drama. At Mechanicsville, on June 26, 1862, and lasting through seven days of shot and shell, he and his regiment received their first baptism of fire, and helped to hurl back McClellan's incomparable army and "to drive it, defeated, disorganized, and cowering, under the protection of the Federal gunboats at Harrison's Landing." After that he was a veteran, cool and intrepid.

At Malvern Hill, he was severly wounded and could not rejoin his regiment until after the battle of South Mountain. Followed in rapid sequence, Sharpsburg, bloody and desperate; victory at Fredericksburg; and then Chancellorsville, with its unutterable tragedy. Here we pause to quote from Captain Ashe's spirited account:

"At Chancellorsville, on Friday evening, Colonel Cox moved up and drove in Hooker's outposts, the regiment lying that night so near to the enemy that all orders were given in whispers; and the next morning Cox's regiment was one of the sixteen North Carolina regiments that Jackson led in his memorable march across Hooker's front, reaching the

rear of Siegel's troops about sunset. The men were in line, stooping like athletes, when Ramseur, their brigade commander, ordered 'forward at once' and Cox, leading his regiment, drove the enemy from their works; but his troops were subjected to a terrific enfilading artillary fire at only two hundred yards distance, and in fifteen minutes he lost 300 of the 400 men he had carried in with him. The gallant colonel himself received five wounds, but continued on the field until exhausted. Of him the lamented Ramseur said in his report: The manly and chivalrous Cox of the Second North Carolina, the accomplished gentleman, splendid soldier and warm friend, who, though wounded five times, remained with his regiment until exhausted. In common with the entire command, I regret his temporary absence from the field, where he loves to be.' The brigade received, through General Lee, a message of praise from the dying lips of General Jackson."

Spottsylvania, with its record of glorious achievement, followed and the part played by the brigade, of which General Cox's regiment was a part, evoked from General Lee words of personal thanks for their gallant conduct, and brought to General Cox his commission as Brigadier General. "After that time," to quote again from Captain Ashe's inspiring account, "General Cox led the brigade that, under Anderson and Ramseur, had been so distinguished in all the fields of blood and carnage, in which the Army of Northern Virginia had won such glory."

It was to fall to the lot of General Cox's brigade, under his leadership, to further immortalize itself. He led the brigade to Silver Springs within a few miles and in sight of the White House at Washington. This was the nearest point to the seat of the Federal Government which the Confederate troops at any time approached. Thence he was recalled to General Lee's aid at Petersburg to share therewith his brigade all the hardships and cruel privations of

that memorable siege. I quote again from Captain Ashe's vivid account:

"Once more it was General Cox's fortune to draw from General Lee an expression of high commendation. It was during the retreat from Petersburg, at Salior's Creek, just after Lee's retiring army had been overwhelmed, and the utmost confusion prevailed, the soldiers straggling along hopelessly, many leaving deliberately for their homes, and the demoralization increasing every moment, while the enemy, in overwhelming numbers, pressed on so closely that a stand had to be made to save the trains, upon which all depended. Lee sent his staff to rally the stragglers, but they met with indifferent success. All seemed mixed in hopeless, inextricable confusion, and the greatest disorder prevailed, when presently an orderly column approached—a small but entire brigade—its commander at its head, and colors flying, and it filed promptly and with precision into its appointed position. A smile of momentary joy passed over the distressed features of General Lee, as he called out to an aide, "What troops are those?" "Cox's North Carolina Brigade," was the reply. Taking off his hat and bowing his head, with courtesy and kindly feeling, General Lee exclaimed, "God bless gallant old North Carolina!" This occasion has been graphically described in a public address made by Governor Vance after the war.

Stand General Cox, therefore, against the wall of history and measure his stature as a soldier. Assaying him by his accomplishments and what he attained, we know it may be said of him that no more gallant soldier than this distinguished North Carolinian went forth from the State to fight its battles. In his body he bore the marks of eleven wounds received during those four years.

Was his career as a statesman any less distinguished? Let us examine the record in this respect.

With the war ended and the return of the disbanded sol-

diers to civil life after four years of military duty, the demand for high and disinterested service was tragically great. War is the very culmination of lawlessness; it is the resort of men to primitive and lawless methods of arbitrament, and law ends where war begins. The lawlessness, which is the culmination of and is typified in war, affects to the very core, the citizenship that is engaged. In proof of this, you have but to observe the wave of crime and rapine that has swept over this country in the two years and a half since the armistice was signed. We have stood amazed and horrified at the recital of crimes perpetrated even in our very midst, and no hamlet is so quiet or so well ordered that it has not its chapter of bloodshed and outrage. Human life becomes so cheap, and property rights of so small account, when a million men are fighting breast to breast at each other's throats, that the lust to kill cannot be soothed into quiet by the mere signing of an armistice or treaty.

So, when General Cox, who at the time of the surrender had become an unique and dominant figure in the Army of Northern Virginia, surrendered his sword and laid aside the habiliments of war, he came home to take up a task vaster in its significance and ultimate fruitage than were his duties as a soldier. He was to throw his great prestige and strong personality into the labor of rebuilding a chaotic and bankrupt State. He was to co-operate with and aid other leaders in directing the energies and passions, engendered by war, into channels that would not only render them innocuous, but positively helpful. Here was a mighty dynamic force that was full of dangerous menace; but, if it could be controlled and directed, it would become potential for the accomplishment of great good to the State.

Mr. President, as proud as we are and should ever be of the glorious record of the North Carolina Troops in the Confederate service, I declare to you that, in my judgment, the brightest page in our great State's great history is that writ-

ten by leaders and led in those years following hard upon the war. Even with half a century between us and those fateful years when our very civilization was gasping for its life, and our social and political institutions were debauched and chaotic, we are too close to the tragic events to understand their significance, or to rightly appreciate the mighty part played by those great souled men. More years yet are needed to give us the proper perspective of the great and sublime devotion of those men who took upon themselves the high and holy duty of rebuilding the wearied, discouraged and broken State.

Among those men there immediately moved out to the front the martial figure of the man of whom we speak.

Coming back to Raleigh, he began the practise of law. A solicitor of the metropolis district was to be elected, and General Cox had the courage, although the district was overwhelmingly Republican, to announce himself as a candidate for the Democratic nomination. It was the first formal notice given by the returning remnant of Lee's army that it would not suffer things in North Carolina to go by default. It rang out the brave challenge that "The old guard can die, but it cannot surrender." The Republican organization in the district approached him with the proposition that if he would run as an independent, the organization would endorse him. He refused its blandishments and ran on the ticket as a Democrat, and, when the election returns were in, to the joy and surprise of his friends, he was found to have been elected by a narrow margin.

This office, so full of possibilities for good when administered by a high-minded, clean man, and so potent for evil if maladministered, he filled with a high credit to himself and with entire satisfaction to the district, for six years. His capabilities being thus successfully subjected to the acid test, his further promotion came rapidly, but brought with it increased responsibility and gruelling labor; for

"The heights by great men reached and kept,
Were not attained by sudden flight;
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night."

He had become Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee and, when his term as Solicitor ended, he refused a renomination in order to devote all his powers and energy to overthrowing the Republican machine in the State. In 1874, while he was Chairman, the State was redeemed by a Democratic majority of about 13,000. In 1875, when the popular vote was being had upon the State Constitutional Convention, there went out from his office, as Chairman of the State Executive Committee, that trenchant and historic telegram to the Democratic Headquarters in Robeson: "As you love your State, hold Robeson." Doubtless as a result of this patriotic appeal, Robeson was held and the State was saved. I count it one of my high privileges to have heard General Cox, who was as modest about his own exploits as a woman, personally relate the stirring narrative.

In 1876, still retaining the chairmanship of the State Executive Committee, he conducted the great Vance-Settle campaign, resulting in the election of Governor Vance, after the most dramatic contest ever waged in the State.

In 1877, he was appointed Judge of the Superior Court for the Sixth District, and discharged most acceptably and ably the duties of this high office until he resigned to seek and to canvass for the nomination for Congress. Having won the nomination, he was triumphantly elected, serving in the United States Congress for six years.

In 1892, General Cox was elected Secretary of the Senate of the United States, a position of great honor and trust. To the discharge of the duties of this office, he brought all his great natural ability and fine culture. After the expiration of his term of office as Secretary of the Senate, he held no other political office.

If the measure of a man's powers be the success he attains in all his undertakings, surely measuring General Cox's civil life upon the wall of history, he was a statesman. In his offiice as solicitor, he had been clean, strong, capable and absolutely unafraid. He came to the office in troublous times, and he met its duties in the calm, commanding way that banishes difficulties almost without a conflict. His administration of the usually thankless office of chairman of the State Executive Committee was so brilliant and so successful that it has passed into the party's most glorious history. He came to the bench while the code system was yet in its experimental stage in the State and his urbanity, his dignity, his great common sense, his broad reading and his innate courtesy made him an ideal *nisi prius* judge. He went into the Congress of the United States and became the friend and adviser of the President, and trusted councilor of the great party leaders. He passed into the office of the Secretary of the Senate, and was on terms of intimacy with those great souls "who held manhood cheap that was not bottomed fast on rock-ribbed honesty." He left that office, where yet the older generation speak of him as the "Chivalric Cox," and came to his home and farm on Tar River, in Edgecombe County, to live the simple quiet life of the Southern planter.

Great warrior, distinguished and successful statesman, what will he do amid the homely surroundings of the North Carolina cotton plantation with the proverbial "nigger and his mule"?

To the direction of his great farm he brought the order and system of the soldier and the vision and courage of the statesman. He introduced blooded stock and modern machinery. He raised the finest sheep and the best pigs in the county. His yield per acre was a little better than any of his neighbors. If rain or drought, flood or storm came, he was always calm and imperturbable, and no man ever heard

him utter a word of complaint. In his well selected and large library he read not only history and biography, but chemistry and books on food plant and volumes on agricultural science. Your speaker has more than once been down to the country home at Penelo and found the general with his books on the floors and tables all around him, running down the subject of scientific fertilization.

He was a successful farmer. He entered no field of activity in which he did not succeed, and it was difficult at the end of his distinguished life to say in which field were his most successful achievements.

Three years after the death of his first wife, who died in 1880, General Cox married Miss Fannie Augusta Lyman, daughter of the Rt. Rev. Theodore B. Lyman, Bishop of North Carolina. After two years of wedded life she died, leaving her surviving two sons: Col. Albert L. Cox, distinguished soldier, judge and lawyer of this city, and Captain Frances Cox, now a candidate for Holy Orders.

In June, 1905, General Cox was married to the charming and gracious Mrs. Herbert A. Claiborne, daughter of Col. Henry C. Cabell, of Richmond, Va., who graces this occasion with her presence today.

I have tried more than once to summarize, or catalogue, those particular or accentuated virtues or characteristics which marked General Cox as truly great. He was a man of singularly handsome person, tall, erect and soldierly in bearing, with high-bred classical features. His manner was one of utmost composure and quiet certitude. His imperturbability could not be shaken, and he looked the part of a man, to whom, in great crises, other men would naturally turn for leadership. His dominant characteristics I would catalogue as follows:

He was physically and morally as brave a man as I ever knew, and this mental condition was that which made him so singularly effective when emergency arose. His courage was so unconscious and so ingrained that I have frequently

thought it was the cause, at least in larger part, of his serene composure and quiet bearing.

He was inherently a just man. Although by training and habit of mind he was a rigid disciplinarian, yet there was nothing about him of the martinet, and in determining, as he was frequently called upon to do, the small controversies that were inevitable in the conduct of a large farm, whether between landlord and tenant, or cropper and cropper, he was as impersonal as he had been when presiding as a judge.

He was rigidly honest, and by that term I do not mean simply that he discharged his legal obligations; he did more than that—he dared to follow truth to its ultimate end, and the popularity or unpopularity of the conclusions he reached did not in the slightest way affect him.

He was a clean man. He thought and lived cleanly. His mind was occupied with clean thoughts, and he nourished it upon good books and wholesome literature. He never told an anecdote of questionable character, or uttered an obscene or profane word.

He was an intensely patriotic man, and with a devotion as ardent as a lover for his mistress, he loved North Carolina—her heritage and her history—her traditions and her customs—her people and her institutions. In the evening of his long and eventful life, as he sat in the shadow of the majestic oaks that embowered his home, he thought much upon the problems that were arising and presenting themselves for solution, and he believed with all the strength of his soul in the ability of the State to wisely solve them and to attain her future great destiny.

He was one of the most evenly courteous men in his manner and bearing that I ever saw. A patrician by birth and association, he was yet as gravely courteous and as formally polite to the humblest mule driver on his farm as he was to the greatest of the historic figures amid whom he had lived his eventful life. Calm, strong, urbane and dignified, he

went through life, and the world knew him as one born to command.

In a career crowned with high achievements, both in military and civil life, there was nothing adventitious or accidental. There was in him a definite nobility of soul and mind and person which marked him as one of nature's noblemen. His fearlessness and heroic courage; his perfect sense of justice; his unblemished integrity; his intense and flaming patriotism; his fund of practical common sense; his perfect poise and unruffled composure; his manly bearing and unfailing courtesy, added to his singularly handsome face and person and to his splendid physique—combined to make him one of "The Choice and Master Spirits of this Age."

Mr. President, in behalf of his bereaved and gracious widow, I have the honor to formally present to the North Carolina Hall of History this excellent portrait of the man, in honoring whom we honor ourselves. For her I request that it may be hung on the walls of this building, to the end that future generations, looking upon his strong, composed and handsome features, may seek to emulate his high example of service and devotion.

GEN. JAMES JOHNSTON PETTIGREW, C. S. A.

Address by Chief Justice Walter Clark, of North Carolina, at the Unveiling of the Memorial Marble Pillar and Tablet to General Pettigrew near Bunker Hill, W. Va., September 17, 1920.

Near this spot died James Johnston Pettigrew, a native of North Carolina and brigadier general in the armies of the Confederate States, who commanded Heth's Division in the memorable assault on Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. Wounded fatally on the retreat at Falling Waters, Md., on July 14, 1863, he died here on the morning of July 17. His remains were removed to Raleigh, N. C., where they lay in the rotunda of the capitol, surrounded with due honor, and were interred in the cemetery at the capital of his native State. After the war they were removed to the spot where he first saw the light in eastern Carolina, where the earliest rays of the rising sun gild the summit of the shaft that marks his grave.

One who was more than man said: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." (John xv. 13.)

It is for this reason that men visit with awe and veneration the great fields where men has died for men and with bared heads stand at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, at Yorktown, and on the great fields of the War between the States.

Dr. Johnson said: "That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon or whose piety would not grow warmer amid the ruins of Iona."

Whether the existence of those who have passed beyond the veil is but a fond dream of hope, as some say, or whether they live again, as we believe, "far advanced in state in the

NOTE.—Chief Justice Clark was attached as Cadet drill-master to the 22d North Carolina regiment when commanded by Pettigrew.

lives of just men made perfect," it is certain that what they have been here, what they have done here, what they have said abides with us and is a living influence moving upon our lives to-day. In a recent speech by D'Annunzio at Rome he moved his audience by asking: "Do you not hear the tramp of the army of the dead on the march? All along their route they find the footprints of the marching legions of Cæsar and hear the distant tread of those who went before."

It is said that in the most desperate hour of Verdun a wounded Frenchman called out madly: "Arise, ye dead." His appeal galvanized into supreme resistance the wounded and shattered columns of France. The message spread throughout the French army, and the German advance was stayed at the very moment when it seemed about to become victorious.

The same thought was with the prophet Ezekiel (xxxvii. 9) when he said: "Come from the four winds, O Breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live, * * * and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army." There was no actual physical resurrection, but the prophet was calling upon the influence of their deeds upon the living.

The example of those who have sacrificed life for their country and liberty is an appeal which never dies and rings down the ages whenever a column has faltered or a loved leader has fallen. The memory of such sacrifices moves the hearts of men.

> "'Mid Jersey snows, the march it led,
> The moor at Marston felt its tread."

No Confederate soldier ever failed to be impressed with the cordial hospitality and loyalty of Virginia. Time has not obliterated this recollection nor dulled these qualities in the people of this great State to this day.

We are here to-day to bear tribute to the memory of a

brave officer, a leader among the gallant men of the South in one of the greatest struggles of all time. It is fit and proper that we should make some brief note upon the career of the gallant, talented, and distinguished young officer to whom we place this tablet in perpetual memorial.

James Johnston Pettigrew was born at Bonarva, on his family estate at Lake Scuppernong, in Tyrrell County, in Eastern North Carolina, on July 4, 1828. His family was of French origin, but in the fifteenth century removed to Scotland, where they held an estate near Glasglow in 1492, the year Columbus discovered America. A branch of the family later removed to North Ireland, whence the great-grandfather of General Pettigrew in 1732, the year of Washington's nativity, came to Pennsylvania and twenty years later to North Carolina. His son, the grandfather of General Pettigrew, was the first bishop elect of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina. Bishop Pettigrew's son, the General's father, was elected to Congress in 1835, receiving the rare compliment of every vote in his county except three out of seven hundred cast.

General Pettigrew had the misfortune to lose his mother when he was two years of age. Educated at Hillsboro under the well-known instructor, Mr. Bingham, he entered the University of North Carolina in 1843 and graduated at the head of his class in June, 1847, achieving the reputation of being the most talented youth who ever graduated at that historic institution. His class, of which he was easily the leader, was one of the most distinguished that the University has ever graduated, and it was a singular coincidence that side by side at recitation there sat in alphabetical order four men who later attained the highest honors: Brig. Gen. James Johnston Pettigrew; John Pool, who became United States Senator; Matthew W. Ransom, brigadier general in the Confederate army and later for twenty-three years a Senator of the United States; and Alfred M. Scales, also a brigadier

general in the army of the Confederacy, a member of the United States Congress, and for four years Governor of his native State. Of such men the University can say, like the mother of the Gracchi: "These are my jewels."

At the commencement at which he graduated there was in attendance President Polk, who was himself a graduate of that institution; United States Secretary of State John Y. Mason; and Lieut. Matthew Fontaine Maury, of the National Observatory, who, impressed by the homage univerally paid to the talents of the young student, offered him a position in the observatory, which he accepted.

Later he obtained license for the practice of law and located in Charleston, S. C. On the advice of friends he soon after proceeded to Berlin and other universities in Germany to perfect himself in the study of the Roman civil law. He remained three years in Europe where he traveled extensively and acquired the faculty of being able to speak at ease German, French, Italian, and Spanish. For a while he then became secretary of legation to Hon. D. M. Barringer, of North Carolina, who was then our Minister to the Spanish Court, and wrote a delightful volume, "Spain and the Spaniards."

Returning to Charleston, his success at the bar was brilliant. He was elected to the legislature in 1855 and achieved distinction.

In 1859 he went to Europe to offer his services to Count Cavour to serve in the Italian army in the war with Austria, but the battle of Solferino put an end to that struggle before his services could be accepted.

Pettigrew was colonel of a South Carolina rifle regiment when Fort Sumter was fired on, April 12, 1861. As such he received the surrender of Castle Pinckney. Failing later to have his regiment promptly sent to the army in Virginia, in his impatience he resigned and enlisted as a private in Hampton's Legion, which he accompanied to Virginia.

Passing through Raleigh, he was recognized by friends, and a few days later was surprised by a telegram announcing his unsolicited election as colonel of the 22d Regiment of North Carolina Troops, which was being organized at Camp Ellis, near Raleigh.

I was at that time attached to the regiment and saw Colonel Pettigrew for the first time on his arrival in Raleigh. Some description of his appearance may not be without interest. He was slendor of build, swarthy of complexion, dark hair and mustache, and with dark eyes the most brilliant and piercing. He was quick in his movements and quick in perception and in his decision. For several months, and until I was transfered to another command, I occupied a tent near to his and saw him daily. His habit was to pace restlessly up and down in front of his tent with a cigar in his mouth which was never lighted.

Later I served on the staff of Gen. Matthew W. Ransom, who had been his competitor for honors at the University, and thus had the good fortune of knowing them both.

As gentle and modest as a woman, there was an undoubted capacity to command, which obtained for Pettigrew instant obedience, but a kindness and bearing which won affection, and chivalry and courtesy which marked him as every inch a gentleman.

Ordered to Virginia in July, 1861, our regiment was encamped at Rocketts, just below Richmond, whence in the fall of 1861 the regiment was ordered to Acquia Creek; thence we were sent up to Quantico and stationed near Dumfries in the rear of the batteries at Evansport, which were erected to impede the navigation of the Potomac by the Federals.

In the spring of 1862 he was tendered the appointment of brigadier general in another brigade, but he declined to accept the promotion because it would separate him from his regiment. A little later, being offered the command of brigadier general of the brigade to which his regiment belonged,

he accepted. He was on the Peninsula under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston and shared in the retreat to Richmond in May, 1862.

On June 1, 1862, in the battle of Seven Pines, he was severely wounded in a charge which he led with great gallantry, and left for dead upon the field, he fell into the hands of the enemy. It is not generally known that after he was shot down and left unconscious on the field General Pettigrew was bayoneted by the enemy. This must have been one of the very few occasions on which this occurred in our war. Yet it is attested by a letter from General Pettigrew to his adjutant general, Capt. John W. Hinsdale, a gallant Confedeedate soldier, who had his horse killed under him and who was later colonel of the 72d North Carolina Regiment and is one of the most distinguished lawyers in North Carolina and now living in Raleigh. The following is a verbatim extract from the original, which Colonel Hinsdale has in his possession: "Major Lacy told me you were all disturbed at not bringing me off the field. You could not possibly have changed it. At the time I entered the wood none of the staff were with me, all having been sent off. I did not expect to be in the woods more than ten minutes, but I was unfortunately shot while attempting to ascertain the position of the enemy. The ball entered the lower part of the throat, striking the windpipe, glanced to the right, passed under the collar bone, struck the head of the shoulder, and glanced again upward, tearing the bones. It unfortunately cut an artery, and I would have bled to death had it not been for Colonel Bull. I became entirely unconscious. I subsequently received another shot in the left arm and a bayonet in the right leg, spent the night on the battle field, and a little before day was carried to a Yankee camp. My right leg is still partially paralyzed, but I am recovering the use of it."

On his exchange, his brigade having been placed under the command of the lamented General Pender, he was given the

command of another brigade, with which he repelled the Federal raid into Martin County in the fall of 1862 and participated in the defeat of Foster's expedition in December, 1862, against Goldsboro. In the following spring he was under Gen. D. H. Hill in his attack upon Washington, N. C.

When Stoneman made his raid on Richmond, General Pettigrew was sent with his brigade to the protection of that city and was stationed at Hanover Junction. Later his brigade was assigned to Heth's Division, A. P. Hill's Corps, in the Army of Northern Virginia, and was in the advance to Gettysburg. His brigade, one of the largest and best in the army, at that time consisted of the 11th North Carolina commanded by Col. (later Gen.) Collett Leventhorpe; the 26th North Carolina, commanded by Col. H. K. Burgwyn, the gallant young soldier who laid down his life at Gettysburg in a most gallant charge when only twenty-one years of age; the 44th North Carolina, Col. Thomas C. Singletary; the 47th North Carolina, Col. G. H. Faribault; and the 52d North Carolina, Col. J. K. Marshall. This brigade had originally contained the 17th North Carolina, commanded by Col. W. F. Martin; but when, after the battles around Richmond in 1862, Gen. James G. Martin returned to North Carolina, he took with him his brother's regiment, and it was replaced by the transfer to Pettigrew's of the 26th North Carolina, then commanded by Col. (later Gov.) Z. B. Vance, from Ransom's Brigade. This was later commanded, after Vance's election as Governor, by that gallant young soldier, Col. Harry K. Burgwyn.

On the advance into Maryland the 44th Regiment was left to assist in guarding Richmond; but the ranks of the other four regiments were full, and the brigade presented a superb appearance with the distinguished commander at its head. The loss of the brigade in the battle of Gettysburg was the heaviest of any in the army, and one regiment, the 26th, suffered the heaviest loss of any regiment on either side in any one battle during the entire war.

On the third day at Gettysburg, General Heth having been wounded, the division of four brigades was commanded by General Pettigrew, who went forward on horseback, riding close up behind his men. His horse was killed under him, and the General himself was wounded near the stone wall, which was the Ultima Thule of the Confederate advance. This wound in his hand and his death not long after prevented his writing his report of the charge, which would have prevented the subsequent controversy.

The gallantry of Pettigrew's Brigade is most eloquently told by the official returns, which show that on the opening of the battle on July 1 its four regiments reported present for duty three thousand men, of whom on the morning of the 4th only nine hundred and thirty-five were left. General Pettigrew himself was wounded, and all of his field officers were killed or wounded except one, who was captured, and the brigade was commanded by Major Jones, of the 26th, who had been wounded. Two of General Pettigrew's staff were killed. In the battle on July 1 Captain Tuttle's company, of the 26th North Carolina Regiment, of three officers and eighty-four men were all killed and wounded except one. On the same date Company C, of the 11th North Carolina, lost two officers killed and thirty-four out of thirty-eight men killed and wounded. Its captain, Byrd, brought off the regimental flag, the flag bearer being shot.

The official reports of the battle of Gettysburg show that 2,592 Confederates were killed and 12,707 wounded. Of the killed. 700 were from North Carolina, 435 Georgians, 399 Virginians, 258 Mississippians, 217 South Carolinians, and 204 Alabamians. The three brigades that lost the most men were Pettigrew's North Carolina (190 killed), Davis's Mississippi, in which there was one North Carolina regiment, the 55th (180 killed), and Daniel's North Carolina (165 killed). Pickett's Division of three brigades had 214 killed.

The historic charge made on the 3d of July was composed of Pickett's Division on the right, of three brigades, Gar-

nett's and Kemper's, with Armistead's in the second line. On the left of Pickett's was Heth's Division, composed of Archer's, Pettigrew's, Davis's, and Brockenbrough's brigades. This division was led by Pettigrew, General Heth having been wounded. In the rear of this division marched Lane's and Scale's brigades, both from North Carolina.

The stone wall which Pickett and Pettigrew were sent forward to take had a re-entrant angle in front of Pettigrew's part of the line. Owing to this, some of Pickett's men, striking the wall first, passed over it at the angle, and General Armistead was killed forty yards on the other side, but too few got over to hold the ground beyond the wall. The wall in front of Pettigrew being eighty yards farther on, Capt. E. F. Satterfield, of the 55th North Carolina Regiment, was killed, and others were killed or wounded at the wall in their front and thus fell farthest to the front, though on this side of the wall. While General Armistead and others of Pickett's men were killed or wounded on the other side of the wall, they fell not quite so far to the front.

This states fairly the evidence in the generous controversy between the two States as to whose troops went farthest to the front at Gettysburg. There was glory enough for all where all did their duty. General Pettigrew himself had his horse killed under him, but continued to advance on foot and was wounded near the wall in his front.

In this historic charge there were "eighteen regiments and one battalion from Virginia, fifteen regiments from North Carolina, three from Mississippi, three from Tennessee, and one regiment and one battalion from Alabama." (Judge Charles M. Cooke, in "Clark's North Carolina Regimental Histories," Vol. III, page 300.)

On the retreat from Gettysburg, when A. P. Hill's Corps crossed the Potomac at Falling Waters, General Pettigrew was placed in charge of the rear guard. A small squad of the enemy's cavalry made a reckless and unexpected charge.

One of the enemy's troopers fired at the General, who fell mortally wounded. The trooper was killed, but the loss which he had caused to the Confederacy was irreparable. General Pettigrew was conveyed to this spot, where, lingering, he died in the early morning on 17 July, 1863.

When he awakened out of his sleep that morning he said: "It is time to be going." He heard the roll call of the Great Commander and answered, "Adsum."

Such is the frief summary of the career of one of the most talented men, one of the bravest spirits that this country has produced.

On the death of Pettigrew it might well have been said in the language of Milton: "Young Lycidas is dead and hath not left his peer."

On the soil of Virginia, which State bore the severest strain of four years of a great war and which saw the fall of so many who died for their duty and their country, there passed away no braver, purer, or more patriotic spirit.

"On Fame's eternal camping ground
His silent tent is spread,
And glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead."

NOTE.—Pettigrew commanded a front of four brigades, with two brigades in the second line. Pickett cammanded a front of two brigades, with one in the second line—just half as many. Pickett personally (not as a reflection on him, but as a historical fact) stopped at the Cadori House, six hundred yards from the stone wall, and did not cross the Emmettsburg Pike. Pettigrew went forward in person with his command and was wounded near the stone wall. It was, in fact, "Longstreet's assault," being under his command; and the phrase, "Pickett's charge," is a misnomer, due to the fact that the Richmond papers were boosting Pickett for promotion to lieutenant general.—W. C.

THE SHEPARD-PRUDEN MEMORIAL LIBRARY OF EDENTON

By Mrs. Charles P. Wales

On February 2d, 1921, the Shepard-Pruden Memorial Library was thrown open and formally presented to the white people of Edenton and Chowan County. This splendid and fitting memorial is the gift of Mrs. Anne Shepard Graham, daughter of Mr. William Blount Shepard, and the widow and children of Hon. W. D. Pruden, both citizens who held a high place in the affectionate regard of the people, and whose lofty ideals of Christian culture as exemplified in their lives, and now given concrete form and expression in this appropriate tribute to their memory, will not cease to be an inspiration and an influence for good from one generation to another.

Prior to this time a few patriotic citizens of Edenton, realizing that the Cupola House was destined to yield to the commercialism of the times, organized a stock company and purchased the building, and the large banquet hall was assigned to the use of the Shepard-Pruden Memorial Library.

Senator C. S. Vann, on behalf of the donors, fittingly and gracefully presented the library as follows:-

"This library is presented to the white citizens of Edenton and Chowan county by Mrs. Anne Shepard Graham, and widow and children of Mr. W. D. Pruden as a memorial to Mr. William Blount Shepard and Mr. William Dossey Pruden. The sum of ten thousand dollars was given to this memorial. The use of the room is given by the stockholders of the Cupola House. After restoring and furnishing the room, paying one-third of the cost of putting the heating plant in the building, buying the books and supplies for the library, and having the library organized by a trained librarian, $7,500 is left to be invested as a perpetual endowment to buy new books and for other needs of the library.

"It is proposed to have the library directed by a board of

five trustees, one to be selected from the town council, one by the board of county commissioners, and three by the stockholders of the Cupola House.

"Now what shall we say about this library? Mr. Carnegie gave many libraries to many cities and towns, but these libraries were so cumbered with cares, and circumscribed by conditions and entangling demands that in many cases, especially in the smaller towns to which these libraries were given, they were liabilities rather than assets. These gifts were in answer to Mr. Carnegie's spirit of philanthropy, and were given without discriminating consideration. Not so with this library, for the distinguished gentlemen who made possible this library grew up with these people, they knew them, knew their tastes and needs, they loved them and this is a gift to the people with whom they moved and whom they loved.

"The gift itself is the best possible that could have been chosen by those who make it. They might have made a gift to the poor and so provided a daily bread line, they might have endowed a hospital where the unfortunate might have had consideration, or they might have given to some other charity, but these are incomparable to the gift of this library. Those would have administered to the needs of a class; this supplies the needs of the whole people; it is free, and those who desire the use of the books of this library can come and get them without money and without price. It is the biggest and best gift that Edenton has yet received. I do not wish to be considered as speaking treason, but it is the truth to say that Edenton has not held its place for culture that our ancestors deeply established and surely maintained. The spirit of commercialism which has played so large a part among the people everywhere of late, has had its effect upon the people of Edenton and so we lost something of our former position as a place of culture. We hope and believe that this gift will have the effect of bringing us back to our former distinction.

"The value of this library upon the tastes and habits of the people cannot be measured if it is received in the spirit in which it is given. We go to the great capital of our great country and stand in the statuary hall and look with admiration upon the figures in stone and bronze of the great men who played their part in our history, but these are but the forms of those who passed away, 'but storied urn, nor animated bust, cannot call back the fleeting breath.' and we feel that we are standing among the things that were and are to be no more. We cross over to the Congressional Library and as we enter we feel a different atmosphere. We are with the things that are and shall be forevermore. It is not necessary that we should be told that we are not to speak above a whisper, the very atmosphere forbids it. We feel now that we are among the living. The ideas and ideals of all the great of all times of every nation are with us. All the stops of our better selves are pulled out and the music of our souls flows out in full volume to mingle with that of our silent and invisible companions. Such is the influence of books, the storehouses of the ideas and ideals of the great of all times, leading us to the best thoughts and to the highest ideals. God be thanked that the distinguished gentlemen of blessed memory have made possible this day, and God be praised that their inheritors have made this possibility a reality. And, now, Mr. Mayor, as the accredited representative of the county of Chowan and town of Edenton, in behalf of those who make this gift, I formally turn it over to you."

For the town and county Mayor E. I. Warren made the speech of acceptance, and said:

"I wish to express my appreciation at being asked to accept such a gracious gift to our town, but I feel lost in finding words to express my real feeling and gratitude for myself and our people. We all feel that this is one of the greatest blessings that will mark the pleasant memories of two of our most distinguished Christian gentlemen. This library will

bring to our minds many pleasant recollections of our beloved and honored friends, whose ideas and opinions are still being cherished by our people.

"I desire to express in behalf of our town and community our sincere and grateful appreciation of this admirable gift; it will be the means of a stepping stone to our people for higher and better things. We feel that we owe the relatives of our deceased friends a debt of gratitude for their liberal and generous thought in furnishing this library in memory of William Dossey Pruden and William Blount Shepard, whose pictures we have before us now and whose throbbing hearts would be in love and sympathy with this gathering. Their ideas were strong and uplifting to man, and will be long remembered by those who knew them.

"This will enable every person in our community to enjoy the privilege of a well selected public library that will strengthen and enlighten us to better citizenship; it will teach us to love home and be in sympathy with one another. This would, within itself, be worth more than our banks filled with gold and our bodies bedecked with jewels. I cannot help but feel that in throwing open the doors of such a building as this, which was constructed by our forefathers with such diligence and care and at such great sacrifice, would of itself interest our good people in rallying to its preservation and upkeep; and that the use of this library and the things which may be connected with it, such as local museum, and ladies' tea room, will be to the credit and interest of our town.

"Again I thank the relatives of our beloved friends for their generous gift, and also their friends in helping to secure the building, and their loyal interest in our behalf; and with the love of God I hope and pray that there will be others inspired to such lofty ideas that will pave the way for our people for higher and better ideals.

THE CUPOLA HOUSE AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS

A large portion of the territory of eastern North Carolina was granted by the Crown to the Earl of Granville. The mildness of the climate and fertility of the soil attracted settlers eager to purchase or rent land. It became necessary for Lord Granville to have agents in North Carolina to collect rents and fees and confirm titles, and Francis Corbin and Thomas Child were dispatched to the colony vested with full rights and commissioned as his attorneys. In a few years Child returned to England and left Corbin in full charge. The temptation for self emolument was so great that Corbin set about to extort and impose in every way upon the people. Excessive fees were charged, and surveys and grants to those who had previously purchased land were declared void in order that more fees might be extorted from them. Indignation was aroused all over this section, the courts were appealed to without avail, and Govenor Dobbs was invoked in vain. The citizens became desperate, threatening, even riotous. Corbin had an office in Enfield also, and the people of Halifax and Edgecombe had suffered as well at his hands. They determined to regulate matters by force, and, as the Colonial records recite, the people, "receiving neither redress nor the money unjustly taken from them," early in January, 1759, twenty well armed men set out for Edenton to seek Corbin and compel him to go with them to Enfield. When they reached their destination they obliged Corbin to give security to return at the next term of Court and to return the fees unjustly taken from them. After this the Governor and his Council suspended Corbin and brought the matter to the attention of the Earl of Granville. The action of the Governor was approved and Joshua Bodley was appointed in Corbin's stead. Corbin was dismissed as one of the assistant judges and his commission as colonel of the Chowan regiment was taken from him.

He soon regretted the policy he had pursued and being

a man of great shrewdness and ability he seemed afterwards to have gained the respect and confidence of the people who for several terms elected him as a member of the Assembly. He also took a great interest in St. Paul's Church, then nearing completion, declaring that it should be finished.

The Cupola House was built by him for his betrothed, Jean Innes, the widow of Col. James Innes, of the Cape Fear section, the escheator general of North Carolina, and the initials "F. C." and the date "1758" are still plainly visible upon the gable post of this old house.

The house was then very much as it is to-day, with its great outside chimneys, curious old windows, the projecting second story, the beautiful panelled wainscoting; its spacious hall, its quaint winding stairs leading up to the cupola, which was originally surrounded by a delightful balcony overlooking the town and the beautiful waters of Edenton Bay. These old cupolas, or lanterns, as they were originally called, were designed by Sir Christopher Wren and were always lighted up on the King's birthday and public holidays and other festive occasions.

Corbin occupied this residence with his beautiful bride but a short while. She became ill and died. Broken-hearted and crushed, he survived his lovely wife but a few years, and leaving no children, this house descended to his brother and only heir, Edmund Corbin, who sold it to Dr. Samuel Dickinson in 1777, and his great-great-granddaughter in turn sold it in 1918 to the Cupola House Association.

Any one wishing to read further the story of the Cupola House can find it in Dr. Dillard's article in the News and Observer of May 31, 1908.

OPPOSES PLAN FOR REMOVING DUST OF DAVIS' FIRST WIFE*

MISS NANCY DAVIS SMITH RECALLS STAND OF CONFEDERATE LEADER AGAINST DISINTERMENT AND WRITES LOUISIANA DIVISION COMMANDER, U. C. V., ON VETERANS' PROPOSAL

By May E. Robinson (Correspondent)

Shall the handful of dust, which is surely all that remains of the body of Sarah Knox Taylor, first wife of Jefferson Davis, be removed to a new resting place?

The United Confederate Veterans have raised this question, since at the reunion at Houston, Tex., in October, a resolution was passed by that body, and order given to a committee to make this removal from the grave in West Feliciana Parish, La., to one beside her distinguished husband at Richmond, Va.

The proposal is received with mixed feelings by those relatives of the great Confederate leader now resident in West Feliciana Parish and by the people of the parish in general. The proposal, as it reveals a desire to remove from obscurity and to do honor to the dead, is deeply appreciated, but other considerations make it at least debatable. These are best expressed in a letter which Miss Nancy Davis Smith recently wrote to the local paper in West Feliciana, saying:

Opposes Disinterment

"I, as Jefferson Davis' oldest surviving relative and closely associated with him during his declining years, submit the following facts for consideration. Proposing to remove the body of Mr. Davis' first wife from its obscure resting place is, as a tribute to both him and her, worthy of the men who wore the gray, but whether advisable or not becomes a debatable question. Would he whose lips are now sealed have approved?

*From *The Times Picayune*. Published by request.

"I recall and occasion when, discussing disinterments, he added emphatically, "Where the tree falleth, there shall it lie." A wish that was apparently expressed by the tomb marking his wife's grave. Moreover, four sons buried in different states where they died, were not exhumed while their father lived.

"Another reason for leaving his wife's remains undisturbed is that after 85 years there would seem little probability of identifying a handful of dust.

"To our granduncle, Jefferson Davis we, the descendants of his sister, Mrs. Luther L. Smith, are indebted for foresight in reserving God's acre. The portion enclosed and taken charge of by me, I shall guard during my lifetime, but beyond that, there being no guarantee against desecration, the vision of the grave on a lonely plantation presents a forcible argument for removal. Still there is a solitary argument opposed to the objections I have specified."

(Signed) "NANCY DAVIS SMITH."

WRITES GENERAL BROOKS

Miss Smith has written in similar vein to General O. D. Brooks, Commander Louisiana Division, U. C. V., concluding with this strong paragraph:

"Thus the Veterans' proposed tribute to their revered chief and the wife who was laid to rest eighty-five years ago, would, in fact, though worthily planned, be ignoring his convictions, whose memory they desire to honor."

Miss Smith was a favorite niece of Jefferson Davis and served for years as his amanuensis, and therefore had exceptional opportunities for knowing his opinion on this as well as other subjects. The evidence all points to its being his wish that the grave of the bride of his youth shall remain undisturbed.

The grave of the first Mrs. Jefferson Davis is in the private cemetery of the Luther Smith family, Locust Grove

plantation, about six miles from St. Francisville, and is the usual low brick tomb covered with marble slab with an appropriate inscription. This burial plat is reserved for the family and not affected by any subsequent sales.

Was Taylor's Daughter

Mrs. Davis was the daughter of President, at that time Colonel, Zachary Taylor. She married the gallant young Mississippian, then an officer in the United States army, in opposition to the wishes of her father, as he was averse to his daughter's marrying a soldier and being exposed to the discomforts and changes incident to life in army posts. There seems to have been no other objection, and the young couple were determined.

Shortly after their marriage they came to Locust Grove plantation, West Feliciana, to visit his sister, Mrs. Luther Smith. Both developed malarial fever, and as they were dangerously ill, were cared for in seperate rooms.

Jefferson Davis heard his bride singing "Fairy Bells" in her delirium, and struggled to her bedside to find her dying.

She died September 15, 1836, and was buried in the little cemetary at Locust Grove, as young and fair as the flowers that bloomed in profusion there, and for eighty-five years her grave has been lovingly tended by successive generations of the Smith family, and there seems no probability of its being neglected. Mrs. Davis had the distinction of being the daughter of one President and the wife of another, but as she passed away before either father or husband had achieved fame and exalted position, her life-story seems like a separate volume in their respective lives. An exquisite though tragic episode in the life of the great Confederate, closed when the grave opened to receive her eighty-five years ago.

Dear to West Feliciana

It might be fairly inferred that there is where Jefferson

Davis himself would prefer that the beloved wife of his youth should rest until the resurrection morn; it is there that the surviving relatives would wish her to remain, if assured that the grave would be sacred from neglect or desecration; and it is certain that West Feliciana, as a whole, is loath to lose a spot distinguished by such romantic and historic associations.

General A. B. Booth, former commander of Louisiana Division, United Confederate Veterans, has made the suggestion to the U. C. V. committee that instead of removing the remains of Mrs. Davis, that the U. C. V. "might consider buying one hundred square feet (ten feet square) at the grave site, cover the plot with granite, with marble slab in center, with appropriate legend on it." "The parish would," General Booth thinks, "gladly receive it."

This plan is entirely feasible and would, no doubt, satisfy everyone concerned, meeting all requirements of sentiment and common sense, without depriving West Feliciana of a cherished shrine.

JOEL LANE*

A PIONEER AND PATRIOT OF WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA.

By Marshall DeLancy Haywood

Though comparatively few of the name now remain in the State, the family of Lane was one of the most numerous, as well as influential, in the province of North Carolina. It is said to be collaterally descended from Sir Ralph Lane, who, with Sir Richard Grenville and other bold adventurers, sailed from Plymouth, England, in 1585, and founded (in what is now North Carolina) the Colony of Roanoke, of which Lane became Governor—the first English Governor in America. This colony, as is well known, had no permanent existence, and Governor Lane returned to Great Britian where he died—in Ireland—in 1604, three years prior to the first permanent American settlement, at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. The father of this Sir Ralph was Sir Ralph Lane of Orlingbury, whose wife, *née* Parr, was a first cousin of Katherine Parr, the sixth Queen of that exemplary old Mormon, King Henry VIII.

Not many years after Jamestown was founded, several other members of the Lane family came to Virginia, and their descendants aided in the permanent settlement of North Carolina.

This alleged connection between Sir Ralph and the Lanes of Colonial Virginia, from whom spring the Lanes of North Carolina, is vouched for only by tradition, but this tradition exists in many separate and divergent branches of the family. Whether it should be taken *cum grano salis,* let the reader judge.

> "I cannot tell how the truth may be;
> I say the tale as 'twas said to me."

After removing to North Carolina, the Lanes lived principally in the eastern section of the State. They were useful

*Reprinted from pamphlet published in 1900.

members of society and adherents to the Church of England. In Halifax County quite a number of the family settled, and there was born JOEL LANE, the subject of this sketch. His father, Joseph Lane, of Halifax, married Patience MacKinne, a daughter of Colonel Barnabas MacKinne.

The above mentioned Joseph Lane, of Halifax (who died about 1776), had five sons, all of whom left issue. They were: Joel, of whom this sketch will treat at length; Joseph,* who married Ferebee Hunter, and died in Wake County in 1798; James,† who married Lydia Speight, and died in Wake County on January 6, 1805; Jesse,‡ who married Winifred Aycock, and died in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1804; and Barnabas, who died about 1775. Barnabas had three children: Martin, Barnabas (Jr.) and a daughter, Jean. His son Martin—born 1755, died 1825—served in the Revolutionary War, was one of the earliest land-owners in Raleigh, and died in Giles County, Tennessee, leaving descendants.

General Joseph Lane, the "Marion of the Mexican War," who was Governor of Oregon and United States Senator,

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*Joseph left a son and grand son, both named Joseph. They should not be confused with General Joseph Lane, of Oregon, who, as hereinafter mentioned, was a grandson of Jesse Lane.

†There seems to have been a superfluity of James Lanes: (1) James Sr., above mentioned—Col. Joel's brother; (2) James, son of Col. Joel; (3) James, son of another Joel, and granlson of James, Sr. I think there were some Lanes in other parts of the State, who also bore this given name.

‡In the State Records, Vol. XVI., p. 1101, it appears that a Jesse Lane enlisted for a three years term of service on March 1, 1777, in Captain Jacob Turner's Company, Third North Carolina Continentals. Captain Turner was killed at the battle of Germantown in the following October. After Jesse's enlistment had expired, he again entered the service; for by reference to the manuscript books, entitled "Army Accounts," in the rooms of the North Carolina Historical Commission at Raleigh, Vol. 13, Section A. A., p. 50, will be found the entry: "Allowed Jesse Lane for pay to the first of January, 1782, including interest, the first day of August, 1783——175. 11. 6." Governor Swain in the letter presently given, says that Jesse moved to Georgia before this (in 1779). Quere: Were there two Jesses, or did Jesse of Wake send his family to georgia, and follow them later?

as well as a distinguished soldier, was the son of John Lane and his wife Betsy Street. This John was a son of Jesse and a nephew of Joel.

When General Lane was a candidate for Vice President of the United States in 1860, he visited Raleigh in July of that year and was entertained at the country seat of his kinsman, the late Henry Mordecai, just north of the city. To this entertainment every member of the Lane connection, who could be found, was invited. Mr. Mordecai's residence was originally built by his grandfather, Henry Lane, eldest son of Joel; but afterwards, in 1824, was added to and remodeled under the supervision of William Nichols, who also altered the architecture of the old capitol, which was destroyed by fire on the 21st of June, 1831.

It has sometimes been stated that the late Governor Henry Smith Lane, of Indiana, was descended from the Lanes of Wake County. This, as the writer learns from a member of the family in Indiana, is a mistake; though the Governor was probably of the same stock, for his ancestors were of Virginia origin, as were also the Lanes of North Carolina.

After General Joseph Lane, of Oregon, had won a great reputation in the War with Mexico and was gaining distinction in national politics, a gentleman in Tennessee, desiring to know something of the history of the Lane family, wrote in 1859 to ex-Governor Swain (then President of the University of North Carolina, and a first cousin of the General), for the information desired. Governor Swain's reply was published in the *Memphis Avalanche,* and was afterwards copied in the *North Carolina Semi-Weekly Standard,* a paper published at Raleigh, in its issue of July 21, 1860, when Lane was a candidate for Vice President. Commenting upon it, the editor of the *Standard* observed that in Buncombe County where General Lane was born, there was a "Lane's Pinnacle," a "Lane's Mine Hole Gap," and "Lane's Iron Works," named for his family.

The letter of Governor Swain is so replete with information concerning the whole connection that we give it in full:

CHAPEL HILL, October 23rd, 1859.

Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 14th, owing to my absence in the discharge of official duties, did not reach me until a day or two since, and I avail myself of the earliest practicable opportunity to reply.

There is probably no family whose authentic history can be more clearly traced through every period of the annals of North Carolina than that of General Lane's. In proportion to numbers, comparatively few of its members have aspired to or obtained political distinction, or indeed distinction of any kind. On the other hand there are probably few that have enjoyed greater average respectability.

General Lane's great-grandfather, Joseph (who signed his name Joseph Lane, Jr., in 1727), died at his residence near Halifax, on the Roanoke, in 1776. His three sons—Joel, Joseph, and Jesse—were pioneer settlers in the neighborhood of Raleigh, in 1741. Of these, Colonel Joel was the wealthiest and most conspicuous. He conveyed to the State 640* acres of land; the site of the phesent City of Raleigh. His dwelling-house, at the period of its erection the best within a hundred miles, is the present residence of William Boylan, Esq. All three were Whigs during the Revolution, and Colonel Joel and Jesse did service in the army, the latter as a private†.

Jesse was the grandfather of General Joseph Lane and of myself. He was born in Halifax, July 4, 1733, and married Winifred Aycock. They had sixteen children–eight sons and eight daughters–all of whom lived to rear families. In 1779 my grandfather emigrated to Wilkes, now Oglethorpe County, Ga., where he resided until 1800; then he removed to St. Louis, where he died in 1804.

General Lane is the son of Joel Lane, the eighth child and fourth son of our grandfather Jesse. At the time of the removal of the family to Georgia (1779), Wilkes was a frontier county, and, during a series of years was subject to frequent incursions from the Creeks and Cherokees. There were no members of the family able to bear arms, whose services were not put into requisition, and no one male, or female who were not familiar with the horror of savage warfare. My mother beguiled many an hour during my infancy, in the recital of hairbreadth escapes, which, delicate woman as she was, rendered her personal history one of remarkable suffering and adventure.

I have no recollection of my grandfather or uncle John. The former visited my father on his way to Missouri, and the latter was an inmate of our family for some time previous to and subsequent to my birth. I heard much about him in my boyhood, and suppose that

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*At a later date, 1867, Governor Swain makes a more accurate statement (in his Tucker Hall Address) of the amount of land sold by Lane, to-wit: 1,000 acres, 400 acres of which were laid off into lots and the remainder held, for the time being, by the State.—M. DEL. H.

†See last note on p. 36, ante.—M. DEL. H.

in all respects the son is the counterpart of the father, brave enterprising, and generous. He was a universal favorite in the midst of the men who fought at the Cowpens and King's Mountain, and who considered a foray among the Indians as little less than a pastime.

General Lane's mother was Betsy, daughter of James Street, the first sheriff of my native county (Buncombe). The descendants of the sixteen children of Jesse are dispersed through all of the Western and Southern States.

I enter into these particulars simply to satisfy you that whilst the family of General Lane have no just pretentions to the pride of heraldry, there is no cause, on the other hand, why they should blush for his ancestry or his connections.

I write in unavoidable haste, but will be ready at any time to communicate more special information if it is called for.

Yours very respectfully,

D. L. SWAIN.

Many years before Wake County was formed, Joel Lane had settled at the point which afterwards became its county-seat, and was later the capital of the State. His place of residence was at a cross-roads hamlet called Bloomsbury, and was then within the territory of Johnston County. Land was taken from Orange and Cumberland, as well as Johnston, for the formation of Wake, and Mr. Lane was one of the commissioners who laid out its boundaries. The new county was established by the colonial assembly in December, 1770, with a proviso that the act of creation should not take effect until March 12, 1771. Governor Tryon, for whose wife, *née* Wake—and not "Esther Wake"—it was named, formally signed the charter on May 22, in the latter year.*

The first court was held on the 4th of June, 1771. Theophilus Hunter was chairman, and Joel Lane and his brother Joseph were among the members of this tribunal.† The other justices were: Benjamin Hardy, James Martin, Hardy Sanders, Abraham Hill, Thomas Wootten, James Jones, Tingnall Jones and Thomas Crawford.

In the early spring of 1771, when Governor Tryon raised an army to suppress the insurrection of the Regulators, the principal place of rendezvous for his forces was Bloomsbury

*Colonial Records, Vol. VIII., pp. 299, 333, 334. Copy of charter in court-house of Wake County. Chapter 22, Laws of 1770.

†Court Records of Wake County.

or Wake Court House, where Raleigh now stands. Colonel John Hinton, Lane's father-in-law, then commanded the county militia and marched under Tryon to the scene of action, in which he bore a conspicuous part.* Of Colonel Hinton's conduct on this occasion, and afterwards at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, during the Revolution, Governor Caswell says: "In both instances I was an eye-witness and can venture to assert he behaved with becoming bravery and resolution."† At Alamance the Regulators were routed in the battle fought on May 16, 1771. While waiting for reenforcements during that campaign, Governor Tryon located his headquarters near the present Fayetteville road at Hunter's Lodge, the residence of Theophilus Hunter. This was some distance southeast of Spring Hill, later the home of Theophilus Hunter, Jr. For three days, from the 5th to the 8th of May, the army remained there. As the old road was too rough to carry artillery over, Tryon had a new one cut in the direction of the Regulators' country. After a town in Kent, England, he called it "Ramsgate Road." That classic locality near Raleigh, now known as *Ramcat,* derives its name from this circumstance. When the army marched back from Alamance, Colonel Hinton's detachment was disbanded at Wake Court-House on the 22nd of June. On the day before this, Governor Tryon bade his army farewell, and left for New York, having been appointed Governor of that Province.† He was succeeded, as Governor of North Carolina, by Josiah Martin, who remained in office until driven out during the Revolution. Whether Joel Lane served in the Alamance campaign is not known, but he probably did, for his name appears as Lieutenant-Colonel of Colonel Hinton's Regiment on a roster made out in 1772.‖

For many years Colonel Lane was a Justice of the County Court of Wake; and during the war for Independence, he was

*Colonial Records, Vol. VIII., pp. 576, 704.
†State Records, Vol. XII., p. 707.
‡Colonial Records, Vol. VIII., pp. 675, 676.
‖Colonial Records, Vol. IX., p. 344.

at one time its Presiding Justice.* Throughout the entire conflict with Great Britian, he served with fidelity in many important civil stations. Together with John Hinton, Michael Rogers, Theophilus Hunter, Tingnall Jones†, John Rand, and Thomas Hines, he represented Wake County in the Provincial Congress at Hillsborough in August, 1775, and that body, on September 9th elected him a member of the Committee of Safety for the Hillsborough District.‡ John Hinton and Michael Rogers were likewise elected members of this committee. On September 9, 1775, the above named Congress also elected militia officers for Wake County as follows: John Hinton, Colonel; Theophilus Hunter, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Hinton, Jr., First Major; and Thomas Hines, Second Major. When the militia was reorganized, on April 22, 1776, these officers were continued in the same rank.||

Michael Rogers succeeded Hunter in 1778; for, by the minute docket of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions in that year, it appears that on the 19th of February, "Michael Rogers, Esq., produced into Court a commission from His Excellency Richard Caswell, Esq., Governor, constituting him Lieutenant Colonel for the County of Wake; came into Court and qualifyed agreeable to law." Hardy Sanders likewise held that rank at a later period, and James Hinton was either a Colonel or a Lieutenant Colonel.

In the Provincial Congress which assembled at Halifax in April, 1776, Colonel Lane again represented Wake County.§ His colleagues in this body were John Hinton, John Rand, Tingnall Jones, and William Hooper. The last named, though put down as a delegate from Wake, was not a resident of the county, but came from the eastern part of the state. He was one of those who, a few months later,

*Court Records of Wake.

||This gentleman (whose signature I have seen) wrote his first name as here given, but I think his son and namesake signed himself as Tignall or Tignal.

‡Colonial Records, Vol. X., pp. 166, 215.

||Colonial Records, Vol. X., pp. 207, 532.

§Colonial Records, Vol. X., p. 501.

made their names immortal by signing the Declaration of Independence at Philidelphia. While a member of this Provincial Congress, Mr. Hooper was also a member of the Continental Congress.

Colonel Lane did not serve in the Provincial Congress which met at Halifax in November, 1776. The delegates from Wake County were Tingnall Jones, Michael Rogers, James Jones, Britain Fuller, and John Rice.*

From February, 1778, to September, 1778, Joel Lane was Entry Taker†, and frequently represented Wake County in the State Senate. At that time the Legislature met annually, and sometimes oftener. During the Revolution, James Jones was the first to hold the office of Senator, in 1777. At the second session of 1777, in 1778, and in 1781 Michael Rogers was Senator. John Rand was Senator in 1779, and John Hinton in 1780. During and after the war, Colonel Lane was eleven times Senator—in 1782, 1783, two sessions in 1784, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, and 1794.

Those who represented Wake County in the House of Commons during the Revolution were: John Rand, Tingnall Jones, Lodowick Alford, John Rice, Thomas Wootten, Thomas Hines, John Hinton, Jr., Nathaniel Jones,‡ (of White Plains), John Humphries, Burwell Pope, James Hinton, Theophilus Hunter, and Hardy Sanders.

On June 23, 1781, while the war was raging with its greatest fury, the Legislature met at Wake Court House.|| For want of more commodious edifice, Colonel Lane's residence was used as the place for assembling. At this session, Thomas Burke was elected to succeed Abner Nash as Governor.

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*Colonial Records, Vol. X., p. 915.

†Court Records of Wake.

‡There were three gentlemen in Wake County bearing the name of Nathaniel Jones: (1) Nathaniel Jones of Crabtree; (2) his father, Nathaniel Jones, Sr., mentioned above; (3) Nathaniel Jones of White Plains. The last named was not connected with the Jones family of Crabtree except by marriage. In old county records they were usually distinguished by placing the letters C. T. for Crabtree, and W. P. for White Plains, after their names.

||State Records, Vol. XVII., pp. 794, 877.

A ludricrous reminder of the depreciation in paper currency caused by the gloomy prospects for the success of the Lane was paid for the house-rent, pasturage for horses, etc., American cause, is the official record* that when Colonel used by the above Legislature during this session of less than one month's duration, the amount voted him was *fifteen thousand pounds!* or about thirty thousand dollars (a pound was then only two dollars). This was many times as great as the sum paid by the State for the Lane plantation (where Raleigh is built) after the war, when money was worth more than the paper it was printed on.

During the Revolution those who occupied the office of High Sheriff of Wake (then a station of great importance) were: Thomas Hines, from June, 1775, till June, 1777; Thomas Wootten, from June, 1777, till September, 1780; Hardy Sanders, from September, 1780, till September, 1782; Britain Sanders, from September, 1782, until after peace was declared.†

After the end of hostilities, Colonel Lane exerted every effort to allay the bitterness which had arisen while the war was in progress, and befriended many Loyalists who were objects of hatred to a less generous element of the Whigs than that to which he belonged. Among other Tories, who had reason to be thankful for his good offices, was Colonel John Hamilton, whom he probably knew before the war, as both were from Halifax County. Hamilton was one of the bravest and most active officers siding with the King, and a man of character who had treated American prisoners with more than ordinary kindness, though even this did not save his estates from confiscation. For some years after the Revolution, he was British consul at Norfolk, Virginia, and finally went to England, where he died. Serving on Hamilton's staff was a young ensign, Dugald McKethen, who became a useful and respected citizen of Raleigh after the re-

*State Records, Vol. XVII., pp. 876, 977
†Court Records of Wake.

turn of peace, and married one of Colonel Lane's daughters.

In the time treated by this sketch, Wake County abounded in large game, and hunting was a favorite pastime. Just inside, and westward of the southern entrance, of Capitol Square in Raleigh, there is still living a large sassafras tree, which was a famous deer-stand. The writer learned this from his father, the late Dr. Richard B. Haywood, who personally remembered one of Colonel Lane's relatives, Edmund Lane, who himself claimed to have killed nearly forty deer there.

Before the Revolutionary War, and during that struggle, the capital of North Carolina was somewhat migratory. It was, as a rule, located where the Governor happened to reside, for that functionary usually summoned the Legislature to meet at the place which best suited his convenience. So, after independence had been achieved, the State Convention, which met in Fayetteville in 1788, gave the General Assembly instructions to fix permanently the capital, provided it should be within ten miles of Isaac Hunter's plantation in Wake County, which radius was chosen on account of its central location. Nine commissioners were appointed to purchase a site, but only six attended a meeting held for that purpose. Those present were: Frederick Hargett, Chairman, William Johnston Dawson, Joseph McDowell, James Martin, Thomas Blount, and Willie Jones. The members of this board were from different parts of the State. They had to choose from seventeen tracts which were offered. In reference to their decision, the Honorable Kemp P. Battle, in his 1892 Centennial Address on Raleigh, says that the Hinton tract on Neuse river received, on the first ballot, three of the six votes cast; the tract offered by Joel Lane received two; and the other vote was cast for land owned by Nathaniel Jones, of White Plains, near the present village of Cary. As a majority was not received by either tract on this ballot, the board adjourned until next day. Continuing his address Dr. Battle says:

"Willie Jones was a master of the art of persuasion and was an intimate friend of Joel Lane. Lane himself was a man of influence, who had served the State in the Colonial Congress and as Senator for ten years in succession. Very probably he offered new inducements as to price. At any rate, on Friday, the 30th of March, a second ballot was taken, with the result that Wake Court House received five votes, and the Hinton land received only one vote. Possibly Lane was adversely criticised for his tactics in winning the contest. There was abundant room for unpleasant talk on account of his entertaining the Commissioners at his house. They were acting as judges, and were certainly, notwithstanding their high character, liable to the criticism that they ate the bread of one of the litigants. I cannot find their accounts of expenses, but it is altogether probable that they paid for their entertainment. I notice that Lane was Senator from 1782 to 1792, both inclusive, but that in the next year James Hinton had his place. This is some evidence that the Hinton family resented his success in the negotiation and that the people took their side. If so, the displeasure was evanescent, for he was Senator again in 1794 and 1795."

James Iredell (afterwards a Judge of the United States Supreme Court) introduced the Convention ordinance requiring the capital to be located in Wake County, and the name "Raleigh"' is said to have been first suggested for the new city by Governor Alexander Martin.

As Colonel Lane's residence was the most important house at Bloomsbury, or Wake Cross Roads, before Raleigh was laid out, he was often inconvenienced by the number of travellers who claimed his hospitality. To get rid of those who were not his personal friends, he caused to be erected a small ordinary—or *or'nary* as it was called by the natives. This old inn was afterwards turned into a school-house, and later used as an out-building to a residence on the north side of Hillsborough street, between McDowell and Dawson. It was about three-quarters of a mile in an east-

erly direction from the old Lane homestead, and somewhat resembled the architecture of that building. It was finally torn down.

Two blocks north of Capitol Square, in Raleigh, one of the city's thoroughfares, running east and west, is called Lane street in honor of the former owner of the soil.

Colonel Lane was one of the first trustees of the University of North Carolina, and (on November 5, 1792) offered that institution a gift of six hundred and forty acres of land, near the plantation of Nathaniel Jones, of White Plains, on condition that it should be located there, but the offer was declined.

Hinton James, the first graduate of the University, was a nephew of Mrs. Lane, whose father, Colonel John Hinton, had two daughters who married members of the James family. Hinton James was the son of Captain John James, of the Revolution, and his wife, Alice Hinton. Alice's sister, Elizabeth, married Thomas James.

Colonel Lane was twice married. Both of his wives were daughters of the well known Revolutionary soldier and statesman, Colonel John Hinton, of Wake County, and his wife, Grizelle Kimbrough.

To his first wife, MARTHA HINTON, Colonel Lane was married on the 9th of December, 1762. She died on September 9, 1771, leaving three sons. They were:

I. Henry Lane, born March 6, 1764, who married his first cousin, Mary Hinton (daughter of Major John Hinton, Jr., of Wake County), and left descendants. He died in Wake County in 1797.

II. James Lane, who was born October 7, 1766.*

III. William Lane, who was born October 15, 1768.*

MARY HINTON, the second wife of Joel Lane, to whom

*Where the marriages of Colonel Lane's children are not given, it is because I have been unable to ascertain whom they married. Some of his children may have died young. James and William were living in 1794 when their father made his will. As to other James Lanes, see second note, page 36, ante.

he was married in 1772, bore him nine children as follows:

I. Nancy Lane, born July 22, 1773.

II. John Lane, born March 6, 1775, who married Sarah Elizabeth Jones, daughter of Nathaniel Jones, of White Plains, Wake County, and left descendants. He removed to Marshall County, Tennessee, and died there in 1864.

III. Martha Lane, born February 19, 1778, who was twice married: (first), to Dugald McKethen, heretofore mentioned; (second), to Jonathan Brickell. She was Mr. Brickell's second wife. Her death occured in Raleigh, May 20, 1852. She had children, but no descendants are now living.

IV. Elizabeth Lane, born August 6, 1780, who was the first wife of Stephen Haywood, of Raleigh, where she died March 7, 1805. She has descendants, but none are now living who bear the name of Haywood.

V. Mary Lane, born January 1, 1783.

VI. Thomas Lane, born September 12, 1785, who married Nancy Lane, daughter of his cousin and guardian, Martin Lane, heretofore mentioned. Thomas removed to Giles County, Tennessee, and died there March 29, 1832, leaving issue.

VII. Dorothy Lane, born December 13, 1787, who was the second wife of Dr. Allen W. Gilchrist, and left descendants. Her marriage took place on May 29, 1806. Dr. Gilchrist was from Halifax County, North Carolina, but afterwards removed from the State.

VIII. Joel Hinton Lane, born October 11, 1790, who married Mary Freeman, and died without issue, in Giles County, Tennessee, June 22, 1832. He was a volunteer from Wake County, North Carolina, in the War of 1812.

IX. Grizelle Lane, born June 13, 1793, who married George Lillington Ryan, and died without issue, in Raleigh, March 4, 1868.

Joel Lane's second wife Mary survived him less than a week, and died on the 3d of April, 1795.

In things spiritual, Colonel Lane was most exemplary, and

enforced strict religious observance upon all within his household. It has been noted that his ancestors were adherents of the Church of England; so, when this sturdy pioneer came to the wilds of Wake County, the Book of Common Prayer came also. Under the English Church Establishment at that time, the territory embraced in Wake was known as the "Parish of St. Margaret." Though the adjacent country was too thinly settled for the Church to thrive, the Lane residence always remained the home of religion as well as of hospitality. Not only was the family called daily to prayer, but Colonel Lane himself observed each fast and other devotional exercise prescribed by the Church, in which he remained a communicant up to the time of his death. At intervals, some regularly ordained clergyman would pass through; and on these occasions, younger members of the family were baptized. Among other clerical visitors, was Parson Meikeljohn, of Hillsborough, whom "Shocco" Jones describes as "a high Church-man in religion and a high Tory in politics." When, some years after the Revolution, Bishop Ravenscroft came to Wake County to revive, under its new name, the Church of England, the Lanes could boast that in one quarter, at least, it had never been dormant.

The death of Joel Lane occured on the 29th day of March, 1795. In an address delivered in Raleigh, on August 24, 1867, Ex-Governor Swain (Colonel Lane's great-nephew) refers to the last resting place of the old patriot, saying that his remains "moulder in the midst of other unrecorded dead beneath the shade of a mulberry on his ancient domain." There, indeed, is his grave, of which no vestige now appears. The spot has a cottage built over it, and lies a few feet east of Boylan Avenue, about thirty-five yards south of Morgan street.

After the death of Joel Lane, his son Thomas, to whom he bequeathed his residence, sold it on December 31, 1808, to Dr. Allen W. Gilchrist who married Colonel Lane's daughter. It was afterwards bought by Peter Browne, a native of Scot-

land, who was an able lawyer, but withal a miser and utilitarian, respecting nothing above its value in dollars and cents. Finding that the burying ground (where, also, many other early citizens, besides the Lanes, were interred) was an unprofitable piece of property, he had it plowed up and planted in cabbages! If one leaves this spot, and walks about a mile and a half eastward along Morgan Street to what Raleigh people now call the Old Graveyard, there he will find the slab which marks the grave of Browne himself. It states that he died October 26, 1833, "aged 6711 years." Verily, one may think, Methuselah would turn green with envy, and feel youthful, could he read this. What means it, may be asked by another, less credulous. The solution is this: Originally the inscription read, "67" years; and some vandal, with a good knowledge of stone-cutting, did the rest by adding the two other figures. Thus the grave of this desecrator has not itself escaped desecration.

Before concluding our sketch, further mention should be made of the house in which Colonel Lane lived, and which was built by him. It still stands, and is the oldest house in Raleigh—much older than the city itself. William Boylan, editor of the *Minerva,* bought it from the aforementioned Peter Browne, in 1818, and it has been in possession of the Boylans ever since. It faced east on the avenue named for that family, but was later moved westward a few hundred yards and is now on Hargett Street, facing south. To one of the present generation, it is an unimposing structure; but when built, was considered quite palatial. Two stories, low in pitch, with a steep double-slanting roof, is the house as it stands. But it seldom fails to attract attention. Its quaintness of architecture speaks of a generation now passed into history—of Tryon, marching with his army against the Regulators; of Burke, Spaight, Lenoir, and their compat-

riots in the Revolutionary assembly which met beneath its roof; of the Hintons, Hunters, and Jones's, of early Wake.

"A kind of old Hobgoblin Hall,
Now somewhat fallen to decay,
With weather-stains upon the wall,
And stairways worn and crazy doors,
And creaking and uneven floors,
And chimneys huge, and tiled and tall—
A region of repose it seems,
A place of slumber and of dreams!"

THE SPIRIT OF THE REVOLUTION

By Mary Hilliard Hinton

The American Revolution may easily be classed as one of the most remarkable events of modern history, the fruits of which have so affected the world.

As late as 1774 America found the melting pot had performed its task well. The conglomeration of nationalities had become consolidated as one, the Anglo-Saxon predominating.

To the wealthy American families of English descent the ties with the mother-country were as close as geographical conditions could permit. The life they led in the Colonies was influenced by the English mode of living. Their children, trained in the schools and colleges of Britain, returned to the New World to cherish the same manners and customs. This made severance of the bonds that bound them to home all the more difficult.

The masses, struggling for existence, were less controlled by such influences, and furnished more fertile soil for the germination of democracy. Strange to say, the masses of the Revolutionary period were better informed than are the masses of the Union to-day with all its boasted progress and culture. With no magazines, traveling or public libraries, no public schools, passable roads, or railroads, no telegraph or telephone, no movies, no innumerable daily papers, with weekly mail in summer and fortnightly in winter, all of which bring the world to our very doors, it is astounding that the people of that day were so conversant with current events and knew the needs of the hour. They did their own thinking—a habit that is in danger of becoming obsolete.

With the classes the Anglo-Saxon thirst for justice, the inherent demand for freedom and the call of liberty, which have ever characterized the race, were just as pronounced then as at Runnymede.

The most vital issue that can touch the human side of man is taxation, and when representation is denied, another almost equally vital question is involved. Taxation and the electorate are the strongest of the three pillars of democracy. Hence, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney's declaration "Millions for defence, but not one cent tribute," was an echo of the feelings of the Colonists.

These sentiments they were fully prepared to support with arms. Men who owned their own land, raised all supplies, all material for the clothing, which was made in the homes, feared neither government nor ruler. They were not concerned with high nor low tariff, and could subsist were all ports closed. They were absolutely independent and paid court to no one, but were governed by the lofty motive of principle only, instead of such a fleeting fancy as "political expediency." The fight was against an imbecile German king and not against the English people.

Scattered along a distance of 1,500 miles, 3,000,000 souls, with a small minority of Tories in their midst, murmured against the injustice of the wrongs imposed by the Crown, and asserted their rights.

The selection of Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the Army was the highest tribute, for even at that time there was a feeling existing between the North and the South. It was a proof that he was worthy of the trust and showed the keen insight of those leaders by whom he was chosen. Time has revealed the truth that he was born for the service of his country. The wealthiest man of America of his day, he risked all and obeyed solely the voice of duty, actuated by principle, even though before him loomed up the sad fate of that other rebel, the unfortunate Nathaniel Bacon who, striking too soon, failed. Thru victory and defeat Washington was ever the calm leader with the resolve to fight to a brilliant triumph, or a glorious death. His words, "I have put my hand to the plow and cannot turn

back," were characteristic of the man who, although he regarded the result as uncertain, would be faithful to the end. Charles Carroll on entering the strife realized ultimate failure possible and signed his full name, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to the Declaration of Independence in order that another Charles Carroll might not be accorded a rebel's fate.

Although the infidel principles of France permeated that period, a deep religious faith pervaded the Revolution. In Virginia the patriots severed connection with the mother-country with the most solemn forms of religion. When the Assembly met at Williamsburg May 24, 1774, the members "resolved to set apart a day for fasting, humiliation and prayer."

The letter of George Mason of "Gunston Hall," the friend of Washington, who was present at that Assembly but not a delegate, in which he alludes to that resolution, shows the deep religious sentiment of the patriot. Col. Mason wrote:

"Enclosed you have the Boston Trade Act and a resolve of our House of Burgesses. You will observe that it is confined to the members of their own House; but they would wish to see the example followed through the country; for which purpose the members, at their own private expense, are sending expresses with the resolve to their respective counties. Mr. Massie (the minister of Fairfax) will receive a copy of the resolve from Colonel Washington; and should a day of prayer and fasting be appointed in our county, please to tell my dear little family that I charge them to pay a strict attention to it, and that I desire my three eldest sons and my two oldest daughters may attend church in mourning, if they have it, as I believe they have."

Several years later in 1778, the American Congress went further than appointing a day of fasting and prayer and passed the following resolution regulating morals:

"Whereas, true religion and good morals are the only solid foundation of public liberty and happiness: Resolved,

that it be, hereby, earnestly recommended to the several States, to take the most effectual measures for the encouragement thereof, and for the suppressing of theatrical entertainments, horse-racing, and gaming, and such other diversions as are productive of idleness, dissipation, and a general depravity of manners."

In Pennsylvania Washington's faith in and dependence on prayer is emphasized. During the darkest hour of that trying winter at Valley Forge he was seen kneeling alone in prayer in a secluded wood. From that day the fortunes of the Patriot Army grew brighter. The beautiful Memorial Chapel erected on the spot where our Chieftain knelt has been remembered by our leading patriotic organizations with handsome gifts.

A notable example of piety was Mrs. Van Cortlandt, of Van Cortlandt Manor on the Hudson, who knelt in prayer by a bed in her room the entire day the Battle of White Plains was fought, from the first booming of the cannon at sunrise, till the sun sank below the horizon, praying for the victory of the American arms and the safety of her sons engaged in the battle.

The record of the Red Cross, thoroughly organized during the World War, has been a marvel and leaves nothing to be desired. What did our foremothers accomplish in this line during the Revolution? In Townsend, Massachusetts, a mother and her daughters during a day and a night sheared a black and a white sheep, carded from the fleece a gray wool, which they spun, wove, and cut and made into a suit of clothes for a boy to wear off to fight for liberty. In the summer of 1775 when the preparations for the war were in a most unsettled and depressing condition, particularly the supplies for the Continental Army, the Provincial Congress called upon the people to supply thirteen thousand warm coats by cold weather. No contractors existed then to meet this demand, but by hundreds and hundreds of firesides

throughout the country wool-wheels and hand-looms were set to work and the patriotic women of America gave their handiwork eagerly. To-day the record books of some New England towns preserve the names of these coat-makers. To each soldier volunteering for eight months service one of these home-spun, home-made, all-wool coats was presented "as a bounty," which was highly prized; so much so that the heirs of the heroes who fell at Bunker Hill before receiving their coats were paid a sum of money instead. A list of the names of the soldiers who were given a bounty was known as the "Coat Roll." By the English Washington's troops were sneeringly nicknamed "Homes spuns."

The patriots of '76 took no account of consequences but risked all, and in some instances contributed so freely as to leave their families impoverished. Such was the case of General Thomas Nelson, who gave his entire fortune—hundreds of thousands—for the Patriot cause, leaving his widow and children almost destitute. As I stood by his grave in the churchyard at Yorktown, which had remained unmarked for more than a century, naturally thoughts dwelt upon the ingratitude of the country for patriotic sacrifice. He procured on his own credit for the use of his State when Virginia could procure none on her own. He entered the conflict very rich, but at his death, "save the old home in deserted York and some poor, broom-straw fields in Hanover," his property was sold at public sale to pay debts assumed for his country. Even the old family Bible with the records of the Nelsons, with the little table that held it, was sold at that time.

Governor John Page furnished another example of unselfish devotion when he stripped the heavy lead covering from the shingled roof of his home, "Rosewell," considered the stateliest mansion in Virginia, "when Colonial Virginia was baronial Virginia," to be moulded into bullets for the Army. Robert Morris of Pennsylvania was the acknowl-

edged financier of the Revolution. The gift of Elizabeth Maxwell Steele of Salisbury to General Greene, the gold saved from years of toil, affords another illustration of patriotic sacrifice.

Lastly our patriots of '76 possessed vision, safeguarded by wisdom and judgment. That period produced a very rare type—constitution builders, statesmen—who have handed down to us the most priceless heritage, a document of such worth that it has been most conscientiously protected against the 2,203 propositions for amendment introduced in Congress, nineteen winning, and then only during times of great public disaster.

A devoted son of Britain once remarked that he was thankful the ties were severed so early, for then the loss was less. By adhering strictly to the dictates of principles the offspring has later saved the mother country, as well as the world.

IN MEMORIAM

MRS. ELLEN TYSON LEE

Again the summons to lay aside the duties earth and ascend to the glory of a higher sphere has come to one of our faithful officers, leaving a shadow that cannot be lifted, for in this loss we have sustained a very heavy blow. In all the varied services Ellen Tyson Lee rendered the Daughters of the Revolution, there was displayed a marked degree of efficiency that performed each task with entire satisfaction, a high sense of loyalty and patriotism that could not be surpassed, and poise that bespoke the inherited Spartan spirit of Revolutionary ancestors. The worthy sister of a distinguished general, the mother of a soldier, she was a true patriot indeed. Of her it can be said she was absolutely dependable, praise that can be accorded few. To the Regent she was ever a staunch supporter, a tower of strength, who never failed to respond to every call. Words cannot convey the extent of our loss, which will extend through coming years. May others emulate her noble example. Faithful to every trust, duty was her watchword.

To the bereaved family we extend our warmest sympathy.

That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Society and a copy sent to the family.

MARY HILLIARD HINTON,
MRS. GEORGE RAMSEY,
GRACE HARDING BATES,
Committee.

RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. ELLEN TYSON LEE, WHO DIED NOVEMBER, 1920

WHEREAS, God in his tender, divine love and wisdom has seen it was well to call from our midst to the Spirit World our beloved Chapter Regent, Mrs. Ellen Tyson Lee, therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, deplores this inexpressible loss.

That her zeal, generosity, never-tiring energy for our interests, even when fettered by physical disability, trustworthiness, reserve—never seeking but always sought—and keen appreciation of the fundamental principles that made our country great, made serving with and under her leadership a joyous privilege.

That we shall miss her inspirational influence, but bow in humble submission to the decree of a Higher Power.

To her loved ones we tender our sincere sympathy.

That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Society and a copy sent to the family.

MRS. L. E. COVINGTON
MRS. E. C. HILLYER
MRS. CHAS. LEE SMITH
Committee.

REVIEW OF THE CONQUEST OF THE OLD SOUTHWEST

By Nina Holland Covington
(Mrs. Laurence Covington)

The history of North Carolina, tinged throughout with the glamour of romance, has no more thrilling chapter than the story of the adventures of the daring and dauntless pioneers who left the State to establish settlements beyond the mountains in Kentucky and Tennessee. This story is most graphically told in "The Conquest of the Old Southwest," by Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina. Dr. Henderson is well known as an accurate, clear-visioned historian; moreover, being a member of the family who sent out these early settlers under Daniel Boone, he had the added advantage of unlimited access to family documents and records which throw light upon this important period of American history.

"It is," one critic says, "a notable, authoritative contribution to the history of the Old Southwest, written in a lively, vivid style, with a wealth of romantic incidents, absolutely authentic and based upon documentary evidence, and replete with extracts from original letters, journals, and diaries hitherto unpublished or inaccessible."

The choice of title of the book indicates the exact section of the country with which it deals. "By West nowadays we mean the regions on the western side of the Mississippi, but at this early date when most of settled America was along the fringe of the Atlantic, the Carolinas, Kentucky and Tennessee, were called the Southwest. The fearless, resourceful, devoted men and women who first went West not only led the way for those who later crossed the Mississippi, but they struck the keynote of that pioneer civilization which has so profoundly influenced the character of the American people by shaping our Democracy, the democracy which produced an Andrew Jackson and an Abraham Lincoln."

By means of the story of the settlers of this old Southwest, with all the attendant hardships and dangers, the historian develops and describes the great and powerful idea of Westward Expansion, the idea which drove men from their peaceful homes in the thickly settled portion of the country to dare unknown dangers, to withstand savage enemies and finally to make settlements in a strange and rough and rugged country.

"Some to endure and many to fail,
Some to conquer and many to quail,
Toiling over the Wilderness Trail."

With painstaking, yet interesting detail, Dr. Henderson tells the story of the German settlements in Pennsylvania, of the early trading paths established by these settlers with their Southern neighbors, with, finally, the migration of many of these to Virginia and Carolina; of the early history of the Boone family and other early settlers.

Governors who helped in pioneer settlement, governors how retarded westward expansion, treaties of peace with Indian nations, the romantic hunting stories of the hunters in the Cumberland and elsewhere, all is told with skill and accuracy. Especially well does he tell of these early hunters, who, though not as serious-minded as the home-makers, nevertheless, opened the way, explored the forest and made the men who followed them feel that what other men had dared they, too, could and would dare. Thus, the wedge of pioneer settlement pushed on and on into the obscurity of the dense forests. In the midst of struggles with the Indians (fighting as they were against the encroachment of the white man), in the midst of revolts against tyrannical oppression of governors and kings, the ax of the early settler cut down the trees of the dense forest, until immense tracts of land were opened up, settlements became permanent, men of broad vision established companies for systematic settlement. Finally, the "Old Southwest" became an important section of the young American nation.

Such is the main theme of the book by Dr. Henderson. It is perhaps one of the most important contributions to American history of the last decade. It is a matter of great pride to North Carolinians that the book has been enthusiastically praised by some of the greatest historians and critics of the country. It is a matter of distinct congratulation that Dr. Henderson's loyalty to his state makes him satisfied to remain in his "ain countree" in spite of flattering inducements offered elsewhere, and above all, we are intensely indebted to him that he has so often directed his genius upon subjects relating to his own State. Thus North Carolina history is most wonderfully enriched and our State has gained added attention and prestige in the eyes of the world.

(The Conquest of the Old Southwest, by Dr. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina. The Century Co.)

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THE NORTH CAROLINA Historical Commission

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PURPOSES

(1) To collect as fully as possible data bearing upon the activities of North Carolina and her people in the Great World War.

(2) To publish a complete history of North Carolina in the World War.

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